

Bogumił Szady

The Geography of Religious and Confessional Structures in the Crown of the Polish Kingdom in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century



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The book minutely depicts the territorial organization of religions and confessions in the Crown part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the second half of the eighteenth century. It focuses on the spatial range and variety of the communities in the region, which was a melting pot of many different religions, confessions and denominations. The picture the book paints owes its depth and detail both to the characterization of the borderlands, and to the heterogeneous and homogeneous zones.

Prof. Michael Müller: “The book represents a methodologically most innovative, and empirically very rich, contribution to at least three fields of study: historical geography, religious history and historical demography. For the first time, we get a full, and reliable, picture of the churches of all Christian denominations and of the synagogues (and of the religious institutions and organizations behind them) that existed in the lands of the Crown prior to the first partition of Poland.”

The Author

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Polish Kingdom in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century

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Translated by Alicja Adamowicz



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Volume II

The Geography of Religious and Confessional Structures in the Crown of the Polish Kingdom in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century. Annex.

This Annex may be downloaded from the website:

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Preface to the English Edition

The contents of this English-language monograph differ in a few respects from the Polish edition published in 2010 by the Publishing House of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin. Some changes were necessary to adapt the text to the requirements of the English language, some are due to errors in the Polish edition detected in the course of translation. The geographical and substantive scope of the work made it necessary to adopt homogeneous linguistic rules when translating proper names and terminology.

There is no single way of rendering into English the names of localities and regions of Central and Eastern Europe that would be satisfactory to everyone and at the same time completely consistent. Therefore, most proper names used in this translation remain the same as in the original Polish text. Only the names of present-day state capital cities are in English (*Warsaw, Minsk, Kiev, Vilnius or Vienna*). The names of those localities that in the eighteenth century were situated outside the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and which do not have a neutral English-language equivalent are offered in a language corresponding with the cultural and state realities of the epoch (*Königsberg, Breslau*). Offered in English are also the names of such regions as *Podolia, Ruthenia, Volhynia*, or *Silesia* that in the eighteenth century were situated outside the Wielkopolska and Małopolska proper, as well as the names of the palatinates located there at the time. Some regions such as *Pomerania* or *Prussia* were divided between the Crown and the Kingdom of Prussia in the eighteenth century. In respect to the former, its Polish name of *Pomorze* (Eng. Pomerania) is used, whereas in the case of the latter – *Prussia* (Pol. *Prusy*). Sometimes the name of the same locality is provided in Polish, where the context is historical: *archdiocese of Lwów in 1772*, or in English, where it is contemporary: *Central State Historical Archive in Lviv*. Otherwise, when a city or region is first referred to, its English or German names are offered in the brackets, e.g., Małopolska (Little Poland), Wielkopolska (Great Poland), Mazowsze (Mazovia), Podlasie (Podlachia), Warmia (Ermland), or Łęborg (Lauenburg).

The monograph follows homogeneous terminology referring to various types of state and church administration units. In respect to state administration the following are used consistently: a *palatinate* instead of *voivodeship* (Pol. *województwo*) and *powiat* in lieu of *powiat, districtus* (Pol. *powiat*). Consistent terminology is also followed with regard to the units of religious administration of the Latin and Uniate Churches – accordingly, at the same level of the church

organization there is the Latin *diocese* (Pol. *diecezja*) and Uniate *eparchy* (Pol. *eparchia*); the Latin *archdeaconry* (Pol. *archidiakoniat*), *deaconry* (Pol. *dziekania*) and *provostship* (Pol. *prepozytura*) and the corresponding Uniate *officialate* (Pol. *oficjalat*); the Latin *deanery* (pol. *dekanat*) and the Uniate *governorship* (Pol. *namiestnictwo*) and *protopopy* (Pol. *protopopia*).

The second volume of this publication contains an extensive Annex with a list of all places of worship in the territory of the Crown circa 1772 including sources of information about each of them. The description of each place of worship is schematic, comprising many abbreviations which have not been translated into English and are in the form offered in the Polish version. There is a list of abbreviations explaining the meaning of each of them in English. The Annex is offered by the publisher on-line: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3726/b16032> (unlocking code: PL19Dx27V).

The author of this book is most grateful to Professor Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski for his proofreading work and substantive consultations regarding names and terminology.

Introduction

1. Subject Matter and Purpose

At the XVI General Congress of Historians in Wrocław held on 16 September 1999, during a session devoted to the Transformations of the Historical Landscape Stanisław Litak delivered a paper titled “The Map of Religions in the Commonwealth circa 1772 (Religions – Denominations – Churches – Method of Study)”.¹ Without going into specifics on the subject of the importance of that project – which subject may be examined based on the publications quoted herein – it is worth focusing on its main objectives and ensuing methodological premises. The author assumed that such study would provide “possibly the most accurate picture of relations between the religions in Poland and in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania preceding the First Partition”.² Most disputable are two aspects of the above approach. The first one is of a methodological nature and pertains to the fact that the historical contents of the proposed map have not been sufficiently defined. Litak interchangeably uses such terms as “religious group” and “religious community” when in fact he refers to a place of worship as a religious centre of such community and its regional structures which arranged and organized its functioning. The second question is whether it is correct and legitimate to claim that the structure and distribution of places of worship and organizational units of religions and denominations reflect the actual relations between religions and adequately demonstrate the quantitative proportions between individual denominations. The above approach stands in contrast with

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- 1 S. Litak, “Mapa wyznaniowa Rzeczypospolitej około 1772 roku (Religie – Wyznania – Kościoły – Metoda opracowania)”, in: *Jezuicka ars historica. Prace ofiarowane Księdzu Profesorowi Ludwikowi Grzebieniowi SJ*, ed. M. Ingot, S. Obirek, Kraków 2001, pp. 345-354. Also see: Idem, “The Atlas of Religious and Ethnic Relations in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Second Half of the 18th Century”, in: *Churches, States, Nations in the Enlightenment and in nineteenth century. Eglises, états, nations a l'époque des Lumières et au XIX^e siècle*, ed. M. Filipowicz, Lublin 2000, pp. 54-59; B. Szady, “Z badań nad mapą wyznań i religii Rzeczypospolitej przed pierwszym rozbiorem Polski”, in: *Rzeczpospolita wielokulturowa – dobrodziejstwo czy obciążenie*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Warszawa 2009, pp. 21-27.
 - 2 S. Litak, “Mapa wyznaniowa Rzeczypospolitej”, p. 354.

works in which the study of religious and ethnic relations is based on demographic statistics, as represented mainly by Zdzisław Budzyński.³

Both these reservations are related to the premises of this dissertation. Its main and direct objective is to present the territorial organization of religions and denominations in the Crown part of the Commonwealth before the First Partition. However, one cannot avoid a more general problem and a question about the actual quantitative (statistical) and spatial (geographical) relations between the adherents of individual religions, denominations and rites who lived in the Crown. Such a more general approach makes it necessary to carry out the analysis along two lines. The first one, which may be referred to as the main one, will focus on a group of issues related to the distribution of places of worship and territorial units of religions and churches in which they functioned before the First Partition. The second one, of more methodological nature, will be an attempt to critique the adopted method. The results of the analysis of the distribution of places of worship and territorial administration structures will be selectively compared to demographic data. That should allow us to answer the question of to what degree the distribution of sacral facilities and units of religious administration reflects the actual demographic relations between the adherents of individual denominations. It is an important question in so far as the work covers the period preceding the Partitions, that is, the so-called pre-statistical era for which there are no surviving general and homogeneous population census data covering the analysed area or its major parts. It is therefore impossible to examine the situation of religions based on demographic data.

The term “territorial organization” or “territorial structure” places the scope of the subject matter in the category of historical geography rather than strictly legal and institutional studies.⁴ The analysis covers the territory of the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland in its administrative borders from the second half of the eighteenth century, before the territorial changes resulting from the First Partition of Poland in 1772/73. It is quite problematic to determine in formal and legal terms the status of the areas held in pledge or as fiefs. That applies to the starosty of Spisz (Zips, Spiš), which was mortgaged to the Commonwealth by the Kingdom of Hungary, the Duchy of Siewierz, which was the property

3 Z. Budzyński, *Ludność pogranicza polsko-ruskiego w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku*, vol. 1-2, Przemyśl-Rzeszów 1993; Idem, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku*, vol. 1-3, Przemyśl-Rzeszów 2006-2008.

4 On Polish post-war geographical and historical tradition, see: H. Szulc, “Geografia historyczna osadnictwa wiejskiego w Polsce – kierunki i metody badań oraz perspektywy”, *Przegląd Geograficzny*, 75 (2003), 3, pp. 335-350.

of the bishops of Kraków, the starosty of Drahim (Draheim) and the lands of Lębork (Lauenburg) and Bytów (Bütow) which were mortgaged to the King in Prussia by the Commonwealth. Since both the sources and studies ascribe different administrative affiliation to the above-mentioned areas, they were treated separately in consolidated statistics, that is, they were not included in any of the Crown's 23 palatinates.

The analysis excludes only the Episcopal Duchy of Siewierz which remained a separate legal and administrative entity and was incorporated by the Crown as late as 1790. There were also problems with the treatment of the Episcopal Duchy of Warmia (Ermeland) either as an independent unit inside the Crown or as a part of the Malbork (Marienburg) palatinate. Due to the duchy's high degree of independence (even though in formal terms it did not enjoy the status of duchy) and due to a completely different confessional situation, it was treated as a separate unit of Royal Prussia.

The area covered by the study totals 424 358 km², of which:

- the Małopolska (Little Poland) province – 304 390 km²
 - Małopolska – 57 656 km²
(of which the starosty of Spisz – 679 km²)
 - Crown Ruthenia (Ruś Koronna) – 235 227 km²
 - Podlasie (Podlachia) – 11 507 km²
- the Wielkopolska (Great Poland) province – 119 968 km²
 - Wielkopolska – 59 842 km²
(of which the land of Drahim (Draheim) – 651 km²)
 - Royal Prussia (Prusy Królewskie) – 26 452 km²
(of which the land of Lębork (Lauenburg) and Bytów (Bütow) – 1857 km²
and Warmia (Ermland) – 4316 km²)
 - Mazowsze (Mazovia) – 33 674 km².

It is also necessary to specify the chronological scope of the study referred to in the title. The “second half of the eighteenth century” refers to the period which was the focus of the basic source query. In order to arrive at the most homogeneous picture possible, in terms of time, of the structure of religions and denominations in the territory of the Crown an attempt has been made to indicate the situation closest to the First Partition of the Commonwealth, in full awareness of the changes that were occurring in the second half of the eighteenth century in respect to the organizational development of individual denominations. It was particularly dynamic, especially in the 1760s and 1770s, in the border areas of the Braclaw and Kiev (Kijów) palatinates where the Orthodox and Uniate

Churches predominated. The main intention behind the choice and selection of source information was to feature the situation of religious structures in the last decade of the Commonwealth's existence in its borders prior to the First Partition. If there is a clear discrepancy between the information coming from 1765 and from the 1780s or 90s, the more valuable for the entire picture is the former one. This has not ruled out the use of data from after 1772 in the absence of earlier information.

When it comes to the sacral facilities covered by the analysis, they included places of worship and territorial administration units of all religions, denominations and rites which existed in the area of the Crown and which developed organizational structures that could be identified in the sources. The group of Christian places of worship included the Catholic churches of three rites (Latin, Greek and Armenian), Orthodox, Lutheran (Evangelical Augsburg), Mennonite, Calvinist (Evangelical Reformed) and Bohemian Brethren (in spite of a strong tendency to unify with the Calvinists, the Bohemian Brethren were treated separately⁵). Given the formal criterion formulated above, namely that the analysis covered those denominations which had their churches in the territory of the Crown in the second half of the eighteenth century, this work does not cover the communities of Old Believers. Their major centre in the lands of the old Commonwealth was at Wietka situated in the powiat of Rzeszyca in the Minsk (Mińsk) palatinate in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. There was an Orthodox church of Popovtsy dedicated to Virgin Mary (Pokrowy). But there is no information available about the churches of Old Believers who settled in the palatinates of Kiev, Volhynia (Wołyń) and Podolia (Podole).⁶ When it comes to non-Christian religions the work is mainly focused on Jewish synagogues. There were few Muslim mosques and Karaite places of worship (kenesas) in the Crown.

5 H. Gmiterek, *Bracia czescy a kalwini w Rzeczypospolitej. Połowa XVI – połowa XVII. Studium porównawcze*, Lublin 1987, p. 141; W. Krieseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy w epoce saskiej (1696-1763)*, Warszawa 1996, p. 79.

6 Their first significant community in the Crown was established at Czarnobyl (Chernobyl) in the second half of the 1770s owing to the patronage of Jan Mikołaj Chodkiewicz, E. Iwaniec, *Z dziejów staroobrzędowców na ziemiach polskich XVII-XX w.*, Warszawa 1977, pp. 50-54, 59-60. On the contacts and migrations of Old Believers from Wietka and Starodubie, see: Ю. Волошин, *Розкольницькі слободи на території Північної Гетьманщини у XVIII ст. (історико-демографічний аспект)*, Полтава 2005, pp. 88-90.

2. Sources and Studies

In this Introduction the research and sources are discussed together due to the fact that many studies, especially in the form of lists and inventories, will serve in this work as the basis of both geographical and statistical analysis. If the conclusions of this work are to be assessed adequately, it is necessary to take into account that the sources used herein are highly diverse both in terms of the period of their origin, typology and information value. No new or unknown materials of particular importance have been discovered. This work is based on the materials which have been used on various occasions and which provide systematized information about the structures and distribution of sacral buildings of religions and denominations in the territory of the Crown. It should be emphasized that when it comes to the compilation of data the main effort did not consist so much in the systematic research into the sources, which had been done earlier as part of the work on the structure of individual denominations, but in supplementing and verifying the data they included. It took much work to prepare cartographic information and materials in the case of those religions for which they did not exist (for example, a map of synagogues), or which were outdated (for example, the map of Protestant churches).

The main difficulty, which resulted in quite “unbalanced” information about individual denominations, presented itself when it was necessary to select and use a different source base in respect of each of them. Moreover, not all religious institutions left behind equally homogeneous and comprehensive inventories and lists coming from the second half of the eighteenth century. This was due to the destruction and tragic history of Polish archive collections as well as the fact that not all religious groups produced such sources. The knowledge of the centralized and well-supervised Latin rite of the Catholic Church is by far most complete, mainly owing to the surviving protocols of canonical visitations, lists of benefices or any other inventories necessary to administer the church properly. Quite well documented are Protestant communities which were regularly describing their organizational status, shrinking as they were in the eighteenth century. A little less is known about the organization of Eastern churches, though in this area a key role is played by the exploration of sources. The third most numerous religious group – the Jews – either did not produce regular registers of their properties or they are unknown. This is due to a completely different organizational structure of those communities which were much more centralized than the Christian ones. The first complete census of Jewish organizations in the Crown and in Lithuania was a result of a project launched by the state in

the second half of the eighteenth century to change the tax system covering this group of people.

The basic studies of the organization of the Latin Church in the Commonwealth in the second half of the eighteenth century were carried out by Litak over many decades. His work was crowned with three basic synthetic descriptions of its structure: *Territorial Structure of the Latin Church in Poland in 1772* (Lublin 1980), *The Latin Church in the Commonwealth circa 1772. Administrative Structures* (Lublin 1996) and *Atlas of the Latin Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 18th Century* (Lublin 2006). Apart from the data about the administrative affiliation and character of the localities where parish and filial churches were situated, the author of these studies offered information about their dedication, building materials and patronage. Each index item included the source base. The main task in respect to Litak's findings was to sort out the relations between parish, filial and monastery churches.⁷ But on the whole only minor corrections of his conclusions were necessary and they mainly regarded specific information, such as the type of patronage over some churches and their dedication, or administrative affiliation of individual localities.⁸

The discussion of the boundaries and development of the Latin Church's organization in the territory of the Crown was based on both studies of syn-

7 In the works mentioned above monasteries and monastery churches were combined, and the list of parish and filial churches again included those places of worship which performed a pastoral function. In the last study (S. Litak, *Atlas Kościoła łacińskiego w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w XVIII wieku*, Lublin 2006) there are interesting symbols in the maps which allow to differentiate the monasteries involved in pastoral work from those without "cura animarum". This, however, does not solve the problem completely because some monasteries did not have their own churches and used diocesan churches or, in the case of female orders, the churches of male orders (M. Borkowska, "Zakony żeńskie w Polsce w okresie potrydenckim", in: *Zakony i klasztory w Europie Środkowowschodniej. X-XX*, ed. H. Gapski, J. Kłoczowski, Lublin 1999, p. 232). This is exemplified by the missionaries at Krasnystaw who were running a seminary and used the cathedral church (Litak, *Atlas Kościoła łacińskiego*, pp. 139, 331, 416).

8 Based on, i.a., a recently published inventory of localities by Franciszek Czajkowski ("Regestr diecezjów" *Franciszka Czajkowskiego czyli właściciele ziemscy w Koronie 1783-1784*, ed. K. Chłapowski, S. Górzyński, Warszawa 2006) and recently discovered 1783-1787 inventories of the Kraków diocese, B. Kumor, "Nieznana "Księga uposażeń" diecezji krakowskiej z 1786 roku", *Roczniki Teologiczne*, 43 (1996), fasc. 1, pp. 185-191. The sources and similar surveys found in the Archive of the Metropolitan Chapter in Kraków were the basis of a research project on "The Church and Society of Małopolska in the Second Half of the 18th Century" (J. Szczepaniak, B. Szady).

thetic nature, where the work by Bolesław Kumor on the boundaries of Polish metropolitan provinces and dioceses⁹ continues to play a fundamental role, and a number of monographs on dioceses¹⁰ or smaller units of church administration.¹¹ Due to the medieval origins of most of the territorial administration units it was necessary to invoke a number of classic works on the shaping of the Latin Church system and organization in Poland.¹² Equally helpful were the consecu-

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- 9 B. Kumor, "Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich (966-1939)", *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne*, 18-24 (1969-1973).
- 10 Inter alia, J. Nowacki, *Dzieje archidiecezji poznańskiej*, vol. 1-2, Poznań 1964; W. Müller, "Organizacja terytorialna diecezji płockiej w XVI-XVIII w.", *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 15 (1967), f. 2, pp. 129-174; J. Mucha, "Organizacja diecezji kamienieckiej do roku 1795", *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne*, 30 (1983), f. 4, pp. 63-284; L. Królik, *Organizacja diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej od XVI do XVIII wieku*, Lublin 1983; A. Kopiczko, *Ustrój i organizacja diecezji warmińskiej w latach 1525-1772*, Olsztyn 1993; J. Krętosz, *Organizacja archidiecezji lwowskiej obrządku łacińskiego od XV w. do 1772 r.*, Lublin 1986; Ю. Білоусов, *Київсько-Житомирська римо-католицька єпархія: Історичний нарис*, Житомир 2000; H. Borcz, "Archidiecezja przemyska. Zarys dziejów i organizacji", *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne*, 79 (2003), pp. 33-119; B. Kumor, *Dzieje diecezji krakowskiej*, vol. 1-4, Kraków 1998-2002.
- 11 E.g., E. Wiśniowski, *Prepozytura wiślicka do schyłku XVIII wieku. Materiały do struktury organizacyjnej*, Lublin 1976; B. Kumor, "Archidiakoniat sądecki. Opracowanie materiałów źródłowych do Atlasu Historycznego Kościoła w Polsce", *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne*, 8-9 (1964-1965), pp. 271-304, 93-286; Idem, "Prepozytura tarnowska. Opracowanie materiałów źródłowych do Atlasu Historycznego Kościoła w Polsce", *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne*, 12 (1966), pp. 207-288. Published in the last decade were, i.a.: A. Mietz, *Archidiakoniat kamiński archidiecezji gnieźnieńskiej: struktura terytorialna i stan kościołów w czasach staropolskich 1512-1772*, Włocławek 2005; J. Chachaj, "Stan i odbudowa sieci kościelnej w łacińskiej diecezji kijowskiej w drugiej połowie XVII i w XVIII wieku", *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne*, 87 (2007), pp. 5-62.
- 12 W. Abraham, *Organizacja Kościoła w Polsce do połowy XII wieku*, Lwów 1890; Idem, *Powstanie organizacyi Kościoła łacińskiego na Rusi*, vol. 1, Lwów 1904; J. Fijałek, "Biskupstwa wołyńskie Polski i Litwy w swoich początkach (w XIV/XV)", *Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie*, 16 (1911), no. 4, pp. 9-21; S. Kujot, *Kto założył parafie w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej?: studium historyczne*, Toruń 1902-1905; J. Szymański, "Biskupstwa polskie w wiekach średnich. Organizacja i funkcje", in: *Kościół w Polsce*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, vol. 1, Kraków 1966, pp. 125-233; S. Litak, *Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVIII wieku. Struktura, funkcje społeczno-religijne i edukacyjne*, Lublin 2004; E. Wiśniowski, *Parafie w średniowiecznej Polsce. Struktura i funkcje społeczne*, Lublin 2004.

tive volumes of the *Historical Atlas of Poland*, where its authors regularly dwelt on issues of the Latin Church's territorial administration.¹³

Owing to the studies on the structures of the Uniate Church conducted in the last two decades, especially by Ukrainian researchers, it was possible to supplement and verify the findings presented by Witold Kołbuk in two works including the lists of the Uniate churches at the time of the First Partition of the Commonwealth.¹⁴ Equally important are the works by historians from Lviv¹⁵, Rzeszów¹⁶,

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- 13 *Województwo lubelskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, ed. S. Wojciechowski, Warszawa 1966; *Województwo sandomierskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, ed. W. Pałucki, Warszawa 1993; *Województwo sieradzkie i województwo łęczyckie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, ed. H. Rutkowski, Warszawa 1998; *Województwo krakowskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, ed. H. Rutkowski, Warszawa 2008.
 - 14 W. Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej (1772-1914)*, Lublin 1992; Idem, *Kościół wschodnie w Rzeczypospolitej około 1772 r.*, Lublin 1998.
 - 15 Noteworthy are a number of works by I. Skoczylas with a repertoire of the visitations of the Uniate Church in the Lwów province, I. Скоцилас, *Генеральні візитації Київської унійної митрополії ХVII-ХVIII століть: Львівсько-Галицько-Кам'янецька єпархія*, т. 2: Протоколи генеральних візитацій, Львів 2004. I also used the same author's list of the Uniate churches in the Lwów archdiocese in the second half of the eighteenth century and the following inventories: *Consignatio reperibilium in diaecesi Ritus Graeca Catholici Leopoliensi, Haliciensi et Camenecensi ex parte Austriaca beneficiorum, ecclesiarum et capellarum, confraternitatum, monasteriorum et residentiarum conventualium*, National Museum in Lviv (hereinafter: MNL.), Rkl-788, ff. 2-41; *Dyspartymnt katedradyku poszczególnych parafii dekanatów eparchii lwowskiej 1758-1759*, Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv (hereinafter: CPAHU.), set 201, op. 1a, MS no. 5, ff. 1-25; *Taryffa generalna dekanatów cerkiew y kaplanów officialstwa barskiego z roku 1778 ułożona*, CPAHU. set 201, op. 1a, MS no. 18, ff. 1-8v.
 - 16 Z. Budzyński, *Ludność pogranicza polsko-ruskiego w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku*, vol. 1-2, Przemyśl-Rzeszów 1993; Idem, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku*, vol. 1-3, Przemyśl-Rzeszów 2006-2008; Idem, "Struktura terytorialna eparchii lwowskiej w świetle wizytacji ks. Mikołaja Szadurskiego (1758-1765)", in: *Religie – edukacja – kultura. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana Profesorowi Stanisławowi Litakowi*, ed. M. Surdacki, Lublin 2002, pp. 127-142; J. Półcwiartek, "Parafie greckokatolickie diecezji przemyskiej w XVIII w. Stan organizacyjny, pozycja gospodarza i społeczna", in: *Polska – Ukraina. 1000 lat sąsiedztwa*, vol. 3, Przemyśl 1996, pp. 91-99; S. Nabywaniec, *Unicka archidiecezja kijowska w okresie rządów arcybiskupa metropolity Felicjana Filipa Wołodkowicza 1762-1778*, Rzeszów 1998; Idem, "Diecezja przemyska greckokatolicka w latach 1772-1795", *Premislia Christiana*, 5 (1992/1993), pp. 9-294.

Lublin¹⁷ and Siedlce.¹⁸ Systematic exploration of the archives opened access to new sources which had been partly published,¹⁹ and thus it was possible to correct the data on the number of the administrative units of the Uniate Church in the Crown and their boundaries, included in a monograph by Ludomir Bieńkowski, and the enclosed map of the “Latin Catholic and Uniate Church Dioceses in Poland circa 1772.”²⁰ By far most acute are the shortages of data regarding Volhynia in respect of which it was not possible to find sources allowing to reproduce the affiliation of individual Uniate churches with protopopies (governorships), apart from a list of Uniate churches and deaneries in 1791-1792 in a part of the Łuck-Ostróg diocese published by Jurij Kondratiuk.²¹

The problem of the Uniate Church structures in the Crown has to be discussed together with the history of the Orthodox Church administration. This mainly applies to the Braclaw, Kiev and Podolia palatinates where the hierarchies of the Orthodox and Uniate Churches competed in the second half of the eighteenth century. The conflict produced lists, inventories and reports which were intended to consolidate the supremacy of both administrations over their churches.²²

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- 17 A. Gil, *Chełmska diecezja unicka 1596-1810. Dzieje i organizacja*, Lublin 2005.
- 18 D. Wereda, *Unicka diecezja brzeska w latach 1720-1795*, Lublin 2000 (doctoral thesis, Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski); eadem, “Адміністративні структури Берестейського офіціалату Володимирсько-Берестейської унійної єпархії у XVIII ст.,” *Ковчег*, 5 (2007), pp. 150-166.
- 19 *Socjografia kościoła greckokatolickiego na braclawszczyźnie i kijowszczyźnie w 1782 r.*, ed. M. Radwan, Lublin 2004; *Wizytacje generalne parafii unickich w województwie kijowskim i braclawskim po 1782 roku*, ed. M. Radwan, Lublin 2004. New potential sources were pointed out by В. Лось, “Корпус церковних джерел з історії Греко-уніатської церкви на Правобережній Україні кінця XVIII – першої половини XIX ст.: класифікація та інформаційні можливості,” *Бібліотечний вісник*, 6 (2007), pp. 11-16.
- 20 L. Bieńkowski, “Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego w Polsce”, in: *Kościół w Polsce*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, vol. 2, Kraków 1969, pp. 779-1049.
- 21 Р.Ю. Кондратюк, “Джерела з історії уніатської церкви південно-східної Волині другої половини XVIII ст.,” *Архіви України*, 4-5, 2001, pp. 98-110.
- 22 The basic body of sources regarding the history of the Orthodox Church in right bank Ukraine, especially in the context of relationships with the Uniate Church, may be found in two volumes of the series *Архивъ Югозападной Россіи издаваемый временною комиссією для разбора древнихъ актовъ*, ч. 1, т. 2-3: Матеріали для истории православия в Западной Украине в XVIII ст. Архимандрит Мелхиседек Значко-Яворский, 1759-1771 г., Київ 1864. Much information is offered by the reports from the 1770s addressed to the Perejaslaw consistory, see: “Матеріали для истории киевской епархии,” *Киевские Епархиальные Ведомости*, 1892, 1894.

But they have not as yet been subject to detailed analysis which would allow to establish administrative affiliation of individual churches in the 1760s and 1770s. Both earlier studies²³ and the more recent ones²⁴ confine themselves to a general number of protopopies and parishes of the Perejasław-Boryspol diocese which established its supremacy over the Orthodox churches of the Crown. The only specific list of the Orthodox churches in the Crown is still the inventory published by Kołbuk who features the situation from the beginning of the 1760s, before the haidamak rebellion (*Koliyivshchyna*).²⁵

Owing to the relatively thorough literature on the subject and in view of the small number of churches there were no major problems with the collection of statistical and geographical material on the structures of the Armenian Catholic Church. A review of the state of research on the history of Armenians, including the works by Polish historians but, first and foremost, the most important studies by Armenian authors, was published in 1983 by Juliusz Bardach.²⁶ Apart from a general history of the Armenian Church before and after its union with Rome, the works offer information about all or some Armenian communities in the territory of the Crown. They cover both the studies published in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century (Tadeusz Gromnicki,²⁷ Czesław Lechicki²⁸), and present-day historiography (Mirośława Dubasowa-Zakrzewska,²⁹ Wartan

23 В. Пархоменко, *Очерк истории Переяславско-Бориспольской епархии (1733-1785 гг.) в связи с общим ходом малороссийской жизни того времени*, Полтава 1908; E. Sakowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w Polsce w epoce Sejmu Wielkiego*, Warszawa 1935.

24 A. Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w dziejach Rzeczypospolitej*, Białystok 2001; Idem, "Organizacja Kościoła prawosławnego w Rzeczypospolitej do końca XVIII w.," in: *Europa Orientalis. Polska i jej wschodni sąsiedzi od średniowiecza po współczesność. Studia i materiały ofiarowane profesorowi Stanisławowi Alexandrowiczowi w 65 rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Z. Karpus, T. Kempa, D. Michaluk, Toruń 1996, pp. 211-218; B.V. Лас-товський, *Православна церква у суспільно-політичному житті України XVIII ст. (Переяславсько-Бориспільська єпархія)*, Черкаси 2002; Idem, *Між суспільством і державою. Православна церква в Україні наприкінці XVII- у XVIII ст. в історії та історіографії*, Київ 2008.

25 Kołbuk, *Kościoly wschodnie*, pp. 337-342.

26 J. Bardach, "Ormianie na ziemiach dawnej Polski", *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 90 (1983), 1, pp. 109-118.

27 T. Gromnicki, *Ormianie w Polsce, ich historia, prawa i przywileje*, Warszawa 1889.

28 Cz. Lechicki, *Kościół ormiański w Polsce*, Warszawa 1928.

29 M. Dubasowa-Zakrzewska, *Ormianie w dawnej Polsce*, Lublin 1980.

Grigorjan,³⁰ Grzegorz Petrowicz,³¹ Jurij Smirnow³²). Apart from the list included in Kołbuk's³³ study, the main body of information about individual communities which was used when the index was prepared is offered by Sadok Barącz³⁴ and Krzysztof Stopka³⁵.

The state of research and source base regarding the geography of Protestantism in the Crown in the second half of the eighteenth century falls clearly into two, mainly territorially determined, groups: the Wielkopolska and the Pomorze (Pomerania) ones. Of great significance in both cases were the Latin Church visitations which regularly collected information about religious dissenters. In respect to the Lutherans of Wielkopolska, visitations in the Poznań diocese were conducted in 1778-1779³⁶ and in the Gniezno diocese in 1760-1790.³⁷ This has largely allowed us to supplement the data included on the basic, though a little obsolete, map of the *Old Poland from the Point of View of the Evangelical Church* and the accompanying list of the churches prepared by Henryk Merczyng.³⁸ Of significance to the determination of the network of Lutheran churches was a work written in the middle of the eighteenth century by the Lutheran pastor and general senior, Christian Siegmund Thomas, which, apart from a description of the organization of the Lutheran Church, also offers a list and short histories of individual churches.³⁹ That information was verified based on the list published by Albert Werner,⁴⁰ but fundamental to a more complex presentation

30 В.Р. Григорян, *История армянских колоний Украины и Польши (Армяне в Подолии)*, Ереван 1980.

31 G. Petrowicz, *La Chiesa Armena in Polonia (1686-1954)*, Roma 1988.

32 J. Smirnow, *Katedra ormiańska we Lwowie. Dzieje archidiecezji ormiańskiej lwowskiej*, Lwów 2002.

33 Kobluk, *Kościół wschodnie*, p. 342.

34 S. Barącz, *Rys dziejów ormiańskich*, Tarnopol 1869.

35 K. Stopka, *Ormianie w Polsce dawnej i dzisiejszej*, Kraków 2000.

36 Archdiocesan Archive in Poznań (hereinafter: AAP), MS no. AV31, AV32, AV33, AV34.

37 Archdiocesan Archive in Gniezno (hereinafter: AAGn.), MS no. CE18, CE42; Diocesan Archive in Włocławek (hereinafter: ADWł.), MS no. GAV55, GAV62, GAV86.

38 H. Merczyng, "Zbory i senatorowie protestanczy w dawnej Polsce", in: W. Krasieński, *Zarys dziejów powstania i upadku reformacji w Polsce*, Warszawa 1905, pp. 125-263.

39 Ch.S. Thomas, *Altes und Neues vom Zustande der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirchen im Königreiche Polen*, b.m. 1754. On the life and work of Ch.S. Thomas, see: G. Smend, *Christian Siegmund Thomas. Eine 200 Jahr-Erinnerung fuer die evangelische Kirche in Polen*, Posen 1937.

40 A. Werner, *Geschichte der evangelischen Parochien in der Provinz Posen*, Lissa 1904.

of the territorial structures and organization of the Church were the monographs by Arthur Rhode⁴¹ and Wojciech Kriegseisen.⁴²

In respect to the churches located in Royal Prussia, apart from the visitations by the Pomorze archdeaconry and Chełmno (Kulm) diocese conducted between 1766-1795,⁴³ the most important source was their inventory made in the first half of the nineteenth century by an Evangelical pastor and university professor at Königsberg (Królewiec, now Kaliningrad) Ludwik Rhesa.⁴⁴ In the ample literature on the subject both in German and Polish especially useful, mainly due to specific information about individual churches, have been the lists of church books,⁴⁵ monographs of the history of Lutheranism in Prussia by Ernst Müller and Aleksander Klemp,⁴⁶ and also the so-called Mortensen's map with the attached list of churches included in the *Historical-Geographical Atlas of Prussian Lands*.⁴⁷

The number and geographical range of the structures of other Protestant denominations was definitely more modest. For obvious reasons most studies focused on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, stressing the gradual organizational decline of the groups of Calvinists and Bohemian Brethren. The situation of Mennonite communities was different, because their importance was rising owing to the Dutch and German settlement (*Oleńdrzy*) mainly in Royal Prussia and Wielkopolska. Due to the significant dispersal of the communities of Calvinists and Bohemian Brethren it was necessary to use diverse sources. Apart from the above-mentioned ones regarding Lutheranism, including information about other Protestant denominations, I also used, inter alia, the visitations of the

41 A. Rhode, *Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche im Posener Lande*, Würzburg 1956.

42 W. Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy w epoce saskiej (1696-1763)*, Warszawa 1996.

43 Diocesan Archive in Pelplin (hereinafter: ADPel.), MS no. G61, G63a G63b, G69, G70, G71, G72, C67, C68.

44 L. Rhesa, *Kurzgefasste Nachrichten von allen seit der Reformation an den evangelischen Kirchen in Westpreussen angestellten Predigern*, Königsberg 1834.

45 M. Bär, *Die Kirchenbücher der Provinz Westpreussen*, Danzig 1908; R. Rose, *Die Kirchenbücher der evangelischen Kirchen Ost- und West-Preussen: nebst einem Verzeichnis der Militär-Kirchenbücher der Provinz West-Preussen und der katholischen Kirchenbücher der Diözese Ermland*, 1909; M. Wehrmann, "Die Kirchenbücher in Pommern", *Baltische Studien*, 42 (1892), pp. 201-280.

46 E. Müller, *Die Evangelischen Geistlichen Pommerns von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 2, Stettin 1912; A. Klemp, *Protestanci w dobrach prywatnych w Prusach Królewskich od drugiej połowy XVII do drugiej połowy XVIII wieku*, Gdańsk-Wrocław 1994.

47 "Die kirchliche Organisation um 1785", bearb. R. Ruprecht, B. Jähnig, in: *Historisch-Geographischer Atlas des Preussenlandes*, hrsg. H. Mortensen, G. Mortensen, R. Wenskus, Lieferung 2, Wiesbaden 1969.

Latin dioceses in Kraków,⁴⁸ Włocławek (Pomorze archdeaconry), Gniezno and Poznań,⁴⁹ but also the lists of Evangelical communities located in the Bohemian Brethren collection at the State Archive in Poznań.⁵⁰ The data on the structure of communities and churches are also included in monographs, of which particularly noteworthy are the work by Kriegseisen mentioned above and a study on Bohemian Brethren in Wielkopolska by Jolanta Dworzaczkowa.⁵¹ There is also extensive literature on the subject, mainly in German, about Mennonites.⁵² It was frequently published by members of that religious group. Since the presence of Mennonites in Poland was connected with a specific type of settlement, that subject matter was also covered by social and economic histories of the early modern period.⁵³ The most important work by Polish historians is by Edmund Kizik⁵⁴ which offers a summary of the knowledge on the subject. Systemized information about the history of Mennonite communities is also provided on the Internet, especially by the *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online* related to *The Mennonite Encyclopedia* published in 1955-1959, and the *Catalogue of Mennonite Prayer Houses in Poland* by Maciej Warchoł, available on the site devoted to *Olęder* architecture which is run by Jerzy Szałygin.⁵⁵

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- 48 Archive of the Metropolitan Curia in Kraków (hereinafter: AKMK.), MS no. AV29, AV40, AV46; Archdiocesan Archive in Lublin (hereinafter: AAL.), MS no. Rep60 A103, Rep60 A105.
- 49 I.a., AAP. AV31; AAP. AV33; AAP. AV34; ADPel. G72; ADWł. GAV59; ADWł. GAV63.
- 50 State Archive in Poznań (hereinafter: APP.), Akta braci czeskich, MS no. 1700, 1701, 1702, 1703.
- 51 J. Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce w XVI-XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1997.
- 52 H. Wiebe, *Das Siedlungswerk Niederländischer Mennoniten im Weichselthal zwischen Fordon und Weissenberg bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrh.*, Marburg/Lahn 1952; E.L. Ratzlaff, *Im Weichselbogen. Mennonitensiedlungen in Zentralpolen*, Winnipeg 1971; H. Penner, *Die ost- und westpreussischen Mennoniten in ihrer religiösen und sozialen Leben, in ihrer kulturellen und wirtschaftlichen Leistungen*, vol. 1, Weierhof/Pfalz 1978.
- 53 I. Baranowski, "Wsie holenderskie na ziemiach polskich", *Przegląd Historyczny*, 19 (1915), pp. 64-82; Z. Ludkiewicz, *Osady holenderskie na nizinie sartawicko-nowskiej*, Toruń 1934; W. Rusiński, *Osady tzw. "Olędrów" w dawnym województwie poznańskim*, Poznań-Kraków 1937-1947; K. Ciesielska, "Osadnictwo "olęderskie" w Prusach Królewskich i na Kujawach w świetle kontraktów osadniczych", *Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza*, 4 (1958), 2, pp. 217-256.
- 54 E. Kizik, *Mennonici w Gdańsku, Elblągu i na Żuławach Wiślanych w II połowie XVII i w XVIII wieku*, Gdańsk 1994.
- 55 *Katalog zabytków osadnictwa holenderskiego w Polsce* (access: <http://holland.org.pl>, 2.07.2010) Also see: J. Szałygin, *Katalog zabytków osadnictwa holenderskiego na ziemi łączyckiej*, Warszawa 2008.

Among non-Christian religions most attention, due to the number of population and places of worship, was devoted to Judaism. Research on the territorial organization of the Jews in the eighteenth century was mainly based on tax censuses and registers, including the most important ones coming from 1764-1765.⁵⁶ The censuses were conducted at the time when the Jewish autonomy was abolished in the Crown, that is, when the kahals were arranged according to the administrative structure of the state (falling into palatinates, powiats [Latin: *districtus*]). They are the main source of information about the kahal network in the Crown apart from various documents and privileges granted to individual communities.⁵⁷ They have been used in the studies covering the entire Crown,⁵⁸ and in the analysis of its individual parts.⁵⁹ Systematic research on the history

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- 56 "Liczba głów żydowskich w Koronie z taryf roku 1765", ed. J. Kleczyński, F. Kulczycki, *Archiwum Komisji Historycznej*, 8 (1898), pp. 388-407; "Spis żydów województwa krakowskiego z roku 1765", ed. A. Czuczynski, *Archiwum Komisji Historycznej*, 8 (1898), pp. 408-427; "Żydzi ziemi lwowskiej i powiatu żydaczowskiego w r. 1765", ed. F. Bostel, *Archiwum Komisji Historycznej*, 6 (1891), pp. 357-378; "Spis Żydów i Karaitów ziemi halickiej i powiatów trembowelskiego i kołomyjskiego w roku 1765", ed. M. Bałaban, *Archiwum Komisji Historycznej*, 11 (1909-1913), pp. 11-32; *Архивъ Югозападной Россіи издаваемый временною коммиссією для разбора древнихъ актовъ*, ч. 5, т. 2: Переписи еврейского населенія в Юго-Западном краѣ в 1765-1791 гг., Кіевъ 1890.
- 57 *Dyplomatarjusz dotyczący Żydów w dawnej Polsce, na źródłach archiwalnych osnuty (1388-1782)*, ed. M. Bersohn, Warszawa 1910; *Regesty dokumentów i ekscerpty z metryki koronnej do historii Żydów w Polsce (1697-1795)*, vol. 1-2, ed. M. Horn, Wrocław 1984-1988; *Jewish Privileges in the Polish Commonwealth*, vol. 1-3, ed. J. Goldberg, Jerusalem 1985-2001; *Acta Congressus Generalis Judeorum Regni Poloniae (1580-1764)*, ed. I. Halperin, Jerozolima 1945.
- 58 R. Mahler, *Żydzi w dawnej Polsce w świetle cyfr. Struktura demograficzna i socjalno-ekonomiczna Żydów w Koronie w XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1958; *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w XVIII i XIX w.*, Warszawa 1983 (especially pp. 11-25); J. Kalik, "Between the Census and the Poll-Tax: the Jewish Population of Crown Poland during the XVIIIth Century", *The Journal of European Economic History*, 36 (2001), no. 1, pp. 101-123.
- 59 I.a., M. Horn, *Żydzi na Rusi Czerwonej w XIV and pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1975; Z. Guldon, K. Krzystanek, *Żydzi w miastach lewobrzeżnej części województwa sandomierskiego w XVI-XVIII wieku. Studium osadniczo-demograficzne*, Kielce 1990; P. Fijałkowski, *Żydzi w województwach łęczyckim i rawskim w XV-XVIII wieku*, Warszawa, 1999; A. Leszczyński, *Żydzi ziemi bielskiej od połowy XVII wieku do 1795*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1980; Idem, "Zarys organizacji gminnej (kahalnej) województwa sandomierskiego od XV wieku do 1764 r.", in: *Ludność żydowska w regionie świętokrzyskim. Materiały z sesji naukowej w Starachowicach, 17 X 1987 r.*, ed. Z. Guldon, Kielce 1989, pp. 39-67; J. Muszyńska, *Żydzi w miastach województwa*

of Jewish communities is conducted by Yad Vashem in Jerusalem and the Museum of the History of the Polish Jews in Warsaw. It has produced, inter alia, an eight-volume encyclopedia of Jewish communities in Poland⁶⁰ and a recently published *Atlas of the History of Polish Jews* which includes Jacek Wijaczka's map of Jewish Communities in the Crown (1765).⁶¹ Also used to feature a network of synagogues were the works on synagogue architecture and building, with the major two-volume work by Maria and Kazimierz Piechotka⁶² about wooden and brick synagogues.

Regarding synthetic works which focus on the subject of settlement and organization of the Jews, including the geographic aspect of their presence in the Crown, still topical are the classical studies by Salo Baron,⁶³ Majer Bałaban,⁶⁴ Ig-

sandomierskiego i lubelskiego w XVIII w. Studium osadnicze, Kielce 1998; Z. Guldon, "Ludność żydowska w miastach województwa sandomierskiego w II połowie XVIII wieku", *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, 1982, no. 3-4, pp. 17-30; Idem, "Żydzi w miastach kujawskich w XVI-XVIII wieku", *Ziemia Kujawska*, 9 (1993), pp. 99-108; Z. Guldon, K. Krzysztanek, "Ludność żydowska w miastach powiatu wiślickiego w końcu XVIII wieku", *Studia Kieleckie*, 1983, no. 3/39, pp. 23-36; Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka, "Żydzi wśród chrześcijan w miastach wielkopolskich w okresie przedrozbiorowym", *Nasza Przeszość*, 79 (1993), pp. 149-197; W. Ćwik, "Ludność żydowska w miastach królewskich Lubelszczyzny w drugiej połowie XVIII w.", *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, 1966, no. 59, pp. 29-62; J. Krochmal, "Żydzi w miastach ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej w XVI-XVIII wieku", in: *Sąsiedztwo: osadnictwo na pograniczu etnicznym polsko-ukraińskim*, ed. J. Półciwiatek, Rzeszów 1997, pp. 55-67.

- 60 *Pinkas hakehillot Polin*, Jerusalem, 1976-2005 (in Hebrew). Used were the descriptions of individual kahals published by JewishGen website (access: *Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland*, <http://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/>, 8.02.2007, hereinafter: EJCP) and its abbreviated 3-volume version in English: *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, vol. 1-3, ed. S. Spector, G. Wigoder, New York 2001 (hereinafter EJL).
- 61 *Atlas historii Żydów polskich*, ed. W. Sienkiewicz, Warszawa 2010, p. 132. The Museum of the History of Polish Jews POLIN coordinates actions aimed at compiling historical information on all communities of the ancient Commonwealth, running Virtual Shtetl website (access: <http://www.sztetl.org.pl/>, 10 July 2010).
- 62 M. Piechotka, K. Piechotka, *Bramy Nieba. Bożnice drewniane na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 1996; M. Piechotka, K. Piechotka, *Bramy Nieba. Bożnice murywane na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 1999; also "Синагоги України", *Вісник інституту Укрзахідпроектреставрації*, 9 (1998).
- 63 S.W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, New York-London 1976.
- 64 М. Балабан, "Еврейский сейм в Польше или ваад Короны, и сеймики, или ваады округов", in: *История еврейского народа*, т. 11: История евреев в Польше и Литве, Москва 1914, pp. 161-180.

nacy Schipper⁶⁵ and Mojżesz Schorr.⁶⁶ The tradition of systemic and legal studies of the Polish Jews was recently followed by Anna Michałowska in her work on the communities in Poznań and Swarzędz.⁶⁷ An attempt to clarify complicated relations of subordination and hierarchy of the Crown Jews may be found in the work on the Jewish council by Anatol Leszczyński⁶⁸ and in many articles published in such collective studies as the *Jews in Ancient Commonwealth*⁶⁹ and the *Jews and Judaism in Modern Polish Research*.⁷⁰ More modest knowledge of the organization of the Jews in Royal Prussia included in the Polish historical literature has been partially supplemented by the works of German authors.⁷¹

Most of the representatives of the remaining two monotheistic religions, the Muslims and Karaites, lived in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In the territory of the Crown there were no more than a few Karaite synagogues (kenesas) and mosques. The Crown and Lithuanian Karaites have recently become the subject of a comprehensive study by Stefan Gąsiorowski where one may find a summary of the research on that subject.⁷² A list of Tatar “parishes” may be found in the work published by Stanisław Kryczyński⁷³ before World War II and a synthetic study by Jan Tyszkiewicz.⁷⁴

As this work falls within the scope of studies on the geographical history of religions and denominations, it is necessary to present separately the sources as well as dictionary and cartographic studies which allowed us to identify and situ-

65 I. Schipper, “Wewnętrzna organizacja Żydów w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej”, in: *Żydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej*, Warszawa 1933, vol. 1, pp. 81-110.

66 M. Schorr, “Organizacja Żydów w Polsce od najdawniejszych czasów aż do r. 1772”, *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 13 (1899), pp. 482-520, 734-775.

67 A. Michałowska, *Między demokracją a oligarchią. Władze gmin żydowskich w Poznaniu i Swarzędzu*, Warszawa 2000.

68 A. Leszczyński, *Sejm Żydów Korony 1623-1764*, Warszawa 1994.

69 *Żydzi w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. A. Link-Lenczowski, T. Polański, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1991.

70 *Żydzi i judaizm we współczesnych badaniach polskich*, vol. 1-4, Kraków 1997-2008.

71 M. Aschkewitz, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Westpreussen*, Marburg 1967; Idem, “Die Juden in Westpreussen am Ende der polnischen Herrschaft (1772)”, *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, 6 (1957), pp. 557-572; S. Echt, *Die Geschichte der Juden in Danzig, Leer/Ostfriesland* 1972; A. Heppner, I. Herzberg, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Juden und der jüdischen Gemeinden in den Posener Landen*, Koschmin 1904.

72 S. Gąsiorowski, *Karaimi w Koronie i na Litwie w XV-XVIII w.*, Kraków-Budapeszt 2008.

73 S. Kryczyński, *Tatarzy litewscy: próba monografii historyczno-etnograficznej*, Warszawa 1938.

74 J. Tyszkiewicz, *Tatarzy na Litwie i w Polsce*, Warszawa 1989.

ate the localities in which sacral facilities existed. The oldest sources of this type, which also show the borders of state administration, include the maps by Karol Perthées⁷⁵ and the map by Józef Jabłonowski and Giovanni Zannoni.⁷⁶ Of the nineteenth-century cartographic works most useful was the *Topographic Map of the Kingdom of Poland* (the so-called Quartermaster's Map) developed in 1822-43 (1:126 000) and a work by Wojciech Chrzanowski⁷⁷ of special importance to the Crown Ruthenia. Invaluable in the search of minor localities and hamlets have been the maps of the Military Geographical Institute (of 1:100 000 scale).

Apart from the above-mentioned maps by Litak (the Latin-rite Catholic Church), Budzyński (Polish-Ruthenian border regions), Merczyng (Evangelical churches), Israel Halperin and Wijaczka (Jews), an important place among cartographic works is taken by the *Historical Atlas of Poland*, beginning with a pre-war work on the Ruthenian lands by Aleksander Jabłonowski⁷⁸ and the Kraków palatinate during the Four Years' Diet,⁷⁹ and so far ending with a recently published volume also devoted to the Kraków palatinate, but in the sixteenth century.⁸⁰ The search for the places of worship in Royal Prussia is much easier owing to a map of church organization in 1785 authored by Ronald Ruprecht and Bernhart Jähmig⁸¹. In order to establish the administrative affiliation of a locality in the eighteenth century, it also proved necessary to use, apart from the above-mentioned maps, studies on territorial divisions of the Crown in the early

75 Karol de Perthées, *Polonia secundum legitimas projectionis stereographicae regulas et iuxta recentissimas observationes adhibitis*, 1770 (1:934 000) and a series of the so-called detailed maps of 1:225 000 scale of individual Crown palatinates.

76 Józef Aleksander Jabłonowski, Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni, *Carte de la Pologne*, 1772 (1:692 000).

77 *Karta dawnej Polski z przyległymi okolicami krajów sąsiednich*, ed. W. Chrzanowski, Paryż 1859.

78 *Ziemie Ruskie Rzeczypospolitej: epoka z przelomu wieku XVI-go na XVII-sty*, ed. A. Jabłonowski, Warszawa-Wiedeń 1889-1904 (Atlas historyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Dział 2).

79 *Mapa województwa krakowskiego z doby Sejmu Czteroletniego (1788-1792)*, ed. S. Buczek, Kraków 1930 along with the accompanying work published a little later: *Materiały do słownika historyczno-geograficznego województwa krakowskiego w dobie Sejmu Czteroletniego (1788-1792)*, ed. W. Semkowicz, fasc. 1-2, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1960.

80 See footnote 13.

81 See footnote 47.

modern times.⁸² Of the geographical inventories and indices the most important were the following: the *Geographical Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland and Other Slavic Countries*,⁸³ the *Dictionary of Geographical Names in Western and Northern Poland* by Stanisław Rospond⁸⁴ and the *Index of the Localities of the Commonwealth* by Tadeusz Bystrzycki.⁸⁵

3. Method and Structure

In order to conduct the geographical analysis of religious and denominational structures it was necessary to work out homogeneous criteria, a kind of typology of religious administrative units and sacral facilities located within their limits which had been referred to by the sources. That is why I decided to do without some criteria mentioned above (“religious community”, “religious group”) which were quite ambiguous and frequently hard to verify through historical sources. It was impossible to determine the formal and legal status of such numerous groups of people. Therefore it was necessary to look for an organizational factor common to all religions and denominations present in the territory of early modern Commonwealth. Since all those confessions, both Christian and non-Christian, had separate places of religious cult where their religious life concentrated, places of worship were chosen as the main element of geographical analysis.

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- 82 I.a., M. Крикун, *Адміністративно-територіальний устрій Правобережної України в XV-XVIII ст.: Кордони воєводств у світлі джерел*, Київ 1993; Idem, “Повітовий поділ Подільського воєводства в останній чверті XVI-XVIII ст.,” *Вісник Львівського університету. Серія історична*, 32 (1997), pp. 43-53; Idem, “Границі і повітовий поділ Брацлавського воєводства в 16–18 ст.,” *Історичні дослідження. Вітчизняна історія*, 8 (1982), pp. 88-99; S. Arnold, “Podziały administracyjne województwa sandomierskiego do końca XVIII wieku,” in: *Pamiętnik Świętokrzyski*, ed. A. Patkowski, Kielce 1931, pp. 56-63; K. Przyboś, “Granice ziemi lwowskiej (wraz z powiatem żydaczowskim),” *Rocznik Przemyski*, 35 (1999), fasc. 4: Historia, pp. 3-13; Idem, “Granice ziemi przemyskiej w czasach nowożytnych XVI-XVIII w.,” *Rocznik Przemyski*, 29-30 (1993-1994), fasc. 1-10, pp. 189-200; Idem, “Granice ziemi sanockiej w czasach nowożytnych,” *Rocznik Przemyski*, 32 (1996), fasc. 1, pp. 21-30.
- 83 *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, ed. F. Sulimierski, B. Chlebowski, W. Waleski, vol. 1-15, Warszawa 1880-1914 (hereinafter SGKP).
- 84 S. Rospond, *Słownik nazw geograficznych Polski zachodniej i północnej*, vol. 1-2, Warszawa 1951.
- 85 *Skorowidz miejscowości Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z oznaczeniem terytorialnie im właściwych urzędów oraz urzędzeń komunikacyjnych*, ed. T. Bystrzycki, Przemysł-Warszawa [1933].

The above-mentioned notions of “religious community” and “religious group” are used in the work but only in the context of sacral buildings which were the centres of such communities’ life. It should be remembered, however, that the activity of an early modern religious community is not necessarily tantamount to the existence of a separate place of worship. From time to time one comes across situations where, for example, two Protestant communities would use one building, or when a community would function without a place of worship for many years, availing itself only of private prayer houses. Religious groups (for example, Jewish, Armenian or Karaite) need to be analysed in the context of social system, or urban local government, and not only in the religious context.⁸⁶ This does not change the fact that the building of a separate place of religious cult was one of the fundamental tasks facing a fully-fledged religious community. This is why in cases where there is no direct information about a place of worship, any reference to a religious community has been treated as a hint that there could have been a sacral building in its locality. And vice versa – the existence of a place of worship was one of the tokens indicating the existence of a religious community.

However, any conclusions that a synagogue existed in some place solely based on the fact that a kahal was mentioned by the sources turned out to be highly disputable. Although historians tend to accept unequivocally that any item of the poll-tax census conducted over 1764-1765 is tantamount to the existence of a kahal, other sources and studies devoted to individual communities or synagogues recommend a more prudent approach to the data included in that source.⁸⁷

86 Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, p. 75; G.D. Hundert, “Kahal i samorząd miejski w miastach prywatnych w XVII i XVIII w.”, in: *Żydzi w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. A. Link-Lenczowski, T. Polański, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1991, pp. 66-74; T. Wyszomirski, “Z przeszłości zboru protestanckiego w Węgrowie w XVII i XVIII w.”, *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, 4 (1959), pp. 137-155. In his work devoted to Protestant churches in Wielkopolska A. Klemp makes a distinction between an Evangelical community and parish. The former was to rest on religious rather than territorial bonds as in the case of a parish. He also assumed that in parishes there was some kind of patronage, while religious communities were independent and free to choose their minister, and the principles of their internal operation, Klemp, *Protestanci w dobrach prywatnych w Prusach Królewskich*, pp. 144-146.

87 For example, a comparison of the data in the 1765 poll-tax census (“Liczbą głów”, p. 395) and the regulation of 1767 passed by the Commission of the Crown Treasury (*Acta Congressus Generalis*, p. LXXIX) about 22 kahals in the Pomorze palatinate with mentions of seven synagogues in Royal Prussia made by Roscius based on the very first Prussian censuses, Roscius, *Westpreussen von 1772 bis 1827 als Nachtrag zu den statistischen Übersichten in den Ortsverzeichnissen der Marien- werderschen und Danziger*

When working on the distribution of synagogues an attempt was made to verify information included in the above-mentioned poll-tax census. This, however, was not always possible. In respect to Judaism the sources allowing to study its organization and structures are not as systematic as, for example, in the case of the Latin or Uniate Church. Frequently, a mention of a kahal is the only token that a synagogue could have functioned in a specific location. In the absence of sources regarding the eighteenth century or in view of the difficulties in accessing to them, the issue of Hassidim temples (shtiebel and klaus) was omitted.⁸⁸

The term “sacral buildings”, frequently used in this work, stands for churches, temples and public sacral facilities of all religions and denominations. All private places of religious cult located at manor houses (private chapels, oratories), in houses and inns (private prayer houses) have been disregarded, as the sources are very imprecise in their regard. Private prayer houses certainly indicate the existence of a sort of religious community or group, however, their organizational status is hard to define. The sources indicate that a clear distinction was made in the eighteenth century between a private and public place of cult.⁸⁹ The second criterion (apart from the public nature of the facility) that qualified a place of worship to become the subject of this analysis was the architectural criterion stemming from the very definition of a place of worship as a building where religious cult could be practised. The adoption of those two interrelated factors may seem quite artificial. One should remember, however, that the main objec-

Regierungsbezirke, p. 248. Based on the Prussian cadastre, G. Dabbinus mentions only four rabbinical schools, G. Dabinnus, *Die ländische Bevölkerung Pommerellens im Jahre 1772 mit Einschluss der Danziger Landgebites im Jahre 1793*, Marburg/Lahn 1953, p. 16. Cf.: Aschkewitz, “Die Juden in Westpreussen”, pp. 569-570.

88 Ch. Shmeruk, “Chasydyzm i kahal”, in: *Żydzi w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej. Materiały z konferencji “Autonomia Żydów w Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej”*, Międzywydziałowy Zakład Historii i Kultury Żydów w Polsce Uniwersytet Jagielloński 22- 26.IX.1986, ed. A. Link-Lenczowski, T. Polański, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1991, pp. 60-61.

89 *Synagoga iudaeorum non est publica, sed est pro festis eorum privata in domo arendatorio*, AAL. Rep60 A103, k. 156v (Puchaczów, Lublin palatinate). Similar information on the Jews may be found, i.a., in Górzno (AAL. Rep60 A104, p. 94), Kazanów (AKMK. AV44, p. 32), Maciejowice (AAL. Rep60 A104, p. 70), Stężycza (AAL. Rep60 A104, p. 2). Also descriptions of Protestant oratoria include information if they were private or public: Bukowiec, Poznań palatinate (AAP. AV31, p. 650, 1778 – “oratorium publicum”), Bnin, Kalisz palatinate (AAP. AV31, pp. 312, 1777 – “oratorium publicum”), Jezierzycze, Poznań palatinate (AAP. AV32, pp. 1042-1043, 1778 – “oratorium privatum”), Opatówko, Gniezno palatinate (AAP. AV31, p. 123, 1777 – “oratorium privatum”).

tive of this work is to make geographical analysis of the structures, that is, the formal side of the operation of religions and denominations, whose indirect aim is to produce a certain picture of the distribution of the followers of individual religions.

The fact that the analysis was to cover both Christian and non-Christian confessions made it necessary to compare completely different organizational orders. It was not possible to adopt the distinction between parish and filial churches so frequently introduced in the analysis of Christian churches. It was much more convenient to adopt such terms as the “main place of worship” and “auxiliary place of worship”. The former refers to sacral facilities which are a centre of the basic territorial unit of every religion or denomination – in the case of Christian churches it would be a parish, in the case of Judaism or the Karaite confession – a kahal (kahal district), in the case of Muslims – a mosque (dzemiat). The other places of worship most frequently encountered in the Latin Church which do not have the parish status (for example, run by monasteries), or as in the case of Judaism – smaller synagogues in some cities (Lublin, Kazimierz), were covered by a common term of auxiliary places of worship. In the absence of clear-cut criteria defining mutual subordination of Jewish communities, resulting from the existence of kahals and branch kahals, I abandoned the idea to present the synagogues in consolidated statistics according to their hierarchy.⁹⁰ That problem was only indicated whenever the situation in individual palatinates was analysed.

As in the case of sacral facilities I have adopted a special system of generalization and the ensuing deliberate simplification of notions or classifications to facilitate the comparison or listing of frequently completely different structures of territorial organization of various religions or denominations. Hence the alternate use of such notions as the diocese and eparchy or deanery and governorship. As demonstrated by the tables that do not fully reflect the entire complexity of a structure, for sometimes in respect to the same denomination or rite it might have looked slightly different depending on the area. Accordingly, some table

90 Most frequently found in the literature is a three-tier hierarchy of Jewish communities, Schorr, “Organizacja Żydów w Polsce”, p. 500 (local, zemstvo and palatinate rabbis); J. Krochmal, *Krzyż i menora. Żydzi i chrześcijanie w Przemyślu w latach 1559-1772*, Przemyśl 1996, p. 500 (community, district and zemstvo rabbis), A. Leszczyński, “Nazewnictwo organów samorządu żydowskiego w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej do 1764 r.”, in: *Żydzi w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. A. Link-Lenczowski, T. Polański, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1991, p. 26 (like S. Dubnow and I. Halperin he divided communities into three categories: I – main kahals and zemstvo kahals, II – medium kahals, III – branch/minor kahals).

headings offer next to “deanery” such terms as “protopopy” or “governorship” which refer to the Uniate Church. The notion of “archdeaconry” also stands for “provostship” as a unit of the territorial administration of the Latin Church, as well as the “officialate” or “general governorship” in eastern rites. A three-tier division of territorial administration was introduced in the tables only with regard to the Latin and Uniate Churches. The statistical approach to synagogues inside individual zemstvo or district was abandoned as their exact number as well as territorial range are unknown. An additional difficulty presents itself due to the formal abolition of the Jewish autonomy, and of its territorial and local government units, in 1764. The additional interpretation of that problem would only result in further obscuring the issue.⁹¹ The issue of the territorial organization of Judaism in the eighteenth century calls for a separate monograph.

In respect to some issues regarding terminology it should be noted that the following terms were used interchangeably, mainly to avoid repetition, but with full awareness of their slightly different meanings: “Uniate”, “Greek-Catholic” or “Catholic of the eastern rite”. The same applies to the term “Calvinist” and “Evangelical Reformed Church” or “Lutheran” and the “Evangelical Augsburg Church”.

The analysis of the distribution of the places of worship of all religions and denominations in a vast territory (of more than 400 000 km²) and their high regional diversification made it necessary to introduce an internal division facilitating the presentation of this phenomenon. A narration according to individual religions would not have allowed the full use of the comparative method. On the other hand, it was not justified to adopt as a criterion the distribution of the structures of the Latin Church covering the entire territory of the Commonwealth due to the fact that in Crown Ruthenia a much greater role was played by the Greek-Catholic Church. Moreover, it could have resulted in an unintentional comparison of other denominations to the Latin Church. In view of the foregoing it was concluded that it would be best to adopt the division of state administration into provinces and palatinates, within the framework of which a quantitative, structural and geographical analysis of individual denominations was carried out. The proposed territorial division of the Commonwealth, and the corresponding two chapters (Chapter I. The Małopolska Province, Chapter II. The Wielkopolska Province), could be a subject of a separate historiographic discussion. It was not, however, the author’s intention to introduce an additional

91 The existing interpretations and approaches to the territorial organization of the Jews in the Crown in the second half of the eighteenth century were discussed in Chapter III.2: Density of sacral facilities.

element extending the text, but only to create a legible and clear geographical framework for geographical and religious analysis. There is certain downside to that approach in that the description is repetitive and schematic, slightly in the vein of Gloger's method of presentation. Nonetheless, it allowed the definition of the main features and the most important phenomena related to the shaping of the religious picture of the Crown at the end of its existence.

Chapter III of the work (Religious regionalization in the Crown) is an attempt to "isolate" from detailed territorial analysis the identifying and characteristic features of the religious and ethnic space of both provinces. It falls into three parts. Part one covers issues connected with the territorial range of all religions and denominations. Part two includes an analysis of the density of sacral facilities and religious administration units. The last part is an attempt to identify and characterize areas which were homogeneous or mixed in terms of religion. It includes most of the consolidated tables and maps.

The entire work ends with an Annex including short descriptions of all sacral facilities taken into account in the work. It is arranged in an alphabetical order of localities which are identified as either towns or villages with their administrative affiliation (palatinate). In each locality the sacral facilities were arranged according to religions and denominations. In the case of the Latin Church, the Uniate Church, the Catholic Church of the Armenian rite and the Orthodox Church their affiliation with corresponding units of religious territorial administration has been provided. The description of sacral buildings includes the type of place of worship (main, auxiliary) and building material, and in the case of Christian denominations – also its dedication, patronage and church type (for example, monastery, hospital). The name of a religious order is offered in the case of their own churches or those serviced by them. The description of each place of worship ends with information about the source

In formulating the main conclusions an important role has been played by methods of geostatistical analysis. Used in the work were both spatio-temporal databases and geoinformation software (Geographic Information Systems – GIS), as a set of tools to conduct the spatial analysis of compiled data. Both the method and its application tools create an opportunity to make a step forward compared to the existing classical cartographic presentation methods now used in historical geography. Nevertheless, the latter have also been used in this work.

The application of geostatistical analysis alongside the classical cartographic methods has much greater methodological consequences than it may seem. The main objective of the classical cartographic presentation methods was to present a phenomenon in the most accurate and diligent way, most frequently in the

form of a cartogram or cartodiagram. The method of squares may serve here as an example which has also been used in this work. It allows to calculate, for example, a number of places of worship in a specific area or an average space per sacral facility within the identified square. The geostatistical analysis offers more advanced methods of analysis of such discrete phenomena as the sacral facilities in this case. Most significant is the density analysis (or kernel density estimation – KDE). Its purpose is not only to determine precisely the density – in our case: of sacral facilities – but also to calculate the probability that a place of worship will be located in that particular spot. The result is presented on the generated density map. That procedure is interesting in that it is not a mere presentation, for example, of the density of temples, but that it allows to move from the presentation stage of a spatial phenomenon to cartographic modelling of the picture of the past. Its additional asset is that it allows to introduce various statistical and geographical parameters which determine the result of the analysis. Combining of cartographic and geostatistical methods allowed this work to incorporate the notions and methods used in present-day social and political studies, such as, for example, religious fractionalization.⁹²

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92 More on the subject of geostatistical methods and the parameters they use in Chapter III.

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Chapter I

Małopolska Province

As a province of state administration Małopolska was much bigger than the territory referred to by that name. Initially it extended as far as “the upper Wisłoka River in the east, in the vicinity of Rzeszów; north east of Nisko its border traversed the San River to continue more or less north from Biłgoraj”.¹ In the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the borders of the Małopolska province were considerably enlarged after the annexation of Red Ruthenia (Ruś Czerwona), Volhynia, Podolia and Ukraine by the Kingdom of Poland. In the aftermath of those developments in early modern times Małopolska as a province comprised 11 palatinates: Bełz, Braclaw, Czernichów – nominal,² Kiev, Kraków, Lublin, Podlasie, Podolia, Ruthenia, Sandomierz and Volhynia.³

Karol Buczek claims that “historical regions, provided they are of any historical value, should reproduce an objective historical reality, that is they should overlap with the units of state territorial organization that existed in the examined period”.⁴ As an administrative province Małopolska comprised two historical regions: Małopolska (the so-called Małopolska proper) and Crown Ruthenia. Małopolska proper, hereinafter referred to as Małopolska, included three palatinates: Kraków, Sandomierz and Lublin.⁵

1 S. Arnold, *Geografia historyczna Polski*, Warszawa 1951, p. 105.

2 The Czernichów palatinate established after the peace of Polanowo pursuant to the Diet resolution of 1635, was divided into two powiats: Czernichów and Nowogród. The Commonwealth lost those lands after the 1667 truce of Andruszowo, afterwards corroborated by the peace treaty of 1686, often named after its Polish negotiator, Krzysztof Grzymułtowski. The palatine's title and land offices continued to function until the end of the Commonwealth. The last palatine of Czernichów was Ludwik Wilga, Z. Gloger, *Geografia historyczna Polski*, Kraków 1903, pp. 269-270.

3 That division of Małopolska was offered by, i.a., primate Władysław Lubiński in his work *Świat we wszystkich swoich częściach większych y mniejszych*, Wrocław 1740, p. 408. Also see: A. Podraza, “Małopolska jako region historyczny (rozważania na łele zainteresowań historią regionalną)”, *Małopolska*, 1 (1999), pp. 27-28.

4 K. Buczek, “O regionach historycznych”, *Małopolskie Studia Historyczne*, 6 (1964), p. 147. According to J. Topolski “a historical region is the territory which as a certain entity may prove that it had its own history”, J. Topolski, “Pojęcie regionu historycznego. Cechy odrębności historycznej Wielkopolski”, in: *Dzieje Wielkopolski*, vol. 1: until 1793, ed. J. Topolski, Poznań 1969, p. 24.

5 This is how Małopolska was treated in, i.a., the historical description of Poland by A. Cellarius in 1659. (*Regni Poloniae, Magnique Ducatus Lituaniae. Omniumque re-*

Before analysing the religious make-up of Małopolska it is necessary to specify its geographical range, especially with regard to the affiliation of the Duchy of Siewierz and the land of Spisz. The cartographic and descriptive sources frequently included those territories in the Commonwealth.⁶ The connections between those lands, the Commonwealth and its church structures are indisputable. But as the entire work is based on the administrative and legal division of the old Commonwealth, it is also necessary to adopt a formal criterion.

The bishop's Duchy of Siewierz enjoyed territorial and juridical independence of the Crown. From the fifteenth century until 1790, until it was officially incorporated into the Commonwealth, it was the property of the bishops of Kraków.⁷ It had its own army, treasury and economy. That complete independence is underscored in *Liber ecclesiarum* of the Kraków diocese of 1787:

“Decanatus foranei **extra Regnum positi** [by the author] ad suffraganeatum tamen Cracoviensem pertinentes. Decanatus Severiensis cuius longitudo ad 4., latitudo ad 3. miliaria cum dimidio iuxta limites sui Ducatus et Baronatus Kozięłowiensis protenditur.”⁸

A little more complex was the history of the land of Spisz (Spiš). In 1412 sixteen Spisz towns were handed over to the Polish king, Władysław Jagiełło, as a pledge. The pledge did not cover the villages (located in that area) which were the property of the clergy and nobility. It was unique that it was part of two states at the same time (dependence by virtue of pledge). It should be born in mind, however, that the starosty of Spisz was not a compact territory, but that it consisted of four clusters of royal localities. Without going into strictly legal issues related to limited material rights, it is possible to assume that the starosty of Spisz was independent of Małopolska. It should also be added that in spite of the papal court's verdict passed in Wrocław in 1490 that had vested Poland with a perpetual pledge of that territory, throughout modern times Hungary contin-

gionum juri Polonico Subjectorum. Novissima descriptio, urbium potissimarum icones elegantissimas et delinitionem hujus regni geographicam oculis subjiciens studio, Amstelodami 1659, pp. 134-135).

- 6 “The Kraków palatinate comprises three duchies of Oświęcim, Zator and Siewierz, which are part of Silesia, and starosty of Spisz which is part of Hungary and covers thirteen cities of which most important is Lubowla with its fortified castle and sentries constantly on guard”, S. Starowolski, *Polska albo opisanie położenia Królestwa Polskiego*, Kraków 1976, p. 70.
- 7 A. Nowakowski, *Dzieje ustroju i prawa Księstwa Siewierskiego*, Warszawa 1993, p. 7; Z. Noga, *Słownik miejscowości Księstwa Siewierskiego*, Katowice 1994, p. 5.
- 8 *Liber ecclesiarum, beneficiorum, parochialium, monasteriorum dioecesis Cracoviensis in tres partes divisus – anno Domini 1787*, AKapMK. MS no. Reg. C. 14, p. 56.

ued its diplomatic efforts to recover that area. In 1769 the castles of Spisz were occupied by Austria. The situation of religions in Spisz will be discussed briefly because formally the starosty separated from the Commonwealth as late as 1772, at the time of the First Partition of Poland, after Maria Theresa had decided that it should be incorporated into Hungary.⁹

1. Małopolska

Established by King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk in 1474 after its detachment from the Sandomierz palatinate,¹⁰ in the eighteenth century the Lublin palatinate covered the area of 10 346 km² and consisted of three powiats: Lublin, Łuków and Urzędów.¹¹ In modern times its church structure was part of the Latin diocese of Kraków (the metropolitan province of Gniezno). Its borders generally overlapped with those of the Lublin archdeaconry and the Urzędów deanery, which was part of the Zawichost archdeaconry. The Lublin archdeaconry was one of the oldest units of that type in the Commonwealth. Przemysław Szafran moved its origins in time to the first half of the twelfth century even though it was first mentioned in 1198.¹² The area of the archdeaconry that we know from the second half of the eighteenth century had finally formed in the sixteenth century. The last important change by which it was

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- 9 S. Kuraś, "Spisz a Polska – od średniowiecza do I rozbioru Polski", *Almanach Nowotarski. Rocznik Społeczno-Kulturalny*, 2 (1997), p. 22; J. Kurtyka, "Starostwo spiskie (1412-1769/70)", in: *Terra Scepusiensis. Stan badań nad dziejami Spiszu*, Levoca-Wrocław 2003, pp. 504-505, 514.
- 10 W. Ćwik, J. Reder, *Lubelszczyzna. Dzieje rozwoju terytorialnego, podziałów administracyjnych i ustroju władz*, Lublin 1977, pp. 33-34.
- 11 *Województwo lubelskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, pp. 22, 26. In the introduction to the list of officials of the Lublin palatinate in the 16th-18th centuries A. Gąsiorowski claims that the powiat of Urzędów was formally abolished in 1565, *Urzędnicy województwa lubelskiego XVI-XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. W. Kłaczewski, W. Urban, Kórnik 1991, p. 5. Other studies and maps register three powiats in the Lublin palatinate, M. Stankowa, "Powiat urzędowski w Polsce przedrozbiorowej pod względem ustrojowo-prawnym", in: *Z dziejów powiatu kraśnickiego. Materiały sesji naukowej*, ed. K. Myśliński, J. Szaflik, Lublin 1964, p. 49; L. Müllerowa, "Stan osadnictwa i stosunki własnościowe w powiecie urzędowskim w ostatnich latach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej", in: *Z dziejów powiatu kraśnickiego. Materiały sesji naukowej*, ed. K. Myśliński, J. Szaflik, Lublin 1964, p. 181.
- 12 On the Lublin archdeaconry in the Middle Ages, see: T. Silnicki, *Organizacja archidiaconatu w Polsce*, Lwów 1927, pp. 64, 112-113; P. Szafran, *Rozwój średniowiecznej sieci parafialnej w Lubelskiem*, Lublin 1958, pp. 34-36, 103; A. Rozwałka, *Sieć osadnicza w archidiaconacie lubelskim w średniowieczu. Studium archeologiczno-historyczne*, Lublin 1999, pp. 21-23.

affected was the detachment of the land of Łuków from the Radom archdeaconry and incorporation into the Lublin archdeaconry. In Stanisław Litak's opinion that occurred in 1577-1595.¹³ The incorporation of the land of Łuków into the Lublin archdeaconry may be interpreted as a consequence of the century-earlier establishment of the Lublin palatinate which covered the land of Łuków.

An opinion is propounded in historiography that archdeaconries located in eastern border regions of the Kraków diocese, including that of Zawichost, were established at the same time (before 1171) by Bishop Gedko. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Zawichost archdeaconry was divided into the three deaneries of Zawichost, Opatów and Urzędów, of which the initial two were situated in the Sandomierz palatinate, and the last of them in the Lublin palatinate.¹⁴

Two Latin parishes located in the south-eastern part of the Lublin palatinate belonged to the Chełm diocese (Turobin deanery). They were Biłgoraj and Sól (Puszcza Solska).¹⁵ A question arises about the origins of that affiliation. There was a discussion at the Department of Historical Atlas at the Institute of History (Polish Academy of Sciences) on the border between the Ruthenian and Lublin palatinates in the sixteenth century. Initially, that is in 1966, Stefan Wojciechowski assumed that the border of the Lublin palatinate running along the land of Przemyśl changed in the second half of the sixteenth century. In his opinion the area around Biłgoraj was initially part of the Ruthenian palatinate, and later on, in 1578, when the town was granted its city status, it was incorporated into the Lublin palatinate.¹⁶ That view was upheld by Jerzy Reder in his work devoted to the administration of the Lublin region.¹⁷ In his discussion of the map of the

13 S. Litak, "Formowanie sieci parafialnej w Łukowskim do końca XVI wieku. Studium geograficzno-historyczne", *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 12 (1964), fasc. 2, p. 26; S. Litak, "Sieć parafialna archidjakoconatu radomskiego w okresie przedrozbiorowym", *Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego KUL*, 9 (1958), pp. 102-107. Other, minor changes included the transfer of the parishes in Kock and Czemierniki from the Radom archdeaconry (Kielce deanery) to the Lublin archdeaconry pursuant to a decree issued by bishop Piotr Tomicki in 1531, and later on, in the eighteenth century, of the parishes of Łysobyki, Jaroszyn and Regów situated in the Sandomierz palatinate, Kumor, *Dzieje diecezji krakowskiej*, vol. 4, p. 63.

14 Kumor, *Dzieje diecezji krakowskiej*, vol. 4, p. 54.

15 The parish at Biłgoraj was at first affiliated with the Turobin deanery in the Chełm diocese since 1624, *Synody diecezji chełmskiej obrządku łacińskiego z XVI-XVIII w. i ich statuty*, ed. J. Sawicki, Lublin 1957 (Concilia Poloniae, vol. 9), p. 175; AAL. Rep60 A109, f. 70 (list of churches in 1640).

16 *Województwo lubelskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, p. 25.

17 Ćwik, Reder, *Lubelszczyzna*, p. 37.

Sandomierz palatinate in the sixteenth century Władysław Pałucki revised that opinion claiming that the area around Biłgoraj was part of the Lublin palatinate as early as the fifteenth century.¹⁸ He argued that the sources did not mention that the border between the Lublin and Ruthenian palatinates had been relocated in the sixteenth century. The affiliation of Sól (Puszcza Solska) and Biłgoraj with the Chełm diocese may, however, indicate historical ties of those areas with the Ruthenian palatinate which, indirectly, corroborate Wojciechowski's proposition.

Among 167 Catholic churches located in the area of the Lublin palatinate there was one collegiate church (of St. Michael in Lublin), 31 monastery churches (four parish and 27 filial churches) and four parishes serviced by religious orders (Puchaczów and Wąwolnica by the Benedictines, Zakrzówek by the Cistercians and Dys by the Missionaries). The filial churches included 13 hospital churches.

Table 1: The number of places of worship in the Lublin palatinate circa 1772

Religions and denominations	Diocese/ Eparchy	Archdeaconry/ Officialate	Deanery/ Protopopy/ Governorship	Main places of worship	Auxiliary places of worship
Calvinist				2	-
Uniate (Greek Catholic)	Chełm	Chełm	Lublin	10	-
			Szczebrzeszyn	5	-
				15	-
Latin (Roman Catholic)	Chełm	-	Turobin	2	-
			Kraków	Lublin	Chodel
	Kazimierz	11			9
	Łuków	12			10
	Parczew	21			10
				65	59
	Zawichost	Urzędów	20	21	
				85	80
				87	80
Lutheran				1	-
Jewish				34	5
Total				139	85

18 *Województwo sandomierskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, p. 39

The Jews prevailed among religious minorities of the Lublin palatinate (*inter alia*, their communities in Lublin, Parczew, Łuków or Kock). We owe a list of all Jewish communities in the Lublin palatinate and the analysis of their development in modern times to Jadwiga Muszyńska. Most of the communities registered in the second half of the eighteenth century had been established in early modern times, mainly in the sixteenth century. The oldest Jewish communities in the Lublin region lived in Lublin, Kazimierz Dolny and Łęczna. According to Muszyńska in 1765 there were 36 Jewish communities in the Lublin palatinate (in the Lublin powiat – 19, Łuków powiat – 5, Urzędów powiat – 12).¹⁹

The list of Jewish communities was compiled mainly based on the works by Rafał Mahler as well as Zenon Guldon and Lech Stępkowski who relied, first of all, on the *Number of Jewish Heads in the Crown Based on the 1765 Tax Registers*.²⁰ However, after more in depth analysis it turns out that the source does not always offer completely precise information. Not all localities listed there should be unequivocally identified as Jewish communities (kahals) with synagogues. For instance, Zbuczyn located in the Łuków land. According to all the above-mentioned authors in the eighteenth century there was an organized Jewish community.²¹ There certainly was a Jewish community there, which according to a 1748 visitation was populated by 106 people (20 houses),²² according to a 1765 poll tax register – 122 people,²³ and according to the 1787 population census in the Kraków diocese – 78 people.²⁴ However, there is no other information either about a synagogue or the community at the eighteenth-century Zbuczyn. Had there been either a synagogue or a prayer house it certainly would have been mentioned after the visitations of 1748 and 1781,

19 Muszyńska, *Żydzi w miastach województwa sandomierskiego i lubelskiego*, pp. 116, 125, 128, 138, 199-201. One of the oldest registers of Jewish settlements in the Commonwealth was discussed by M. Horn, “Najstarszy rejestr osiedli żydowskich w Polsce z 1507 r.”, *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, 3 (91), 1974, pp. 11-15.

20 Z. Guldon, L. Stępkowski, “Spis ludności żydowskiej z 1790 r.”, *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, 1986, fasc. 3-4, pp. 126-130; “Liczba głów”, pp. 388-407; Also see: S. Jop, “Taryffa głów żydowskich w województwie lubelskim z 1778 roku”, in: *Religie – edukacja – kultura. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana Profesorowi Stanisławowi Litakowi*, ed. M. Surdacki, pp. 143-153.

21 “Liczba głów”, p. 399; Muszyńska, *Żydzi w miastach*, p. 127.

22 AKMK. AV41, f. 47.

23 “Liczba głów”, p. 399.

24 *Spis ludności diecezji krakowskiej prymasa M.J. Poniatowskiego z 1787 r.*, ed. B. Kumor, Lublin 1977-1979 (offprint from *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne*, vols 35-39), p. 150.

very much like in the case of Siedlce,²⁵ Łuków,²⁶ and Radzyń.²⁷ Equally doubtful is the existence of an independent community with a synagogue in the town of Wysokie near Krasnystaw.²⁸ There is no doubt that there was a prayer house there, but according to the encyclopaedia of Jewish communities in Poland there was never a synagogue or an independent community in that locality.²⁹ The same applies to Urzędów and Puchaczów in the second half of the eighteenth century.³⁰

Apart from 34 kahal synagogues – not including the communities at Zbuczyn and Wysokie added to the list of Jewish communities in the Lublin palatinate compiled by Muszyńska – the sources mention minor synagogues of auxiliary nature located in the Jewish communities of Lublin and Kraśnik. These are four synagogues in Lublin³¹ and the so-called small synagogue at Kraśnik.³²

25 AKMK. AV41, f. 26; AAL. Rep60 A104, p. 296; AAL. Rep60 A179, f. 186v; Liczba głów, p. 398; EJL. III, pp. 1176-1178; see: E. Kopówka, *Żydzi siedleccy*, Siedlce 2001, p. 10.

26 AKMK. AV41, f. 9v; “Liczba głów”, p. 398; AAL. Rep60 A104, p. 233 (wooden synagogue); EJL. II, pp. 765-766.

27 ADS. D136, ff. 32v-33, 43v; AKK. AV41, f. 19v; “Liczba głów”, p. 398; AAL. Rep60 A104, p. 253; EJCP. VII, pp. 543-547.

28 Muszyńska, *Żydzi w miastach*, p. 133.

29 “There was never an independent Jewish community in Wysokie, which came under that of Krasnystaw, in whose cemetery Jews from Wysokie were also interred. Nor was there a synagogue in Wysokie, and on the Sabbath and Holydays the congregation gathered in a private house”, “Wysokie”, in: EJCP. VII, pp. 169-170.

30 AKK. AV45, f. 87, 1748; AAL. Rep60 A103, f. 156v, 1748 (“Synagoga iudaeorum non est publica, sed est pro festis eorum privata in domo arendatorio”). A list of Jewish communities in the Lublin palatinate was extended in the recently published *Atlas historii Żydów polskich* (J. Wijaczka, “Od połowy XVII po schyłek XVIII w.”, in: *Atlas historii Żydów polskich*, ed. W. Sienkiewicz, Warszawa 2010, pp. 132-134), but it does not offer the sources. It includes the communities at: Tuchowicz, Michów, Firlejów, Rudno, Kamionka, Wąwolnica, Kluczkowice, Chodel, Prawno and Radomyśl. The branch kahals at Michów and Wąwolnica are also mentioned by S. Jop (*Taryffa głów żydowskich*, p. 144), without any sources, however.

31 Synagogues: Kotler (Hirsch Doktorowicz), Gońców “Leifer” (Saul Wahl), Parnes (Abraham Heilpern), Maharama (Meir ben Gedalia), R. Kuwałek, *Lubelskie synagogi* (dostęp: <http://www.tnn.lublin.pl>, 3.04.2007); EJCP. VII, pp. 13-38; M. Bałaban, *Żydowskie miasto w Lublinie*, Lublin 1991, pp. 109-116; Also see: S. Wojciechowski, “Gmina żydowska w Lublinie w XVI w.”, *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, 1952, no. 2, pp. 204-230.

32 A. Michałowska, *Szlakiem najstarszych synagog w Polsce: Podlasie i Lubelszczyzna* (access: <http://www.mowiaiwieki.pl/>, 4.04.2007). Also see: T. Opas, “Sytuacja ludności żydowskiej w miastach szlacheckich województwa lubelskiego”, *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, 1968, no. 67, pp. 3-37; Ćwik, “Ludność żydowska”, pp. 29-62;

In the east of the Łuków and Lublin powiats there were Uniate churches which were part of the Uniate Chełm diocese (in the Kiev-Vilnius metropolitan province) and belonged to two deaneries of Lublin and Szczepieszyn.³³ In all there were 15 parish churches, including one run by a monastery. The church of the Transfiguration of the Lord in Lublin, which was administered by the Basilian Monks, was the westernmost place of worship of the Uniate Church in that area. It was also the only brick Uniate church in the Lublin palatinate; the other ones were wooden. The presence of the Uniate Church in a few localities of the Lublin palatinate is a part of the problem with the range of that Church in the entire Commonwealth. Those areas may be recognized as the territory marking the western limit of the Uniate Church in that region of the Commonwealth in the second half of the eighteenth century. Its boundary ran along such rivers as, *inter alia*, Tyśmienica and Pivonia.

In the second half of the eighteenth century there were also a few organized Protestant communities in the Lublin palatinate. They were the remnants of a strong reformist movement described by Aleksander Kossowski³⁴ before World War II. The strongest Protestant centre, and also a centre of religious life of the Evangelicals from Lublin, was located at Piaski – sometimes referred to as Lutheran Piaski. There were two churches there: those of the Augsburg and the Reformed confessions.³⁵ There was also a community of Reformed Evangelicals at Bełżyce.³⁶

In the Lublin palatinate (10 346 km²) there was one place of worship per circa 46 km². In that area the structures of the Latin Catholic Church clearly prevailed – there was one church per 62 km²: one parish church per 119 km², and one filial church per 129 km². The places of worship of the Uniate Church were rare and far apart and they were mostly located in the eastern regions of the palatinate.

J. Morgenstern, “Z dziejów Żydów w Kraśniku do połowy XVII wieku”, *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, 1960, no. 34, pp. 81-82.

33 Gil, *Chełmska diecezja unicka*, map: *Chełmska diecezja unicka w 1772 r.*; S. Jop, *Zasiedlenie pojezierza w rejonie Ostrowa Lubelskiego (XIII-XVIII w.)*, Lublin 1998, p. 124.

34 A. Kossowski, *Protestantyzm w Lublinie i w Lubelskiem w XVI i XVII wieku*, Lublin 1933, pp. 221-224.

35 AAL. Rep60 A103, f. 177, 1748; AAL. Rep60 A104, p. 597, 1781; Merczyng, “Zbory i senatorowie”, pp. 192-193; Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, p. 65; K. Bem, “Zarys dziejów zboru ewangelicko-reformowanego w Piaskach Luterskich (Wielkich) koło Lublina 1563-1649-1849”, *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, 43 (1999), p. 94.

36 AAL. Rep60 A103, f. 213; AAL. Rep60 A105, p. 243; Merczyng, “Zbory i senatorowie”, pp. 170-171; Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, p. 60.

The domination of the Uniate Church began a few dozen kilometres east of Lublin, in the Chełm land and diocese. Dispersed around the entire palatinate were Jewish kahals (one kahal per 304 km²). The life of Protestants concentrated at Piaski and Bełżyce near Lublin. In Lublin the Protestant structures were reconstructed as late as the first half of the nineteenth century.

Most sacral buildings of the Lublin palatinate were located in towns (134 out of 224, or circa 59.8 percent). In Lublin alone (excluding Wieniawa, Piaski and Kalinowszczyzna) there were 26 of them – 20 of the Latin Church, one of the Uniate Church and six synagogues. There were, naturally, differences among individual denominations. Most Latin parish churches were located in villages, and the filial ones – in towns. Which was partly due to the fact that as many as 23 Latin filial churches, including those run by monks, were located in Lublin alone.³⁷ Kahals had their synagogues in towns which was a characteristic feature of the entire Jewish settlement in the old Commonwealth. Only at Włostowice, because Kalinowszczyzna and Piaski Żydowskie should be treated as the suburbs of Lublin, a synagogue was located in the village.³⁸ As written above the Uniate churches were scarce – six of them were located in towns and nine in villages.

The nature of the patronage over Catholic and other places of worship was determined by the settlement structure and it allows to identify actors accountable for the build of church facilities in an area. Christian churches located in the Lublin palatinate – the Latin, Uniate and Protestant ones – were mainly under the patronage of the nobility.³⁹ The predominance of noble proprietorship in the Lublin region was demonstrated by Wojciechowski when he was working on the map of the Lublin palatinate. He counted that in the second half of the sixteenth century circa 83 percent of all settlements of that palatinate were the property of the nobility.⁴⁰ The research on the Łuków powiat conducted by Litak⁴¹ showed a close correlation between the development of settlement network and the process of the shaping of church organization.

37 In the Lublin palatinate there were 37 town parishes and 51 village parishes; 55 filial churches were located in towns and 24 in villages.

38 AKMK. AV43, f. 6; I, p. 399.

39 Out of 104 Latin churches whose patronage is known, 22 were under the patronage of the clergy, 11 - of the king, 63 - of nobility, 3 - of burghers, and 5 had mixed patronage. Out of 15 Uniate churches 8 were under the noble and 6 under the royal patronage (the patronage of one of them is unknown). The Protestant churches were in the care of noble families.

40 *Województwo lubelskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, p. 32.

41 Litak, "Formowanie sieci parafialnej", p. 127.

The Sandomierz palatinate emerged from a former medieval duchy. According to Zygmunt Gloger the origins of the duchy that united the lands of Sandomierz and Lublin began during King Władysław Łokietek's reign. In the fifteenth century it comprised nine powiats. Two of them, those of Tarnów and Szydłów, were annexed by neighbouring powiats in the second half of the fifteenth century in the aftermath of the reform of land courts. In the early modern period the palatinate consisted of seven powiats: Sandomierz, Wiślica, Chęciny, Opoczno, Radom, Stężyca and Pilzno.⁴² In the second half of the eighteenth century it had an area of 26 144 km².⁴³

All Roman-Catholic churches of the Sandomierz palatinate,⁴⁴ apart from two,⁴⁵ were part of the Kraków and Gniezno dioceses. Most of the palatinate belonged to the Kraków diocese (the powiats of Sandomierz, Wiślica, Pilzno, the land of Stężyca and parts of the Radom and Chęciny powiats). The north-

42 Gloger, *Geografia historyczna*, pp. 187-188; *Urzędnicy województwa sandomierskiego XVI-XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. K. Chłapowski, A. Falniowska-Gradowska, Kórnik 1993, p. 5; Arnold, "Podziały administracyjne województwa sandomierskiego", pp. 61-62.

43 Cf. *Województwo sandomierskie w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, pp. 45, 48, 75.

44 The history of the Latin Church in the Sandomierz palatinate is quite well known mainly owing to the studies by A. Dunin-Wąsowicz ("Granice administracji kościelnej", in: *Województwo sandomierskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, pp. 50-64), E. Wiśniewski (*Prepozytura wiślicka do schyłku XVIII wieku*), B. Kumor ("Prepozytura tarnowska"; "Archidiakoniat sądecki"), S. Litak ("Sieć parafialna archidiakonatu radomskiego"), W. Kowalski (*Uposażenie parafii archidiakonatu sandomierskiego w XV-XVIII wieku*, Kielce 1998), S. Jopa ("Sieć parafialna archidiakonatu sandomierskiego do końca XVI wieku", *Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego KUL*, 1953-1956, pp. 154-158). One cannot overlook the works by J. Wiśniewski partly devoted to the area of the Sandomierz palatinate (i.a., *Historyczny opis kościołów, miast, zabytków i pamiątek w pińczowskiem, skłabmierskiem i wiślickiem*, Marjówka 1927; *Historyczny opis kościołów, miast, zabytków i pamiątek w powiecie włoszczowskim*, Marjówka Opoczyńska 1932).

45 The parish church at Łaskarzew belonged to the Garwolin deanery of the Poznań diocese, and the church of the Franciscan order at Smardzewice – to the Wolbórz deanery of the Włocławek diocese. Initially situated in the Kraków diocese, Łaskarzew was the property of the Poznań bishopric. It was incorporated into the Poznań diocese after the city had been granted its city rights in 1418 by the bishop of Poznań, Andrzej Łaskarz of Gosławice. According to B. Kumor it was incorporated into the Poznań diocese between 1470 and 1621, Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, p. 61. J. Nowacki is of a different opinion and argues that the city became part of the Poznań diocese in 1420-1424, Nowacki, *Dzieje archidiecezji poznańskiej*, vol. 2, p. 545. The same happened with Smardzewice which was part of the Włocławek diocese as the property of the bishops of Kujawy, *Regestr diecezjów*, p. 864.

western part of the palatinate, that is the Opoczno powiat and the western areas of the Radom and Chęciny powiats, was in the Gniezno archdiocese.⁴⁶ According to Karol Potkański, in this region the border between the Kraków and Gniezno archdioceses ran along ancient tribal divisions.⁴⁷

As for the Kraków diocese, the territory of the Sandomierz palatinate contained the entire Kielce deanery and provostship,⁴⁸ Tarnów provostship,⁴⁹ and Sandomierz archdeaconry.

Apart from three parishes of the Sokolin deanery (Działoszyce, Sancygniów and Skalmierz) which were located in the Kraków palatinate,⁵⁰ the Sandomierz palatinate also covered all other churches of the Wiślica provostship. These were the church administration units excluded from the area of the Kraków archdeaconry between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. Established earliest of all were the Sandomierz and Radom archdeaconries (Kielce deanery) and the Wiślica as well as the Kielce provostships whose establishment is attributed to Bishop Gedko (before 1171).⁵¹ The Tarnów provostship was organized at the beginning of the fifteenth century as a result of a policy pursued by the Tarnowski family.⁵² The other church units – the archdeaconries of Kraków, Lublin, Sącz, Wojnica and Zawichost – were part of both the Sandomierz and neighbouring palatinates, such as Lublin or Kraków, and they will be briefly discussed when the other palatinates of Małopolska are analysed.

46 Dunin-Wąsowicz, “Granice administracji kościelnej”, pp. 63-64.

47 K. Potkański, *Granice biskupstwa krakowskiego*, Kraków 1900, p. 22. Also see: S. Arnold, “Terytorja plemienne w ustroju administracyjnym Polski piastowskiej (w XII-XIII)”, in: *Prace Komisji dla Atlasu Historycznego Polski*, fasc. 2, Kraków 1927, pp. 91-92.

48 Only the parish of Głowaczów, relocated from Leżenice (the Zwolen deanery) circa the mid-fifteenth century, belonged to the Mazowsze palatinate, Litak, “Sieć parafialna archidiaconatu radomskiego”, p. 106.

49 The parish at Rygllice initially belonged to the Kraków archdeaconry. In 1616 Bishop Piotr Tylicki incorporated it along with six other parishes into the Tarnów provostship, Kumor, *Dzieje diecezji krakowskiej*, vol. 4, p. 27. Although on his map of *Polonia* Karol de Perthées included Rygllice in the Sandomierz palatinate, this is not corroborated by seventeenth century sources, Z. Guldon, L. Stępkowski, Z. Trawicka, “Rejestr poborowy powiatu pilzneńskiego z 1629 r.”, *Kieleckie Studia Historyczne*, 2 (1977), pp. 211-283; *Rejestr poborowy województwa krakowskiego z roku 1629*, ed. W. Domin et al., Wrocław 1956, p. 258; *Rejestr poborowy województwa krakowskiego z roku 1680*, ed. E. Trzyna, S. Żyga, Wrocław 1959, p. 283.

50 *Rejestr diecezjów*, pp. 350, 352-353.

51 Kumor, *Dzieje diecezji krakowskiej*, vol. 4, pp. 45, 76, 81.

52 Kumor, “Prepozytura tarnowska”, pp. 10-11.

Situated in the territory of the Sandomierz palatinate was nearly entire Kurzelów archdeaconry of the Gniezno archdiocese.⁵³ Established before 1306, it was to become part of the Gniezno archdiocese as a compensation for the losses due to the establishment of the Włocławek diocese in the twelfth century.⁵⁴ The Sandomierz palatinate also covered a parish church serviced by the Order of the Holy Sepulchre at Łęgonice which was under the Rawa deanery in the Gniezno archdiocese. This might have been due to the fact that it had been established by Primate Mikołaj Trąba in 1421 and then its administration was handed over to the Order of the Holy Sepulchre at Miechów. Located on the other bank of the Pilica River was Łęgonice Duże with its own parish church, also belonging to the Rawa Mazowiecka deanery.⁵⁵

It should be emphasized that the number of church administration units – deaneries and archdeaconries – was by far higher in the Sandomierz palatinate than in the Lublin palatinate, even though the area of the former was larger by one third. In the second half of the eighteenth century there were 650 Latin places of worship in the Sandomierz palatinate. The percentage of parish churches in the total number of sacral facilities was also higher (61.2 percent) than in the Lublin palatinate (52.1 percent), which demonstrates that the network of parishes was better organized in the Sandomierz region.⁵⁶ Of 398 parish churches ten were run by monasteries (including a collegiate church in Sandomierz dedicated to the Visitation of Virgin Mary, which was also a place of worship of the Apostolic Union of Secular Priests) and 11 were serviced by religious orders. Of 252 filial churches, 43 belonged to monasteries and three were serviced by monks. In the Sandomierz palatinate there were 48 hospital churches.

53 The parishes at Cierno and Kuczków were part of the Kraków palatinate, at Jasionna, Wyśmierzyce, Stromiec, Białobrzegi (deanery of Przytyk) – of the Mazowsze palatinate, at Maluszyn, Chełmo, Konięcpol, Wielgomłyny, Niedoszpelin (deanery of Kurzelów) – of the Sieradz palatinate, see the Annex.

54 Abraham, *Organizacja Kościoła w Polsce*, p. 64; Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, pp. 33-34; B. Kumor, “Gnieźnieńska archidiecezja. Archidiakonaty i oficjalaty”, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 5, ed. L. Bienkowski i in., Lublin 1989, col. 1181.

55 Łęgonice was the property of the Gniezno archbishops as early as 1136. In 1420, on the right bank of the Pilica River Mikołaj Trąba established a town under the Magdeburg law. Since then there are a village of Łęgonice, the so-called Łęgonice of Rawa, and the city of Łęgonice, the so-called Łęgonice of Opoczno, J. Wiśniewski, *Dekanat opoczyński*, Radom 1913, pp. 92-93.

56 Litak, *Kościół łaciński*, p. 69.

The Jews were the most prominent religious minority in the Sandomierz palatinate.⁵⁷ In her study devoted to Jewish communities in Małopolska, Muszyńska divided the Sandomierz palatinate in two parts. The first one covers that area of the palatinate which remained in the Commonwealth after the First Partition (the powiats of Radom, Chęciny, Opoczno, Stężyca and a major part of Sandomierz and Wiślica), and the second one, referred to as the interfluvial zone situated between the Vistula and San Rivers – the lands of which the Commonwealth was deprived after 1772 (the powiats of Pilzno and a part of the Sandomierz and Wiślica powiats). Her decision was dictated by different source bases regarding the two parts.⁵⁸ The table below features a list of communities mentioned in that study. It does not include the communities at Osiek and Zawichost as they were first mentioned by the sources in 1787-1790⁵⁹.

In major Jewish centres, which undoubtedly included Nowy Korczyn and Pińczów,⁶⁰ apart from the kahal synagogue there were also other synagogues. For example, at Pińczów, apart from the main brick synagogue built according to various authors either in the sixteenth (circa 1557)⁶¹ or seventeenth⁶² century, in the eighteenth century there were two more places of worship: a brick and

57 Guldon, “Ludność żydowska w miastach województwa sandomierskiego”, pp. 17-29; Guldon, Krzystanek, “Ludność żydowska w miastach powiatu wiślickiego”, pp. 23-36.

58 Muszyńska, *Żydzi w miastach*, p. 19.

59 Ibid, pp. 71-72.

60 Nowy Korczyn and Pińczów were the largest centres of Jewish population in the Sandomierz palatinate. As evidenced by the number of people registered both by “Liczba głów żydowskich w Koronie in 1765” and *Spis ludności diecezji krakowskiej* from 1787. In the middle of the eighteenth century the number of the Jews at Pińczów was higher than the number of Catholics, and was said to be of nearly 5000 people, Wiśniowski, *Prepozytura wiślicka*, p. 66. Which number seems to be overstated. According to *Spis ludności diecezji krakowskiej* commissioned by bishop Poniatowski in 1787 the town was inhabited by 1877 Jews, i.e., they accounted for 60.1 percent of the total population. The data regarding the number of the Jews at Nowy Korczyn are inconsistent. According to the 1765 “Liczba głów żydowskich w Koronie” (p. 394) there were 1536 Jews in the Korczyn kahal. According to the visitation of 1783 the city was inhabited by 2500 Jews and 1975 Catholics (Wiśniowski, *Prepozytura wiślicka*, pp. 185, 188), and the 1787 *Spis ludności diecezji krakowskiej* (pp. 21, 96) mentions only 499 Jews and 1030 Catholics. See: Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka, “Ludność Pińczowa w XVI-XVIII wieku”, in: *Ludność żydowska w regionie świętokrzyskim. Materiały z sesji naukowej w Starachowicach, 17 X1987 r.*, ed. Z. Guldon, Kielce 1989, pp. 53, 59.

61 Pińczów (access: http://www.izrael.badacz.org/zydzi_w_polsce/katalog_swietokrzyskie_pinczow.html, 22.06.2007).

62 EJL. II, p. 990.

Table 2: The number of places of worship in the Sandomierz palatinate circa 1772

Religions and denominations	Diocese/ Eparchy	Archdeaconry/ Officialate	Deanery/ Protopopy/ Governorship	Main places of worship	Auxiliary places of worship	
Calvinist				5	-	
Uniate (Greek Catholic)	Przemyśl	-	Dukla	6	-	
Latin (Roman Catholic)	Gniezno	Kurzaków	Kurzaków	11	9	
			Małogoszcz	15	7	
			Opoczno	13	6	
			Przytyk	10	2	
			Skrzynno	13	13	
			Żarnów	11	5	
			73	42		
		Łowicz	Rawa Mazowiecka	1	-	
			74	42		
		Kraków	Kielce Deaconry	Radom	Radom	14
	Stężyca				18	3
	Zwoleń				15	8
				47	21	
	Kielce Provostship		Bodzentyn	Bodzentyn	22	20
				Kunów	16	13
				38	33	
	Kraków		Jędrzejów	Jędrzejów	2	1
				Opatowiec	21	11
				23	12	
	Lublin		Kazimierz	Kazimierz	3	2
Łuków				2	2	
Parczew				1	-	
Solec			10	10		
	16		14			
Nowy Sącz	Mielec		Mielec	13	12	
		Pilzno	15	12		
		Ropczyce	13	6		
	Strzyżów	10	11			
	51	41				

Latin (Roman Catholic)	Kraków	Sandomierz	Koprzywnica	13	12
			Miechocin	12	3
			Poaniec	13	6
			Rudnik	12	10
				50	31
		Tarnów	Tarnów	19	20
		Wiślica	Kije	22	13
			Pacanów	14	11
			Sokolina	13	4
				49	28
		Wojnicz	Jasło	2	1
			Wojnicz	3	1
				5	2
		Zawichost	Opatów	11	4
			Urzędów	1	
Zawichost	13		3		
		25	7		
		323	209		
Poznań	Warszawa	Garwolin	1	-	
Włocławek	Włocławek	Wolbórz	-	1	
			398	252	
Lutheran			1	-	
Jewish			64	4	
Total			474	256	

a wooden synagogue. At Nowy Korczyn there were three synagogues in 1783,⁶³ the oldest of which was built in 1659 and reconstructed in 1724.⁶⁴ In smaller towns of the Sandomierz palatinate there were also prayer houses apart from

63 Wiśniowski, *Prepozytura wiślicka*, pp. 66, 188.

64 Nowy Korczyn (access: http://www.izrael.badacz.org/zydzi_w_polsce/katalog_swietokrzyskie_nkorczyn.html, 22.06.2007).

synagogues. They were at Pierzchnica, where the Jews gathered in a private house after two synagogues had been demolished,⁶⁵ at Maciejowice,⁶⁶ Górzno,⁶⁷ Kazanów⁶⁸ and Stężycza.⁶⁹ The oldest Jewish communities in the Sandomierz palatinate lived in Sandomierz and Szydłów.⁷⁰

Table 3: The number of Jewish communities in the Sandomierz palatinate in 1765

Powiat	No. of communities
Sandomierz	16
Wiślica	10
Radom	13
Chęciny	5
Stężycza	3
Opoczno	2
Pilzno	15
Total	64

Source: Muszyńska, *Żydzi w miastach*, pp. 150-152, 189⁷¹

Like in the eastern part of the Lublin palatinate, there were Uniate churches in the south eastern part of the Sandomierz palatinate. The character of the Latin parishes at Konieczkowa and Lutcza resembles that of the churches near Radzyń Podlaski and Ostrów Lubelski. In those areas the dominance of the Roman Catholic Church gives way to the growing significance of the Uniates. In the Pilzno powiat of the Sandomierz palatinate, close to the border with the Ruthenian palatinate, there were six Greek Catholic parishes belonging to the Dukla deanery

65 Wiśniowski, *Prepozytura wiślicka*, p. 62.

66 AAL. Rep60 A104, p. 70.

67 AAL. Rep60 A104, p. 94.

68 AKMK. AV44, p. 32.

69 AAL. Rep60 A104, p. 2.

70 Leszczyński, "Zarys organizacji gminnej", p. 70; W. Kowalski, "Ludność żydowska a duchowieństwo archidiaconatu sandomierskiego w XVII-XVIII wieku", *Studia Judaica*, 1 (1998), no. 2, p. 178; Guldon, Krzystanek, *Żydzi w miastach lewobrzeżnej części województwa sandomierskiego*, pp. 10, 18.

71 The list of Jewish communities in the Sandomierz palatinate has recently been supplemented by J. Wijaczka ("Od połowy XVII po schyłek XVIII w.", pp. 132-134) who added the community at Serokomla on his map. But he omitted the community at Raków.

of the Uniate diocese in Przemyśl.⁷² Before the Union of Brześć, three of them at Bonarówka, Krasna (Krosna) and Oparówka were subordinated to the Orthodox Church and they were featured on the map of the Sandomierz palatinate in the sixteenth century.⁷³ The other Orthodox churches were established between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. The Dukla deanery was divided between three palatinates (Kraków, Sandomierz and Ruthenia) and overlapped with ethnographic divisions. The northern regions of the deanery were marked by compact Lemko settlement (in the Kraków palatinate), and the highlands were situated in the area inhabited by the so-called Zamieszkańcy, a separate group of Lemkos (in the palatinates of Sandomierz and Ruthenia).⁷⁴

Of 97 Protestant churches operating in the Sandomierz palatinate in the second half of the sixteenth century the eighteenth-century sources registered only five Calvinist churches and one Lutheran church.⁷⁵ It should be emphasized that the percentage of Protestants in that palatinate was very low. In the areas where the Lutherans or Calvinists used to live it was never higher than ten percent. The only exception was Kolonia Dzika Wola in the Radom powiat (parish of Brzóza) where Protestants accounted for half of its inhabitants in 1787.⁷⁶

In the eighteenth century Sielec and Tursko Wielkie situated in the Sandomierz palatinate were the venues where the Protestant nobility used to convene.⁷⁷

72 Budzyński, *Ludność pogranicza polsko-ruskiego*, vol. 2, pp. 82, 85, 151, 199, 270, 319; Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie*, p. 246 (he included those localities in the Ruthenian palatinate).

73 *Województwo sandomierskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, p. 66 (map).

74 The 1581 foundation act of the church at Rzepnik, Gmina Wojaszówka (access: <http://www.wojaszowka.pl/miejscowosci.html>, 22.06.2007); M. Kaznowski, "Beneficja unickiego dekanatu dukielskiego oraz ich użytkownicy w latach 1761-1780", *Nasza Przyszłość*, 100 (2003), p. 259.

75 In H. Merczyng's work the church at Sieczków is equated with that at the village of Grzymała. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries both Sieczków and Grzymała were the property of the Calvinist Karwicki family who had built churches in both villages. Both of them survived, though not in the best condition, until the end of the eighteenth century. According to the 1787 population census in the second half of the eighteenth century the Evangelical community at Sieczków was in decline. The Calvinist church and population continued to exist at the village of Grzymała, *Spis ludności diecezji krakowskiej*, p. 95; Merczyng, "Zbory i senatorowie", p. 197; Wiśniowski, *Prepozytura wiślicka*, p. 121; Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, p. 60; Tuczępy. Historia (access: http://www.tuczepy.pl/asp/starvol.asp?page=pl_historia&f=f_historia&tytul=Historia, 23.06.2007).

76 *Spis ludności diecezji krakowskiej*, p. 138.

77 Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, p. 58.

In a wooden church at Sielec services were also administered for Evangelical burghers living at Staszów, 45 of them according to the *1787 Population Census of the Kraków Diocese*, as well as for local residents. According to the visitation report of 1783 there were two Protestant churches in the village: an old wooden one and a new brick one which was still unfinished at the time of the visitation. One was intended for the Calvinists, the other – for the Lutherans.⁷⁸ Until the first half of the nineteenth century there was also a Calvinist place of worship at Szczepanowice in the Pilzno powiat which was built and overseen by the Chrzęstowski family.⁷⁹

In the second half of the eighteenth century there were 730 sacral facilities in the Sandomierz palatinate, one per approximately 36 km². Like the Lublin palatinate discussed earlier it was an area where the structures of the Latin Church predominated. Compared to the Lublin palatinate the density of churches was much higher here – one Latin church per circa 40 km². That difference was mainly due to the better developed parish structure – one parish church per 66 km², twice as many as in the Lublin palatinate, and one filial church per circa 104 km².

The south-eastern part of the Sandomierz palatinate was a mixed area in religious and ethnic terms. Apart from the dominant Roman Catholic Church there were sporadic Uniate churches close to the border with the Ruthenian palatinate and a significant concentration of synagogues and prayer houses. Several dozen kilometres farther east there was a complete mix of religions and cultures. That area was marked by the nearly parallel presence of three major religious communities of the Commonwealth: the adherents of the Catholic and Uniate Churches, and the Jews. In the Sandomierz palatinate there was one kahal synagogue per circa 408 km², more than in the Lublin palatinate. It follows from geographical analysis that the density of synagogues was much higher in the eastern and southern powiats of the Sandomierz palatinate: Pilzno, Wiślica and Sandomierz.

An interesting difference between the Lublin and Sandomierz palatinates emerges from the analysis of the localities in which the places of worship were situated. Like the higher density of churches, that aspect also indicates that in the Sandomierz region the pattern of settlement was older and more advanced, resulting in a better developed network of parishes. The majority of sacral facilities of the Sandomierz palatinate were located in villages (54.5 percent), whereas in the Lublin palatinate there were 42 percent of them. A formal and legal criterion

78 Wiśniowski, *Prepozytura wiślicka*, p. 121.

79 Kumor, "Prepozytura tarnowska", p. 230 (referred to as Lutherans by mistake); Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, pp. 60-61; Merczyng, "Zbory i senatorowie", pp. 200-201.

was adopted to identify the urban status of a settlement, that is if it enjoyed the town status. The discussion of the rural nature of many medium and small towns of the ancient Commonwealth is a separate issue.

The first reason why churches were more frequently located in villages was the absence in the Sandomierz palatinate of an urban centre as big as Lublin. In the second half of the eighteenth century Sandomierz had 11 Latin churches and a kahal synagogue, whereas in Lublin there were 20 Latin churches, one Uniate church and five synagogues. The second factor that determined more “rural” nature of the Sandomierz Church was the type of settlement and the fact that church structures were built there earlier than in the Lublin palatinate. It was typical of the entire Commonwealth that in the areas where settlement developed later and on a smaller scale, or with a mix of religions where the followers of the Catholic Church were in the minority, the churches were located mainly in towns. Where the parish network was well developed, as in the case of the Sandomierz palatinate,⁸⁰ more churches were situated in villages.⁸¹ That did not, of course, apply to the Jewish minority whose religious life concentrated in towns. All kahal synagogues in the Sandomierz palatinate were located in urban centres. The only village in respect of which a prayer house is mentioned was Górzno in the Stężycza powiat.⁸²

The structure of patronage over Christian churches in the Sandomierz palatinate indicates that it was an area where they were predominantly the nobility's property. According to a list offered in the *Historical Atlas of Poland* regarding the Sandomierz palatinate in the second half of the sixteenth century the nobility owned 62.1 percent (in terms of the area) or 73 percent (in terms of their number) of churches, the clergy 16 percent (number) or 18.3 percent (area), and the king 11 percent (number) or 19.6 percent (area) respectively.⁸³ As not all filial churches had their patrons, due to the absence of benefices they funded, the structure of patronage is better reflected by parish churches. In 386 Latin parishes of the Sandomierz palatinate (in 12 there is no information about the type of patronage) the patronage of nobility clearly prevailed – 249 (64.5 percent). There were 85 (22 percent) parishes where patrons were members of the clergy and 44 (11.4 percent) with royal patronage. The remaining eight parishes, that is about 2.1 percent, were under mixed patronage.

80 S. Arnold described the Sandomierz Upland as the second, after the valley of Nida, oldest settlement stump of Małopolska, Arnold, *Geografia historyczna*, p. 107.

81 Cf. Litak, *Kościół łaciński*, p. 69.

82 AAL. Rep6o A104, p. 94.

83 *Województwo sandomierskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, pp. 88, 94, 110.

Although the nobility's patronage clearly predominated in the entire palatinate, there were some regions with a different structure. The deaneries of Bodzentyń and Kunów are exceptional in that there was a concentration of the properties of the bishops of Kraków. In those two deaneries the patronage of the clergy predominated (72.7 and 75 percent respectively). The Protestant and Uniate Churches located in the Sandomierz palatinate were all in the charge of the nobility. The sole exception was the Uniate church of the Nativity of Mary at Oparówka which was in the custody of the Latin Church clergy, the Cistercian abbot at Koprzywnica.⁸⁴

The borders of the Kraków palatinate were close to those of the medieval duchy of Kraków.⁸⁵ When describing the Kraków palatinate Michał Baliński divided it in the following way:

“With a white eagle in golden crown against a red background and with a golden strip on its wings in its coat of arms the palatinate comprises eight powiats of Kraków, Sącz, Biecz, Proszowice, Książ, Czchów, Lelów, and Szczyrzyc; and within its borders there are the duchies of Oświęcim, Zator, Siewierz and the starosty or the land of Spisz”⁸⁶

The status of the Spisz land and the Duchy of Siewierz independent of the Kraków palatinate was discussed at the beginning of this chapter. The duchies of Oświęcim and Zator officially became part of the Kraków palatinate in 1564 as the so-called Silesia (Śląsk) powiat. From then on they were an integral part of the Kraków palatinate, although they continued to be referred to as the “Duchy of Oświęcim” and the “Duchy of Zator” also in the following centuries. In formal terms in the eighteenth century the Kraków palatinate may be divided into eight powiats: Kraków, Proszów, Książ, Lelów, Biecz, Sącz-Czchów, Szczyrzyc and Silesia. Two separate powiats of Sącz and Czchów were viewed as one administrative entity in the works by Baliński and Gloger.⁸⁷ The land of Spisz and the Duchy

84 Kaznowski, “Beneficja unickiego dekanatu dukielskiego”, p. 303.

85 Gloger, *Geografia historyczna*, p. 174.

86 M. Baliński, T. Lipiński, *Starożytna Polska pod względem historycznym, jeograficznym i statystycznym*, Warszawa 1885, vol. 2, p. 36.

87 Podraza, “Małopolska”, p. 26. In the sixteenth century tax registers reference is made to seven administrative powiats: Kraków and Proszowice, Książ, Lelów, Biecz, Sącz, Szczyrzyc and Silesia (the duchies of Oświęcim and Zator). For unknown reasons the work by S. Arnold (*Geografia historyczna*, p. 109) overlooked the powiat of Sącz. At the beginning of the seventeenth century a separate powiat of Kraków was established, and the final administrative division became consolidated in the mid seventeenth century, *Urządnicy województwa krakowskiego XVI-XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. S. Cynarski, A. Falniowska-Gradowska, Kórnik 1990, pp. 5-6. A. Pawiński offers information about the division of the powiat of Sącz in the seventeenth century into the powiats of

of Siewierz,⁸⁸ in spite of their obvious links with Małopolska and subordination to the Kraków diocese, were the administrative units independent of the Kraków palatinate. The area of the Kraków palatinate within its borders described above, namely excluding Spisz and the Duchy of Siewierz, totalled 20 487 km².⁸⁹

The Kraków palatinate is the only palatinate in the ancient Commonwealth that has a complete and valuable map of settlements and of state as well as church administration structures in the second half of the eighteenth century. It is the *Map of the Kraków Palatinate in the Times of the Four Years' Diet 1788-1792* developed by Buczek in Kraków in 1929. The sources related to the map, by which it is also elaborated and supplemented, were published in two volumes titled *Materials to the Historical-Geographical Dictionary of the Kraków Palatinate (1788-1792)*.⁹⁰ It should be remembered that the work covers the Kraków palatinate in its borders after the First Partition of the Commonwealth, without its southern regions including the powiats of Biecz, Sącz-Czchów, Szczyrzyc and Silesia.

Other than a few exceptions, practically all Catholic churches of the Kraków palatinate were under the jurisdiction of the Kraków diocese. Minor variations were due to the way the Church borders were shaped later on vis-a-vis the state borders and to the correlation between the territorial organization of the complexes of landed property owned by the Church.⁹¹ Kuczków, which was part of the Lelów powiat and Kurzelów deanery in the Gniezno archdiocese, was es-

Sącz and Czchów (*Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 3: Małopolska, ed. A. Pawiński, Warszawa 1886 [Źródła dziejowe, vol. 14], p. 14), which information is hard to verify. On the 1772 map titled *Carte de la Pologne* by Józef Aleksander Jabłonowski and Giovanni Antonio Rizzi (scale of 1 : 692 000) one may only find the powiat of Sącz which also covered Czchów, *Rejestr poborowy województwa krakowskiego z roku 1680*, pp. XXI-XXII.

- 88 That independent status of the Duchy of Siewierz is corroborated by *Regestr diecezjowy* (pp. 337-343) of 1783. When listing the deaneries the author only identified parish affiliation with the Duchy of Siewierz. In respect to other powiats of the Kraków palatinate he offered the affiliation of individual localities both with the palatinate and powiat.
- 89 *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol.3: Małopolska, p. 8.
- 90 *Materiały do słownika historyczno-geograficznego województwa krakowskiego w dobie Sejmu Czteroletniego (1788-1792)*, ed. W. Semkowicz, vol. 1-2, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1960.
- 91 One may invoke here J. Szymański's opinion ("It was a meaningful feature of the territorial organization of Polish bishoprics, which is also evident to some extent in the divisions inside dioceses, that they overlapped with earlier divisions of state administration or the areas demarcated by ownership complexes or economic and geographical regions"), Szymański, "Biskupstwa polskie w wiekach średnich", p. 222.

tablished from scratch by Jan Bodzanta, the archbishop of Gniezno, which may explain the connections between that parish and the Gniezno archbishopric.⁹² In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the church and the parish of Cierno, located in the powiat of Książ, were the object of many disputes between the Kraków and Gniezno bishoprics. Łaski included that parish in the Kurzelów archdeaconry, subordinated to the Gniezno diocese, but according to Długosz it was a part of the Kraków diocese.⁹³ In that region the Nida River was a natural border between the Kraków and Sandomierz palatinates. The capital of the deanery and the parish of Krzepice, belonging to the powiat of Lełów, were also connected with the Gniezno archdiocese.⁹⁴ In 1357, after Krzepice had been granted city status, King Kazimierz the Great founded a parish church in there and delineated new parish borders inside the Kłobuck parish situated within the limits of the Kraków diocese. He turned to the bishop of Kraków, Bodzanta, to endow the parish with the tithes the bishop had been paid. The bishop refused and the parish was endowed with the tithes by the archbishop of Gniezno, Jarosław, who thus extended Gniezno's jurisdiction over Krzepice.⁹⁵

The Brzeźnica deanery in the Gniezno archdiocese had two monastery churches of the Lateran Canons Regular: a parish church at Mstów and its filial church at Rędziny. In early modern times the affiliation of the church at Mstów was quite complicated. Although the city was part of the Kraków palatinate, in view of its location north of the Warta River the monastery of the Canons Regular was a bone of contention between the archbishop of Gniezno and the bishop

92 *Regestr diecezjów*, p. 66; *Materiały do słownika historyczno-geograficznego województwa krakowskiego*, p. 153; *Osadnictwo Księstwa Łowickiego* (access: <http://ksiestwolowickie.za.pl/osad.htm>, 27.06.2007); J. Wareżak, *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny Księstwa Łowickiego*, p. 2, fasc. 1, Łódź 1967, pp. 163-165; Idem, *Rozwój uposażenia arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego w średniowieczu z uwzględnieniem stosunków gospodarczych w XIV i XV w.*, Lwów 1929, p. 76.

93 *Regestr diecezjów*, p. 104; *Materiały do słownika historyczno-geograficznego województwa krakowskiego*, p. 34; J. Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis*, vol. 3, ed. A. Przeździecki, Kraków 1864 (Opera omnia, vol. 9), p. 369; J. Łaski, *Liber beneficiorum archidioecesis Gnesnensis*, ed. J. Łukowski, vol. 1, Gniezno 1880, p. 575.

94 The border of the Kraków palatinate ran along the Liczwarta River, see: *Mapa województwa krakowskiego w dobie Sejmu Czteroletniego 1788-1792*; Łaski, *Liber beneficiorum*, vol. 2, p. 117; *Regestr diecezjów*, p. 62; *Materiały do słownika historyczno-geograficznego województwa krakowskiego*, pp. 148-149.

95 Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, p. 325; J. Związek, "Przynależność kościelna pogranicza Wielko- i Małopolski ze Śląskiem", *Prace Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Częstochowie. Zeszyty Historyczne*, 1994, fasc. 2, pp. 81-82.

of Kraków. In 1220, the bishop of Kraków endowed the monastery at Mstów with the tithes paid by the localities of that area and that is why he was convinced that the monastery was subordinated to the Kraków diocese. In 1444, Cardinal Bishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki incorporated the monastic church which discharged the function of a parish church after the decline of the church located at the southern end of the town, into his diocese. This gave rise to a dispute with the archbishop of Gniezno in whose opinion the area north of the Warta River was under his jurisdiction. In 1456 a verdict was passed in Płock pursuant to which the monastery of the Canons Regular and the parish villages located north of the Warta River were to be subordinated to the see of Gniezno, and the town as well as the area outside the city walls located on the southern river bank – to the bishop of Kraków. In its decrees the Council of Trent (sess. 14, cap. 9) made it clear that the same parish could not be under the jurisdiction of two dioceses. According to Jan Związek this was tantamount to the permanent subordination of Mstów and its parish district to the Gniezno archdiocese. In his work devoted to the structures of the Latin Church of the Commonwealth in the second half of the eighteenth century Litak divided the Mstów parish between the dioceses of Gniezno (the monastery and the parish church) and Kraków (St. Stanislaus' and St. Adelbert's filial churches). It is worth emphasizing that the filial churches at Mstów were also recognized by some sources as part of the Gniezno archdiocese. This issue must have not been regulated until the end of the eighteenth century because the 1787 register of benefices of the Kraków diocese mentions the parish church of St. Stanislaus at Mstów and includes in its area of jurisdiction the towns and villages located north of the Warta River.⁹⁶ It cannot be ruled out that there were two parish churches at Mstów – dedicated respectively to the Virgin Mary, run by the monastery (Sieradz palatinate, Gniezno archdiocese) and to St. Stanislaus (Kraków palatinate and diocese).

In the second half of the eighteenth century the bishops of Kraków agreed to the transfer of the parish at Jaśliska, situated in the Kraków palatinate, to the jurisdiction of the bishops of Przemyśl. As early as 1434 King Władysław Jagiełło handed over the town and the surrounding area to the Przemyśl bishopric. The final allocation of the Jaśliska parish to the Przemyśl diocese was made in the mid-eighteenth century after consent had been granted in 1758 by Bishop Andrzej Załuski, and then upheld in 1759 by Kajetan Ignacy Sołtyk and the cathedral chapter in Kraków. In 1762 Pope Clement XIII approved the above-mentioned

96 AKapMK. MS no. Reg. C. 14, pp. 52, 106; SGKP. VI, p. 779, IX, p. 636; Związek, "Przynależność kościelna pogranicza", pp. 83-84; Litak, *Kościół łaciński*, pp. 199, 246.

transfer of the Jaśliska parish which was effected the following year by the archbishop of Lwów, Waclaw Sierakowski.⁹⁷

Apart from the above exceptions, all Latin churches in the Kraków palatinate were part of the Kraków diocese. They were subordinated to the archdeaconries of Kraków, Nowy Sącz, Pilica and Wojnicz and provostships of Pilica and Wiślica. The parish of Ryglice was in the Tarnów provostship.⁹⁸ Both the archdeaconries and deaneries of that part of the Kraków diocese were the oldest units of church administration in the Commonwealth. According to an interesting theory by Jacek Chachaj, the establishment of deaneries in the Kraków archdeaconry may be attributed to Bishop Gedko in the second half of the seventeenth century.⁹⁹ The area of the Kraków archdeaconry, which initially covered the entire diocese, was gradually curtailed in the process of establishing further archdeaconries and district provostships. After the establishment of the above-mentioned border region archdeaconries of Zawichost, Lublin, Sandomierz and Radom (Kielce deanery), as well as the Wiślica and Kielce provostships in the twelfth century, in 1448 Zbigniew Oleśnicki instituted the Sącz archdeaconry set apart from the Kraków archdeaconry and Wiślica provostship.¹⁰⁰ Set up latest of all were the archdeaconry and provostship at Pilica (1612), covering the deaneries at Wolbrom and Lelów¹⁰¹ and the archdeaconry at Wojnicz, which included two deaneries of the Kraków archdeaconry (Lipnica and Wojnicz, 1751) and four of the Sącz archdeaconry (Żmigród Nowy, Jasło, Biecz and Bobowa, 1765).¹⁰²

In the second half of the eighteenth century there were 822 Latin churches in the Kraków palatinate. The percentage of parish churches in the total number of places of worship in the Kraków palatinate (52.8 percent) was almost identical with that in Lublin (52.1 percent), but lower than in Sandomierz (61.2 percent). That by no means should be attributed to a denser network of parish churches in the Sandomierz palatinate, as one parish in the Kraków palatinate covered on

97 Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, p. 63; Budzyński, *Ludność pogranicza polsko-ruskiego*, vol. 2, p. 176.

98 See footnote 49.

99 J. Chachaj, "Powstanie dekanatów w archidiecezji krakowskiej", *Rocznik Muzeum w Gliwicach*, 11/12 (1997), pp. 17-18.

100 Kumor, "Archidiecezja sandomierska", pp. 13-14.

101 Kumor, *Dzieje diecezji krakowskiej*, vol. 4, pp. 69, 94.

102 J. Szymański, "Dekanat wojniczki w świetle niektórych uwag o organizacji dekanalnej diecezji krakowskiej w XIII-XVI wieku", *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne*, 8 (1961), fasc. 1, pp. 75-95; Idem, "Powstanie archidiecezji wojniczkiej i jej organizacja", *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne*, 5 (1959), fasc. 4, pp. 83-102.

average 47 km² (against 66 km² in the Sandomierz palatinate). A high percentage of filial churches was due to a significant number of monastery and auxiliary churches both in Kraków (in seven parishes in Kraków there were as many as 34 monastery and filial churches) and in its vicinity. All in all, among 434 parish churches in the entire Kraków palatinate there was one cathedral in Kraków, eight collegiate churches (two in Kraków – St. Anne's and All Saints, and one each in Kleparz, Nowy Sącz, Bobowa, Pilica, Skalbmierz and Wojnicz), 14 monastery churches and nine serviced by religious orders. Among 388 auxiliary churches there were two collegiate churches in Kraków (St. Michael's, St. George's), 72 monastery churches, and 11 serviced by religious orders. The Kraków palatinate had a total of 43 hospital churches, including two run in Kraków by the nuns and monks (the Discalced Carmelites and the Order of the Holy Spirit of Saxia).

Table 4: The number of places of worship in the Kraków palatinate circa 1772

Religions and denominations	Diocese/ Eparchy	Archdeaconry/ Officialate	Deanery/ Protopopy/ Governorship	Main places of worship	Auxiliary places of worship	
Calvinist				2	-	
Uniate (Greek Catholic)	Przemysł	-	Biecz	36	4	
			Dukla	18		
			Muszyna	37	5	
				91	9	
Latin (Roman Catholic)	Gniezno	Kurzelów	Kurzelów	1	-	
			Małogoszcz	1	-	
				2	-	
		Wieluń	Krzepice	1	2	
		Uniejów	Brzeźnica	1	1	
				4	3	
	Kraków	Kraków	Bytom		3	2
			Dobczyce		25	16
			Jędrzejów		20	5
			Kraków		12	57
			Książ Wielki		16	4
			Nowa Góra		27	25
			Oświęcim		15	10
Proszowice				18	9	
	Pszczyna		1	1		

Latin (Roman Catholic)	Kraków	Kraków	Skąła	29	14
			Skawina	16	17
			Wieliczka	11	9
			Witów	15	8
			Zator	25	17
			Żywiec	10	16
			243	210	
		Nowy Sącz	Nowy Sącz	27	25
			Nowy Targ	12	27
			Pilzno	2	-
			41	52	
		Pilica	Wolbrom	12	10
		Pilica	Lelów	32	39
		Tarnów	Tarnów	1	-
		Wiślica	Sokolina	3	4
		Wojnicz	Biecz	21	18
			Bobowa	17	8
			Jasło	15	6
			Lipnica Muirowana	23	23
			Wojnicz	14	8
			Żmigród Nowy	8	7
			98	70	
			430	385	
	434	388			
Jewish		21	6		
Total		548	403		

In the eastern area of the Kraków palatinate there were also churches which belonged to the Uniate Church diocese of Przemyśl which in organizational terms were a follow-up of the Orthodox Church eparchy. There is a generally accepted opinion in the literature on the subject that the Latin Church structures of the Lwów metropolitan province were established based on the territorial division of the Orthodox Church in place earlier on.¹⁰³

103 Budzyński, *Ludność pogranicza polsko-ruskiego*, vol. 1, p. 52; A. Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza polsko-ruskiego. Województwo bełskie od schyłku XIV do początku XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1993, p. 37; Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, p. 254.

However, there was an apparent difference between the borders of the Przemyśl dioceses of the Latin and the Uniate Churches in that region.¹⁰⁴ This must have been due to the origins of the Latin Przemyśl diocese which could not extend its jurisdiction over the areas that were then administered by the bishop of Kraków. This is why its western border ran further to the east than that of the Orthodox Church diocese already existing there. The changes affecting the territorial network of the Przemyśl eparchy in early modern times described by Zdzisław Budzyński evolved in two directions: in the central zone (along the San River) the border moved westward following the process of colonization from the west, and along the Carpathian Mountains it turned far west along with the development of the Vlach settlement.¹⁰⁵ Overall, in the eastern part of the Kraków palatinate in the territory of three deaneries (of Biecz, Dukla and Muszyna)¹⁰⁶ there were 100 Uniate churches (91 parish and nine filial ones).

In some areas of the Przemyśl diocese located in the Kraków palatinate, the jurisdiction of the Uniate Church structures covered the Lemko community living slightly in isolation and off the beaten track. It was the westernmost community of the Eastern Church.¹⁰⁷ Without going into the discussion of the origins and shaping of the Polish-Ruthenian border in the Carpathian Mountains,¹⁰⁸ suffice it to say that the Lemkos lived, *inter alia*, in the area under the jurisdiction of the Uniate Biecz deanery most probably established in the second half of the seventeenth century¹⁰⁹.

104 That difference is well illustrated by the map by L. Bieńkowski and W. Müller, "Diecezje katolickie łańciskie i unickie w Polsce około 1772 r." (*Kościół w Polsce*, vol. 2).

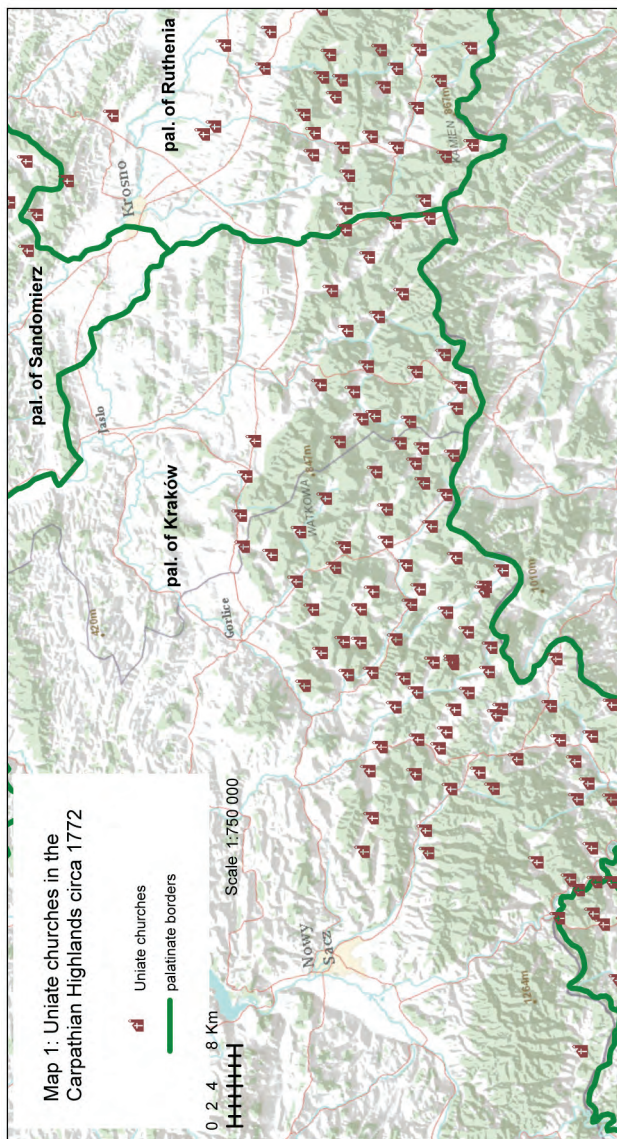
105 Z. Budzyński, "Pogranicze polsko-ruskie (ukraińskie) do końca XVIII wieku. Terytorium – dynamika i specyfika zmian", in: *Dwa pogranicza. Galicja Wschodnia i Górny Śląsk. Historia – Problemy – Odniesienia*, ed. Z. Budzyński, J. Kamińska-Kwak, Rzeszów 2003, p. 35.

106 On the map of the Latin and Uniate dioceses made by L. Bieńkowski and W. Müller in 1968 (*Kościół w Polsce*, vol. 2) included in the Kraków palatinate was also the Uniate deanery of Jasło. The authors must have meant Jaśliska located south-east of Dukla. On the development of the parish network of the Uniate deanery of Biecz, see: B. Kumor, "Osadnictwo łemkowskie i sieć parafialna w unickim dekanacie bieckim w świetle wizytacji z r. 1777", *Łemkowie i Łemkoznawstwo w Polsce*, 5 (1997), pp. 125-133.

107 W. Kołbuk, "Kościół unicki na Łemkowszczyźnie w wieku XVIII: problem odrębności", *Łemkowie i Łemkoznawstwo w Polsce*, 5 (1997), pp. 116-117.

108 One may invoke here a synopsis by A. Zięba, "Łemkowie i Łemkowszczyzna w historiografii polskiej", *Łemkowie i Łemkoznawstwo w Polsce*, 5 (1997), pp. 31-43.

109 Kumor, "Osadnictwo łemkowskie", p. 125.



Unlike the Uniate churches that were located only in the south eastern part of the Kraków palatinate, the Jewish communities were spaced quite evenly over its entire area. They were quite precisely registered by the *1765 Census of the Jews of the Kraków palatinate* published at the end of the nineteenth century by Aleksander Czuczynski.¹¹⁰ It follows from that register as well as other sources, including the Latin Church visitations, that in the second half of the eighteenth century there were 21 Jewish communities¹¹¹ with 27 synagogues. The Załuski's visitation of 1748 also took note of a private prayer house at Kromołów which was under the jurisdiction of the Lelów kahal.¹¹² The largest kahals existed in Kazimierz near Kraków, with seven synagogues and 3500 to 4000 Jewish residents,¹¹³ Wiśnicz Nowy with 2385 people¹¹⁴ and Żmigród Nowy with 1926 Jews.¹¹⁵ In the Żarki kahal inhabited by 952 Jews,¹¹⁶ apart from the kahal synagogue there was also a smaller private synagogue.¹¹⁷ The 1748 visitation also reported two synagogues in Nowy Sącz which had been built without the permission of church authorities.¹¹⁸

Apart from the sacral buildings of the Catholics, Uniates and Jews, in the Kraków palatinate there were two Calvinist churches that remained after the Reformation and continued to function through the end of the eighteenth century. They were situated at Wiatowice and Wielkanoc. The church at Wielkanoc was built in 1613 and continued the activity of the Calvinist churches in Kraków and Aleksandrów.¹¹⁹ That Reformation centre in Małopolska is also remembered because of the marriage of Maurycy Beniowski, a picturesque person and author of famous diaries as well as a character of Juliusz Słowacki's poem. Although the

110 *Spis Żydów*, pp. 408-427.

111 The list of Jewish communities in the Kraków palatinate was supplemented by J. Wijaczka ("Od połowy XVII po schyłek XVIII w.," pp. 132-134) who also added to his map a community at Przyrym in the powiat of Lelów.

112 AKMK. AV32, p. 320; *Materiały do słownika historyczno-geograficznego województwa krakowskiego*, p. 146 (the Jews lived in the Lelów kahal).

113 AKMK. AV28, p. 156 (ca 4 thousand people); *Spis Żydów*, p. 413 (3877 people); "Liczba głów", p. 393 (3710 people). Also see: M. Bałaban, *Dzieje Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu (1304-1868)*, Kraków 1913.

114 *Spis żydów*, p. 424; "Liczba głów", p. 393.

115 "Liczba głów", p. 393; *Spis żydów*, p. 426.

116 *Spis żydów*, p. 418, 1765 r.

117 AKMK. AV32, p. 343.

118 Kumor, „Archidiakoniat sądecki”, p. 122.

119 AKMK. AV29, f. 59; Merczyng, *Zbory i senatorowie*, p. 203; Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, p. 60.

church at Wiatowice was ruined during the Swedish invasion, it was quickly rebuilt and continued to exist until the end of the nineteenth century.¹²⁰

In the second half of the eighteenth century there were 951 places of worship in the Kraków palatinate – one church per circa 22 km². Nearly 90 percent of them were Latin churches and their density was much higher than in the other palatinates of Małopolska – one church per circa 25 km² (one parish per circa 47 km², one filial church per circa 53 km²). Another distinctive feature of the Kraków palatinate compared to other palatinates of Małopolska was the very low density of kahals and much higher significance of the Uniate communities than in the palatinates of Sandomierz and Lublin. They lived along the upper and middle Wisłoka River (near Biecz, Dukla and Muszyna). In the Kraków palatinate there was one Uniate church per circa 205 km², and one synagogue per 759 km² (against 408 km² in the Sandomierz palatinate and 304 km² in the Lublin palatinate).

Most places of worship of the Kraków palatinate were situated in the countryside (67.7 percent). If Kraków, Kazimierz and Kleparz are excluded, the percentage rises to 74.7 percent. The fact that there were so many rural churches was by no means tantamount to low urbanization of that region, but to the higher density and older settlement as well as the earlier development of church structures in that area. They covered not only towns. More frequently than in northern and central Małopolska, churches were located in villages, even in sparsely populated areas such as Żabieniec near Lelów.¹²¹

Patronage over the Christian churches in the Kraków palatinate depended, as elsewhere, on the pattern of landholding. If the church was located on noble land, the noble in question tended to have the rights of patronage. There is information on the type of patronage in respect to 620 places of worship in the Kraków palatinate (527 Latin churches, 92 Uniate and one Calvinist church). The right to present in nearly half of them (308, or 49.7 percent) belonged to the nobility, 27.3 percent (or 169) to the clergy and 15 percent (or 93) to the king. Other churches were in the custody of the cities, the University of Kraków or under mixed patronage. A slightly lower percentage of noble patronage in the Kraków palatinate compared to the Lublin and Sandomierz ones must be attributed to a stronger involvement of Kraków University and the city of Kraków in

120 AKMK. AV40, pp. 173-174; Merczyng, "Zbory i senatorowie", p. 202; Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, p. 60.

121 *Materiały do słownika historyczno-geograficznego województwa krakowskiego*, p. 359.

the patronage over churches. That kind of patronage either did not exist or was rare outside the Kraków palatinate.

The problem of the administrative autonomy of the Spisz land in Małopolska was discussed earlier. The subject of the relations between the religions in Spisz was recently raised by Peter Šoltés who wrote a history of the Uniate Church in the eighteenth century. He emphasized that Spisz was the westernmost stronghold of the Byzantine-Slavic rite in Central Europe.¹²²

In the second half of the eighteenth century within the limits of the Spisz starosty there were 13 churches: six Latin parishes and three filial churches (including one monastery church), and five Uniate churches with six filial churches. Latin parishes were subordinated to the Kraków diocese, and the Uniate Church parishes inhabited mainly by Lemkos – to the Przemyśl diocese. The Muszyna deanery, to which the Uniate churches of Spisz belonged, recognized the Union of Brześć from its very beginning, most probably under the influence of the bishops of Kraków. In the Middle Ages the district of Lubowla, being a border area, was disputed by the Kraków diocese and archbishopric in Esztergom. The papal decisions granting the parishes in that region to the Kraków bishop (1332, 1342) were finally implemented at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The deanery of Spisz was established by Bishop Gembicki during the 1643 synod.¹²³

According to Bolesław Kumor the area of Spisz was first Christianized by the Latin Church – from Esztergom in the south and Kraków in the north. The settlement of Lemkos began as late as the sixteenth century, bringing the Orthodox religion. The earliest registered Eastern church in Spisz (1420) was located at Poráč on the Hungarian side of the border.¹²⁴ On the Polish side of the border the oldest Eastern church was built in 1571 at Litmanowa.¹²⁵ It should be emphasized that all places of worship in Spisz, apart from the filial church at Družbaki Górne, were under the royal patronage.¹²⁶

122 P. Šoltés, “Spiš v dejinách gréckokatolíckej cirkvi v 18. storočí”, in: *Terra Scepusiensis. Stan badań nad dziejami Spiszu*, Levoča-Wrocław 2003, p. 615.

123 B. Kumor, “Chryścianizacja doliny Popradu do końca XVI wieku”, *Almanach Sądecki*, no. 22 (access: http://www.nsi.pl/almanach/art-wydarzenia/chryścianizacja_doliny_popradu.htm, 5.02.2008).

124 Šoltés, “Spiš v dejinách”, p. 615.

125 Kumor, “Chryścianizacja doliny Popradu”.

126 B. Szady, *Prawo patronatu w Rzeczypospolitej w czasach nowożytnych*, Lublin 2002, p. 92.

Table 5: The number of places of worship in the land of Spisz (the part under the Polish jurisdiction) circa 1772.

Religions and denominations	Diocese/ Eparchy	Archdeaconry/ Officialate	Deanery/ Protopopy/ Governorship	Main places of worship	Auxiliary places of worship
Uniate (Greek Catholic)	Przemyśl	-	Muszyna	5	6
Latin (Roman Catholic)	Kraków	Nowy Sącz	Spisz	6	3
Total				11	9

Summary. Małopolska was an area of the definite domination of the Latin Church. Of 1925 places of worship of various denominations which existed in the palatinates of Lublin, Sandomierz, Kraków and the land of Spisz, 1648, or 85.6 percent, were Roman Catholic. Much more modest compared to the Latin Church structure was the number of the Uniate churches (132 churches, or 6.9 percent) and Jewish places of worship (134 synagogues, or 7 percent). Apart from them in Małopolska there were 11 Protestant churches (two Lutheran and nine Calvinist).

Table 6: The number and percentage of places of worship in Małopolska circa 1772.

Palatinate	Number and percentage of places of worship				
	Latin (Roman Catholic)	Uniate (Greek Catholic)	Lutheran	Calvinist	Jewish
Lublin	74.6 %	6.7 %	0.4 %	0.9 %	17.4 %
10 346 km ²	167	15	1	2	39
Sandomierz	89.0 %	0.8 %	0.2 %	0.7 %	9.3 %
26 144 km ²	650	6	1	5	68
Kraków	86.5 %	10.5 %	-	0.2 %	2.8 %
20 487 km ²	822	100		2	27
Land of Spisz	45.0 %	55.0 %	-	-	-
679 km ²	9	11			
Total	85.6 %	6.9 %	0.1 %	0.5 %	7.0 %
57 656 km ²	1648	132	2	9	134

The number of religious communities and their distribution closely corresponded with the density of population. However, as many scholars have emphasized, it is very difficult to compile precise statistics in that regard. In order to illustrate the problem let us have a look at the summary of the demographic and religious

situation in the old Kraków diocese based on the 1787 population census in that diocese. A certain problem arises, however, due to the underestimated number of the Jewish population in the cities and the fact that the followers of the Uniate religion might have been overlooked.¹²⁷ It should be remembered that the 1787 population census did not cover the part of Małopolska across the Vistula River which had been annexed by Austria in 1772. According to the *1787 Summary of the Number of Souls in the Kraków Diocese* Małopolska was inhabited by 831 730 people, of whom 771 932 (92.8 percent) were Catholics, 58 856 (7.1 percent) – Jews, and 942 (0.1 percent) – dissidents.¹²⁸ As the census did not identify the Uniates, in order for the comparison to be accurate it is necessary to put together the places of worship of the Uniate and Catholic Church. It follows from that comparison that the percentage of the followers of individual denominations determined according to the number of places of worship and the number of population are nearly identical.

Eugeniusz Wiśniowski and Stanisław Litak, who conducted their research on the medieval and early modern parish network, observed a strong correlation between a gradual development of the parish network and settlement processes which were strongly affected by the natural environment, and especially the quality of soil.

“The regions with better developed parish network were marked by older and better developed settlements”.¹²⁹

“The development of the parish network was strongly determined by the settlement situation”.¹³⁰

When the data from individual palatinates of Małopolska are taken into consideration, one can see that the path along which the structures of the Latin Church developed clearly ran from Kraków in northward direction. This is best illustrated by a comparison of the above statistical data and the Tadeusz Ładogórski’s map titled *Population Density in Polish Territories in the mid Fourteenth Century*.¹³¹

127 Jop, *Zasiedlenie pojezierza*, p. 130.

128 *Spis ludności diecezji krakowskiej*, pp. 34-35.

129 S. Litak, “Organizacja Kościoła łacińskiego w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVIII wieku ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem diecezji krakowskiej”, in: *Kościół katolicki w Małopolsce w średniowieczu i we wczesnym okresie nowożytnym*, Kielce-Gdańsk 2001, pp. 32-33.

130 Wiśniowski, *Parafie w średniowiecznej Polsce*, p. 30.

131 T. Ladenberger, *Zaludnienie Polski na początku panowania Kazimierza Wielkiego*, Lwów 1930, map.

Table 7: Density of population and places of worship in the Kraków palatinate¹³²

Population density in the fourteenth century according to T. Ładogórski (no. people/ km ²)	Density of Catholic churches in the second half of the eighteenth century (no. churches/ km ²)
Lublin archdeaconry 0.6 / 1 km ²	Lublin palatinate 1 / circa 62 km ²
Sandomierz archdeaconry and Kielce provostship 4.9 / 1 km ²	Sandomierz palatinate 1 / circa 40 km ²
Kraków archdeaconry 7.0 / 1 km ²	Kraków palatinate 1 / circa 25 km ²

The distribution of synagogues was inversely proportional to the density of Latin churches. The rise in their number was an outcome of the strong demographic growth of the Jewish population in the entire Commonwealth. That population growth caused anxiety in the Catholic Church as reflected by the bishops' "ad limina" reports.¹³³ In the sixteenth century the Jews accounted for 25 percent of the population of Małopolska, and they lived in almost half (47 percent) of royal cities and in one noble town out of four (23 percent). They did not inhabit the cities owned by the Catholic church.¹³⁴ There was an apparent asymmetry in the percentage of Jewish population in rural and urban parishes. In the mid-eighteenth century more than ten percent of the Jews in Małopolska lived in 59 urban parishes and in only five rural ones.¹³⁵

The early modern era was marked by the intensive demographic growth and settlement of the Jewish Diaspora in Małopolska, with its highest intensity in the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century rather than the second.¹³⁶ According to Andrzej Wyrobisz those demographic processes were due to "a setback to the growth of the Christian population as a result of a stalemate in the urban economy and the fact that small towns were overrun by the Jewish element,

132 Ibid, pp. 33, 61-73.

133 W. Müller, "Żydzi w relacjach ad limina biskupów polskich z XVII i XVIII wieku", in: *Religie – edukacja – kultura. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana Profesorowi Stanisławowi Litakowi*, Lublin 2002, ed. M. Surdacki, p. 83.

134 F. Kiryk, F. Leśniak, "Skupiska żydowskie w miastach małopolskich do końca XVI wieku", in: *Żydzi w Małopolsce. Studia z dziejów osadnictwa i życia społecznego*, ed. F. Kiryk, Przemyśl 1991, p. 17.

135 M. Surdacki, "Ludność Małopolski w połowie XVIII wieku", *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 32 (1984), fasc. 2, p. 175.

136 Kowalski, "Ludność żydowska a duchowieństwo", pp. 178-186.

mainly poor people, for whom a small town and the protection of its owner were the only chance to survive.”¹³⁷ In the aftermath of those changes in the second half of the eighteenth century the Jews inhabited 158 out of 174 towns (90.1 percent) of the Kraków, Sandomierz and Lublin palatinates.¹³⁸ From the sixteenth century the residents of royal towns were moving to eastern regions of the Commonwealth where they were settling down in private towns. The same process could also be observed in the Lublin palatinate where only seven (Kazimierz Dolny, Kalinowszczyzna, Lublin, Łuków, Ostrów, Parczew, Piaski) out of 34 Jewish communities were in royal domains, and the Sandomierz palatinate where 14 out of 64 communities were in royal towns. A more balanced situation existed in the Kraków palatinate, where 12 out of 21 kahals were situated in private and nine in royal towns.¹³⁹

It follows from the statistical data regarding individual palatinates that where the Catholic Church had the most developed structures (in the Kraków palatinate) the density of synagogues and prayer houses was lowest. And vice versa – in the Lublin palatinate, where the Latin parish network was less developed, the density of Jewish places of worship was probably highest. Feliks Kiryk and Franciszek Leśniak pointed out a higher degree of “Judaization” of the Lublin palatinate compared to the rest of Małopolska. In their opinion that greater density of Jewish communities did not mean that the Lublin palatinate was inhabited by the highest number of Jews. That region was simply less and much later urbanized.¹⁴⁰

It is worth verifying the above statement regarding the situation in the eighteenth century based on the available demographic data on the number of Jews living in Małopolska. There are two systemized registers of the number of Jews in the palatinates of Małopolska in the second half of the eighteenth century.¹⁴¹ According to Zenon Guldon and Karol Krzysztanek the 1787 church census is a reliable source of demographic data. It provided more credible figures than

137 A. Wyrobisz, “Ludność żydowska w Tarłowie (od połowy XVI do końca XVIII wieku)”, *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, 1 (89), 1974, p. 8.

138 Muszyńska, *Żydzi w miastach*, p. 139. There is a discrepancy in the number of the Małopolska towns in the work by F. Kiryk and F. Leśniak and that by J. Muszyńska. J. Muszyńska estimates that in the second half of the sixteenth century there were 151 urban centres (*Żydzi w miastach*, p. 266), whereas according to F. Kiryk and F. Leśniak there were 223 of them (“Skupiska żydowskie w miastach małopolskich”, p. 18).

139 It is estimated that in the eighteenth century 50 to 75 percent of Jews lived in private towns, A. Kazimierczyk, *Żydzi w dobrach prywatnych w świetle sądowniczej i administracyjnej praktyki dóbr magnackich w wiekach XVI-XVIII*, Kraków 2002, p. 7; G.D. Hundert, *Żydzi w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 2006, p. 69.

140 Kiryk, Leśniak, “Skupiska żydowskie”, p. 16.

141 See footnotes 20 and 24.

the state-run censuses carried out between 1789 and 1810. In their opinion the best statistical data regarding the Jewish population are offered by the census of 1764-1765 which registered much more Jews than the following ones.¹⁴² The table below demonstrates that their opinion is not well-founded as the Jewish population rose slightly in 1787 compared to 1765.

Table 8: *The number of the Jews in Małopolska in the second half of the eighteenth century*

Palatinate	Number of the Jews according to the so-called 1787 Poniatowski's census ^a		Number of the Jews according to <i>Number of Jewish Heads in 1765</i>	
	number	number per km ²	number	number per km ²
Lublin	25 288	2.4	20 107	1.9
Sandomierz	43 728	1.7	43 673	1.7
Kraków	20 193	1.0	16 814 {19 315} ^b	0.8 {0.9}
Total	89 209 ^c	1.6	80 594	1.4

^a The 1787 Poniatowski's population census was supplemented with the data from the 1765 *Census of the Jews in the Kraków Palatinate* regarding the areas annexed after the First Partition (the so-called Zawiślańska Part) and the *Number of Jewish Heads in the Crown in the 1765 Poll Tax Registers* regarding parts of the Lublin and Sandomierz palatinates located outside of the Kraków diocese (*inter alia*, Kurzelów archdeaconry) that had not been covered by the above-mentioned Poniatowski's census.

^b There are two sources regarding the Kraków palatinate: *Number of Jewish Heads in the Crown in the 1765 Poll Tax Registers*, p. 393 and the *1765 Census of the Jews in the Kraków Palatinate*. On statistical discrepancies between both censuses, see: "Spis Żydów województwa krakowskiego z roku 1765", pp. 409-410.

^c J. Muszyńska estimates the number of the Jews in Małopolska proper circa 1765 at 50 036 (*Żydzi w miastach*, pp. 139-140).

It follows from the above table that the proposition put forward by Kiryk and Leśniak regarding the degree of "Judaization of the Lublin palatinate" in the sixteenth century does not apply to the second half of the eighteenth century. The density of the Jewish population was proportional to the number of synagogues and prayer houses – it was highest in the Lublin palatinate, and lowest in the Kraków palatinate. At this point it is worth recalling Marian Surdacki's research on the population of Małopolska based on the church sources from the mid-eighteenth century. According to Surdacki in this period the Jewish population accounted for 5.34 percent of the entire population of the Kraków diocese. Most Małopolska Jews lived in the eastern part of the diocese,

142 Guldon, Krzystanek, "Ludność żydowska w miastach powiatu wiślickiego", p. 33.

that is in the Lublin palatinate and in the eastern part of the Sandomierz palatinate. The deaneries located in the Lublin palatinate were marked by the highest percentage of the Jewish population in the entire Małopolska: the deanery of Chodel – 15.05 percent, Urzędów – 10.74 percent, Kazimierz – 9.02 percent, Parczew – 7.17 percent, and Łuków – 6.74 percent. These figures are in contrast with the data on the deaneries of the Kraków palatinate: the deanery of Bytom – 1.69 percent, Pszczyna – 0.70 percent, Nowa Góra – 1.55 percent, Skała – 0.97 percent, Proszowice – 0.99 percent, Wieliczka – 0.98 percent, and Witów – 1.38 percent.¹⁴³

Due to the scarcity of sources it is hard to track the development of Jewish communities in Małopolska. According to historiography there had been a Jewish community in Kraków even before it was granted the city rights, like in Wrocław, Kalisz, Przemyśl and Płock. By the end of the fifteenth century the sources record the presence of the Jews in Kraków-Kazimierz, Sandomierz, Lublin, Bochnia, Olkusz, Nowy Sącz, Tarnów, Zator, Wiślica, Szydłów and Solec.¹⁴⁴

Following the territorial division of kahal organization adopted by Anatol Leszczyński, in eighteenth-century Małopolska there were: the Małopolska zemstvo, the Lublin district (separated from the Małopolska zemstvo in the mid sixteenth century) and two kahals with zemstvo status in Kraków and Lublin. Eventually, the Kraków-Sandomierz zemstvo was established pursuant to the 1717 diet resolution where it had been decided that its affairs would be handled by the Pińczów kahal.¹⁴⁵ The Małopolska zemstvo covered the communities of the Kraków and Sandomierz palatinates (excluding the powiat of Radom), a part of Kujawy, and a few cities of the Bełz and Ruthenian palatinates.¹⁴⁶ The Lublin

143 Surdacki, “Ludność Małopolski”, pp. 172-173. The maps enclosed with the work are a good illustration of the problem.

144 Kiryk, Leśniak, “Skupiska żydowskie”, pp. 14-15.

145 Leszczyński, “Zarys organizacji gminnej”, pp. 70-71.

146 On I. Halperin’s map enclosed with *Acta Congressus Generalis Judeorum Regni Poloniae (1580-1764)*, Jerozolima 1945, the Małopolska zemstvo included the following communities of the Kraków and Sandomierz palatinates: Chrzanów, Dukla, Działoszyce, Janów, Kazimierz (principal community), Lelów, Nowy Sącz, Olkusz (principal community), Oświęcim, Pilica, Wiśnicz Nowy, Wodzisław (principal community), Żmigród Nowy, Chęciny Stare (principal community), Chmielnik, Dąbrowa, Dębica, Klimontów, Kolbuszowa, Mielec, Nowy Korczyn, Opatów (principal community), Opoczno, Ostrowiec, Pińczów (principal community), Połaniec, Raków, Ropczyce, Sandomierz (principal community), Staszów, Stopnica, Strzyżów, Szydłów (principal community), Tarnów, Ulanów. The list of kahals of the Małopolska zemstvo may be supplemented with a dozen or so Jewish centres mentioned in the poll tax register of 1765 and overlooked on that map, such as Będzin, Bobowa, Nakło, Szczekociny,

district covered the Jews living in the Lublin palatinate, part of the Rawa palatinate and ten communities in the Radom powiat.¹⁴⁷ The Kraków kahal became independent of the Małopolska zemstvo in 1692 in the aftermath of property disputes with subordinated branch communities. In 1762 the Council of the Crown Jews agreed to the direct subordination of the Lublin community to it. Both Kraków and Lublin ranked as first-category communities located in principal cities and exercising jurisdiction over branch kahals.¹⁴⁸ In the case of Lublin the communities were established at Kalinowszczyzna and Wieniawa.¹⁴⁹

It follows from the analysis of individual palatinates of Małopolska that its eastern borders were the limit of the range of the Greek Catholic Church.

Wolbrom, Zator, Żarki, Żarnowiec, Baranów, Bogorja, Czudec, Drzewica, Dzików, Frysztak, Głogów, Iwaniska, Kurozwęki, Oleśnica, Ożarów, Pacanów, Przeclaw, Przedbórz, Radomyśl Wielki, Rozwadów, Rudnik, Rzochów, Secemin, Sędziszów, Sobków, Tarłów, Wielopole, Wiślica, Włoszczowa, and Żabno, see: Annex. There are doubts about the functioning of a kahal at Książ Wielki which is included on the map. It is not mentioned in any poll tax register of 1765. According to the 1783 visitation by Bishop Poniatowski in the town there was a school and cemetery, but the Jews were under the jurisdiction of the Pińczów kahal, AKMK. AV54, p. 306; M. Bałaban, *Historia Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu (1304-1868)*, vol. 1-2, Kraków 1931, 1936, pp. 258-260.

- 147 I. Halperin's map (*Acta Congressus Generalis*) includes the following communities in the Lublin district: Bełżyce, Bychawa, Józefów, Kazimierz, Kock, Kraśnik, Kurów, Lubartów, Lublin (principal community), Łęczna, Łuków, Opole, Parczew, Radzyń and Siedlce. It should be noted that I. Halperin included the southern kahals of the Urzędów powiat (Biłgoraj, Frampol, Modliborzyce) in the district of "nine kahals", i.e., the Chełm-Belz district. He did not set apart the district of the Zamoyski Family Entail established in 1669 with the communities at Łuków, Szczepleszyn, Tarnogród, Turobin, Zamość, Łaszczów, Biłgoraj, Frampol, Krasnobród, Ulanów, Żółkiew and Modliborzyce, Leszczyński, *Sejm Żydów Korony*, p. 73. The kahals featured on I. Halperin's map have to be supplemented with the following locations: Annapol, Goraj, Janów, Zaklików (Chełm-Belz district), Baranów, Biskupice, Czemierniki, Głusk, Kalinowszczyzna, Końskowola, Markuszów, Ostrów, Piaski (near Lublin), Piaski (near Biskupice), Wieniawa, Włostowice (Lublin district), see: Annex.
- 148 A slightly different division of kahals was proposed by Jewish historians M. Bałaban and I. Schipper before the Second World War. The former established that out of four zemstvos 11 "kahal administration units" emerged, including two Małopolska districts: the Kraków-Sandomierz and the Lublin ones. Whereas according to I. Schipper in 1764 there were 15 districts in the Crown (including the Kraków-Sandomierz and the Lublin ones), and also three district kahals (i.a., in Lublin) and 4 independent communities, Leszczyński, *Sejm Żydów Korony*, pp. 67-75, 92.
- 149 Ibid, p. 75; J. Muszyńska, "Żydzi w Lublinie w 1774 r.", in: *Żydzi w Lublinie*, vol. 2, ed. T. Radzik, Lublin 1998, pp. 118-119.

The process of Christianization and the activities of the Roman and Orthodox Churches until the fifteenth century were decisive about the shaping of the religious border between the Latin and Eastern churches. The political expansion of the Polish state in the fourteenth century changed the political borders of the state which from then onwards no longer overlapped with religious boundaries.

Unlike the Protestants or the Jews who lived in practically the whole of Małopolska, the Uniate population inhabited two regions bordering Ruthenia – five deaneries in the Lublin palatinate (Łuków, Parczew, Kazimierz, Solec, and Urzędów) and four southern deaneries in the Kraków palatinate (Żmigród, Nowy Sącz, Spisz and Biecz). The highest percentage of Uniates lived in the area of Parczew and Ostrów Lubelski (the Latin deanery of Parczew), which adequately reflects the density of the Uniate churches in those areas.¹⁵⁰

There is ample literature on the subject of the territorial range of the Orthodox and the Uniate Churches as well as the boundaries between religions in that area. The southern part of the Polish-Ruthenian border region, comprising the south-eastern part of the Kraków palatinate, the land of Sanok and most of the land of Przemyśl as well as the Bełz palatinate, was described by Budzyński.¹⁵¹ A good deal of space was also devoted to that issue by Andrzej Gil in his monographs on the Orthodox and Uniate dioceses in Chełm. One has to agree with his opinion that “the state and the church were instrumental in the evolution of a clear-cut Polish-Ruthenian border in the area of the Lublin Uplands and even more so later on in the area of the entire borderland”.¹⁵²

The analysis of the course of the borders in that region allow us to draw a more general conclusion about the correspondence between the state and church boundaries. It is necessary to modify slightly an opinion propounded in literature that they overlapped. It may be accepted only in respect to the borders of the Polish state and the Latin Church. This is understandable because the activities of the Catholic Church in that area were closely connected with political expansion. But it is hard to notice a close correlation between the borders of the Orthodox and Uniate Church dioceses and those of border region palatinates.¹⁵³

150 Surdacki, “Ludność Małopolski”, pp. 184-185.

151 Z. Budzyński, “Stan badań nad ludnością pogranicza polsko-ukraińskiego w czasach nowożytnych”, in: *Sąsiedztwo: osadnictwo na pograniczu etnicznym polsko-ukraińskim*, ed. J. Półciwiatek, Rzeszów 1997, p. 71; Idem, *Ludność pogranicza polsko-ukraińskiego*, passim.

152 Gil, *Prawosławna eparchia chełmska*, p. 44.

153 M. Bendza, *Prawosławna diecezja przemyska w latach 1596-1681. Studium historyczno-kanoniczne*, Warszawa 1982, p. 98.

The border between Latin and Greek influence in the north-eastern part of Małopolska may be roughly drawn along the Bystrzyca, Tyśmienica, Piwonia and the middle Wieprz Rivers. It then turned south-west, running close to Biłgoraj (in the Lublin palatinate) and along the Tanew River, heading towards the San River. Then it ran along the San, to turn south at the point of its left tributary, the Wisłok River, as well as Jasiołka and Ropa Rivers. The Uniate parishes located in Małopolska were under the jurisdiction of the dioceses of Chełm (in the Lublin palatinate) and Przemyśl (in the palatinates of Sandomierz and Kraków).

The borders of the Uniate dioceses of Chełm and Przemyśl ran further to the east than their Latin Church counterparts. Thus the Latin parish of Tylicz belonged to the Kraków deanery, and the Uniate parish – to the Przemyśl diocese. Located further to the north the Latin parishes at Łęczna, Lublin, Milejów, Ostrów Lubelski and Parczew were under the jurisdiction of the Kraków diocese, whereas the Uniate parishes – of the Chełm diocese. This was a result of the way the border had been shaped and the consequent changes in ethnically mixed areas, in this case of the Latin Kraków diocese, and of the Chełm and Przemyśl dioceses of the Eastern Church. In respect to the Lublin Upland, initially the Orthodox Church (the Włodzimierz and then the Chełm eparchy) stretched further west compared to the eighteenth-century borders of the Uniate Chełm diocese.¹⁵⁴ Established in the fourteenth century, the Latin Chełm diocese could not cover an area identical with that of the earlier Orthodox Church eparchy as it would have to “cut off” a part of the Latin Kraków diocese. The same situation occurred in the southern part of Małopolska. Established in 1375, the Latin Przemyśl diocese could not cover an area identical with that covered by the Orthodox Przemyśl eparchy, as that would have been tantamount to curtailing the Kraków diocese.

The Reformation developing in Małopolska in the sixteenth century left behind only a few traces of organized communities that were predominantly private (rural).¹⁵⁵ Most of them were situated in the Sandomierz palatinate. The decline of Protestant communities in Małopolska mainly took place in the sev-

154 Gil, *Prawosławna eparchia chełmska*, pp. 99-102.

155 A report by Bishop Andrzej Stanisław Załuski from 1751 reads: “Dantur autem et aliqui dissidentes in religione praecipue ex nobilibus, pauci autem ex civitatensibus Lutheri et Calvini erroribus infectis, qui fana pro suis devotionibus intra fines dioecesis habent quinque ex antiqua tolerantia cum suis ministris, qui tamen intra fines modestiae per me continentur”, *Relacje o stanie diecezji krakowskiej 1615-1765*, ed. W. Müller, Lublin 1978, p. 144; A report by Bishop Kajetan Sołtyk from 1765: “Ex antiqua tollerantia in hac dioecesi dissidentes habent fana pro suis devotionibus

enteenth century. The last general synod of the Reformed Evangelicals in the Commonwealth was held in 1676.¹⁵⁶

Based on Catholic Church sources, mainly the tables made by Bishop Załuski in 1748, one may try to estimate the number of Evangelicals in Małopolska. At the end of the first half of the eighteenth century there were approximately four thousand of them – among 4244 enumerated Evangelicals there were 2470 Lutherans, 720 Reformed Evangelicals and 1054 people of unknown confession.¹⁵⁷

The population census conducted by Bishop Poniatowski in 1787 reckoned the number of Protestants in the Kraków diocese, whose borders nearly overlapped with those of Małopolska, at 1224 people.¹⁵⁸ The largest, in absolute numbers, Protestant centres were at Goraj (235 or 255 people), Lublin (167), Kraków (81), Staszów (45) and Siedlce (39).¹⁵⁹ Although the Kraków bishops informed Rome about many conversions,¹⁶⁰ it is hard to assess objectively the extent to which they reduced the number of Protestants compared to the mid – eighteenth century. It should be remembered that Poniatowski's 1787 population census did not take into account the "Zawiślańska" area annexed by Austria in 1772. It follows from Surdacki's calculations that in the eighteenth century most of the Protestant population of the Kraków diocese lived in the borderlands of Silesia and Małopolska – in the deaneries of Bytom, Pszczyna (Silesia) as well as Oświęcim and Żywiec (Małopolska). There was one of the largest Protestant centres in the village of Lipnik in the Żywiec deanery.¹⁶¹ The Małopolska Unity (*Jednota Małopolska*) was the

exercendis octo", Ibid, p. 180. As the bishops did not mention the locations of the churches, it is hard to criticize the figures offered in their reports.

156 Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, p. 57.

157 Surdacki, "Ludność Małopolski", p. 180; Idem, "Stosunki wyznaniowe w diecezji krakowskiej w połowie XVIII wieku na podstawie "Wizytacji" i "Tabel" biskupa A. S. Załuskiego", *Roczniki Nauk Społecznych*, 11 (1983), fasc. 2, p. 134.

158 Minus the Protestants living at Czelaź and Siemonia located in the Duchy of Siewierz. The figure is a sum of the Protestants in individual parishes. The consolidated figures of Poniatowski's population census show 952 dissidents, *Spis ludności diecezji krakowskiej*, pp. 34-35, 53, passim.

159 *Spis ludności diecezji krakowskiej*, pp. 53-54, 94, 149, 159-160, 166; AKapMK. MS no. Reg. C. 14, pp. 81, 92, 102, 116, 118. *Liber ecclesiarum* (AKapMK. MS no. Reg. C. 14, p. 85) also offers a figure of 356 dissidents in the Batorz parish, but it is not very credible.

160 "Ex his tamen dissidentibus quolibet ferme anno aliqui praecipue ex nobilitate convertuntur ad gremium Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae, abiurando sectas calvinistas vel lutheranas", *Relacje o stanie diecezji krakowskiej*, p. 160.

161 Surdacki, "Ludność Małopolski", pp. 180-181.

weakest Evangelical Church in the entire Commonwealth both in terms of the number of churches and worshipers. The loose structure of congregations, in which the nobility predominated, did not fulfil its role and brought about the decline of that community in Małopolska at the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹⁶²

2. Crown Ruthenia

Although in administrative terms it was part of the Małopolska province, a separate treatment of Crown Ruthenia is justified mainly by its ethnic and religious distinctness. The notion of Crown Ruthenia refers to the eastern borderlands of the old Commonwealth. Szymon Starowolski identified Crown Ruthenia with Red Ruthenia, distinguishing it from White Ruthenia which was part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.¹⁶³ A different approach was taken by Marcin Kromer as well as Michał Baliński who was describing the geography of ancient Poland in a critical way. They limited the area of Red Ruthenia to the Ruthenian and Bełz palatinates. Kromer introduced the term “Podolia”, and Baliński referred to “Ukraine” to identify those parts of the former Małopolska province which extended furthest to the south-east.¹⁶⁴ It is also worth recalling that in the Polish and Ukrainian historiographies there are serious differences as to the geographical range of the area referred to as “Ukraine”.¹⁶⁵

Without going into a detailed discussion of the regions of Crown Ruthenia and its internal divisions one may assume that it comprised six palatinates: Ruthenia, Bełz, Volhynia, Podolia, Kiev and Braclaw. The most important works on the history of the administration and settlement placed Crown Ruthenia within the borders of those palatinates. That was done by Aleksander Jabłonowski in his multiple sheet map published at the beginning of the twentieth century titled *The Ruthenian Lands of the Commonwealth: a Breakthrough Era at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century*.¹⁶⁶ That subject matter was similarly understood by Mykola Krykun, the author

162 Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, p. 67.

163 Starowolski, *Polska albo opisanie położenia*, p. 89.

164 M. Kromer, *Polska czyli o położeniu, ludności, obyczajach, urządach i sprawach publicznych Królestwa Polskiego księgi dwie*, Olsztyn 1977, p. 25; Baliński, Lipiński, *Starożytna Polska*, vol. 2, pp. 33, 650.

165 In the Ukrainian historiography the term “Ukraine-Ruthenia” covers the entire area of Crown Ruthenia, whereas Polish historiography would rather limit that term to the palatinates incorporated into the Crown in 1569 (of Kiev, Braclaw, Volhynia and Czernichów), U. Augustyniak, *Historia Polski 1572-1795*, Warszawa 2009, pp. 44-45.

166 A. Jabłonowski’s work (*Ziemia Ruskie Rzeczypospolitej*) was an initiative that is continued to date as the *Historical Atlas of Poland*. The maps published in 1889-1904

of the most important contemporary work on administrative divisions of Ukraine. His analysis covered four palatinates of the right-bank Ukraine: Podolia, Braclaw, Volhynia and Kiev. He emphasized at the same time that “to right-bank Ukraine also belongs the region of the palatinates of Ruthenia and Belz”,¹⁶⁷

The absence of accurate maps featuring the palatinate borders in Crown Ruthenia in the second half of the eighteenth century is a very significant problem whenever analysis is based on administrative divisions. An unequivocal attribution of some localities to a palatinate is at times very difficult or even completely impossible. The two foregoing works were crucial to the determination of palatinate borders. Owing to the recent growth of interest in the Borderlands (*Kresy*) and cultural frontiers, more and more studies have raised problems related to the historical geography of those areas. This has sometimes allowed us to enrich and supplement Jabłonowski’s propositions made more than one hundred years ago, which were not always accurate – mainly due to the weak cartographic aspects of Krykun’s work. Of the most recent synthetic approaches to the history of the borderlands and the Polish-Ruthenian frontier, the works by Budzyński¹⁶⁸ should be mentioned at this point.

The second difficulty, which is different than in the case of Małopolska, presented itself in relation to the condition of the studies and sources on the history of religious communities. In the case of the three Crown palatinates of Małopolska proper, one can speak of a long established historiographical tradition regarding both the geographical as well as the social and religious aspects. The eastern palatinates have a distinctly weaker source base which sometimes has not even been identified. Independent of any political pressure, scientific studies of the settlement and religious situation in those areas have a relatively short, though quite powerful,

based on the 1859 atlas by W. Chrzanowski (*Karta dawnej Polski*) are today the basic work on the settlement and borders of Crown Ruthenia. Jabłonowski’s map extends eastwards much beyond the Commonwealth’s borders in the second half of the eighteenth century. It also covers Ukraine on the left bank of the Dnieper River which was detached from the Polish-Lithuanian state in the second half of the seventeenth century, see: W. Semkowicz, “Atlas historyczny Polski (Program wydawnictwa)”, *Prace Komisji dla Atlasu Historycznego Polski*, 1 (1922), p. 1.

167 He updated a major part of A. Jabłonowski’s findings regarding the borders of the four palatinates until the end of the eighteenth century. The maps enclosed with the study offer a general idea about the borders of the palatinates. Their small size (attachment maps) ruled out their greater accuracy, Крикун, *Адміністративно-територіальний устрій*, p. 3.

168 Budzyński, *Ludność pogranicza polsko-ruskiego*, passim; idem, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, passim.

tradition. In the foreground there are the works of the Lviv research community at the Institute of the History of the Orthodox Church.

Due to its geographical location and slightly different political vicissitudes, Crown Ruthenia may be divided into two parts: the western part situated partially within the territory of today's Poland, and the eastern one which is now entirely part of the territory of Ukraine. The western part, which is sometimes referred to as Red Ruthenia,¹⁶⁹ comprised the palatinates of Ruthenia, Bełz and Podolia incorporated into the Commonwealth over the fourteenth and at the beginning of the fifteenth centuries. The other palatinates of Crown Ruthenia, referred to as Ukraine (of Volhynia, Braclaw and Kiev), were incorporated into the Małopolska province in 1569 pursuant to the Union of Lublin.

The Ruthenian palatinate was one of the largest palatinates (60 507 km²) in the entire Commonwealth, and one of the most diversified in religious and ethnic terms. It was earlier part of the Principality of Halicz and Włodzimierz, and was incorporated into the Crown in the second half of the fourteenth century. The four lands of the Ruthenian palatinate: Halicz, Lwów, Przemyśl and Sarnok were earlier part of that palatinate, whereas the land of Chełm was formerly part of the Principality of Volhynia. Perhaps for that reason the land of Chełm stood apart in the Ruthenian palatinate, which was apparent even in modern times. Baliński, as well as Gloger following in his footsteps, seek the origins of the Ruthenian palatinate in the Przemyśl palatinate that had existed earlier on. At the end of King Władysław Jagiełło's reign the palatines of Przemyśl are said to have been renamed as palatines of Ruthenia.¹⁷⁰

The foundations of the territorial structure of the Ruthenian lands were laid down in the fourteenth century before the incorporation of those areas into the Crown. Andrzej Janeczek argues that this happened before 1340.¹⁷¹ It clearly follows from the studies of Przemysław Dąbkowski, Andrzej Janeczek and Kazimierz Przyboś that in Ruthenian lands the origins of powiats should be sought

169 In historiography the notion of Red Ruthenia gives rise to many associations and is ambiguous. Apart from the traditional, quite narrow, geographical range that one may come across, e.g., in A. Jabłonowski's work, (the palatinates of Bełz and Ruthenia), sometimes that term also used to cover Volhynia, T. Waga, *Wyciąg z geografii polskiej*, Poznań 1856, p. 34, whereas according to Sz. Starowolski it covers the whole of Crown Ruthenia (the palatinates of Ruthenia, Podolia, Braclaw, Kiev, Volhynia and Bełz), *Polska albo opisanie*, pp. 90-100.

170 Baliński, Lipiński, *Starożytna Polska*, vol. 2, p. 651; Gloger, *Geografia historyczna*, pp. 213-214.

171 Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza*, p. 22.

in old Ruthenian local administration units (old Ruthenian volosts). The structure of local settlement districts (volosts) established by the Ruthenian state was adopted without any major modifications at the moment those lands were incorporated into the Crown. “Volosts” were referred to as “districtus” (powiat)¹⁷² which term was increasingly more frequently adopted in Polish lands. The “old Ruthenian volosts” were fragmented to a high degree, as adequately demonstrated by Dąbkowski in his analysis of the territorial structure of the Ruthenian and Bełz palatinates. The incorporation of those areas into the Crown was followed by the centralization process as evidenced by the fact that smaller units (the former volosts) were consolidated into larger powiats.¹⁷³

After the consolidation, out of 25 powiats existing in the fifteenth century¹⁷⁴ only eight (excluding the land of Chełm) survived until the eighteenth century. In the second half of the eighteenth century the Ruthenian palatinate was divided into five lands: Lwów (Lwów and Żydaczów powiats), Przemyśl (Przemyśl and Przeworsk powiats), Sanok, Halicz (Halicz, Trembowola and Kołomyja powiats) and Chełm (Chełm and Krasnystaw powiats). Studies of administrative changes and settlement in the Ruthenian palatinate were recently conducted by, *inter alia*, Włodzimierz Czarnecki – in respect of the Chełm land,¹⁷⁵ and Kazimierz Przyboś – in respect of the Przemyśl, Halicz and Sanok lands.¹⁷⁶

The external borders of the Ruthenian palatinate were demarcated based on a number of studies in historical geography and administrative divisions. The most

172 *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 7, part 2: *Ziemie ruskie. Ruś Czerwona*, ed. A. Jabłonowski, Warszawa 1903, p. 17 (Źródła dziejowe, vol. 18, part 2); Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza*, p. 24. Also see: J. Bardach, “Powiat w Polsce późnośredniowiecznej”, *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*, 19 (1967), fasc. 2, pp. 145-147 (on the differences between “volost” and “powiat”).

173 P. Dąbkowski, *Podział administracyjny województwa ruskiego i bełskiego w XV wieku*, Lwów 1939, pp. 311-326; Idem, *Zaginione księgi sądowe województwa ruskiego i bełskiego*, Lwów 1921, pp. 4-5.

174 Dąbkowski, *Podział administracyjny*, p. 189.

175 W. Czarnecki, *Przemiany osadnictwa ziemi chełmskiej od połowy XIV do końca XVI wieku*, Lublin 1997 (Doctoral Thesis, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin); Idem, “Sieć osadnicza ziemi chełmskiej od połowy XIV do połowy XV wieku”, *Rocznik Chełmski*, 3 (1997), pp. 9-63; Idem, “Rozwój sieci osadniczej ziemi chełmskiej w latach 1451-1510”, *Rocznik Chełmski*, 5 (1999), pp. 9-59; Idem, “Przemiany sieci osadniczej w ziemi chełmskiej od 1511 roku do końca XVI wieku”, *Rocznik Chełmski*, 6 (2000) pp. 7-54.

176 Przyboś, “Granice ziemi lwowskiej”, *passim*; Idem, “Granice ziemi sanockiej”, *passim*; Idem, “Granice ziemi przemyskiej”, *passim*.

important of them was the above-mentioned work by Jabłonowski. Also of great significance was a study on Eastern churches by Witold Kołbuk who attributed each described location to a specific palatinate.¹⁷⁷ It was most difficult to determine the exact border between the palatinates of Ruthenia and Belz. Here the maps enclosed with Janeczek's work and the studies by Budzyński¹⁷⁸ were most helpful. The latter offers slightly different information than Kołbuk on the course of the border between the Ruthenian and Sandomierz as well as the Kraków palatinates in the Uniate deanery at Dukla.¹⁷⁹ The borders between the Ruthenian palatinate and the Podolian, Volhynian and Brześć Litewski palatinates were drawn based on Jabłonowski's work and the corrections of his findings recently made by Krykun and Budzyński.¹⁸⁰ The border with the Lublin palatinate was discussed in the previous section.

Absolutely the highest number of communities in the Ruthenian palatinate belonged to the Uniate Church. The palatinate included nearly the entire Przemyśl eparchy with 1109 parish and 25 filial churches, and the majority of the Lwów eparchy churches located in its western part (officialates of Brzeżany, Halicz, Lwów) with 1663 parish and 37 filial churches. Apart from Kołbuk, the lists of religious communities in those two eparchies were compiled by Budzyński in many of his works.¹⁸¹

The range and structure of the Uniate Church eparchy in Przemyśl were inherited from the Orthodox Church eparchy that had existed before the Union of Brześć.¹⁸² From the moment of accession to the Union with the Catholic Church

177 Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie*, passim.

178 The correction mainly applied to the localities in the Uniate deaneries of Horodło and Hrubieszów (Chełm diocese), Oleszyce and Jaworów (Przemyśl diocese) and Żółkiew and Biały Kamień (Lwów diocese), Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza*, passim; Budzyński, *Ludność pogranicza polsko-ruskiego*, vol. 2, passim.

179 Budzyński, *Ludność pogranicza polsko-ruskiego*, vol. 2, p. 73 passim; Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie*, p. 246. Also see *Województwo sandomierskie w II połowie XVI wieku*, maps.

180 Jabłonowski, *Ziemia Ruskie Rzeczypospolitej*, passim; Крикун, *Адміністративно-територіальний устрій*, passim; Budzyński, *Ludność pogranicza polsko-ruskiego*, vol. 2, passim; Idem, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, passim.

181 Budzyński, *Ludność pogranicza polsko-ruskiego*, passim; Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie*, passim; Budzyński, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, vol. 1-2, passim; Idem, "Sieć parafialna prawosławnej diecezji przemyskiej na przełomie XV-XVI w. Próba rekonstrukcji na podstawie rejestrów podatkowych ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej", in: *Polska - Ukraina. 1000 lat sąsiedztwa*, vol. 1, Przemyśl 1990, pp. 135-155; Bendza, *Prawosławna diecezja przemyska*, passim.

182 It follows from the maps enclosed with the work by A. Poppe (*Państwo i Kościół na Rusi w XI wieku*, Warszawa 1968, pp. 179, 200-201) that the area of the Ortho-

until the First Partition of the Commonwealth its borders were not modified.¹⁸³ It had an area of 22 222 km² and covered part of the Ruthenian (the Przemyśl and Sanok lands and western fringes of the Lwów land) and Bełz palatinates. The Bełz palatinate, that will be discussed in greater detail further on in this chapter, covered nearly entire Lubaczów governorship (apart from the parishes at Młyny and Bukowina¹⁸⁴), a major part (14 parishes) of the Oleszyce governorship and four parishes of the Jaworów governorship (Kochanówka, Nahaczów, Świdnica, and Trościaniec). The affiliation of the parishes of the Bełz palatinate with the Przemyśl eparchy was due to the fact that they had once been situated in the Lubaczów powiat that was part of the Duchy of Przemyśl, and in the Orthodox eparchy of Przemyśl in the Middle Ages, before the Bełz palatinate was established¹⁸⁵. The parts of the Przemyśl eparchy belonging to the Kraków (the powiats of Sącz and Biecz) and Sandomierz (the powiat of Pilzno) palatinates, and the land of Spisz were discussed in the previous section of this chapter.¹⁸⁶

The governorships, or protopopies, as deaneries were referred to in the Eastern Churches, were established in the Przemyśl eparchy in the second half of the sixteenth century.¹⁸⁷ Their final number (31) was reached at the end of the seventeenth century and with some modifications, such as, for example, the liquidation of the Leżajsk governorship and the establishment of the Nizankowice

dox Przemyśl diocese was initially within the limits of the region's oldest diocese in Włodzimierz Wołyński. On the problems and conflicts raised by the accession to the Union of Brześć in the Przemyśl diocese, see: E. Piwowar, "Prawosławna diecezja przemyska w XVII w.", *Rocznik Historyczno-Archiwalny*, 5 (1988), pp. 49-63.

- 183 W. Kołbuk, "Granice i sieć parafialna greckokatolickiej diecezji przemyskiej na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku", in: *Polska – Ukraina. 1000 lat sąsiedztwa*, vol. 3, Przemyśl 1996, p. 101.
- 184 The Uniate church of the Protection of Our Lady in the village of Bukowina was not until now included in various lists. It was mentioned by the 1761 visitation, APPrz. ABGK 33, p. 7.
- 185 Dąbkowski, *Podział administracyjny*, p. 325; Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza*, pp. 30, 56. It was naturally a mistake that A. Fenczak and S. Stępień located Lubaczów and its vicinity in the Przemyśl land, allegedly following A. Jabłonowski's map.
- 186 R. Czupryk, "Eparchia przemyska na pograniczu polsko-ruskim (XIV-XVIII w.). Rys historyczny", *Prace Historyczno-Archiwalne*, 11 (2002), p. 90; Bishop A. Szeptycki wrote in 1772 that it also covered the powiat of Żydaczów in the Lwów land, which must be viewed as a mistake, *Relacja o stanie diecezji przemyskiej biskupa A. Szeptyckiego z 1772 r.* quoted by: S. Nabywaniec, "Diecezja przemyska greckokatolicka w latach 1772-1795", *Premislia Christiana*, 5 (1992/1993), p. 31.
- 187 Budzyński, *Ludność pogranicza polsko-ruskiego*, p. 75.

governorship, continued to exist until 1772.¹⁸⁸ Ludomir Bieńkowski claims that the “territorial structure of the local church administration was most probably shaped in keeping with the existing divisions of the state administration”.¹⁸⁹ Owing to works by Bieńkowski, Budzyński and Kołbuk it has been possible to identify quite well the parish network of the Uniate Church in the Przemyśl eparchy in modern times. Based on the findings of the foregoing authors one may assume that it continued to develop until the end of the Commonwealth.¹⁹⁰ In Tadeusz

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- 188 Czupryk, “Eparchia przemyska”, p. 91. Invoking some sources from 1764-1783, S. Nabywaniec, supplemented the number of deaneries in the Przemyśl diocese with the deanery of Komarno, Nabywaniec, “Diecezja przemyska”, pp. 96, 106. Other authors also offer the number of 31 deaneries: Bieńkowski, “Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego”, p. 1048; Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie*, p. 44; Budzyński, *Ludność pogranicza polsko-ruskiego*, vol. 2, p. 76; T. Śliwa, “Przemyska diecezja greckokatolicka w XVIII w. (do 1772 r.)”, in: *Polska – Ukraina. 1000 lat sąsiedztwa*, vol. 3: Studia z dziejów greckokatolickiej diecezji przemyskiej, ed. S. Stępień, Przemyśl 1996, p. 88. On the development of the deanery network in the Przemyśl diocese, see: Bendza, *Prawosławna diecezja przemyska*, pp. 102-107.
- 189 Bieńkowski, “Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego”, p. 810. According to R. Czupryk the borders of the Przemyśl diocese overlapped with the political borders: in the west, the border of the ancient Piast state and also of settlement in Ruthenia, in the north – the former border between the Duchy of Chelm-Belz and Red Ruthenia, in the south – the state border with Hungary. Only the eastern border did not clearly evolve from the boundaries of state administration.
- 190 L. Bieńkowski (“Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego”, pp. 931, 1048) estimated the number of Uniate churches in the Przemyśl diocese at 1120 in 1693 and 1253 in 1772. W. Kołbuk (*Kościół wschodnie*, p. 47) offers the figure of 1252 Uniate parish churches and 23 public chapels existing circa 1772 in the Przemyśl diocese (the number of Uniate parish churches in the Przemyśl diocese located in the Ruthenian palatinate offered on p. 49 is wrong – it should be 1107 instead of 1707). Z. Budzyński (“Sieć parafialna”, p. 139) supplemented those statistics with a number of Orthodox churches before the Union of Brześć – 700-750. It follows from my research that the number of Uniate parish churches in the Przemyśl diocese may be raised to 1270 (including 5 parishes run by Basilian monks), and the number of filial churches to 42 (of which six were the Basilian churches). Also see: Z. Budzyński, “Sieć cerkiewna na ziemi przemyskiej w świetle rejestru poborowego z 1658 r.”, *Rocznik Przemyski*, 37 (2001), pp. 81-90; Idem, “Sieć cerkiewna ziemi sanockiej w świetle rejestrów poborowych z 1640 i 1655 r.”, *Rocznik Przemyski*, 34 (1998), fasc. 4, pp. 49-55; Idem, “Sieć cerkiewna ziemi przemyskiej w świetle rejestru poborowego z 1628 r.”, *Rocznik Przemyski*, 32 (1996), fasc. 1, pp. 109-124.

Śliwa's opinion, also held by Józef Półćwiartek, the Uniate Church's densest parish network lay in the Przemyśl diocese.¹⁹¹

In recent years, mainly owing to the findings of Ihor Skoczylas¹⁹² and Zdzisław Budzyński,¹⁹³ there has been an improvement in what we know about the Uniate eparchy of Lwów.¹⁹⁴ They conducted a fundamental verification of what had been determined by Kołbuk,¹⁹⁵ mainly in respect of intermediate units of church administration (officialates and governorships-deaneries). As in the case of the Przemyśl eparchy and other Uniate eparchies, the division into officialates and governorships was a vestige of earlier divisions of the Orthodox Church.¹⁹⁶ The 1772 division of the Lwów diocese into three "dioceses" of Lwów, Kamieniec and Halicz – which was also adopted by Kołbuk¹⁹⁷ – was replaced by the recently proposed division into five officialates in: Bar (nine governorships), Brzeżany (15 governorships), Halicz (16 governorships), Kamieniec Podolski (14 governorships), and Lwów (16 governorships).¹⁹⁸ At the time the Union of Brześć was an

191 Półćwiartek, "Parafie greckokatolickie diecezji przemyskiej", p. 93.

192 Skoczylas, *Генеральні візитації*, passim; Idem, *Адміністративно-територіальний устрій Львівської єпархії*, pp. 149-169.

193 Budzyński, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, passim; Idem, "Struktura terytorialna eparchii lwowskiej", pp. 127-142.

194 At the Ivan Franko University in Lviv a doctoral thesis has been written on the history of the Lwów eparchy in the 16th and 17th centuries: В. Ф. Кметь, *Львівська єпархія у XVI – на початку XVII століття*. The author published part of his findings in *Ковчег. Науковий збірник із церковної історії*, 3 (2001), pp. 131-155: "Юрисдикційний статус та організаційна структура Галицької (Львівської) єпархії XIV-XVI століть".

195 Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie*, pp. 170-239.

196 Gil, *Prawosławna eparchia*, p. 137.

197 Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego", p. 1042; Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie*, pp. 170-239.

198 Due to the absence of an unequivocal source for the entire Uniate diocese of Lwów in the second half of the eighteenth century there are quite serious difficulties when establishing the borders and the number of parishes in individual governorships. The unclear picture of the borders and equivocal source references made it necessary to merge the deaneries of Stanisławów and Tyśmienica as well as those of Wojniłów and Kałusz. The deaneries of Stanisławów and Tyśmienica were treated as separate entities by the visitations in 1740 and 1755 (Skoczylas, *Генеральні візитації*, pp. 142-145, 217-221; Budzyński, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, vol. 2, map 47), but jointly by the census of 1782 (O. Duh, A. Pawłyszyn, *Spis parafii eparchii lwowskiej z 1782 r.*, a manuscript held by the author, p. 45). The deaneries of Wojniłów and Kałusz are referred to as separate units by the visitations of 1746-1748 (Skoczylas, *Генеральні*

nounced, the Orthodox diocese of Lwów comprised three general governorships (or officialates) with their seats in Halicz, Kamieniec Podolski and Lwów. At the beginning of the eighteenth century it split up into four officialates: Braclaw, Podolia, Lwów and Halicz.¹⁹⁹ In the visitation reports of 1738-1744 an additional officialate at Brzeżany is referred to, which was set apart from those of Lwów and Halicz, and in 1745-1748 the Bar officialate was separated from Podolia.²⁰⁰ In 1754-1756 the Braclaw officialate was transferred to the jurisdiction of the metropolitan diocese of Kiev pursuant to a decision by the Warsaw nunciature.²⁰¹

The Lwów eparchy of 47 743 thousand km² was almost entirely located in the palatinates of Ruthenia and Podolia. Only 59 out of 2735 Uniate churches subordinated to the Lwów eparchy were situated outside those palatinates. The governorship of Biały Kamień (in the Lwów officialate) was divided between the Busk powiat of the Belz palatinate (11 parishes) and the land of Lwów in the Ruthenian palatinate (11 parishes). Similarly, the governorship of Żółkiew was divided between the palatinates of Belz (nine parishes) and Ruthenia (23 parishes). It may have been a trace of the former subordination of the Busk powiat to the Lwów land²⁰² and the Halicz eparchy established in the twelfth century.²⁰³ The jurisdiction of the Braclaw palatinate extended over 15 churches from the Bar officialate, most of which were situated in the Podolian palatinate. It could have

wizytacji, pp. 176-178, 183; Budzyński, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, vol. 2, map 47), and jointly by the visitation of 1755 (Скочиляс, *Генеральні візитації*, pp. 197-201). The 1782 inventory of the parishes of the Lwów eparchy referred to the Wojniłów deanery, whereas Kałusz was part of the Perehińsko deanery along with Rożniatów (Duh, Pawlyszyn, *Spis parafii*, p. 39).

199 Скочиляс, “Адміністративно-територіальний устрій”, pp. 153-154.

200 Idem, *Генеральні візитації*, p. clxiv, clxviii.

201 Ibid, pp. cxviii-ccviii; Budzyński, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, vol. 2, map 41. On the reorganization of the Lwów diocese in the first half of the seventeenth century, see: Скочиляс, “Адміністративно-територіальний устрій”, passim.

202 Dąbkowski, *Podział administracyjny*, p. 326.

203 Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza*, p. 57. There are also doubts about the border between the Ruthenian and Belz palatinates near Kamionka Strumiłowa. According to K. Przyboś (“Granice ziemi lwowskiej”, p. 6, map), like on the map by A. Jabłonowski (*Ziemie Ruskie Rzeczypospolitej*, map 2), the villages of Jasionka Polska and Jasienica Ruska were classified as part of the Belz palatinate. But Z. Budzyński (*Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, map 23) included Jasienica (Jasionka) Polska in the Ruthenian palatinate. The same holds for the village of Bojaniec which was included by the above-mentioned authors in the Belz palatinate, while A. Janeczek, author of a monograph on the Belz palatinate, included it in the Ruthenian palatinate (Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza*, map 10).

been a vestige of the earlier subordination to the Lwów diocese of “all Ukrainian Orthodox churches of the Braclaw and even the Kiev palatinates”.²⁰⁴ Kołbuk’s findings regarding the border area of the Lwów and Łuck eparchies were significantly corrected by Budzyński and Skoczylas. Parts of the governorships of Zborów (six parishes) and Tarnopol (16 parishes) in the Brzeżany officialate of the Lwów eparchy were then subordinated to the Krzemieniec powiat in the Volhynian palatinate.²⁰⁵ The Ruthenian palatinate exercised its jurisdiction over 69 parishes of the Łuck eparchy and 190 parishes of the Chełm eparchy. The Łuck eparchy will be further discussed in connection with the discussion of the Volhynian palatinate, and the Chełm eparchy – in the context of the Bełz palatinate.

The above examples of the structure of the Uniate eparchies situated within the borders of the Ruthenian palatinate suggest that one should be more cautious than ever when claiming that the state and church divisions overlapped.²⁰⁶ It is necessary to remember that church structures established in the Middle Ages were more permanent than the state borders which were sometimes subject to serious fluctuations. For example, a border between the Duchy of Lithuania and the Crown stabilized as late as the sixteenth century (the description of 1546),²⁰⁷ much later than the existing church divisions. It should be remembered that the changes of state borders did not always result in the modifications of church borders. One should also take into account a correspondence between church borders, especially of deaneries and parishes, and the limits of private, royal and church estates.²⁰⁸

It is difficult to estimate precisely the rise in the number of Uniate churches in the Ruthenian palatinate that occurred in modern times. According to the last estimate made by Wasyl Kmeť in his work on the Lwów eparchy in the 1560s-1580s, there were 1043 parishes. Should that figure be accepted as plausible, their number would have risen by nearly threefold over 200 years.²⁰⁹ The rise in the

204 Скочиляс, “Адміністративно-територіальний устрій”, p. 152.

205 Kołbuk, *Kościoly wschodnie*, pp. 192-193, 197-198; Budzyński, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, map 26.

206 Bienkowski, “Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego”, p. 796; Gil, *Prawosławna eparchia chełmska*, p. 99.

207 A precise description of that border may be found in volume 1 of *Археографический сборник документов, относящихся к истории Северо-Западной Руси*, Вильна 1867, pp. 46-126.

208 Скочиляс, “Адміністративно-територіальний устрій”, pp. 157-158.

209 В.Ф. Кмеť, *Львівська єпархія у XVI – на початку XVII століття* (the propositions and main conclusions of the work have been posted at <http://www.lib.ua-ru.net/>)

number of Uniate churches in the Przemyśl eparchy was definitely more modest. Budzyński estimates that soon before the Union of Brześć there were approximately 700-750 of them.²¹⁰ Over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries their number increased by nearly twofold, to 1312 churches.

Before the First Partition nearly all Uniate churches in the Ruthenian palatinate were parish churches. Only 72 (or 2.3 percent) of all of them, were filial churches including monastery churches run by the Basilian monks that did not discharge parish functions. All in all in the Ruthenian palatinate there were 59 places of worship administered by the Basilian monks or nuns, most of them located in the Lwów eparchy. In 14 monasteries (25 percent) there were also parish churches.

The Latin Church religious communities in the Ruthenian palatinate, like those of the Uniate Church, mainly lived in the dioceses of Lwów, Przemyśl and Chełm.²¹¹ Which was a result of the way the initial diocese structures had evolved in that palatinate. That process was comprehensively described in the literature on the subject. Still topical in this regard are the works by Władysław Abraham. More recent publications usually discuss the propositions he had put forward. Abraham sought the origins of the organization of the Latin Church in Ruthenia in the Przemyśl land. In his opinion the boundaries of the Latin dioceses, although not defined in the bull of 1375 establishing the Halicz metropolitan province and appointing its suffragan, were overlapping with those of the Orthodox Church dioceses.²¹²

Almost entire Latin Przemyśl diocese was located in the Ruthenian palatinate (170 parish and 124 filial churches). Its initial borders may have overlapped with those of the Orthodox diocese.²¹³ Outside its borders there were only seven churches. The deaneries of Tarnogród and Mościska had under their jurisdiction

inode/16503.html, 31.01.2009). A significant, though much more modest increase in the number of churches in modern times was proposed by L. Bienkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego", pp. 820823, 930-931.

210 Budzyński, "Sieć parafialna", p. 139.

211 Although most churches of the Chełm diocese were located in the Chełm land of the Ruthenian palatinate (66 churches), the structure of the diocese will be discussed when the Bełz palatinate is described (47 churches), like that of the Uniate diocese.

212 Abraham, *Powstanie organizacyi*, pp. 238-239, 299. On the origins of the Latin bishopric in Przemyśl, see also: Z. Sułowski, "Diecezja przemyska w średniowieczu", *Nasza Przeszłość*, 46 (1976), pp. 26-28; J. Kwolek, "Początki biskupstwa przemyskiego", *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne*, 3 (1956), fasc. 2, pp. 146-147.

213 Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, Lublin 1969, p. 149.

the churches in the vicinity of Lubaczów situated in the Bełż palatinate.²¹⁴ Usually allocated to the Kraków palatinate was the parish of Jaśliska, incorporated into the Przemyśl diocese in 1763 by the Lwów archbishop Waclaw Sierakowski.²¹⁵

According to Henryk Borcz the Przemyśl diocese was vested the original deanery organization at the end of the fourteenth century. It was fundamentally reorganized twice: in 1594 and 1746. In the aftermath of the restructuring conducted by bishop Waclaw Hieronim Sierakowski in 1746, the number of deaneries rose to twelve.²¹⁶ In 1751 the same bishop introduced the division into three archdeaconries, and included four deaneries into each of them.²¹⁷ In modern times the number of parishes in the Przemyśl diocese was rising at a slower pace than, for example, in the fifteenth century, but that increase was systematic, apart from a temporary interception of more than a dozen churches by the Protestants during the Reformation.²¹⁸

214 St. Stanislaus parish at Lubaczów, the Dominican church and parish at Cieszanów, the Franciscan church and parish at Horyniec, the parish at Oleszyce and its branch at Stary Dzików, the parish at Łukawiec. In the Mościska deanery there was the Dominican parish at Wielkie Oczy, see: Annex. The affiliation with the Przemyśl diocese of the churches in the vicinity of Lubaczów should be attributed to the fact that earlier that area was part of the Duchy of Przemyśl.

215 The administrative affiliation of the town of Jaśliska in modern times is quite problematic. Some authors, e.g., B. Kumor (*Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, p. 149), allocate it to the Ruthenian palatinate, while others, e.g., S. Litak (*Kościół łaciński*, p. 396; Idem, *Atlas Kościoła łacińskiego*, p. 349), to the Kraków palatinate. That problem was discussed in greater detail by K. Przyboś (“Granice ziemi sanockiej”, pp. 25-26).

216 In 1594 bishop Wawrzyniec Goślicki divided the Przemyśl diocese into seven deaneries of: Dynów, Jarosław, Krosno, Przemyśl, Rzeszów, Sambor and Sanok. In 1603 the Sokółów deanery was established which was renamed the Leżajsk deanery in 1630. In 1641 bishop Wawrzyniec Goślicki demarcated the Mościska deanery out of the Przemyśl deanery. In 1764 bishop Sierakowski established four additional deaneries of: Brzozów, Nowe Miasto, Próchnik and Tarnogród, thus abolishing the Przemyśl deanery. The development of the Przemyśl diocese organization was discussed by Borcz, “Archidiecezja przemyska”, pp. 66-81.

217 Ibid, p. 71; see: W. Müller, “Organizacja terytorialna diecezji przemyskiej w okresie przedrozbiorowym 1375-1772”, *Nasza Przeszłość*, 46 (1976), p. 43.

218 At the turn of the fifteenth century there were circa 130 parishes in the diocese, in 1641 – 153, in 1742 – 162, in 1772 – 176 and 123 filial churches, Kumor, *Granice metropolii*, p. 256; Borcz, “Archidiecezja przemyska”, p. 74.

Table 9: The number of places of worship in the Ruthenian palatinate circa 1772

Religions and denominations	Diocese/ Eparchy	Archdeaconry/ Officialate	Deanery/ Protopopy/ Governorship	Main places of worship	Auxiliary places of worship	
Uniate (Greek Catholic)	Chełm	Bełz	Tomaszów	2	-	
		Chełm	Chełm	Chełm	44	3
			Horodło	5	-	
			Hrubieszów	17	-	
			Krasnystaw	22	1	
			Lublin	12	2	
			Luboml	30	-	
			Ratno	28	2	
			Szczebrzeszyn	21	-	
			Tyszowce	1	-	
			Zamość	8	1	
			188	9		
		190	9			
	Lwów	Brzeżany	Brzeżany	Brzeżany	39	1
			Buczacz	52	4	
			Czortków	21	1	
			Dunajów	22	-	
			Grzymałów	23	-	
			Janów	27	-	
			Kozłów	37	-	
			Pomorzany	25	1	
			Rohatyn	31	1	
			Skalał	29	-	
			Tarnopol	26	-	
			Trembowla	40	1	
			Zarwanica	46	-	
			Zawałów	20	1	
			Zborów	35	-	
			473	10		
		Halicz	Bohorodczany	39	-	
			Bursztyn	31	-	
			Halicz	40	1	
Horodenka			71	-		
Kałusz	60		2			
Kołomyja	38		1			
Kosów	39	1				

Uniate (Greek Catholic)	Lwów	Halicz	Ottynia	44	1
			Rożniatów	27	1
			Stanisławów	60	2
			Śniatyn	28	-
			Tłumacz	46	-
			Uście Zielone	30	1
			Zabłotów	22	-
			Żuków	43	-
			618	10	
		Kamieniec Podolski	Husiatyn	11	-
			Jagielnica	5	-
			Satanów	6	-
			22	-	
		Lwów	Biały Kamień	11	-
			Bolechów	37	1
			Bóbrka	37	-
			Dolina	43	-
			Gliniany	25	1
			Gołogóry	30	2
			Kamionka Strumiłowa	24	2
			Kulików	30	-
			Lwów	74	3
			Rozdół	53	-
			Strzeliska Nowe	38	-
			Szczerzec	41	2
			Złoczów	34	2
			Żółkiew	23	4
			Żurawno	26	-
			Żydaczów	24	-
			550	17	
			1663	37	
		Łuck	-	-	69
Przemysł	-	Baligród	40	1	
		Bircza	47	2	
		Dobromil	48	1	
		Drohobycz	64	3	
		Dukla	4	-	

Uniate (Greek Catholic)	Przemyśl	Gródek Jagielloński	51	-	
		Jarosław	44	1	
		Jaśliska	20	3	
		Jaworów	36	2	
		Krosno	19	-	
		Lesko	26	-	
		Lubaczów	2	-	
		Mokrzany	46	4	
		Mościska	40	-	
		Niżankowice	35	3	
		Oleszyce	6	-	
		Pruchnik	33	-	
		Przemyśl	78	1	
		Sambor	42	-	
		Sanok	36	-	
		Sądowa Wisznia	47	-	
		Skole	38	1	
		Stara Sól	54	1	
		Stary Sambor	51	1	
		Stryj	54	1	
		Tarnogród	16	-	
		Wysocko	54	-	
		Zatwarnica	42	-	
		Żukotyń	36	-	
				1109	25
		3031	72		
Latin (Roman Catholic)	Baków	-	-	2	1
	Chełm	-	Chełm	12	2
			Grabowiec	1	-
			Hrubieszów	2	2
			Krasnystaw	9	3
			Luboml	6	2
			Turobin	5	4
			Zamość	8	10
			43	23	
	Kamieniec Podolski	-	Satanów	1	-

Latin (Roman Catholic)	Lwów	Halicz	Halicz	12	6	
			Kołomyja	10	2	
			Żydaczów	11	2	
				33	10	
		Lwów	Buczacz	Buczacz	10	1
				Dunajów	12	3
				Konkolniki	8	5
				Lwów	18	38
				Rohatyn	12	4
				Trembowla	11	3
					71	54
		Żółkiew	Busk	Busk	9	1
				Gródek Jagielloński	13	5
				Janów	9	6
					31	12
				135	76	
	Łuck	Łuck	Krzemieniec	5	3	
	Przemyśl	Brzozów	Brzozów	Brzozów	12	7
				Dynów	13	9
				Krosno	17	9
				Sanok	18	12
					60	37
		Jarosław	Jarosław	Jarosław	16	19
				Leżajsk	13	13
				Rzeszów	18	15
				Tarnogród	7	8
					54	55
Przemyśl		Mościska	Mościska	14	5	
			Nowe Miasto	15	-	
			Pruchnik	14	15	
			Sambor	13	12	
				56	32	
			170	124		
			356	227		
Armenian Catholic	Lwów	-	-	13	-	
Orthodox	Kiev	-	-	-	1	
Karaite				2	-	
Jewish				157	8	
Total				3559	308	

Located within the borders of the Ruthenian palatinate was nearly the entire Latin Lwów archdiocese. Its organization in modern times is the subject matter of a monograph by Józef Krętosz.²¹⁹ The boundaries of the Latin Lwów archdiocese (referred to as Halicz until 1412) were not defined in its foundation documents. Abraham and other historians following in his footsteps argue that its borders were overlapping with the boundaries of the Orthodox Halicz archdiocese that had been reinstated in 1371.²²⁰ Outside of the Ruthenian palatinate the Lwów archdiocese covered a Dominican parish and church at Busk and a filial church at Łopatyn (parish of Busk). They were affiliated with the Busk powiat (Bełz palatinate) which was the remnant of its former affiliation with the Lwów land and the Orthodox Halicz eparchy.²²¹ According to Litak, the Busk powiat also covered the village of Toporów and its parish church, but it seems that it should be rather allocated to the Ruthenian palatinate.²²² The diocese boundaries departed from the borders of the state administration also in the vicinity of Niemirów which belonged to the Bełz palatinate, whereas its parish was part of the Lwów archdiocese. Which could have been a vestige of the relations of that area with the former Gródek powiat in the Lwów land.²²³ In the Volhynian palatinate there was a filial church at the village of Kołodno which was part of the Tarnopol parish (deanery of Trembowła).

The Lwów archdiocese was one of the last that were divided into local archdeaconries in modern times. It happened during the second session of the 1765 council convoked by archbishop Waclaw Sierakowski. Apart from the archdeaconry situated in the capital city the archdeaconries in Halicz and Żółkiew were

219 Krętosz, *Organizacja archidiecezji lwowskiej* (especially Chapter 3: Organizacja terytorialna archidiecezji).

220 W. Abraham, *Początki arcybiskupstwa łacińskiego we Lwowie*, Lwów 1909.

221 Dąbkowski, *Podział administracyjny*, p. 326.

222 Litak, *Atlas Kościoła łacińskiego*, p. 340. The problem was similarly perceived by other historians most probably relying on A. Jabłonowski's map (*Ziemie Ruskie Rzeczypospolitej*, map 2) – Przyboś, "Granice ziemi lwowskiej", p. 7; S. Tylus, *Fundacje kościołów parafialnych w średniowiecznej archidiecezji lwowskiej*, Lublin 1999, p. 257 (map); Budzyński, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, vol. 2, map 22 (though with some reservations). It should be remembered that A. Jabłonowski's map – provided the author was not mistaken – reflected the settlement in the second half of the sixteenth century, whereas Toporów was granted city rights as late as 1603 and the relevant document clearly stated that it was in the Lwów land, SGKP. vol. 12, p. 400. In that context much more reliable seem to be the findings of A. Janeczek who places Toporów in the Ruthenian palatinate (*Osadnictwo pogranicza*, map 10).

223 See the map in: Dąbkowski, *Podział administracyjny*.

established.²²⁴ Which was an outcome of a new division of the archdiocese into deaneries. The original division into deaneries in the Lwów archdiocese was laid down in 1589 when 127 parishes were allocated to seven deaneries. That division was changed in 1765 when archbishop Sierakowski increased the number of deaneries to 12, initially allocating them to three archdeaconries.²²⁵ In 1772 there were 137 parish churches and 80 auxiliary churches in the Lwów archdiocese. Like in the Przemyśl diocese, the growth of the parish network was most intensive in the fifteenth century. Later on, the increment of the number of parishes was low, modest even compared to the growth reported in the Przemyśl diocese.²²⁶

Contrary to the Uniate Church, the Latin Church had a significantly higher percentage of auxiliary churches. Out of 583 Latin churches in this palatinate 227 (38.9 percent) were filial churches. In respect to the part of Małopolska belonging to the Crown a higher role was played by monasteries – 41 parishes and 106 filial churches in the Ruthenian palatinate either belonged to monasteries or were serviced by them (25.2 percent of all churches). In Małopolska proper they accounted for circa 12.7 percent (209 out of 1648 churches). All collegiate churches in the Ruthenian palatinate (Zamość in the Chełm diocese, Brzozów and Jarosław in the Przemyśl diocese, Lwów, Stanisławów, Żółkiew – the Lwów archdiocese) discharged the function of parish churches. Among filial churches 27 had a status of hospital provostships.

Situated in the Ruthenian palatinate was the capital as well as the majority of the churches of the third, next to the Latin and Greek, rite. In the Middle Ages, apart from Kamieniec Podolski, Lwów was the most important centre of Armenian settlement. The exact date when the bishopric of the Armenian Church was established in Lwów is unknown. It follows from a document appointing bishop Gregory in 1364 that he was not the first priest to hold that position. That is why Krzysztof Stopka concluded, contrary to Bolesław Kumor claiming that the Armenian bishopric was established in 1361, that until the privilege of 1364 the capital of the bishopric could have been situated either in Łuck or in

224 Krętosz, *Organizacja archidiecezji lwowskiej*, p. 168.

225 Ibid, p. 172.

226 Ibid, p. 184. On the development of the parish network in the Lwów archdiocese, see: S. Tylus, "Sieć parafialna łańciskiej archidiecezji halickiej w średniowieczu", in: *Średniowieczny Kościół Polski. Z dziejów duszpasterstwa i organizacji kościelnej*, ed. M. Zahajkiewicz, S. Tylus, Lublin 1999, pp. 151-171; Idem, *Fundacje kościołów parafialnych*, p. 47.

Włodzimierz Wołyński.²²⁷ In formal and legal terms the Armenian archbishop in Lwów was subordinated to the Catholicos (a counterpart of the Orthodox Church patriarch) in Eczmiadzyn (Etchmiadzin, Vagharshapat). After Mikołaj Torosowicz, the Armenian archbishop, had made a Catholic confession in 1630 and 1635, a Catholic archdiocese of Armenian rite was established in Lwów which was an ongoing bone of contention between the supporters of the Union backed by the Latin Church and the king, and their opponents supported by the Catholicos in Eczmiadzyn. It was the support of the king and the Latin Church as well as the activity of the Theatines in Lwów, who were running a seminary for Armenian priests, that brought about a gradual Latinization of the rite and the Union's success in the eighteenth century.²²⁸

Basic information about the structure of the Armenian Church in the eighteenth century is offered in the works by Tadeusz Gromnicki,²²⁹ Sadok Barącz,²³⁰ Czesław Lechicki²³¹ and Grzegorz Petrowicz.²³² It was the basis of Kołbuk's list of Armenian churches in the Lwów archdiocese circa 1772.²³³ Which is of great significance for the cartographic approach to organized Armenian communities. Some data have been supplemented by the above-mentioned works by Krzysztof Stopka and Jurij Smirnow, but only as regards the dedications of churches and what they were built of.

Before the First Partition there was a total of 14 Catholic parishes of Armenian rite in the Ruthenian palatinate.²³⁴ Until the end of modern times the main centre of that Church was in Lwów, where apart from a cathedral and affiliated convent of Armenian St. Benedict nuns there were three parish churches – of St. Jacob, St. Ann (administered in 1784 by one parish priest) and Holy Cross.²³⁵ As

227 Smirnow, *Katedra ormiańska we Lwowie*, pp. 7-8.

228 Stopka, *Ormianie w Polsce*, pp. 68-69, 137 (Grzegorz Adzam, a parish priest at Kutry, accepted the Union as late as 1718).

229 Gromnicki, *Ormianie w Polsce*, passim.

230 Barącz, *Rys dziejów ormiańskich*, passim.

231 Lechicki, *Kościół ormiański w Polsce*, passim.

232 Petrowicz, *La Chiesa Armena in Polonia (1686-1954)*, passim.

233 Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie*, p. 345.

234 The statistical data overlook a community at Brody which was abandoned by most Armenians after the fire of 1749, Budzyński, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, pp. 24-25, map 51. S. Barącz claims that the Armenians left Brody after 1700 and moved to Lwów. In the eighteenth century a minority that was left there was in the custody of the Brody Dominicans, Barącz, *Rys dziejów ormiańskich*, p. 77.

235 In his study W. Kołbuk mentions St. Ann and St. Jacob's church (Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie*, p. 345), but according to other works there were two churches, Smirnow,

early as the sixteenth century there was an Armenian parish at Złoczów (most probably founded by the Górka family),²³⁶ but the Potocki family takes by far the greatest credit for the development of Armenian settlement and the growth of religious communities. Their foundation financed Armenian parishes at Horodenka, Kutry, Łysiec, Stanisławów, Śniatyń (in their capacity as royal starosts) and Tyśmienica.²³⁷ All Armenian churches in the Ruthenian palatinate were located east and south-east of Lwów. In the westernmost parish of Zamość the Armenians began to settle down in 1585 owing to the efforts made by chancellor Jan Zamoyski.²³⁸ It is also worth mentioning the following locations where Armenian communities lived in the eighteenth century, but where there were no churches or organized ministry, such as Dubno, Kraków, Lublin and Waręż.²³⁹

In his classic work on the history of the Jews in Przemyśl Mojżesz Schorr writes that the sixteenth century marked the beginning of a larger scale Jewish settlement in Red Ruthenia. He mentions Lwów, the main commercial centre of that land, as their first destination. The oldest mention of the Jews in Przemyśl dates from 1466, and the Jewish community – even though that fact was not directly corroborated – could have been established there at the end of the fifteenth century.²⁴⁰ Apart from Lwów and Przemyśl, there were equally early centres of Jewish settlement at Luboml, Drohobycz, Podhajce and Halicz. In the second half of the fifteenth century the Jewish settlement in the towns of Red Ruthenia was very intensive.²⁴¹

Along with the Podolian and Braclaw palatinates, the Ruthenian palatinate was part of the Ruthenian zemstvo, one of the four that had their representa-

Katedra ormiańska, p. 51; F. Wasyl, "Ormiański spis status animarum parafii Horodenka z 1808 r", *Prace Historyczno-Archiwalne*, 19 (2007), p. 193; Budzyński, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, p. 381.

236 Stopka, *Ormianie w Polsce*, pp. 133, 136.

237 Ibid, pp. 22, 128, 131, 134, 136.

238 Ibid, p. 125.

239 Barącz, *Rys dziejów ormiańskich*, pp. 84, 99, 175-176.

240 M. Schorr, *Żydzi w Przemyślu do końca XVIII wieku*, Jerozolima 1991, pp. 2-4. A. Fenczak, invoking the study by I. Schipper, assumes that a Jewish community in Przemyśl existed in the first half of the fourteenth century, A. Fenczak, "Kamień ten stoi na grobie Racheli po dziś dzień, czyli o przeszłości przemyskich Żydów i o ich ocalałych nagrobkach", *Studia Przemyskie*, 2 (2004), p. 10.

241 The analysis of the development of the Jewish settlement in the towns of Red Ruthenia was carried out by Horn, *Żydzi na Rusi Czerwonej*, pp. 14-29; Idem, "Żydowski ruch osadniczy w miastach Rusi Czerwonej do 1648 r.", *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Polsce*, 1974, no. 2 (90), pp. 3-24.

tives in the Crown's Four Lands Council. In the seventeenth century set apart from the Ruthenian zemstvo was the district of Przemyśl, and then of Rzeszów from Przemyśl. The area of the Przemyśl district did not overlap with the area of the Przemyśl diocese or the Ruthenian palatinate. It included, for example, a community at Wielkie Oczy (Bełz palatinate), but the southern and western part of the Latin Przemyśl diocese overlapped with the Ruthenian zemstvo (Drohobycz, Stryj, Skole, Lesko).²⁴² In 1763 the Rzeszów kahal exercised its jurisdiction over such branch kahals, among others, as Frysztak, Ropczyce, Sędziszów, Strzyżów (Kraków diocese) and Tyczyn (Przemyśl diocese). In the first half of the eighteenth century major communities began to go independent and separated from districts, thus becoming separate units. Przemyśl, Lwów, Rzeszów and Sambor obtained kahal status with the zemstvo rights. The kahals of the first category also included Brody and Żółkiew.²⁴³ In his study on the state of research in the history of Jewish communities in the Lwów land Stefan Gąsiorowski underscored that in the eighteenth century the Lwów kahal lost its major position first in favour of the community at Żółkiew, and then at Brody.²⁴⁴ That process is reflected by population figures offered in the 1765 census – the kahal in Lwów had 6378 heads whereas in Brody there were 6877 heads.²⁴⁵

It is noteworthy that the map of the territorial organization of the Jews in the Commonwealth authored by Israel Halperin overlooks the above-mentioned districts and kahals exercising zemstvo rights. He included the entire Ruthenian palatinate, apart from the land of Chełm and a few communities located north of the lands of Lwów (Stanisławczyk, Toporów) and Przemyśl (Sieniawa, Tarnogród, Krzeszów) in the Ruthenian zemstvo.²⁴⁶ Located in the northern part of the Ruthenian palatinate was the Bełz-Chełm-Ruthenia district whose range overlapped with that of the ancient lands of Chełm and Bełz (Bełz palatinate) and which separated from the Lublin zemstvo in the seventeenth century. The first ranking kahals had their seats at Bełz and Chełm. The district of the Zamoyski Family Entail – also overlooked by Halperin – which covered the kahals not only in the Ruthenian (Szczepieszyn, Tarnogród, Turobin, Zamość, Krasnobród,

242 Krochmal, *Krzyż i menora*, p. 27.

243 Idem, "Żydzi w miastach ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej", pp. 57-58; Leszczyński, *Sejm Żydów Korony*, pp. 70, 74-75.

244 Schipper, "Wewnętrzna organizacja Żydów", p. 99; S. Gąsiorowski, "Stan badań nad dziejami gmin żydowskich na ziemi lwowskiej w XVII i XVIII wieku", in: *Żydzi i judaizm we współczesnych badaniach polskich*, ed. K. Pilarczyk, Kraków 1997, pp. 192.

245 "Liczba głów", p. 396.

246 *Acta Congressus Generalis*, map.

Żółkiew), but also in Bełz (Łaszczów), Lublin (Biłgoraj, Frampol, Łuków, Modliborzyce) or Sandomierz palatinates (Ulanów)²⁴⁷ – became independent in 1669.

It follows from the analysis of the geographical range of the Jewish administration units in that region that one cannot always say that each of them was a compact entity in territorial terms. For it is difficult to delineate the boundaries of the district of the Zamoyski Family Entail which comprised a kahal at Łuków situated far away north of the Chełm-Bełz-Ruthenia district. The second reason why it was impossible to demarcate the boundaries of Jewish districts and *zemstvos* was an unclear and inaccurate affiliation of many of them resulting in numerous disputes and conflicts between kahals.²⁴⁸

The list of the Jewish communities in the Ruthenian palatinate in the second half of the eighteenth century was mainly based on a poll tax register of 1765 verified and supplemented by the sources of church provenance – mainly the visitation protocols. The 1765 census overlooked some communities, for example at Józefów which was part of the Zamoyski Family Entail, where Jakub Horowitz ('the Seeing from Lublin') was born,²⁴⁹ and at Wojsławice (in the Chełm land).²⁵⁰

Some mentions of the synagogues are hard to interpret unequivocally. They do not corroborate irrefutably that a community existed in that locality in the second half of the eighteenth century. It applies both to a situation when information comes from the seventeenth or the first half of the eighteenth century,²⁵¹ and when there is a single reference and thus it does not clearly indicate that

247 Leszczyński, *Sejm Żydów Korony*, p. 73.

248 "The administration was defective also for that reason that the boundaries of jurisdiction of each main kahal had not been determined, and specifically it was not defined precisely over which branch kahals and properties its jurisdiction extended, and in effect the kahals were constantly in conflict with one another", Schorr, "Organizacja Żydów w Polsce", pp. 739-740.

249 At the end of the seventeenth century there was a well-organized community at Józefów. The synagogue was built in 1735 (according to the 1750 visitation – in 1744), AAL. Rep60 A157, pp. 713-714 (1750); EJCP. VII, pp. 256-258; EJL. I, p. 578. According to R. Kuwałek, J. Horowitz was born at Józefów upon the Vistula River (*Kim był Widzący z Lublina*, access: http://www.jews-lublin.net/index.php/Kim_by%C5%82_Widz%C4%85cy_z_Lublina_..., 23.04.2009); Also see: A. Michałowska, *Szlakiem najstarszych synagog w Polsce: Podlasie i Lubelszczyzna* (access: http://www.mowiaiewiki.pl/artukul.htmRid_artukul158, 24.04.2009).

250 AAL. Rep60 A161, f. 448v, 1761 r.; EJL. III, pp. 1456-1457.

251 E.g., the visitation of Chełm by Bishop Krzysztof Jan Szembek in 1714 which mentions a synagogue at Pilaszkowice allegedly built in 1686. There was a dispute between the parish priest at Gorzków and the Jews about it (Chełm diocese), AAL. Rep60

a community really existed.²⁵² The statistical data and their tables include only the localities which give rise to no major doubts.

Thanks to church sources it has been possible to supplement the list of synagogues in large communities. This applies to, *inter alia*, the second synagogue in Rzeszów,²⁵³ Brody,²⁵⁴ Drohobycz,²⁵⁵ Jarosław,²⁵⁶ and Stary Sambor.²⁵⁷ The situation in Lwów was exceptional because in early modern times two Jewish communities lived in the city and its suburbs. Both of them had all kahal institutions: the synagogue, bath, kahal (in the sense of the community authorities), courts, offices, and operated independently. Majer Bałaban devoted a separate study to them.²⁵⁸

Nearly all the communities mentioned in the poll tax registers of 1765²⁵⁹ have been corroborated by other sources and studies. Only in 23 cases did the query of sources and literature not produce any positive results.²⁶⁰ Apart from such sac-

A152, f. 311. There is also a single mention of a Jewish temple ("fanum") at the village of Kostarowce (near Brzozów) in 1721, AAPrz. AV156, p. 1517.

- 252 Two single mentions about a wooden synagogue at Tyrawa Wołoska (the land of Sanok) dating from 1721 and 1745 in the absence of any further information cannot be viewed as corroborating the fact that a kahal existed in there in the second half of the eighteenth century, AAPrz. AV156, s. 1212 (1721); AAPrz. AV172, f. 84v (1745); see: J. Krochmal, "Bożnice i cmentarze żydowskie na terenie rzymskokatolickiej diecezji przemyskiej w połowie XVIII wieku", *Studia Przemyskie*, 2 (2004), p. 33. It is equally hard to conclude that there were communities at Rudki and Wołoszcza (near Gródek Jagielloński) where a '*schola judeorum*' was reported by the visiting priest, AALw. AV4, ff. 10, 13v (1763), or at Bukowsko ('*schola seu synagoga*'), AAPrz. AV172, ff. 129, 135v (1745).
- 253 AAPrz. AV159, pp. 90-91 (1720); AAPrz. AV160, f. 239 (1727); AAPrz. AV174, ff. 5, 6v, 12-12v, 34, 39v (1745); AAPrz. AV181, ff. 50v-51, 56 (1754); Also see: J. Pęckowski, *Dzieje miasta Rzeszowa do końca XVIII w.*, Rzeszów 1913, pp. 366, 379-380; 'Żydowski Akropol'. *Dawna dzielnica Rzeszowa*, ed. A. Szela, Rzeszów 1994, pp. 7-8, 14.
- 254 ADS. D155, ff. 195v-196 (1742) ('*private synagogue vulgo Przyszkółki*').
- 255 AAPrz. AV157, pp. 1348-1349 (1722).
- 256 AAPrz. AV168, pp. 25, 58, 83-84, 138 (1743).
- 257 The 1743 visitation reported a brick synagogue in a converted private house and the second one, which could also be treated as a prayer house, in the house owned by Ustrzycki, AAPrz. AV164, ff. 36v, 48-48v.
- 258 M. Bałaban, *Dzielnica żydowska: jej dzieje i kultura*, Lwów 1909.
- 259 "Liczba głów", *passim*; "Żydzi ziemi lwowskiej i powiatu żydaczowskiego", pp. 357-378; "Spis Żydów i Karaitów ziemi halickiej", pp. 11-32.
- 260 Meant are the kahals at Dunajów, Janów, Jezupól, Kamionka Wielka, Knihynicze, Kozowa, Kułaczkowce, Mariampól, Martynów Nowy, Monasterzyska, Nawarja, Pi-

ral facilities as synagogues, which may serve as an evidence that a Jewish community lived in a locality, the church sources frequently mention prayer houses in the Ruthenian palatinate. They were not always separate venues of religious cult as happened in the case of kahal synagogues. In the sources one may come across references to “a private prayer house”²⁶¹ or “the Jews gathered at the inn-keeper” which proves that private quarters, breweries, taverns, etc. were used as places of worship.²⁶² Prayer houses may have existed along with synagogues in large Jewish centres,²⁶³ but most of them were located in villages and were of

styń, Siedliszcze, Skafat, Sokołów, Sokołówka, Strzeliska Nowe, Wiszenka Wielka, Założce, Zawalów, Zborów, and Żurów. Although it has been mentioned in many works by, i.a., Z. Budzyński, there are doubts as to the existence of a kahal at Dunajów. It should be added that all those localities were put on the map of Jewish communities by J. Wijaczka (*Od połowy XVII po schyłek XVIII w.*, pp. 132, 134). The list of communities included in the *Atlas of the History of the Polish Jews* may be supplemented with the following Jewish centres: Siedliszcze (near Chełm), Zamość, Wojsławice, Józefów, Żołynia, Bukowsko, Rudki, Wołoszcza, Świrz, Sokołówka, and Kułaczkowce. The said map also includes the community at Felsztyn which was one administrative unit with Laszki Murowane according to the 1765 poll tax register.

- 261 For example, a prayer house in a private house at Hussaków (Przemyśl land) that had operated there before a synagogue was built in the second half of the eighteenth century, AAPrz. AV165, ff. 6, 15v-16 (a prayer house in a private house, the Jews were granted permission to build a synagogue in 1743); AAPrz. AV178, ff. 4v, 12v (1753, the synagogue under construction); CPAHU, no. 132.1.526, f. 1 (1760); “Liczba głów”, p. 396 (kahal, 1765).
- 262 At Domaradz the services for local Jews were held at a brewery, AAPrz. AV187, pp. 14, 17 (1756). Likewise in the Sanok land at Grabówka, AAPrz. AV175, ff. 165-165, 180 (1745), at the village of Hoczew, AAPrz. AV172, ff. 105, 119v (1745), at Jabłonka where the Jews from Dydnia and the vicinity used to gather, AAPrz. AV175, f. 353 (1745), at Jaćmierz, AAPrz. AV175, ff. 120, 143 (1745), AAPrz. AV187, ff. 64-64v (1756) and at the village of Łąka in the land of Przemyśl, AAPrz. AV174, ff. 175, 183 (1744), Rakszawa, AAPrz. AV180, f. 38 (1754). At Medyka in the land of Przemyśl a prayer house was in a tavern, AAPrz. AV178, ff. 49v, 56v (1753). At Sądowa Wisznia a prayer house was in a building owned by a brewer, AAPrz. AV178, f. 110v (1754), AAPrz. AV165, ff. 124, 143v-144 (1744 r.), at Wyszatycy it was near a brewery, AAPrz. AV166, ff. 29v, 40-40v (1744).
- 263 The 1753 visitation report mentions two prayer houses apart from the synagogues at Drohobycz, AAPrz. AV176, ff. 69, 71-71v, 74v, 84. The 1745 visitation reports on a prayer house at Józef Rafałowicz’s house that existed apart from a brick synagogue at Rymanów in the Sanok land, AAPrz. AV172, ff. 62v, 158, 166v-167, 170v, 183. At Sambor, apart from a synagogue ‘na Blechu’ there was also an unspecified number of prayer houses, CPAHU, no. 43.1.56, ff. 1-5, no. 856.1.24 (1732). At Tarnogród, apart

informal nature. Their establishment and disappearance were subject to change which must have been more dynamic than in the case of synagogues.²⁶⁴

Before the First Partition there was a total of 157 kahal synagogues and eight filial synagogues in the Ruthenian palatinate. Those figures depart from the ones offered in the studies conducted by Budzyński in his last work titled *South Eastern Borderlands in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century*.²⁶⁵ The author based his data mainly on the above-mentioned tax sources, placing an equals sign between a parish and a religious community, and between a deanery in Christian structures and a kahal in Jewish administration. This contradicts the earlier approaches to kahal and parish identification that in my opinion are more legitimate. In an introduction to a tax census of the Jews in the Lwów land Ferdynand Bostel wrote:

“Because the Jews were divided into parishes; in major cities and small towns there were the seats of kahals headed by a rabbi, and several or more than a dozen or even dozens of villages located within the boundaries of the kahal constituted their parish.”²⁶⁶

Due to the fact that Budzyński treated every locality listed in the 1765 censuses as the seat of a “Jewish parish”, on the maps featuring the administrative structures of individual religions there were more Jewish than Greek or Roman Catholic reference points.

It follows from the foregoing data that the Ruthenian palatinate was marked by a high density of units of religious administration. They mainly belonged to the Uniate Church as the dominant one in that area and the Jewish diaspora whose kahal network was highly developed. The mosaic of the Ruthenian palatinate is supplemented by two Karaite kenesas at Halicz and Kukizów (the Karaites were brought to Troki by King Jan III Sobieski),²⁶⁷ and the Orthodox monastery at Skit Maniawski.²⁶⁸

from a synagogue, there was a prayer house in widow Majorkowa’s house, AAPrz. AV179, ff. 112-113, 116, 126 (1754).

264 Single mentions of prayer houses in the Ruthenian palatinate: Brzózka Królewska, AAPrz. AV180, p. 38 (1754), Dołhe Podbuskie, AAPrz. AV176, f. 84 (1753), Handzlówka, AAPrz. AV182, p. 122 (1755), Jawornik, AAPrz. AV173, ff. 100, 105 (1745), Krukienice, AAPrz. AV178, f. 33 (1753), Medenice, AAPrz. AV176, ff. 38v-39, 44 (1753), Ulucz, AAPrz. AV186, f. 29 (1755).

265 Budzyński, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, passim.

266 “Żydzi ziemi lwowskiej”, p. 5.

267 S. Gąsiorowski, “Karaimi w Kukizowie”, in: *Żydzi i judaizm we współczesnych badaniach polskich*, vol. 2, ed. K. Pilarczyk, S. Gąsiorowski, Kraków 2000, pp. 73-81.

268 Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny*, p. 235.

The Ruthenian palatinate was marked by a very dense and highly developed network of religious institutions. In its area (60 507 km²) there was one place of worship per circa 15.6 km², which is a higher factor than in Małopolska proper. It was an area where the Catholic population of Greek rite predominated (one church per 19.5 km²). The density of Latin churches (one per 103.8 km²), whose structures were much more developed in western powiats of the Ruthenian palatinate, was significantly lower compared to the palatinates of Małopolska proper. Accordingly, there was on average one Roman Catholic church per 5.3 Uniate churches. The density of synagogues – one per 366 km² – was similar to that in the Sandomierz and Lublin palatinates, but lower compared to the Kraków palatinate.

In the summary of the organization of religions and denominations in the Ruthenian palatinate it is necessary to invoke the conclusion of Budzyński's work on the population of the Polish-Ruthenian border area in the third volume of his work *South Eastern Borderlands in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century*. The territorial range of his work may not fully overlap with the limits of the Ruthenian palatinate,²⁶⁹ but the information offered by him corroborates the assumption made initially that the distribution and geography of places of worship reflected to a high extent the actual ethnic structure of the examined area (see map 2). The conclusions regarding the location of sacral buildings in towns and villages also allow to highlight the specificity of the religious structure of both urban and rural population. More importantly, the distribution of places of worship may help identify the demographic proportions between the urban and rural areas in a specific territory.²⁷⁰

Based on the location of sacral buildings in the Ruthenian palatinate it may be concluded that ethnic and religious diversity was different in urban and rural areas. It was high in towns, whereas the countryside in that area, across the entire palatinate, continued to be almost completely Greek Catholic and Ruthe-

269 The territorial range of Z. Budzyński's work covers the lands annexed by Austria during the First Partition, so outside the area of the analysis is the northern part of the Chełm land in the Ruthenian palatinate. Taken into account was the southern part of the Bełz palatinate and parts of the Kraków and Sandomierz palatinates located on the right bank of the Vistula River, Budzyński, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, vol. 1-2, *passim*.

270 According to Z. Budzyński circa 15 percent of the population living along the frontier and 25 percent living in eastern borderlands inhabited cities and towns (Budzyński, *Ludność pogranicza polsko-ruskiego*, vol. 1, p. 323; Idem, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, vol. 3, p. 142). Similar proportions of places of worship existed in the Ruthenian palatinates – 965 in towns and 2902 in villages.

nian.²⁷¹ The Polish or Jewish element enriched solely the Ruthenian towns. Out of 2902 places of worship located in the countryside only 228 (7.9 percent) were in the hands of the Latin Church. The villages of eastern borderlands were – as Budzyński puts it – “ruthenized *en masse*”. The same applied, though to a slightly lower degree, to the Przemyśl, Sanok or Chełm lands, and to a definitely higher degree – to the Lwów or Halicz lands.²⁷² A real melting pot of religions and ethnic groups existed in the towns located along the frontier and in the eastern borderlands. But the degree of that diversity was not equally high across the entire palatinate.²⁷³ The situation in individual towns was more interesting. Out of 213 towns located in the Ruthenian palatinate around 1772 only 24 had a sacral building or place of worship representing one religion. The majority of the cities had organized communities of two (61 towns) or three confessions (122 towns). Among the former, the towns with a Latin and Uniate church predominated (37 towns). Definitely less frequent were the towns with a Latin church and a synagogue (13) or a Uniate church and a synagogue (11). As for the towns with the places of worship of three religions, apart from Łysiec and Kukizów, they had Latin and Uniate churches and synagogues. Most diversified in terms of organized religious communities were such towns as Zamość, Złoczów, Kutry,

271 According to J. Motylewicz ‘the highest ethnic mix existed in a broad band running along the upper Dniester River, across the region of the upper and middle basin of the San’. It follows from his figures regarding the Przemyśl and Sanok lands that until the seventeenth century the Polish Roman Catholic population (ca 55-60 percent) dominated over the Ruthenian Greek Catholics (ca 30 percent). In the aftermath of a gradual migration of the Jews to towns and suburban areas, especially intensive since the turn of the fifteenth century, in the second half of the eighteenth century the Jewish population began to exceed the number of Greek Catholics in the towns of the Ruthenian palatinate. It should be emphasized that the statistics offered by J. Motylewicz applied only to towns, J. Motylewicz, “Społeczności etniczne w miastach województwa ruskiego w XVI-XVIII wieku”, *Studia Przemyskie*, 2 (2004), pp. 14-15. J. Półciwiartek is also of the opinion that the ‘band of the borderlands’ was marked by a greater mosaic in towns (Poles, Germans, Ruthenians, Jews, Armenians) than in the countryside which was virtually Polish-Ruthenian with a domination of the latter nationality in specific areas, J. Półciwiartek, “Nacje i religie na pograniczu etnicznym polsko-ukraińskim czasów nowożytnych. Próba bilansu”, in: *Sąsiedztwo: osadnictwo na pograniczu etnicznym polsko-ukraińskim*, ed. J. Półciwiartek, Rzeszów 1997, p. 34.

272 Budzyński, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, vol. 3, p. 143.

273 Of 965 places of worship located in the towns 434 (45 percent) were Greek Catholic, 355 (36.8 percent) belonged to the Latin Church, 161 (16.7 percent) – to the Jews, 13 (1.3 percent) – to Armenian Catholics and two (0.2 percent) – to Karaites.

Halicz, Horodenka, Tyśmienica, Brzeżany, Stanisławów, Obertyn, Śniatyn and, naturally, Lwów.

When the distribution of places of worship is compared with the demographic data regarding the Ruthenian palatinate, a few significant regional specificities emerge. In that regard the map featuring the *Place of Eastern Borderlands in the Territorial Structure of the Polish-Ruthenian Borderland*²⁷⁴ is interesting. Due to the vast area of the Ruthenian palatinate, there are differences between its northern and southern, as well as western and eastern parts. The highest percentage of the followers of the Latin Church lived in the northern and central parts of the palatinate (the lands of Chełm, Lwów, Przemyśl and Sanok), and a much lower proportion in the Halicz land.²⁷⁵ In the south-east one may observe the decreasing share of the Roman Catholic population and a rising number of the Greek Catholics and the Jews.

At this point it is worth discussing the nature of the patronage over Christian churches in the Ruthenian palatinate which was closely connected with the ownership structure in that region. Information on the nature of patronage over 3400 places of worship in the palatinate indicates that the nobility predominated (2390 – 70.3 percent). Royal (749 places of worship, 22 percent) and ecclesiastical (232, 6.8 percent) patronage was in minority. Based on the patronage figures, and in consequence – the ownership structure – a question may be asked about the relations, or impact that the proprietors might have had on ethnic and religious diversity of urban areas. Although the right to extend patronage over places of worship did not always correspond with the nature of ownership, in the majority of cases it was exercised by the owner of a town or village (real patronage).²⁷⁶ It is a widespread view propounded in the literature on the subject that the policy pursued by the magnates and richer nobility of eastern borderlands accounted for the emergence of multi-religious private towns to a higher degree than in royal towns where a city council would play a greater role. The owner had a double role to play: he regulated the relations in the town by means of legal decisions and actual measures, and influenced the overall make-up of the town by bringing

274 Budzyński, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, vol. 3, p. 14.

275 Ibid, vol. 2, map 77, 87; vol. 3, p. 142: “only in the Halicz officialate covering the central and eastern Podkarpacie the percentage of the Latin rite followers was twice lower than the average, and the percentage of the Greek Catholics was highest in the entire territory and exceeded 82 percent”.

276 Szady, *Prawo patronatu*, p. 31.

new groups of people, sometimes of different religions and ethnic background (Zamość, Żółkiew).²⁷⁷

The works dealing with the history or administrative divisions of Crown Ruthenia frequently highlight similarities, if not an identical socio-religious situation in the Ruthenian and Bełz palatinates. That approach is mainly due to the specific geographical location of the Bełz palatinate that “wedged” itself between the north-eastern part of the Ruthenian palatinate and the Chełm land. A study of the origins and development of this palatinate through the 1630s was written by Janeczek who quite significantly corrected its boundaries delineated by Jabłonowski, especially their most complicated, “ragged” part near the so-called Kryłów and Hrubieszów domains as well as the enclave surrounding the town of Dub.²⁷⁸

There are no major controversies over the division of the Bełz palatinate into powiats. After its final incorporation into the Crown in 1462, the number of powiats of the former Bełz land significantly decreased, as had happened with the Ruthenian palatinate. Small powiats (the former volosts) merged with each other – the Łopatyn powiat became part of the Busk powiat, the Sokal powiat was incorporated by the Bełz powiat.²⁷⁹ Not only Teodor Waga, the author of a geography and history textbook published in 1767, but also Gloger, mention five powiats of this palatinate (those of Bełz, Grabowiec, Horodło, Lubaczów and Busk).²⁸⁰

The Uniate Church that was the heir to the institutions and structures of the Orthodox Church had 413 places of worship in the Bełz palatinate (402 parish and only 11 filial churches). They comprised ten monastery churches, including four parishes run by the Basilian monks. Most churches (329) were located in the Uniate Chełm-Bełz diocese. This consisted of the Chełm part, covered by the Ruthenian palatinate, and the Bełz part, within the borders of the Bełz palatinate. The areas of the Bełz palatinate under the jurisdiction of the Uniate Przemyśl and Lwów dioceses were discussed above.

277 S. Gąsiorowski, *Chrześcijananie i Żydzi w Żółkwi w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Kraków 2001, p. 226.

278 Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza*, pp. 22-34; *Urządnicy województwa bełskiego i ziemi chełmskiej XIV-XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. H. Gmiterek, R. Szczygieł, Kórnik 1992, p. 7.

279 Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza*, pp. 33-34.

280 Waga, *Wyciąg z geografii polskiej*, p. 37; Gloger, *Geografia historyczna*, p. 226. After its incorporation into the Bełz powiat in the sixteenth century the Lubaczów powiat (Gil, *Prawosławna eparchia*, p. 177; Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza*, p. 34) was reinstated in the eighteenth century, *Urządnicy województwa bełskiego*, p. 12.

Both the Orthodox and the Uniate dioceses of Chełm were discussed in the monographs by Gil that feature their political and social history as well as organizational development.²⁸¹ Strongly propounded by historiography is a proposition about the original Christianization of those areas by the Orthodox Church (the Byzantine-Bulgarian tradition), and the opinion that the presence of the Latin Church in those lands was a consequence of the political expansion and settlement initiated in the fourteenth century.²⁸² At the end of the sixteenth century and at the beginning of the seventeenth century, in the aftermath of the acceptance of the Union of Brześć by a part of the Orthodox clergy, a double organizational structure emerged in the Chełm diocese – a Uniate and an Orthodox one. This division was best exemplified by a decision of 1636 conferring the church of the Assumption of Virgin Mary in Chełm on the followers of the Orthodox religion, and the remaining three churches – the cathedral, of St. Nicolas and St. Praxedes – on the Uniates.²⁸³ The double hierarchy was eventually abolished after the Cossack Risings and after bishop Jakub Susza had become the head of the diocese.²⁸⁴

Apart from a wide array of visitation reports and inventories of churches and benefices, a virtually unknown hand-made map of the southern part of the diocese, commissioned by a bishop of Chełm, Maksymilian Ryłło, and made in 1782, is an interesting source to study the organization of the Uniate Church in the Chełm diocese in the second half of the eighteenth century. Its origins may be traced in the reorganization of church structures after the First Partition – the map features the southern part of the diocese annexed by Austria in 1772. Apart from the boundaries of the state and church administration it shows nearly all Uniate churches in that area and the localities under their jurisdiction.²⁸⁵

Chełm was the region's most westerly Uniate diocese and for that reason its range covered just a very few Uniate churches situated outside the borders of the Ruthenian and Bełz palatinates, and specifically those located in the Lublin

281 Gil, *Prawosławna eparchia chełmska*, passim; Idem, *Chełmska diecezja unicka*, passim.

282 Idem, *Prawosławna eparchia chełmska*, p. 53; Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza*, p. 35.

283 *Акты издаваемые Виленскою комиссиею для разбора древних актов*, т. 23: Акты Холмского гродского суда, Вильна 1896, p. 122; B. Szady, "Wspólnoty wyznaniowe w Chełmie do końca XVIII wieku", in: *Chełm nieznanany. Ludzie – Miejsca – Wydarzenia*, ed. M. Karwatowska, Chełm 2009, p. 294.

284 Gil, *Chełmska diecezja unicka*, pp. 77-88.

285 B. Szady, "Mapa unickiej diecezji chełmskiej z 1782 r. jako przykład kartografii wyznaniowej", in: *Dawna mapa źródłem wiedzy o świecie*, ed. S. Alexandrowicz, R. Skrycki, Szczecin 2008, p. 299.

palatinate (the deaneries of Lublin and Szczebrzeszyn). Due to the overlapping of the Orthodox and Uniate networks in the seventeenth century, and the regulation of the last Orthodox dioceses after the accession to the Union (Przemyśl, Łuck and Lwów) at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Kaszogród deanery in the Volhynian palatinate remained within the boundaries of the Chełm diocese.²⁸⁶

The borders of the Church (officialates and governorships) and the state (powiats and palatinates) did not at all overlap in this area and it was very difficult to find convergent points that could indicate mutual interdependences. The palatinate's border divided the Uniate deaneries of Chełm, Horodło, Hrubieszów, Tyszowce and Zamość. This was due to a complex, "double tier" structure that had impact on the shaping of the territory of the Bełz land and its internal divisions.²⁸⁷ Secondly, its system of officialates and protopopies was established late and in quite obscure circumstances.²⁸⁸ The division into the two officialates of Chełm and Bełz was reported already in the first half of the seventeenth century, but their borders did not correspond with the division into the Chełm land and Bełz palatinate, with a significant number of churches (87) of the Chełm officialate belonging to the Bełz palatinate.

Apart from an unstable number of deaneries and their complicated boundaries it should also be noted that the external borders of the diocese tended to fluctuate, especially their intersection with the Włodzimierz diocese. That situation persisted until the 1730s when the "Chełm diocese achieved certain stability in its spatial organization".²⁸⁹ At the time of the First Partition the Chełm diocese, covering 20 924 km², had 543 parish and 18 filial churches located in 22 protopopies-deaneries (11 in the officialates of Chełm and Bełz respectively). But this figure should be treated with a degree of caution, because it follows from more in-depth studies that the information included in the so-called Garampi questionnaire of 1772 about the number of churches in the Chełm diocese should be approached with reservations. It was titled *Ecclesiarum parochialium et filialium in dioecesibus Chełmensi et*

286 Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego", p. 861; Gil, *Chełmska diecezja unicka*, pp. 148-149; P. Sygowski, "Dekanat kaszogrodzki unickiejdiecezji chełmskiej", in : *Zamojszczyzna i Wołyń w minionym tysiącleciu. Historia, kultura, sztuka*, ed. J. Feduszka, Zamość 2000, p. 120.

287 Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza*, p. 34.

288 Gil, *Prawosławna eparchia chełmska*, p. 160.

289 *Ibid*, p. 149.



Illustration 1: The title and fragment of the map of the Uniate Chełm diocese from 1782 (in the collection of the Library of the Catholic University in Lublin)

*Belzensi sitarum ex libris visitationum desumptus...*²⁹⁰ For that reason it may be assumed that it does not quite reflect the condition of the dioceses in 1772, but rather provides information about the Uniate churches compiled in the visitation records coming from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²⁹¹

290 It was one of the main sources used by L. Bieńkowski and W. Kołbuk to feature the structures of the Greek Catholic Church in the Chełm diocese, Bieńkowski, “Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego”, p. 1039; Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie*, p. 20.

291 There are doubts as to whether, e.g., some churches really existed in Chełm, Szady, “Wspólnoty wyznaniowe w Chełmie”, p. 295.

In view of the changing external borders, the dynamics of internal territorial divisions and the temporary existence of a double (Orthodox and Uniate) network of parishes, it is quite hard to estimate whether in the early modern era the number of churches in the Chełm diocese was rising or falling. When analysing the rate of growth of the number of parishes in the diocese of Chełm, Bieńkowski claims that it was more than 60 percent from the Union of Brześć through 1772. This means that in the Chełm diocese the rate of growth of the Uniate parish network was slower than in the dioceses of Przemyśl and Lwów discussed above. That difference may be explained by the geographical location of the Chełm land and Bełz palatinate, being the most westerly areas, and thus subject to a stronger influence of the Latin Church.²⁹² Bieńkowski emphasized that the development of the Uniate parish network was particularly dynamic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and much less intensive after the Synod of Zamość, when the Greek Catholic bishops tried to impose higher financial requirements to be met by new foundations.²⁹³ Janeczek is even more sceptical about the growth of the network of Uniate churches in the Chełm diocese in modern times. He established that in the first half of the seventeenth century the number of Uniate churches in the Bełz palatinate was equal to circa 300-340 “in the order of magnitude approaching the number of churches well known from the eighteenth century, which allows one to assume that the number of the local units of the Orthodox Church stabilized (in the aftermath of possible structural transformations, for instance, as a result of parish moving), at least from the turn of the sixteenth until the turn of the eighteenth century, apart from the areas where the rate of population growth was intensive”.²⁹⁴

The presence of the Latin Church in the Bełz palatinate corresponds with its political vicissitudes, and the development of its genuine territorial structures began in fact half a century after the Latin Chełm diocese had been established in 1375. In the second half of the eighteenth century there were 69 Latin churches (46 parish and 23 filial churches) in the Bełz palatinate. The parish churches comprised three monastery churches and one church serviced by a religious order, and among filial churches there were 12 monastic churches and one hospital church in Bełz. Nearly all (57 out of 69, or 82.6 percent) Latin churches in the Bełz palatinate were part of the Chełm diocese in

292 That proposition is corroborated by the research conducted by W. Bondyra, “Grekokatolickie fundacje szlacheckie na Rusi Czerwonej w czasach saskich”, *Res Historica*, 17 (2004), pp. 65-66.

293 Bieńkowski, “Organizacja Kościołów wschodnich”, pp. 927-928.

294 Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza*, p. 60.

1772. Its boundaries reflect the process of the shaping of the diocese's territory in the second half of the fourteenth century (the final period of the Duchy of Chełm-Belz). They were demarcated according to, on the one hand, political territorial structures, and on the other hand, the limits of the existing Orthodox diocese. It should be remembered that the border between the Chełm land and the Belz palatinate was shaped in approximately the same period as the boundaries of the Latin Chełm diocese – in the second half of the fourteenth and at the beginning of the fifteenth century.²⁹⁵ The Lubaczów powiat and the Busk domain were incorporated into the Belz palatinate later on, whereas the churches remained part of their former structures, that is in the Przemyśl diocese and Lwów archdiocese.²⁹⁶

The Latin diocese of Chełm is one of a few that have not been a subject of a contemporary study of the history of its territorial and organizational development. Valuable and almost complete information about the organization and development of the Chełm diocese was compiled by Jan Ambroży Wadowski in his unpublished manuscript *Materials for the History of the Chełm Diocese*.²⁹⁷ Owing to the works by Bieńkowski, Janeczek and Czarnecki the organizational changes affecting the diocese until the mid-seventeenth century are quite well known.²⁹⁸ Its boundaries in modern times were not subject to any major change apart from the incorporation of the Łopatyn (Łopacin) parish into the archdiocese of Lwów. This took place after that parish had come under the jurisdiction of the college of missionaries in Busk (in the Lwów archdiocese) in 1576.²⁹⁹ Incorporated into the Chełm diocese were also the parishes of Kamień Koszyrski and Biłgoraj, established in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, which belonged to neighbouring

295 A. Janeczek seeks the very first origins of the Belz palatinate in Jerzy Narymutowicz's Duchy of Belz and in the shape of the Belz fief granted to Ziemowit IV, the Duke of Mazowsze, in 1388, *Ibid*, p. 31.

296 Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza*, pp. 37-38, map 6: Rozwój sieci terytorialnej Kościoła łacińskiego w województwie bełskim do 1630 r.

297 J.A. Wadowski, *Dzieje dawnej diecezji chełmskiej i jej kościołów*, BPAŃK r. rkps 2372.

298 L. Bieńkowski, "Działalność organizacyjna biskupa Jana Biskupca w diecezji chełmskiej (1417-1452)", *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 7 (1958), fasc. 2, pp. 187-256; Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza*, pp. 35-56; W. Czarnecki, "Rozwój sieci parafialnej Kościoła łacińskiego w ziemi chełmskiej do początku XVII wieku", *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 48 (2000), fasc. 2, pp. 29-89.

299 AAL. Rep60 A150, f. 89. The 1694 inventory of parishes of the Chełm diocese does not include Łopatyn, Wadowski, *Dzieje dawnej diecezji chełmskiej*, pp. 14-15.

palatinates.³⁰⁰ This happened because earlier both the vicinity of Biłgoraj and the area around Kamień Koszyrski had temporarily belonged to the Chełm land.³⁰¹

The organizational development of the Latin Chełm diocese may be divided into three periods. The most intensive growth in the number of churches was due to the activities of Bishop Jan Biskupiec (1417-1452). In his days more than 20 parish churches were established and thus their number doubled.³⁰² In the second half of the fifteenth and in the sixteenth century fewer churches were founded and the renewal of the diocesan structures in the seventeenth century was to a high extent an outcome of recovering churches from the Protestants. The geography of the parish network development was closely correlated with the “degree of land development, settlement intensity, but first and foremost, diverse forms of land ownership”.³⁰³

In the second half of the eighteenth century the Latin diocese of Chełm comprised a total of 84 parish churches and 43 filial churches, of which 23 were monastic churches. This is important because in major localities – such as Chełm, Krasnystaw or Zamość – there were more monastic churches than those run by secular clergy. The Chełm diocese was not divided into archdeaconries, and it was split into deaneries relatively late, at the synod convened by Bishop Jerzy Zamoyski in 1604. The number of deaneries, then set at ten, did not change until 1772. The affiliation of individual parishes with deaneries did not overlap with secular ter-

300 The first reference to the parish church at Kamień Koszyrski which was part of the Volhynian palatinate is in the 1624 statute, where it is described as a new church belonging to the Luboml deanery, *Synody diecezji chełmskiej obrządku łacińskiego z XVI-XVIII w.*, p. 175. It was founded on March 4, 1640 by Adam Aleksander Sanguszko, voievode of Volhynia and heir to Kamień, and his wife Katarzyna Uchańska, AAL. Rep60 A111, ff. 511v-526v. The Chełm diocese (the deanery of Turobin) also included the parish at Biłgoraj whose origins are quite unclear. According to J. Markiewicz, after the Rej family had converted to Catholicism, in the second half of the seventeenth century a Catholic parish was established there that initially operated in already existing chapel (J. Markiewicz, R. Szczygieł, W. Śladkowski, *Dzieje Biłgoraja*, Lublin 1985, p. 65). Information about a new church at Biłgoraj is included already in the statute of the 1624 synod (*Synody diecezji chełmskiej obrządku łacińskiego z XVI-XVIII w.*, p. 175) and on the list of churches of 1640 (AAL. Rep60 A109, f. 70).

301 A. Gil, “Łączność terytorialna Wołynia i Lubelszczyzny na przykładzie rozwoju przetrzennego chełmskiej eparchii prawosławnej od XIII do XVI wieku”, in: *Zamojszczyzna i Wołyń w minionym tysiącleciu. Historia, kultura i sztuka*, ed. J. Feduszka i in., Zamość 2000, p. 70; Also see Chapter I.1.

302 Bienkowski, “Działalność organizacyjna”, p. 222.

303 Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza*, p. 48.

ritorial divisions. It is likely that the synod delineated the boundaries of deaneries by picking up major parish centres usually located in royal towns³⁰⁴ and by attributing local churches to them. In consequence, the border between the Ruthenian and Bełz palatinates ran through the deaneries of Hrubieszów and Zamość. The Luboml deanery was divided among three palatinates: those of Bełz (the parishes of Dubienka, Korytnica), Ruthenia (the parishes of Luboml, Maciejów, Opalin, Ostrówki, Przewały and Ratno) and Volhynia (the parish of Kamień Koszyrski).

In the organization of kahals one may also find traces of the connection between the Chełm land and the Bełz palatinate stemming from the older division into feudal duchies. According to Leszczyński, the Jewish communities of the Bełz palatinate belonged to the Bełz-Chełm-Ruthenia district, apart from Łaszczów which was incorporated into the district of the Zamoyski Family Entail in 1669.³⁰⁵ A slightly different opinion is put forward by Halperin, quoted above, who included some of the kahals located in the south of the Bełz palatinate in the Ruthenian zemstvo (Magierów, Busk, Chołojów).³⁰⁶ Based on the poll tax register of 1765, supplemented by the visitations of the Latin diocese of Chełm, it is possible to corroborate that in the second half of the eighteenth century there were 34 Jewish communities in the Bełz palatinate.³⁰⁷ The major ones, with the population of more than one thousand people, were the towns of Sokal and Rawa Ruska.³⁰⁸ But they were by no means the oldest communities. The Jews began to settle in Sokal during the migration from the palatinate's capital, which was one of the earliest Jewish settlements in Poland,³⁰⁹ and in Rawa Ruska after it had been granted city rights at the beginning of the seventeenth century.³¹⁰

Maurycy Horn is of the opinion that in the mid-seventeenth century the Bełz palatinate had the highest proportion of towns inhabited by the Jews in the entire Commonwealth (90 percent). Initially, they settled in royal towns where they found more convenient conditions of development, but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries "the percentage of private towns where the Jewish population

304 Only Turobin and Zamość were situated in private estates.

305 Leszczyński, *Sejm Żydów Korony*, p. 73.

306 *Acta Congressus Generalis*, map.

307 On his map of Jewish communities circa 1765 J. Wijaczka located also Lubomierz, Potylicz, but omitted Uhnów (Wijaczka, "Od połowy XVII po schyłek XVIII w.", pp. 132, 134).

308 "Liczba głów", pp. 401-402.

309 EJL. III, p. 1211; Horn, *Żydzi na Rusi Czerwonej*, p. 15.

310 According to the encyclopedia of Jewish communities in Poland until the end of the eighteenth century the kahal in Rawa Ruska was subordinated to a centre in an unidentified town called "Julke", EJCP. II, pp. 498-503.

Table 10: The number of places of worship in the Belz palatinate circa 1772

Religions and denominations	Diocese /Eparchy	Archdeaconry/ Officialate	Deanery/ Protopopy/ Governorship	Main places of worship	Auxiliary places of worship
Uniate (Greek Catholic)	Chełm	Belz	Belz	28	-
			Busk	21	1
			Potylicz	30	1
			Sokal	21	-
			Stojanów	25	1
			Strzemilcze	9	-
			Szczurowice	12	2
			Tartaków	9	-
			Tomaszów	24	-
			Uhnów	30	1
			Wareż	27	-
			236	6	
		Chełm	Chełm	6	-
			Horodło	17	2
	Hrubieszów		12	-	
	Tyszowce		37	-	
	Zamość		12	1	
		84	3		
		320	9		
	Lwów	Lwów	Biały Kamień	11	-
			Gologóry	1	-
			Kamionka Strumiłowa	2	-
			Żółkiew	8	-
		22	-		
Łuck	-	-	1	-	
Przemyśl	-	Jaworów	4	-	
		Lubaczów	41	2	
		Oleszyce	14	-	
	59	2			
	402	11			
Latin (Roman Catholic)	Chełm	-	Belz	7	3
			Grabowiec	8	-
			Hrubieszów	3	1
			Luboml	2	-

Latin (Roman Catholic)	Chełm		Potylicz	9	7	
			Sokal	7	7	
			Zamość	2	1	
					38	19
	Lwów	Żółkiew		Busk	1	3
				Janów	1	-
						2
	Łuck	Łuck	Krzemieniec	1	-	
	Przemyśl	Jarosław	Tarnogród	4	1	
		Przemyśl	Mościska	1	-	
					5	1
					46	23
Jewish				34	-	
Total				482	34	

settled down significantly increased³¹¹ In early modern times Jewish minorities were a very important element of the majority of private towns established in the Belz palatinate. A synagogue – next to a town hall, an Orthodox church and a Latin parish church – was a significant component of a town's initial architectural plan. This was exemplified by the activity of the Sieniawski family who founded the town of Oleszyce in 1578, or the Zamoyski family who invited Sephardic Jews to their recently established city of Zamość.³¹²

Like the Ruthenian palatinate, the Belz palatinate was an area where the Uniate population predominated. In the palatinate of Belz (9068 km²) there was one place of worship per 17.6 km², a ratio slightly higher than in the Ruthenian palatinate, but lower than in Małopolska proper. In the Belz palatinate there was one Uniate church per 22 km², and one Roman Catholic church per 131.4 km². It may be said about that palatinate that it was an area with a stronger domination of the Uniate Church (six Uniate places of worship per Latin church) compared to the Ruthenian palatinate (5.3 churches per Latin church). The above data indirectly corroborate what Janeczek claims that in the early modern period “the organizational expansion of Catholicism was not tantamount to the retreat of Eastern Christianity” in the Belz palatinate. The demo-

311 Horn, *Żydzi na Rusi Czerwonej*, pp. 25, 27.

312 Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza*, pp. 263-264. On social topography of religions in Red Ruthenia, see: S. Krawcow, “Topografia wspólnot wyznaniowych w miastach Rusi Czerwonej”, *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, 43 (1995), no. 1, pp. 77-79.

graphic data offered by Budzyński corroborate the above proportions between the Greek and Latin rites of the Catholic Church.³¹³ It comes as a surprise that the “Ruthenian” administration was much more developed than the “Latin” one in view of the afore-mentioned weak development of the Uniate Church in the early modern era. This may suggest that the structures of both Catholic rites established in that region in the sixteenth century continued to exist with minor changes for two centuries.

Agglomerated in urban centres, in 1630 the Jews accounted for about five percent of the entire population of that area,³¹⁴ and in the second half of the eighteenth century – for circa 7.5-10 percent.³¹⁵ Before the First Partition of the Commonwealth, in the Bełz palatinate there was one synagogue per 266.7 km². The slightly higher density of synagogues in this part of Red Ruthenia corroborates Horn’s opinion that the “Jews were more inclined to settle down in the lands crossed by major commercial routes, especially water routes, and with developed craft and

313 In the final 25 years of the eighteenth century 11 governorships of the Bełz part of the Chełm eparchy were inhabited by a total of 137 469 people, of whom 15 percent were the adherents to the Latin rite, 76.6 percent – the Greek Catholics and 7.7 percent – the Jews, while the remaining groups accounted for 0.7 percent, Budzyński, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, p. 469.

314 Horn, *Żydzi na Rusi Czerwonej*, p. 74.

315 Z. Budzyński calculated the population of the major part of the Bełz palatinate located in the southern part of the Greek Catholic Chełm diocese in the second half of the eighteenth century. According to the statistics compiled by the governorships of the Greek Catholic Church, the Jews accounted for 7.7 percent. A slightly higher figure (ca 10 percent) is derived based on kahal districts – the kahals of Bełz (total: 11 689, the Jews: 646, 5.5 percent), Busk (total: 4884, the Jews: 581, 11.9 percent), Chołojów (total: 2895, the Jews: 284, 9.8 percent), Krystynopol (total: 8825, the Jews: 1044, 11.8 percent), Lipsko (total: 447, the Jews: 219, 49 percent), Lubycza (total: 905, the Jews: 330, 36.5 percent), Magierów (total: 1597, the Jews: 462, 28.9 percent), Mosty Wielkie (total: 1972, the Jews: 251, 12.7 percent), Narol (total: 497, the Jews: 287, 57.8 percent), Potylicz (total: 18 324, the Jews: 445, 2.4 percent), Radziechów (total: 4043, the Jews: 345, 8.5 percent), Rawa Ruska (total: 2855, the Jews: 1241, 43.5 percent), Sokal (total: 8736, the Jews: 1283, 14.7 percent), Stojanów (total: 4918, the Jews: 209, 4.3 percent), Strzemilcze (total: 2306, the Jews: 80, 3.5 percent), Szczurowice (total: 3200, the Jews: 290, 9.1 percent), Tartaków (total: 5750, the Jews: 484, 8.4 percent), Tomaszów (total: 1609, the Jews: 36, 2.2 percent), Uhnów (total: 12 500, the Jews: 985, 7.9 percent), Waręż (total: 8449, the Jews: 580, 6.9 percent), Witków Nowy (total: 857, the Jews: 440, 51.3 percent), Budzyński, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, vol. 3, pp. 469, 498-501.

commercial centres, namely in the Chełm and Bełz lands where the towns with the Jewish population accounted for two thirds up to three quarters of all cities”³¹⁶

The above statistical data regarding the percentage of individual denominations in the entire palatinate should be supplemented with the information about the situation in local dimension. Like in the entire Polish-Ruthenian border region there is an apparent difference between towns and rural areas. Out of 42 towns in the Bełz palatinate only three (7.1 percent) had a place of worship of one religion.³¹⁷ As many as 27 (64.3 percent) towns were the centres with the places of worship of three confessions (Uniate, Roman Catholic and Judaism), and 12 (28.6 percent) of them – of two confessions.³¹⁸ In rural areas the Uniate Church clearly dominated – in only 20 (5.6 percent) out of 354 villages were there Latin churches. The relations between denominations in the towns and villages of the Bełz palatinate were aptly described by frequently quoted Janeczek: “In the fifteenth century the Polish manor, the Ruthenian village, the Ruthenian-Polish-Jewish towns were a product of the confluence of demographic, settlement and political factors in the Bełz land”³¹⁹

The religious communities of the Bełz palatinate could initially develop owing to the support lent by the dukes and kings (especially Kings Władysław Jagiełło and Kazimierz Jagiellończyk), but also by the nobility that had moved to that area, mainly from the Mazowsze region. Out of 45 Latin parishes 28 (62.2 percent) were under the patronage of the nobility, 12 (26.7 percent) – the king, and five (11.1 percent) – the clergy. In the Bełz palatinate the percentage of Uniate churches under the patronage of the nobility was even higher – of 397 parishes in which their patronage is known 288 (72.5 percent) were the property of the nobility, 98 (24.7 percent) – of the king, and 11 (2.8 percent) – the clergy. Like in the entire border region frequently a Latin nobleman was a custodian and formal founder (“ktitor”) of a local Uniate church.

316 Horn, *Żydzi na Rusi Czerwonej*, p. 23.

317 At Łaszczówka there was the parish of Saints Peter and Paul administered by the Trinitarians (Litak, *Kościół łaciński*, p. 530), Bełżec near Tomaszów had the Greek Catholic church of St. Basil (Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie*, p. 309). There was only one church in the hard to locate town of Potoki (“Liczba głów”, p. 402), which might have been Potoki near Lubycza Królewska, Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza*, p. 157.

318 Five towns had a Greek Catholic church and a synagogue, six – a Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic church, and one – a Roman Catholic church and a synagogue.

319 Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza*, p. 303.

Waga, the author of a geography textbook published in 1767, also included the Volhynian palatinate in Red Ruthenia.³²⁰ But more frequently Volhynia is treated as a separate historical and geographical area covering the Volhynian palatinate, but also parts of the palatinates of Kiev, Braclaw and Podolia. As emphasized by Jabłonowski in the introduction to the nineteenth volume of his *Historical Sources*: “The Volhynian palatinate emerged from the Volhynian land after the Braclaw region of Ukraine had been detached from it”.³²¹ Initially that area belonged to Kievan Rus, then it was part of the Kingdom of Rus, to become a bone of contention between the Crown of the Polish Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the fifteenth century. After its incorporation into the Crown in 1569, it was divided into three large powiats of Łuck, Włodzimierz and Krzemieniec (41 521 km²). In modern times both the external and powiat borders of the Volhynian palatinate were quite accurately described by Krykun,³²² also based on Jabłonowski’s earlier findings.

Major corrections to the information provided on Jabłonowski’s map and also in Kołbuk’s study devoted to the Eastern Churches were introduced by Krykun in respect of the course of the border between the Volhynian and Kiev palatinates. Most probably following the maps by Karol Perthées and Jabłonowski-Zannoni,³²³ Kołbuk attributed the majority of Uniate churches in the deaneries of Barasze³²⁴ and Cudnów,³²⁵ part of the Kiev-Vilnius metropolitan diocese, to the Volhynian palatinate. Thus moving the borders of the Volhynian palatinate eastward. The foregoing maps by Jabłonowski and Krykun, as well as a list of Uniate churches in the Kiev and Braclaw palatinates recently published by Ma-

320 Waga, *Wyciąg z geografii polskiej*, p. 34.

321 *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 9: Ziemie ruskie. Wołyń i Podole, ed. A. Jabłonowski, Warszawa 1889 (*Źródła dziejowe*, vol. 19), p. 10.

322 But he offered a slightly smaller area of the Volhynian palatinate – 38 786 km² (Крыкун, *Адміністративно-територіальний устрій*, p. 66).

323 The palatinate borders delineated by Perthées and Zannoni on their maps were seriously criticized by J. Madej (“*Polonia... 1770*” *Karola de Perthéesa na tle osiemnastowiecznej kartografii polskiej i krajów ościennych*, Warszawa 1987, p. 300, regarding the border between the Volhynian and Kiev palatinates).

324 Such localities as: Cwila Wielka, Hłumcza Wielka, Hołysze, Horodnica, Kisarycze, Łopatycze, Olewsk, Podłuby, Rokitno, Snowidowicze, Sobiczyn, Żadkówka, Kołbuk, *Kościoly wschodnie*, pp. 101, 107, 108, 113, 121, 127, 131, 134, 138, 150.

325 Such localities as: Bułdyczów, Czartoria Nowa, Kołodeżna, Korostki, Miropol Nowy, Miropol Stary, Ulcha, Żaborzyce, Kołbuk, *Kościoly wschodnie*, pp. 99, 102, 114, 115, 284, 293, 296.

rian Radwan, include those areas in the Kiev palatinate.³²⁶ The allocation of some churches of the Lubar deanery (in the Kiev-Vilnius metropolitan diocese) to the Volhynian palatinate by Kołbuk may be due to a temporary affiliation of that part of Cudnów domain with that palatinate in the sixteenth century, as reflected by Jabłonowski's map.³²⁷ It follows from available information that the Uniate deanery of Lubar was divided among three palatinates: Volhynia, Podolia and Kiev.³²⁸ It should be emphasized that major difficulties are faced when delineating the exact borders between the Volhynia, Podolian and Kiev palatinates, and many localities in that region cannot be unequivocally attributed.

The Volhynian palatinate was an area where the structures of the Uniate Church clearly dominated over those of other religions. Situated within its borders was nearly the entire Uniate Łuck-Ostróg diocese and the southern (Włodzimierz) part of the Włodzimierz-Brześć diocese. More than a dozen Uniate places of worship were located in the dioceses of Chełm (deanery of Kaszogród) and Lwów (part of the deaneries of Tarnopol and Zborów). Overall, there were 1316 parish churches in the Volhynian palatinate, of which 18 were

326 The deanery of Barasz belonged to the Owruć powiat in the Kiev palatinate, and the deanery of Cudnów – to the Żytomierz powiat, *Socjografia kościoła greckokatolickiego*, pp. 97-99, 113-115; Крикун, *Адміністративно-територіальний устрій*, maps of the Volhynian and Kiev palatinates; Jabłonowski, *Ziemia Ruskie Rzeczypospolitej*, maps 5 and 6.

327 Jabłonowski, *Ziemia Ruskie Rzeczypospolitej*, map 6; Крикун, *Адміністративно-територіальний устрій*, p. 64.

328 The palatinate borders in the area of Lubar and the Slucz River are very unclear. The maps by Perthées from 1770 (Karol de Perthées, *Polonia secundum legitimam projectionis stereographicam regulas et iuxta recentissimas observationes adhibitis, 1770 [1:934 000]*), as well as those by Jabłonowski-Zannoni from 1772 (Józef Aleksander Jabłonowski, Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni, *Carte de la Pologne, 1772 [1:692 000]*) move the boundary of the Volhynian palatinate far east of the Slucz River and the town of Lubar to the Hnyłopiat River (Gniłopiaty), thus including the entire Cudnów domain into the Volhynian palatinate. Historical maps placed it closer to the Slucz River (J. Babirecki, *Polska w roku 1771*, Kraków 1905; Jabłonowski, *Ziemia Ruskie Rzeczypospolitej*, map 6). M. Krykun moved the border most to the west, arguing that the localities situated east of Lubar and Ostropol, across the River Slucz and its tributary flowing across the village of Ładyhy, belonged to the Kiev palatinate (Крикун, *Адміністративно-територіальний устрій*, p. 64, map of the Volhynian and Kiev palatinates). Thus the town of Lubar, the capital of the deanery, belonged to the Volhynian palatinate, the villages of Biczowa, Cymbałówka, Lepiatyn, Mazepińce, Salnica and Smiała – to the Podolian palatinate, and the remaining localities – to the Kiev palatinate.

connected with the Basilian monks. The map of the Uniate places of worship of that palatinate is supplemented by seven Basilian churches which did not discharge parish functions.

In terms of church administration, the Uniate diocese of Łuck is one of the least documented regions of the old Commonwealth. It was virtually impossible to find any specificities that would go beyond what Kołbuk had established. It is noteworthy that the diocese, and particularly Bishop Dionizy Żabokrzycki, was the last to accede to the union with the Roman Church (1702). The diocese covered an area of circa 35 234 km²³²⁹ and extended only slightly beyond the boundaries of the Volhynian palatinate. Apart from a few churches located on the right bank of the Słucz River near the towns of Ostropol and Berezno (in the Kiev palatinate),³³⁰ the Łuck diocese included dozens of churches situated in the Ruthenian and Podolian palatinates. The Ożohowce deanery was divided between the palatinates of Volhynia and Podolia.³³¹ The Ruthenian palatinate also included 69 parishes of the Uniate Łuck diocese located near the towns of Brody, Olesko, Podkamień, Sokołówka, Stanisławczyk, Toporów and Założce that “leaned towards” – as Budzyński put it – Zbaraż.³³² That “leaning towards” was a reminder of the former relations between the lands of Ruthenia and Volhynia that resulted in border conflicts in the fifteenth century and regulatory commissions in the first half of the sixteenth century. The ultimate border between

329 An almost identical total area of the Łuck diocese is offered by L. Bieńkowski (“Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego”, p. 864) According to W. Kołbuk it covered a slightly smaller area of 34 600 km².

330 They were in the villages of Józefówka, Ładyhy, Michrzyńce (Ostropol deanery) and Białoszówka, Chotyń, Hubków, Kamienne (Berezno deanery). It follows from the map of the Volhynian palatinate enclosed with Krykun’s work that it applied to the areas of doubtful palatinate affiliation, Крикун, *Адміністративно-територіальний устрій*, map of the Volhynian palatinate.

331 Some churches of the Ożohowce deanery in the Łuck diocese (Кондратюк, “Джерела з історії”) were included by W. Kołbuk in the Halicz part of the Lwów diocese (Bokijówka, Broniówka, Bubnówka Wielka, Dzielińcze, Jochimowce, Krzywaczynce, Łapkowce, Milaszkowce, Sarnów, Tretelniki, Widawa, Wodyczki, Zawalijki), Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie*, pp. 221, 223, 225, 227, 228, 229, 233, 236, 237, 238. An exact border between the Volhynian and Podolian palatinates, based on the 1546 description of borders, is offered by Крикун, *Адміністративно-територіальний устрій*, p. 16. It is very close to what was featured by Jabłonowski on his map, *Ziemia Ruskie Rzeczypospolitej*, map 7.

332 Budzyński, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, p. 179; Скочиляс, “Адміністративно-територіальний устрій”, p. 151.

the Volhynian and Ruthenian palatinates must have been shaped much later compared to that of the church administration of both the Orthodox (later on Uniate) and Latin Churches. In the eighteenth volume of his *Historical Sources* Jabłonowski made it absolutely clear: “submerged in it [the powiat of Lwów – B.S.] is the Olesko powiat – in time cut off from Volhynia (1439-1443) – which continues to be part of the Łuck diocese”³³³

The available sources make it impossible to reconstruct the deanery structure in the entire diocese. It follows from Nuncio Garampi’s general questionnaire from 1772 that before the First Partition it comprised 45 deaneries. In the absence of ample sources which could have provided the division of the Łuck diocese into deaneries in the second half of the eighteenth century, Kołbuk based his list of the diocese churches mainly on the five-volume work on the history of the Orthodox Volhynian diocese by Nikołaј Teodorowicz.³³⁴ This, however, does not offer any data on the administrative affiliation of individual churches. But the information about the deanery structure (along with the list of churches) in the south-eastern part of the Łuck-Ostróg diocese is provided on the list of churches and deaneries in 1791-1792 published by Jurij Kondratiuk which is held by the State Archive in Zhytomyr. It offers descriptions of 371 churches (349 in the Volhynian palatinate, six in the Kiev palatinate and 16 in the Podolian palatinate) divided into 14 deaneries (Berezhno, Hoszcza, Horyńgród, Zasław, Klewań, Korzec, Krasylów, Łabuń, Ożohowce, Ostropol, Połonne, Stepań, Teofilpol and Jampol).³³⁵ In the absence of a similar division in the rest of the diocese, the table offers only a general number of parish and filial churches in the entire diocese.

The number of parishes in the Łuck diocese offered in Garampi’s questionnaire of 1772 (1236)³³⁶ is slightly higher than the one established based on the detailed list (1167). It is likely that due to a poor source base it was not possible to corroborate the functioning of a small number of parishes of that diocese in the second half of the eighteenth century.

333 *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 7, part 2: Ziemie ruskie. Ruś Czerwona, p. 18.

334 Н.И. Теодорович, *Историко-статистическое описание церквей и приходов Вольнской епархии*, т. I-V, Почаев 1888–1903.

335 Кондратюк, “Джерела з історії”. Interesting but requiring further studies is a reference to the deaneries of Horyńgród and Ostropol, which were overlooked in Garampi’s questionnaire, and also on L. Bienkowski’s list, “Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego”, pp. 1044-1045.

336 Bienkowski, “Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego”, pp. 1044-1045.

Like the structures of the diocese of Łuck, those of the Włodzimierz part of the Włodzimierz-Brześć diocese, located in the Volhynian palatinate, are poorly documented in the second half of the eighteenth century. Owing mainly to the works of Dorota Wereda, a more complete picture is available for the Brześć part of that diocese which was located in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.³³⁷ The regulations of the 1715 Włodzimierz synod, published by Skoczylas, shed very important light on the organizational structure of the Włodzimierz part of that diocese. The division into deaneries and the number of churches are almost identical with the statistical data for that diocese compiled in respect of the second half of the eighteenth century by Bienkowski. However, there are very significant disparities, not with regard to the number of churches but their location.³³⁸

337 I.a., Wereda, *Unicka diecezja brzeska*, passim; Д. Вередя, “Адміністративні структури Берестейського офіціалату Володимирсько-Берестейської унійної єпархії у XVIII ст.,” *Ковчез*, 5 (2007), pp. 150-166; D. Wereda, “Bazylianie w unickiej diecezji brzeskiej w XVIII wieku,” *Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne*, 19 (2003), pp. 110-125.

338 The Uniate churches referred to in the above-mentioned council regulations (I. Скоцчильяс, *Релігія та культура Західної Волині на початку XVIII ст. За матеріалами Володимирського собору 1715 р.*, Львів 2008, pp. 54-68), but missing in the list provided by W. Kołbuk (*Kościół wschodnie*, pp. 319-323) were in the deaneries of Włodzimierz: Włodzimierz – St. Procopius, Włodzimierz – St. Onuphrius, Włodzimierz – St. Elijah's, Włodzimierz – St. Salvator's, Włodzimierz – St. Apostles, Włodzimierz – St. John Baptist's, Włodzimierz – St. John Evangelist, Włodzimierz – St. Theodor, Włodzimierz – Presentation of Mary's, Włodzimierz – St. Michael's, Kohilno (Kolno), Swojczów, Zamlicze, Czerczyce, Męczyce, Litowiz – St. Praxeda's, Litowiz – Presentation of Mary's, Chobutów, Rohožany, Budziatycze, Suchodoły, Woszczatyn, Błażenik, Mohilno, Kałusów; deanery of Kowel: Somin (Sumin), Siekuń (in Kołbuk's list as the Orthodox church), Chocieszów (the second church with doubtful location), Niesuchożeje (suburban church); deanery of Poryck: Radowicze, Kołonna; deanery of Łokacze: Łokacze (suburban parish), Markowicze, Świniarzyn, Cewielicze, Jakowicze, Ważyn ('*parochus wazyńensis*', unidentified locality); deanery of Kamień Koszyrski: Karasin; deanery of Kisielin: Ośmigowicze ('*parochus osnuhowicensis*', doubtful locality identification), Berezołupy, Radowicze, Makowicze, Witoniz, Rajmiasto, Trysteń, Twerdyń, Woronczyn, Hubin, Oździutycze, Chołopiecz, Lityn; deanery of Torczyn: Uhrynów, Szklin, Biskupicze, Pustomyty, Korytnica, Okorsk, Serniczki, Bubnów, Żukowiec. The 1715 council statutes omitted the following churches listed by W. Kołbuk: Beresko, Bereźnica, Bogoluby, Bortnów, Bucyń, Bużanka, Byteń, Cerkówka, Chorochoryń, Czeremoszna, Czewel, Dorotyszcz, Drozdnie, Gończy Bród, Hajki, Hrywiatki, Hulewicze, Jajno, Jezierce, Kamieńska Huta, Klewieck, Kołpytów, Korszów, Kruchenicze, Krymno, Kulczyn, Kutrów, Leśniaki, Liczyny, Mielce (Basilians), Mielce, Mielnica, Miryn, Niskienicze (Basilians), Olble Lackie, Ossa, Perkowicze, Piński Most, Podlesie, Podryże, Popowicze, Porsk

It follows from the information in the above-mentioned Garampi's questionnaire of 1772 that in the Włodzimierz part there were 207 or 205 parishes divided into eight deaneries.³³⁹ Very similar statistics are offered by Kołbuk (204 parish churches).³⁴⁰ According to the statutes of the 1715 council there were 243 parishes divided into ten deaneries, but after the two deaneries incorporated into the Chełm diocese in the 1720s (Sokal and Tartaków) are excluded, their number decreases to 208.³⁴¹

In the second half of the eighteenth century there were 121 Latin churches (79 parish and 42 filial churches) in the Volhynian palatinate. A very important role in respect of pastoral care was played by religious orders – out of 79 parish churches 17 were also monastic churches, and among 42 places of worship classified as filial churches, 31 were situated in monasteries and two in hospitals. All of them – apart from four – belonged to the Roman Catholic diocese of Łuck.³⁴² Initially the boundaries of the diocese established in 1375 went beyond

Mały, Porsk Wielki, Porska Wólka, Powórsk, Radoszyn, Radoszyńska Wólka, Rakowy Las, Ruda, Siedliszcze, Siedmiarki, Stawki, Szczurzyn, Tupaly, Turopin, Werchy (Basilians), Wiczynie, Włodzimierz – St. Pantaleon's), Włodzimierz – the Nativity, Włodzimierz – Elijah's the Prophet, Włodzimierz – Jozafat Kuncewicz's (Basilians), Włodzimierz (Basilian nuns), Zahorów Stary, Załazie, Zarzecze, Zimno (Basilians). About the Włodzimierz places of worship, see: W. Petrowycz, "Prawosławne i greckokatolickie cerkwie Włodzimierza Wołyńskiego XV-XVIII stulecia", in: *Do piękna nadprzyrodzonego. Sesja naukowa na temat rozwoju sztuki sakralnej od X do XX wieku na terenie dawnych diecezji chełmskich Kościoła rzymskokatolickiego, prawosławnego, greckokatolickiego*, vol. 1: Referaty, Chełm 2003, pp. 98-109.

339 Bienkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego", pp. 1048-1049.

340 Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie*, pp. 319-323. A minor correction of L. Bienkowski's map ("Monastery unickie i prawosławne w Polsce w 1772 r.", in: *Kościół w Polsce*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, vol. 2, Kraków 1969) involves the location of the Basilian monastery at Tumin (Tuman) that was situated circa eight km north-east of Czetwertnia in the Łuck-Ostróg diocese and not in the Włodzimierz-Brześć diocese near Włodzimierz.

341 Скоциляс, *Религія та культура*, p. 17. The 1715 council statutes, apart from the deaneries of Włodzimierz, Kamień Koszyrski, Kisielin, Kowel, Łocacze, Poryck, Torczyn and Turzysk, also mention the deaneries of Sokal and Tartaków within the boundaries of the Włodzimierz diocese. A. Gil's research corroborated that those two deaneries remained within the limits of the Włodzimierz diocese until the 1720s (1725-1728), and then they were incorporated into the Chełm diocese, Gil, *Chełmska diecezja unicka*, pp. 146-149.

342 The parish and hospital churches in Kamień Koszyrski (Chełm diocese), the parish run by the Dominicans in Lubar (Żytomierz deanery of the Kiev diocese) and a filial church in Kołodno (Trembowla deanery, Lwów diocese).

Table 11: The number of places of worship in the Volhynian palatinate circa 1772

Religions and denominations	Diocese/ Eparchy	Archdeaconry/ Officialate	Deanery/ Protopopy/ Governorship	Main places of worship	Auxiliary places of worship
Uniate (Greek Catholic)	Chełm	Bełz	Strzemilcze	3	-
			Tartaków	1	-
				4	-
		Chełm	Kaszogród	14	-
				18	-
	Kiev-Vilnius	Kiev	Lubar	6	-
	Lwów	Brzeżany	Tarnopol	16	-
			Zborów	6	-
				22	-
	Łuck	-	-	1068	5
	Włodzimierz	Włodzimierz	-	202	2
			1316	7	
Latin (Roman Catholic)	Chełm	-	Luboml	1	1
	Kiev	-	Żytomierz	1	-
	Lwów	Lwów	Trembowła	-	1
	Łuck	Łuck	Dubno	19	7
			Krzemieniec	9	6
			Włodzimierz	25	15
			Zasław	13	11
			Zbaraż	11	1
			77	40	
			79	42	
Armenian Catholic	Lwów	-	-	1	-
Orthodox	Kiev	-	-	3	-
Karaite				1	-
Jewish				87	-
Muslim				1	-
Total				1488	49

the area known in the eighteenth century and they also encompassed Podolia, the Braclaw and Podlasie regions. When the Kamieniec diocese was founded (in 1379-1384), the Łuck diocese was deprived of its entire south-eastern part. Only the Braclaw deanery remained within its borders, but had no direct connection with the main part of the diocese.³⁴³ In terms of its area the Łuck diocese was one of the largest in the Commonwealth (115 294 km²), second only to the diocese of Vilnius. It was mainly located in the four palatinates of Volhynia, Brześć Litewski, Podlasie and Braclaw.

All churches in the Volhynian palatinate were part of the Łuck archdeaconry. The boundaries of archdeaconries in the Latin diocese of Łuck must have been shaped following those of the state administration. The Łuck archdeaconry included the churches in the Volhynian and Braclaw palatinates,³⁴⁴ whereas the Brześć archdeaconry – those in the Brześć Litewski and Podlasie palatinates. The origins of the Łuck archdeaconry date back to the sixteenth century (the earliest reference comes from 1543). In Ludwik Królik's opinion it was the only archdeaconry in the Łuck diocese until 1721, when the second archdeaconry was established in Brześć.³⁴⁵ The territorial division of the Latin diocese of Łuck into the Brześć and Łuck parts may be traced back much earlier, in the separate diocesan synods in both parts.³⁴⁶ Initially, however, the diocese was clearly divided according to secular provinces.³⁴⁷ The diocese's division into two parts and the

343 Królik, *Organizacja diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej*, p. 95.

344 The Łuck archdeaconry (Krzemieniec deanery) also included a parish at Szczurowice established at the beginning of the seventeenth century which was part of the Bełz palatinate, and the parishes located in the former Olesko powiat which was transferred to the Ruthenian palatinate in the mid-fifteenth century, whereas the churches remained in the Łuck diocese (Brody, Olesko, Założce, Podkamień, Stanisławczyk). The border area parishes of the Łuck and Lwów dioceses were contested by bishops at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, p. 350. Founded in 1681, the parish of the Piarists at Dąbrowica located in the Brześć Litewski palatinate was incorporated into the Dubno deanery, and the Franciscan parish at Lisianka (Kiev palatinate) into the Braclaw deanery.

345 Królik, *Organizacja diecezji łuckiej*, p. 243.

346 In his report of 1613 on the condition of the diocese, Bishop P. Wołucki mentioned two separate synods in the Volhynia–Braclaw and Podlasie–Brześć parts, *Relationes status dioecesium in Magno Ducatu Lituaniae*, vol. 2, ed. P. Rabikauskas, Roma 1978, p. 23.

347 The 1613 report reads about the division of the diocese into four provinces of Braclaw, Volhynia, Podlasie and Brześć. The 1630 report features the diocese dividing it into Podlasie, the deanery of Pińsk (Brześć Litewski palatinate), Volhynia, and Braclaw palatinate, *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 41-42.

subordination of individual deaneries to Łuck (Volhynia) and Brześć (Podlasie) may be found in episcopal reports since 1658.³⁴⁸

The division of the Łuck diocese into deaneries was not a one-off act. In the sixteenth century the Podlasie part of the diocese comprised three deaneries (Janów, Mielnik and Sarnaki). Pursuant to bishop Bernard Maciejowski's decision and in the aftermath of the 1589 diocesan synod their number rose to seven (Mielnik, Kuczyn, Płonka, Janów, Brześć, Łosice, and Międzyzyleś). The reorganization of the deaneries of the Łuck diocese may be viewed as a consequence of the Trent decrees and the provincial synod in 1561. According to Królik in those days the Volhynian part of the diocese comprised four deaneries.³⁴⁹ Fundamental reforms of the deanery's structure were carried out by the 1604 synod that introduced 14 deaneries – eight in the Podlasie-Brześć part and six in the Volhynia-Braclaw part.³⁵⁰

Based on the information reported by the Łuck bishops to the Holy See³⁵¹ supplemented by the related findings of Królik,³⁵² one may try to feature in statistical terms the development of the Latin parish network in the Volhynian palatinate during the early modern period. Adopted as a starting point may be 1604, the year when the division into deaneries was consolidated.³⁵³ It follows from the following table (Table 12) that the increment of the number of places of worship in that area was quite significant (over 200 years the number of parishes rose by approximately 60 percent, and of filial churches by 100 percent). However, that increase was not even. It was most pronounced in the western part of the palatinate (the Włodzimierz, Dubno and Krzemieniec deaneries), and definitely lower in its eastern and southern parts (the Zbaraż and Zasław deaneries). Which must have been due to the different intensities of settlement and power of the Polish (Latin) element in eastern and western Volhynia. When characterizing the diocese in his

348 The 1658 report divides the deaneries of the Łuck diocese between Podlasie (deaneries of Janów, Łosice, Drohiczyn, Węgrów, Bielsk, Kamieniec, Brańsk, Szereszów) and Volhynia (deaneries of Włodzimierz, Ołyka, Zasław, Zbaraż, Krzemieniec, Braclaw). The 1666 report as well as the subsequent ones maintain that division referring to both parts with such terms as “dioceses”, “officialates”, “districts”, Ibid, pp. 57-61, 68-90, 96-101, 122-124. The term ‘archdeaconries’ may be found in the 1749 report, Ibid, p. 151.

349 L. Królik, *Organizacja dekanalna diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Lublin 1981, pp. 10-12.

350 Ibid, pp. 14-17.

351 *Relationes status dioecesium*, passim.

352 Królik, *Organizacja diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej*, pp. 15-16.

353 ADS. D18, f. 109; Królik, *Organizacja diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej*, pp. 262-270.

report sent to Rome in 1630, Bishop A. Grochowski pointed to evident differences between its Podlasie and Volhynian parts.³⁵⁴

Table 12. The number of churches in the deaneries of the Łuck diocese situated in the Volhynian palatinate

Palatinate	Number of churches in 1604		Number of churches in 1772	
	parish	filial	parish	filial
Włodzimierz	12	12	27	14
Ołyka /Dubno	11	6	20	7
Krzemieniec	10	0	15	9
Zbaraż	10	0	11	1
Zasław	10	3	13	11
Total	53	21	86	42

Sources regarding 1604: ADS. D18, k. 109; Królik, *Organizacja diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej*, pp. 262-270.

The list of Christian communities in the Volhynian palatinate in the second half of the eighteenth century ends with an Armenian church in Łuck and three Orthodox places of worship (two parishes at Hrycowo and a church in the village of Siekuń). It clearly follows from the map enclosed with the work by Petrowicz that the Volhynian palatinate was the northernmost border region of Armenian settlement within the boundaries of the Commonwealth.³⁵⁵ The earliest centre of Armenian settlement was also Włodzimierz Wołyński, but the fate of that community in early modern times is not well known.³⁵⁶ The Orthodox churches at Hryców and Siekuń were the westernmost Orthodox centres in the Commonwealth.

The available sources make it hard to represent accurately the geography of the Jewish population's migration into Volhynia. The oldest Jewish communities were established in Włodzimierz Wołyński and Łuck. In the sixteenth century there were four principal communities in Volhynia along with those in Ostróg³⁵⁷ and Krzemieniec. The Jewish settlement was most intensive in that area dur-

354 *Relationes status dioecesium*, vol. 2, p. 42.

355 Petrowicz, *La Chiesa Armena in Polonia. Parte prima 1350-1624*, p. 187.

356 Ibid, p. 9; Stopka, *Ormianie w Polsce*, p. 36; idem, "Kościół ormiański na Rusi", *Nasza Przeszłość*, 62 (1984), p. 41.

357 On the Ostróg kahal in the eighteenth century, see: A. Kaźmierczyk, "Podział kahału ostrogskiego w pierwszej połowie XVIII wieku", *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, 2001, no. 4, pp. 535-548.

ing the eight decades between the Union of Lublin (1569) and the Chmielnicki rising (1648).³⁵⁸ In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the kahals of the Volhynian palatinate formed a separate *zemstvo*. In 1739-1753 there was an independent kahal at Międzyrzec Korecki (including Połonne and Równe) with the *zemstvo* status which had been set apart from the Volhynian palatinate. The so-called independent communities also comprised a kahal at Ołyka.³⁵⁹ It follows from the Jewish poll tax register of 1765 that most populous Jewish communities of Volhynia lived at Dubno (2492 people), Ostróg (2429), Zasław (2047) and Łuck (1845). The other communities with more than one thousand Jews were at Starokonstantynów, Włodzimierz, Kowel, Równe, Stepań, Krzemieniec and Horochów.³⁶⁰ Unfortunately there is a shortage of sources of a survey nature that would allow the carrying out of a systematic verification of the list of communities included in the 1765 poll tax register. One may only rely on those from 1778-1790.³⁶¹ That it is necessary to use complete statistical data regarding the 1765 Jewish poll tax is demonstrated by the fact that the kahal at Mizocz in the Volhynian palatinate, reported in the 1765 census,³⁶² was omitted in its summary publication.³⁶³ Residual information offered in visitation reports by the Latin and Uniate Churches or in studies does not allow us to conclude unequivocally if a synagogue existed or not. As exemplified by the reference to Jewish tombs in a town of Liszniówka (the Uniate Church deanery of Kaszogród) from 1793.³⁶⁴

The Volhynian palatinate was an area of greater domination of the Uniate Church over other religions than the Ruthenian and Belz palatinates. But the total density of sacral facilities was slightly lower than in the latter palatinates: one place of worship per 27 km². In terms of quantity, in Volhynia there were more Uniate than Latin and Jewish places of worship than in Red Ruthenia. This

358 "Volhynia", in: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ed. C. Roth, Jerusalem 1972, vol. 16, col. 206-208.

359 Leszczyński, *Sejm Żydów Korony*, pp. 71, 75.

360 "Liczbą głów", pp. 399-400; *Архивъ Югозападной Россіи издаваемый временною комиссією для разбора древнихъ актовъ*, part 5, vol. 2: Переписи еврейского населения в Юго-Западном крае в 1765-1791 гг., Кіевъ 1890, pp. 64-110.

361 *Архивъ Югозападной Россіи*, part 5, vol. 2, p. 342, *passim*.

362 *Ibid*, p. 90.

363 "Liczbą głów", pp. 399-400.

364 APL. Ch801, pp. 156, 1793. This information, even though confirmed by the information about the community's origins in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, but without any reference to sources, offered on the website of the International Jewish Cemetery Project (IJCP) launched by the International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies, (IAJGS), does not allow us to establish unequivocally that the community really existed in the second half of the eighteenth century.

clearly transpires from both percentages and absolute numbers (Tables 11 and 19). One Uniate church per 31.4 km², as opposed to one Latin church per 343.1 km² (one parish per 525.6 km²), which translate into one Latin church per 11 Uniate churches (one Latin parish against 17 Uniate parishes). Less developed than in Red Ruthenia was also the kahal organization (one synagogue per 477.2 km²), most probably due to the well less developed urban network.³⁶⁵

Similarly to other parts of the Commonwealth, it was the towns of Volhynia which were the most diversified in religious terms. Standing out among them was Łuck, the capital city of two bishoprics: the Latin and the Uniate ones, that was also inhabited by Armenians, Jews and Karaites. Out of 113 towns of the Volhynian palatinate only 23 were the centres of one religion, with only one Uniate parish in most of them.³⁶⁶ The other cities had places of worship of two (30 towns) or three religions (59 towns). Compared to the Belz or Ruthenian palatinates, the Latin element was weak in Volhynia which may also be inferred from the fact that there was a Latin place of worship in only seven out of the 30 towns with two religions. The rest were inhabited by the Uniates and Jews – only at Kaszówka there was a synagogue next to a Latin filial church. For the sake of comparison it should be added that in 61 towns of the Ruthenian palatinate with the places of worship of two religions as many as 50 had a Latin church, and in the Belz palatinate in 12 towns of that kind – there was a Roman Catholic church in seven of them. The domination of the Uniate Church was even more pronounced in the countryside: out of 1120 villages with places of worship of one religion as many as 1113 had a Uniate church and only seven – a Latin church. In the villages with places of worship of two religions only in 23 was there a Roman Catholic church, that is in two percent of all villages with sacral buildings.

365 Based on a table featuring the character of localities where sacral facilities were situated, one may definitely conclude that nearly all towns had a place of worship – in the palatinate of Ruthenia there was one town per 277 km², in the palatinate of Belz – per 216 km², in the palatinate of Volhynia – per 367 km². The table *Density of urban network in the Crown, 1789/90* enclosed with the work by M. Bogucka and H. Samsonowicz (*Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław 1986, p. 350) corroborates that figure in respect to Volhynia (372.2 km²), but in the case of Red Ruthenia offers a higher value (one city per 363.8 km²).

366 The localities referred to only in the 1765 poll tax register included the following towns: Horynka (south of Krzemieniec), Milatyn and Oździutycze. At Kazimirska (Kazimierska) near Równe there was only a Latin parish incorporated into the Ołyka collegiate.

The nature of patronage over Uniate churches and the small number of Catholic churches in Volhynia is an evidence that the main burden of developing and maintaining the church structure was borne by the nobility. Out of 1146 places of worship in respect of which it was possible to identify their patronage, as many as 1073 (93.6 percent) were the property of noblemen. The domination of the noble patronage was due to the fact that the structure of patronage over the Uniate Church was fundamentally different than in the Latin Church. In Crown Ruthenia large landed estates prevailed. It follows from the structure of patronage that in Volhynia this domination was most pronounced in the entire Commonwealth.

The organization and structure of religions in P o d o l i a is better documented than in the case of Volhynia. Podolia – or the former Podolian land which was a historical region – is an older term than the palatinate and it initially covered approximately the area of the Podolian and Braclaw palatinates. After the Braclaw region (East Podolia) had been cut off at the end of the fourteenth century and incorporated into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,³⁶⁷ the term Podolia began to refer only to the palatinate of Podolia,³⁶⁸ which was officially established in 1434.

According to Jabłonowski the origins of powiats in the Podolian palatinate were different than in Volhynia where they had evolved from the former feudal duchies. In Podolia the powiats were established around royal castles, and after some of them had fallen into decline, the powiats began to consolidate. Their shape must have also been affected by the division of that area under the Tatar rule in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. An opinion prevails in geographical historiography that the early modern palatinate of Podolia was divided into three powiats: Czerwonogród, Kamieniec and Latyczów, although it follows from recent studies that since 1581 through the end of the eighteenth century there were only two powiats – Kamieniec and Latyczów.³⁶⁹

367 J. Natanson-Leski, *Dzieje granicy wschodniej Rzeczypospolitej*, Lwów-Warszawa 1922, p. 23.

368 Крикун, *Адміністративно-територіальний устрій*, p. 7.

369 Waga, *Wyciąg z geografii polskiej*, p. 39; Łubieński, *Świat we wszystkich swoich częściach*, p. 431; Jabłonowski, *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 9: Ziemie ruskie. Wołyń i Podole, p. 11; Gloger, *Geografia historyczna*, pp. 240-241. The map enclosed with M. Krykun's work slightly complicates that picture. It features the palatinate divided in the fifteenth century into eight powiats (Czerwonogród, Skala, Smotrycz, Kamieniec Podolski, Bakota, Rów [Bar], Latyczów and Chmielnik), and in the second quarter of the sixteenth century – into six powiats (Czerwonogród [Jazłowiec], Kamieniec Podolski, Bar [Zińków], Międzyboż, Latyczów and Chmielnik). Since 1581 (the border was demarcated in 1612) the Podolian palatinate was divided into two powiats of Kamieniec and Latyczów. In keeping with a new territorial division adopted on

The area of the Podolian palatinate overlapped almost exactly with the eastern part of the Greek Catholic diocese of Lwów. On Kołbuk's list it was the so-called "Kamieniec diocese", and in the light of more recent studies by Skoczylas, as well as Budzyński – the officialate of Kamieniec Podolski and the officialate of Bar³⁷⁰ that had been separated from the latter in 1745-1748. There were 1026 places of worship in the Podolian palatinate. All of them, apart from the monastery church at Hołowczyńce, were parish churches. Nine of them were run by the Basilian monks.

Minor discrepancies between palatinate boundaries and the above-mentioned officialates should be attributed to the fact that the deanery borders were shaped later than those of the state administration. The deanery borders were determined both by the organization of powiats and by the boundaries of noble, royal and church estates (church patrons). In Skoczylas's opinion the borders of the Podolian deaneries in the Lwów diocese were shaped in the mid-fifteenth century when the political situation and the administration of the area were stabilizing. The consolidation of powiats did not, however, result in the mergers of deaneries which remained within their original boundaries until the beginning of the eighteenth century. This century was marked by an intensive growth of parish and deanery networks in the Podolian and Braclaw regions.³⁷¹ Due to the development of parish network and allocation of new churches according to ownership, rather than the criterion of powiat or palatinate, the borders of palatinates and deaneries diverged. Examples are the allocation of the Uniate deaneries of Husiatyn, Jagielnica and Satanów to the Ruthenian and Podolian palatinates.³⁷² As for the Bar officialate, all deaneries (governorships) belonged

2 November 1791 during the Great Diet, the Podolian palatinate was to comprise the powiats of Kamieniec, Czerwonogród, Latyczów and Rów [Bar]. M. Krykun's map corroborates what K. Niesiecki wrote in his work *Korona Polska* about the division of the Podolian palatinate into powiats and opposes its generally adopted division into three powiats, Крикун, *Адміністративно-територіальний устрій*, map of the Podolian palatinate; Крикун, "Повітовий поділ Подільського воєводства", pp. 43, 49-50.

370 Budzyński, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, vol. 3, pp. 219-223.

371 Скочиляс, "Адміністративно-територіальний устрій Львівської єпархії", pp. 158-159; Also see: idem, "Язловецьке намісництво на Західному Поділлі у XVII – першій половині XVIII століть: територіальний "родовід" та парафіяльна мережа (історико-географічний аспект)", *Український археографічний щорічник. Нова серія*, 10-11 (2006), pp. 222-239.

372 The churches of the Husiatyn deanery that belonged to the Ruthenian palatinate are mentioned by visitation reports as late as 1758-1765, Скочиляс, *Генеральні візитації*, pp. 262-264.

to the Podolian palatinate, apart from Szarogród which was divided between the Braclaw and Podolian palatinates.

Owing to a repertory of the visitations of the Uniate Lwów diocese published by Skoczylas³⁷³ as well as the sources kept by the Central State Historical Archive in Lviv and the National Museum in Lviv,³⁷⁴ it was possible to refine Kołbuk's earlier findings regarding the Kamieniec part of the old Lwów diocese that were mainly based on historical descriptions of Orthodox parishes published in the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century.³⁷⁵ In the second half of the eighteenth century the two above-mentioned officialates comprised 23 deaneries – nine in the Bar officialate and 14 in the Kamieniec Podolski officialate. A list of the Uniate churches in the Podolian palatinate is supplemented by 36 places of worship of the metropolitan Kiev-Vilnius diocese and 16 places of worship in the Łuck diocese that belonged to their borderland deaneries. They may have been incorporated into the Podolian palatinate in the aftermath of changes of the political borders (between states), and after 1569 – as a result of the border corrections between the Podolia, Braclaw, Kiev and Volhynian palatinates. It should be underscored that until 1569 the north-eastern section of the border of the Podolian palatinate was the frontier between the Commonwealth and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and it was subject to numerous fluctuations. A key role in this regard was played by the border commission of 1546, and frontier demarcations that took place in 1570 and 1680.³⁷⁶ Although there are relatively good sources regarding the eastern regions of the Commonwealth, it is sometimes difficult to unequivocally attribute a locality to a palatinate or

373 Skочиляс, *Генеральні візитації*, passim.

374 Mainly unpublished descriptions of parishes in the Lwów archdiocese which were copied by I. Skoczylas, O. Duch and A. Pawlyszyn (*Consignatio reperibilium in diaecesi Ritus Graeca Catholici Leopoliensi, Haliciensi et Camenecensi ex parte Austriaca beneficiorum, ecclesiarum et capellarum, confraternitatum, monasteriorum et residentiarum conventualium*, National Museum in Lviv [hereinafter: MNL.], Rkl-788, ff. 2-41; *Dyspartymment katedradyku poszczególnych parafii dekanatów eparchii lwowskiej 1758-1759*, Central State Historical Archive in Lviv [hereinafter: CPAHU.], set 201, op. 1a, MS no. 5, ff. 1-25; *Taryffa generalna dekanatów cerkwiej y kapłanów officjalstwa barskiego z roku 1778 ułożona*, CPAHU. set 201, op. 1a, MS no. 18, ff. 1-8v).

375 *Приходы и церкви Подольской епархии. Труды Подольского епархиального историко-статистического комитета*, выпуск 9, ред. Е. Сецинский, Каменец-Подольский 1901; *Труды комитета для историко-статистического описания Подольской Епархии*, выпуск 4, Каменец-Подольский 1889.

376 A detailed description of those commissions may be found in: Крикун, *Адміністративно-територіальний устрій*, pp. 11-33.

a parish church to a deanery. Which is partly due to the fact that contradictory information is offered by those sources. For example, according to the visitations of 1730-1731 and the 1782 list of parishes the Dupliska parish belonged to the deanery of Bilcze, but according to the 1759 visitation it was under the jurisdiction of the Czerwonogród deanery.³⁷⁷

As there are quite comprehensive statistical data it is possible to describe the growth of the parish network in the Podolian part of the Uniate Lwów diocese. The first relatively complete list of churches with their allocation to deaneries comes from 1730-1733 (general visitation). Although by the end of the eighteenth century the deanery network was affected by serious changes (*inter alia*, the decline of the deaneries of Jazłowiec, Derażnia, Korolówka and emergence of the deanery of Snitków), one may try to compare the number of parishes. An apparent rise in the number of Uniate parishes in the Podolian palatinate may be seen in all deaneries other than Sokolec. Incomplete statistical data (missing are, for example, the 1730-1733 data on the deanery of Czarny Ostrów) indicate that the number of Uniate churches in the Podolian palatinate increased by two thirds in only 50 years (Table 13).

The boundaries of the Podolian palatinate overlapped exactly with those of the Latin Kamieniec diocese. It is perhaps the only case in the entire Commonwealth when the boundaries of the state and church administration corresponded with each other to such an extent. It must have been due to the fact that the borders of both the palatinate and the diocese were shaped quite late. Minor corrections of diocesan limits, such as the transfer of the parishes of Kopyczyńce or Jazłowiec to the administration of the archbishop of Lwów, indicate attempts to adjust the borders of church administration to those of the state.³⁷⁸

The origins of the Kamieniec diocese have been discussed quite accurately by Tadeusz Trajdos,³⁷⁹ and its early modern history is the subject of a monograph by Jan Mucha.³⁸⁰ Due to the sparse network of Latin parish churches in the Kamieniec diocese, the division into archdeaconries did not develop, and the division into deaneries took place very late, in the first half of the eighteenth century. It follows from the 1749 report on the condition of the diocese that its division into four deaneries (Dunajów, Jazłowiec, Międzyboż and Satanów) was replaced by

377 Скочиляс, *Адміністративно-територіальний устрій Львівської єпархії*, pp. 49, 276; MNL. Rkl-788, f. 38.

378 Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, pp. 341-342.

379 T. Trajdos, *Kościół Katolicki na ziemiach ruskich Korony i Litwy za panowania Władysława II Jagiełły (1386-1434)*, Wrocław-Warszawa 1983, pp. 116-168.

380 Mucha, "Organizacja diecezji kamienieckiej", pp. 63-284.

Table 13. Development of parish network in the Podolian part of the Uniate Lwów diocese in the eighteenth century.

Name of deanery	Number of Uniate churches per year:		
	1730-1733	1747	circa 1772
Bar	22	60	101
Derażnia (in 1772 in the Bar deanery)	22	28	-
Bilcze	22	20	34
Korołówka (in 1772 in the Bilcze deanery)	17	19	-
Gródek	26	24	33
Husiatyn	22	37	42
Zińków	31	34	36
Kamieniec Podolski	44	91	98
Kamieniec Podolski – officialate (in 1747 and circa 1772 in the Kamieniec Podolski deanery)	41		
Kitajgród	27	31	37
Kopajgród	26	28	35
Latyczów	?	32	37
Międzyboż	23	29	34
Mohylów	27	38	45
Pilawa	8	24	36
Proskurów	22	23	32
Satanów	30	29	33
Skała	48	49	67
Smotrycz	24	28	43
Sokolec	26	40	35
Sołdkowce	25	27	38
Czerwonogród	18	39	47
Jazłowiec (in 1747 and circa 1772 in the Czerwonogród deanery)	25		
Czarny Ostrów	?	35	41
Szarogród	35	28	41
Jagielnica	28	27	33
Snitków	-	-	33
TOTAL	639	820	1011

Source of the 1730-1733 and 1747 data: Скочияс, “Адміністративно-територіальний устрій”, pp. 154-156.

the division into six deaneries (the deaneries of Szarogród and Czarnokozińce were added) on the occasion of the diocesan visitation in 1741.³⁸¹ Both sources, namely, the 1741 visitation conducted by Bishop Wacław Hieronim Sierakowski and the 1749 report sent to Rome by his successor, Mikołaj Dembowski, provide basic information about Latin communities in Podolia.

Given the size of the Kamieniec diocese, the increment of Latin parishes in modern times should be viewed as rather weak. This was to a high degree due to the near-complete destruction of churches in 1672-1699 (only 13 churches out of 42 survived). Owing to Bishop Stefan Rupniewski it was possible to reinstate the number of parishes that had existed in the mid-seventeenth century. In 1724 the diocese comprised 39 parishes, and by the end of the eighteenth century their number increased to 58.³⁸² Most filial churches (14 out of 21) belonged to monasteries.

Mainly due to the problems involved in pastoral work in an area almost completely dominated by Orthodox communities, from the beginning of the Kamieniec diocese an important role was played by monasteries, particularly of the Dominican order (Sidorów, Smotrycz, Sokolec, Sołodkowce, Latyczów, Szarawka). They usually ran parishes in their monasteries, but sometimes they also extended their service to parishes under the royal or noble patronage. This was mainly due to the shortage of secular clergy. Of 58 parishes in the second half of the eighteenth century eight (13.8 percent) were run by monks. This corroborates Jerzy Flaga's opinion that "the establishment of monastic parishes in eastern regions was motivated by local pastoral needs."³⁸³ Out of 21 auxiliary churches as many as 14 were run by monks, and one of them (Kamieniec Podolski) had a hospital provostship.

The third Catholic rite present in early modern Podolia was the Armenian rite. Apart from the Ruthenian palatinate, this was the region marked by most intensive Armenian settlement. One of the most comprehensive monographs on the history of the Podolian Armenians (next to the works by Petrowicz and Stopka) was written by Wardan Grigorjan who described the vicissitudes of their main centres in Podolia.³⁸⁴ In the second half of the eighteenth century there were six Armenian places of worship, with two of them located in Kamieniec

381 *Relacja o stanie diecezji kamienieckiej z 1749 r.*, Archive of the Council Congregation: the Kamieniec diocese file, pp. 17-25; Mucha, "Organizacja diecezji kamienieckiej", p. 180.

382 Mucha, "Organizacja diecezji kamienieckiej", pp. 186-189.

383 J. Flaga, *Zakony męskie w Polsce w 1772 roku. Duszpasterstwo*, Lublin 1991, p. 16.

384 В.Р. Григорян, *История армянских колоний Украины и Польши (Армяне в Подолии)*, Ереван 1980. Apart from localities inhabited by religious communities he also mentions those without any places of worship, or where the Armenian communities

Table 14: The number of places of worship in the Podolian palatinate circa 1772.

Religions and denominations	Diocese/ Eparchy	Archdeaconry/ Officialate	Deanery/ Protopopy/ Governorship	Main places of worship	Auxiliary places of worship		
Uniate (Greek Catholic)	Kiev-Vilnius		Brahiłów	2	-		
			Jaruga	14	-		
			Lubar	6	-		
			Pików	14	-		
				36	-		
	Lwów	Bar		Bar	101	-	
				Kopajgród	33	-	
				Latyczów	36	-	
				Międzyboż	33	1	
				Mohylów	45	-	
				Pilawa	36	-	
				Snitków	33	-	
				Sokolec	35	-	
				Szarogród	29	-	
					381	1	
		Kamieniec Podolski			Bilcze	34	-
					Czarny Ostrów	41	-
					Czerwonogród	47	-
					Gródek	33	-
					Husiatyn	31	-
					Jagielnica	28	-
					Kamieniec Podolski	98	-
					Kitajgród	37	-
					Proskurów	32	-
					Satanów	27	-
		592	-				
		973	1				
Łuck	-	-	16	-			
			1025	1			

Latin (Roman Catholic)	Kamieniec Podolski		Czarnokozińce	9	8
			Dunajowce	12	2
			Jazłowiec	8	1
			Międzyboż	10	3
			Satanów	8	3
			Szarogród	10	4
				57	21
Armenian Catholic	Lwów	-	-	6	-
Orthodox	Kiev	-	-	1	-
Jewish				77	-
Total				1166	22

Podolski (the churches of St. Nicolaus and the Annunciation).³⁸⁵ In Abraham's opinion, corroborated by Petrowicz, Kamieniec Podolski was an important stage on the migration route of the Armenians from Kaffa to Lwów.³⁸⁶ Next to Lwów, it was also the most significant centre of Armenian settlement in the old Commonwealth.

The palatinate of Podolia, next to Braclaw and Kiev palatinates to be discussed below, was one of the few areas in the Commonwealth where the number of synagogues was equal to that of the Latin churches. Before presenting the statistical data on the number of Jewish communities and analysing their distribution in the Podolian palatinate, it is necessary to dwell on an intriguing issue of the absence of a Jewish community in its capital city, Kamieniec Podolski. At a quite early stage it assumed from Smotrycz the function of the principality's capital, later on to continue to be the capital city of the Podolian palatinate. After it had been granted city rights in 1374, it became an important centre of commerce and crafts.³⁸⁷ In spite of this it was ignored in the 1765 poll tax register. From its foundation Kamieniec imposed a very strict ban, reiterated many times, on

fell in decline in the seventeenth century: Kubaczowce, Dubrowica, Bar, Humań, Buczacz, Podhajce and Satanów.

385 J. Chrzęszczewski (*Ormiańskie świątynie na Podolu*, Kraków 1998, pp. 29-30) also mentions the church of the Assumption of Mary demolished in 1672 and of St. Gregory the Enlightener whose ruins were sold in 1807.

386 Petrowicz, *La Chiesa Armena in Polonia. Parte prima 1350-1624*, p. 13.

387 Trajdos, *Kościół Katolicki*, p. 123.

the settlement of Jews, contrary to the royal policy pursued in respect of Bar or Międzyboż.³⁸⁸ The ban must have been due to economic competition between the Armenian community, whose position in the city and its authorities was well established, and a group of Jewish merchants trying to “access” the city.³⁸⁹ It was only in the second half of the eighteenth century that the Jews were allowed to settle in the city, wherupon they quickly seized the initiative in trade.³⁹⁰

The 1765 Jewish poll tax register mentions 77 towns and cities with Jewish communities. The only questionable locality is “Kałuków Grodecki”.³⁹¹ It must have been the town of “Gródek”, situated at the mouth of the Seret River where it entered the Dniester River, which is mentioned in the Uniate deanery of Biczka in 1730-1731³⁹² and in the Latin deanery of Jazłowiec in 1749.³⁹³ Although the above-mentioned poll tax register was the main source to localize the Jewish communities in Podolia, its information was partly verified based on a later census of 1784³⁹⁴ and the 1741 visitation of the Latin Kamieniec diocese. The bishops complained, *inter alia*, about the situation at Husiatyn where the synagogue was located close to the parish church and that the town’s owners, the Potocki family, maintained close contacts with the Jewish community.³⁹⁵

Until the mid seventeenth century Podolia, along with the palatinates of Ruthenia and Braclaw, was part of the Ruthenian zemstvo. After the peace of Karłowice and the return of those lands to the Commonwealth, a separate district was established.³⁹⁶ The most populous Jewish communities lived in such

388 Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, pp. 181, 186-188.

389 The presence of Armenians in Kamieniec Podolski dates back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Petrowicz, *La Chiesa Armena in Polonia. Parte prima 1350-1624*, p. 9. On Armenian-Jewish relations, see: K. Matwijowski, “Żydzi i Ormianie w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów (wiek XVI do XVIII)”, in: *Żydzi w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. A. Link-Lenczowski, T. Polański, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1991, pp. 162-169.

390 F. Kiryk, “Z dziejów Żydów kamienieckich”, *Studia Judaica*, 5-6 (2002-2003), pp. 31-36.

391 “Liczba głów”, p. 401.

392 Скоциляс, *Генеральні візитації*, p. 49.

393 *Relacja o stanie diecezji kamienieckiej z 1749 r.*, p. 18. The maps show two towns: Gródek and Kałakowce.

394 *Архивъ Югозападной Россіи*, part 5, vol. 2, pp. 428-456. It lists, i.a, the kahal at Pilawa absent from the 1765 census (p. 451).

395 BPANKr. MS no. 2002, pp. 1004, 1010-1013.

396 Leszczyński, *Sejm Żydów Korony*, p. 70. I. Halperin’s map does not distinguish that district and includes all communities in the Ruthenian zemstvo (*Acta Congressus Generalis*, map).

towns as Szarogród (2219 Jews in the kahal) and Międzyboż (2039 Jews in the kahal). The communities with more than one thousand Jews included Satanów (1625), Dunajowce (1598), Żwaniec (1568), Bar (1477), Husiatyn (1435), Chmielnik (1417) and Mikołajów (1087).³⁹⁷

If the number of places of worship were to be treated as an indicator of the presence of the Polish element in a territory, then for the Podolian palatinate it would be extremely low. When the growth of the Latin and Uniate parishes is compared, it is hard to speak of any success, or of the rising influence of Western Catholicism in that area. Latin churches were like scattered urban islands, in which the Ruthenian, Armenian and Jewish elements predominated. In the territory of the Podolian palatinate with an area of 19 832 km²³⁹⁸ there was a total of 1188 sacral buildings – one per 16.7 km². It was the highest density in the Commonwealth, comparable to that of the Ruthenian palatinate. This was mainly due to the prevalence of the Uniate Church in that area. The establishment of a Uniate parish was not subject to as many formal preconditions as in the case of a Latin church. There was one Uniate church per more than 19.3 km², which means that the parish network was more developed in here than in Volhynia and comparable to that of the Ruthenian palatinate. The prevalence of the Uniate Church over the Latin Church was even more pronounced here than in other palatinates of Crown Ruthenia – there was one Latin church per 254 km² and per 13 Uniate churches (one Latin parish per 348 km² and per 18 parishes of the Greek Catholic rite). The highly developed kahal network comes as a surprise. In Podolia there was one kahal per 258 km² – fewer, however, than in the Ruthenian and Bełz palatinates – which makes Podolia a region with one of the highest densities of Jewish communities in the Commonwealth.

In the Podolian palatinate, the most diversified town in religious terms was Mohylów. It had strong Christian and Jewish communities. The city was inhabited by Catholics of all rites, and members of the Latin community were permitted by their bishop to attend the Armenian place of worship – it follows from the 1749 report by the bishop of Kamieniec that the Latin parish was ruined at the time.³⁹⁹ In the second half of the eighteenth century there were also Uniate

397 “Liczba głów”, p. 401.

398 It follows from M. Krykun’s calculations that the area of the palatinate was of 18 963 km², Крикун, *Адміністративно-територіальний устрій*, p. 35

399 *Relacja o stanie diecezji kamienieckiej z 1749 r.*, p. 18. On W. Kołbuk’s list there is one Armenian place of worship in Mohylów Podolski – of St. Gregory the Illuminator, Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie*, p. 345. It follows from *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego* (vol. 6, p. 613) and the work *Приходы и церкви Подольской епархии* (vol.

churches (of St. Nicolaus – in the city, of the Transfiguration of the Lord – “na Derle”, and of St. Praxedá – in the suburbs called Słoboda Nemija⁴⁰⁰) and an Orthodox church (dedicated to St. George).

Other centres that were highly diversified in terms of ethnicity included Jazłowiec and Żwaniec, where Armenians lived side by side with the Latin, Uniate and Jewish communities. In all the towns of Podolia, excluding the Jewish Frampol or the hard to identify town called Podole, there were Uniate churches. In half of the towns (48 out of 94) there were also Jewish and Latin places of worship. Moreover, in 23 towns there was a Jewish community apart from the Uniate one, and in four towns there was a Latin next to the Uniate church.

The structure of patronage over churches in Podolia indicates that royal ownership played greater role here than in Volhynia, where there were practically no places of worship under the royal patronage. In Volhynia only 1.1 percent of places of worship (with no Latin churches) were under the royal patronage, whereas in Podolia it was extended over 23.7 percent of Uniate and 15.4 percent of Latin churches. The reasons behind the significantly high proportion of royal patronage rights in Podolia have been discussed in depth by, *inter alia*, Jabłonowski.⁴⁰¹ It seems that the structure of the patronage over Uniate and Latin churches corroborates his conclusions. In consequence, the patronage of the nobility over the Uniate Church, which was so predominant in the Commonwealth, especially in neighbouring Volhynia where it accounted for more than 95.7 percent, did not prevail so evidently in Podolia where it accounted for 71.8 percent. In the Latin Church male religious orders played a more important role than in the Greek Catholic Church, acting both as patrons and ministers.

The Braclaw palatinate, originally referred to as East Podolia, was formally established after its incorporation into the Commonwealth pursuant to the 1569 Union, when it became part of the Małopolska province. Prior to that, still within the borders of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, it was part of the Volhynian land. The boundaries of the Braclaw palatinate were shaped in two stages: before

9, pp. 682-689) that in Mohylew there was also another Armenian church of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary built between 1772 and 1791, М.І. Жарких, *Храми Поділля* (access: <http://www.myslenedrevo.com.ua/studies/xramypo-d/45mohyliv.html>, 30.07.2009).

400 Скочиляс, *Генеральні візитації*, pp. 49, 347; М. Żarkich (*Храми Поділля*) also mentions a brick church of the Protection of Our Lady built in 1771 which, however, is not confirmed by other sources.

401 *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 9: Ziemie ruskie. Wołyń i Podole, pp. 97-103.

1566 (its western, south-western and north-western borders) and after its incorporation into the Commonwealth (its eastern, north-eastern and south-eastern borders).⁴⁰² Until the eighteenth century their course, especially with the Kiev palatinate, was the subject of disputes and decisions by border commissions. In 1755 the last of these corroborated the course of the northern border with the Kiev palatinate along the so-called black trail whose exact route is not known precisely. It is even more difficult to establish the eastern border of the Braclaw palatinate due to the discrepancies in the sources. The so-called Zarosie (Заросье), an area situated south of the Ros and west of the Dnieper Rivers, was disputed. Until the end of the eighteenth century the final border of the palatinate in that area was not demarcated. Because the discussion on the subject of that border has continued for many years, Krykun's latest proposition in this regard has been accepted as the conclusive one.⁴⁰³

It was the liquidity and instability of the border between the Braclaw and Kiev palatinates that determined the allocation to both of them of the Uniate deaneries of the Kiev part of the metropolitan diocese situated close to the so-called black trail, comprising Berdyczów, Białołówka (Bityłówka), Lubar and Pohrebyszcze. The disputes about Zarosie brought about the split of the deaneries of Wołodarka and Sokołówka. Of the highest significance to the shaping of the border with the Podolian palatinate was the demarcation document of 1570. The borders of the Uniate metropolitan diocese and the Lwów diocese must have been agreed upon at that time, if in the eighteenth century the parishes in border area deaneries of both dioceses were part of both the Braclaw and the Podolian palatinates (the Lwów diocese – the deaneries of Szarogród, Kopajgród, Latyczów, the metropolitan diocese – the deaneries of Pików and Jaruga).

Apart from the sections of the above-mentioned deaneries of the Lwów diocese (15 parishes) the entire Braclaw palatinate (the Braclaw and Winnica powiats) was located in the Uniate metropolitan Kiev-Vilnius diocese. In the Braclaw palatinate there were 1159 parish churches and seven filial churches, of which two were run by monasteries (in Humań and Granów). The most valuable sources that may shed light on that part of the Kiev-Vilnius metropolitan province in the second half of the eighteenth century have recently been discovered

402 Krykun, *Адміністративно-територіальний устрій*, p. 87.

403 Ibid, pp. 87-120, maps of the Kiev and Braclaw palatinates; Also see: Jabłonowski, *Ziemia Ruskie Rzeczypospolitej*, maps; S. Krzyżanowski, *Skorowidz miejscowości byłego województwa braclawskiego*, Kraków 1869 (especially the map); M. Крикун, "Границі і повітовий поділ Брацлавського воєводства в 16–18 ст.," *Історичні дослідження. Вітчизняна історія*, 8 (1982), p. 97.

by Radwan in the Ukrainian and Russian archives. They include the 1782-1794 visitation protocols of 33 Uniate deaneries of the former Kiev and Braclaw palatinates. Radwan published their fragments regarding the Braclaw and Przyłuka deaneries⁴⁰⁴ and a summary list of all parishes in 1782 commissioned by Metropolitan Jason Smogorzewski who was preparing that visitation.⁴⁰⁵ Owing to those publications one may realize the enormous amount of work ahead of historians if they are to shed more light on the history of that vast territory. They provide more specific data about the organization of the metropolitan diocese than that earlier previously published by Witold Kołbuk and Stanisław Nabywaniec.⁴⁰⁶ However, it follows from the analysis of the two deaneries of Przyłuka and Braclaw that, apart from the information on individual church affiliation with deaneries, the existing data base was only slightly modified. Accordingly, only three churches were added to the list of 38 in the deanery of Braclaw referred to in the sources used by Kołbuk:⁴⁰⁷ those of St. Nicholas in the suburb of Tulczyn, of St. Demetrius in the village of Odaja (built over 1778-1779)⁴⁰⁸ and of St. Michael at Annapol. In the deanery of Przyłuka of 39 churches listed by Kołbuk eliminated were two Uniate churches: of St. Luke at Czerniatyn Mały⁴⁰⁹ and at Konstantynówka,⁴¹⁰ and added the churches at: Armianka (Ormianka) – of St. Nicholas,⁴¹¹ Hordziejówka (Hordziejówka),⁴¹² Lipowiec – of Holy Trinity,⁴¹³

404 *Wizytacje generalne*, passim. About the visitations of the metropolitan diocese also see: I. Скоциляс, “Генеральні візитації в українсько-білоруських епархіях Київської уніатської митрополії. 1596-1720 роки”, *Записки Наукового товариства імені Шевченка. Праці Історично-філософської секції*, 238 (1999), pp. 46-94.

405 *Socjografia kościoła greckokatolickiego*, passim.

406 Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie*, pp. 95-151; Nabywaniec, *Unicka archidiecezja kijowska*, passim.

407 The statistical data disregard a chapel in Strutów (Strusów, parish of Ulanica) which was mentioned in the 1795 visitation because it was built after 1782, *Wizytacje generalne*, p. 529.

408 Ibid, pp. 462-466, 473-477, 447-451; *Socjografia kościoła greckokatolickiego*, pp. 22-24.

409 The Uniate church was built in 1794, Л. Похилевич, *Сказания о населенных местностях Киевской губернии*, Киев 1864, p. 294.

410 That church is omitted on the 1782 list and in the visitation report from the beginning of the 1890s published by M. Radwan. W. Kołbuk included it on his list because L. Pochilewicz wrote that the church in that village was built in 1852 to replace the older one, Похилевич, *Сказания о населенных местностях*, p. 298.

411 *Socjografia kościoła greckokatolickiego*, p. 68; *Wizytacje generalne*, pp. 794-798.

412 *Socjografia kościoła greckokatolickiego*, p. 67 (Hordziejówka); *Wizytacje generalne*, pp. 699-702.

413 *Wizytacje generalne*, pp. 734-740.

Przyłuki – of the Protection of Our Lady,⁴¹⁴ Siwakowce – of Nativity⁴¹⁵ and a chapel of St. Luke at Strutyńka, affiliated to the Kamionka parish.⁴¹⁶

Most of the metropolitan Uniate churches (77 percent) of the Kiev-Vilnius diocese were located in the Braclaw and Kiev palatinates. Owing to the above sources discovered by Radwan it was possible to add 218 places of worship, mainly located in the Braclaw and Kiev palatinates, to 2716 Uniate churches of that diocese. A very pronounced increase in the number of the Uniate parishes in the eighteenth century, which in Bieńkowski's opinion is comparable only to that in the Podolian and Kiev regions,⁴¹⁷ resulted in a significant development of the deanery network in the Braclaw palatinate.⁴¹⁸ It culminated in the deanery reorganization in 1781-1782. It may be concluded from the comparison of the number of parishes in individual deaneries offered by Bieńkowski⁴¹⁹ with the compiled source materials for individual Uniate churches that both the census of 1782 and the visitation in 1782-1795 reflect the new division into deaneries. Bieńkowski and Nabywaniec ignore the affiliation of deaneries with palatinates, discussed above, allocating each deanery to one palatinate.⁴²⁰

In the Braclaw palatinate there were 21 whole deaneries of the Uniate metropolitan diocese. It also covered most of the area of the following deaneries: Brahiłów (with the exception of the parishes of Kuryłowce and Ossolinka located in the Podolian palatinate⁴²¹), Jaruga (divided by the basin of the Murafa River between the palatinates of Braclaw and Podolia⁴²²), Pików (part of which was sit-

414 *Socjografia kościoła greckokatolickiego*, p. 68; *Wizytacje generalne*, pp. 832-839.

415 *Socjografia kościoła greckokatolickiego*, p. 68 (Siwakowce); *Wizytacje generalne*, pp. 844-848; SGKP. X, p. 631.

416 *Wizytacje generalne*, pp. 860-862.

417 Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego", p. 932.

418 Nabywaniec, *Unicka archidiecezja kijowska*, p. 218.

419 Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego", pp. 1037-1038; *Описание документов архива Западно-Русских униатских митрополитов (1700-1893)*, т. 2, сост. С. Рункевич, Санкт-Петербург 1907, pp. 471-472.

420 Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego", pp. 1037-1038; Nabywaniec, *Unicka archidiecezja kijowska*, pp. 218-223.

421 I adopted M. Krykun's approach that the border between the Podolian and Braclaw palatinates did not change in that area from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century, Крикун, *Адміністративно-територіальний устрій*, p. 33.

422 See the maps: Jabłonowski, *Ziemie Ruskie Rzeczypospolitej*, no. 10 and in the work by M. Krykun (Крикун, *Адміністративно-територіальний устрій*, maps of the Podolian and Braclaw palatinates).

uated in the palatinates of Podolia and Kiev)⁴²³ and Pohrebyszcze (part of which was situated in the palatinate of Kiev). It is noteworthy that deanery borders in the Braclaw palatinate were irregular, like in the palatinates of Ruthenia and Podolia discussed above. It must have been due to the instability and changeability of administrative divisions in the metropolitan diocese and the doubtful affiliation of many churches. Accordingly, on the map of the administrative divisions of the Uniate Church there are many enclaves including one, sometimes several parishes, which had no territorial connection with the main part of the deanery they were subordinated to. The deanery enclaves in Raszków, Woronowica or Teplik may serve as an example.

The presence of the Latin Church in the Braclaw palatinate is closely connected with the political history of Podolia. In the opinion of Trajdos this area – like the whole of Podolia – was initially part of the Kamieniec diocese established in the 1380s. After East Podolia (the Braclaw palatinate) had been incorporated into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1436, jurisdiction over the Braclaw region was taken over by the bishop of Łuck.⁴²⁴ This does not explain a certain territorial anomaly which consists in the absence of communication between the Braclaw palatinate (deanery) and the northern part of the Łuck diocese. Instead, it may indicate the original affiliation of the Braclaw palatinate and Podolia with the Łuck diocese, and that the Kamieniec diocese (West Podolia) was established later on and thus wedged itself into the Łuck diocese, disconnecting the Braclaw region from the main body of the Łuck diocese.⁴²⁵

It follows from cartographic analysis that the boundaries of the Latin deanery of Braclaw (in the Łuck diocese) overlap almost completely with those of the Braclaw palatinate, with the exceptions of the parish of the Friars Minor Conventual at Lisianka, incorporated into the deanery of Braclaw which belonged

423 The affiliation as well as the formal and legal status of Pików in the second half of the eighteenth century are quite unclear. It is hard to say if the town should be treated as one (Pików) or two settlements (Pików Stary and Pików Nowy). According to M. Krykun, pursuant to the 1722 decision, Pików Nowy was to be part of the Podolian palatinate and Pików Stary – of the Braclaw palatinate (Крикун, *Адміністративно-територіальний устрій*, p. 33). A similar division may be found in the 1765 Jewish poll tax register (“Liczba głów”, pp. 401-402). *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego* (SGKP. VIII, p. 125) treats that locality as one entity. Likewise, the available historical maps (cf. Krzyżanowski, *Skorowidz miejscowości*, map).

424 T. Trajdos, “Parafie katolickie na średniowiecznym Podolu”, *Україна в Центрально-Східній Європі*, 3 (2003), pp. 101-102.

425 This opinion is shared in their studies by B. Kumor (*Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, pp. 347-351) and L. Królik (*Organizacja diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej*, pp. 95-96).

to the Kiev palatinate, and the parishes in the town of Pohrebyszcze which were part of the Kiev diocese. In the Braclaw palatinate there were 22 parish churches (six run by monasteries) and five auxiliary places of worship (four run by religious orders).

The early modern history of the Church in the Braclaw palatinate, including the Latin Church, may be divided into two stages. The parish network developing since the fifteenth century was almost completely destroyed during wars or under the Turkish rule of those lands after 1672. Out of 11 parishes and seven chapels mentioned at the diocesan synod in 1604, only the Jesuits at Winnica survived. The other churches were destroyed.⁴²⁶ The scale of that devastation is accurately described in the reports written by bishops in the second half of the seventeenth century. Bishop Mikołaj Prażmowski reported after the 1664 visitation of the deanery: “sed tantum rudera et cineres dolens conspexi”.⁴²⁷ After the peace of Karłowice in 1699, the reconstruction of the churches began, and in the second half of the eighteenth century more than a dozen new churches were founded. In effect, in 1777 the Braclaw deanery comprised the three deaneries of Braclaw, Granów and Winnica.⁴²⁸

The Braclaw palatinate was exceptional in the Commonwealth in that the number of synagogues was higher than that of Latin churches. The palatinate's multi-religious nature is reflected in the reports by Roman Catholic bishops, and especially in the 1727 report by Bishop Stefan Rupniewski. When referring to the high number of synagogues situated in his diocese Rupniewski estimated their number at 108 (five brick and 103 wooden ones), but failed to mention their location. It may be concluded from the list provided in the *Number of Jewish Heads* from 1765 that the number of synagogues in the Braclaw palatinate was much higher than in the northern part of the Łuck diocese. It follows from the information provided by Bishop Rupniewski in 1727 and the statistical data compiled based on the 1764-1765 poll tax register that the increase of Jewish population in the Braclaw palatinate was very sharp. The number of kahals was twice that of the Latin churches which indicates that the organization of kahals was reinstated in the Braclaw palatinate after its destruction by the Cossacks and under Turkish rule. In the second half of the eighteenth century there were 48 Jewish communities. The largest of them, each with more than one thousand Jews, were located in the towns of Pohrebyszcze and Granów. The Jewish communities of the Braclaw

426 Królik, *Organizacja dekanalna*, p. 25.

427 *Relationes*, vol. 2, p. 69. Similar information was provided by T. Leżeński in 1671, *Ibid*, p. 96.

428 Królik, *Organizacja diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej*, pp. 267-268.

palatinate were not as populous as in Podolia or Volhynia. The 1765 *Number of Jewish Heads* does not mention a single town with more than two thousand Jews. This was due to the depopulation and devastation brought about by the Cossack period and the wars with Turkey.

The Braclaw palatinate was initially part of the Ruthenian zemstvo. After the wars and the Turkish rule that ended with the peace of Karłowice, Podolia and the Braclaw region returned to the Crown and a separate kahal district was established. Only a few kahals in the north of the palatinate, *inter alia*, at Pików, Janów, Lipowiec, Lipnica and Żywotów, were part of the Volhynian zemstvo.⁴²⁹ It should be emphasized that the modest source base regarding that area does not allow us to carry out an overall verification of the information included in the poll tax register.⁴³⁰ There are, however, studies devoted to, *inter alia*, brick synagogues from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries located in Ukraine and Belarus.⁴³¹

The figures on sacral buildings of the Braclaw palatinate include two Armenian places of worship at Bałta and Raszków. Their presence in both towns may be connected with the Dniester trade route leading from the Black Sea through Kamieniec Podolski to the Commonwealth (the so-called Tatar road). They were in the custody of the Lubomirski family.⁴³² In the village of Kruteńkie near Bałta there was also an Orthodox church of St. John the Apostle,⁴³³ and in the town of Niemirów the only Tatar mosque in the Braclaw region.⁴³⁴

It may be concluded from the statistical data included in Table 15 that the Braclaw palatinate was nearly homogeneous in terms of nationalities and eth-

429 Leszczyński, *Sejm Żydów Korony*, pp. 70-71 (the author refers to a locality of Żytów, which is most probably Żywotów, but Lipnica was not located – it may have been mistaken for Winnica). In his conclusions A. Leszczyński relied mainly on the map by I. Halperin (*Acta Congressus Generalis*) according to which the towns of Kochanówka, Przyłuka, Dziuńków, Strzyżawka and Miedziaków (Kolumnów), although not featured on the map, were nevertheless part of the Volhynian zemstvo.

430 Apart from a summary of the poll tax register published by J. Kleczyński and F. Kluczycki ("Liczbą głów", pp. 402-403) the list of Jewish communities in the Braclaw palatinate was based on the complete publication of the series *Архивъ Югозападной Россіи* (part 5, vol. 2, pp. 175-199).

431 A. Sokolova, V. Dymshits, *Stone Synagogues of the Sixteenth-Eighteenth Century in the Ukraine and Byelorussia* (access: http://judaica.spb.ru/artcl/a6/archsyn_e.shtml, 25.08.2009).

432 Stopka, *Ormianie w Polsce*, p. 139.

433 Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie*, p. 339.

434 Kryczyński, *Tatarzy litewscy*, p. 185.

nic minorities. The palatinate that covered 35 346 km²⁴³⁵ had a total of 1245 places of worship (one per 28.4 km²). The fact that they were few and far between compared with Podolia proper or Red Ruthenia (nearly by half) was due to less developed settlement in this area. Nearly 94 percent of all churches and places of worship were Uniate. There was one Uniate parish per circa 30.5 km².

It is likely that less intensive settlement in that area created conditions conducive to the peaceful development of the Jewish diaspora. It may only be guessed that were it not for the losses incurred during the Cossack and Turkish wars, the presence of the Jewish population would have been even more pronounced. After the devastation in the second half of the seventeenth century, the Jewish communities were reconstructed in half of the palatinate's towns. There was one kahal per circa 736 km², which was a very poor ratio compared to western Podolia. Even weaker was the presence of the Latin Church in the Braclaw palatinate – there was one Latin parish per 1607 km² and per 53 Uniate churches.

Due to the fact that Jewish communities and Latin churches were situated only in urban centres – the only synagogue in the countryside was located at Cekinówka – only towns were marked by religious and ethnic diversity. In only 20 out of the 100 towns of the palatinate was there a Latin, a Greek Catholic and a Jewish community, and in two cases (Raszków and Bałta) there was an Armenian place of worship next to a synagogue and a Uniate church. Of the towns with two religious communities 23 had a Uniate church and a synagogue and four – a Uniate and a Latin church.

The border areas of the Commonwealth had a distinctly higher percentage of royal estates than the rest of its territory. This derived from the reluctance to settle in places exposed to external threats. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that the Braclaw region, a turbulent territory exposed to constant raids, had a very high percentage of churches under the nobility's patronage (94.7 percent) due to land bestowals before the Union of Lublin. Among Latin churches only St. Ignatius's church in Braclaw was under royal care. In these territories, where the going was so difficult for Latin Catholicism, a very important role was played by religious orders that discharged pastoral functions – six parishes out of 22 were in their custody. In the Uniate Church, noble patronage predominated, mainly due to the pattern of land ownership (95.3 percent). Only 48 churches (4.2 percent) were under royal patronage.

435 The deviation from M. Krykun's computations (34 943 km²) was small (Крыкун, *Адміністративно-територіальний устрій*, p. 122)

Table 15: The number of places of worship in the Braclaw palatinate circa 1772

Religions and denomination	Diocese/ Eparchy	Archdeaconry/ Officialate	Deanery/ Protopopy/ Governorship	Main places of worship	Auxiliary places of worship
Uniate (Greek Catholic)	Kiev-Vilnius	-	Bałta	49	-
			Berdzyczów	7	-
			Berszada	46	-
			Białołówka	5	-
			Braclaw	41	-
			Brahiłów	44	-
			Czczelnik	43	-
			Granów	41	1
			Hajsyn	38	-
			Hołowanieskie	60	-
			Humań	42	1
			Jampol	44	-
			Jaruga	29	-
			Kalnik	43	1
			Komargród	43	-
			Krasne	44	-
			Niemirów	42	-
			Pików	25	-
			Pohrebyszcze	27	-
			Przyłuka	42	1
			Raszków	54	-
			Sokołówka	43	-
			Targowica	69	-
			Teplik	44	-
			Tetyjów	46	2
			Winnica	44	-
			Wołodarka	3	1
			Woronowica	43	-
			Żywotów	43	-
				1144	7
	Lwów	Bar	Kopajgród	2	-
			Latyczów	1	-
			Szarogród	12	-
					15
				1159	7

Latin (Roman Catholic)	Kiev	-	Chwastów	1	-
	Łuck	Łuck	Braclaw	21	5
				22	5
Armenian Catholic	Lwów	-	-	2	-
Orthodox	Kiev	-	-	1	-
Jewish				48	-
Muslim				1	-
Total				1233	12

Located furthest to the east, the Kiev palatinate, formally part of the Małopolska province, was established in 1471 and incorporated into the Commonwealth in 1569. In the eighteenth century its area, significantly curtailed in the seventeenth century as a result of the wars with Muscovy/Russia and the Treaty of Perpetual Peace (Grzymułtowski Treaty) of 1686, was of 68 953 km.²⁴³⁶ Under Lithuanian rule it comprised nine powiats which were consolidated after the Union of Lublin into three: of Kiev, Żytomierz and Owrucz.⁴³⁷

The borders of the Kiev palatinate were disputed in many places, and practically until the end of the First Commonwealth attempts were made to regulate them. Particularly difficult to determine were its southern border with the Braclaw palatinate and eastern border with the Volhynian palatinate, which were discussed earlier. The northern border of the Kiev palatinate was also the border between the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (the palatinates of Minsk and Brześć Litewski). It was significantly modified in the seventeenth century when the Kiev palatinate was separated from the powiat of Mozyrz that had been part of the Minsk palatinate since the administrative reform in the 1560s.⁴³⁸ The regulations of 1622-1626 and 1646-1667 resulted in the allocation of the Uniate deanery of Czarnobyl to two palatinates and two provinces of the Commonwealth (the Crown and Lithuania).⁴³⁹

436 M. Krykun (Крикун, *Адміністративно-територіальний устрій*, p. 167) estimates that in the eighteenth century, after the corrections in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the area of the palatinate was of 59 979 km².

437 Gloger, *Geografia historyczna*, p. 254.

438 Крикун, *Адміністративно-територіальний устрій*, pp. 139-141.

439 The border between the Mozyrz powiat of the Minsk palatinate and the Owrucz powiat of the Kiev palatinate was moved several dozen kilometers southward pur-

Nearly the entire Kiev palatinate was in the Kiev part of the Uniate Kiev-Vilnius metropolitan diocese. Alas, it has not been possible to determine the division of the whole palatinate into deaneries. The manuscript published by Radwan featuring the deanery structure in the Kiev palatinate in 1782 ignored the four easternmost deaneries which became independent of the Uniate Church in 1764 (158 parish churches).⁴⁴⁰ In the final years of the Commonwealth there was a conflict between the Orthodox and Catholic Churches that affected mainly the Kiev and Braclaw palatinates and culminated in the haydamak rebellion of 1768. It is likely that the number of the Uniate churches offered in surveys commissioned by Metropolitans Felicjan Filip Wołodkiewicz (1762-1778) and Jason Smogorzewski (1780-1788) does not accurately reflect the situation in Ukraine. In 1764-1775 the number of Uniate and Orthodox churches was subject to constant fluctuations, mainly due to the activities of Hegumen Melchizedek Znaczkow-Jaworski, which were actively supported by the Russian Tsaritsa and the bishop of Mohylew, Jerzy Koniski.⁴⁴¹

The situation of religious communities and the administrative affiliation of some churches in the Kiev and Braclaw regions becomes unclear during the events of 1768-1769. The available sources make it impossible to establish unequivocally which Uniate church was taken over by the Orthodox hierarchy, and when, or how long it remained under its jurisdiction. Nabywaniec estimates that between 1764 and 1775 the Orthodox Church took over 1300 out of 1900 Uniate

suant to the 1622 decision by the border commission endorsed by the king in 1626. Incorporated into the Minsk palatinate were the localities situated east of the upper Plotnica River and its tributary Czerwonka, as well as those situated north of the Sławeczna River. The Minsk palatinate covered Łojów, Sławeczna, Narowla and Jurewicze, *Ibid*, pp. 144-145, map of the Kiev palatinate. Also see: *Гістарычны атлас Беларусі. Гістарычны атлас Беларусі. Беларусь са старажытных часоў да канца XVIII ст.*, ред. М. Спірыдонаў, В. Мікалаевіч, П. Казанэцкі, Варшава-Мінск 2008, pp. 94-95.

440 It follows from the consolidated statistics that in 1782 there were 147 parishes (*Socjografia kościoła greckokatolickiego*, p. 8), but more detailed data indicate that their number was slightly higher.

441 E. Likowski, *Dzieje Kościoła unickiego na Litwie i Rusi w XVIII i XIX wieku*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1906, pp. 128-130; L. Ćwikła, *Polityka władz państwowych wobec Kościoła prawosławnego i ludności prawosławnej w Królestwie Polskim, Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim oraz Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w latach 1344-1795*, Lublin 2006, pp. 295-296.

churches located in Ukraine.⁴⁴² This number seems to be overestimated compared with the data offered by other sources and studies.⁴⁴³ It is also difficult to determine what exactly the situation was immediately before the First Partition because the take-overs of Uniate churches were most intensive in 1771-1774. On top of that the same places of worship were incorporated into their structures by the hierarchies of both the Uniate and Orthodox Churches. This is apparent from a preliminary comparison of the reports addressed to the Orthodox consistory in Perejasław with the list of Uniate churches drawn up by the congregation of deans held in Radomyśl in 1782. It shows that the borders of the Orthodox and Uniate protopopies did not overlap.⁴⁴⁴

442 Similar data – 1902 churches – are included in a request for support addressed in 1772 by three heads of the governorships in the right-bank Ukraine to the Holy Council, Н. Бангыш-Каменский, *Историческое известие о возникшей в Польше унии*, Москва 1805, pp. 394-395.

443 М.О. Коялович, *История воссоединения западнорусских униатов*, Минск 1998 (reprint of the 1873 publication), pp. 20-30. In a certificate issued in 1771 for Hegumen Melchizedek Znaczko-Jaworski, administering the Orthodox churches in the right-bank Ukraine, there is reference to 530 churches under his jurisdiction, *Архивъ Югозападной Россіи издаваемый временною комиссією для разбора древнихъ актовъ*, часть 1, том III: Материалы для истории православия в Западной Украине в XVIII ст. Архимандрит Мелхиседек Значко-Яворский, 1759-1771, Киевъ 1864, p. 862. W. Parchomienko wrote that in 1769 there were 650 churches in that part of the Perejasław-Boryspol Orthodox diocese, Пархоменко, *Очерк истории Переяславско-Бориспольской епархии*, p. 16.

444 The churches of the Orthodox Kalnik protopopy in 1775, recognized as those of the Uniate Church by the congregation of deans at Radomyśl in 1782: Rososze, Tiahun, Dąbrowińce, Kalnik, Jastrubińce, Kupczyńce, Daszów – St. Onuphrius, Daszów – St. Michael's, Karbówka (on the list of Uniate churches located in the Hejsyn deanery), Jurkówka (Jurkowiec, on the list of Uniate churches located in the Niemirów deanery), Parchomówka, Parijówka, Ilińce – the Nativity of Mary (Lińce), Lipowiec – the Resurrection, Lipowiec – Pentecost (the sources do not refer to that church at Lipowiec, but only to the one of the Holy Trinity), Lipowiec – the Protection of Our Lady (suburb of Hejsyn), Zozów (Przyłuka deanery), Mieklińce (on the list of Uniate churches located in the Hajsyn deanery), *Socjografia kościoła greckokatolickiego*, pp. 35, 52-54, 61, 69; “Материалы для истории киевской епархии”, *Киевские Епархиальные Ведомости*, 1894, no. 5, pp. 115-118. The churches of the Orthodox protopopy of Moszny, recognized by the congregation of deans in Radomyśl in 1782 as those of the Uniate Church: Moszny – the Assumption of Mary, Moszny – the Transfiguration of the Lord, Moszny – St. Nicholas, Bereźniaki, Szelepucha, Tubolce, Chreszczatyk, Michajłówka, Piekary, Worobjówka (on the list of Uniate churches located in the Korsuń deanery), Irzawiec (Rzanieć, Rżawiec Wielki, Połstwin), Martynówka (on

The church of the Resurrection at Lipowiec is a good example of the double jurisdiction of the Orthodox and Uniate Churches. According to a report of 1775 for the Orthodox Perejasław consistory, its parish priest (*swiaszczennik*), Iwan Horużenko (Иоанн Хоруженко), was ordained by the Perejasław bishop in 1773.⁴⁴⁵ But according to the Uniate Church visitation of that parish in 1791 the duties of the parish priest (paroch) were discharged by Adam Kowalski “ordained on 24 June, 1772 in Lwów by the late honorable Leon Szeptycki, coadjutor bishop of the [Uniate] metropolitan province in Kiev”.⁴⁴⁶ A slightly brighter picture presents itself in the parish of Zozów. According to a 1775 report for the Orthodox Church consistory it was run by Stefan Hryhorowicz (Стефан Григоровичь). It is likely that he was a son of Andrzej Hryhorowicz, for many years the Uniate paroch of that parish, mentioned in the context of the 1791 visitation. He was ordained by the Uniate metropolitan Felicjan Wołodkiewicz in March 1771 and then converted to the Orthodox religion on 5 April 1773. At that time Marcin Grocholski, a Winnica standard-bearer (“chorąży”), the owner of Zozów and patron of the local church, proposed Jan Lubiński, the Braclaw judicial vicar, for that position (on 25 March 1772). The latter must have not assumed his duties at the Zozów church right away, because in 1791 the inspector made it clear that “he was peacefully holding that position for 11 years”.⁴⁴⁷ Thus it is likely that he assumed his duties after the Orthodox priest had been ousted from the parish around 1780.

Since the purpose of this study is to present the distribution of religions in the Commonwealth before the First Partition, the quite stable situation at the beginning of the reign of King Stanisław August Poniatowski has been assumed to be representative. The take-over of Uniate places of worship by the Orthodox Church was closely related to international politics and was the prelude to the nearly complete elimination of the Uniate Church from this territory in the

the list of Uniate churches located in the Korsuń deanery), Berkozówka (on the list of Uniate churches located in the Korsuń deanery), Tahańcza (on the list of Uniate churches located in the Korsuń), Mielniki (on the list of Uniate churches located in the Korsuń deanery), Holaki (on the list of Uniate churches located in the Korsuń), *Socjografia kościoła greckokatolickiego*, pp. 130-131, 139; “Материалы для истории киевской епархии”, *Киевские Епархиальные Ведомости*, 1894, no. 2, pp. 30-37.

445 “Материалы для истории киевской епархии”, *Киевские Епархиальные Ведомости*, 1894, no. 5, p. 118.

446 *Wizytacje generalne*, p. 755.

447 “Материалы для истории киевской епархии”, *Киевские Епархиальные Ведомости*, 1894, no. 5, p. 118; *Wizytacje generalne*, pp. 891-896.

years to come. In the table featuring the number of places of worship in the Kiev palatinate, the Uniate Church comprises most of the churches situated in the regions of Czehryn and Smiła which were taken over by the Orthodox Church in the following years. The range of the activities pursued by the latter Church in the Kiev palatinate after 1764 is well reflected by the 1782 list of churches. Missing are four border area deaneries, the easternmost ones (Czehryn, Turia, Smiła, Szpoła), and in the deanery of Korsuń – 28 churches referred to as Uniate, and 11 in the process of “apostasy”.⁴⁴⁸

It is therefore possible to speak about an absolute prevalence of the Uniate structures in the Kiev palatinate until the 1760s.⁴⁴⁹ This was a result of the systematic take-over of Orthodox churches by the Uniate administration, especially after the loss of left-bank Ruthenia with the capital of the metropolitan province in the second half of the seventeenth century. In the first half of the eighteenth century the Union acquired nearly all Orthodox parishes in the Braclaw and Kiev palatinates.⁴⁵⁰ In the latter there were 1106 churches in 29 deaneries of the Kiev-Vilnius metropolitan diocese (after the organizational reform of 1781-1782).⁴⁵¹ Moreover, in the Kiev palatinate there were seven churches in the deanery of Berežno in the Łuck diocese located close to Hubków (Białoszówka, Chotyń, Kamienne). Although from the formal point of view these localities belonged to the Owruć powiat, in early modern times they were strongly connected with Volhynia. Like several other localities in the vicinity of the towns of Lubar and Ostropol (the so-called Cudnów estate) that were formally part of the Kiev palatinate, but were strongly connected with Volhynia and perhaps for that reason the churches at Józefówka, Ładyhy and Micherzyńce belonged to the deanery of

448 *Socjografia kościoła greckokatolickiego*, pp. 130-132.

449 There is very little information about earlier development of the parish network in the Kiev palatinate. More regular references may be found in the second half of the eighteenth century. L. Bieńkowski reckons that “the eastern Ruthenian palatinates of the Crown (Braclaw and Kiev) located in the southern part of the metropolitan diocese whose colonization became more intensive as late as the second half of the sixteenth century had even scarcer networks of parishes than the Volhynian or Podolian palatinates”, Bieńkowski, “Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego”, p. 817.

450 Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny*, p. 244.

451 In the Kiev palatinate there were 21 whole deaneries of the metropolitan diocese, and the jurisdiction of five other deaneries extended over most churches (Berdyżów, Białołówka, Czarnobyl, Lubar and Wołodarka). The deaneries of Pików, Pohrebyszcz and Sokołówka that were situated almost entirely in the Braclaw palatinate had only small fragments of the Kiev palatinate under their jurisdiction.

Ostropol in the Łuck diocese.⁴⁵² The Kiev palatinate also covered a filial church at Kożuszki that was under the jurisdiction of the Petryków deanery of the Turów-Pińsk diocese, even though it was located on the right bank of the Prypeć River. Among 1084 parish and 30 filial churches in the Kiev palatinate six were connected with the Basilian monks (four parish and two auxiliary churches).

The publication by Radwan of the visitation protocols regarding the Żytomierz and Cudnów deaneries of the Kiev-Vilnius diocese allows us to verify to some extent the picture previously established by Kołbuk mainly based on parish descriptions included in the first volume of Teodorowicz's work from 1888.⁴⁵³ Kołbuk enumerated 83 churches located in the deaneries of Żytomierz and Cudnów.⁴⁵⁴ The visitation of 1783-1785 corroborates that nearly all those places of worship existed. Only the churches at Korowińce Małe and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross church in Żytomierz did not exist at this time.⁴⁵⁵ Three churches (at Berezówka, Korostki and Monastyrek-Jasnogród) were classified as parish churches, but the 1785 visitation referred to them as filial churches.⁴⁵⁶ Moreover, the 1783 parish survey and the 1785 visitation supplemented the list of the Żytomierz and Cudnów deaneries with ten parish and one filial church: Cudnów – dedicated to Bishop Nicholas, Czechy, Czerwona – the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (in the New Town), Denesze, Kamionka, Kodnia – Holy Trinity (in the suburb of Zakusiłówka), Lewków – the Assumption of Mary, Miropol Nowy – the Protection of Our Lady (in the New Town), Słobodyszcze – the Archangel Michael (in the Old Town), Wertykijówka and a chapel at Kozarka Mała (Romanów parish).⁴⁵⁷ Parish churches also included a church of Basilian monks in the village of Tryhorie.⁴⁵⁸

There were hardly any other Christian denominations in the Kiev palatinate than the Uniate. Owing to the latest works and findings by Jacek Chachaj and Jurij

452 Крикун, *Адміністративно-територіальний устрій*, pp. 62-64, map of the Volhynian palatinate.

453 Теодорович, *Историко-статистическое описание*, vol. 1.

454 Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie*, pp. 95-151.

455 Korowińce Małe were referred to as a village with 42 houses which belonged to Tatarczynówka parish, and in Żytomierz the visitation protocol mentioned only the churches of the Nativity of Mary and the Dormition of the Mother of God, *Wizytacje generalne*, pp. 207-216, 265.

456 Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie*, pp. 96, 115, 125; *Wizytacje generalne*, pp. 231-232, 393, 420.

457 *Socjografia kościoła greckokatolickiego*, pp. 113-114, 159-161; *Wizytacje generalne*, pp. 73, 83, 129, 138, 170, 217, 233, 284-285, 331, 339, 378.

458 Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie*, p. 352 (as a monastery church); *Socjografia kościoła greckokatolickiego*, p. 161; *Wizytacje generalne*, p. 238.

Biłousow it was possible to verify the lists compiled by Litak regarding the Latin diocese of Kiev.⁴⁵⁹ The Chmielnicki Rising marked a turning point in the development of the Latin Church structures. When it broke out there were approximately 70 Latin churches in the Kiev diocese. These Church structures were reconstructed mainly in the eighteenth century. The Jesuit and Dominican orders were especially active in the area of the Kiev diocese.⁴⁶⁰ The lower number of churches before the First Partition of the Commonwealth (31 parish churches, including 12 monastery and 11 filial churches, of which six were run by religious orders) was mainly due to the fact that the area of the Kiev diocese was curtailed in the aftermath of the Treaty of Perpetual Peace in 1686.⁴⁶¹ Similarly to Greek Catholic churches, it is hard to establish the exact number of parishes functioning in 1772 due to a meagre source base, on the one hand, and significant dynamics of change, on the other hand. But in the final days of the Commonwealth the parish network was developing quite intensively in that area. In order to remain within the scope of this study I decided to ignore the parishes established in the 1780s, *inter alia*, at Brusilów, Bohusław, Białółwka, Leszczyn, Malin or Kotelnia.⁴⁶²

Nearly all of the above-mentioned churches of the Latin Kiev diocese that was part of the Lwów metropolitan province since 1412 were in the Kiev palatinate. With the exception of the Pohrebyszcze parish located in the Braclaw palatinate, Jurewicze – in the Minsk palatinate and Lubar – in the Volhynian palatinate. It is not known exactly when the deaneries in the Kiev diocese were established. The lists of places of worship from the eighteenth century made by the judicial vicar M. Pałucki (for 1715-1723) and Archdeacon K. Orłowski (1748) allocated them to the three deaneries of Cudnów, Kodeń and Wielewniki. The 1764 council statutes also mention three deaneries but with different seats – Chwastów, Owruć

459 Chachaj, “Rozwój sieci świątyń katolickich”, pp. 85-104; Idem, “Stan i odbudowa sieci kościelnej”, pp. 5-62; Білоусов, *Київсько-Житомирська римо-католицька єпархія*, passim.

460 Chachaj, “Rozwój sieci świątyń katolickich”, p. 104. The evangelization role played by the Jesuits (Owruć, Żytomierz, Białcerkiew, Jurewicze), the Dominicans (Lubar, Byszów, Chodorków, Owruć, Czarnobyl) and Franciscans (Pohrebyszcze) was strongly emphasized by bishop Kajetan Sołtyk in his 1751 report, *Relacja o stanie diecezji kijowskiej z 1751 r.*, Archive of the Council Congregation in Rome: the Kiev diocese file, no pagination.

461 It is reference to the loss of more than a dozen Catholic churches located on the right bank of the Dnieper River before the Cossack Rising, i.a., in Kiev, Nowogród Siewierski, Czernichów, Nieżyn, Perejasław, Bubnówka, Łubnie, Łochwica, Prykuły, Moszny and Baturyn.

462 Chachaj, “Stan i odbudowa sieci kościelnej”, pp. 41, 48, 52-53.

and Żytomierz. This was most probably due to the fact that these centres grew in importance during the eighteenth century.⁴⁶³

Similarly to the Braclaw palatinate, the number of synagogues in the Kiev palatinate exceeded that of the Latin churches. Intensive Jewish settlement in that palatinate was, however, clearly impeded in 1648. Salo Baron estimates that during the eight decades between the incorporation of the Kiev palatinate into the Crown and its demise in the middle of the seventeenth century there were 32 organized Jewish communities which disappeared during the Cossack risings. One can hardly agree with his claim that it was not possible to reconstruct those structures completely in the second half of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth century.⁴⁶⁴ The poll tax census of 1764 lists 64 communities and in view of the fact that the area of the palatinate was curtailed in 1686, it is clear that the Jewish settlement in the Kiev palatinate was very intensive in the second half of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth centuries. This was emphasized by the reports of the bishops of Kiev.⁴⁶⁵

According to Leszczyński, in early modern times the kahals of the Kiev palatinate belonged to the Volhynian zemstvo. The most populous communities (of more than one thousand people) were at Białacerkiew, Berdyczów, Cudnów and Pawołocz. Their relatively small size shows considerably more analogies with the Braclaw palatinate than with the palatinates of Volhynia or Podolia. The late settlement and destruction in the mid-seventeenth century accounted for the weakness of urban centres in Ukraine where most of the Jewish population lived. The above number of Jewish communities in the Kiev palatinate includes dubious ones with less than 100 people that were mentioned by the 1765 poll tax register, but were not corroborated by other sources than tax registers: Rzyszczów, Kryłów, Medwedówka, Czehryn, Bużyn and Borowica.⁴⁶⁶ It is also noteworthy that all those towns were located in the south-eastern part of the palatinate (in the powiat of Kiev), directly bordering Zaporizhia (Zaporoże). Moreover, the 1770s were marked by further development of the organization of kahals in the Kiev palatinate. As demonstrated by the 1778 tax register that included the communities at Dymir and Hornostajpol. Three years earlier these towns were mentioned in the kahal district of Borodzianka.⁴⁶⁷

463 Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, p. 346.

464 Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, pp. 182-183.

465 "Gens Judaica paradisum hic sibi invenit", *Relacja o stanie diecezji kijowskiej z 1751 r.*, Archive of the Council Congregation in Rome: the Kiev diocese file, no pagination.

466 "Liczba głów", p. 57.

467 *Архивъ Югозападной Россіи*, part 5, vol. 2, pp. 204, 305.

In the eighteenth century the Kiev palatinate was an area of a persisting and dynamic conflict between the Uniate hierarchy supported by the Polish-Lithuanian state and the Orthodox hierarchy assisted by the Russian Empire. The position of the Orthodox Church and the religious issue became the focus of international policy and Russo-Polish relations. The Treaty of Perpetual Peace (Art. IX) between Muscovy and the Commonwealth was a milestone in the shaping of the Orthodox Church's position vesting the jurisdiction over the Orthodox Church in the Commonwealth in the metropolitan of Kiev – who was now a Muscovite subject. In June 1686 the council of Orthodox bishops approved the consent granted by Patriarch Dionysius IV of Constantinople for the Kiev metropolitan province to come under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Muscovy. Thus the Kiev metropolitan bishops, usually in the person of the Perejasław bishop, could interfere in the internal affairs of the Orthodox Church in the Commonwealth. This, however, had no major repercussions until the Convocation Diet of 1764. The aim of the state's policy was to completely eliminate the structures of the Orthodox Church. It was in the final years of the Commonwealth that the dissenters became the main problem of its internal and external politics.⁴⁶⁸

From the formal point of view, jurisdiction over the Orthodox churches of the Kiev palatinate was exercised by the heads of the Perejasław-Boryspol diocese. This was established in 1733 based on the coadjutorship of the bishopric of Kiev and continued to exist until 1785. It covered the churches located on both banks of the Dnieper River, both in the territory of Russia and the Commonwealth. It was initially divided into four protopopies, then into five, which were situated in the left-bank diocese (Perejasław, Boryspol, Zolotonosza, Baryszówka and Basań). In the right-bank part of the diocese the organizational situation was highly unstable. It depended on both the activity of the Orthodox bishops, and the social and political situation in the Commonwealth. Major changes, also in respect to the number of churches under the supervision of the bishop of Perejasław, took place in the 1760s. Wołodymyr Parchomienko estimates that in 1762 the number of Orthodox churches situated in the right-bank part of the Perejasław-Boryspol diocese could have totaled about 30 or 40. Based on their detailed list it was possible to identify and locate 26 Orthodox churches (including 14 connected with monasteries⁴⁶⁹) that functioned in the Kiev palatinate

468 Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny*, pp. 228-229, 246.

469 In the Kiev palatinate Lebedyn with two monasteries (male and female) and three Orthodox churches dedicated St. Barbara, St. George and St. Nicholas was an important Orthodox centre, Похилевич, *Сказания о населенных местностях*, pp. 714-715.

before the 1768 haydamak rebellion (Table 16).⁴⁷⁰ As the confessional affiliation of individual churches was subject to frequent changes, the above figures should be approached with reserve and prudence. The places of worship at the villages of Łukianówka,⁴⁷¹ Husakowa,⁴⁷² and Krasilówka⁴⁷³ exemplify the difficulties with their unequivocal attribution to a specific religion.

Like the Braclaw palatinate, the Kiev palatinate was marked by the nearly complete domination of the Uniate structures (the Kiev-Vilnius metropolitan diocese). It did however feature a more pronounced representation of Orthodox churches and a slightly higher percentage of Jewish communities. In the Kiev palatinate (reduced to 68 953 km² after the 1686 Treaty of Perpetual Peace) there was on average one place of worship per 55.4 km². The ratio was lower by nearly twofold compared to the Braclaw palatinate and threefold compared to Podolia, so the density of places of worship was closely correlated with the lowest settlement rate in Crown Ruthenia. This may be mainly explained by the political vicissitudes of those territories that never experienced longer spells of peace and were ravaged by wars practically throughout the early modern era.⁴⁷⁴

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- 470 A higher number of churches offered by W. Parchomienko in his work was due to the fact that the Perejasław-Boryspol diocese also covered the Braclaw palatinate. As indicated by the deanery division made in the period of the most intensive organizational development of the right-bank dioceses, i.e., at the time of the haydamak rebellion. In 1769 there were 11 monasteries and 650 churches affiliated with ten protopopies: Czehryn, Moszny, Smiła, Bohusław, Lisianka, Humań, Tetyjów, Koneła, Białacerkiew, Kaniów, Пархоменко, *Очерк истории Переяславско-Бориспольской епархии*, pp. 15-17. The number of 650 Orthodox churches offered in 1769 and of 530 in 1771 (*Архивъ Югозападной Россіи, часть 1, том 3, р. 862*) fell to 161-162 in the 1770s and 1780s (Sakowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w Polsce*, p. 4). Recently a monograph of the Orthodox Perejasław-Boryspol diocese was published by W. Łastowski, В.В. Ластовський, *Православна церква у суспільно-політичному житті України XVIII ст. (Переяславсько-Бориспільська епархія)*, Черкаси 2002.
- 471 *Socjografia kościoła grekokatolickiego*, p. 154 (Łukijanówka – a Uniate church in the Stawiszczce deanery); Kołbuk, *Kościoly wschodnie*, p. 339; Похилевич, *Сказания о населенных местностях*, p. 422 (in 1768-1775 – an Orthodox church).
- 472 Kołbuk, *Kościoly wschodnie*, p. 338 (classified as the Orthodox church); *Socjografia kościoła grekokatolickiego*, p. 133 (Husakowka); Похилевич, *Сказания о населенных местностях*, p. 393.
- 473 *Socjografia kościoła grekokatolickiego*, p. 154; Kołbuk, *Kościoly wschodnie*, p. 339 (described as the Orthodox church); SGKР. IV, p. 615.
- 474 N. Jakowenko, *Historia Ukrainy do końca XVIII w.*, Lublin 2000, p. 307.

The lower density of places of worship is also evident when individual religions are analysed. There was one Uniate parish per 64 km². An average Roman Catholic parish had an area of 2378 km², and there were 37 Uniate parishes in its area. There was one Orthodox parish per 5749 km², but their density in the eastern part of the Kiev palatinate was much higher. Similarly to Christian confessions, the Jewish communities were scarcer and less populous compared to the Podolian and the Braclaw palatinates (one kahal per 1077 km²).

In the Kiev palatinate confessions other than the Uniate were like islands. The Latin and Jewish communities were present mainly in towns⁴⁷⁵ and their exact number is hard to establish.⁴⁷⁶ An obvious conclusion may be drawn from the foregoing that in Ukraine only towns were inhabited by people of various religions and ethnic backgrounds. Standing out among the urban centres of the Kiev palatinate were Berdyczów, Moszny and Ryzyszów where Latin, Uniate and Orthodox communities all lived next to the Jewish ones. In 21 towns Uniate, Latin and Jewish places of worship existed side by side. In four towns (Czehryn, Czerkasy, Korsuń and Medwedówka) only an organized Latin congregation was missing, while the Jews, the Orthodox and the Uniate communities coexisted. Of 30 towns with places of worship of two religions those with the Uniate churches and synagogues predominated (26). Only at Borszczahówka, Iwanków and Ostrohlady was there a Latin church next to the Uniate church, and at Żabotyn – next to the Orthodox church. It is characteristic that all urban centres in the Kiev palatinate had “a stable population with a prevailing Ruthenian element”.⁴⁷⁷

The absolute domination of large landed estates in the Kiev palatinate determined the structure of patronage over Christian churches. Noble patronage predominated in respect to Uniate (84.3 percent) and Orthodox churches (80 percent). The situation in the Latin Church was different. In Litak's survey regarding the Kiev diocese there is a very high percentage of clerical patronage (56.7 percent) due to the ministry and parish administration by religious orders, mainly the Jesuits and Dominicans. This does not challenge the fact that in the second half of the eighteenth-century monasteries and their churches greatly

475 Of 40 Latin churches as many as 32 (80 percent) were located in towns. A similar percentage of synagogues were situated in urban centres (84.4 percent).

476 In his 1781 report the Kiev bishop informed Rome about 73 towns located in his diocese, *Relacja o stanie diecezji kijowskiej z 1781 r.*, Archive of the Council Congregation in Rome: the Kiev diocese file, no pagination. It seems that those data are understated given the established number of 120 towns where sacral facilities were located circa 1772.

477 Jakowenko, *Historia Ukrainy*, p. 138.

Table 16: The number of places of worship in the Kiev palatinate circa 1772.

Religions and denominations	Diocese/ Eparchy	Archdeaconry/ Officialate	Deanery/ Protopopy/ Governorship	Main places of worship	Auxiliary places of worship
Uniate (Greek Catholic)	Kiev-Vilnius	-	Barasze	43	1
			Berdzyczów	38	-
			Białacerkiew	44	-
			Białołówka	40	-
			Bohusław	41	-
			Chodorków	45	-
			Chwastów	43	-
			Cudnow	42	2
			Czarnobyl	33	11
			Czerniachów	36	-
			Dymir	39	-
			Kaniów	43	1
			Korsuń	41	-
			Lisianka	52	1
			Lubar	34	-
			Moszny	26	-
			Owruć	46	3
			Pawołocz	44	-
			Pików	2	-
			Pohrebyszcze	14	-
			Radomyśl	40	6
			Sokołówka	1	-
			Stawiszcze	42	1
Wołodarka	44	1			
Żytomierz	46	1			
[without specific deanery affiliation: former deaneries of Szpoła, Smiła, Turia and Czehryn]			158	1	
				1077	29

Uniate (Greek Catholic)	Łuck	-	-	7	-
	Pińsk	-	-	-	1
				1084	30
Latin (Roman Catholic)	Kiev	-	Chwastów	10	5
			Owruż	9	1
			Żytomierz	9	5
				28	11
	Łuck	Łuck	Braclaw	1	-
				29	11
Orthodox	Kiev	-	-	12	14
Jewish				64	-
Total				1189	55

depended on great Ukrainian magnates, *inter alia*, the Discalced Carmelites in Berdyczów were dependent on the Radziwiłłs, and the Dominicans in Czarnobyl on the Chodkiewicz family.

Conclusions. In modern times the religious and ethnic situation in Crown Ruthenia was by far more dynamic than in Małopolska proper. Such political and social factors as the wars of the Commonwealth with Turkey or Muscovy, the Cossack rising, and so on had a direct impact on the demographic and religious situation in these lands. They also affected the administrative and territorial structure of individual religions. Additionally, there were serious fluctuations resulting from the rivalry between the Orthodox and Uniate Churches. The parallel existence of the parish networks of both religions over many decades and their overlapping should be viewed as an important factor determining the borders of the Uniate Church dioceses in the eighteenth century (apart from the traditional borders of the Orthodox dioceses and of the state administration).⁴⁷⁸ The situation of the Latin Church in those lands was determined by the development of settlement and migration of nobility from central Poland, mainly Małopolska proper and Mazowsze. Wealthy landed estates were a product of either inheritance and marriages (in Volhynia and the central part of the palatinate of Kiev), or assumption of offices in the administration following the death of local dukes (in the Braclaw region and Transnistria).⁴⁷⁹

478 Bienkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego", p. 861; Скочилия, "Адміністративно-територіальний устрій", pp. 151, 153.

479 Jakowenko, *Historia Ukrainy*, p. 181.

A proper appraisal of the religious and ethnic situation in Crown Ruthenia makes it necessary to answer the question of the extent to which the number of places of worship reflects the actual relations between religions and ethnic groups in that area. In the light of available sources, it is hard to compile exact demographic summaries regarding the entirety of Crown Ruthenia, but it is possible to try to do so by making comparisons inside individual palatinates with a view to formulating more general conclusions.

The documents on the Uniate parish organization in the Kiev and Braclaw palatinates compiled by Radwan also provide demographic information. It follows from the 1782 data that the Braclaw palatinate was inhabited by 618 393 people (459 921 adults and 158 472 minors), and the Kiev palatinate – by 525 863 people (406 415 adults and 119 448 minors) of the Uniate confession.⁴⁸⁰ In the Braclaw palatinate one Uniate parish had an average of 534 believers, while in the Kiev palatinate there were 485 of them. The average density of the Greek Catholic population per square kilometer was circa 17 people in the Braclaw palatinate, and circa eight people in the Kiev palatinate. Alas, there is a shortage of similar and reliable sources to allow to establish the number of the followers of the Latin Church in that area. A report sent in 1781 by the bishop of Kiev, Franciszek Ossoliński, on the condition of his diocese informed Rome of 40 506 Catholics under his jurisdiction.⁴⁸¹ However, much more credible is the number of 27 459 Catholics offered by Dmitry Tolstoy based on the 1777 visitation report by Bishop Ossoliński (981 people per parish, and 704 people per church, if monastic churches that did not discharge any parish functions and public chapels are included).⁴⁸² The 1659 report

480 *Socjografia kościoła greckokatolickiego*, pp. 162-163; *Wizytacje generalne*, pp. 31-437. The statistical data compiled by bishop Jason Smogorzewski's curia significantly depart from the information gathered during the visitations of the Kiev diocese over 1783-1785. E.g., it may be said that according to the 1782 census the Cudnów deanery (41 parishes) was inhabited by 7898 adults and 2826 minors, but according to the 1785 visitation report – by 11 979 adults and 4847 minors. According to the census of 1782 the Żytomierz deanery was inhabited by 18 353 adults and 7485 minors, whereas according to the 1783-1785 visitation (excluding the parishes of Denesze and Sołotwin) there were 16 266 adults and 5547 minors. As the statistical data seem to be quite accurate (classification according to men, women, adults and minors), it is necessary to take into account quite intensive migrations in that region at the beginning of the 1780s.

481 *Relacja o stanie diecezji kijowskiej z 1781 r.*, Archive of the Council Congregation in Rome: the Kiev diocese file, no pagination.

482 The statistical data take into account the Latin churches of the Kiev diocese including a few churches outside its borders, Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji*, p. 346; “Kijowskie biskupstwo”, in: *Encyklopedia kościelna*, ed. M. Nowodworski, vol. 10,

on the status of the Kiev diocese informed that in 1659 the Kiev diocese was inhabited by about 13 000 Catholics.⁴⁸³ This was tantamount to a rise in the number of Latin population in the Kiev palatinate by at least twofold over 100 years (1659-1777 [1781]). According to the data summary drawn up by Mahler based on the poll tax register of 1764-1765, the Kiev palatinate was inhabited by 22 352 people professing Judaism.⁴⁸⁴ After the correction of the attribution of some localities to individual palatinates their number decreases to 20 968. In both cases the Jews were less numerous than the Catholics, even if the figure of 27 459 people offered

Table 17: The religious structure of the population in the Kiev palatinate in 1772-1785

	Catholics of Latin rite		Uniates (Catholics of Greek rite)		Jews	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Number of sacral facilities (main and auxiliary)	40	3.2	1115	89.4	64	5.1
Demographic data	24 632	4.3	525 863	91.8	22 352	3.9

Source of demographic data: Tolstoy, *Le catholicisme Romaine en Russie*, p. 478; *Socjografia kościoła greckokatolickiego*, pp. 162-163; Mahler, *Żydzi w dawnej Polsce*, p. 159.

p.332; D. Tolstoy, *Le catholicisme Romaine en Russie*, vol. 1, Paris 1863, pp. 295, 299, 478. The number of believers offered by the sources and studies should be treated with caution. Exact estimates are difficult because of the political and social situation, i.e., constant wars and destruction of that area – according to M. Pałucki's report from 1782 in Chwastów 700 Catholics of Latin rite died during the Cossack raid in 1768, see: Chachaj, "Stan i odbudowa sieci kościelnej", pp. 28-29. It is necessary to remember that diocesan statistics did not cover all believers scattered all over vast parishes, but only those who would visit the parish church now and then and who received sacraments. In 1751 Bishop Sołtyk wrote: "Tota haec dioecesis ritui graeco devota, et in quantitate hominum ritus graeci praedominatur ritui nostro, nam in una quaque villa, ubi reperiuntur ducentae animae ruthenorum, vix una, tres, sex, ad maximum decem animae ritus latini inveniuntur", *Relacja o stanie diecezji kijowskiej z 1751 r.*, Archive of the Council Congregation in Rome: the Kiev diocese file, no pagination. As the parishes covered vast territories, monastery churches and manor chapels must have been important venues of worship, cf. Wołyński [J.M. Giżycki], "Zniesione kościoły i klasztory rzymsko-katolickie przez rząd rosyjski w wieku XIX-tym w diecezji łuckiej, żytomierskiej i kamienieckiej (gub. wołyńskiej, kijowskiej i podolskiej)", *Nova Polonia Sacra*, vol. 1, Kraków 1928, pp. 1-312.

483 H. D. Wojtyńska, "Nieznana relacja o rzymskokatolickiej diecezji kijowskiej z roku 1659", *Roczniki Teologiczne*, 43 (1996), fasc. 4, p. 279.

484 Mahler, *Żydzi w dawnej Polsce*, p. 159.

by Bishop Ossoliński in the 1777 visitation report were to be reduced by the Latin Catholics living in the two parishes located outside the Kiev diocese (Pohrebyszczce – 1157 people, Lubar – 1670 people.⁴⁸⁵)

Owing to a precise summary of the demographic data by Budzyński it is possible to carry out similar analysis in respect to the western part of Crown Ruthenia (in the Austrian partition). According to his calculations in the second half of the eighteenth century in the Przemyśl diocese⁴⁸⁶ there were 533 984 Uniate believers.⁴⁸⁷ The same area was then inhabited by 183 798 Roman Catholics and 43 550 people professing Judaism.⁴⁸⁸ The Greek Catholic diocese of Lwów (excluding the officialate of Bar and part of the officialate of Kamieniec), southern part of the Chełm eparchy and small parts of the Łuck eparchy were inhabited by a total of 1 354 000 people (in 1777-1800). The Latin population accounted for 18.7 percent (252 373 people), the Greek Catholics – 72.2 percent (977 776 people), and the Jews – 8.5 percent (115 202 people). The other ethnic and linguistic groups accounted for 0.6 percent (8 520 people).⁴⁸⁹

It follows from the above tables and map no. 2⁴⁹⁰ that the distribution of sacral buildings appropriately represents the overall proportions between major confessions in Crown Ruthenia. A more pronounced domination of the Uniates, in terms of places of worship, stems from an easier and less formal procedure of establishing parishes and churches in the Orthodox Church, and later on in the Uniate Church, than in the Latin Church.⁴⁹¹ The benefices of Eastern churches were much

485 Tolstoy, *Le catholicisme romain*, p. 478 (no data for the Jurewicze parish in the Minsk palatinate are available).

486 The statistical data do not cover 31 deaneries of the diocese referred to in that summary. Omitted were the so-called fringe areas (Biecz-Jasło, Sącz-Grybów, Dubiecko enclave and Nadwisłocze), Budzyński, *Ludność pogranicza polsko-ruskiego*, pp. 310-311.

487 An approximate number of 535 000 is offered by W. Kołbuk (“Granice i sieć parafialna”, p. 102). It follows from W. Kołbuk’s calculations that in the second half of the eighteenth century in the Przemyśl diocese the statistically average Uniate parish contained 427 believers and covered 19 km², Kołbuk, “Granice i sieć parafialna”, p. 102. According to T. Śliwa in the same diocese predominant were parishes where 100-300 people were able to receive sacraments, Śliwa, “Przemyska diecezja greckokatolicka”, p. 88.

488 Budzyński, *Ludność pogranicza polsko-ruskiego*, pp. 310-311.

489 Idem, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, vol. 3, p. 142.

490 More on the subject of information basis of the enclosed map, see: Chapter III.3

491 Quite a significant disparity with the percentage of Roman Catholics calculated based on the demographic data and the number of sacral buildings in the Greek Catholic

Table 18: The religious structure of the population in the First Austrian Partition between 1772 and 1785^a

Area		Catholics of Latin rite		Uniates (Catholics of Greek rite)		Jews	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Latin Przemyśl diocese	Number of sacral buildings (main and auxiliary)	299	20.65	1099	75.90	50	3.45
	Demographic data	183 798	24.14	533 984	70.14	43 550	5.72
Uniate diocese of Lwów (excluding the officialate of Bar and part of the officialate of Kamieniec), part of the Chełm eparchy and a fragment of the Łuck eparchy	Number of sacral buildings (main, that is parishes and kahal synagogues)	204	7.85	2253	86.72	141	5.43
	Demographic data	252 373	18.76	977 776	72.68	115 202	8.56

^a For the sake of greater specificity the comparison of the Orthodox and Uniate places of worship was made within the limits of the Latin Przemyśl diocese, that is without those Uniate deaneries which were situated outside the boundaries of the Latin diocese, namely Biecz, Jasło, Dukła, Muszyna (Latin diocese of Kraków), Jaworów and Gródek (Latin Lwów diocese).

Source of demographic data: Budzyński, *Ludność pogranicza polsko-ruskiego*, pp. 310-311; Idem, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, vol. 1, p. 142.

diocese of Lwów (excluding the Bar officialate and part of the Kamieniec Podolski officialate), southern part of the Chełm diocese and a fragment of the Łuck diocese stems from the fact that Budzyński's summary included parishes which were territorial units and omitted filial places of worship more of which were Latin rather than Greek Catholic. If the Roman Catholic filial churches, including the monastery ones, were to be taken into consideration, the result would be closer to the data calculated based on the number of population.

smaller⁴⁹² which resulted, on the one hand, in their higher density, and on the other hand, their strong dependence on the proprietors. Also the status of land in the Uniate Church was different than in the Latin Church where even though it was handed over to a parish priest, along with the church it continued to be a source of the manor's additional income.⁴⁹³ The situation in the Orthodox Church was a remnant of the position of the ktitor (provider of funds) which was definitely stronger than that of a patron in respect to the benefices in the Latin Church.⁴⁹⁴ Apparently, the number of places of worship in Crown Ruthenia makes the actual demographic proportions between the Uniate and Latin population much sharper.

The foregoing analysis of the six palatinates of Ruthenia, Bełz, Volhynia, Podolia, Braclaw and Kiev confirms that it was correct to set Crown Ruthenia apart from the Małopolska province as a part of the Commonwealth that differed sharply in religious and ethnic terms. Suffice it to say that out of 9597 places of worship registered in the second half of the eighteenth century 8145 (84.9 percent) were Uniate, and 918 (or 9.6 percent) – Roman Catholic. This proportion was opposite to that in Małopolska proper. The percentage of synagogues and prayer houses (4.9 percent) was slightly lower in Crown Ruthenia than in the Lublin, Kraków and Sandomierz palatinates. This was mainly due to a higher density of Uniate churches which predominated in the Ruthenian lands (one church per 25.7 km²), compared to the Roman Catholic churches that predominated in Małopolska proper (one church per 34.8 km²). Moreover, in Crown Ruthenia there were religious groups that were not recorded in indigenous Polish lands in the eighteenth century, like the Catholics of Armenian rite or the Karaites.

492 Lower incomes earned by Uniate parishes are frequently emphasized in the literature on the subject. In the second half of the eighteenth century a parish priest in the Przemyśl diocese usually had from half to one łan of land. Therefore, the performances by the believers and the so called *wolnizny* (exemption for up to 20 years from all rents, fees, and taxes) played a greater role, Śliwa, "Przemyska diecezja greckokatolicka", p. 89. Even greater difference in the sources of income between Greek Catholic and Latin parishes was pointed out by J. Półćwiartek. It follows from his calculations regarding the northern part of the Przemyśl diocese that the average land endowment of a Uniate parish was five times smaller than of the Latin parish in the same area, Półćwiartek, "Parafie greckokatolickie diecezji przemyskiej", s. 95. On the subject of the Uniate parish benefices in the Przemyśl diocese, see: Kaznowski, "Beneficja unickiego dekanatu dukielskiego", pp. 257-326.

493 Półćwiartek, "Parafie greckokatolickie diecezji przemyskiej", p. 95.

494 K. Chodynicki, *Kościół prawosławny a Rzeczpospolita Polska. Zarys historyczny 1370-1632*, Warszawa 1934, pp. 111-119.

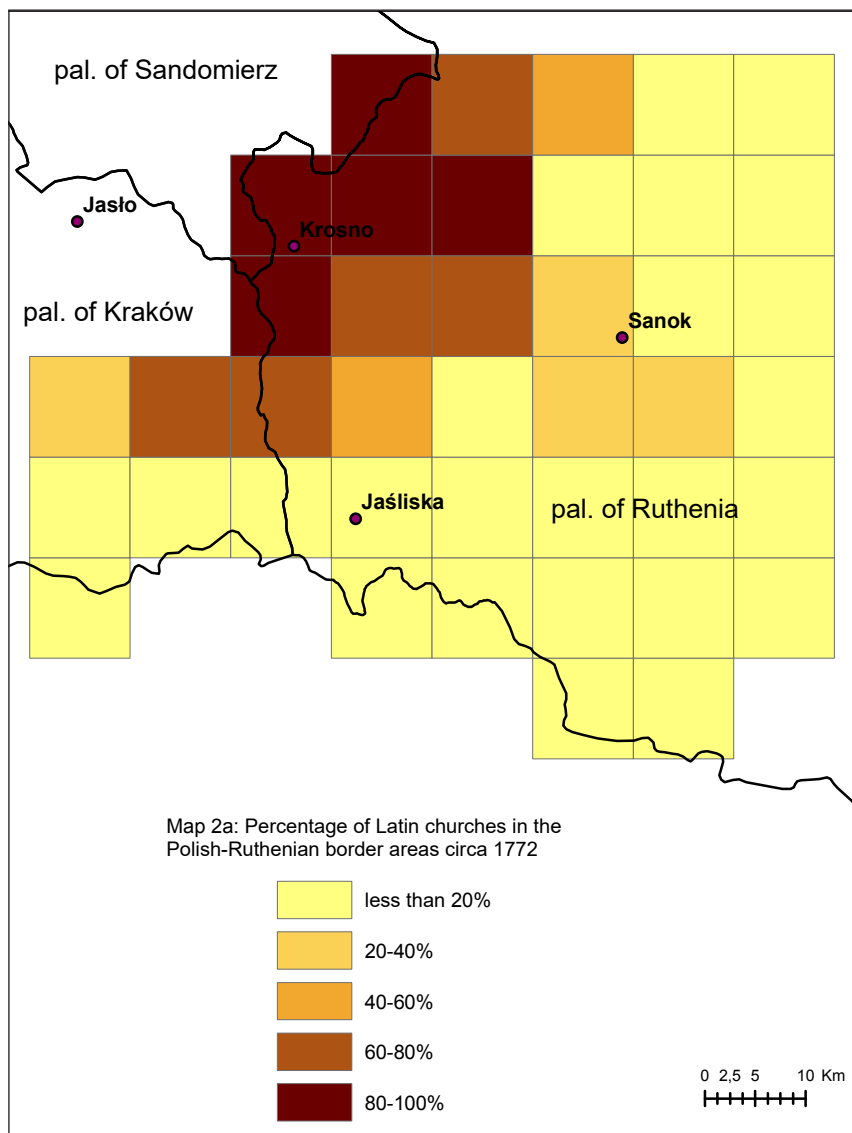
Table 19: The number and percentage of places of worship in Crown Ruthenia circa 1772.

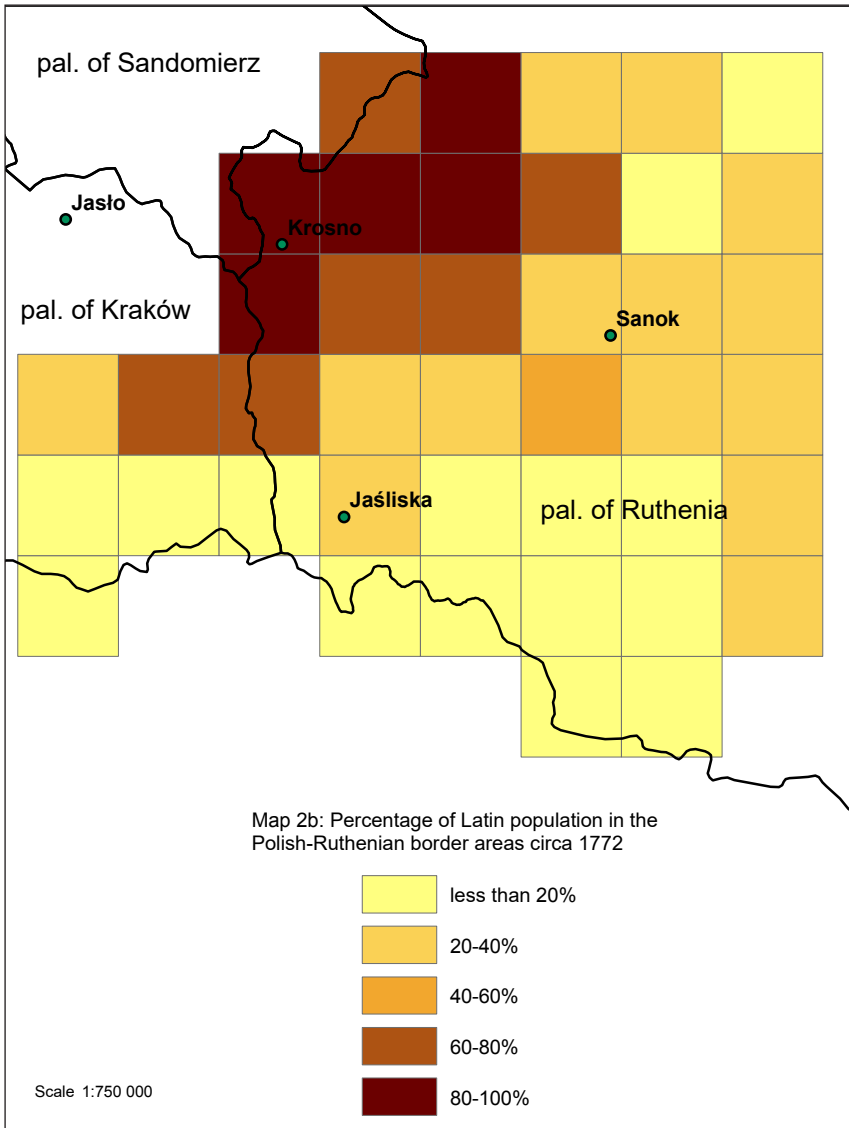
Palatinate	The number and percentage of places of worship:						
	Latin (Roman Catholic)	Uniate (Greek Catholic)	Armenian Catholic	Orthodox	Karaite	Muslim	Jewish
Ruthenia 60 507 km ²	15.08 % 583	80.24 % 3103	0.34 % 13	0.03 % 1	0.05 % 2	-	4.27 % 165
Bełz 9 068 km ²	13.37 % 69	80.04 % 413	-	-	-	-	6.59 % 34
Volhynia 41 521 km ²	7.87 % 121	86.08 % 1323	0.07 % 1	0.20 % 3	0.07 % 1	0.07 % 1	5.66 % 87
Podolia 19 832 km ²	6.57 % 78	86.36 % 1026	0.51 % 6	0.08 % 1	-	-	6.48 % 77
Braclaw 35 346 km ²	2.17 % 27	93.65 % 1166	0.16 % 2	0.08 % 1	-	0.08 % 1	3.86 % 48
Kiev 68 953 km ²	3.22 % 40	89.55 % 1114	-	2.09 % 26	-	-	5.14 % 64
TOTAL 235 227 km ²	9.57 % 918	84.87 % 8145	0.23 % 22	0.33 % 32	0.03 % 3	0.02 % 2	4.95 % 475

Within the borders of Crown Ruthenia it is possible to distinguish quite clearly three regions with different characteristics. The first one included the palatinates of Ruthenia and Bełz, the second one – Volhynia and Podolia, and the third one – Braclaw and Kiev. The main factor underlying the above regionalization was the percentage of sacral buildings of individual religions. It should be remembered at the same time that the density of places of worship was closely related to the development of settlement, and according to that criterion Crown Ruthenia may be divided into a zone of high (the palatinates of Bełz and Ruthenia), medium (the palatinates of Volhynia and Podolia) and weak (the palatinates of Braclaw and Kiev) degrees of settlement.⁴⁹⁵ The foregoing division of Crown Ruthenia into three parts is made relative to the weakening share of the Latin Church structures as one moves eastwards and the correspondingly greater relative importance of the Uniate Church. The change in proportions is quite evident.

The change in proportions is particularly apparent in the religious structure of towns (Table 20). In the Ruthenian and Bełz palatinates nearly all towns were multireligious and multiethnic, and in more than 80 percent of them there was

495 W.A. Serczyk, *Koliszczyzna*, Kraków 1968, p. 26.





a Latin church community. The percentage of towns with the places of worship of two or more religions, including a Roman Catholic church, is lower in central palatinates of Crown Ruthenia (Volhynia and Podolia), and in the two eastern palatinates the share of towns with a Latin place of worship drops below 25 percent. “Contrary to the colourful, multiethnic towns of Halicz Ruthenia, urban settlements in the Volhynian and Kiev palatinates usually had a stable population with a strong domination of the Ruthenian element”⁴⁹⁶

Table 20: The percentage of towns with the places of worship of many religions in Crown Ruthenia circa 1772.

Palatinate	Percentage		
	towns with places of worship of many religions	towns with a Latin church	towns with a Uniate church
Ruthenia	89.0 %	88.5 %	89.4 %
Bełz	92.9 %	83.3 %	92.9 %
Volhynia	79.6 %	59.3 %	95.6 %
Podolia	85.1 %	59.6 %	96.8 %
Braclaw	50.0 %	25.0 %	100.0 %
Kiev	48.3 %	22.5 %	100.0 %

It follows from the above table that the phenomenon of multireligiousness and the ensuing ethnic diversity marked Crown Ruthenia with different intensity. This applies to both the geographic (east-west), and social (town-village) aspects. The statistical data also corroborate the opinion formulated earlier with regard to the western corners of the Ruthenian and Bełz palatinates, and the eastern borders of the palatinates in Małopolska proper were a sort of a buffer where the influence of western and eastern Christianity intersected.

The borders of state administration and palatinates clearly overlapped with the penetration limits of the Latin (Małopolska proper) and Byzantine (Crown Ruthenia) Christianization delineated in the Middle Ages. There is an apparent correlation between the settlement and religious situation of the Ruthenian lands in the Commonwealth of the first half of the eighteenth century and the geography and chronology of the Crown's expansion eastwards. The regions with highest density of sacral buildings, and with well developed settlement, were incorporated into the borders of King Kazimierz the Great's state as early

496 Jakowenko, *Historia Ukrainy*, p. 138.

as the second half of the fourteenth century (the palatinates of Ruthenia, Bełz and Podolia). This area was also marked by higher influence of the Latin Church compared to the rest of the Ruthenian land incorporated after 1569, especially in towns. An interesting conclusion may be drawn when the density of sacral buildings in the Podolian and Volhynian palatinates is compared, which naturally calls for further research. The Podolian palatinate, though smaller by twofold and with an almost identical density of villages and towns in the second half of the eighteenth century,⁴⁹⁷ had the network of sacral buildings twice as dense as the Volhynian palatinate. Differences of this sort may be most probably attributed to the ownership structures in these palatinates.

In the context of the complete religious, linguistic and ethnic distinctness of the Ruthenian lands a question arises about the administrative reasons behind their incorporation into the Małopolska province after 1569. Maybe there was a plan for the gradual Latinization of those lands. The establishment of the Latin metropolitan province in Halicz in 1375 could have been the first and very important stage of that process, and the second one – the Union of Brześć of 1596. From the point of view of the shaping of religious relations in that region it is essential to ask a question about the methods adopted when establishing the Latin Church structures in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The question arises of whether Latin communities were set up from scratch [in *cruda radice*], based on new endowments when new churches were built, or if – as individual cases might indicate – by the appropriation of the endowments of Orthodox churches.⁴⁹⁸ Abraham describes the policy pursued by the Catholic Church as marked by tolerance and not aimed at the destruction of the Ruthenian Church, with “much moderation, reason and tact”. A similar opinion about the “policy of prudent tolerance” was expressed by Trajdos.⁴⁹⁹ They seem to contradict the text of the 1375 Papal bull which ousted Orthodox bishops from their capitals.⁵⁰⁰ Natalia Jakowenko noticed a discrepancy in the “Ruthenian policy” of modern times pursued by the king and nobility as well as higher ranking clergy and the Holy See. In her opinion the clergy’s intention was the straightforward and direct Latinization of Ruthenian lands by establishing the structures and hierarchy of the Roman Church. In her opinion much greater realism and understanding of

497 Serczyk, *Koliszczyzna*, s. 26.

498 It is worth mentioning at this point the case of a Latin parish at Grabowiec (Bełz palatinate) founded in 1394 by Ziemowit, the duke of Mazowsze, who used an Orthodox church to that end, Bieńkowski, “Działalność organizacyjna”, p. 231.

499 Trajdos, *Kościół Katolicki na ziemiach ruskich*, p. 27.

500 Abraham, *Powstanie organizacyjni*, pp. 231-233, 297-298.

the religious situation marked the rulers and secular elites.⁵⁰¹ That greater rationalism of Polish noblemen and magnates could be attributed to their actual presence there, namely, the ownership of properties in Ruthenian lands.

Crown Ruthenia had the highest percentage of the population professing Judaism in the entire Commonwealth, and also of Armenians who had their diocese there. As in the entire Commonwealth, the distribution of Jewish population in Crown Ruthenia was determined by the centres of trade and crafts. The Jews were most inclined to settle in the areas crossed by the main commercial routes.⁵⁰² It follows from the statistical data on Jewish communities that compared to Red Ruthenia, Volhynia or Podolia their percentage in the towns of the Ukrainian palatinates was much lower. In the palatinates of Ruthenia, Bełz, Podolia and Volhynia Jewish communities existed in 70-80 percent of urban centres, whereas in those of Braclaw and Kiev there were kahals in less than half of the towns. In few cities, mainly of the palatinates of Ruthenia, Podolia and Braclaw, the Armenian minority competed with the Jews. Armenians focused on the trade with the Black Sea region and this is why they mainly settled in the south, along the so-called Tatar road. It follows from a survey of Armenian parishes that Armenians did not live in regions of the Commonwealth other than Crown Ruthenia.

3. Podlasie

The inclusion of Podlasie in the Małopolska province was mainly dictated by its formal and legal situation, because in studies by historians and geographers Podlasie is treated not only as part of Mazowsze, but also of Lithuania or Małopolska. Stanisław Alexandrowicz referred to that area as an “artificial administrative formation established from the scraps of ethnic Polish-Ruthenian-Yotvingian

501 Jakowenko, *Historia Ukrainy*, pp. 113-114. Abraham, *Powstanie organizacyi*, pp. 231-233 (“The intentions of King Kazimierz were different for he tried to strengthen the Catholic element in the country as much as he could, to have it organized like a Latin Church and to open a path ahead of it to the propaganda of peace, and thus to influence Ruthenia with the power of western civilization”).

502 In his analysis of the distribution of the Jews in Red Ruthenia M. Horn demonstrated that they were more willing to settle down in the lands of Chełm and Bełz where the towns inhabited by the Jews accounted from 2/3 to 3/4 of all towns, and in the Przemyśl land where nearly half of towns had Jewish population. The lowest number of the Jews settled down at that time in the highlands and mountain areas of the Halicz, Sanok and part of the Lwów lands where rural type of towns predominated, Horn, *Żydzi na Rusi*, p. 23.

border areas”.⁵⁰³ As part of Mazowsze, it was described by, *inter alia*, Andreas Cellarius who emphasized in 1659: “Podlachiae palatinatus, sive Podlachia inter Lituaniam, Poloniam Minorem et Masoviam interposita”.⁵⁰⁴ When describing the Commonwealth at the beginning of the seventeenth century Szymon Starowolski also perceived Podlasie as part of Mazowsze.⁵⁰⁵

As a state administration unit the palatinate of Podlasie was established at the time when these lands were part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Facing problems with the administration of a significant part of the Troki palatinate, in 1513 King Zygmunt I appointed Jan Sapieha as palatine of Podlasie.⁵⁰⁶ Initially the Podlasie palatinate covered a much bigger area.⁵⁰⁷ In the aftermath of the administrative reform of 1566 it had been deprived of Brześć, Kamieniec and Kobryń which along with the medieval duchy of Turów and Pińsk formed the Brześć Litewski palatinate.⁵⁰⁸ From its incorporation into the Crown in 1569 until 1772 the Podlasie palatinate comprised the three lands of Drohiczyn, Mielnik and Bielsk (the powiats of Brańsk, Tykocin and Suraż)⁵⁰⁹ and covered an area of 11 507 km².⁵¹⁰

The borders of the Podlasie palatinate had been taking shape since the beginning of the seventeenth century. After Podlasie had been incorporated into the Crown a dispute arose about the border between the powiats of Mielnik (Podlasie palatinate) and Brześć (Brześć Litewski palatinate). The efforts made

503 S. Alexandrowicz, “Powstanie i rozwój miast województwa podlaskiego (XV-XVII w.)”, *Acta Baltico-Slavica*, 1 (1964), p. 137. The borderland character of the palatinate is also reflected by its name’s etymology as the land under the rule of the Lendians (Lachy).

504 A. Cellarius, *Regni Poloniae, Magnique Ducatus Lituaniae, omniumque regionum juri polonico subjectorum novissima descriptio*, Amstelodami 1659, p. 601. The situation was perceived in a similar way by Sz. Starowolski in 1632: “The last palatinate of the Mazowsze province is Podlasie”, Starowolski, *Polska albo opisanie*, p. 115.

505 Starowolski, *Polska albo opisanie*, p. 112.

506 Different opinions about the date when the Podlasie palatinate was established were compiled by W. Jarmolik, “Powstanie województwa podlaskiego”, *Białostoczczyzna*, no. 4 (16) 1989, p. 6.

507 A document of 1520 referred to the Podlasie palatinate as “territoria”: of Drohiczyn, Brześć, Bielsk, Kamieniec, Mielnik and Kobryń, *Urzednicy podlascy w XIV-XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. E. Dubas-Urwanowicz et al., Kórnik 1994, pp. 13-14.

508 A. Wawrzyńczyk, *Rozwój wielkiej własności na Podlasiu w XV i XVI wieku*, Wrocław 1951, pp. 13-14.

509 Waga, *Wyciąg z geografii polskiej*, pp. 32-33.

510 According to the authors of inventories of officials it covered a slightly larger area of 12 525 km², *Urzednicy podlascy w XIV-XVIII wieku*, p. 15.

by Kasper Dembiński to ensure that the Wołyń-Łomazy route ran through the Podlasie palatinate and the Crown turned into a fiasco. They also resulted in the breaking-off of the territorial connection between the Rossosz estates and the main body of the palatinate creating a small territorial enclave of Podlasie within the Brześć Litewski palatinate (Rossosz, Horodyszczce, Jabłoń, Gęś).⁵¹¹

The colonization of Podlasie that proceeded in two stages – the Polish (Mazowsze) and Ruthenian ones – shaped the religious and ethnic character of the border region.⁵¹² Stretching longitudinally, the palatinate was marked by quite an even distribution of the Latin and Uniate population. Relations between religions are best reflected by a higher density of the Uniate churches in the eastern part of the palatinate and of the Roman Catholic churches in the areas bordering Mazowsze from which the colonization of the area by petty nobility had proceeded in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This religious balance is best reflected by the almost identical number of the Latin and Uniate parishes – 91 and 87 respectively.

Due to the fact that the borders of the palatinate were shaped quite late, there was a significant disparity between the borders of the state and church administration.⁵¹³ The former links between Podlasie and Lithuania resulted from the palatinate's affiliation with the Roman Catholic dioceses of Łuck and Vilnius. The latter diocese (the Augustów deanery and part of the Knyszyn deanery⁵¹⁴) covered the northern part of the palatinate. The southern border of the Vilnius

511 D. Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka województwa podlaskiego w XVI-XVII wieku*, Toruń 2002, pp. 48-52.

512 J. Wiśniewski, "Rozwój osadnictwa na pograniczu polsko-rusko-litewskim od końca XIV do połowy XVII wieku", *Acta Baltico-Slavica*, 1 (1964), p. 130. On the colonization of Podlasie, see: A. Kołodziejczyk, "Z dziejów kolonizacji puszczy na Podlasiu w XV-XVI wieku", in: *Szkice z dziejów kolonizacji Podlasia i Grodzieńszczyzny od XIV do XVI wieku*, Olsztyn 2002, pp. 29-93.

513 A. Laszuk, *Zaścianki i królewshczyzny. Struktura własności ziemskiej w województwie podlaskim w drugiej połowie XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1998, p. 15.

514 The Knyszyn deanery is referred to in a 1635 report by Bishop Abraham Wojna, but it may be assumed that it was one of 12 "tractus seu decanatus" mentioned in the 1609 report (*Relationes status dioecesium*, vol. 1, pp. 40, 67), and the Augustów deanery, the smallest one in the entire diocese of Vilnius, is first mentioned in the files of the Vilnan diocesan synod of 1669, J. Kurczewski, *Biskupstwo wileńskie*, Wilno 1912, p. 469. The descriptions of parishes of the diocese published by W. Wernerowa reflect the following division of the deanery of Knyszyn: Podlasie palatinate – Białystok, Juchnowiec, Kalinówka, Knyszyn, Niewodnica, Turośń, Troki palatinate – Chodorówka, Choroszcz, Janów, Korycin, Wasilków, Zabłudów, *Rękopiśmienne opisy parafii*

diocese in Podlasie took shape over a long time.⁵¹⁵ According to Jabłonowski, the area of the Podlasie palatinate was originally subordinated to the bishops of Vilnius, and in the first half of the fifteenth century, under the rule of Grand Duke Witold (Vytautas), its southern part was handed over to the bishops of Łuck.⁵¹⁶ In the second half of the eighteenth century it included five deaneries of the Brześć archdeaconry of the Łuck diocese (Bielsk, Brańsk, Drohiczyń, Łosice and Węgrów) and five parishes in the south of the Mielnik powiat that were subordinated to the Janów deanery located in the palatinate of Brześć Litewski.⁵¹⁷ After the Union of Brześć and border changes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the deanery of Janów was divided between the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This part of the Latin diocese of Łuck had always been one of the best managed ones, and in the best financial standing. Its parish network was more developed than that of the Łuck and Braclaw parts of the diocese.⁵¹⁸

The main organizational framework of the Latin Church organization in Podlasie was laid down by the end of the sixteenth century. Stanisław Olczak calculated that in 1550 in the Podlasian part of the diocese of Vilnius there were 13 parishes.⁵¹⁹ Which means that by 1772 only two parishes were established. Also in the “Łuck” part of Podlasie the parish network established in 1604 was subject to virtually no changes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁵²⁰ It mostly

litewskich z 1784 r. Dekanat knyszyński i dekanat augustowski, ed. W. Wernerowa, Warszawa 1996, pp. 17-129.

- 515 T. Krahel, “Zarys dziejów (archi)diecezji wileńskiej”, *Studia Teologiczne*, 5-6 (1987-1988), p. 14.
- 516 *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 6, part 2: Podlasie, ed. A. Jabłonowski, Warszawa 1909 (*Źródła dziejowe*, vol. 17), p. 32.
- 517 In his report of 1658 Bishop Jan Wydźga mentioned the following deaneries in Podlasie: Janów, Łosice, Drohiczyń, Węgrów, Bielsk, Kamieniec, Brańsk and Szereszów, *Relationes status dioecesium*, vol. 2, pp. 57-59. This might have been due to the association of Podlasie with the Brześć archdeaconry (Ibid, p. 77). Bishop Stefan Rupniewski was more precise: “Subdividitur in decanatus octo, quorum tres, nimirum Camenecensis, Szereszoviensis et in parte Janoviensis Polesiam alias palatinatum Brestianensem, reliqui quinque: Vegroviensis scilicet, Bielscensis, Drohiciensis, Bran-scensis et Łosicensis tres terras Podlachiamque totam occupant” (Ibid, p. 125).
- 518 *Relationes status dioecesium*, vol. 2, pp. 41, 109-110.
- 519 S. Olczak, “Rozwój sieci parafialnej w diecezji wileńskiej do II poł. XVIII w.”, *Studia Teologiczne*, 5-6 (1987-1988), p. 111; J. Ochmański, *Biskupstwo wileńskie w średniowieczu*, Poznań 1972, p. 78.
- 520 A list of the parish network in individual deaneries was made by L. Królik, *Organizacja dekanalna*, pp. 28-35. It follows from it that of 16 parishes that existed in the Bielsk deanery in 1772, only one at the village of Strabla was established after 1604 (1629),

developed at the time of the most intensive settlement (from the fourteenth to the mid-seventeenth century).⁵²¹ In the second half of the eighteenth century in the Podlasie palatinate there were 91 Latin parishes, including seven run by religious orders, and 31 auxiliary places of worship (ten of religious orders and five hospital churches).

Situated in the Podlasie palatinate were the westernmost Uniate and Orthodox churches in the midsection of the Commonwealth. As in the Latin Church, the Uniate administration divided Podlasie into two parts: the Kiev-Vilnius diocese in the north and the Włodzimierz diocese in the south. At the current stage of research it has not been possible to determine the precise division into deaneries of the northern part of the Kiev-Vilnius diocese, so it may only be assumed that churches located north of the Narew River were the property of the Uniate Knyszyn deanery (in Podlasie).⁵²² In the palatinate of Podlasie there were also three deaneries (Bielsk,⁵²³ Drohiczyń, Mielnik⁵²⁴), belonging to the Brześć part of the Włodzimierz diocese.

Most of the Uniate churches in Podlasie had earlier been the property of the Orthodox Church. It follows from the studies conducted by Antoni Mironowicz⁵²⁵ and Dorota Wereda that out of 87 Uniate parish churches recorded before

in the Brańsk powiat no new parish was created, of 11 parishes of the Drohiczyń deanery only the parish of Niemirów was established after 1604 (1620), in the Łosice deanery the only parish of 13 existing in 1772 and established after 1604 was in the village of Huszlew (1666), Królik, *Organizacja diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej*, p. 287.

521 Wiśniewski, "Rozwój osadnictwa", p. 115.

522 Such a conclusion may follow from the analysis of the geographical distribution of the deaneries of the Kiev-Vilnius diocese. The deaneries enumerated on the 1746 list include the Podlasie deanery, Bienkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego", p. 1035. Displayed on the map of Catholic and Uniate dioceses prepared by L. Bienkowski and W. Muller is its seat located at Knyszyn (*Kościół w Polsce*, vol. 2, map: *Diecezje katolickie łacińskie i unickie w Polsce około 1772 r.*). Also see: the map of the Uniate Church in Podlasie in 1795 in J. Maroszek, *Dziedzictwo unii kościelnej w krajobrazie kulturowym Podlasia 1596-1996*, Białystok 1996.

523 The parish at Dmitrowicze, included in the Podlasie palatinate by W. Kołbuk (*Kościół wschodnie*, p. 313), was in the Brześć Litewski palatinate, М.Ф. Спиридонов, "Беларусь в конце XVI в.", in: Idem, *Закрепощение крестьянства Беларуси (XV-XVI вв.)*, Минск 1993 (map); Laszuk, *Zaścianki i królewszczyzny*, map.

524 The parishes at Krynki and Ponikwy were in the Brześć Litewski palatinate, Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, map no. 7; Laszuk, *Województwo podlaskie w II połowie XVII wieku*, map.

525 A. Mironowicz has written the most important work on the Orthodox Church structures in Podlasie until the end of the sixteenth century, *Podlaskie ośrodki i organizacje*

the First Partition of the Commonwealth as many as 63 (72.4 percent) had earlier been the property of the Orthodox Church.⁵²⁶ This means that the basic administrative structures of eastern Christianity in Podlasie were created by the end of the sixteenth century. The process of church takeover by the Uniate Church was a long one, and gave rise to numerous controversies.⁵²⁷ It was, *inter alia*, because of these disputes that in 1676 the Diet set up a commission to analyse the rights and privileges of individual Churches in the Drohiczyn land.⁵²⁸

In the context of the relations between the Greek-Catholic and Orthodox Churches the situation in the towns of Drohiczyn and Bielsk was noteworthy. Out of the six Orthodox churches that existed in the seventeenth century at Drohiczyn, only those dedicated to St. Spas (the Transfiguration of the Lord) and the Holy Trinity were not taken over by the Uniates.⁵²⁹ The dispute between the Catholics of Latin and Greek rite and the Orthodox Church about the right of ownership of individual church buildings lasted the entire century.⁵³⁰ In Bielsk a royal commission divided the places of worship between the Uniate and the Orthodox Churches in 1636. The latter received three churches, of which one was run by a religious order (those dedicated to the Resurrection, the Epiphany and St. Nicholas), and the former – two (dedicated to the Trinity and the Nativity of Mary). This, however, did not end the dispute and a few years later the Uniates took over the churches of the Resurrection and the Epiphany. Only the monastery and St. Nicholas's church remained with the Orthodox Church.⁵³¹

According to the visitations of the Uniate and Latin churches in the eighteenth century there were also Protestant communities in the Podlasie palatinate. The largest community of Protestants lived at Węgrów where there had been

prawosławne w XVI-XVII wieku, Białystok 1991. Also cf: J. Kuligowski, "Kościół Wschodni na Ziemi Chełmskiej i południowym Podlasiu od chrystianizacji do końca XVI wieku", *Rocznik Mazowiecki*, 12 (2000), p. 55.

526 Wereda, *Diecezja włodzimiersko-brzeska*, pp. 27-28.

527 Laszuk, *Zaścianki i królewsczyzny*, pp. 21-22; Wereda, *Diecezja włodzimiersko-brzeska*, pp. 27-28.

528 *Volumina Legum*, vol. 5, ed. J. Ohryzko, Petersburg 1860, p. 177.

529 H. Siemianczuk, "Prawosławne monasteria Podlasia w latach 1786-1789", *Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne*, 11 (1999), p. 213.

530 A. Mironowicz, "Monasteria prawosławne na terenie diecezji chełmsko-bielskiej", in: *Zakony i klasztory w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej. X-XX*, ed. H. Gapski, J. Kłoczowski, Lublin 1999, pp. 342-343, 361; Laszuk, *Zaścianki i królewsczyzny*, pp. 21-22; J. Hawryluk, *Z dziejów cerkwi prawosławnej na Podlasiu w X-XVII wieku*, Bielsk Podlaski 1993, p. 194.

531 Laszuk, *Zaścianki i królewsczyzny*, p. 22.

a Calvinist church since 1558. In the 1740s the town was also inhabited by several dozen Lutherans.⁵³²

Table 21: The number of places of worship in the Podlasie palatinate circa 1772

Religions and denominations	Diocese/ Eparchy	Archdeaconry/ Officialate	Deanery/ Protopopy/ Governorship	Main places of worship	Auxiliary places of worship
Calvinist				1	-
Uniate (Greek Catholic)	Kiev-Vilnius	-	-	9	-
		Włodzimierz	Brześć	Bielsk Podlaski	31
	Drohiczyn			24	1
	Mielnik			23	-
				78	1
			87	1	
Latin (Roman Catholic)	Łuck	Brześć	Bielsk Podlaski	16	6
			Brańsk	14	2
			Drohiczyn	11	5
			Janów Podlaski	5	1
			Łosice	13	2
			Węgrów	17	9
				76	25
	Vilnius	-	Augustów	9	2
			Knyszyn	6	5
				15	7
			91	32	
Lutheran				1	-
Orthodox	Kiev	-	-	-	3
Jewish				23	3
Total				203	39

Percentage of places of worship:					
Latin	Uniate	Orthodox	Calvinist	Lutheran	Jewish
50.8 %	36.4 %	1.2 %	0.4 %	0.4 %	10.7 %
123	88	3	1	1	26

532 ADS. D156, ff. 358v, 363.

Since 1650 they had the right to administer their services at the Calvinist church.⁵³³ The second most important centre of Protestantism in Podlasie was situated at Orla, where until the mid-eighteenth century there was a Calvinist church.⁵³⁴ In Henryk Merczyng's opinion it operated until 1770, but this opinion is not corroborated by the sources.⁵³⁵

The growth of urban centres in the sixteenth century attracted Jews to Podlasie. Tomasz Wiśniewski claims that the population of the Podlasie towns was predominantly Polish. The Ruthenians usually lived in old Ruthenian towns and north of the Narew River. Leszczyński established that the oldest synagogues (dating from the sixteenth century) were built at Bielsk, Boćki, Orla and Tykocin. Until the second half of the eighteenth century those towns were important centres of Jewish settlement that culminated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (after the truce of of Andruszowo).⁵³⁶

Initially the Jews settled in towns, only sporadically in villages.⁵³⁷ This situation must have changed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, because it follows from the register of the kahal population made on the occasion of the 1765 poll tax register that a considerable number of Jews lived in villages situated close to small towns that were seats of kahal authorities. Węgrów was an exceptional example, as the number of the Jews living in villages subordinated to the kahal was higher by several fold than those dwelling in the town. In the second half of the eighteenth century there were also major Jewish centres at Tykocin, Siemiatycze, Ciechanowiec, Sokołów, Orla and Międzyrzec. All in all, there were 23 kahalns and branch kahalns in the palatinate.

The territorial organization of the Jews in Podlasie and the related problem of dependence on the kahal is an interesting problem. It may be concluded from the analysis of the poll tax register that the Podlasie kahalns also exercised their authority in parts of Mazowsze (in the lands of Wizna, Łomża and Nur). Unlike in the other palatinates and provinces of the Commonwealth, the Jews in

533 T. Wyszomirski, "Z przeszłości zboru protestanckiego w Węgrowie w XVII i XVI-II w.," *Odrodzenie i Reformacja*, vol. 4, 1959, pp. 152-153.

534 APL. Ch780, f. 119 (in 1727 – a "Lutheran church", but it must be a mistake); SGKP. VII, pp. 582-583; Merczyng, "Zbory i senatorowie", p. 217.

535 Merczyng, "Zbory i senatorowie", p. 217; Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, p. 101.

536 Leszczyński, *Żydzi ziemi bielskiej*, pp. 112-113; Also see: T. Wiśniewski, *Bóżnice Białostockizny Żydzi w Europie Wschodniej do roku 1939*, Białystok 1992.

537 A. Laszuk, *Ludność województwa podlaskiego w drugiej połowie XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1999, p. 89.

Table 22: The number of Jews in selected kahals of Podlasie according to the 1765 census.

Kahal's seat	Number of Jews		
	in towns	in villages	total
Mokobody	148	15	163
Boćki (1750)	157	56	213
Mordy	219	135	354
Sokołów	587	792	1467
Ciechanowiec	920	498	1577
Siemiatycze	1015	880	1895
Węgrów (1740)	31	1225	1256
Węgrów	581	3042	3623

Source: "Liczba głów", p. 404; ADS. D156, f. 358v, after 1740; ADS. D134, f. 174, 1750.

the Podlasie palatinate and their communities in Mazowsze were divided in the 1765 poll tax register into the kahals and branch kahals. Moreover, the use of the term "parish" (parafia) in various contexts is confusing. A complex network of dependencies between individual communities was an outcome of the fact that in the second half of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century they were becoming independent. According to Leszczyński, the author of a study on the organization of the Podlasie Jews, the palatinate was divided into two districts of Tykocin and Węgrów, with two independent kahals at Ciechanowiec and Międzyrzec. Leszczyński divided Jewish communities into three categories, with the third one comprising branch kahals referred to in the 1765 poll tax register. After separating from the Grodno kahal, the Tykocin district comprised the communities in Białystok,⁵³⁸ Boćki, Orla, Augustów,⁵³⁹

538 Described in "Liczba głów" (p. 404) as a "branch kahal seu kachał of Białystok". A dispute about the supremacy over the Białystok community was under way between the Tykocin and Grodno kahals. In 1745 the community became independent of Tykocin, EJL. I, p. 138, III, p. 1352; Białystok (access: <http://www.jewishinstitute.org.pl>, 28.09.2009). According to other sources it went independent as late as 1777, Białystok (access: <http://www.sztetl.org.pl>, 28.09.2009).

539 Described in "Liczba głów" (p. 404) as a "branch kahal". According to various sources and studies an independent community was established in 1674 or at the end of the eighteenth century, Augustów (access: <http://www.jewishinstitute.org.pl>, 28.09.2009); Augustów (access: <http://www.sztetl.org.pl>, 28.09.2009).

Jasionówka,⁵⁴⁰ Goniądz,⁵⁴¹ Rajgród,⁵⁴² Konstantynów, Łosice,⁵⁴³ Niemirów⁵⁴⁴ and Rossosz.⁵⁴⁵ The district also included a community at Siemiatycze that exercised its jurisdiction over the kahal at Sarnaki.⁵⁴⁶ The list of the Jewish communities in the Tykocin district may be supplemented with Sokoły⁵⁴⁷ and Wyszonki⁵⁴⁸ connected with Tykocin and Drohiczyn dependent on the kahal at Siemiatycze.⁵⁴⁹

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- 540 Described in “Liczba głów” (p. 404) as a “branch kahal”. A wooden synagogue was built in the mid-seventeenth century. There was a brick synagogue at the end of the eighteenth century. The community became independent in the nineteenth century, Wiśniewski, *Bóznice Białostoczczyzny*, pp. 158-159; Jasionówka (access: <http://www.kirkuty.xip.pl>, 28.09.2009).
- 541 Described in “Liczba głów” (p. 404) as a “branch kahal”. Information about the synagogue and the cemetery is mutually exclusive: the Jewish Historical Institute established that they were built in the eighteenth century, *Goniądz* (access: <http://www.jewishinstitute.org.pl>, 28.09.2009), but according to the Museum of the History of the Polish Jews it was at the beginning of the twentieth century, *Goniądz* (access: <http://www.sztetl.org.pl>, 28.09.2009).
- 542 The exact date when a community at Rajgród became independent is not known. In the eighteenth century it was a point of contention between the burial society at Tykocin and the authorities of the branch kahal at Rajgród, Leszczyński, *Sejm Żydów Korony*, pp. 71-72; EJL, II, s. 1055.
- 543 Described in “Liczba głów” (p. 404) as a “branch kahal”. In the eighteenth century Łosice had their own cemetery and synagogue. A. Średzińska, *Życie codzienne miasteczka Łosice w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Białystok 2005 (MS in the Archive of Białystok University), p. 76.
- 544 Described in “Liczba głów” (p. 404) as a “branch kahal”. The visitation of the Latin parish at Niemirów reported that in 1762 a Jewish synagogue was renovated, ADS. D139, f. 79.
- 545 Described in “Liczba głów” (p. 404) as “the town of Rosocza with villages”. In the seventeenth century the Rossosz Jews were subordinated to the kahal at Tykocin, and from 1778 to the community at Międzyrzec Podlaski, Leszczyński, *Sejm Żydów Korony*, p. 71; Rossosz (access: <http://www.jewishinstitute.org.pl>, 28.09.2009).
- 546 Leszczyński, *Sejm Żydów Korony*, p. 71.
- 547 Described in “Liczba głów” (p. 404) as a “branch kahal”. *Sokoły* (access: <http://www.kirkuty.xip.pl>, 28.09.2009); *Sokoły* (access: <http://www.jewishinstitute.org.pl>, 28.09.2009).
- 548 “Przykahałek Wiszyński” (“Liczba głów”, s. 404). It is most probably the village of Wyszonki, because the visitation of 1750 reported 130 Jews living in the Wyszonki parish, ADS. D134, f. 24; Leszczyński, *Żydzi ziemi bielskiej*, p. 112.
- 549 ADS. D130, f. 59v; “Liczba głów”, p. 404. The reorganization of the Tykocin kahal is presented a little differently by A. Leszczyński, in his “Organizacja i ustrój gminny Żydów ziemi bielskiej w XVIII wieku” (p. 112), where he divides the kahals into

In the aftermath of tax disputes a kahal district with its seat at Węgrów, exercising jurisdiction over five communities in the Drohiczyń land (Kosów⁵⁵⁰, Mokobody, Mordy and Sokołów⁵⁵¹) and the Mazowsze communities (in the lands of Liw and Nur)⁵⁵² became independent in the seventeenth century. Connected with the kahal at Ciechanowiec were the communities at Wysokie Mazowieckie⁵⁵³ and Jabłonka.⁵⁵⁴ It was not possible to corroborate that in the second half of the eighteenth century there was an organized community in the town of Sterdyń subordinated to the kahal at Sokołów and two communities existing in the first half of the eighteenth century at Nieciecz, Narew⁵⁵⁵ and Knyszyn.⁵⁵⁶

The studies devoted to the history of settlement in Podlasie also dwell on the subject of the Muslim community in that area.⁵⁵⁷ It was, however, less populous than the Jewish one. Its main centres were in the villages of Tatory Zalesie and Kruszyno situated north of Tykocin. Those settlements lost their Tatar character in the seventeenth century. A new Tatar colonization covered the areas bordering Podlasie in the east⁵⁵⁸ and was connected with King Jan III Sobieski's or-

three groups: category 1: Tykocin, category 2: Orla, Boćki and Białystok, category 3: Goniądz, Rajgród, Augustów, Jasionówka, Knyszyn, Olszewo, Sokoły, and Wyszonki. But he did not specify the interdependencies between them.

550 Described in "Liczba głów" (p. 404) as a "branch kahal". See: EJCP. VII, pp. 474-475.

551 The community at Sokołów Podlaski was established in the seventeenth century, EJCP. VII, pp. 339-342. Its dependence on the Węgrów kahal is disputable. In "Liczba głów" (p. 404) it is referred to as a "kahal" and not a "branch kahal". It also covered a little town of Sterdyń.

552 Leszczyński, *Sejm Żydów Korony*, p. 71.

553 "Liczba głów", p. 404; Verbin, *Wooden synagogues*, p. 8 (a wooden synagogue from the beginning of the seventeenth century).

554 ADS. D134, f. 63; "Liczba głów", p. 405.

555 ADS. D133, f. 247v; ADS. D130, f. 233v.

556 The 1765 poll tax register overlooked Knyszyn as the seat of the Jewish community. According to A. Leszczyński and T. Wiśniewski (following in his footsteps) the community and the synagogue were built in 1705, EJJ. II, p. 638; Leszczyński, *Żydzi ziemi bielskiej*, p. 112 (in his opinion the Jews of the Knyszyn branch kahal were incorporated into the Tykocin community); Wiśniewski, *Bóznice Białostoczczyzny*, p. 162 ("Ca 1700 a Jewish community was established"); Knyszyn (access: <http://www.jewishinstitute.org.pl>, 28.09.2009).

557 See, i.a., H. Mierzwiński, "Osadnictwo tatarskie na Podlasiu za Jana III Sobieskiego", *Podlaski Kwartalnik Kulturalny*, 1997, no. 2, pp. 40-49; J. Wiśniewski, "Osadnictwo tatarskie w Sokółskim i na północnym Podlasiu", *Rocznik Białostocki*, 16 (1989), pp. 325-405.

558 Laszuk, *Ludność województwa podlaskiego*, pp. 92-93; Wiśniewski, "Rozwój osadnictwa", p. 132.

der for the Tatars to settle in the vicinity of Biała Radziwiłłowska (Podlaska). He bestowed on them a few villages in the Brześć and Kobryń royal demesne. They mainly settled at the village of Studzianka (Brześć Litewski palatinate) with a mosque built after 1679.⁵⁵⁹

As an ethnically and linguistically mixed area with a relative balance between the Polish and Ruthenian element, Podlasie became a subject of an animated historical debate about the nature of the original settlement. The two-way colonization of Podlasie since the fourteenth century shaped the ethnic and religious make-up of those lands for many centuries to come.⁵⁶⁰ Predominant in the western part of the palatinate was the Roman Catholic petty nobility migrating from Mazowsze, whereas in the east Ruthenian peasants came from Lithuania and Crown Ruthenia.⁵⁶¹ The entire palatinate was a border territory mixed in terms of religion and ethnicity. On average, there was one place of worship per 47.5 km² which is evidence of the rather undeveloped settlement network of Podlasie. It was comparable to the easternmost palatinate of the Crown – Kiev. In the eighteenth century Podlasie continued to be an area of forests and agriculture without strong urban centres.

On the basis of the available sources it is difficult to appraise the demographic proportions between the Polish and Ruthenian population in Podlasie. However, this has been done for the eastern powiats of the palatinate by Anna Laszuk, using the tax register of 1673. The statistical data corroborate the quite clear domination of the Polish ethnic element. In the seventeenth century there was an exchange of families in Podlasie whereby old Lithuanian families were replaced by those coming from the Crown.⁵⁶² This process was accompanied by an intensive development of the Latin Church structures. In the second half of the eighteenth century there was, on average, one Latin parish per 126.4 km². The Latin Church network was therefore slightly more developed than in the Ruthenian palatinate (one parish per 170 km²) and its density was similar to that in

559 A. Kołodziejczyk, *Rozprawy i studia z dziejów Tatarów litewsko-polskich i islamu w Polsce w XVII-XX wieku*, Siedlce 1997, p. 114; Ł. Węda, "Parafia muzułmańska w Studziance – zarys dziejów 1679-1915", *Radzyński Rocznik Humanistyczny*, 5 (2007), p. 19.

560 G. Sosna, "Chryścianizacja Podlasia", in: *Kościół prawosławny w dziejach Rzeczypospolitej i krajów sąsiednich*, ed. P. Chomik, Białystok 2000, p. 122.

561 Wiśniewski, "Rozwój osadnictwa", p. 135; Laszuk, *Ludność województwa podlaskiego*, p. 99.

562 Laszuk, *Ludność województwa podlaskiego*, pp. 95, 172; Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka*, pp. 145-146.

the Lublin palatinate (one parish per 119 km²). The network of Uniate churches (one parish church per 132.3 km²) connected with the Ruthenian settlement in Podlasie was the poorest in the entire Commonwealth, and similar to that in the Lublin and Sandomierz palatinates. Apparently, Podlasie differed from the Crown and Lithuania not only in terms of ownership structure and settlement, but also of ethnicity and religion.⁵⁶³

Still unclear to date are the directions from which the Jewish population migrated to Podlasie. The fact that the community of Tykocin became independent of the Brześć kahal and the affiliation of the Jews living in Podlasie with the Lithuanian Vaad before 1629 may serve as some pointers. In view of the weakly developed urban network, there were fewer Jewish communities in Podlasie compared with Crown Ruthenia and Małopolska, and they were smaller in size. There was one synagogue per 443 km², which demonstrates that the density of communities was lower than in the Ruthenian and Lublin palatinates. It should be emphasized that Jews mainly settled in private towns and villages.⁵⁶⁴

As in other areas the phenomenon of multi-ethnicity in the Podlasie palatinate mainly applied to towns. The villages of Ostrożany, Konstantynów, Jabłonka Kościelna and Wyszonki Kościelne were the only exceptions. Among the towns prevailing were those with a synagogue, a Uniate and a Latin church: Augustów, Boćki, Ciechanowiec, Łosice, Międzyrzec, Mordy, Siemiatycze, Sokołów, Tykocin and Wysokie Mazowieckie. The most diversified in religious terms was Drohiczyn which also had an Orthodox community in the second half of the eighteenth century. It should be noted that nearly all towns in Podlasie (apart from Orla and Horodyszczce) had Roman Catholic places of worship – in six of them there was also a Uniate church, and in ten – a Jewish synagogue. This stems from the fact that the Uniate parishes were “dispersed more unevenly and they did not create as regular a network as the Catholic one”.⁵⁶⁵

The legal structure of patronage adequately reflects the correlation between the ownership and ethnic-religious situation in the Podlasie palatinate. Noble patronage predominated in respect to the Latin and the Uniate churches, though its intensity varied. Royal patronage over the places of worship of Eastern Christianity (37.3 percent) was nearly twice as high as over Latin churches (16.7 percent). This was due to the concentration of royal properties in the eastern part of the palatinate which was mainly populated by Ruthenians.⁵⁶⁶

563 Laszuk, *Zaścianki i królewszczyny*, pp. 97-98.

564 Idem, *Ludność województwa podlaskiego*, p. 89.

565 Idem, *Zaścianki i królewszczyny*, p. 20.

566 Ibid, p. 101; Sosna, “Chryścianizacja Podlasia”, p. 122.

Chapter II

Wielkopolska Province

Similarly to Małopolska, the colloquial understanding of the term Wielkopolska was different than the one adopted by the administration and in geography. Most controversial was the formal and legal inclusion of Mazowsze and Pomorze into this province,¹ as was pointed out by Stanisław Arnold in his classic monograph:

“But in that broader meaning Wielkopolska comprised lands that had never been referred to as Wielkopolska, such as, for example, Mazowsze or Pomorze (Royal Prussia)”.

Only the three palatinates of Poznań, Kalisz and Gniezno (the latter was separated from Kalisz in 1768) are recognized as Wielkopolska proper.² Whereas Kujawy, the land of Łęczyca and Sieradz, Mazowsze, Pomorze and Prussia are considered to be separate parts of the Wielkopolska province.³ Earlier, a similar approach was taken by Aleksander Jabłonowski:

“Owing to two vast palatinates Wielkopolska proper dominates over a number of other areas that were part of that land called the Wielkopolska province in a broader sense of the word in the mid-fifteenth and the following centuries.”⁴

In order to organize the narrative about the confessional situation in Wielkopolska I have adopted its division proposed by Zygmunt Gloger. He distinguished between Wielkopolska that may be labelled as proper (including the palatinates of Poznań, Gniezno, Kalisz, Sieradz, Łęczyca, Brześć Kujawski, and Inowrocław), Mazowsze (the palatinates of Rawa, Płock, and Mazowsze palatinates) and Prussia (the palatinates of Chełmno, Malbork and Pomorze).⁵

Before proceeding with the discussion of the religious situation in individual palatinates it is worthwhile to dwell on the controversial affiliation of some of Wielkopolska's territories. These include, first and foremost, the Drahim (Dra-

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- 1 Starowolski, *Polska albo opisanie*, p. 62; Waga, *Wyciąg z geografii polskiej*, p. 1; Łubieński, *Świat we wszystkich swoich częściach*, p. 378.
 - 2 A similar approach to Wielkopolska is taken by J. Topolski, “Cechy odrębności historycznej Wielkopolski”, in: *Dzieje Wielkopolski*, ed. J. Topolski, Poznań 1969, p. 29.
 - 3 Arnold, *Geografia historyczna*, pp. 93-103.
 - 4 *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 1: Wielkopolska, ed. A. Pawiński, Warszawa 1883 (*Źródła dziejowe*, vol. 12), p. 55.
 - 5 Gloger, *Geografia historyczna*, pp. 81-169.

heim) starosty that pursuant to the Welawa-Bydgoszcz Treaty (Treaty of Bromberg) of 1657 had been mortgaged to the Elector of Brandenburg. This is a little reminiscent of the situation of Spisz described in the context of Małopolska. The question should therefore be asked who was the formal and legal owner of the Drahim starosty in the second half of the eighteenth century. Even in cartography there are different opinions on this subject. On his map of 1770 (*Polonia*), Karol Perthées included the area of the Drahim starosty in Pomorze. But on the Rizzi-Jabłonowski map of 1772 (*Carte de la Pologne*) it is clearly situated in the Poznań palatinate and the Wałcz powiat. There can be no doubt that the actual power over that territory was exercised first by the electors of Brandenburg and then in the eighteenth century – by the kings of (or to be precise – in) Prussia. None of the above contests the fact that Poland's proprietary right to that territory under the pledge did not expire. That problem was discussed in a comprehensive monograph by Christoph Motsch who pointed out the lasting nature of Poland's title to buy back those lands that was eventually waived at the time of the First Partition.⁶

1. Wielkopolska

The origins of the P o z n a ń palatinate should be sought in the division of Wielkopolska into the feudal duchies of Poznań and Gniezno-Kalisz that took place in the thirteenth century after King Mieszko III Stary had died.⁷ The last important change in the geographical range of the Poznań palatinate occurred after the incorporation of the Wschowa land that had been detached from the Duchy of Żagań by King Kazimierz the Great in 1343. Powiats, understood as territorial judicial and administrative units, were established in this area in the fourteenth century.⁸ Apart from Wschowa, the capitals of powiats were located

6 Ch. Motsch, *Grenzgesellschaft und frühmoderner Staat. Die Starostei Draheim. Zwischen Hinterpommern, der Neumark und Grosspolen (1575-1805)*, Göttingen 2001, pp. 87-88; A. Nowakowski, "Status Drahimia w przedrozbiorowej Polsce", *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski*, 35 (1991), fasc. 3, pp. 16-18.

7 Topolski, "Pojęcie regionu historycznego", p. 33. Z. Gloger writes that "the Poznań land used to have separate palatines as early as the reign of king Bolesław Chrobry" (*Geografia historyczna*, p. 87).

8 On the origins of the powiat organization in Wielkopolska, see: A. Gąsiorowski, *Powiat w Wielkopolsce XIV-XVI wiek*, Poznań 1965 (especially the conclusions on pp. 95-99) and J. Bardach's polemics ("Powiat w Polsce późnośredniowiecznej", *passim*).

in Poznań, Kościan and Wałcz.⁹ Owing to ample cartographic sources¹⁰ and tax as well as church inventories¹¹ there are no major problems with determining the boundaries of the Poznań palatinate. It covered an area of 16 243 km².¹²

In respect of the religious structures in the second half of the eighteenth century, the palatinate of Poznań was marked by the clear domination of the Latin Church. It was there that the see of the oldest Polish Latin diocese was located. Within the limits of the Poznań palatinate there were only four parishes situated outside the Poznań diocese, those of Konradowo and Siedlnica and the filial churches at Zamyślów and Kowalewo that were situated in the Sława deanery of the Breslau diocese. This incompliance between the boundaries of the state and lay administration was due to the expansionism of Silesian dukes aspiring to recover the Wschowa land in the fifteenth century and the Holy Roman Empire's policy of reinstating Catholicism in some parishes in the seventeenth century.¹³ Similar circumstances, namely changes of political borders and the progress of the Reformation, as well as the ensuing resentments of the bishops of Breslau resulted in the eventual loss of the area surrounding Świebodzin by the Poznań diocese.¹⁴ The bishop of Poznań was left with only a monastery and a parish at Jordan run by the Cistercians, connected with the Cistercian monastery at Paradyż (Gościkowo) situated in the Poznań palatinate. Those minor differences

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- 9 A. Gąsiorowski proposed a little different status of the Wschowa and Wałcz lands compared with the proper powiats of Poznań and Kościan, A. Gąsiorowski, "Podziały terytorialne i zarząd wewnętrzny", in: *Dzieje Wielkopolski*, vol. 1: Do 1793 roku, ed. J. Topolski, Poznań 1969, p. 36. Two fundamental eighteenth-century geographical works distinguish four powiats (Łubiński, *Świat we wszystkich swoich częściach*, p. 379; Waga, *Wyciąg z geografii polskiej*, p. 1).
 - 10 On Prussian cartography regarding Wielkopolska, see: K. Buczek, "Prace kartografów pruskich w Polsce za czasów króla Stanisława Augusta na tle współczesnej kartografii polskiej", *Prace Komisji Atlasu Historycznego Polski*, Kraków 1935, fasc. 3, pp. 115-321. The topographic value of maps has recently been underscored by B. Medyńska-Gulij and D. Lorek, "Pruskie mapy topograficzne dla Wielkopolski do 1803 roku", *Badania Fizjograficzne nad Polską Zachodnią. Seria A. Geografia Fizyczna*, 59 (2008), pp. 29-42.
 - 11 At this point it is worth recalling recently published *Regestr diecezjów* that registered parishes and localities situated in the Poznań diocese (excluding its northern part, i.e., the deanery of Czarnków, which was detached during the First Partition).
 - 12 A very similar area of 16 167 km² was calculated by A. Pawiński (*Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 1: Wielkopolska, p. 50)
 - 13 Nowacki, *Dzieje archidiecezji poznańskiej*, vol. 2, pp. 29-30.
 - 14 Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji*, pp. 79-80.

corroborate, however, a proposition put forward by Ignacy Zakrzewski,¹⁵ and upheld by Władysław Semkowicz,¹⁶ Stanisław Arnold¹⁷ and Antoni Gąsiorowski,¹⁸ that the “the greater part of the western and southern border of the Poznań diocese overlapped with that of the state and the feudal duchy”. A discussion on the original limits of the Poznań diocese is currently under way among scholars. Especially interesting in this context is the affiliation of the archdeaconry of Czersk (Warsaw) with this diocese to be discussed further on (under Mazowsze).

The organizational and territorial development of the Poznań diocese has been of interest to the above-mentioned historians interested in lay administration (Zakrzewski, Arnold, Gąsiorowski), but also to those studying the history of the Poznań church in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Most important among monographs are the works by Józef Łukaszewicz¹⁹ (1858-1863) and Józef Nowacki²⁰ (1959-1964). Without going into an in-depth discussion of the origins of the church organization in this area based on the literature on the subject, suffice it to say that the Poznań diocese entered the early modern era with a fully developed territorial and organizational structure. Its basic division into archdeaconries dates back to the thirteenth century, and the document of 1298 issued by Bishop Andrzej Zaremba played a major role in this regard. From the thirteenth century until the time when Wielkopolska was incorporated into the Hohenzollern Kingdom of Prussia, the Poznań diocese was divided into the archdeaconries of Poznań, Pszczew, Śrem and Czersk (Warsaw – located in Mazowsze). The plans to establish an archdeaconry in the territory located north of the Noteć River (in the Wałcz land) announced in 1298 did not materialize.²¹ After the eventual annexation of the Wałcz powiat (1364) it became part of the

15 *Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, ed. I. Zakrzewski, vol. 4: Suplement, Poznań 1881, p. 352, passim.

16 W. Semkowicz, “Ród Pałuków”, *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny*, 49 (1907), p. 175.

17 Arnold, “Terytorja plemienne”, p. 17.

18 Gąsiorowski, “Podział terytorialny i wewnętrzny”, p. 37.

19 J. Łukaszewicz, *Krótki opis historyczny kościołów parochialnych, kościółków, kaplic, klasztorów, szkółek parochialnych, szpitali i innych zakładów dobroczynnych w dawnej diecezji poznańskiej*, vol. 1-3, Poznań 1858-1863.

20 Nowacki, *Dzieje archidiecezji poznańskiej*, vol. 1-2, passim.

21 The document divided the diocese into three archdeaconries of Poznań (the largest), Śrem (medium) and Pszczew (small). Which suggests that there were plans to establish the fourth archdeaconry north of the Noteć River, *Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, vol. 4, doc. 770 (“quod se ultra Notes fluvium non extendat, quia illam partem archidiaconatui quarto reservamus”). The project to establish an archdeaconry for the

Poznań archdeaconry. In his analysis of archdeaconry borders Nowacki did not notice that they had overlapped in any way with the existing administrative divisions of the state (other than the section along the Warta River).²²

According to Władysław Abraham, who was followed in this regard by Stanisław Arnold, although the original division into deaneries emerged at the end of the thirteenth century, it is possible to demarcate deanery boundaries in the Poznań diocese as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²³ The first complete inventory of deaneries was made in 1471,²⁴ and a list allotting individual churches to deaneries and archdeaconries is included in the 1510 register of benefices.²⁵ As the parish network grew, a number of new deaneries supplemented the twelve existing in the Wielkopolska part of the diocese at the end of the fifteenth century. This happened only in the eastern area of the Poznań diocese: in the Śrem archdeaconry – the deaneries of Borek, Krobia, Koźmin and Śmigiel, in the Poznań archdeaconry – the deaneries of Kostrzyń, Środa and Rogoźno. After the area surrounding Świebodzin had been lost to Silesia, the deanery of Międzyrzecz declined in importance. In the aftermath of the incorporation of the Wałcz land the deanery of Czarnków was established.²⁶ Those two events may be evidence that attempts were made to adjust, at least in general terms, the Church's administrative borders to those of the state. In Arnold's opinion the lack of correspondence between the borders of powiats and deaneries stems from the fact that the latter were shaped later and they "were still subject to major territorial changes" in the fifteenth century.²⁷

lands located north of the Noteć was launched in the 1380s after that area had fallen for a while in the hands of duke Przemysław II.

22 Nowacki, *Dzieje archidiecezji poznańskiej*, vol. 2, p. 291.

23 Abraham, *Organizacja Kościoła*, p. 158; Arnold, "Terytorja plemienne", p. 17. J. Łukaszewicz (*Krótki opis historyczny*, vol. 1, p. IX) attributed the original division into deaneries to the second half of the fifteenth century.

24 Nowacki, *Dzieje archidiecezji poznańskiej*, vol. 2, p. 324.

25 *Księga uposażenia diecezji poznańskiej z roku 1510*, ed. J. Nowacki, Poznań 1950.

26 Nowacki, *Dzieje archidiecezji poznańskiej*, vol. 2, p. 325.

27 Arnold, "Terytorja plemienne", p. 17, footnote 6. The border between the Poznań and Gniezno palatinates ran across the deaneries of Czarnków and Rogoźno, and the border between the Poznań and Kalisz palatinates divided the deaneries of Środa, Nowe Miasto, Koźmin and Krobia. The Kostrzyń deanery was split between the Poznań, Gniezno and Kalisz palatinates. That division was to a high degree due to the 1364 agreement between the bishop of Poznań and archbishop of Gniezno, Nowacki, *Dzieje archidiecezji poznańskiej*, pp. 33-34.

The majority of the parish and filial (including the monastic) churches of the diocese of Poznań were located in the palatinate of Poznań. The deaneries located in its western part (in the Pszczew archdeaconry) covered the largest area and had the highest number of parishes. This was a border region with a higher number of Protestants than in the central and eastern parts of the diocese. The particularly high number of filial churches in the deaneries of Czarnków and Zbąszyń was also an outcome of the confessional situation.²⁸ Most churches of this area discharging parish functions before the Reformation no longer did so because Protestantism continued to play an important role here.²⁹ The high percentage of filial churches in the Poznań deanery was the result of the activity of a dozen or so male and female religious orders in the city of Poznań. Poznań was also the only city in Poland other than Kraków with a few collegiate churches. In the second half of the eighteenth century there were 233 parish churches in the Poznań palatinate. There were also 250 auxiliary churches. In the pastoral activity of monasteries (17 parishes) an important role was played by the churches serviced by the Cistercians and Benedictines. The auxiliary churches included 36 monastery churches and six serviced by religious orders. In the Poznań palatinate there were also 22 hospital provostships.

The palatinate of Poznań stood out in Wielkopolska in terms of the range and duration of the consequences of the Reformation movements. In her analysis of the map featuring the distribution of dissenters' churches Jolanta Dworzaczkowa highlighted the "areas of quite compact Protestant settlement in the western and northern border regions".³⁰ The stability of that compact settlement is clearly reflected in the second half of the eighteenth century by the population census of the Poznań diocese (1765).³¹ In this area the Evangelical Church maintained its most developed structures through the end of the eighteenth century. The basic information needed to study them is offered in the works by Christian Siegmund Thomas (1750)³² and Albert Werner (1904),³³ as well as on the list

28 That correlation was noticed by, *inter alia*, S. Litak (*Kościół łaciński*, p. 59).

29 Nowacki, *Dzieje archidiecezji poznańskiej*, vol. 2, p. 554.

30 J. Dworzaczkowa, "Reformacja w Wielkopolsce", in: *Dzieje Wielkopolski*, vol. 1: Do 1793 roku, ed. J. Topolski, Poznań 1969, p. 558.

31 M. Kędelski, "Przedrozbiorowy spis ludności diecezji poznańskiej (1765-1769)", *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski*, 17 (1986), pp. 227-235.

32 Thomas, *Altes und Neues*, passim.

33 Werner, *Geschichte der evangelischen Parochien*, passim.

compiled by Henryk Merczyng³⁴ that is to a high degree based on those works. More recent studies containing information on the territorial organization of all Protestant denominations include Wojciech Kriegseisen's work.³⁵ More recent attempts, though promising, have not gone beyond the facts offered in those older studies.³⁶

According to Werner, at the 1565 synod in Gostyń, Wielkopolska was divided into three church districts headed by district seniors. Jurisdiction over the entire province was exercised by the provincial senior (superintendent).³⁷ But a somewhat different arrangement follows from the contents of the council resolutions. In Part 2. Art. 2 reference is made to two seniors (superintendents) elected by the entire Church. According to Thomas there were two functioning superintendents until the beginning of the seventeenth century, and afterwards it became customary to elect a superintendent and two seniors (co-seniores).³⁸ In the inventories of Lutheran churches from the beginning of the eighteenth century there is no trace of the division into provinces (Superintendenturen) or districts. Churches functioned within the state administration units (palatinates and powiats).³⁹ Only in the south of the palatinate, in the disputed area along the border with Silesia near Wschowa, the influence of the Silesian Evangelicals manifested itself by the incorporation of the churches at Szlichtyngowa (Schlich-

34 Merczyng, "Zbory i senatorowie protestancy", pp. 125-263. It should be emphasized that Merczyng omitted some churches, especially the filial ones.

35 Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*.

36 They include the unpublished doctoral thesis by B. Kopaczyński, *Protestantyzm na pograniczu śląsko-wielkopolskim od połowy XVI wieku do 1939 roku*, Uniwersytet Wrocławski, 2007, and the study project conducted at the Institute of History (University of Warsaw) *Zestawienie zborów protestanckich w Rzeczypospolitej czynnych w XVI-XVIII* (access: <http://www.ihuw.pl/content/view/109/70/lang,pl/,7.10.2009>).

37 Werner, *Geschichte der evangelischen Parochien*, p. V.

38 Erazm Glicznar and Johannes Caper (Jan Kozielski) were most probably the two superintendents in the initial period of the Reformation in Wielkopolska. H. Barycz established that Glicznar replaced Caper in the position of the superintendent. J. Dworzaczka, *Reformacja i kontrreformacja w Wielkopolsce*, Poznań 1995, p. 21. In the mid-eighteenth century Ch.S. Thomas claimed that Glicznar and Caper discharged the superintendent function at the same time. After the ousting of Caper at the Poznań council in 1566 he was replaced by Martinus Grossius. Then, after the 1607 synod at Miłosław there was only one superintendent, Thomas, *Altes und Neues*, pp. 14-15, 41-43; see: Rhode, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche*, p. 34.

39 APP. Akta braci czeskich, MS no. 1700, 1701, 1702, 1703 (the eighteenth-century inventories of churches).

tinsheim) and Drzewce (Driebitz) into the consistory in Głogów.⁴⁰ The internal division of the Wielkopolska province into 11 districts (Senioraten) existed from 1737.⁴¹ However, it is not reflected in the inventories of religious communities made by Thomas in 1750 and 1754.⁴² Since the precise affiliation of the churches with individual districts in the second half of the eighteenth century is not known, I decided not to present their internal territorial structure either in the Annex or on the maps included in this study.⁴³ When analysing the development of Protestant communities in Wielkopolska one has to be particularly cautious because many of them were not functioning for some time in the eighteenth century. Hypothetical references coming from 1630 and 1777 do not mean that a Lutheran community still existed before the First Partition of Poland. After the proclamation of the Tolerance Edict (the so-called Warsaw Treaty) in 1768, and the annexation of a major part of Wielkopolska by the Kingdom of Prussia, the importance of Protestantism rose in the entire province and there was a mass-scale revival of Protestant communities.⁴⁴ This is exemplified by Bnin where the information included in the 1777 visitation report that the Lutherans had had a public oratory reflects the post-Partition reality.⁴⁵ The organized Lutheran community had been revived there two years earlier.⁴⁶ A similar situation existed at Jutrosin in respect of which the information about a church and a minister included in the 1778 visitation reflects its condition after its revival in 1776.⁴⁷ But

40 S.J. Ehrhardt, *Presbyterologie des evangelischen Schlesiens*, vol. 3, part 1, Liegnitz 1783, pp. 242-243, 249; Werner, *Geschichte der evangelischen Parochien*, pp. 55-57, 341-346; Merczyng, "Zbory i senatorowie protestancy", p. 149 (wrongly referred to as Drobnino), 164.

41 Rhode, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche*, p. 111; *Die Synoden der Kirche Augsburgischer Konfession in Grosspolen im 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. G. Smend, Posen 1930, p. 34.

42 Thomas, *Altes und Neues*, pp. 54-125, 136-137.

43 Maps enclosed with the work by A. Rhode reflect the division into districts at the time of the partitions (Kreisgrenzen), *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche*, enclosed maps.

44 The phenomenon of the rise in the number of the Lutheran communities in Wielkopolska after the First Partition is well reflected by the map enclosed with the work by A. Rhode (*Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche*, map: Evangelische Kirchengemeinden d. Posener Landes 1772 u. 1806).

45 AAP. AV31, p. 312.

46 Werner, *Geschichte der evangelischen Parochien*, pp. 19-20.

47 In 1719 a Lutheran owner of a part of Jutrosin coming from the Ebers family was accused of the church profanation, lost his assets and had to flee to Silesia. The church and the community declined and were revived in 1776, AAP. AV33, f. 564v, Werner, *Geschichte der evangelischen Parochien*, pp. 132-133; Merczyng, "Zbory i senatorowie

it is necessary to interpret otherwise a similar information from the 1778 visitation of the Latin parish at Bojanowo where the Lutheran community continued to exist from the seventeenth century.⁴⁸ It is best to verify that information based on the 1750 inventory by Thomas who identified the communities existing uninterrupted and those that declined during the Counter-Reformation.

In the Poznań palatinate (excluding the Drahim land) there was a total of 85 Lutheran churches (51 parish and 34 filial ones). There were also four churches run by the Bohemian Brethren. Sometimes it is quite difficult to unequivocally attribute a church to a specific denomination because two different religious communities used the same church.⁴⁹ After Jędrzychowice and its church had been taken over by the Bohemian Brethren, the Lutheran services were still administered.⁵⁰ At Waszkowo an agreement was concluded between the Lutheran

protestanczy”, p. 151. Similar situations occurred at Koźmin (AAP. AV33, f. 273, 1778 – “oratorium – ministrum suae religionis foveat”, Werner, *Geschichte der evangelischen Parochien*, pp. 155-158) and Krotoszyn (ADWl. GAV86, p. 77, 1790; Werner, *Geschichte der evangelischen Parochien*, pp. 168-169; Merczyng, “Zbory i senatorowie protestanczy”, p. 153). Where it has not been corroborated that an organized Protestant community existed before 1772, the list does not include later mentions of prayer houses at Białęzyn (AAP. AV31, p. 796, 1778), Brody (AAP. AV31, p. 1339, 1781), Goraj (AAP. AV34, f. 442v, 1779), Jezierzycze (AAP. AV32, pp. 1042-1043, 1778), Kąkolewo (AAP. AV34, f. 128, 1777), Krosno (AAP. AV31, p. 1656, 1784; AAP. AV32, pp. 195, 204, 206, 214, 1777; AAP. AV31, p. 1561, 1783), Krzemieniewo (AAP. AV33, f. 434, 1778), Książ (AAP. AV32, pp. 987, 1001, 1777), Lewice (AAP. AV34, f. 4v, 1781), Lutol Suchy (AAP. AV34, ff. 340v-341, 1779), Lwówek (AAP. AV34, ff. 4v, 486v, 1786), Michorzewo (AAP. AV34, f. 134, 1777), Mosina (AAP. AV32, pp. 195, 204, 1777), Nietąszkowo (AAP. AV33, f. 37v, 1777), Piaski (AAP. AV32, pp. 143, 174, 1777), Pniewy (AAP. AV34, f. 501, 1776), Przyborowo (AAP. AV31, p. 1031, 1778), Roźnowo (AAP. AV31, p. 872, 1781), Rydzyna (AAP. AV33, f. 355, 1778), Skórzewo (AAP. AV31, p. 1281, 1779), Sowinki (AAP. AV32, p. 1019, 1777), Suchy Las (AAP. AV31, p. 998, 1778), Wytomyśl (AAP. AV34, f. 452v, 1786) and Żabno (AAP. AV32, pp. 195, 204, 1777).

48 AAP. AV33, f. 477; Merczyng, “Zbory i senatorowie protestanczy”, pp. 146-147; Werner, *Geschichte der evangelischen Parochien*, pp. 20-27.

49 As the number of those churches was insignificant, they were attributed to one of the denominations in the table, and the Annex mentions that they were shared. Even though the introduction of the additional religious category (mixed) could be correct from the substantive point of view, it would complicate the summary tables. It was impossible to attribute the same church to both denominations because in cartography the number of sacral buildings reflects the functioning of a religious community in formal terms.

50 Thomas, *Altes und Neues*, pp. 136-137; Werner, *Geschichte der evangelischen Parochien*, pp. 119-123; Merczyng, “Zbory i senatorowie protestanczy”, p. 151.

community and the Bohemian Brethren that the church would be shared and the Sunday service would be alternately held in the morning and afternoon.⁵¹ The church of the Bohemian Brethren in Leszno (Joanniskirche) was shared by the Polish and German community.⁵² As already pointed out by Kriegseisen, church sharing was due to the fact that there were communities without their own places of worship whose services were administered irregularly by visiting pastors.⁵³ The statistics offered in this study do not cover such informal groups because their situation was subject to change and it is difficult to determine their status unequivocally.

The Protestant churches were not evenly distributed across the Poznań palatinate. This is clearly reflected by the structure of the province's divisions in 1737. Most capitals of the Lutheran districts were situated in the southern (Leszno, Wschowa, Bojanowo), western (Międzyrzecz, Kargowa, Międzychód) and northern (Wałcz, Wielen, Nakło) border regions of the palatinate, that is along the frontiers with Brandenburg and Silesia. Only Poznań and Obrzycko were located in its centre. The churches of the Bohemian Brethren, that experienced their greatest growth in the seventeenth century, were mainly situated in the Wschowa land, and in the border region with Silesia – in Leszno, Jędrzychowice, Lasocice, Waszkowo (where the church was shared with the Lutherans). In Leszno there was a permanent seat of the authorities of the Wielkopolska Unity (Jednota) of the Bohemian Brethren.

Before the First Partition, apart from the representatives of Christian denominations, the Poznań palatinate was also inhabited by Jews. The history of the Jewish communities was of quite high interest to Prussian historians dealing with the relations between nations and ethnic groups in the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth centuries. The most significant works on the subject include the study by Aron Heppner and Isaak Herzberg from 1904⁵⁴ that, however, did not avail itself of the Polish sources, *inter alia*, the poll tax register of 1764/1765. For this reason, the origins of many kahals were (mis)attributed to the end of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The first Jewish community corroborated by the sources was established in the capital city of the palatinate. Its cemetery was first mentioned in 1438 and its synagogue – in 1449.⁵⁵ The fifteenth century brought the emergence of the Jewish

51 Werner, *Geschichte der evangelischen Parochien*, pp. 300-302, 404-406.

52 Ibid, pp. 183-194; Merczyng, "Zbory i senatorowie protestanczy", p. 154.

53 Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, p. 73.

54 Heppner, Herzberg, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Juden*, passim.

55 Michałowska, *Między demokracją a oligarchią*, p. 11.

Table 23: The number of places of worship in the Poznań palatinate circa 1772 (excluding the Drahim starosty)

Religions and denominations	Diocese/ Eparchy	Archdeaconry/ Officialate	Deanery/ Protopopy/ Governorship	Main places of worship	Auxiliary places of worship		
Bohemian Brethren				4	-		
Latin (Roman Catholic)	Poznań	Poznań	Środa	2	-		
			Buk	16	12		
			Czarnków	16	56		
			Kostrzyń	5	3		
			Oborniki	20	12		
			Poznań	8	28		
			Rogoźno	9	9		
			76	120			
		Pszczew	Grodzisk	23	18		
			Lwówek	23	9		
			Zbąszyń	18	33		
				64	60		
		Śrem	Kościan	15	8		
			Koźmin	1	-		
			Krobia	22	13		
			Nowe Miasto	6	2		
			Śmigiel	13	10		
			Śrem	16	22		
			Wschowa	18	13		
			91	68			
			231	248			
		Breslau	Głogów Wielki	Sława		2	2
						233	250
Lutheran				51	34		
Jewish				39	-		
Total				327	284		

communities at Oborniki and Szamotuły. In the late Middle Ages, the Jews must have also lived in other cities of Wielkopolska and the Poznań palatinate, but the existence of organized religious communities cannot be confirmed unequivocally.

cally. In the sixteenth century the Jews had their synagogues at Wronki, Śrem, Międzyrzecz, Skwierzyna and Piła.⁵⁶ In the seventeenth century there are references to the communities at Swarzędz and Wieleń.⁵⁷ In the sixteenth century the kahals of the Poznań palatinate became part of the Wielkopolska zemstvo where a major role was played by the communities in Poznań, Leszno and Kalisz (in the Kalisz palatinate) that were fighting with one another for precedence and hegemony over the zemstvo in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. That rivalry is best reflected by the number of the Jewish population in individual cities. While in the seventeenth century Poznań was the largest centre of Jewish population,⁵⁸ after 1751 the leading role was played by Leszno to which 36 “branch kahals” were subordinated.⁵⁹ The city had the highest number of Jewish residents in the entire palatinate. According to the 1765 register Leszno was inhabited by 4743 Jews. Distinctly fewer followers of Judaism – 1951 – lived in Poznań.⁶⁰ Most communities listed in the 1765 poll tax register were confirmed by other sources coming from the second half of the eighteenth century. In the 1765 poll tax register, and also in the studies devoted to the Wielkopolska Jews, Jutrosin (in the Kalisz palatinate) is erroneously located in the Poznań palatinate. It is also disputable if Rostarzewo and Stęszew subordinated to Rawicz and Śrem were the seats of the authorities of religious communities.⁶¹ The poll tax register omitted a community at Piaski (Piaseczna Góra) organized in the 1770s.⁶² Most probably in the same period, communities were established in the towns of Ry-

56 Guldon, Wijaczka, “Żydzi wśród chrześcijan w miastach wielkopolskich”, pp. 150-154.

57 Ibid, p. 159; Heppner, Herzberg, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, p. 382. The statistical data on Jewish centres in the Poznań and Kalisz palatinates in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are offered by Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka, “Osadnictwo żydowskie w województwach poznańskim i kaliskim w XVI-XVII”, *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, 1992, no. 2-3, pp. 63-77.

58 Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka, “Ludność żydowska w Wielkopolsce w drugiej połowie XVII w.”, in: *Żydzi w Wielkopolsce na przestrzeni dziejów*, ed. J. Topolski, K. Modelski, Poznań 1995, p. 31.

59 Leszczyński, *Sejm Żydów Korony*, p. 69.

60 “Liczba głów”, p. 391.

61 Guldon, Wijaczka, “Żydzi wśród chrześcijan w miastach wielkopolskich”, p. 190 (they also failed to include a community at Szamotuły).

62 AAP. AV32, pp. 316, 333 (1777: “in eodem oppido suam synagogam et coemeterium circum septum a tribus annis habent”); Heppner, Herzberg, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, p. 382.

dzyna⁶³ and Śmigiel.⁶⁴ Around 1772 there was a total of 39 Jewish communities in the Poznań palatinate. It should be emphasized that the Jews lived mainly in urban centres. In Wielkopolska the percentage of the Jews living in countryside was significantly lower than in Ruthenia and Małopolska.⁶⁵

The percentages of places of worship of individual denominations in the total number of sacral buildings demonstrate that the structures of the Latin Church (79.1 percent) clearly predominated in the palatinate of Poznań. Protestant communities played a greater role in the towns located close to the border with Brandenburg and Silesia. Half of the towns of the Poznań palatinate were also inhabited by organized Jewish communities. Bearing in mind the area of the Poznań palatinate (16 243 km²) there was one place of worship per 26.6 km². This figure is comparable with the data for the Kraków palatinate and some of the Ruthenian palatinates – Braclaw, Volhynia or Bełz. There was one Latin church per 33.6 km² (one parish per 69.7 km², and one filial church per 65.5 km²). This means that the structures of the Latin church in the Poznań palatinate were as developed as in Małopolska. A similar density of synagogues was recorded in the second half of the eighteenth century – one community per 416.5 km².

The location of the Poznań palatinate close to the border of the Commonwealth accounted for the emergence of more than a dozen towns that were mixed in religious and ethnic terms. In the towns of the Ruthenian part of the Małopolska province most frequently the Latin, Greek Catholic and Jewish communities coexisted side by side. In the border region towns of the Poznań palatinate there was a mix of Polish (Latin-rite Catholic), German (Protestant) and Jewish elements. The number of ethnically and confessionally mixed cities in Wielkopolska was, however, much lower than in the vast areas of the Crown Ruthenia. Also the character of those cities was completely different. Most interesting in terms of its religious and ethnic makeup was the city of Leszno with three Christian communities (Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Bohemian Brethren) and a Jewish community living side by side. Of 41 cities with churches of more than one religion (55.4 percent of all urban centres in the palatinate) predominant were those with a Latin church and a synagogue (19), or with a Latin church,

63 AAP. AV33, f. 355 (1778: “habent suam synagogam iam ab aliquot annis”).

64 In the visitation of 1777 reference is made to a Jewish school located close to a Latin church. Because there is no reference to a cemetery, this may indicate that it was not an independent kahal, AAP. AV33, f. 370. Based on unknown sources J. Pawicki claims that there was a synagogue already in the seventeenth century, J. Pawicki, *Z dziejów Śmigla* (access: <http://www.ck.smigiel.pl>, 10.02.2006).

65 Guldon, Wijaczka, “Żydzi wśród chrześcijan w miastach wielkopolskich”, p. 171.

synagogue and a Lutheran church (15). At Brójce, Rakoniewice and Rostarzewo lived Catholic and Protestant communities, and at Kargowa, Mirosławiec and Szlichtyngowa – Protestant and Jewish communities. Sacral buildings of two denominations were rare in the villages of the Poznań palatinate – among 355 of them there were only eight villages of that kind (2.2 percent).⁶⁶

It follows from the analysis of Werner's study devoted to the Protestant communities in the Poznań palatinate that landowners played a major role in the shaping of the religious picture of that area. They decided if a church would be built or created appropriate conditions for the growth of Jewish communities. Their attitude decided about the recovery of churches by the Roman Catholic Church. It was owing to their friendly attitude towards Lutheranism that its churches continued to exist in many towns of Wielkopolska until the eighteenth century. It should be remembered that in the Poznań palatinate the nobility extended its patronage over the majority of churches (64.7 percent). The patronage of the clergy covered 22.7 percent, of the king – 5.9 percent, and of burghers – 5.6 percent of churches. The remaining churches (1 percent) had mixed patronage.

The incorporation of the Drahim starosty (Draheim crown territory) into Brandenburg in 1668 brought about the almost complete conversion of that area to Protestantism⁶⁷ and occurred after its intense Polonization at the turn of the sixteenth century. The presence of the Latin structures in the Drahim starosty in the second half of the eighteenth century was a consequence of the provisions of the Bromberg Treaty whereby the Catholic religion could be professed in the starosty, the Polish king had a right to exercise his patronage over the local churches and the bishops of Poznań could exercise their jurisdiction over that area.⁶⁸ In the second half of the eighteenth century in the area of the Drahim starosty connected with the Poznań diocese there were only two parishes: a Catholic one at Czaplínek (Tempelbork) (in the Czarnków deanery) and a Lutheran one at Siemczyno (Heinrichsdorf) – a property of the Lutheran von Goltz family. The Latin parish at Czaplínek had ten filial churches, and the Lutheran parish only two auxiliary churches. It is a fact that for a long time Protestant residents went to the services in the Latin church, and the Catholics lived in a diaspora surrounded by the Protestant population of the Drahim starosty.⁶⁹

66 In six cases it was a Latin and Lutheran church. At Jędrzychowice, apart from a church of the Bohemian Brethren there was a Lutheran church, and at Lasocice – a Latin church.

67 Motsch, *Grenzesellschaft und frühmoderner Staat*, p. 214.

68 Nowakowski, "Status Drahimia", pp. 13-15.

69 In 1700 there were only eight Catholic families at Czaplínek, and one living in a nearby village, Motsch, *Grenzesellschaft und frühmoderner Staat*, p. 214.

To proceed with the discussion of the situation in the Kalisz and Gniezno parts of Wielkopolska, it is necessary to point out certain similarities of the religious structures in those palatinates that until 1768 were one administrative entity – the palatinate of Kalisz. In the literature on the subject this area is unanimously included in Wielkopolska proper. Before the Gniezno part became an independent entity the Kalisz palatinate had comprised six powiats: Kalisz, Konin, Puzdry, Gniezno, Kcynia and Nakło – of which the latter three were incorporated into the new Gniezno palatinate in 1768. The basic borders of the Kalisz-Gniezno part of Wielkopolska were shaped in the days of the feudal duchies.⁷⁰ The loss of the Wieluń land and its incorporation into the Sieradz palatinate was a major factor that determined the territorial range of the Kalisz palatinate in later periods.⁷¹

The area of the Kalisz palatinate was almost entirely dominated by the structures of the Latin Church. Located within its borders were the two oldest Polish dioceses – that of Poznań covering the western part of the palatinate (part of the Poznań and Śrem archdeaconries) and the archdiocese of Gniezno in its eastern part (Kalisz archdeaconry and part of the Gniezno archdeaconry). The sole exception was the Krotoszyn enclave situated in the south-western part of the palatinate and belonging to the Gniezno archdiocese. It was a remnant of the original affiliation of the entire Czestram castellany with the Gniezno archdiocese.⁷² As in the Poznań palatinate it is hard to detect correspondence between the borders of the lay and church administrations due to the fact that the palatinate and powiat boundaries evolved later on. Situated in the palatinate were the entire deaneries of Borek, Śrem⁷³ (in the Śrem archdeaconry of the Poznań diocese), Puzdry, Środa⁷⁴ (in the Poznań archdeaconry of the Poznań diocese),

70 On the origins of the Kalisz region based on the archeological and written sources, see: S. Trawkowski, *Opuscula medievistica. Studia nad historią społeczną Polski wczesno-piastowskiej*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 153-198 (“Geneza regionu kaliskiego”). The process of the emergence of the palatinate’s borders was described by I. Zakrzewski (*Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, vol. 4, p. 352 and the following), and an exact analysis of the range of individual powiats is offered by S. Arnold (“Terytorja plemienne”, pp. 18-55).

71 Arnold, *Geografia historyczna*, pp. 94-95.

72 Idem, “Terytorja plemienne”, pp. 44-45.

73 Excluding the village of Jeżewo that was split between the Poznań and Kalisz palatinates, *Regestr diecezjów*, p. 746.

74 Excluding the parishes at Splawie and Rogalinek, Litak, *Kościół łaciński*, p. 286. *Regestr diecezjów* (pp. 816-817) includes Splawie in the Poznań palatinate, and Rogalinek in the Kalisz palatinate.

Kalisz,⁷⁵ Krotoszyn, Pleszew and Stawiszyn (in the Kalisz archdeaconry of the Gniezno diocese) and most of the area of the deaneries of Konin, Słupca, Sompolno (in the Gniezno archdeaconry of the Gniezno diocese), Nowe Miasto (in the Śrem archdeaconry of the Poznań diocese) and Staw (in the Kalisz archdeaconry of the Gniezno diocese). The Kalisz palatinate also covered a parish and hospital church at Kleczew (in the Gniezno deanery), and a few parishes in the deaneries of Kostrzyń (in the Poznań archdeaconry of the Poznań diocese) and Krobica (in the Śrem archdeaconry of the Poznań diocese).

As a more in-depth discussion of the organization of the Poznań and Gniezno dioceses has been included in the presentation of the Poznań and Gniezno palatinates, at this point only general statistical data on parish and filial churches will be offered. Unlike the Poznań palatinate, in the Kalisz palatinate the number of Latin parish churches (215) was nearly twice that of the filial churches (121). This was partly due to the absence of as big an urban centre as Poznań with many monastic churches that are classified in statistics as filial ones. However, the main reason behind that situation should be sought in the geography of the Reformation. In the central areas of Wielkopolska “small churches were dispersed among active Catholic parishes”,⁷⁶ and in effect the network of Latin parishes that had developed in the Middle Ages did not suffer as much as in such lands of the Poznań palatinate as Wałcz, Międzyrzecz or Wschowa. In the Kalisz palatinate a special role was played by collegiate churches in Środa, Kalisz (parish churches) and Chocz (non-parish). In the pastoral work of monasteries (six monastic parishes and six parishes serviced by religious orders) the most important role was played by the Cistercians from Łąd and Koprzywnica. The auxiliary churches included 20 monastic churches and 19 hospital churches.

The smaller range of the Reformation in the Kalisz palatinate is also evidenced by the number of Protestant churches that continued to exist until the end of the Commonwealth. On the *Map of the Dissenter Church Distribution in Wielkopolska circa 1650* authored by E. Jarmuszkiewiczówna and T. Kowalski there are no more than ten Protestant churches in the powiats of Pызdry, Konin and Kalisz.⁷⁷

75 With the exception of a filial church at Kraszewice (Giżyce parish) belonging to the Ostrzeszów powiat in the Sieradz palatinate. The *Regestr diecezjów* from 1783-1784 refers to the church at Kraszewice as a parish one, *Regestr diecezjów*, p. 40.

76 Dworzaczkowa, *Reformacja i kontrreformacja w Wielkopolsce*, p. 29.

77 “Mapa X. Rozmieszczenie zborów różnowierczych w Wielkopolsce około 1650 r.”, ed. E. Jarmuszkiewiczówna, T. Kowalski, in: *Dzieje Wielkopolski*, vol. 1: Do roku 1793, ed. J. Topolski, Poznań 1969, after p. 576.

I have managed to corroborate the existence of only four centres⁷⁸ with organized (that is with a place of worship) Protestant communities in the second half of the eighteenth century (before 1772). At Kobylin and Zduny, along the border with Silesia, there were Lutheran churches. In the vicinity of Konin, at Żychlin and Wola Łaszczowa there were two organized communities of Bohemian Brethren that were part of the Wielkopolska Unity.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Jewish communities in the Kalisz palatinate, like in those of Poznań and Gniezno, belonged to the Wielkopolska zemstvo. Kalisz aspired to the role of the most important zemstvo kahal, but it lost in competition with the Poznań and Leszno communities.⁷⁹ The oldest Jewish centres in that palatinate also included those in Konin and Pызdry.⁸⁰ In view of the very low number of Jews mentioned in the poll tax register it is doubtful if in the second half of the eighteenth century there were any communities at Raszków and Odolanów.⁸¹

The most populous kahals were at Krotoszyn (1524 people) and Kalisz (702). Both of them were the first category communities.⁸² With the exception of Karmin all communities referred to in the 1765 poll tax register lived in towns.

To summarize briefly the confessional situation in the Kalisz palatinate it should be emphasized that the area was exceptionally homogeneous with the Latin church dominant (91.3 percent). Granted the total area of the Kalisz palatinate (8566 km²⁸³), there was one Latin church per 25.5 km² (one parish per 39.8 km² and one filial church per 70.8 km²). It is evident that the parish network was nearly twice denser than in the Poznań palatinate. Twelve out of 215 parish

78 The sources do not corroborate strongly the existence of prayer houses ("oratoria"): the Calvinist in the village of Kościelec near Kalisz (1761: ADWł. GAV56, p. 494) and the Lutheran ones in the villages of Przespolew Kościelny (1761: ADWł. GAV56, p. 688) and Szemborowo (1766: AAGn. CE17, p. 385) as well as the town of Stawiszyn (1761: ADWł. GAV56, p. 537).

79 Leszczyński, *Sejm Żydów Korony*, p. 69.

80 Guldon, Wijaczka, *Żydzi wśród chrześcijan w miastach wielkopolskich*, p. 150.

81 It is certain that there were synagogues in the first half of the nineteenth century, Hoppner, Herzberg, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, pp. 291, 887.

82 Leszczyński, *Sejm Żydów Korony*, p. 69.

83 The size of the powiats of Kalisz, Konin and Pызdry was estimated by A. Gąsiorowski at circa 8600 km², Gąsiorowski, "Podziały terytorialne i zarząd wewnętrzny", p. 36. A slightly lower figure, especially in respect of the Pызdry powiat, was offered by A. Pawiński for the sixteenth century – he estimated the area of those three powiats to be of 8254 km², *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 1: Wielkopolska, p. 50.

Table 24: The number of places of worship in the Kalisz palatinate circa 1772

Religions and denominations	Diocese/ Eparchy	Archdeaconry/ Officialate	Deanery/ Protopopy/ Governorship	Main places of worship	Auxiliary places of worship
Bohemian Brethren				2	-
Latin (Roman Catholic)	Gniezno	Gniezno	Gniezno – St. Michael's	1	1
			Konin	24	10
			Słupca	18	10
			Sompolno	14	9
				57	30
		Kalisz	Kalisz	18	17
			Krotoszyn	7	10
			Pleszew	21	5
			Staw	12	12
			Stawiszyn	20	6
		78	50		
		135	80		
	Poznań	Poznań	Środa	15	9
			Kostrzyń	7	-
			Pyzdry	16	10
			38	19	
		Śrem	Borek	1	5
			Koźmin	22	8
			Krobia	2	1
			Nowe Miasto	17	8
		42	22		
		80	41		
	215	121			
Lutheran				2	-
Jewish				28	-
Total				247	121

churches (5.6 percent) were the monastic churches or those serviced by religious orders, and there were 20 monastery churches (16.5 percent) among 121 filial churches. In this area the most significant role was played by the Cistercians at

Łąd and Koprzywnica, Bernardines and Friars Minor Conventual (Conventual Franciscans). There were also 19 hospital churches and three collegiate churches (Kalisz, Środa and Chocz).

Few as they were, the Protestant communities living along the border with Silesia and near Konin had little impact on the religious structure of the palatinate. But town landscapes were affected by the presence of Jewish communities that had experienced revival and development after the wars with Sweden. There were kahal seats in 28 out of 49 towns of the palatinate (one kahal per 306 km²). The most ethnically diversified cities of the Kalisz palatinate included Kobylin and Zduny where Lutheran communities lived next to the Latin and Jewish ones. There seems to be no direct interdependence between the confessional situation and the character of patronage over Christian churches that – like in the Poznań palatinate – was noble in 65.7 percent. The other types of patronage, corresponding with the ownership structure in the region, were of minor significance: ecclesiastical – 19 percent, royal – 8.5 percent, burgher – 4.8 percent and mixed – 2 percent.

In 1768, following a decision of the diet in Warsaw, the northern powiats were set apart from the Kalisz palatinate: the Gniezno, Kcynia and Nakło powiats formed the separate palatinate of Gniezno.⁸⁴ In terms of religious and ethnic relations one may speak of a certain homogeneity of both these palatinates which were part of Wielkopolska proper. The Gniezno palatinate continued to function through 1793, that is until its incorporation into the Kingdom of Prussia.

Situated in the Gniezno palatinate was a part of the Latin Gniezno archdiocese (part of the Gniezno and Kamień archdeaconry) and a few parishes of the Poznań diocese (part of the Poznań archdeaconry). In effect of the fragmentation of feudal duchies, which later on translated into the division into palatinates, the Gniezno archdiocese established in 1000 included churches located in 11 palatinates: Brześć Kujawski, Gniezno, Inowrocław, Kalisz, Kraków, Łęczyca, Mazowsze, Pomorze, Rawa, Sandomierz and Sieradz. The initial range of the Gniezno archdiocese must have been significantly curtailed, *inter alia*, in the aftermath of the establishment of the dioceses in Kujawy and Mazowsze in the eleventh century. The development of the diocesan borders in the Middle Ages and early modern era was analysed in depth by Bolesław Kumor and Jan Korytkowski:

“No matter who looks at the map of the Gniezno archdiocese as misshaped as it was from the fifteenth century until the First Partition of Poland, he must admit that the bor-

84 *Volumina Legum*, vol. 7, ed. J. Ohryzko, Petersburg 1860, p. 348; Gloger, *Geografia historyczna*, p. 96.

ders of that archdiocese must have been demarcated and changed over several centuries, not only after new bishoprics had been added but also in the aftermath of the growing area of the state and political upheavals.⁸⁵

The last important change of the Gniezno archdiocese's borders took place after the area surrounding Wolbórz, where the bishops of Włocławek had held their benefices from the thirteenth century, had been transferred to the Włocławek diocese in return for a more than a dozen parishes located along the border between both dioceses. In spite of the resistance on the part of the Gniezno chapter the change was approved by the Pope in 1764.⁸⁶

Historians agree that the original division of the Gniezno archdiocese into archdeaconries occurred under archbishop Henryk Kietlicz at the turn of the twelfth century. It was in his days that the archdeaconries were established at Łęczyca, Gnieźno, Kalisz and Wieluń. Further divisions were to take place during the office of Archbishop Jakub Świnka (1283-1314) who established the archdeaconries of Uniejów, Pomorze (Słupsk) and Kurzelów. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, after Pomorze Zachodnie (Western Pomerania) had been lost, the archdiocese was deprived of the Słupsk archdeaconry. In 1512 Archbishop Łaski had separated the northern (Pomorze) part of the Gniezno archdeaconry and established the Kamień archdeaconry. In the Łęczyca archdeaconry he separated the deaneries of Rawa and Bedlno thus establishing the Łowicz archdeaconry.⁸⁷ It did not undergo any fundamental changes until the end of the eighteenth century. In those days the Gniezno archdiocese comprised eight archdeaconries (including the territory of Wieluń as a separate archdeaconry) and 41 deaneries. Situated in the Gniezno palatinate were all the Gniezno deaneries (of St. Michael, St. Peter and Paul, and the Holy Trinity⁸⁸) and the entire deaneries of Łekno (in the Gniezno archdeaconry of the Gniezno

85 Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji*, pp. 321-328; J. Korytkowski, *Arcybiskupi gnieźnińscy, prymasowie i metropolici polscy od roku 1000 aż do roku 1821*, vol. 1, Poznań 1888, pp. 29-36. "Mapa archidiecezji gnieźnińskiej" enclosed with the publication of *Liber beneficiorum* by Jan Łaski, vol. 2.

86 Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji*, p. 328.

87 Korytkowski, *Arcybiskupi gnieźnińscy*, vol. 1, p. 30; Szymański, "Biskupstwa polskie w wiekach średnich", p. 228; M. Różański, "Sieć parafialna w archidiaconacie łęczyckim w okresie staropolskim", *Colloquia Theologica Adalbertina. Biblica, Patristica et Historica*, 5 (2004), pp. 53-54.

88 Apart from the parishes of Siedlimowo and Wójcin belonging to the Brześć Kujawski palatinate and the parish and filial churches at Kleczew which were in the Kalisz palatinate, Litak, *Kościół łaciński*, p. 167.

diocese), Łobżenica and Nakło (in the Kamień archdeaconry of the Gniezno diocese). It also covered most of the parishes in the deaneries of Żnin (in the Gniezno archdeaconry of the Gniezno diocese) and small parts of the deaneries of Czarnków, Kostrzyń, Rogoźno (in the Poznań archdeaconry of the Poznań diocese), Człuchów, Więcbork (in the Kamień archdeaconry of the Gniezno diocese), Konin and Słupca (in the Gniezno archdeaconry of the Gniezno diocese).

In the second half of the eighteenth century there were 137 parish churches and 83 filial churches in the Gniezno palatinate. Parish churches included Gniezno cathedral, the collegiate church in Kamień Krajeński, six parishes run by the Canons Regular of the Lateran from the Trzemeszno congregation and four parishes serviced by the Cistercians from Wągrowiec and the Benedictines from Mogilno. Among auxiliary churches one should mention St. George's collegiate church in Gniezno, 11 monastic churches of which one filial church was serviced by the Benedictines (at Wójcin), and also 13 hospital provostships.

What distinguishes the religious structures of the Kalisz (southern) and Gniezno (northern) parts of Wielkopolska proper is a higher number of Lutheran churches in the Gniezno palatinate. The list compiled by Merczyng in 1905 includes many inaccuracies regarding the northern part of the Poznań and Gniezno palatinates. He omitted, *inter alia*, very important Protestant centres in the Nakło powiat: a parish in the village of Stare Gronowo (Grunau) and filial churches at Batorowo (Battrow) and Myśligoszcz (Marienfelde), at the village of Trudna near Łobżenica,⁸⁹ in the town of Frydląd Pruski (Debrzno) on the border with Pomorze,⁹⁰ in the town of Złotów near Łobżenica,⁹¹ in the villages of Radzicz near Wyrzysk,⁹² Grabówno near Miasteczko,⁹³ Ostrowo,⁹⁴ Juńcewo and Żerniki near Żnin,⁹⁵ in the town of Krajenka and villages of Piecewo, Tarnówka, Osówka and Żeleźnica near Łobżenica.⁹⁶ But it is difficult to interpret unequivocally any mentions of Lutheran prayer houses in the visitation reports of the Latin Gniezno archdiocese.

Where there was no additional information available – sometimes it was unknown whether they were in a locality that was a parish or in one of parish villages,

89 AAGn. CE42, pp. 540-542.

90 Rhesa, *Kurzgefasste Nachrichten von allen seit der Reformation*, pp. 19, 173.

91 AAGn. CE42, pp. 506-508, 510; Rhesa, *Kurzgefasste Nachrichten von allen seit der Reformation*, p. 172 (the church founded by Palatine Zygmunt Grudziński in 1642).

92 AAGn. CE42, pp. 29-30, 95-96.

93 AAGn. CE42, pp. 201-202.

94 AAGn. CE42, pp. 776-777, 780.

95 ADWł. GAV55, pp. 41, 43.

96 AAGn. CE42, pp. 394-396.

Table 25: The number of places of worship in the Gniezno palatinate circa 1772.

Religions and denominations	Diocese/ Eparchy	Archdeaconry/ Officialate	Deanery/ Protopopy/ Governorship	Main places of worship	Auxiliary places of worship		
Bohemian Brethren				1	-		
Latin (Roman Catholic)	Gniezno	Gniezno	Gniezno – St. Michael's	13	7		
			Gniezno – St. Peter and Paul's	15	10		
			Gniezno – Holy Trinity's	23	17		
			Łekno	20	11		
			Słupca	5	2		
			Żnin	25	10		
				101	57		
			Kamień		Człuchów	1	-
					Łobżenica	12	16
					Nakło	11	4
	Więcbork	3			3		
				27	23		
				128	80		
	Poznań	Poznań		Czarnków	3	3	
				Kostrzyń	1	-	
				Rogoźno	5	-	
					9	3	
				137	83		
Lutheran				14	5		
Jewish				22	-		
Total				174	88		

or if they were churches or special rooms in cabins referred to as oratories or prayer houses – such churches have not been included in the statistics.⁹⁷ The

⁹⁷ Such localities (or parishes) as: Borowo (prayer house, Lat. p. of Chojna), AAGn. CE18, p. 553 (1767), Chomętowo, AAGn. CE18, p. 660 (1767), Czerniejewo, AAGn. CE50, p. 13 (1767), Dębionek (Lat. p. of Dębowo), AAGn. CE42, pp. 73-74 (1766), Dźwierzszno,

Table 26: The Lutheran population based on the visitation reports of the Roman Catholic parishes in the Gniezno archdiocese in the second half of the eighteenth century (exceeding 500 people)

Locality	Population	Source
Krajenka	1649	AAGn. CE42, pp. 394-396, 1766
Złotów	1001	AAGn. CE42, pp. 506-508, 510, 1766
Radawnica	967	AAGn. CE42, pp. 585, 590-592, 595, 1766
Łobżenica	863	AAGn. CE42, pp. 287-288, 1766
Śmiłowo	846	AAGn. CE42, p. 156, 1766
Buczek Wielki	841	AAGn. CE42, pp. 540-542, 1766
Wysoka	711	AAGn. CE42, pp. 123-124, 1766
Dźwierzno	657	AAGn. CE42, pp. 633-634, 1766
Kołata	600	AAGn. CE18, p. 815, 1766
Głubczyn	592	AAGn. CE42, pp. 355-356, 1766
Pruśce	572	AAP. AV31, p. 491, 1778
Tarnówka	568	AAGn. CE42, pp. 394-396, 1766
Zakrzewo	533	AAGn. CE42, pp. 452-454, 1766
Miasteczko	533	AAGn. CE42, pp. 201-202, 1766
Trląg	501	AAGn. CE39, f. 44, 1775

largest groups of Lutheran population lived in the localities situated along the border with Pomorze, in the Nakło powiat (Krajenka, Złotów, Radawnica, Łobżenica, Śmiłowo, Buczek Wielki, Wysoka, Głubczyn, Tarnówka, Zakrzewo), and west of Gniezno, in a region bordering the Poznań palatinate (Kołata, Pruśce).

AAGn. CE42, pp. 633-634 (1766), Gołańcz, AAGn. CE18, p. 546 (1767), Grylewo, AAGn. CE18, p. 535 (1767), Imielno, AAGn. CE18, p. 844, AAGn. CE50, p. 6 (1767), Jaktorowo, ADWł. GAV32, p. 30 (1760), Jarząbkowo, AAGn. CE50, p. 22 (1767), Kcynia, AAGn. CE18, p. 582 (1767), Kruchowo, AAGn. CE21, p. 25 (1781), Linowiec, AAGn. CE21, p. 63 (1781), Mirkowice, Thomas, Altes und Neues, p. 113 (1750), Niechanowo, AAGn. CE50, p. 31 (1767), Opatówko, AAGn. CE50, p. 31 (1767), Parlin, ADWł. GAV55, p. 23 (1760), Pawłowo, AAGn. CE50, p. 9 (1767), Pobiedziska, AAGn. CE18, pp. 820-821 (1766), Radawnica, AAGn. CE42, pp. 585, 590-592, 595 (1766), Rogowo, ADWł. GAV55, p. 32 (1760), Rynarzewo, AAGn. CE18, p. 605 (1767), Samokłeski, AAGn. CE18, p. 600 (1767), Słupy, AAGn. CE18, p. 594 (1767), Smogulec, AAGn. CE18, p. 564 (1767), Szczepanowo, AAGn. CE18, p. 676 (1767), Witkowo, AAGn. CE50, p. 27 (1767), Wronczyn, AAGn. CE18, p. 815 (1766), Wysoka, AAGn. CE42, pp. 123-124 (1766), Zakrzewo, AAGn. CE42, pp. 452-454 (1766), Żelice (Lat. p. of Potulice), AAP. AV31, p. 643 (1778).

It follows from the 1765 poll tax register that in three powiats of the Kalisz palatinate, which were later incorporated into the Gniezno palatinate, there were 22 Jewish communities.⁹⁸ The tax register included the town of Łabiszyn in the Kcynia powiat, and the towns of Mrocza, Łędczynek and Sępólno in the Nakło powiat. According to other sources, first of all the cartographic ones, those localities were in the neighbouring palatinates: Mrocza, Łabiszyn and Sępólno in the Inowrocław palatinate, and Łędczynek in the Pomorze palatinate. Included in the Konin powiat was Wilczyn that belonged to the Gniezno palatinate after 1768. Although Zenon Guldon and Jacek Wijaczka treated each entity referred to in the 1765 register as a separate Jewish community, it cannot be ruled out that some of them, especially those inhabited by a few Jews, did not function as separate entities in the second half of the eighteenth century. In the Gniezno palatinate there are doubts about Czerniejewo, Żydowo and Gozdanin.⁹⁹ But it is possible to add Mieścisko, where according to the 1782 visitation there was a synagogue¹⁰⁰, and Wyrzysk¹⁰¹ to the Jewish communities in the Gniezno palatinate.

In the eighteenth century all Jewish communities of the Gniezno palatinate were part of the Wielkopolska zemstvo.¹⁰² They developed a little later than those in the Poznań or Kalisz parts of Wielkopolska. The oldest of them was in Gniezno, where the earliest mention of the Jews comes from 1478, and at Kcynia, Łabiszyn and Nakło that are referred to in the registers of Jewish population of 1507.¹⁰³ According to the poll tax register of 1765 only at Złotów lived more than one thousand Jews. There were also larger Jewish communities at Chodzież, Łobżenica, Września, Skoki and Kcynia.

It transpires from the data on sacral buildings in the Gniezno palatinate that it shared more similarities with the palatinate of Poznań rather than that of Kalisz from which the Gniezno palatinate had been detached. This was due to the

98 "Liczba głów", p. 392; Guldon, Wijaczka, "Żydzi wśród chrześcijan w miastach wielkopolskich", pp. 191-192 (Table 6: Jewish communities in the Kalisz palatinate in 1765).

99 The poll tax register attributed the Jews from Gozdanin to the Inowrocław palatinate, "Liczba głów", p. 395.

100 AAGn. CE23, p. 140.

101 AAGn. CE42, p. 253 (the 1766 reference to a school); US Commission No. POCE000424 (the community was established in the eighteenth century).

102 Halperin, *Acta Congressus Generalis*, map.

103 M. Horn, "Najstarszy rejestr osiedli żydowskich w Polsce z 1507 r.", *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, 1974, no. 93, p. 13; Guldon, Wijaczka, "Osadnictwo żydowskie w województwach poznańskim i kaliskim w XVI-XVII w.", p. 71.

stronger influence of the Protestantism in the northern part of Wielkopolska compared with the areas situated along its border with Silesia. The domination of the Latin Church was decidedly more pronounced in the Gniezno and Kcynia parts, and weaker in the Nakło powiat where the majority of Lutheran churches and prayer houses covered by statistics were located. In the entire palatinate (7987 km²¹⁰⁴), there was one Latin church per 36.3 km² (one parish per 58.3 km², and one filial church per 96.2 km²). The network of kahals was developed to the same degree as in the Poznań and Kalisz palatinates – one Jewish community per circa 363 km².

From the point of view of the geography of sacral buildings, the most diversified in terms of religion and ethnicity was the town of Skoki located close to the border with the Poznań palatinate. Situated there was the only church of the Bohemian Brethren functioning in the Gniezno palatinate in the second half of the eighteenth century. It was also inhabited by communities of Lutherans, Jews and Roman Catholics. At Krajenka, Łobżenica and Złotów there were Lutheran places of worship as well as those of the Latin and Jewish communities. Located in the Nakło powiat was the highest number of most religiously diversified centres with more than a dozen towns in which the Latin and Lutheran communities lived side by side, and sporadically also a Jewish community. The structure of the patronage over Christian churches reflects the proprietary relations in Wielkopolska and does not differ from the situation in the Poznań and Kalisz palatinates (62.3 percent of noble, 28.3 percent of ecclesiastical, 6.3 percent of royal, 1.3 percent of burgher and 1.9 percent of mixed patronage).

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter in historiography the geographical range of Wielkopolska was most frequently associated with the palatinates of Poznań, Kalisz and Gniezno. Such approach may be found in *A History of Wielkopolska* edited by Jerzy Topolski and published in 1969. However, its authors also emphasized that the term had a broader meaning and covered such central Polish lands as Łęczyca, Sieradz and Kujawy.¹⁰⁵

The duchies of Łęczyca and Sieradz became politically and territorially independent in the thirteenth century. Analysing the medieval borders of castellanies that later became part of the Łęczyca and Sieradz palatinates Arnold often emphasized that they corresponded with the church borders demarcated

104 According to A. Pawiński three powiats which formed the Gniezno palatinate in the eighteenth century covered an area of 8270 km² in the second half of the sixteenth century. *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 1: Wielkopolska, p. 50.

105 J. Topolski, "Pojęcie regionu historycznego", p. 29.

by the 1136 bull.¹⁰⁶ In formal terms it was the Sieradz palatinate (comprising the powiats of Sieradz, Szadków, Piotrków and Radomsko) which in early modern times also included the Wieluń land that had earlier been referred to as the Ruda land (composed of Wieluń and Ostrzeszów).¹⁰⁷ It was strategically located on the border with Małopolska, Wielkopolska and Silesia.¹⁰⁸ In that area the border between the Gniezno archdiocese and the Breslau diocese was subject to constant changes throughout the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁹

In the eighteenth century a part of the Latin Breslau diocese was located in the Sieradz palatinate. It comprised the deaneries of Ostrzeszów and Opatów. In Arnold's opinion in the twelfth century the territory of Ostrzeszów was viewed as part of Silesia, hence its affiliation with the Breslau diocese. In the thirteenth century it was incorporated into the Kalisz land and at the end of the fourteenth century – into the Wieluń land,¹¹⁰ but it continued to be part of the Breslau diocese. The rest of the Sieradz palatinate was part of the Gniezno archdiocese, but the parishes of Czarnocin, Nagorzyce and Wolbórz were handed over to the Włocławek diocese in 1764. The majority of parishes and filial churches in the Sieradz palatinate belonged to the Uniejów and Wieluń archdeaconries of the Gniezno archdiocese. The Uniejów archdeaconry was one of the oldest in the archdiocese, and the territory of Wieluń had been set apart from the Kalisz archdeaconry at the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹¹¹ Only small sections of the palatinate extended beyond the boundaries of the archdeaconries of Gniezno (the Konin deanery), Kalisz (the deaneries of Kalisz and Staw), Kurzelów (the Kurzelów deanery) and Łęczyca (the Tuszyn deanery).

The sources corroborate that in the second half of the eighteenth century there were 199 parishes and 173 auxiliary churches in the palatinate of Sieradz. It is noteworthy that among the parishes there were many collegiate churches in such localities as Wolbórz, Wieluń, Uniejów, Sieradz and Łask. Religious orders ran and serviced eight parish churches, and the Pauline Fathers played the most important role. Auxiliary churches comprised 28 monastic churches and 20 hospital provost-

106 S. Arnold, "Terytorja plemienne", pp. 50-55.

107 Idem, *Geografia historyczna*, p. 97; E. Callier, *Powiat ostrzeszowski w XVI wieku. Szkic geograficzno-historyczny*, Poznań 1888, p. 3. On the independence of the Wieluń land from the Sieradz palatinate see K. Buczek's introduction to the *Historical-Geographical Dictionary of the Wieluń Land in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. Rosin, Warszawa 1963, p. 36.

108 Związek, "Przynależność kościelna", p. 66.

109 Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji*, pp. 102-103.

110 Arnold, "Terytorja plemienne", pp. 35-37.

111 Kortykowski, *Arcybiskupi gnieźnieńscy*, vol. 1, pp. 34-35.

ships. The parish network in the Wieluń land was better developed and denser than in the rest of the Sieradz palatinate due to a slightly different process of settlement.¹¹² Notable is a significant number of filial churches, much higher than in the Kalisz and Gniezno palatinates, nearly equal to the number of parish churches. In Stanisław Litak's view this was an outcome of the progress of the Reformation and the fact that the Wieluń land and the Uniejów archdeaconry were located along the border with Silesia.¹¹³ In theory that process should have been accompanied by a significantly high number of still active Protestant churches, like in the case of the Wałcz powiat in the Poznań palatinate or Nakło powiat in the Gniezno palatinate. However, it follows from the visitations of the deaneries of Staw (1759),¹¹⁴ Wieluń (1763),¹¹⁵ Uniejów (1789)¹¹⁶ and Warta (1790),¹¹⁷ which had quite regularly informed that the number of Protestants was not high in this area. The highest number of "dissenters" (78) lived in the parish of Wielenin in the Uniejów deanery.¹¹⁸ Based on compiled source data it has been possible to confirm that in the second half of the eighteenth century there were only two Protestant prayer houses in the Sieradz palatinate – at Błaszki (inhabited by ten Lutheran families) the Lutherans had their oratory,¹¹⁹ and at Walichnowy there was an unspecified church in the charge of the Mieszkowskis from Kąty Walichnowskie¹²⁰ who professed Calvinism.

Jewish settlement in the Sieradz palatinate began quite late (in the fifteenth century). Guldon established that in 1563-1565 the poll tax was paid only by the Jews living in two towns – Warta and Wieluń.¹²¹ In spite of numerous *de non tolerandis Judaeis* decrees passed in respect to the towns of the Sieradz palatinate in the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century a few new organized Jewish communities were established. The 1765 poll tax register mentions ten synagogues in the Sieradz palatinate, including three (Działoszyn, Kępno, Bolesławiec) in the Wieluń land. The largest Jewish centres with more than one

112 S. Litak, "Struktura i funkcje parafii w Polsce", in: *Kościół w Polsce*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, vol. 2, Kraków 1968, pp. 282-284.

113 Idem, *Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej*, pp. 49-50.

114 ADWł. GAV45.

115 ADWł. GAV59.

116 ADWł. GAV88.

117 ADWł. GAV89.

118 ADWł. GAV88, f. 10.

119 The oratory was not included in the summary table because its nature is not known and it is not clear how long it operated, ADWł. GAV45, p. 18; AAGn. CE22b, p. 838.

120 ADWł. GAV59, p. 1567.

121 Guldon, Wijaczka, "Żydzi wśród chrześcijan w miastach wielkopolskich", p. 174.

Table 27: The number of places of worship in the Sieradz palatinate circa 1772

Religions and denominations	Diocese/ Eparchy	Archdeaconry/ Officialate	Deanery/ Protopopy/ Governorship	Main places of worship	Auxiliary places of worship	
Calvinist				1	-	
Latin (Roman Catholic)	Gniezno	Gniezno	Konin	3	3	
		Kalisz	Kalisz	-	1	
			Staw	8	2	
				8	3	
		Kurzelów	Kurzelów	5	2	
		Łęczycza	Tuszyn	18	17	
		Wieluń	Krzepice	8	8	
			Ruda	18	14	
			Wieruszów	13	15	
				39	37	
		Uniejów	Brzeźnica	16	14	
			Lutomiersk	11	8	
			Radomsko	16	18	
			Szadek	25	22	
			Uniejów	12	8	
			Warta	22	18	
				102	88	
				175	150	
		Włocławek	Włocławek	Wolbórz	3	6
		Breslau	Opole	Olesno	1	-
Breslau	Opatów		9	6		
	Ostrzeszów		11	11		
		20	17			
		21	17			
		199	173			
Jewish			11	-		
Total			211	173		

thousand people professing Judaism existed in Działoszyn (1956 people in the kahal), Łask (1588) and Piotrków (1107). The Sieradz kahals did not, however, play an important role in the authorities of the Wielkopolska zemstvo. It follows

from Israel Halperin's map that only the kahal at Koniecpol, in the south of the Sieradz palatinate, belonged to the Małopolska zemstvo.¹²²

As there was only one Calvinist church and 11 Jewish kahals in the Sieradz palatinate, this area may be viewed as almost homogeneous in religious and ethnic terms. The confessional structure of this territory was influenced by neighbouring Silesia only to a small degree – Roman-Catholic churches accounted for 97 percent of all sacral buildings. In the area of the Sieradz palatinate (12 220 km²¹²³) there was one parish per 61.4 km², and one filial church per 70.6 km². The density of kahals was definitely lower than in the palatinates of Wielkopolska proper discussed above – one kahal per 1111 km². Relatively weaker development of the Jewish settlement in the Sieradz palatinate may have been due to the ownership and legal structure of the towns half of which were the property of the king and half – of the clergy. The legal structure of the patronage over Christian churches was very close to other palatinates of Wielkopolska: noble patronage accounted for 63.1 percent, clergy – 23.8 percent, royal – 9 percent, burgher – 1.6 percent, academic – 0.4 percent, mixed – 2 percent.

Located north of the Sieradz palatinate the Łęczyca palatinate covered an area that was only half as large (4282 km²¹²⁴). In early modern times it comprised the three powiats of Łęczyca, Orłów and Brzeziny.¹²⁵ The entire area of the Łęczyca palatinate was within the boundaries of the Gniezno archdiocese, forming the core of the Łęczyca archdeaconry.¹²⁶ In 1764 a few parishes located in the deanery of Wolbórz were swapped with the bishops of Włocławek.¹²⁷ Located in the area of the Łęczyca palatinate was also part of the deanery of Rawa Mazowiecka (in the

122 Halperin, *Acta Congressus Generalis*, map.

123 According to A. Pawiński four powiats which were part of the Sieradz palatinate in the eighteenth century covered an area of 8913 km² in the second half of the sixteenth century. If 2777 km² of the Wieluń land are added then the sum is close to our estimates – 11 690 km², *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 1: Wielkopolska, p. 50.

124 A. Pawiński estimated that the area of three powiats that were part of the Łęczyca palatinate in the eighteenth century totaled 4378 km² in the second half of the sixteenth century, *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 1: Wielkopolska, p. 50.

125 Gloger, *Geografia historyczna*, p. 106; Arnold, "Terytorja plemienne", pp. 54-55.

126 On the borders and parish network in the Łęczyca archdeaconry, see: Różański, "Sieć parafialna w archidiecezji łęczyckiej", passim; P. Staniszewski, "Terytorium archidiecezji łęczyckiej i łowickiej w okresie przedrozbiorowym", *Studia Loviciensia*, 3 (2001), pp. 255-266.

127 Różański, "Sieć parafialna w archidiecezji łęczyckiej", pp. 54-56.

Łowicz archdeaconry). This was due to the fact that the areas located south of the Łowicz castellany were dependent on Łęczycza. This question was analysed in depth by Arnold who concluded that the borders of the Gniezno archdiocese had been moved westward, to the disadvantage of the bishopric of Poznań (the deaneries of Łowicz, Skierniewice, Rawa Mazowiecka). He associated it with a “similar event on the western border of the Gniezno diocese, namely that it had been dislocated (to the advantage of the Poznań bishopric) in the area of the Czestram castellany”.¹²⁸ The affiliation with the Uniejów deanery of the filial church at Chodów explains its dependence on the Wartkowice parish located on the left bank of the Ner River (Sieradz palatinate). In the Łęczycza palatinate there was only one parish of the Sompolno deanery (Gniezno archdeaconry). Which may have been due to the fact that in the sixteenth century Grzegorzew belonged to the Łąd castellany along with the nearby villages of Kielczew, Boguszyniec, Skobielice and Rzuchów.¹²⁹

Of the total of 117 Roman-Catholic churches in the Łęczycza palatinate almost one third, 31 percent, were filial churches. Six of the parish churches (7.5 percent) were also monastic churches, and in one case – at Łaznów – the parish was serviced by monks, the Cistercians from Sulejów. Eight filial churches (21.6 percent) discharged the function of hospital churches, and seven (18.9 percent) belonged to monasteries (six male and one female order – the Norbertines from Łęczycza). A collegiate church in Tum near Łęczycza that was also a filial church is also worth mentioning.

In the second half of the eighteenth century there were Jewish communities in 11 out of 25 towns with sacral buildings of the Łęczycza palatinate.¹³⁰ Jewish settlement began there quite late, like in the Sieradz land. Migration of the Jews to the Wielkopolska-Mazowsze border areas may be attributed to migrations inside the Kingdom of Poland, but also emigration from western Europe. In the second half of the sixteenth century there were Jewish communities only in Łęczycza and Krośniewice.¹³¹ In the seventeenth century they could be found in other towns.¹³² Until the end of the eighteenth century the most important centre of Jewish settlement existed in Łęczycza.¹³³

128 Arnold, “Terytorja plemienne”, p. 71.

129 Ibid, p. 33.

130 The 1765 poll tax register wrongly classified Żychlin as belonging to the Gostyń land in the Rawa palatinate, “Liczba głów”, p. 406. See: *Regestr diecezjów*, p. 82; Litak, *Kościół taciński*, p. 192.

131 Fijałkowski, *Żydzi w województwach łęczyckim i rawskim*, pp. 32-34.

132 Guldon, Wijaczka, “Żydzi wśród chrześcijan w miastach wielkopolskich”, pp. 171-173.

133 “Liczba głów”, p. 406 (1067 Jews).

Table 28: The number of places of worship in the Łęczyca palatinate circa 1772.

Religions and denominations	Diocese/ Eparchy	Archdeaconry/ Officialate	Deanery/ Protopopy/ Governorship	Main places of worship	Auxiliary places of worship
Latin (Roman Catholic)	Gniezno	Gniezno	Sompolno	1	1
		Łęczyca	Kłodawa	18	7
			Kutno	18	1
			Łęczyca	15	11
			Tuszyn	2	1
			Zgierz	16	11
			69	31	
	Łowicz	Rawa Mazowiecka	5	4	
	Uniejów	Uniejów	-	1	
				75	37
	Włocławek	Włocławek	Wolbórz	5	-
				80	37
Jewish				11	-
Total				91	37

All the towns of the Łęczyca palatinate referred to in the 1765 poll tax register have been recognized in the statistics as independent Jewish communities.¹³⁴ But that approach may give rise to certain doubts due to the way those records had been made. According to that source Łęczyca was the only kahal city (“the kahal city of Łęczyca”). In respect to other towns the entry reads “the town of Sobota with leaseholders of the same... 243”. “Of the same” may mean that residents were members of the kahal in the town of Sobota, but also that the town belonged to the kahal in Łęczyca. The latter interpretation is corroborated by an entry regarding the town of Piątek: “In the town of Piątek Pokrzywna street with leaseholders of the same kahal of Łęczyca... 139”.¹³⁵ Which would mean that all the commu-

134 Due to the fact that the status of the Łęczyca community and other communities of the Łęczyca palatinate was not identified on the map of communities in 1667-1764, *Acta Congressus Generalis*, map; Also see: Guldon, Wijaczka, *Żydzi wśród chrześcijan w miastach wielkopolskich*, p. 193.

135 “Liczba głów”, p. 406.

nities in the Łęczyca palatinate were in fact branches of the Łęczyca kahal.¹³⁶ It cannot be ruled out that in the second half of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century the kahals subordinated to the Łęczyca centre were going independent in the Łęczyca land. Paweł Fijałkowski is of the opinion that around 1780 the Jewish communities at Parzęczew, Stryków and Żychlin became independent of the Łęczyca centre. The other communities continued to operate as branch kahals.¹³⁷ A similar situation occurred in the distant Przemysł land in the palatinate of Ruthenia. It should be added that on Halperin's map the kahals of the Łęczyca palatinate, including the Łęczyca kahal, were marked with the same symbol and included in the Wielkopolska zemstvo.¹³⁸

The network of Latin parish and filial churches in the Łęczyca palatinate was developed to the same degree as in other palatinates of Wielkopolska proper. The structure of patronage was also similar to that in the western palatinates of Wielkopolska. Due to the ownership structure private patronage predominated (58 percent was under the nobility's patronage). There was one Latin church per 36.6 km², one parish church per 53.5 km², and one filial church per 115.7 km². Noteworthy is that the density of kahals was almost twice as high as in the Sieradz palatinate – one kahal per 389 km², and complete absence of Protestant communities. As the Jewish communities were located only in urban centres, which was characteristic of the whole of Wielkopolska proper, multiple religious communities could be found only in the cities. The phenomenon of Jewish leaseholding, so typical of the Ruthenian countryside, was almost completely absent in the western palatinates of the Crown.¹³⁹

Apart from the Sieradz-Łęczyca land, Wielkopolska proper, in a little broader sense of that term, also included Kujawy.¹⁴⁰ Initially, the region was part of the feudal duchy of Mazowsze ruled by Bolesław Kędzierzawy (the Curly). Further

136 This is how the issue is presented by P. Fijałkowski, *Żydzi w województwach łęczyckim i rawskim w XV-XVIII wieku*, p. 63.

137 Ibid, p. 66.

138 Halperin, *Acta Congressus Generalis*, map (he made a mistake attributing Głowno, which is considered to be part of the Rawa palatinate, to the Łęczyca palatinate, "Liczba głów", p. 406; *Regestr diecezjów*, p. 100).

139 J. Topolski, "Uwagi o strukturze gospodarczo-społecznej Wielkopolski w XVIII wieku, czyli dlaczego na jej terenie nie było żydowskich karczmarzy", in: *Żydzi w Wielkopolsce na przestrzeni dziejów*, ed. J. Topolski, K. Modelski, Poznań 1995, pp. 71-72.

140 Gloger, *Geografia historyczna Polski*, p. 82 ("Wielkopolska without Mazowsze and Prussia, i.e., comprising the palatinates of Poznań with the Wschowa land, of Kalisz with Gniezno, of Sieradz with the Wieluń land, of Inowrocław with the Dobrzyń land, of Brześć Kujawski and of Łęczyca, covered the area of 1052 square miles").

land divisions and allocations to dukes, especially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, were how the palatinates of Brześć Kujawski and Inowrocław, that also included the Dobrzyń land, had evolved. The Brześć Kujawski palatinate was one of the smallest in the Commonwealth. With an area of 3413 km²,¹⁴¹ it was divided into the five powiats of Brześć, Radziejów, Przedecz, Kowal and Kruszwica. Its high fragmentation into powiats is attributed by Gloger to the significant population density of the Brześć palatinate in the sixteenth century.¹⁴²

Together with the Pomorze and Inowrocław palatinates the Brześć Kujawski palatinate was the main part of the Latin diocese of Włocławek. Owing to the studies and publication of sources by Stanisław Chodyński and Stanisław Librowski, recently continued by Witold Kujawski and Stanisław Olczak, the organizational development of the diocese is quite well known.¹⁴³ Diverse opinions on the origins of the diocese and the parallel existence of two bishoprics in Kruszwica and Włocławek have been compiled by Kumor in a study on the borders of Polish dioceses.¹⁴⁴ The initial internal divisions of the Włocławek diocese date back to a period soon after its establishment in the twelfth century, and by the end of the eighteenth century it continued to be divided into three

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- 141 The Brześć Kujawski palatinate covered a similar area in the second half of the sixteenth century (3277 km²), *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 1: Wielkopolska, p. 50.
- 142 Arnold, *Geografia historyczna*, pp. 95-96; Gloger, *Geografia historyczna*, pp. 110-111. The origins of the Brześć palatinate's division into powiats were discussed by S. Arnold ("Terytorja plemienne", pp. 55-58: Kruszwica and Radziejów powiats, pp. 61-64: Brześć Kujawski, Kowal and Przedecz powiats).
- 143 The most important studies include a multi-volume *Monumenta historica dioeceseos Wladislaviensis*, vol. 1-25, Wladislaviae 1881-1912; S. Chodyński, "Włocławska diecezja", in: *Encyklopedia kościelna*, ed. M. Nowodworski, vol. 32, Włocławek 1913, pp. 55-80; S. Librowski, *Kapituła katedralna włocławska*, Warszawa 1949; S. Librowski, "Wizytacje diecezji włocławskiej", part 1: Wizytacje diecezji kujawsko-pomorskiej, vol. 1. Opracowanie archiwalno-źródłoznawcze, fasc. 1-2, *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne*, 8 (1964), pp. 5-186; 10 (1965), pp. 35-206; W. Kujawski, "Repetytorium ksiąg wizytacyjnych diecezji kujawsko-pomorskiej przechowywanych w Archiwum Diecezjalnym we Włocławku", *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne*, 68 (1997), pp. 27-160; 71 (1999), pp. 141-252; 73 (2000), pp. 277-397; 74 (2000), pp. 263-413; 76 (2001), pp. 101-228; 80 (2003), pp. 65-152; Idem, "Repertorium ksiąg wizytacyjnych diecezji kujawsko-pomorskiej przechowywanych w Archiwum Archidiecezjalnym w Gnieźnie", *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne*, 77 (2002), pp. 149-268; S. Olczak, *Kościół parafialny w archidiaconacie włocławskim XVI-XVIII w.*, Lublin 2004.
- 144 Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, pp. 89-92.

archdeaconries of Włocławek, Kruszwica and Pomorze.¹⁴⁵ The importance of archdeaconries diminished after district officialates had been established but as a territorial administration unit comprising several deaneries the archdeaconry continued to operate in the Włocławek diocese throughout modern times. The oldest inventory of deaneries dates from 1325, but it is incomplete.¹⁴⁶ The division of the Włocławek diocese into archdeaconries and deaneries introduced in the fifteenth century did not change much until the end of the Commonwealth. Before the First Partition the Włocławek diocese comprised 22 deaneries – ten in the Pomorze archdeaconry, four in the Kruszwica archdeaconry and eight in the Włocławek archdeaconry.¹⁴⁷

In the Brześć Kujawski palatinate there were most parishes of the Włocławek archdeaconry (the deaneries of Brześć Kujawski, Izbica, Kowal excluding the parish of Łanięta, Radziejów and Służewo apart from the parish of Ostrową and Służewo, as well as part of the Nieszawa deanery), and also fragments of the Kruszwica archdeaconry (the Kruszwica deanery). The palatinate's borders extended slightly beyond the boundaries of the Włocławek diocese. The affiliation of the Duninów parish with the Płock diocese was due to the fact that the village was the property of the Płock chapter.¹⁴⁸ The affiliation of a few parishes of the Gniezno archdiocese (the deaneries of Sompolno, Żnin, Gniezno – St. Michael's) located in the very south of the Brześć Kujawski palatinate was due to the above-mentioned exchange made in 1764. This reflected the process of earlier shaping of political than church administration borders.¹⁴⁹

Parish churches predominated in the Brześć Kujawski palatinate (68, 67.3 percent). The most important ones included the cathedral of the Assumption of Mary in Włocławek and a collegiate church of St. Peter and Paul in Kruszwica. The monastic churches comprised five parish and seven filial churches, including the one in Dobięgniewo serviced by the Friars Minor Conventual in Dobrzyń. In Kowal, Brześć Kujawski and Włocławek there were also hospital provostships.

The visitations of the Latin diocese of Włocławek in the second half of the eighteenth century quite frequently reported on dissenters living in individual parishes. But they were not numerous and usually did not exceed a few or a dozen or so people. The presence of dissenters in Kujawy was mainly an out-

145 Abraham, *Organizacja Kościoła*, pp. 156-157.

146 Chodyński, "Włocławska diecezja", p. 59.

147 Litak, *Kościół łaciński*, pp. 334-346.

148 SGKP. II, p. 226 ("The village of Duninów belonged to the Płock chapter and along with the parish was under the jurisdiction of the Płock bishopric").

149 Arnold, "Terytorja plemienne", p. 33.

come of Dutch (Mennonite) settlement, predominantly in Pomorze and Żuławy (Werder). They settled in such localities as Wilkostowo (the parish of Grabie),¹⁵⁰ Kamieniec (the parish of Koneck)¹⁵¹ and the villages of Wistka Szlachecka and Dąb (the parish of Włocławek) situated on the Vistula bank. The latter were the most important centres of Protestant population in the Brześć Kujawski palatinate. The 1766 visitation reported on a Lutheran chapel and school in the Wistka Szlachecka parish inhabited by 309 Lutherans (270 adults and 39 children).¹⁵² Larger groups of Protestants also lived in the parishes of Izbica Kujawska,¹⁵³ Zgłowiączka,¹⁵⁴ Siniarzewo,¹⁵⁵ Sadlno,¹⁵⁶ Przedecz,¹⁵⁷ Piotrków Kujawski,¹⁵⁸ Orle,¹⁵⁹ Broniszewo¹⁶⁰, the above-mentioned Koneck¹⁶¹ and Grabie.¹⁶²

The Jews of the Brześć Kujawski palatinate were under the jurisdiction of the Wielkopolska zemstvo. Present in very few local kahals, their number was much lower than in the other provinces of the Commonwealth. Suffice it to say that according to the 1765 poll tax register, the most populous was the community of 260 people in the town of Kowal.¹⁶³ The kahals at Lubraniec, Izbica, or Przedecz were of similar size, but less populous ones were located in the oldest centres of the region at Brześć Kujawski and Piotrków Kujawski. According to the poll tax register there were six Jewish communities in the Brześć Kujawski palatinate.¹⁶⁴ As with the Łęczycza palatinate, the register offers diverse figures on individual communities of the Brześć Kujawski palatinate. Accordingly, Brześć Kujawski

150 ADWł. AV41, f. 34av; ADWł. AV26, p. 140.

151 ADWł. AV26, p. 158.

ADWł. AV27, pp. 23, 24.

152 ADWł. AV27, pp. 23, 24.

153 ADWł. AV40, f. 174a; ADWł. AV25, p. 192.

154 ADWł. AV37, p. 44a.

155 ADWł. AV26, p. 127.

156 ADWł. AV40, f. 233a.

157 ADWł. AV58, f. 43v.

158 ADWł. AV39, ff. 229, 230a.

159 ADWł. AV40, f. 202a.

160 ADWł. GAV87, p. 79.

161 ADWł. AV41, f. 43av.

162 ADWł. AV26, p. 140.

163 "Liczba głów", p. 394.

164 Ibid; Guldon, Wijaczka, "Żydzi wśród chrześcijan w miastach wielkopolskich", pp. 178-195. For unknown reasons the map of Jewish communities in 1667-1764 overlooks the communities in Piotrków Kujawski, but attributes Wilczyn to the Brześć Kujawski palatinate (*Acta Congressus Generalis*, map).

was the main kahal. As for the other towns, there are entries of the sort “the synagogues of Przedecz 210” which may reflect an unspecified degree of dependence on Brześć Kujawski and make it necessary to classify the other centres as branch kahals.¹⁶⁵ The formal and legal standing of individual communities both in the Łęczyca and Brześć Kujawski palatinates calls for more in-depth source studies.

The degree of the Latin Church's domination in the Brześć Kujawski palatinate is comparable to other palatinates of Wielkopolska (93.5 percent). There was one Latin church per 33.8 km² (one parish per 50.2 km², and one filial church per 103.4 km²). These figures are very close to the Łęczyca palatinate, however, there were fewer filial churches compared to the Sieradz palatinate. As for the kahal organization, there were Jewish communities in one out of three urban centres of the Brześć Kujawski palatinate (on average one community per 569 km²). Characteristic are also clear traces of the Dutch settlers, especially in the palatinate's area situated along the Vistula River. They formed isolated enclaves among the Kujawy villages that were predominantly Latin. The Brześć Kujawski palatinate was marked by a very high percentage of churches under the patronage of the clergy that was almost equal to that of the nobility (31 churches each, that is, 42.5 percent). This was due to sizable properties of religious orders, the Włocławek chapter and the bishop in this part of the Włocławek diocese.¹⁶⁶ The other categories of patronage played a minor role (for example the royal patronage – 11 percent).

In the days of the subdivisions of feudal duchies, besides the Brześć Kujawski part, two other duchies of Inowrocław and Dobrzyń had emerged that after their incorporation into the Kingdom of Poland created one administrative area referred to as the Inowrocław palatinate.¹⁶⁷ A distinct character of the Dobrzyń land (the powiats of Dobrzyń, Rypin and Lipno) stemmed not only from its earlier relations with Mazowsze, but first and foremost, from its geographical location on the right bank of the Vistula River that separated the Dobrzyń land from the rest of the Inowrocław palatinate (the powiats of Inowrocław and Bydgoszcz). It should also be added that in 1717 the Dobrzyń land was formally incorporated into the Brześć Kujawski palatinate, and then into the Inowrocław palatinate.¹⁶⁸

The former links between the Dobrzyń land and Mazowsze transpire from the affiliation of a part of the Inowrocław palatinate with the Płock diocese. In the fourteenth, fifteenth and seventeenth centuries there were disputes between the dioceses of Włocławek and Płock about the parishes located in the Dobrzyń land.

165 “Liczba głów”, p. 394.

166 Szady, *Prawo patronatu*, p. 95.

167 Arnold, *Geografia historyczna*, p. 96.

168 Gloger, *Geografia historyczna*, p. 117.

Table 29: The number of places of worship in the Brześć Kujawski palatinate circa 1772

Religions and denominations	Diocese/ Eparchy	Archdeaconry/ Officialate	Deanery/ Protopopy/ Governorship	Main places of worship	Auxiliary places of worship	
Latin (Roman Catholic)	Gniezno	Gniezno	Gniezno – St. Michael's	2	-	
			Sompolno	4	4	
			Żnin	1	-	
					7	4
		Płock	Płock	Gostynin	1	-
	Włocławek	Kruszwica	Włocławek	Kruszwica	6	4
				Brześć Kujawski	13	12
				Izbica Kujawska	7	1
				Kowal	11	7
				Nieszawa	2	1
				Radziejów	14	3
				Służewo	7	1
				54	25	
			60	29		
			68	33		
Lutheran				-	1	
Jewish				6	-	
Total				74	34	

Pursuant to the church court verdicts of 1321, 1445 and 1639 the Włocławek diocese was vested with more than a dozen parishes located on the right bank of the Vistula River,¹⁶⁹ with the majority of the Dobrzyń powiats remaining in the Płock diocese (deaneries of Dobrzyń, Rypin, Lipno and individual parishes in the deaneries of Biezuń, Sierpc and Górzno). In the Inowrocław palatinate was also located the majority of parishes in the Więcbork deanery and a few parishes of the deanery subordinated to the Gniezno archdiocese. The main area of the Inowrocław palatinate, including its capital city, was located in the Włocławek diocese, in the Kruszwica and Włocławek archdeaconries.

The Gniezno part of the Inowrocław palatinate (the Kamień archdeaconry) had the highest percentage of filial churches. In this area confessional relations

169 B. Kumor, "Granice diecezji płockiej", *Studia Płockie*, 3 (1975), pp. 46-47.

were similar to those in the northern part of the Gniezno palatinate with a strong impact of Protestantism radiating from Pomorze (19 places of worship out of 30 were filial churches). In the other parts of the palatinate filial churches accounted for 27.3 percent, and in the entire palatinate – 34.2 percent. Among 54 filial churches 14 belonged to religious orders and nine were hospital provostships. Most parishes in the charge of religious orders were run by the Order of the Holy Sepulchre and the Cistercians from Koronowo. The monks offered their pastoral services in the total of eight parish churches.

The population of the above-mentioned Kamień deanery in the Gniezno archdiocese was marked by a quite high percentage of Protestants. One of the largest Lutheran communities lived in Sępólno Krajeńskie where apart from a reconstructed church there were also private prayer houses in the second half of the eighteenth century.¹⁷⁰ There were also Lutheran churches in the villages of Pęperzyn,¹⁷¹ Gliszcz, Michałki,¹⁷² and Mrocza, and in nearby Kosowo there was a cemetery.¹⁷³ In the Inowrocław palatinate the village of Wąldowo was an important place on the map of Protestantism that in 1767 was inhabited by more Lutherans than Catholics, but in spite of that there is no information about a Lutheran church functioning there in the second half of the eighteenth century.¹⁷⁴ Like in the northern region of the Gniezno palatinate, there are doubts as to the character and lasting nature of a few other oratories and prayer houses mentioned in the visitations of the Gniezno archdiocese and the Włocławek diocese.¹⁷⁵

The Vistula River strip was an area where the Dutch settlement had developed. Its nature in the second half of the eighteenth century evades more precise definition. The historians dealing with Mennonites (Olęders) claim that in time their settlement lost its ethnic and religious character and, similarly to the German law, it was regulated by a special type of settlement contracts that are referred

170 AAGn. CE42, pp. 907-910, 913.

171 AAGn. CE42, pp. 686-688.

172 *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, vol. 10, ed. M.M. Grzybowski, Płock 1999, pp. 127, 315.

173 AAGn. CE42, pp. 747-748, 756. Werner dates the beginning of the Evangelical parish after the First Partition of Poland, Werner, *Geschichte der evangelischen Parochien*, pp. 221-222.

174 A cemetery shared with the Catholics, AAGn. CE42, pp. 885-886; SGKP. XII, p. 926.

175 The summary table does not include, inter alia, the oratories and prayer houses in such localities or parishes as Sitno, Rościmin and Czarmuń (Latin parish Zabartowo), AAGn. CE42, pp. 714-715, 717 (1767), Dąbrówka Nowa, AAGn. CE16, p. 475 (1763), Tonin, Skoraczewo and Sośno (Latin parish Wąwelno), AAGn. CE42, pp. 804-805 (1767).

to as the Olęder contracts.¹⁷⁶ This does not change the fact that the visitations of Latin parishes regularly took note of the “Olęder” communities in the northern parts of Kujawy in the 1760s and 1770s.¹⁷⁷ The picture is further complicated by the fact that Mennonites were sometimes referred to by the sources as dissenters and sometimes as Lutherans. In the second half of the eighteenth century there was an Olęder settlement in the village of Bógpomóż (in the Bobrowniki parish) with a chapel.¹⁷⁸ Alas, it has not been possible to confirm, based on the sources, that prior to 1772 there had been a Mennonite church near Nieszawka Mała, Nieszawka Wielka or Podgórz Toruński.¹⁷⁹ Likewise, numerous communities living near the town of Fordon¹⁸⁰ near Bydgoszcz and in Bydgoszcz did not have their own places of worship. The visitation of 1763 mentions 1114 Lutherans in Bydgoszcz, referring in fact to Mennonites and parish villages because in the city there were practically no Lutherans until 1772.¹⁸¹ On the right bank of the Vistula River (in the Dobrzyń land) one should mention a significant number of “dissenters”, most probably Olęders, in the Lipno deanery (Osiek, Wola parishes). A dissenter oratory at the village of Włóki, north of Bydgoszcz, may also be connected with Olęder settlement along the Vistula River.¹⁸²

The capital of the Inowrocław palatinate was the largest centre of the population professing Judaism and also the oldest Jewish community in Kujawy.¹⁸³ The Jewish settlements established in Kujawy since the sixteenth century suffered major losses at the time of the Swedish deluge (such as, *inter alia*, the decline of the community at Pakość).¹⁸⁴ The map of Jewish communities in 1667-1765 made by Halperin¹⁸⁵ features only five communities in the Inowrocław palatinate

176 W. Rusiński, *Osady tzw. “Olędrów” w dawnym województwie poznańskim*, Poznań 1939-Kraków 1947, pp. 9, 27-34.

177 A detailed list of the communities of Mennonites in Royal Prussia and Kujawy was compiled by K. Ciesielska (“Osadnictwo ‘olęderskie’ w Prusach Królewskich i na Kujawach”, pp. 221-225).

178 ADWł. AV26, p. 189; SGKP. I, p. 279.

179 ADWł. AV41, f. 114av.

180 ADWł. AV43, ff. 439, 442v, 443.

181 Werner, *Geschichte der evangelischen Parochien*, p. 37 (he writes about two Lutheran families before 1772).

182 Due to the dubious nature of the place of worship it was not included in the summary table, ADWł. AV43, f. 469v.

183 Guldon, “Żydzi w miastach kujawskich”, p. 100.

184 Guldon, Wijaczka, “Żydzi wśród chrześcijan w miastach wielkopolskich”, pp. 179-181.

185 *Acta Congressus Generalis*, map.

Table 30: The number of places of worship in the Inowrocław palatinate circa 1772.

Religions and denominations	Diocese/ Eparchy	Archdeaconry/ Officialate	Deanery/ Protopopy/ Governorship	Main place of worship	Auxiliary place of worship	
Latin (Roman Catholic)	Gniezno	Gniezno	Żnin	3	2	
		Kamień	Więcbork	11	19	
					14	21
	Płock	Dobrzyń	Dobrzyń	Dobrzyń	11	3
				Górzno	7	3
				Lipno	9	5
				Rypin	9	6
					36	17
		Płock	Biezuń	Biezuń	2	-
				Sierpc	3	1
					5	1
					41	18
		Włocławek	Kruszwica	Fordon	Fordon	7
				Gniewkowo	14	3
				Inowrocław	12	4
				Kruszwica	3	-
					36	11
	Włocławek		Bobrowniki	Bobrowniki	8	2
				Nieszawa	3	2
				Służewo	2	-
					13	4
				49	15	
			104	54		
Lutheran			5	-		
Mennonite			1	1		
Jewish			11	-		
Total				121	55	

that were part of the Wielkopolska zemstvo: Dobrzyń,¹⁸⁶ Fordon, Inowrocław, Kikół¹⁸⁷ and Lipno.¹⁸⁸ The author omitted the communities at Radziki Wielkie, Łabiszyn, Mroczka and Sępólno Krajeńskie. The 1765 Jewish poll tax register also refers to a community at Żołędowo (13 Jews).¹⁸⁹ The 1767 visitation mentions a synagogue at Pruszcz near Więcbork.¹⁹⁰ It is, however, hard to find other confirmations that the kahals existed in those localities in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Owing to the fact that the Inowrocław palatinate was geographically “elongated” northwards it was in direct contact with Pomorze and exposed to the influence of Protestantism and Mennonite settlement. That is why the predominance of Latin structures there is a little less conspicuous (89.8 percent) than in the palatinates of Sieradz, Łęczyca, Kalisz and Brześć Kujawski located further to the south. The Latin Church structures were the least developed in the whole of Wielkopolska. In terms of the size of the palatinate (6480 km²), there was one church per 41 km² (one parish per 62.3 km², and one filial church per 120 km²). There were kahals in one out of three towns of the Inowrocław palatinate. One community per 589 km², with a reservation that the existence of some of them in the second half of the eighteenth century is not certain. The Protestant settlement (German) concentrated in the north-western part of the palatinate, and that of the Ołęders (Mennonites) north and south of Bydgoszcz along the Vistula River.

Conclusions. The domination of the Latin church structures in Wielkopolska stems from the nature of the initial Christianization of those lands in the Middle Ages. The presence of other than Roman Catholic denominations and religions was an outcome of the Reformation that had got the upper hand in the areas bordering Wielkopolska to the west, north and south. Late medieval and early modern Jewish settlement and then the demographic growth of the Jewish com-

186 It was wrongly marked as Dobrzyń on the Drwęca on the map, whereas the community lived in Dobrzyń on the Vistula, Guldon, Wijaczka, “Żydzi wśród chrześcijan w miastach wielkopolskich”, p. 195.

187 The 1781 visitation mentions that in the village of Kikół the Jews had “built a school with a chimney absque scitu officii”, and their cemetery is at Lipno, *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, vol. 10, p. 213.

188 The 1781 visitation mentions that it was subordinated to the Dobrzyń kahal: “a house with a chimney where they perform their services and refer to it as a synagogue – belongs to the Dobrzyń synagogue”, *Ibid*, p. 227.

189 “Liczba głów”, pp. 392, 396.

190 AAGn. CE42, p. 856.

munities accounted for the fact that people professing Judaism became the third largest ethnic and religious group in Wielkopolska. It should be underscored that the Protestant population, granted varying degree of its settlement intensity, was dispersed and lived both in towns and in the countryside, mainly of the Poznań, Gniezno and parts of the Inowrocław palatinates. The Jews lived almost predominantly in urban centres and the phenomenon of leaseholding or inn-keeping by the Jews in the countryside existed in Wielkopolska only on a very limited scale.

Before proceeding with the summary of relations between the religions in the seven palatinates of Wielkopolska, it is worth having a closer look at the correlation between the number of sacral buildings of individual denominations and the size of the population. It is an element of a critical approach adopted in the premises underlying the method of confessional situation analysis based on the distribution of the places of worship. In the absence of regular demographic censuses for the entire Wielkopolska one has to avail of the data regarding those regions where the sources allow to determine the religious structure of the population.

Of assistance, *inter alia*, is the *Census of the Poznań Diocese (1765-1769) Before Partions* published by Mieczysław Kędelski.¹⁹¹ It covers Catholics and dissenters (Protestants). The author of the published sources deliberately omitted the Jews because of the existence of a separate poll tax census of 1764-1765 conducted across the Commonwealth.¹⁹² Although the census did not go beyond the borders of the Poznań diocese, the comparative analysis applicable to all denominations will be confined to the area of the palatinate as an administrative unit.

It follows from the foregoing table that in the entire Poznań palatinate the number of places of worship reflects only roughly the proportions between individual religious groups (map 3). The domination of the Catholic population in the Poznań palatinate was not as pronounced as one may conclude from the number of places of worship. This may be attributed to two circumstances. The first was the outcome of the formal and legal status of Protestant denominations that were not able to develop freely and organize as religious communities in the Commonwealth after 1717. The second could have been due to the fact that religious minorities living in smaller groups were frequently dispersed and unable to create a community strong enough to organize a religious community and build their own church. There is also the third reason, perhaps even more important – the attitude of landowners who had the final say about the building and maintenance of churches on their estates. This is best demonstrated by the analysis of the develop-

191 Kędelski, *Przedrozbiorowy spis ludności*, pp. 227-235.

192 *Ibid*, p. 224.

Table 31: The religious composition of the population in the Poznań palatinate in 1765-1772

	Roman Catholics		Dissenters (Protestants)		Jews	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Number of sacral buildings (main and auxiliary)	233	71.3	55	16.8	39	11.9
Number of sacral buildings (main, that is parish churches and kahal synagogues)	483	79.0	89	14.6	39	6.4
Demographic data	178 319	59.8	99 757	33.5	19 913	6.7

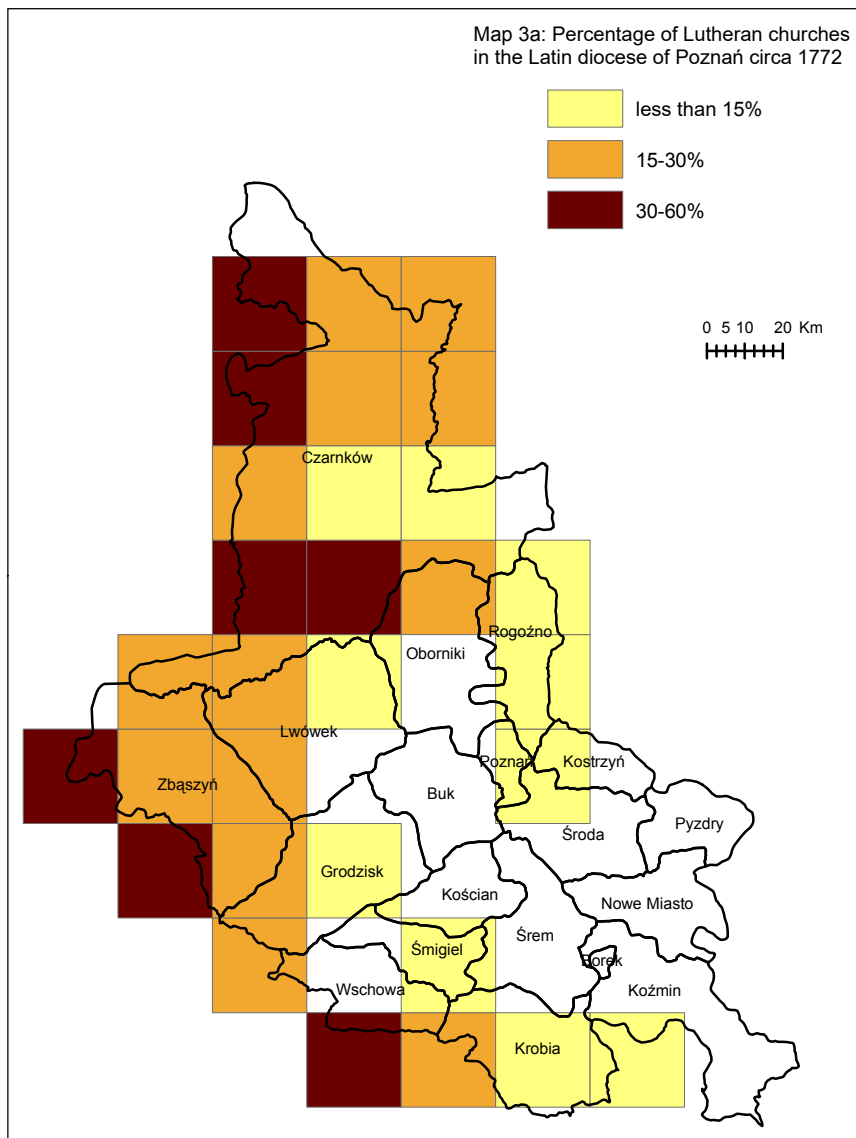
Source of the demographic data: Kędelski, "Przedrozbiorowy spis ludności", pp. 227-235; Mahler, *Żydzi w dawnej Polsce*, p. 159.

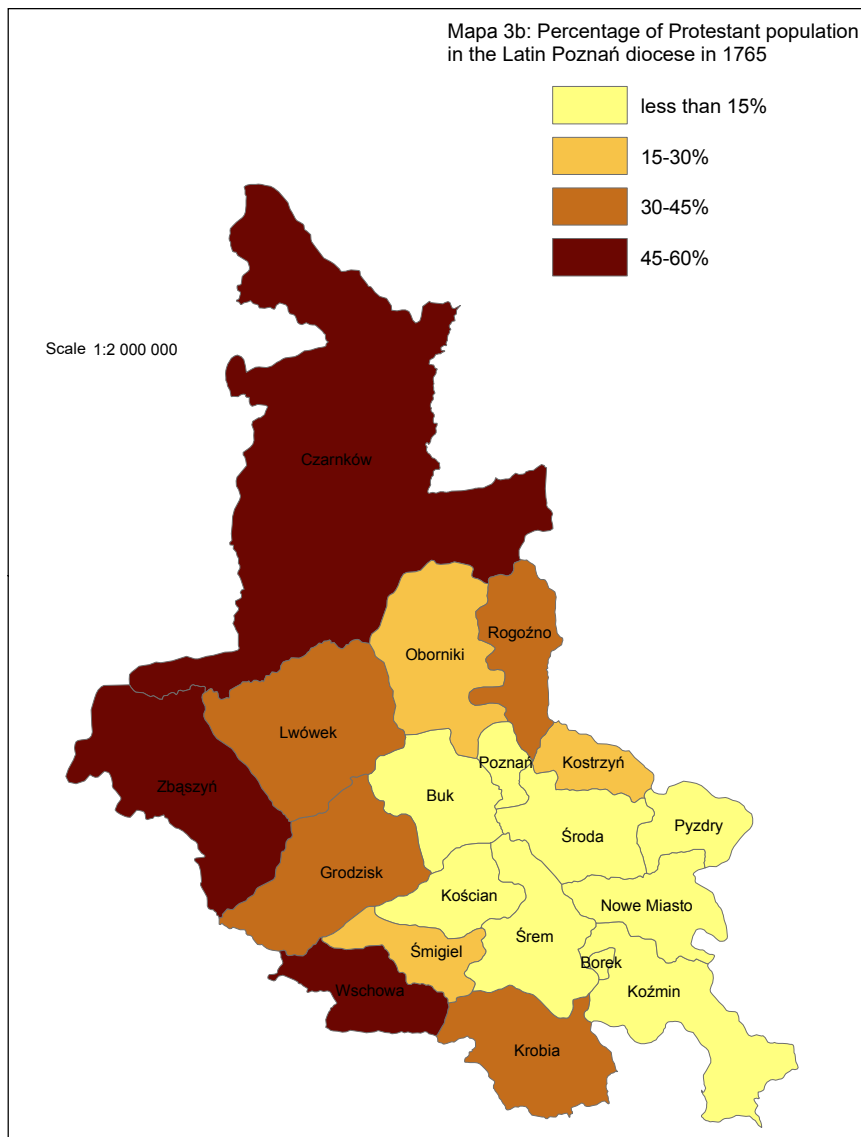
ment and disappearance of Protestant communities conducted by Werner.¹⁹³ The attitudes of landowners to their tenants professing religions other than their own is a very interesting issue that calls for in-depth local studies.

Information on the religious structure of the eastern borderlands of Wielkopolska, mainly the Dobrzyń land, are verifiable owing to the descriptions of parishes in the Płock diocese commissioned by Bishop Michał Jerzy Poniatowski in 1776 and published in 1785 in the fourth volume of *Orders and Pastoral Letters*.¹⁹⁴ According to the census the population of the Dobrzyń land totaled 31 553 people, of whom 5687 children less than seven years old had not been taken into account in the statistics of the denominations. Of 25 866 adults 21 545 were Catholics (83.3 percent), 3096 were dissenters (12 percent) and 1225 were Jews (4.7 percent). It is noteworthy that the Protestant population of 12 percent in the Dobrzyń land is practically not reflected by the statistics of sacral buildings. Most conspicuous was the cluster of Protestants along the border with the Chełmno land, but no mentions of their churches may be found in any of the parishes of the Rypin, Lipno or Górzno deaneries (apart from Michałki near Rypin and the village of Bógpomóż near Bobrowniki) in the second half of the eighteenth century.

193 Werner, *Geschichte der evangelischen Parochien*, passim.

194 *Rozporządzenia y pisma pasterskie za rządów [...] Michała Jerzego Poniatowskiego biskupa płockiego etc. etc. do dyecezyi płockiej wydane. Dla wygody teyże dyecezyi zebrane, i do druku podane*, vol. 4, Warszawa 1785, pp. 413-469; see: Kumor, *Spis ludności diecezji krakowskiej*, p. 7.





A tangible proof of the “Olęder” settlement¹⁹⁵ in the Dobrzyń land may be found in the Latin Church visitations which refer to the so-called on-the-side schools (*szkoły pokątne*), labelling them as Lutheran schools, and cemeteries. They existed in the villages of Kretki, Obórki, Jeziorki (the Osiek Wielki parish), Kierz Półwieski (the Radziki Duże parish), Grzęby (the Świedziebnia parish), Strzygi, Łąkie (the Karnkowo parish), Grodzeń (the Kikół parish), Komorowo and Białowieżyn (the Lipno parish), Łęk (the Osiek upon Vistula parish).¹⁹⁶ The visitation report of the Wola parish mentions that at Makowiska “the heretics have their school in a house where they go every Sunday for service”. Ordinary cabins were also used as places of prayer, as it was the case at the villages of Rętwiny and Gaj (the Radomin parish), Bocheniec (the Płonne parish), Zbójenko and Wojnowo (the Róże parish).¹⁹⁷ The description of parishes in Mazowsze is interesting from the point of view of the classification of the buildings acting as places of worship. There were two types of Protestant oratories. The residents of Morgi Świętosławskie had a building with two rooms – one served as the teacher’s accommodation, and in the second one with benches members of the congregation gathered to pray. In the village of Niedźwiedz its residents did not have a separate building and services were administered in various houses. As the above-mentioned houses were not separate churches and they were not used as regular places of worship, they were not taken into account in the statistics of sacral buildings. However, due to a social and religious role played by both on-the-side schools, temporary places of prayer and cemeteries, it will be necessary to develop a method in the future that would allow the inclusion of these facilities in the study of the geography of denominations and religions.

In the second half of the eighteenth century there were places of worship of five Christian denominations (Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Bohemian Brethren and Mennonites) and of Judaism in Wielkopolska. There was an evident prevalence of the Latin Church in all seven palatinates (1798 out of 2051 sacral buildings, or 87.7 percent, were Roman Catholic). Its domination was even more pronounced in the south-eastern part of Wielkopolska – more than 90 percent in the palatinates of Kalisz, Łęczyca, Sieradz and Brześć Kujawski than in the north western parts – the palatinates of Poznań with Drahim land,

195 Apart from the term “Olęder” or “Olęders” the Mennonite settlements were frequently referred to in the sources “na rumunkach”.

196 *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, vol. 10, pp. 83, 104 (“in a residential house”), 118 (“in a house built for a teacher (*szulmajster*)”), 203, 213 (“a private house with a chimney where a teacher lives and where they gather for their services”), 227 (schools for services), 254.

197 *Ibid.*, pp. 93, 111, 273, 300.

Table 32: The number and percentage of places of worship in Wielkopolska circa 1772.

Palatinate	Number and percent of places of worship					
	Latin (Roman Catholic)	Lutheran	Bohemian Brethren	Calvinist	Mennonite	Jewish
Poznań 16 243 km ²	79.1% 483	13.9% 85	0.7% 4	-	-	6.4% 39
Drahim land 651 km ²	78.6% 11	21.4% 3	-	-	-	-
Kalisz 8 566 km ²	91.3% 336	0.5% 2	0.5% 2	-	-	7.6% 28
Gniezno 7 987 km ²	84% 220	7.3% 19	0.4% 1	-	-	8.4% 22
Sieradz 12 220 km ²	96.9% 372	-	-	0.3% 1	-	2.9% 11
Łęczyca 4 282 km ²	91.4% 117	-	-	-	-	8.6% 11
Brześć Kujawski 3 413 km ²	93.5% 101	0.9% 1	-	-	-	5.6% 6
Inowrocław 6 480 km ²	89.8% 158	2.8% 5	-	-	1.1% 2	6.3% 11
Total 59 842 km ²	87.66% 1 798	5.61% 115	0.34% 7	0.05% 1	0.10% 2	6.24% 128

Gniezno and Inowrocław. The Latin dioceses situated in Wielkopolska constituted, along with the Kraków diocese, the main core of the Latin Church organization in the Commonwealth. The percentage of Latin churches in Małopolska proper (85.6 percent) and Wielkopolska proper (87.7 percent) was very similar. As for the density of sacral buildings, determined mainly by the intensity of settlement and degree of parish structure development in the Middle Ages, their network in Wielkopolska was developed to a nearly identical degree as in Małopolska proper. In the palatinates of Lublin, Kraków and Sandomierz there was one sacral building per 29.9 km², whereas in Wielkopolska it was one per 29.2 km², while there was one Latin church per 34.8 km² in Małopolska and one per 33.3 km² in Wielkopolska. The domination of the Latin Church in both provinces was weaker in their border regions: in Małopolska – in its southern and eastern parts where the Greek Catholic Church had grown in importance, and in Wielkopolska – in its northern and western parts with a higher number of Protestant worshippers. In that context it seems that most “Roman Catholic”

was the border area between Małopolska and Wielkopolska, the palatinates of Kraków and Sandomierz with the palatinates of Sieradz and Łęczyca.

As for the density of Latin churches there were slightly more of them in the palatinates situated more to the south and east (of Kalisz and Sieradz) which formed one strip with the Kraków palatinate in Małopolska province. It follows from the geography of denominations in Wielkopolska as represented by the way sacral buildings are distributed that there was a higher number of Protestants along the border with Brandenburg and Pomorze than in the southern part of Wielkopolska bordering Silesia. It was there that the churches of Bohemian Brethren were situated (seven in total in the whole of Wielkopolska), the remnants of the former Wielkopolska Unity. Lutheran churches (115) predominated in the western and northern parts of the Poznań palatinate, and also in the northern areas of the Gniezno and Inowrocław palatinates. The distribution of Protestant communities in Wielkopolska was connected with both the first (medieval), and the secondary (early modern) German colonization.¹⁹⁸ In the second half of the eighteenth century the southern border of Ołęder (Mennonite) settlement ran through the Kujawy and Dobrzyń parts of Wielkopolska (two public churches and circa 20 schools and places of worship). Based on the statistics of sacral buildings it is possible to say that the Protestant population in the analysed area accounted for more than the six percent suggested by the number of churches. The distribution of Protestant churches only reflects the largest communities of that population. The sources seldom and irregularly mention the existence of smaller groups dispersed among the Catholic population. The Jewish population (124 kahals) was quite evenly distributed across all of Wielkopolska. Compared to Christian worshippers there were least Jewish communities in the Sieradz palatinate.

2. Royal Prussia

A separate treatment of Royal Prussia in the Wielkopolska province is justified by both the political and socio-religious history of this area. The term Royal Prussia refers to the western part of the former Teutonic state in Prussia that after the Peace of Toruń (Thorn) in 1466 was handed over to the jurisdiction of the Polish state.¹⁹⁹ From the point of view of historical geography, two areas may be distinguished in the territory of Royal Prussia: Prussia and Pomorze (Pomera-

198 S. Inglot, *Kolonizacja wewnętrzna a napływ Niemców do Polski od XVI do XVIII w.*, Kraków 1945, p. 21.

199 M. Biskup, "Prusy Królewskie i Krzyżackie (1466-1526)", in: *Historia Pomorza*, vol. 2, part 1, ed. G. Labuda, Poznań 1976, p. 42.

nia), although the original border between the Prussians and Pomeranians was situated slightly east of the Vistula River.²⁰⁰ In the German literature on the subject it is customary to refer to Ducal Prussia as East Prussia (Ostpreussen), Royal Prussia as West Prussia (Westpreussen), and Pomorze Zachodnie as Pommern.

The actual unification between Royal Prussia and the Crown began in 1526 when the first dietines had been established in individual palatinates and after a parliamentary union had been created at the diet held in Lublin in 1569. However, some differences continued to exist, especially in the legal and judicial as well as parliamentary systems. What significantly distinguished Royal Prussia from the lands of the Crown was the strong influence of German culture and Protestantism that persisted until the end of the Commonwealth. The remnants of the Teutonic state also survived in the territorial organization of Royal Prussia. The former commanderies in Ducal Prussia were replaced by ducal starosties, and in Royal Prussia by powiats. The unification with the Crown and Wielkopolska resulted in the division of incorporated lands into palatinates.²⁰¹

From the sixteenth century Royal Prussia comprised three palatinates of Pomorze, Chełmno (Kulm) oraz Malbork (Marienburg) that also included the dominium of the bishops of Warmia (Ermland) that was quite distinct and enjoyed significant autonomy. The administrative affiliation of the lands of Lębork (Lauenburg) and Bytów (Bütow) handed over to Brandenburg as a fief pursuant to the Treaty of Bromberg in 1657 is a controversial question, like that of Drahim starosty. In formal and legal terms the Lębork and Bytów lands, like the Drahim starosty, should be viewed as part of the Commonwealth (in the Pomorze palatinate) until the First Partition.²⁰²

200 Arnold, *Geografia historyczna Polski*, p. 100.

201 J. Małłek, "Dwie części Prus – nowe spojrzenie", in: *Prusy Książęce i Prusy Królewskie w XVI-XVIII wieku*, red. J. Wijaczka, Kielce 1997, pp. 9-13.

202 On the Rizzi-Jabłonowski map of 1772 and on Karol Perthées' *Polonia* of 1770 those lands were included in Brandenburg. On historical maps the districts of Lębork and Bytów are featured as part of the Commonwealth, but as an area independent of the Pomorze palatinate, Litak, *Atlas Kościoła łacińskiego*, p. 120 (as separated from the Pomorze palatinate); Klemp, *Protestanci w dobrach prywatnych*, maps. In his description of the Commonwealth's administration published in 1767 T. Waga enumerates the Lębork and Bytów powiats in the context of the Pomorze palatinate, but with the following comment: "The powiats of Lębork and Bytów were under the jurisdiction of the king of Prussia since 1657" (p. 19). On the legal aspects of the subordination of Lębork and Bytów, see: W. Kostuś, *Władztwo Polski nad Lęborkiem i Bytowem. Studium historyczno-prawne*, Wrocław 1954 (especially Chapter 9: Lenno Lębork i Bytów w rękach elektora brandenburskiego w latach 1658-1772, pp. 105-122) and

As an area where the Lutheran Church dominated, the Lębork and Bytów lands are important from the point of view of the geography of religions. The map of its churches enclosed within Aleksander Klemp's work (*Protestant Churches in Royal Prussia and in the Districts of Lębork and Bytów from the Second Half of the Seventeenth Through the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century*)²⁰³ shows a much higher density of these places of worship compared to the central areas of the Pomorze palatinate. Their confessional situation was an outcome of political history that in turn determined the socio-religious situation. The actual affiliation of those lands with the Duchy of West Pomerania was an important factor at the onset of the Reformation. Over a short period of the actual Polish rule (1637-1657) it was possible to conduct a partial recatholicization of those two starosties, but only in organizational as well as formal and legal terms.²⁰⁴ The importance of Protestantism rose even more after the lands of Lębork and Bytów were handed over to the Elector of Brandenburg in 1657. In the second half of eighteenth century there were only three Latin Church parishes (Lębork, Bytów and Ugoszcz) and 12 filial parishes in the Pomorze archdeaconry of the Włocławek diocese. In the same period in the Bytów land there were five Lutheran parishes and two filial churches, and in the Lębork land 12 parishes and four filial places of worship.²⁰⁵ From 1677 the reformed preachers were working at Zwartowo, and at Charbrowo, but for a short time (1671-1736).²⁰⁶

A. Kamińska-Linderska, *Między Polską a Brandenburgią. Sprawa lenna lęborsko-bytowskiego w drugiej połowie XVII w.*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1966.

- 203 The author overlooked some churches, for example in the village of Sominy in the Bytów land (ADPel. G63b, f. 96; ADPel. G69, f. 24; *Materialien zur Bevölkerungskunde Kreis Bütow in Pommern Ältere Zeit*, hrsg. K.D. Kreplin, p. 173 [access: <http://www.buetow-pommern.info/materialien/DOWNLOAD/VEROEFF0.PDF>; 24.06.2010]). It was not, however, possible to corroborate in the sources a church in the village of Rozlazino – it is not featured, inter alia, on the map of the church organization in Prussia in 1785 (“Die kirchliche Organisation um 1785”). In a description of the Dzieścielec parish E. Müller informs that in the seventeenth century there was an Evangelical church at Rozlazin which was taken over by the Catholics and that is why the parish was moved to the village of Dzieścielec in 1641, Müller, *Die Evangelischen Geistlichen Pommerns*, vol. 2, p. 241.
- 204 A. Mączak, “Prusy w dobie rozkwitu gospodarczego i w okresie walk o zjednoczenie z Koroną”, in: *Historia Pomorza*, vol. 2, part 1, ed. G. Labuda, Poznań 1976, p. 404.
- 205 The basic information on the organizational development of Protestant denominations in the lands of Lębork and Bytów is included in, i.a., vol. 2 of the above quoted E. Müller's work, *Die Evangelischen Geistlichen Pommerns*, passim.
- 206 According to W. Kriegseisen after the death of the last Evangelical pastor, Dawid Behr, the church at Zwartowo was taken over by the Lutherans, Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy*

East and south of the Lębork and Bytów lands the importance of Protestantism was clearly smaller. The Pomorze palatinate covering a part of Royal Prussia situated on the left bank of the Vistula River and an area of 13 110 km² was divided in 1764 (after the reform of the administration system) into the ten powiats of Gdańsk, Puck, Kościerzyna, Tczew, Skarszewy, Nowe, Świecie, Tuchola, Człuchów and Mirachowo.²⁰⁷ According to Marcei Kosman the small number of Protestant religious communities in the eighteenth century is evidence of the victory of the Counterreformation and the Catholic Church in this area. Lutheranism was more influential in major urban centres and the areas surrounding them, as evidenced by Gdańsk (Danzig) in and around which there was a concentration of Lutheran churches.²⁰⁸

The entire Pomorze palatinate was located in the Pomorze archdeaconry of the Włocławek diocese and the Kamień archdeaconry (deaneries of Człuchów and Tuchola) of the Latin archdiocese of Gniezno. The Pomorze archdeaconry comprised – apart from the Pomorze palatinate – only the starosties of Lębork and Bytów referred to above. The loss of Pomorze Gdańskie (Eastern Pomerania) in favour of the Teutonic Knights in the fourteenth century did not deprive the Włocławek bishops of their jurisdiction, but through 1466 the bishops of Pomezania (Pomesanien) lodged claims to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over that area. There were also attempts on the part of the Teutonic Knights to establish a Pomorze diocese independent of Gniezno. The return of those lands within the political borders of the Kingdom of Poland consolidated the position of the Catholic Church that continued to have a regular parish and deanery organization in that area. The Włocławek bishops were very well aware of the differences that existed between the Kruszwica-Włocławek and Pomorze parts of their dio-

polscy i litewscy, p. 85. But according to E. Müller (*Die Evangelischen Geistlichen Pommerns*, pp. 549-552) both Dawid Behr and his successor Paweł Gottfried Cassius ministered at the church in Zwartowo from the nearby Lębork where they lived (the vicarage at Zwartowo was on the verge of collapse). After Cassius had died the community was taken over by Gotthilf Peter Crüger, a pastor from Stołpie, and then by pastor Samuel Hartmann from Krokowa in 1781. The situation at Charbrowo was different because after the last reformed pastor Johannes Onias had passed away, the church was handed over to the Lutherans.

207 Waga, *Wyciąg z geografii polskiej*, p. 19; Gloger, *Geografia historyczna*, p. 166. Earlier the Pomorze palatinate had been divided into eight powiats of Gdańsk, Puck, Tczew, Nowe, Świecie, Tuchola, Człuchów and Mirachowo, Arnold, *Geografia historyczna*, pp. 102-103.

208 M. Kosman, "Prusy Królewskie – stosunki wyznaniowe", in: *Historia Pomorza*, vol. 2, part 2, ed. G. Labuda, Poznań 1984, pp. 404.

cese. Of particular significance was the role played by the Lutherans in the capital city of the archdeaconry – Gdańsk.²⁰⁹ The supremacy of the Gniezno archdiocese over the south-western corner of the Pomorze palatinate (Kamień archdeaconry) was a remnant of the archbishop's jurisdiction over the Słupsk land exercised at the beginning of the fourteenth century.²¹⁰ In that area, similarly to the northern part of the Gniezno palatinate, there were strong centres of Lutheranism radiating from Brandenburg in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The entire Pomorze palatinate is marked by a significant percentage of filial churches against the number of active parishes (53.4 percent). There is a clear correlation between the number of Latin filial churches in individual deaneries and the number of Lutheran churches. According to the sources the highest percentage of filial churches was in the deaneries of Człuchów (Kamień archdeaconry, Gniezno diocese) oraz Gdańsk (Pomorze archdeaconry, Włocławek diocese). The filial churches included 19 (16.1 percent) monastery churches. In the Pomorze parishes a significant role was also played by religious orders (12 parishes, 11.6 percent), mainly the Cistercians from Pelplin, Oliwa and Łąd who ran nine parishes in total.

The geography of Lutheranism in the Pomorze palatinate was a result of the impact it had on society, on the one hand, and the neighbouring areas with strong Lutheran influences (Brandenburg, Pomezania), on the other. During the Counterreformation in the seventeenth century there was a large-scale vindication of Catholic churches in the nobility's estates of Royal Prussia. But in towns and in urban properties the Evangelical Augsburg denomination had gained a lasting and deeply rooted position which it managed to maintain until the second half of the eighteenth century. The Catholic and Protestant communities frequently struggled over control, there were conflicts and even religious unrest between them. Most Lutheran churches that operated in the eighteenth century concentrated around Człuchów (the towns of Chojnice, Biały Bór, Czarne), but first and foremost in Gdańsk and its vicinity.

The list of Lutheran places of worship in the Pomorze palatinate that is offered by the basic studies on the subject²¹¹ may be extended based on the analysis of the

209 Ibid, p. 247.

210 Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, pp. 35-36.

211 Rhesa, *Kurzgefasste Nachrichten von allen seit der Reformation*, passim. The above-mentioned Mortensens' map of 1785 (*Die kirchliche Organisation um 1785*) is frequently quoted and used because it lists Lutheran places of worship in Prussia. A list of Protestant places of religious cult in the Kamień archdeaconry based on ample sources was compiled by A. Mietz, *Archidiaconat kamieński archidiecezji*

visitations of the Włocławek diocese and the Gniezno archdiocese in the 1770s and 1780s. This especially applies to smaller communities that gathered in the so-called oratories, sometimes also referred to as schools or places of worship. Sometimes the visitations are imprecise and do not provide the exact location of a Protestant oratory, informing only that it existed in a parish.²¹² Sometimes the inspector was more precise and provided the location of on-the-side schools or private oratories.²¹³ It is hard to determine based on one mention in a visitation report when and how long such oratory functioned. It cannot be ruled out that, like in the case of the Mennonites, the term “oratory” referred to a separate room intended for prayer in one of the village houses. In its absence the Lutherans gathered in a special part of the cemetery as it happened at Wysin.²¹⁴ The visitations seldom refer to public oratories.²¹⁵

In the sources and literature one may come across the term “Bethaus” referring sometimes to Lutheran churches and more frequently to the Mennonite

gnieźnieńskiej: struktura terytorialna i stan kościołów w czasach staropolskich 1512-1772, Włocławek 2005, pp. 90-108.

- 212 “Quia tamen intra Parochiam sunt acatholici plurimi hi igitur habent sua oratoria privata sive scholas ac etiam caemeteria in campis”, ADWł. AV43, f. 29 (Polskie Łąki). “Aatholici in loco ecclesiae et intra parochiam reperiuntur habentque privata oratoria seu scholas”, ADWł. AV43, f. 148v (Świekatowo). Similarly to the parishes of Drzycim, ADWł. AV43, f. 315, Jeżewo, ADWł. AV43, f. 349v, Włóki, ADWł. AV43, f. 469v, Lipusz, ADPel. G69, ff. 131v, 132v, 138, Wejherowo, ADPel. G63a, p. 21, Śliwice, ADWł. AV43, ff. 249, 250v, Mierzeszyn, ADPel. G72, ff. 218v-219, 226, Sulęczyño, ADPel. G69, ff. 54v, 55, 61v, Stężycza, ADPel. G69, ff. 144v, 145, Parchowo, ADPel. G69, ff. 40v, 41, 48v, Matarnia, ADPel. G72, ff. 299v-300, 304, Wysin, ADPel. G70, ff. 133v, 135v, Nieświecin, ADWł. AV43, ff. 86, 87v, Kłodawa, ADPel. G72, ff. 174v, 175v, 185v, Gostyczyn, AAGn. CE42, pp. 944-945, Goręczyño, ADPel. G69, ff. 227v-228, 235v-236, Stara Kiszewa, ADPel. G61, pp. 136-137; ADPel. G70, ff. 402v, 404v, 414v.
- 213 “Aatholici profitentes religionem augustanam in Płochocinko et Krzywin un unam domum conveniunt et devotiones suas absolvunt”, ADPel. G71, f. 313v (parish of Płochocin). Other information on such oratories: Kosowo, Dworzysko, Małocieczowo, Bagniewo, Więckowo, ADWł. AV43, f. 51v (parish of Gruczno), Bukowiec, ADWł. AV43 (90), f. 3v (parish of Przysiersk), Wałdowo and Mroczyń, ADWł. AV43, f. 87v (parish of Niewieścín), Brzeziny, ADWł. AV43, f. 278 (parish of Osie), Pyszczyn, ADWł. AV43, f. 420v (local parish), Topolinko, ADWł. AV43, f. 403 (parish of Topolno), Bielsk, ADPel. G71, f. 132 (parish of Piaseczno), Płochocinek and Krzewin, ADPel. G71, f. 313v (parish of Płochocin).
- 214 ADPel. G70, f. 135v.
- 215 For example, Jasieniec – Zamek, ADWł. AV43 (90), f. 120v (parish of Serock), Gniew, ADPel. G71, f. 85, Nowe (the town hall), ADPel. G71, f. 252v.

places of worship. It does not exactly stand for a church but only a kind of church building. Whenever a lease contract included a provision prohibiting the building of a church,²¹⁶ such buildings (“Bethaus-Schule”) frequently replaced places of worship. They differed from a typical church in that they had no towers or bell towers, and they rather looked like a farm outbuilding. It should be emphasized that running a school was an inseparable element of religious life.²¹⁷ That a house performed a religious function was evidenced by a wooden cross on the roof and the furniture inside.²¹⁸ Buildings of this type were characteristic of the Mennonites who lived in Pomorze and Żuławy Wiślane (Werder – the alluvial delta of the Vistula River).²¹⁹ In the area of the Pomorze palatinate situated along the Vistula a very important role was played by the Mennonite communities. It is worth stressing that the second half of the eighteenth century was marked by a strong growth of the Mennonite communities in Żuławy, in the vicinity of Gdańsk and Elbląg (Elbing). Listed in Table 33 are only those communities that became independent before 1772, disregarding those that built their places of worship in the second half of 1770s and in 1780s, such as Adamowo (1783), Błotnica-Głęboć (1778-1787) or Markusy (1791).²²⁰

Owing to a study by Edmund Kizik who availed himself of the most important works on the history of the Mennonites in Prussia,²²¹ we are familiar with a list of the Mennonite communities in Royal Prussia prior to the First Partition of the Commonwealth. From the beginning the Mennonites living in Royal Prussia comprised two groups: the Flemish and the Frisian.²²² There are, however, controversies over whether he as well as the historical-geographical atlas of Prussian lands were right to classify a village of Dziewięć Włók near Gdańsk as

216 “With the landlord’s proviso that other than Catholic churches cannot be built” (from the 1603 contract entered between the Dybów starosty head, Wojciech Padniewski, and Olęders from the villages of Rudak and Kosorzyn), Ciesielska, “*Osadnictwo ‘olęderskie’ w Prusach Królewskich*”, p. 247.

217 H. Wiebe, *Das Siedlungswerk Niederländischer Mennoniten im Weichseltal zwischen Fordon und Weissenberg bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrh.*, Marburg/Lahn 1952, p. 11.

218 R. Heuer, “Die Holländerdörfer in der Weischelniederung um Thorn”, *Mitteilungen des Copernicus-Vereins Thorn*, 42 (1934), pp. 152-153.

219 Kizik, *Mennonici w Gdańsku, Elblągu i na Żuławach*, p. 125.

220 *Mennonite Encyclopaedia*, vol. 1, pp. 416-417, vol. 2, pp. 176-177, vol. 3, pp. 490-491, 844-845 (access: <http://www.gameo.org/encyclopaedia>, 24.06.2010).

221 Of the most important studies it is worth mentioning the one by H. Penner, *Die ost- und westpreussischen Mennoniten*, passim, and H. Wiebe, *Das Siedlungswerk Niederländischer Mennoniten*, passim.

222 Kizik, *Mennonici w Gdańsku, Elblągu i na Żuławach*, p. 121.

a Flemish community.²²³ The Mennonite communities in the Pomorze palatinate mentioned by Kizik should be supplemented with a Flemish community living in the village of Przechówko near Świecie and the related community in the village of Jeziorki which may be viewed as a filial one.²²⁴ As for the distribution of the Mennonite communities in the Pomorze palatinate, there was one cluster of them in the north near Gdańsk (Gdańsk-Zaroślak, Nowe Ogrody, Orłowskie Pole), and the second one in the south-east in the area of the so-called Sartowice-Nowe Plane (Górna Grupa, Jeziorki, Mątawy, Przechówko).²²⁵ The list of Protestant communities in the Pomorze palatinate is supplemented by two churches of the Bohemian Brethren at Mokry Dwór and Krokowa, and a Calvinist place of worship in Gdańsk.²²⁶

The very strong position of burghers standing in defence of their interests in major cities, especially in Gdańsk, restricted the extent of Jewish settlement.²²⁷ There are no traces of the presence of the Jews in Pomorze Gdańskie at the time it was in the hands of the Teutonic Knights. It was after its incorporation into the Commonwealth and, quite surprisingly, owing to a friendly attitude of the nobility and the bishops of Włocławek that the Jewish communities could be established and develop in the noble and ecclesiastical estates (of the bishops of Włocławek).²²⁸ During the Four Years' Diet (1788-1792) the Pomorze palatinate

223 Ibid, p. 122; "Die kirchliche Organisation um 1785" (Bethaus). It is a common knowledge that the first Mennonite church was built there as late as 1844, and its residents were members of the Gdańsk community, *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, pp. 9-11.

224 *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, vol. 4, pp. 225-226, vol. 3, p. 110.

225 Ludkiewicz, *Osady holenderskie na nizinie sartawicko-nowskiej*, pp. 27, 31.

226 The situation of the Protestant church at Krokowa was quite volatile in the second half of the eighteenth century. After the death of pastor Jan Samuel Jung (1762), the church's patron Jan Kacper Krokowski hired a Lutheran pastor, Franciszek Meyer for a few years, and after he had left for Dzierzgoń, he was replaced by Piotr Zwonkowski. It was after his retirement in 1781 that the church returned to the Reformed Evangelicals, Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, p. 85; Klemp, *Protestanci w dobrach prywatnych*, pp. 212, 222-223.

227 H. Domańska, *Kamienne drzewo płaczu. Gminy żydowskie województwa gdańskiego, ich dzieje i zabytki*, Gdańsk 1991, p. 6; Z.H. Nowak, "Dzieje Żydów w Prusach Królewskich do roku 1772. Charakterystyka", in: *Żydzi w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej. Materiały z konferencji "Autonomia Żydów w Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej". Międzywydziałowy Zakład Historii i Kultury Żydów w Polsce, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 22-26 IX 1986*, ed. A. Link-Lenczowski, T. Polański, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1991, pp. 137-138. On the subject of the Gdańsk Jews in the period preceding the Partitions, see: Echt, *Die Geschichte der Juden in Danzig*, pp. 13-20.

228 Nowak, "Dzieje Żydów w Prusach Królewskich", p. 142.

was part of the Wielkopolska zemstwo.²²⁹ On Halperin's map of Jewish communities (1667-1764) marked are only three centres in the Pomorze palatinate: Gdańsk as a city where the Jews were prohibited from settling, and two communities in the south of the palatinate: Sępólno Krajeńskie (belonging to the Inowrocław palatinate, but wrongly featured in the Pomorze palatinate) and Człuchów.²³⁰ The ban on settling in the towns of Pomorze made the Jewish communities move to the suburbs. The poll tax register of 1765 recorded 22 communities most of which had been located in the suburbs or villages situated close to towns: Kolińcz-Owidz-Barchnowy, Mosty-Klonówka (near Starogard), the suburb of Człuchów, Chmielniki, Winnica, Wrzeszcz (near Gdańsk), Podzamcze Kościerzyńskie, Podzamcze Hamersztyńskie (Czarne), or Bolszewo near Wejherowo.

It is necessary to add the kahal at Stare Szkoty²³¹ to the list compiled based on the 1765 poll tax register²³² and the 1767 list.²³³ It is doubtful if in the second half of the eighteenth century there were communities in the villages of Wojtal and Odra,²³⁴ particularly in the light of a mention in the 1780 visitation of the parish at Wiele reading "Iudaei in parochia nulli".²³⁵ A small number of the Jews and the absence of any references in the sources are the grounds to question the existence of communities at Zarzecze near Człuchów, in the village of Malachin near Czersk, at Podzamcze Tucholskie, in the villages of Belno and Grupa near Świecie, Bochlin near Nowe, Krokowa near Puck and in the town of Lędyczek.²³⁶ It is necessary to emphasize that apart from the 1764 one they are absent from the eighteenth-century poll tax registers.²³⁷ It is very unlikely that there was a community at Osieczna, if according to the 1765 register it was inhabited by five Jews, and this is why it was not included in the summary table. The kahal organization developed in the Pomorze palatinate after the First Partition. The 1780s may have seen the emergence of the communities in Tczew and Skarszewy.²³⁸ At the time

229 Leszczyński, *Sejm Żydów Korony*, p. 69.

230 *Acta Congressus Generalis*, map.

231 "Liczba głów", p. 395.

232 EJCP. VI, pp. 33-42; Domańska, *Kamienne drzewo płaczu*, p. 22.

233 *Acta Congressus Generalis*, p. LXXIX.

234 "Liczba głów", p. 395.

235 ADPeL. G69, f. 68.

236 "Liczba głów", pp. 392 (in the poll tax register Lędyczek was included in the Kalisz palatinate), 395.

237 Kalik, "Between the Census and the Poll-Tax", p. 110.

238 ADPeL. G70, ff. 11v, 198, 217v. The communities established in the 1780s and 1790s also included two urban communities in Gdańsk, Domańska, *Kamienne drzewo płaczu*, pp. 24-26.

the Pomorze palatinate was incorporated into Prussia there were 23 Jewish communities there, but in respect to as many as 11 of them it is difficult to corroborate unequivocally in the sources that they existed.²³⁹

Table 33: The number of places of worship in the Pomorze palatinate circa 1772 (excluding the lands of Lębork and Bytów)

Religions and denominations	Diocese/ Eparchy	Archdeaconry/ Officialate	Deanery/ Protopopy/ Governorship	Main places of worship	Auxiliary places of worship	
Bohemian Brethren				2	-	
Calvinist				1	-	
Latin (Roman Catholic)	Gniezno	Kamień	Człuchów	12	38	
			Tuchola	8	10	
			Więcbork	-	2	
					20	50
	Włocławek	Gdańsk	Bytów	4	2	
			Gdańsk	10	19	
			Gniew	10	8	
			Mirachowo	9	5	
			Nowe	9	5	
			Puck	8	9	
			Starogard	9	6	
			Świecie	14	7	
			Tczew	10	7	
					83	68
				103	118	
Lutheran				67	12	
Mennonite				4	2	
Jewish				23	-	
Total				200	132	

239 M. Aschkewitz's study ("Die Juden in Westpreussen", pp. 569-570) only refers to the Gdańsk communities at Stare Szkoty, Winnica, and Wrzeszcz. One can hardly agree with the author's opinion who claims, following in the footsteps of R. Frydrychowicz (*Geschichte der Stadt, der Komturei und Starostei Tuchel*, Berlin 1879, p. 83), that over 1770-1780 a community was developing in Chojnice.

In the second half of the eighteenth century the palatinate of Pomorze, situated along the north-western border of the old Commonwealth, had an interesting and diversified ethnic and religious structure. In its territory there were 332 places of worship belonging to five Christian denominations (Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Bohemian Brethren and Mennonites) and the Jews. Given the territorial range of the Pomorze palatinate (13 110 km², excluding the lands of Łęborg and Bytów), there was one sacral facility per 39.5 km², a network that was much scarcer than in Małopolska and Wielkopolska proper. This was a natural consequence of less developed settlement in the area where woods and virgin forests predominated, the climate was harsher and the soil not very fertile.²⁴⁰ It follows from the statistical data on sacral buildings and related confessional structures in the Pomorze palatinate that the Catholics predominated, although the prevalence of their churches (66.6 percent) was not as conspicuous as in Wielkopolska proper. It was most similar to the Gniezno palatinate which it bordered. Less developed settlement and fewer Catholics in Pomorze resulted in less developed structures of the Latin Church – there was one parish per 127.3 km². This may be contrasted to one Lutheran parish per 195.7 km², with a less even distribution of compared to the Latin parishes. The socio-political history of Prussia determined a very peculiar proprietary structure where – unlike in the other regions of the Wielkopolska province – royal ownership (land acquired from the Teutonic Knights) predominated. That affected the structure of patronage over Christian churches – as many as 53.6 percent of them were under the royal patronage. The percentage of churches owned by the clergy (23.7 percent) and nobility (21.6 percent) was much lower.

Unlike in the other parts of the Commonwealth the Jewish population in Pomorze had limited prospects of settling in towns. This is why nearly all communities were located in villages and in suburbs, or in small private towns.²⁴¹ It was in the nineteenth century and under the Prussian rule that the Jewish communities could establish themselves and build urban synagogues. But owing to the legal restrictions imposed on the growth of urban communities the number of the Jews in Pomorze was relatively low. The largest kahal at Stare Szkoty near Gdańsk numbered 504 Jews in 1764. In the Pomorze palatinate there were the most important, apart from the Malbork palatinate, centres of the Mennonite population resulting from the Dutch (Olęder) settlement. Similarly to the Lutherans they lived in small groups scattered among the followers of the Latin Church and they

240 Arnold, *Geografia historyczna Polski*, p. 103.

241 Aschkewitz, "Die Juden in Westpreussen", pp. 558-559.

were not able to create more permanent organizational structures. This is why only in larger centres were separate places of worship (“Bethaus”) built.

Because the Jews had settled in the suburbs and in villages, in most of 17 towns of the Pomorze palatinate there were only Catholic and Lutheran communities (Biały Bór, Chojnice, Gniew, Nowe, Puck, Skarszewy, Starogard, Świecie and Tczew). The most diversified centres included Gdańsk with organized Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist and Mennonite communities, as well as kahals in its suburbs, and the towns of Czarne, Kościerzyna and Lędyczek.²⁴²

The main centres of Mennonite settlement were in the Malbork palatinate that was earlier referred to as the palatinate of Elbląg. The Malbork palatinate was administratively connected with Warmia,²⁴³ although its legal, proprietary and confessional situation was completely different.²⁴⁴ Warmia enjoyed considerable autonomy both in Royal Prussia and in the entire Commonwealth. Although the title of dukes bestowed on the Warmia bishops gave rise to many controversies, the situation of Warmia was in many respects similar to that of the ducal bishoprics of the German Reich. The bishops and chapter of Warmia emphasized their independence in many regards: direct subordination of the bishop to the Holy See, the limited right of royal patronage in respect to nominations within the Warmia bishopric, the territorial sovereignty (Landesherrschaft) of the bishop and chapter, a separate dietine, and also maybe its own currency.²⁴⁵

The peculiarity of Warmia vis a vis other parts of Royal Prussia is clearly evident also in respect to the confessional situation. The territorial range of the Warmia diocese established in 1243 is disputable. In formal and legal terms the jurisdiction of the Warmia bishops in modern times also covered Protestant Sambia (Samland), a part of the former Warmia diocese that remained within the borders of Ducal Prussia following the Second Peace of Toruń (Thorn). It is worth recalling that the bishops of Warmia also held the title of bishops of Sambia. Their rights had been recognized both by the Holy See (1616) and the Prussian king (1726).²⁴⁶ In

242 See: P. Kościelak, “Wolność wyznaniowa w Gdańsku w XVI-XVIII wieku”, in: *Protestantyzm i protestanci na Pomorzu*, ed. J. Iluk, D. Mariańska, Gdańsk-Koszalin 1997, pp. 95-132.

243 “The Malbork palatinate included Warmia which was a separate duchy under an absolute rule of the duke-bishop of Warmia”, Gloger, *Geografia historyczna*, p. 161.

244 W. Odyniec, *Dzieje Prus Królewskich*, Warszawa 1972, p. 29.

245 On the place of Warmia in Royal Prussia and differences in political systems, see: recently D. Bogdan, “Warmia w XVI-XVIII w.”, in: *Prusy Książęce i Prusy Królewskie w XVI-XVIII wieku*, ed. J. Wijaczka, Kielce 1997, pp. 59-77.

246 Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, p. 277.

the area belonging to Ducal Prussia and subordinated to the bishops of Warmia, three Latin parishes were established in Königsberg (Królewiec), Tilsit (Tylża) and Heiligelinde (Święta Lipka).²⁴⁷ All of them were run by the Jesuits. Located in the territory of the Warmia diocese was also the city of Elbląg and the area surrounding it which in the aftermath of a new administrative division carried out after their incorporation into the Commonwealth in the fifteenth century became part of the Malbork palatinate. That part of the Warmia diocese, located outside the dominion of the bishops of Warmia (the archpresbyterate of Elbląg and part of the archpresbyterate of Frombork) was marked by strong Lutheran influences.

Covering 4316 km², Warmia was a homogeneously Catholic area. This was mainly due to the above-mentioned dominion powers of the bishops and chapter of Warmia who decided about the religious makeup of the lands under their jurisdiction. Their impact is best reflected in the structure of patronage – circa 1772 as many as 93.2 percent of churches were under the patronage of the clergy. A territorial change that most affected the Warmia Church had been the division of the diocese into the Polish and Teutonic parts in 1466, and then – after 1525 – the expansion of Protestantism in its area that had remained in Ducal Prussia. After 1525 no major changes affected the parish networks of the Churches. Only the number of auxiliary places of worship increased.²⁴⁸ In the second half of the eighteenth century there were 124 churches, of which 75 were parish and 49 filial ones (one church per 34.8 km², one parish per 57.6 km²). Warmia was characterized by an insignificant percentage of monastic churches (just five), and it should be emphasized that the religious orders were not involved in pastoral work.²⁴⁹ The diocese's capital city of Lidzbark (the chapter's seat was located in Frombork) was initially divided into 14 archpresbyterates (deaneries), but after part of its territory had been lost their number dropped to ten.²⁵⁰ The deanery network corresponded with the administrative division of Warmia into districts: three of them (Pieniężno, Frombork and Olsztyn) belonged to the chapter and the rest of them to the bishops.²⁵¹ The parish churches included a fourteenth-century collegiate church at Dobre Miasto.

247 Kopiczko, *Ustrój i organizacja diecezji warmińskiej*, p. 17.

248 *Ibid.*, p. 172.

249 It was pointed out by M. Kosman, "Prusy Królewskie – stosunki wyznaniowe", p. 237.

250 The initial division into archpresbyterates and deaneries was most probably effected in the fourteenth century, but the first complete list of churches with their administrative affiliation comes from 1487-1528, Kopiczko, *Ustrój i organizacja*, p. 163.

251 Biskup, "Prusy Królewskie i Krzyżackie (1466-1526)", p. 45.

The confessional situation in the small Malbork palatinate bordering Warmia to the west (2231 km²)²⁵² was completely different. The Malbork palatinate covered Wielkie Żuławy and Małe Żuławy and the right bank of Powiśle, which had earlier belonged to Teutonic commandries of Malbork, Elbląg and Dzierżgoń.²⁵³ In the second half of the eighteenth century it had the highest density of Lutheran churches in the whole of Royal Prussia. The reports by the bishops of Chełmno frequently underscored that in the Pomezania part of their diocese the number of Protestants exceeded that of Catholics by several fold.²⁵⁴ But that domination is not corroborated by the number of Catholic and Protestant churches operating in that area before the First Partition.

In the Middle Ages, apart from its eastern part with Elbląg, most of the Malbork palatinate was part of the Latin diocese of Pomezania, one of the four established in Prussia in 1243. In 1466, after the Peace of Toruń, a part of the Pomezania diocese was incorporated into the Commonwealth, but its capital and most of its territory remained in Ducal Prussia. The friendly attitude of the bishops of Pomezania to the Lutherans, and then the secularization of the diocese in 1525, resulted in the expansion of Protestantism in the Malbork palatinate. After the fall of the Protestant diocese of Pomezania in 1587 its part situated in the territory of the Commonwealth came under the jurisdiction of the bishops of Chełmno (approved by the Pope in 1601). A separate officialate and archdeaconry with the seat in Malbork were established for five deaneries and 70 parishes.²⁵⁵

Quite surprising is a relatively low number of filial churches in the Malbork part of the Chełmno diocese (43.6 percent). In an area with such a domination of the Lutheran population one might expect a much higher percentage of auxiliary churches, similarly to some parts of the Poznań, Gniezno or Pomorze palatinates. This indicates that the bishops of Chełmno (Piotr Kostka and Piotr Tylicki) succeeded in the reconstruction of the Latin Church structures at the turn of the sixteenth century. Only in bigger cities, mainly in Elbląg, were the losses more serious and permanent. Among filial churches a minor role was played by monastic churches – out of 27 filial churches just three belonged to monasteries

252 M. Biskup estimated the size of the Malbork palatinate at 2096 km², Biskup, “Prusy Królewskie i Krzyżackie (1466-1526)”, p. 44.

253 Ibid, p. 44.

254 *Relacja o stanie diecezji z 1773 roku*, Archive of the Council Congregation in Rome: the Chełmno diocese file, no pagination; see: Kosman, “Prusy Królewskie – stosunki wyznaniowe”, p. 256.

255 Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, pp. 164-165.

(the Reformed Franciscans at Dzierzgoń, the Jesuits in Malbork and the Bernardines at Kadyny).

Owing to the 1834 description by Pastor Ludwik Rhesa, a rector of Königsberg University, the history of Lutheran religious communities in Prussia is well known.²⁵⁶ His work was used by, *inter alia*, Ronald Ruprecht and Bernhart Jähnig, when they were developing a map of the church organization in Prussia in 1785. The Protestant churches of the Malbork palatinate were then organized into three inspections of Elbląg, Nowy Staw and Malbork.²⁵⁷ The Evangelical parishes were distributed quite evenly over the entire palatinate and they intertwined with the Latin parish network. It may be concluded from the lists of pastors compiled by Rhesa that the majority of Lutheran communities had sixteenth-century origins, while the rest of them – seventeenth-century roots. Unlike in the Latin Church, a definite majority of Lutheran places of worship were parish churches (in the Malbork palatinate there were only four Lutheran filial churches). In view of the foregoing observations by the bishop of Chełmno on the prevalence of the Protestant population in the Malbork archdeaconry and the almost similar number of Catholic and Lutheran parishes, it should be assumed that the latter were more populous.²⁵⁸ In the Malbork palatinate Elbląg was the most important and the largest centre of Lutheranism where apart from the Latin parish of St. Nicholas there were five Lutheran parishes and a Flemish community of Mennonites. That confessional situation was an outcome of the 1616 agreement according to which the bishop of Warmia agreed to hand over to the Lutherans all churches in Elbląg apart from St. Nicholas's.²⁵⁹ The importance of the Reformed Evangelicals in Malbork due to the high material status of the Calvinists decreased at the beginning of the seventeenth century. This was an outcome of both internal conflicts among Protestants and the activities pursued by the Jesuits.²⁶⁰

From the middle of the sixteenth century Elbląg and its vicinity experienced an intense expansion of Mennonite (Oleđer) settlement. Kizik is of the opinion

256 Rhesa, *Kurzgefasste Nachrichten*, passim.

257 "Die kirchliche Organisation um 1785".

258 Kosman, "Prusy Królewskie – stosunki wyznaniowe", p. 257.

259 M. Pawlak, *Reformacja i kontrreformacja w Elblągu w XVI-XVIII wieku*, Bydgoszcz 1994, pp. 41-42, 50-52.

260 Kosman, "Prusy Królewskie – stosunki wyznaniowe", p. 262. In the second half of the eighteenth century Calvinist services were held at a private house in Elbląg, A. Harnoch, *Chronik und Statistik der evangelischen Kirche*, Neidenburg 1890, pp. 559-560; Rhesa, *Kurzgefasste Nachrichten*, p. 169; Pawlak, *Reformacja i kontrreformacja w Elblągu*, pp. 75-78.

that in the second half of the eighteenth century approximately 90 percent of the “Polish” Mennonites lived in the villages of Żuławy and in the lower Vistula River basin.²⁶¹ In the Malbork palatinate it is possible to identify four major Mennonite centres. Initially, that is in the middle of the sixteenth century, the Mennonites began to settle on rural estates around Elbląg. They were restricted from settling in the town, although the preconditions of their settlement were more favourable than in Gdańsk where no urban Mennonite community was established until the nineteenth century. Their second major cluster lived in the so-called Wielkie Żuławy (near Nowy Dwór Gdański), where there initially was one community at Tujce (Cyganka) which was divided in 1735 into four communities (Tujce,²⁶² Niedźwiedzica, Lubieszewo, Suchowo). The Mennonites living in Malbork were not covered by the municipal law and this is why they were not numerous there. North west of the town, at Stogi, there was the largest rural Mennonite community in Prussia until 1728. The Mennonite community located furthest to the south in the Malbork palatinate lived at Barcice with which the residents of the area surrounding Sztum were affiliated.²⁶³

Judging by the number of communities and the surviving references on the number of population, the presence of the Jewish population in the Malbork palatinate in the second half of the eighteenth century may be said to be vestigial. The 1765 poll tax register mentions only “a village of Brodzent in the Kiszpork (Dzierżgoń – the author’s note) starosty”, where the tax was paid by 86 Jews.²⁶⁴ This was probably the village of Brudzędy (Brodzenty) located close to the border with Ducal Prussia. The reluctance of the Jews to settle in the Malbork palatinate must have obviously stemmed from an intolerant policy initially pursued by the Teutonic Knights, and then by the Prussian towns and dietines. Anyway, the Jews were more interested in Toruń and Gdańsk than in Elbląg or Malbork.²⁶⁵

The Malbork palatinate contained a total of 119 sacral facilities, most of which were Catholic (52.1 percent) and Lutheran (39.5 percent). Granted that its area equalled 2231 km², there was one sacral building per 18.7 km², which means that the density of the places of worship was one of the highest in the entire Commonwealth. There was one Latin parish per 63.7 km², and one Lutheran per 51.9

261 Kizik, *Mennonici w Gdańsku, Elblągu i na Żuławach*, p. 61.

262 Tujce are viewed as the first Mennonite settlement in Royal Prussia, J. Szaflygin, *Katalog zabytków osadnictwa holenderskiego na ziemi łęczyckiej*, Warszawa 2004, p. 18.

263 *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 240-241; vol. 2, pp. 176-177, 730-735; vol. 3, p. 267; vol. 4, pp. 360-361, 710-711, 721-722, 741-742.

264 “Liczba głów”, p. 395.

265 Nowak, *Dzieje Żydów w Prusach Królewskich*, pp. 138-139.

km². The third largest religious group in the Malbork palatinate were the Mennonites, but in the localities where they lived they did not account for more than a few percent.²⁶⁶ The distribution of Latin and Lutheran parishes indicates quite clearly that the palatinate was divided into two parts. They were separated by the Nogat River. Left of the river, in the estuary of the Vistula River, the number of sacral facilities that was strongly connected with the process of settlement was much higher. The Malbork palatinate differed from Warmia not only in the structure of religions but also in the proprietary structure as royal patronage (81.6 percent) predominated.

Table 34. Places of worship in the Malbork palatinate circa 1772 (excluding Warmia)

Religions and denominations	Diocese/ Eparchy	Archdeaconry/ Officialate	Deanery/ Protopopy/ Governorship	Main places of worship	Auxiliary places of worship
Calvinist				-	1
Latin (Roman Catholic)	Chełmno	Malbork	Dzierzgoń	9	3
			Malbork	6	7
			Nowy Staw	6	4
			Sztum	5	4
			Żuławki	6	6
			32	24	
	Warmia	-	Elbląg	1	-
		Frombork	2	3	
			3	3	
			35	27	
Lutheran				43	4
Mennonite				9	-
Total				87	32

Located in the most southerly part of Royal Prussia was the palatinate of Chełmno that covered Teutonic commanderies established in the former Chełmno and Lubawa lands. Since 1560 it was divided into the two powiats of

266 According to Kizik in 1818 the Mennonites accounted for 5.7 percent of the population of the entire Elbląg powiat, but in the places of their residence they accounted for 7.3 percent in 1820, Kizik, *Mennonici w Gdańsku, Elblągu i na Żuławach*, p. 59.

Chełmno and Michałowo.²⁶⁷ After the administrative reform of 1764 seven powiats were established: in the Chełmno land, the powiats of Chełmno, Toruń, Grudziądz, Radzyń and Kowalewo, and in the Michałowo land, the powiats of Brodnica and Nowe Miasto.²⁶⁸ The Chełmno palatinate covered an area of 4938 km².

Initially the lands of Chełmno and Lubawa were under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Płock. The establishment of the Latin diocese of Chełmno was an outcome of the missionary activities of the Church in Prussia. It was the oldest of the Prussian dioceses, and the bishop of Chełmno was initially referred to as the “bishop of Prussia” (1218). The situation changed after the Teutonic Knights had been brought to the Chełmno land, when the Pope decided in 1243 to divide Prussia into four dioceses subordinated to the metropolitan archbishop of Riga. Due to the changes of the political borders and then the crushing victory of the Reformation in Ducal Prussia, the Riga metropolitan province and its two dioceses of Sambia and Pomezania ceased to exist. The demise of the Riga metropolitanate in 1566 resulted in the transfer, or actually the return, of the Chełmno diocese to the jurisdiction of the Gniezno metropolitan archbishops.²⁶⁹ Part of the Pomezania diocese located within the territory of the Commonwealth was subordinated to the bishop of Chełmno at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and thus created a separate Malbork archdeaconry which was not connected with the main part of the diocese.

The borders of the Chełmno palatinate overlapped almost exactly with the Chełmno archdeaconry (in the south of the diocese). The exceptions were three parishes which were classed in the second half of the eighteenth century as part of the Chełmno diocese and of Ducal Prussia, and where it had been possible to reinstate Catholicism (Łęck Wielki, Turowo and the filial church at Mały Przełęk)²⁷⁰ in the seventeenth century. In the Chełmno palatinate there were also a few parishes belonging to the Płock diocese. This situation was due to a conflict between the Chełmno and Płock dioceses about the affiliation of the Michałowo land.²⁷¹ Like the majority of the Polish dioceses the Chełmno dio-

267 Biskup, “Prusy Królewskie i Krzyżackie (1466-1526)”, pp. 42-43.

268 Gloger, *Geografia historyczna*, p. 152.

269 T. Glemma, *Diecezja chełmińska: zarys historyczno-statystyczny*, Pelplin 1928, pp. 29-30. The history of the Chełmno diocese, mainly from the point of view of the activities of its bishops, was discussed by A. Liedtke, “Zarys dziejów diecezji chełmińskiej”, *Nasza Przyszłość*, 34 (1971), pp. 59-116 (Modern Times: pp. 79-96).

270 Kumor, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, p. 333.

271 In 1325 the Teutonic Knights returned the parish of Jastrzębie back to the Płock bishopric. The Szczuka parish (along with its two filial churches at Brodnica and

cese was originally divided into deaneries in the fourteenth century, but the first information about their number comes from the files of the diocesan synod in 1438.²⁷² From the sixteenth through the eighteenth century the diocese was divided into 12 deaneries (archpresbyterates) in the Chełmno part and five in the Malbork part.

It transpires from the research by Waldemar Rozynekowski that the parish network in the Chełmno diocese was expanded during its affiliation with the Riga metropolitan province and the Teutonic Knights. Most churches were founded from the end of the thirteenth through the middle of the fourteenth century. The organizational development of parishes was determined by the political situation (war activities) and the progress of settlement.²⁷³ The main founding burden was borne by the Teutonic Knights,²⁷⁴ as reflected by the structure of patronage over parishes in early modern times. For it was royal patronage that predominated in the Chełmno palatinate (40.3 percent) due to the conversion of monastic properties into royal estates, as well as the ecclesiastical – 33.6 percent (presentations by the bishops of Płock and Chełmno, as well as monasteries).²⁷⁵ The number of Latin parishes established at the beginning of the fifteenth century (117)²⁷⁶ was reduced in the aftermath of the events brought about by the Reformation in Royal Prussia. Puzzling is a higher number of parish churches enumerated by the bishops in their reports sent

Cielęta) belonging to the Michałowo land, in spite of being part of the Teutonic state, continued to be affiliated with the Płock diocese, Glemma, *Diecezja chełmińska*, pp. 135-136; Litak, *Atlas Kościoła łacińskiego*, p. 272. The border between the palatinates also ran across the parish of Osiek Wielki, dividing it into the Dobrzyń and Michałowo parts (filial church at Gorczenica), *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, vol. 10, p. 78. The affiliation of the parish in the village of Brzozie Polskie with the Płock diocese (Brodnicza powiat) may be due to the fact that the locality was the property of the bishops of Płock, Glemma, *Diecezja chełmińska*, p. 487.

272 B. Kumor, "Chełmińska diecezja", in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 3, col. 118; W. Rozynekowski, "Uwagi o początkach organizacji archiepiskopalnej (dekanałnej) na terenie diecezji chełmińskiej", *Studia Pelplińskie*, 27 (1998), pp. 315-320.

273 W. Rozynekowski, *Powstanie i rozwój sieci parafialnej w diecezji chełmińskiej w czasach panowania zakonu krzyżackiego*, Toruń 2000, pp. 135-136.

274 Idem, "Patronat nad parafiami w średniowiecznej diecezji chełmińskiej", *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 49 (2001), fasc. 2, p. 144. On the development of parish network in the medieval Chełmno diocese, see also: P. Kujot, *Kto założył parafie w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej?: studium historyczne*, Toruń 1902-1905.

275 Szady, *Prawo patronatu*, p. 94.

276 Rozynekowski, *Powstanie i rozwój sieci parafialnej*, p. 136.

to Rome compared with the visitation reports or council minutes. It follows from the bishops' reports that in 1635 the Chełmno archdeaconry comprised 111 parishes, in 1642 – 125, in 1702 and 1743 – 120. These figures seem to be significantly inflated as they also cover non-active churches and those turned into filial churches due to various upheavals in the days of the Reformation. It was pointed out by the 1641 council that in the Chełmno part of the diocese there were 128 parish churches of which 15 did not function and 21 had their status downgraded to filial churches.²⁷⁷ It has been established that in the second half of the eighteenth century there were 90 parishes and 58 auxiliary churches in the Chełmno archdeaconry. In spite of the fact that some parishes were transformed into filial ones, auxiliary churches accounted for 39.7 per cent which was the lowest percentage among the Prussian palatinates. They also included monastic churches that were mainly located in larger towns: Brodnica, Chełmno, Chełmża, Grudziądz, Lubawa, and Toruń.

In terms of its confessional structure, the palatinate of Chełmno was the most homogeneous in Royal Prussia apart from Warmia. As aptly pointed out by Kosman: "The bishops of Chełmno had no major problems with dissenters in their diocese – apart from urban centres, of course".²⁷⁸ It was also emphasized by Antoni Mączak²⁷⁹ that the Chełmno palatinate was different, mainly due to a stronger Polish element among the nobility compared with Pomorze and Żuławy. This is also corroborated by the maps of the dissenter places of worship authored by Klemp, or Ruprecht and Jähnig,²⁸⁰ which feature only three major Lutheran centres functioning in the second half of the eighteenth century in the Chełmno palatinate: Grudziądz, Brodnica and Toruń. The number of localities where the Protestants had private oratories or places of worship is higher, but like in the case of the Pomorze palatinate, it is hard to establish unequivocally the character and stability of many of them. In the vicinity of Brodnica they included such centres as Bobrowo and Lembarg, where a pastor from Brodnica used to come,²⁸¹ as well as Chojno.²⁸² There is also no strong corroboration of the stability of dissident orato-

277 *Relacje o stanie diecezji z 1635, 1642, 1702, 1743 roku*, Archive of the Council Congregation in Rome, Chełmno diocese file, no pagination.

278 Kosman, "Prusy Królewskie – stosunki wyznaniowe", p. 255.

279 Mączak, "Prusy w dobie rozkwitu", pp. 406-407.

280 Klemp, *Protestanci w dobrach prywatnych*, map; "Die kirchliche Organisation um 1785".

281 ADPel. C69, ff. 31v, 42.

282 ADPel. C69, f. 15v.

ries in a Latin parish of Lipinki (deanery of Nowe Miasto),²⁸³ or Radoszki (deanery of Lidzbark),²⁸⁴ in a village of Rozgarty or in the parishes of Wabcz and Czyste (deanery of Chełmno).²⁸⁵ In the border area with Prussia there was an oratory in Lidzbark visited by a pastor from Płońnica located in Ducal Prussia.²⁸⁶

The information on the Lutheran churches and prayer houses offered by the visitations of the Chełmno diocese in the 1780s has been verified based on what had been established by Rhesa, but also the information offered in the studies by Ruprecht and Jähnig, as well as Klemp. Of 11 registered Lutheran churches operating in the second half of the eighteenth century in the Chełmno palatinate two were auxiliary churches – at Lubicz and Rogowo (Lutheran parish of Grębocin). Those villages belonged to the estates of the city of Toruń that was the strongest Protestant centre in the palatinate. According to Tadeusz Glemma, the success of the Reformation and the domination of Protestantism in this city were due to the ethnic composition of the city that was dominated by German speaking residents, but also to the passive attitude of the bishops of Chełmno.²⁸⁷ After the bishops and Jesuits had become more active, and also because of the very high position of the Protestant city council members, a very strong religious conflict flared up in the city which culminated in the so-called Tumult of Toruń in 1724. In the city there was also a community of the Bohemian Brethren that was part of the Wielkopolska Unity operating according to a privilege granted by King Jan III Sobieski in 1677.²⁸⁸

The lands located along the Vistula River in the Chełmno palatinate were an important area of Olęder settlement in the Commonwealth.²⁸⁹ It should be emphasized, however, that it concentrated rather on the left bank of the river, that is in Sartowice-Nowe Plane.²⁹⁰ On the right bank only at Sosnówka (located between Chełmno and Grudziądz) was there an organized Flemish-Frisian community living among the hamlets of the Grudziądz, Brodnica and Chełmno starosties.²⁹¹

283 ADPel. C69, f. 26.

284 ADPel. C68, f. 16v.

285 ADPel. C69, ff. 70, 78.

286 ADPel. C68, f. 28.

287 T. Glemma, "Dzieje stosunków kościelnych w Toruniu", in: *Dzieje Torunia*, ed. K. Tymieniecki, Toruń 1933, pp. 266-268.

288 Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, p. 85.

289 Ciesielska, "Osadnictwo 'olęderskie' w Prusach Królewskich", pp. 222-224.

290 Ludkiewicz, *Osady holenderskie na Nizinie Sartowicko-Nowskiej*, pp. 29-32.

291 In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries at Sosnówka lived two separate communities, a Frisian and Flemish one, each with its own prayer house. After some Flemish

The lack of prayer houses in other localities may be viewed as an evidence that the Ołęders lived in rather dispersed settlements in the Chełmno palatinate, mostly in groups of a few or more than a dozen people.²⁹²

Like the whole of Royal Prussia the Chełmno palatinate had a small Jewish minority. On the map of Jewish communities enclosed with Haplerin's study only Toruń is highlighted, and moreover, as a city where the Jews were not allowed to settle.²⁹³ The 1765 poll tax register mentions a synagogue at Ostromecko and eight other Jewish centres referred to as "parishes". It is hard to interpret these mentions unequivocally in the absence of additional source information. It is only known that there was a sort of organized Jewish community in Toruń before 1766 because a regulation commanding them to leave the city also refers to the closing of the school.²⁹⁴ The localities mentioned in the poll tax register, and also in King Frederick II's Land Survey, look like the major Jewish centres, for example according to the poll tax register Pokrzywno (Engelsburg) was inhabited by 43 Jews, and according to the Frederician Land Survey – 78 Jews and 191 Christians, whereas Szembruk (Gross Schönbrück) had 93 Jewish residents according to the poll tax register, but according to Frederick's Land Survey – 73 Jewish and 353 Christian residents.²⁹⁵ It is also characteristic that only a few Jews lived in other localities referred to in the Frederician Land Survey; for example in a village of Gorczeniczka near Brodnica there were only eight Jews,²⁹⁶ which may indicate that the "parishes" mentioned in the poll tax register should be treated as the seats of small or branch kahals.

Mennonites had moved out there was one common prayer house from 1730, and the community acquired a Flemish-Frisian character, *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, vol. 4, pp. 475-476.

292 E. Kizik and A. Klemp have established that the Mennonites living outside Żuławy accounted for only 10 percent of the entire Mennonite population living in the Commonwealth, Kizik, *Mennonici w Gdańsku, Elblągu i na Żuławach*, p. 61.

293 *Acta Congressus Generalis*, map.

294 A. Semrau, "Thorn in den Jahren 1770-1793", *Mitteilungen des Copernicus-Vereins für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn*, 8 (1893), p. 38.

295 Other localities: Płowęż (Klein Plowenz) – in the poll tax register: 80, in Frederick's Land Survey: 128 Jews, Fitów (Fittowo) – in the poll tax register: 172, in Frederick's Land Survey: 176 Jews, Bratian (Brattian) – in the poll tax register: 52, in Frederick's Land Survey: 50 Jews, Wleusk – in the poll tax register: 34, in Frederick's Land Survey: 11 Jews, Cibórz (Ciborz) – in the poll tax register: 21, in Frederick's Land Survey: 14 Jews, "Liczbą głów", p. 395; Aschkewitz, "Die Juden in Westpreussen", pp. 565-567.

296 Aschkewitz, "Die Juden in Westpreussen", p. 565.

Table 35: The number of places of worship in the Chełmno palatinate circa 1772.

Religions and denominations	Diocese/ Eparchy	Archdeaconry/ Officialate	Deanery/ Protopopy/ Governorship	Main places of worship	Auxiliary places of worship
Bohemian Brethren				1	-
Latin (Roman Catholic)	Chełmno	Chełmno	Brodnica	8	7
			Chełmno	8	7
			Chełmża	11	7
			Golub	4	4
			Grudziądz	3	5
			Lidzbark	5	3
			Lubawa	9	5
			Łasin	5	3
			Nowemiasto	9	4
			Radzyn	8	2
			Toruń	10	6
			Wąbrzeźno	8	4
				88	57
	Płock	Dobrzyń	Górzno	3	3
				91	60
Lutheran				9	2
Mennonite				1	-
Jewish				9	-
Total				111	62

It follows from the foregoing that in terms of religions the Chełmno palatinate resembled the northern palatinates of Wielkopolska (Inowrocław, Gniezno) rather than Royal Prussia. The percentage of Protestant churches was much lower here than in the Malbork or Pomorze palatinates. This was due to the geographical location and the related strong presence of the Polish and Roman Catholic element, naturally apart from larger cities where the Lutherans had continued to hold a strong position since the Reformation. There was a total of 173 sacral facilities, of which as many as 151 (87.3 percent) belonged to the Latin Church. There was one Latin church per 32.7 km² (one parish per 54.3 km², one filial church per 82.3 km²). Most numerous among religious minorities in the Chełmno palatinate were the Lutherans, mainly living in major cities, and the Jews concentrated in

the suburbs. But it should also be underscored that the Lutherans and the Jews, apart from cities like Toruń or Grudziądz, did not create populous communities but were rather dispersed among the Roman Catholic majority. This is evidenced both by the figures offered in the visitation reports by the bishops of Chełmno, and in the initial Prussian censuses.

Conclusions. According to the classification proposed by Heinz Schilling, in Royal Prussia a mixed (multiconfessional) identity prevailed.²⁹⁷ Maria Bogucka has labelled that region as “a large ethnic and religious melting pot”.²⁹⁸ The exception was the bishopric of Warmia where the Catholic-Tridentine identity predominated. In other words no religious cult other than Catholicism could be professed there. It continues to be an open question, however, to what degree Royal Prussia was diversified in religious terms and what were the differences between individual regions of this area totalling 25 759 km².

Table 36: The number and percentage of places of worship of individual denominations and religions in Royal Prussia circa 1772.

Palatinate	Number and percentage of places of worship					
	Latin (Roman Catholic)	Lutheran	Calvinist	Bohemian Brethren	Mennonite	Jewish
Pomorze 13 110 km ²	66.6% 221	23.8% 79	0.3% 1	0.6% 2	1.8% 6	6.9% 23
Lands of Łębork and Bytów 1 857 km ²	38.5% 15	59% 23	2.5% 1	-	-	-
Malbork 2 231 km ²	52.1% 62	39.5% 47	0.8% 1	-	7.6% 9	-
Warmia 4 316 km ²	100% 124	-	-	-	-	-
Chełmno 4 938 km ²	87.3% 151	6.3% 11	-	0.6% 1	0.6% 1	5.2% 9
Total 26 452 km ²	72.8% 573	20.3% 160	0.4% 3	0.4% 3	2.0% 16	4.1% 32

297 Małłek, “Dwie części Prus”, pp. 11-12.

298 M. Bogucka, “Społeczeństwo i kultura Prus Królewskich”, in: *Prusy Książęce i Prusy Królewskie w XVI-XVIII wieku*, ed. J. Wijaczka, Kielce 1997, p. 24.

Table 36 demonstrates quite considerable disparities between the palatinates of Royal Prussia, much more pronounced than those observed between the palatinates of Wielkopolska proper. The confessional situation was largely determined by the legal status and political history of the areas that were part of Royal Prussia. They decided whether there was development or stagnation of German colonization in those lands. And they must have translated into the religious structure of the population at the onset of the Reformation. Political authorities, both via their administrative and proprietary powers (the right of patronage in royal estates), influenced the organization of individual denominations and religions. Hence such a high disparity between the percentage of Latin and Lutheran churches in Warmia and the lands of Łębork and Bytów. It may be said that the situation in the Pomorze and Malbork palatinates (excluding Warmia) was the most representative for Royal Prussia as a whole. From the point of view of the religious structure, the Chełmno palatinate was most similar to Wielkopolska proper.

As in the earlier parts of this work the question should be asked of the extent to which the proportions between the number of places of worship of individual confessions reflect the actual demographic relations in Royal Prussia between the Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Bohemian Brethren, Mennonites and Jews. One may try to answer it based both on the sources coming from before the Partitions and the very first censuses conducted by the Prussian authorities immediately after the First Partition. The most comprehensive statistical demographic data for the Pomorze palatinate before 1772 come from the visitations in the second half of the eighteenth century. They were compiled and collated by Emil Waschinski. He estimated the entire population living in the ten deaneries of Puck, Mirachowo, Gdańsk, Tczew, Starogard, Gniew, Nowe, Świecie (Włocławek diocese), Tuchola and Człuchów (Gniezno archdiocese) at slightly more than 140 000 people, of whom circa 70 percent were Catholic, and circa 30 percent – Evangelical. He calculated approximately two thousand Mennonites and two and a half thousand Jews, but these figures were very inaccurate.²⁹⁹ If those data are compared with Table 36 it may be concluded that the quantitative proportions between individual religious groups as expressed by the number of the places of worship and the number of population are approximate. Only the percentage of the Jews is much lower compared to the number of kahals. Later censuses command a more prudent approach to the data collated by Waschinski

299 E. Waschinski, *Wie groß war die Bevölkerung Pommerellens, ehe Friedrich der Große das Land übernahm? Historisch-statistische Skizze*, Danzig-Bruning 1907, pp. 47-48.

who must have understated quite significantly the number of Protestants due to incomplete information.

A completely different picture of confessional relations in Royal Prussia emerges from German works, mostly politically commissioned, which were based on the initial Prussian statistics (the so-called Frederick's Land Survey). There are, however, problems with their use as it is difficult to correlate the Polish administration units (prior to 1772) with the Prussian ones (after 1772) based on which the land survey had been made. In spite of the critical assessment of the works by Georg Dabinnus and Max Aschkewitz, their findings should be taken into account as a comparative material, the more so that it is evident at a glance that there is concurrence between the maps enclosed with Dabinnus' work which demonstrate the structure of nationalities in the population, and the distribution of sacral facilities in 1772. Regardless of the differences between Dabinnus, who applied the nationality criterion, and Aschkewitz, who took into account the religious criteria in keeping with the contents of the source, both authors significantly overstated the number of the German (Evangelical) population.³⁰⁰

There are no major doubts about the domination of German (Protestant) population in the lands of Łębork and Bytów. According to the 1766 visitation the Łębork land was inhabited by 850 Catholics and an "infinitus numerus" of dissenters (Protestants), and the Bytów land by 5751 Catholics and 9225 Protestants.³⁰¹ In the entire area of the Łębork and Bytów lands also the number of places of worship reflects the domination of Lutherans over Catholics (Table 36). According to Dabinnus and Aschkewitz in the Pomorze palatinate the highest percentage of German population lived in the powiats of Człuchów (Dabinnus – 79 percent³⁰²), Świecie (Dabinnus – 54 percent, Aschkewitz – 50 percent) and Gdańsk (Dabinnus, municipal powiat – 58 percent, rural powiat – 75 percent). This is corroborated by the distribution of sacral buildings, although in the Świecie powiat the percentage

300 G. Dabinnus, *Die ländische Bevölkerung Pommerellens im Jahre 1772 mit Einschluss der Danziger Landgebites im Jahre 1793*, Marburg/Lahn 1953 [a review by K. Ciesielska, *Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza*, 4 (1958), fasc. 1, pp. 449-459]; M. Aschkewitz, "Die deutsche Siedlung in Westpreussen im 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhundert", *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, 1 (1952), pp. 553-567 [a review by W. Odyniec, *Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza*, 4 (1958), fasc. 1, pp. 436-438].

301 ADPel. G63a, no page number.

302 As M. Aschkewitz's work ("Die deutsche Siedlung in Westpreussen") applies to Western Prussia (Pomorze palatinate) in its borders of 1944, his calculations did not cover the powiat of Człuchów belonging to the Pomorze province.

of Protestants was higher owing to the Ołędz settlements. That the statistical data regarding the percentage of Germans (Protestants)³⁰³ were overestimated is evidenced by the situation in the powiat of Puck where the Germans were to account for 47 percent according to Dabinnus, whereas according to the 1766 visitation the Evangelicals accounted for 30 percent.³⁰⁴ The same visitation corroborates the data compiled by Dabinnus and Aschkewitz for the Mirachowo powiat with circa 20-22 percent of the German (Evangelical) population.³⁰⁵

More reliable Prussian statistical data coming from the beginning of the nineteenth century, and especially the 1821 census, corroborate a lower percentage of Evangelical population in the powiats belonging to Royal Prussia before the Partitions, than those offered in the above-mentioned studies. They also make it necessary to correct the data included in the Latin Church visitations conducted in the second half of the eighteenth century which underestimated the number of the Evangelical population. The distribution of the Evangelical minority indicates a close correlation with the geography of Lutheran churches in Prussia before the Partitions. Even assuming that the number of Evangelicals rose over 1772-1821,³⁰⁶ the number of sacral facilities reported in 1772 overstates the percentage of Catholic population in Royal Prussia. This was partly due to the fact that “Protestantism – especially of the nobility – did not create its own religious organization. The community life was much poorer here than in the Crown or Lithuania, because cohesiveness was missing.”³⁰⁷

303 G. Dabinnus estimated the population of the Pomorze Gdańskie at circa 240 000 people, of whom 150 000 (63%) were the Germans, 22 000 (9%) Kashubians, 43 000 (18%) Poles, circa 3000 (1%) Jews, and 21 000 people of unknown nationality, Dabinnus, *Die ländische Bevölkerung Pommerellens*, p. 457.

304 The Puck deanery was inhabited by 7174 Catholics and 3050 dissenters, ADPeL. G63a, no page; Dabinnus, *Die ländische Bevölkerung Pommerellens*, map: *Pomerellen und das Danziger Landgebiet. Die deutsche Bevölkerung*.

305 It follows from the visitation of the Włocławek diocese in 1766 that in the Mirachowo deanery lived 8413 Catholics (80.4%) and 2048 dissenters (19.6%). According to G. Dabinnus in the Mirachowo powiat the Germans accounted for circa 22%, and according to M. Aschkewitz in the Kartuzy powiat (an area approximately equal to that of the Mirachowo powiat) – 20%, Dabinnus, *Die ländische Bevölkerung Pommerellens*, map; Aschkewitz, *Die deutsche Siedlung in Westpreussen*, p. 565.

306 In the 1768 report by the Włocławek bishop Antoni Kazimierz Ostrowski reference is made to 160 988 Catholics and 126 155 “heretics” living in the Pomorze archdeaconry of the Włocławek diocese (Pomorze palatinate), *Monumenta historica dioecesis Vladislaviensis*, vol. 9, Vladislaviae 1889, p. 8.

307 Mączak, *Prusy w dobie rozkwitu*, p. 420.

Table 37: The religious composition of the population of Royal Prussia according to the 1821 census

Palatinate	Number and percentage of population		
	Roman Catholics	Evangelicals	Jews
Pomorze	149 146 52.2% (66.6%)	131 509 46% (26.5%)	5 239 1.8% (6.9%)
Lands of Łęborgk and Bytów	3 132 10.2% (38.5%)	27 312 89.1% (61.5%)	204 0.7% (0%)
Malbork	36 655 36.7% (52.1%)	62 299 62.4% (47.9%)	894 0.9% (0%)
Chełmno	93 620 62.2% (87.3%)	54 922 36.5% (7.5%)	2 020 1.3% (5.2%)

Source: L. Belzyt, *Sprachliche Minderheiten im polnischen Staat 1815-1914: die preußische Sprachenstatistik in Bearbeitung und Kommentar*, Marburg 1998.

Provided in the brackets is the percentage of the places of worship in 1772 which is a sum of the percentages of Lutherans, Calvinists, Mennonites and Bohemian Brethren referred to as Evangelicals.

To recapitulate, the statistical data compiled based on the number, and to be more precise, the density of sacral buildings overestimate the number of Catholics in Royal Prussia by around 10-20 percent and underestimates the number of Evangelicals by the same figure. But they reflect correctly differences existing between individual parts of Prussia which means that based on both the demographic statistics and the number of places of worship the percentage of Protestants was highest in the lands of Łęborgk and Bytów as well as the Malbork palatinate, slightly lower in the Pomorze palatinate, and lowest in the Chełmno palatinate.

There is no major correspondence between the distribution of Evangelical churches and the proprietary situation or the denomination of land owners. As evidenced by the prevalence of royal ownership in the Malborsk palatinate, where the number of churches and the domination of Evangelical population was highest. This was due to the geography of the Reformation in Prussia which, unlike in Małopolska or Wielkopolska proper, covered the royal estates on a large scale. It is also a proof of the autonomy and independence of Royal Prussia where the king's powers to interfere with local affairs were curtailed. As evidenced by the victory of Protestantism in such royal towns as Gdańsk, Toruń and Elbląg. Equal rights enjoyed by the Augsburg confession and Catholicism were an important element of the right to Prussian citizenship.³⁰⁸

More complex is the assessment of the statistical data regarding the Jewish population because most information on kahals gives rise to many doubts. Based on the Prussian cadastre of 1772/1773, Zenon Hubert Nowak has written that in Royal Prussia (excluding Toruń and Gdańsk) there were 3062 Jews, of whom 2048 lived in Pomorze Gdańskie (including the Jewish communities in the suburbs of Gdańsk), 882 in the Chełmno land, 132 in the Malbork palatinate and only two in Warmia. The locations of the kahals listed in the 1765 poll tax register corroborate such distribution of the Jewish population, except that its percentage was much lower than it follows from the register's units – being the kahals – listed in the 1765 poll tax register: the Jews accounted for no more than one percent of the total population of Royal Prussia.³⁰⁹

For Royal Prussia circa 1772 it has been possible to locate a total of 787 Christian and Jewish sacral facilities (one place of worship per 33.6 km²). This means that their density was slightly lower than that established for Wielkopolska proper (one place of worship per 29.2 km²), due to a relatively sparse network of Latin parishes in the Pomorze archdeaconry. This disproves Kosman's claim that Royal Prussia was the part of the Commonwealth which was most saturated with parishes.³¹⁰ His proposition applies to the sixteenth rather than the second half of the eighteenth century. It appears that the Latin Church in Royal Prussia was seriously affected by the Reformation and the second wave of German colonization which prevented it from completing the reconstruction of its territorial structures.³¹¹ Suffice it to say that in the Malbork palatinate there was one Latin parish per 33.8 km² in the sixteenth century, and per 63.7 km² in 1772, in the Chełmno palatinate – one per 39.1 km² in the sixteenth century and one per 54.3 km² in 1772, and in the Pomorze palatinate – one per 65 km² in the sixteenth century and one per 127.3 km² in 1772. In 1772 in the whole of Royal Prussia there was one Latin church per 46.2 km² (one parish per 86.2 km², one filial church per 99.4 km²). At the same time in the palatinates of Wielkopolska proper the parish network was almost completely reinstated (for example in the Poznań palatinate there was one parish per 60.1 km² in the sixteenth century and one

309 Nowak, "Dzieje Żydów w Prusach Królewskich", p. 142. A similar percentage is offered by P. Stern, *Der Preussische Staat und die Juden*, vol. 3: Die Zeit Friedrichs des Grossen, Tübingen 1971, p. 40 (3600 Jews in three palatinates of Royal Prussia, i.e., 1%) and M. Aschkewitz, *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Westpreussen*, Marburg 1967, p. 5 (3601, i.e., 1.1% of total population).

310 Kosman, "Prusy Królewskie – stosunki wyznaniowe", p. 237.

311 J. Fankidejski, *Utracone kościoły i kaplice w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej*, Pelplin 1880, p. VIII.

per 69.7 km² in 1772, in the Kalisz palatinate there was one parish per 40.1 km² in the sixteenth century and in the Kalisz and Gniezno palatinates put together – one per 46.7 km² in 1772). In the Sieradz and Łęczyca palatinates the density of parishes grew even higher.³¹² Striking in Royal Prussia is a high number of Catholic auxiliary churches which was typical of the areas partly inhabited by a Protestant population.

Apart from the high percentage of Lutherans, Royal Prussia stands out on the confessional map of the Commonwealth as an area of particular concentration of Olęder settlement (Żuławy and the villages located on the banks of the Vistula River) and an insignificant percentage of the people professing Judaism. Of 19 Mennonite churches in the Crown recorded in the sources, only three were located outside Royal Prussia. It follows from demographic estimates from the beginning of the nineteenth century that in the vicinity of Malbork the Mennonites could have accounted for as much as 15 percent of the population.³¹³ The first Prussian census of 1775 registering the number of Mennonites in West Prussia reported 12 032 souls.³¹⁴ The low number of the Jews was due to two reasons which accounted for the terms of settlement most unfavourable to the Jews (“de non tolerandis” decrees) – the strong position of Protestant burghers and the ownership structure in Prussia where royal properties predominated. The latter is clearly evidenced by the pattern of patronage over Roman Catholic churches.³¹⁵

Owing to the above-mentioned circumstances different denominations co-existed both in towns and villages of Royal Prussia, contrary to Małopolska or Crown Ruthenia where mixed religious identity evolved mainly in towns. A mixed religious environment in villages is well reflected by the population data included in the visitations of the Pomorze archdeaconry of the Włocławek diocese or of the Chełmno diocese in the second half of the eighteenth century. A mix of Catholic and Protestant population in Royal Prussia resulted from the fact that those lands belonged both to the Polish state, which had built Catholic Church structures, and to the Teutonic Knights, and the related settlement of a German speaking population that supported Protestant Reformation. It is hard to notice in Royal Prussia a clear demarcating line between the areas where either Catholicism or Protestantism would dominate. There was an evident prevalence of the Lutherans in those powiats which had strong urban centres or were

312 Litak, “Struktura i funkcje”, p. 284.

313 Kizik, *Mennonici w Gdańsku, Elblągu i na Żuławach*, p. 61.

314 M. Bar, *Westpreussen unter Friedrich dem Grossen*, vol. 1, Lepzig 1909, p. 545.

315 Szady, *Prawo patronatu*, pp. 91-102.

located along the border with Pomorze. But one cannot speak of any paradigm in this regard, because even in such neighbouring powiats as Człuchów and Mirachowo, which bordered on Pomorze, the situation varied.³¹⁶

3. Mazowsze

Mazowsze (Mazovia) became a distinct historical region for good in the period of medieval duchies.³¹⁷ It is most often defined as a historical and geographical area located along the middle stretch of the River Vistula in central and north-eastern Poland. In his classic work on tribal territories Arnold divided Mazowsze into three parts: Czersk Mazowsze (to the south), Płock Mazowsze (to the north) and eastern Mazowsze.³¹⁸ Historiography has espoused the opinion of Jędrzej Świącicki expressed in the first historical description of Mazowsze of 1634 (*Topographia sive Masoviae descriptio*) that confined that duchy to the limits of the Płock, Mazowsze and Rawa palatinates.³¹⁹ The question of Mazowsze's territorial range was not unequivocal in the days of old Poland. Świącicki's contemporary, Szymon Starowolski, like Marcin Kromer before him, excluded the Rawa palatinate from Mazowsze.³²⁰ A similar view was expressed by Władysław Łubiński who in his *World in All Its Parts* included the Rawa palatinate in Wielkopolska in the eighteenth century.³²¹

Compared to Małopolska and Wielkopolska, Mazowsze had a very dense network of settlements, which resulted in small-sized powiats and the domination of small noble estates, a pattern rarely found in other provinces. In the histori-

316 According to Dabinnus (*Die ländische Bevölkerung Pommerellens*, enclosed maps) the Człuchów powiat was inhabited by 79% Germans, 4% Kashubians and 11% Poles in 1772, and in the neighbouring Mirachowo powiat there were 22% Germans, 45% Kashubians and 21% Poles. In 1821, the Człuchów powiat was inhabited by 55.7% Evangelicals, 40.8% Catholics and 3.5% Jews, and the neighbouring Kartuzy powiat (whose area was close to that of Mirachowo) – 26% Evangelicals and 74% Catholics, Belzyt, *Sprachliche Minderheiten*, pp. 97, 111.

317 *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, ed. A. Pawiński, vol. 5: Mazowsze, p. 1 (*Źródła dziejowe*, vol. 16); Z. Sułowski, "Początki organizacji kościelnej na Mazowszu", *Studia Płockie*, 3 (1975), p. 36.

318 Arnold, "Terytorja plemienne", pp. 65-74.

319 *Najstarszy opis Mazowsza Jędrzeja Świącickiego*, ed. S. Pazyra, Warsaw 1974, p. 136.

320 Starowolski, *Polska albo opisanie*, pp. 66, 112; Kromer, *Polska czyli o położeniu*, pp. 22-23 ("Between Małopolska and Wielkopolska, the most outstanding duchies of all Poland, there are the palatinates of Sieradz, Łęczyca and Rawa, which bear no common name").

321 Łubiński, *Świat we wszystkich swoich częściach*, p. 395.

ography there are many opinions on the reasons behind the development of the noble small-holding pattern of settlement in the northern and eastern parts of the Mazowsze palatinate, the western part of the Podlasie palatinate and in the northern and eastern areas of the Łuków land. The explanation most frequently offered is that those areas were located along the border which resulted in a high number of land grants made by dukes for military (defensive) reasons. The ensuing exceptional proliferation of noble estates resulted in turn in the significant fragmentation of properties.³²²

In the province of Mazowsze the palatinates emerged from the process of incorporation of individual duchies into the Crown in the second half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century. Prior to that, in the aftermath of political and judiciary divisions, Mazowsze consisted of lands and powiats.³²³ Earliest of all, in 1462, after the deaths of Dukes Ziemowit IV and Władysław II, King Kazimierz Jagiellończyk incorporated the duchy of Rawa into the Commonwealth. His successor, King Jan Olbracht, annexed the duchy of Płock in 1495. The process of the political integration of Mazowsze with the Commonwealth was completed by King Zygmunt the Old in 1526 who incorporated the territorially largest duchy of Mazowsze after Duke Stanisław and Duke Janusz III had died.³²⁴

The most westerly part of Mazowsze was the Rawa palatinate which comprised the three lands of Rawa (the powiats of Rawa and Biała), Sochaczew (the powiats of Sochaczew and Mszczonów) and Gostynin (the powiats of Gostynin and Gąbin).³²⁵ With regard to the confessional situation in the palatinate, it should be remembered that it was divided between the two dioceses of Poznań (part of the Czersk archdeaconry) and Gniezno (the Łowicz archdeaconry). The connection between the Łowicz land and the Gniezno archdiocese stemmed directly from the Gniezno bull of 1136.³²⁶ The origins of the affiliation of the Czersk archdeaconry with the Poznań diocese are a subject of historical discussion. It has

322 W. Smoleński, *Szkice z dziejów szlachty mazowieckiej*, Kraków 1908, pp. 40-44; Arnold, *Geografia historyczna*, p. 97; W. Pałucki, "Przynależność własnościowa osad", in: *Mazowsze w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, part 2, ed. W. Pałucki, Warszawa 1974, pp. 88, 97 (Atlas historyczny Polski); Laszuk, *Zaścianki i królewsczyzny*, p. 31; Litak, "Formowanie sieci parafialnej w Łukowskiem", pp. 39-40.

323 A. Dunin-Wąsowicz, "Podziały administracyjne", in: *Mazowsze w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, part 2, p. 35 (Atlas historyczny Polski).

324 Gloger, *Geografia historyczna*, pp. 99-100.

325 Waga, *Wyciąg z geografii polskiej*, p. 14.

326 Z. Wojciechowski, *Momenty terytorialne organizacji grodowej w Polsce piastowskiej*, Lwów 1924, pp. 12-21 (Studia nad historią prawa polskiego, 8, fasc. 3).

recently been recapped by Leszek Paweł Słupecki in the context of the discussion of the history of Czersk from the twelfth through the fourteenth century.³²⁷ Most probable is the interpretation offered by Stosław Łaguna expressed in a review of the work by Abraham on the *Organization of the Church in Poland Until the Mid Twelfth Century*. In his opinion the area of the Czersk archdeaconry belonged to the diocese of Poznań from the very beginning. It ceased to have a territorial connection with the Wielkopolska part of the diocese after the Gniezno archdiocese had been established in the eleventh century, and then the Płock diocese.³²⁸

The Rawa palatinate was split between the dioceses of Poznań and Gniezno due to the fact that the borders of the state administration had been shaped later than those of the church administration. It should be remembered that the evolution of medieval duchies was not accompanied by the divisions of church administration, and diocesan borders did not overlap with the map of medieval duchies. Affiliation with metropolitan provinces was one of the factors that influenced the process of the unification of Polish lands in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.³²⁹ The disparities between the limits of state and church administrations are most evident in the north-western part of the Rawa palatinate, in the land of Gostynin. Its parishes belonged to four dioceses – Poznań, Gniezno, Płock and Włocławek.³³⁰ The only larger church administration unit that was entirely located in the Rawa palatinate was the Łowicz archdeaconry belonging to the Gniezno archdiocese.

327 L.P. Słupecki, “Dzieje Czerska w XII-XIV wieku”, *Wschodni Rocznik Humanistyczny*, 3 (2006), pp. 28-30.

328 S. Łaguna, “Pierwsze wieki Kościoła polskiego”, *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 5 (1891), pp. 559-561. A similar view is propounded by J. Nowacki as well as Z. Sułowski. They claim that after the Gniezno archdiocese had been established the lands of southern Wielkopolska (of Kalisz, Łęczyca, Sieradz) were part of the Poznań diocese and became part of the Gniezno archdiocese after the Płock bishopric had been founded, thus breaking territorial connection of the Czersk archdeaconry with the Wielkopolska part of the Poznań diocese, Nowacki, *Dzieje archidiecezji poznańskiej*, vol. 1, pp. 44-48; Sułowski, “Początki organizacji kościelnej na Mazowszu”, p. 38. A similar approach is also evident on the maps of church organization in medieval Poland prepared at the Institute of Historical Geography in Poland of the Catholic University in Lublin, see: J. Kłoczowski, *Dzieje chrześcijaństwa polskiego*, vol. 2, Paryż 1991, maps no. 2 and 3; Z. Sułowski, “Pierwszy Kościół Polski”, in: *Chrześcijaństwo w Polsce*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Lublin 1992, p. 36.

329 A. Witkowska, “Przemiany XIII wieku (1198-1320)”, in: *Chrześcijaństwo w Polsce*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Lublin 1992, p. 96.

330 Dunin-Wąsowicz, “Podziały administracyjne”, pp. 52-53.

Owing to the map of the sixteenth-century Mazowsze drawn during the work on the *Historical Atlas of Poland* it is possible to assess the development of the parish network in the Rawa palatinate in early modern times. In her commentary accompanying the map Anna Dunin-Wąsowicz emphasized the rise in the number of parishes in the sixteenth century, “especially in the areas of new settlement”. The statistical data included in Annex 3 are quite difficult to compare because the parishes split between two lands were double-counted. Hence the number of parishes in the Rawa palatinate (the lands of Rawa, Gostynin and Sochaczew) was as high as 110. When the parishes whose seats were located across the border of the palatinate (Wyszemierzyce, Błonie, Kazom Mały, Zakrzewo, Dobrzykowo, Białotarczek, Brzeziny, Małecz, Troszyno, Kamion, Bielawy) are deducted, it turns out that their number in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries was almost identical.³³¹

In the Rawa palatinate there was a total of 138 Roman Catholic churches (95 parish and 43 filial churches). Five of the parish churches were serviced by monks. The most important role in pastoral work was played by the Benedictines of Jeźów and Rawa. The most important church centres in the Rawa palatinate were in its capital, Rawa, and in Łowicz. In Łowicz there was a parish church in Nowe Miasto, three filial churches and six monastic churches, as well as a collegiate church. In Rawa there were six Catholic churches (a parish church, three filial and two monastic churches). Due to the fact that situated within the borders of the Rawa palatinate were the Łowicz properties of the Gniezno archbishop ecclesiastical patronage played a very important role (35.2 percent).³³²

The above-mentioned lack of changes in the parish structure of the Rawa palatinate stemmed from the fact that there were almost no pockets of the Reformation in this area. Only the parish of Suserz (in the Gąbin deanery) was in the hands of the dissenters for half a century. Partly forlorn due to the fact that the benefices had been seized by their patrons were the parishes at Giżyce (in the Sochaczew deanery), Osuchów (in the Mszczonów deanery), probably also at Zyck (in the Gąbin deanery) and Babsk (in the Mszczonów deanery).³³³ But the sources report on traces of Mennonite settlement in the lands of Gostynin and Sochaczew. There were Olęder settlements along the Vistula River from Płock to

331 There are doubts about the status of churches at Czermino and Piotrkówek (Piotrków) in the Gąbin deanery. S. Litak established based on the files of the Gąbin dean that in the second half of the eighteenth century they were auxiliary churches, Litak, *Atlas Kościoła łacińskiego*, p. 295.

332 Szady, *Prawo patronatu*, p. 94.

333 Nowacki, *Dzieje archidiecezji poznańskiej*, vol. 2, pp. 507, 509, 511, 528.

Warsaw (Saska Kępa, Kuzuń Nowy).³³⁴ Their largest organized community lived at Nowy Wymyśl which had initially been called Olędry Czermińskie. A discussion is under way about the specific date when the Mennonite community was established at Nowy Wymyśl: according to some historians it happened in 1762 or 1764, but according to others – at the beginning of the nineteenth century.³³⁵

Table 38: The number of places of worship in the Rawa palatinate circa 1772

Religions and denominations	Diocese / Eparchy	Archdeaconry/ Officialate	Deanery/ Protopy/ Governorship	Main places of worship	Auxiliary places of worship
Latin (Roman Catholic)	Gniezno	Łęczycza	Kutno	3	1
			Łowicz	14	14
			Rawa Mazowiecka	11	9
			Skierniewice	13	3
				38	26
			41	27	
	Płock	Płock	Gostynin	6	4
	Poznań	Warsaw	Błonie	4	2
			Gąbin	12	4
			Grójec	3	-
			Mszczonów	12	1
			Sochaczew	16	5
				47	12
Włocławek	Włocławek	Kowal	1	-	
			95	43	
Mennonite			1	-	
Jewish			11	-	
Total			107	43	

334 Ciesielska, “Osadnictwo ‘olęderskie’”, p. 225; P. Fijałkowski, *Menonickie wspólnoty religijne na Mazowszu (do 1945 r.). Materialne ślady ich funkcjonowania* (access: <http://www.holland.org.pl/>, 23.12.2009).

335 *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, pp. 42-43 (a chapel built over 1764-1770); Ratzlaff, *Im Weichselbogen*, pp. 29, 33 (he also mentions a community at Kuzuń Nowy which was established in 1762, but had no prayer house until 1823); Fijałkowski, *Menonickie wspólnoty religijne*.

The oldest sources documenting the presence of the Jews in the territory of the Rawa palatinate are connected with the development of urban centres. Jewish settlements were first mentioned in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries in the context of the capitals of individual lands: Gostynin, Sochaczew and Rawa.³³⁶ Sochaczew continued to be the largest Jewish centre until the end of the eighteenth century.³³⁷ At the beginning of the sixteenth century added to the list of Jewish centres were also Gąbin³³⁸ and Łowicz from which the Jews were ousted by Archbishop Jan Łaski. Not all of those centres turned into organized communities. Fijałkowski is of the opinion that in the second half the sixteenth century in the Rawa palatinate there were four communities at Gąbin, Kutno, Sochaczew and probably at Rawa.³³⁹ After the crisis brought about by the wars with Sweden, the Jewish communities were reconstructed and developed their organization. The 1765 poll tax register reports 12 communities, with Żychlin included in the Rawa palatinate by mistake.³⁴⁰

The above-mentioned 1765 poll tax register identifies somewhat ambiguously various types of Jewish communities in the Rawa palatinate (“a kahal with parishes”, “a town with parish villages”, “a Jewish parish”). The register owes its formal and legal systemization to Fijałkowski’s work on the Jews of the Łęczyca and Rawa palatinates (p. 64). He has, after a fashion, stratified the communities based on an assumption that in the eighteenth century Gostynin and Iłów were the branch kahals of Gąbin. Due to the fact that in the entire poll tax register the above terms referring to Jewish communities are used interchangeably, the statistical data do not include any additional differentiation of them, the more so that there is information that synagogues existed at Iłów (1750) and Gostynin (1779).³⁴¹ It should also be mentioned that on the map of Jewish communities enclosed with Halperin’s book there are communities at Gąbin, Żychlin (wrongly attributed to the Rawa palatinate), Kutno, Sochaczew, Mszczonów, Rawa, Głowno (wrongly attributed to the Łęczyca palatinate) and Nowe Miasto. In the structures of Jewish self-government, the Rawa palatinate was split between two zemstvos. Most kahals belonged to the Wielkopolska zemstvo, and the southern

336 Fijałkowski, *Żydzi w województwach łęczyckim i rawskim*, p. 32.

337 In 1765, in the Sochaczew kahal the poll tax was paid by 1349 Jews, “Liczba głów”, p. 406.

338 Horn, “Najstarszy rejestr osiedli żydowskich”, pp. 11-15.

339 Fijałkowski, *Żydzi w województwach łęczyckim i rawskim*, p. 36.

340 “Liczba głów”, p. 406.

341 Fijałkowski, *Żydzi w województwach łęczyckim i rawskim*, p. 94.

part of the palatinate (the kahals at Głowno, Nowe Miasto, Rawa and most probably Biała) belonged to the Lublin zemstvo (district).³⁴²

The absence of organized Protestant communities and the small number of Jewish kahals made the Rawa palatinate almost homogeneous confessionally. This situation was only slightly affected by dispersed Ołęder settlements located along the Vistula River in the northern part of the Gostynin and Sochaczew lands. Roman Catholic churches accounted for 92 percent of all places of worship in the Rawa palatinate. This was similar to the palatinates of Wielkopolska proper, especially the Łęczyca palatinate, but with a slightly lower density of the places of worship in the Rawa palatinate. In the second half of the eighteenth century the area of the Rawa palatinate, totalling 6214 km² was almost identical with that in the second half of the sixteenth century.³⁴³ There was one Latin church per 45 km² and one parish per 65.4 km². In half of the towns of the Rawa palatinate there were organized Jewish communities. The most populous Jewish centres were at Sochaczew in the Sochaczew land, at Nowe Miasto in the Rawa land and at Kutno in the Gostynin land.³⁴⁴

Although smaller than the Rawa palatinate, the Płock palatinate had a more developed powiat structure. This was an outcome of a higher density of its settlements (in the sixteenth century, 26.3 localities per 100 km²) than in the Rawa palatinate (in the sixteenth century, 15.6 localities per 100 km²). The structure of powiats continued to be shaped after the palatinate had been incorporated into the Commonwealth. The eighth and the last one to be instituted, in the 1560s, was the Sierpc powiat.³⁴⁵

The entire Płock palatinate was situated within the borders of the Latin diocese of Płock and belonged to the Płock archdeaconry. The diocese had been established before the fragmentation into medieval duchies and this is why it covered most of the Mazowsze province, including part of the Mazowsze palatinate established later on, but also fragments of the palatinates of Rawa and Inowrocław (the Dobrzyń land). The Płock diocese had initially comprised also the areas that later belonged to the diocese of Chełmno (the Chełmno and Lu-

342 Ibid, p. 79; *Acta Congressus Generalis*, map.

343 Dunin-Wąsowicz, "Podziały administracyjne", p. 59 (6173 km²).

344 "Liczba głów", p. 406.

345 Dunin-Wąsowicz, "Podziały administracyjne", p. 51. Apart from the Sierpc powiat the land of Płock covered the powiats of Płock, Bielsk, Raciąż and Płońsk. The land of Zawkrze comprised the powiats of Szreńsk, Niedzbórz and Mława, H. Rutkowski, "Osadnictwo. Lokalizacja miejscowości", in: *Mazowsze w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, part 2, ed. W. Pałucki, Warsaw 1973, p. 75.

bawa lands). In the fourteenth century there were disputes with the bishopric of Chełmno about the diocesan affiliation of the Michałowo land which resulted in the subordination of a few parishes of the Chełmno palatinate to the Płock diocese. Border conflicts with the diocese of Włocławek ended with the loss by the diocese of Płock of more than a dozen parishes located in the Dobrzyń land (the Bobrowniki deanery) most of which was situated in the Płock diocese.³⁴⁶ The Białuty parish³⁴⁷ located in Prussia was also within the area of the Płock diocese. In the south the diocese crossed the line of the Vistula and Bug Rivers (the deaneries of Gostynin, Radzymin, Kamieńczyk and Stanisławów). Nowacki suggested that those areas might have been annexed to the Płock diocese from the Czersk (Warsaw) archdeaconry of the diocese of Poznań in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries.³⁴⁸

The relatively late development of the parish network in the Płock diocese, culminating in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was determined by settlement processes and political events in the region. The internal division of the Płock diocese into archdeaconries and deaneries was also quite late compared with the dioceses of Małopolska and Wielkopolska proper. It was not until the fourteenth century (1316) that the sources began to mention two archdeaconries (of Dobrzyń and Płock). The third one – in Pułtusk – was instituted by Bishop Paweł Giżycki in 1443.³⁴⁹ The very first information about the deaneries of the Płock diocese comes from the fourteenth century. The deanery network was reorganized in depth by Bishop Erazm Ciołek in 1506. According to Wiesław Müller, the diocese was then divided into 19 deaneries.³⁵⁰ The

346 Kumor, “Granice diecezji płockiej”, pp. 46-47.

347 The Białuty parish was established circa 1371 by the Teutonic Knights and was part of the Pomezania diocese. After the decline of the Catholic Pomezania diocese, it was returned the Catholic Church in 1562 owing to the steps taken by the Płock castellan Tomasz Narzymski, who was also the parish's patron, and in 1593 it came under the jurisdiction exercised by the bishop of Płock, Kumor, *Granice diecezji płockiej*, p. 46.

348 Nowacki, *Dzieje archidiecezji poznańskiej*, vol. 2, pp. 36-37. This issue was not finally resolved by S. Arnold (“*Terytorja plemienne*”, pp. 66-68). B. Kumor was quite critical about J. Nowacki's proposition (“*Granice diecezji płockiej*”, pp. 47-48). On the map of the metropolitan province and diocese enclosed with J. Kłoczowski's work (*Dzieje chrześcijaństwa polskiego*, vol. 2, map 3) the above-mentioned deaneries are included in the Płock diocese at an earlier date (before 1138).

349 E. Wiśniowski, “Diecezja płocka u progu czasów nowożytnych”, *Studia Płockie*, 3 (1975), pp. 126-128.

350 Müller, “Organizacja terytorialna diecezji płockiej”, p. 161; Idem, “Diecezja płocka od drugiej połowy XVI wieku do rozbiorów”, *Studia Płockie*, 3 (1975), p. 156.

deanery structure – which was an exception among the “old” Polish dioceses – was also expanded and reorganized in modern times. The most profound change occurred in 1693 owing to Bishop Andrzej Chryzostom Załuski. After his decision that there could be no more than ten parishes in each deanery the diocese was divided into 31 deaneries. Before this reform it comprised 21 deaneries and 308 parishes.³⁵¹

The Płock palatinate covered the larger, western part of the Płock archdeaconry. The parish network shaped in the late Middle Ages was subject to few modifications in early modern times when the number of parishes in the Płock diocese oscillated between 300 and 320. A slight decline may be observed in the seventeenth century which was due to wars and overall poorer economic standing of the entire country. The 1630 report by Bishop Łubieński mentions about 30 churches ruined during the war with Sweden.³⁵² It follows from Dariusz Główka’s research that the western part of the diocese (the Dobrzyń archdeaconry and the western part of the Płock archdeaconry) was more affected by the wars which resulted in the decrease of the acreage of arable land in the homesteads of parish priests.³⁵³

In the second half of the eighteenth century there were 77 parish and 46 filial churches (of which ten belonged to monasteries) in the Płock palatinate. It follows from statistical data that unlike in the Mazowsze part of the Płock diocese, religious orders played a minor role in pastoral work. Only the parish of Bielsk, although the town had been appropriated by the duke, was serviced by the Benedictines from Mogilno until the end of the early modern era.³⁵⁴ The palatinate’s capital was the most important centre of church life where apart from the cathe-

E. Wiśniowski claims that at the time 14 deaneries had been established, Wiśniowski, “Diecezja płocka”, p. 129.

351 Müller, “Organizacja terytorialna diecezji płockiej”, p. 162.

352 Idem, “Diecezja płocka”, p. 176.

353 D. Główka, *Gospodarka w dobrach plebańskich na Mazowszu w XVI-XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1991, pp. 22-23. It is likely that the decline of parish priest benefices resulted in the fall of the parish at Miszewek Garwacki and the change of its status into a filial parish. According to the 1775 visitation it had no parish priest for 169 years, *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, part 2, ed. M.M. Grzybowski, Płock 1982, p. 87. It follows from the calculations of D. Główka that the area of the priest’s homestead decreased at Miszewek Garwacki from 480 “zagony stajowe” (a unit of circa 2 ares) in 1609 to 112 in 1738/1739, Główka, *Gospodarka w dobrach plebańskich*, p. 119.

354 A. Gretkowski, *Z dziejów parafii i kościoła św. Jana Chrzciciela w Bielsku*, Płock 2002, pp. 24-25; Flaga, *Zakony męskie w Polsce*, p. 214.

dral there was a collegiate church of St. Michael as well as five monastic churches and seven filial places of worship (including two hospital provostships). Apart from Płock, the towns of Płońsk, Sierpc and Szreńsk had the highest number of the places of worship. The palatinate's structure of patronage over parish churches reflects the ownership structure: out of 73 parish churches whose patronage is known, only two (at Biała and Mława) "belonged" to the king. Apart from the prevailing noble patronage an important role was played by the patronage of the clergy. This was mainly due to the fact that a significant number of churches were located in the properties of the cathedral chapter or had been incorporated as the benefices of individual prebends (Proboszczewice, Słupia, Świącieniec, Żurominek, Słupno, Trzepowo, Gralewo, Rogotwórski).

Table 39: The number of places of worship in the Płock palatinate circa 1772.

Religions and denominations	Diocese / Eparchy	Archdeaconry/ Officialate	Deanery/ Protopopy/ Governorship	Main places of worship	Auxiliary places of worship
Latin (Roman Catholic)	Płock	Płock	Bielsk	10	2
			Biezuń	7	4
			Bodzanów	1	1
			Ciechanów	2	1
			Gostynin	1	1
			Janowo	4	-
			Mława	10	4
			Płock	11	13
			Płońsk	6	4
			Raciąż	8	3
			Sierpc	8	6
			Szreńsk	8	7
				76	46
	Poznań	Warsaw	Gąbin	1	-
				77	46
Jewish				9	-
Total				86	46

Mentions in the visitation reports and the population census of 1776 by Bishop Poniatowski demonstrate that in the second half of the eighteenth-century dissenters lived in the Płock palatinate. Their largest centre was at the Janowiec parish

on the border with Ducal Prussia.³⁵⁵ In other parishes located in northern areas of the palatinate there lived small groups of Lutherans (Księżę, Radzanów, Lipowiec Kościelny, and Biezuń).³⁵⁶ But the sources do not report the existence of a separate Protestant church in that area. Only in the visitation report of the Biezuń parish in 1776 there is a reference to “Lutherans” living at Biezuń and Karniszyn (56 people) who “go for their service to one private house”.³⁵⁷

The Jews were the second largest religious community in the Płock palatinate, more numerous than the Lutherans. They were not as numerous as in the eastern part of Mazowsze (in the Mazowsze palatinate), but in a small area of the Płock palatinate there were nine organized Jewish communities living in towns. They are all mentioned by the 1765 poll tax register,³⁵⁸ except for the synagogue at Szreńsk, which is quite surprising. According to the 1775 visitation, the Jews had a wooden synagogue “built in the old days and their own cemetery located two *staje* [circa two km] from the town”.³⁵⁹ The Jews also gathered for prayer at the Raciąż inn³⁶⁰ and at Żurawin Wielki where they had their place of worship in one of the houses.³⁶¹ They have not been included in the table with places of worship because these were not separate sacral buildings. Likewise, the prayer house at Szydłów (“an unidentified Jewish house where the Jews gather for prayer”)³⁶² has been omitted, because it is not clear if it was a separate building intended for prayer or a part of a residential building. According to the 1765 poll tax register the most populous Jewish kahals existed at Płock, Drobin and Sierpc.³⁶³ It follows from the data compiled by Bishop

355 *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, part 7, ed. M.M. Grzybowski, Płock 1995, p. 54.

356 *Rozporządzenia y pisma pasterskie*, pp. 413-414, 423-425, 428-429.

357 *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, part 1, ed. M.M. Grzybowski, Płock 1981, p. 134.

358 “Liczba głów”, p. 405.

359 *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, part 3, ed. M.M. Grzybowski, Płock 1984, p. 306. As a census unit Szreńsk is mentioned in nearly all poll tax registers of the eighteenth century, Kalik, “Between the Census and the Poll-Tax”, pp. 116-117.

360 *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, part 5, ed. M.M. Grzybowski, Płock 1989, p. 234. The album by M. and K. Piechotkowie (*Bramy nieba, Bożnice drewniane*, p. 398) informs about a wooden synagogue from the end of the seventeenth century. P. Fijałkowski (“Kultura i sztuka religijna Żydów na Mazowszu”, p. 150) also mentions a wooden synagogue at Raciąż, but from the end of the eighteenth century.

361 *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, part 1, p. 66.

362 *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, part 3, p. 102.

363 “Liczba głów”, p. 405.

Michał Poniatowski that the largest community of one thousand Jews lived in the parish of Płońsk.³⁶⁴

The statistical data and distribution of sacral buildings demonstrate that the Płock palatinate was an area that was almost homogeneous in religious and ethnic terms – 93.2 percent of places of worship were Roman Catholic. The highest percentage of Lutherans lived in the north of the palatinate in the deaneries of Szreńsk (2.9 percent) and Janowo (2.2 percent), but a part of the Janowo deanery was situated in the Mazowsze palatinate. The highest percentage of Jews (14.3) lived in the Płońsk deanery.³⁶⁵ A higher density of settlements in the Płock palatinate compared to the Rawa palatinate resulted in a better developed church administration – there was one Latin church per 36.6 km² (one parish per 58.5 km²)³⁶⁶. Most ethnically and confessionally diversified were the towns of Bieżeń and Szreńsk located in the north-western part of the palatinate close to Prussia and the Dobrzyń land.

The Mazowsze palatinate was the largest part of Mazowsze; it was the last part to be incorporated into the Commonwealth. It comprised ten lands and 26 powiats.³⁶⁷ The size of its territory – more than 22 957 km² – resulted in a highly diverse settlement network. For example, in the second half of the sixteenth century, in its eastern powiats (the lands of Łomża and Nur) there were 13.5-16.5 localities per 100 km², while in the western powiats (the lands of Zakroczym and Ciechanów) – there were 28-30.5. It should also be remembered that higher density of settlement in an area was accompanied by the absence of larger towns and the prevalence of small villages, flour mills and farms.³⁶⁸

364 *Rozporządzenia y pisma pasterskie*, pp. 417-418; *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, part 5, p. 58; also see: P. Litak, “Parafie i ludność diecezji płockiej w II połowie XVIII w.”, *Studia Płockie*, 3 (1975), p. 236.

365 Litak, “Parafie i ludność diecezji płockiej”, p. 237.

366 The Płock palatinate covered 4503 km². This figure is only slightly higher than the estimate offered by A. Dunin-Wąsowicz – 4304 km² (“Podziały administracyjne”, p. 59).

367 The Warsaw land (the powiats of Warsaw, Błonie and Tarczyn), the Czersk land (the powiats of Czersk, Garwolin, Grójec and Warka), the Wizna land (the powiats of Wizna, Wąsosz and Radziłów), the Wyszogród land, the Zakroczym land (powiats of Zakroczym, Nowe Miasto and Serock), the Ciechanów land (the powiats of Ciechanów, Sączock, Przasnysz), the Łomża land (the powiats of Łomża, Zambrów, Kolno, Ostrołęka), the Różan land (the powiats of Różan and Maków), the Liw land, the Nur land (the powiats of Nur, Kamieniec and Ostrów), Arnold, *Geografia historyczna*, p. 100; Gloger, *Geografia historyczna*, pp. 140-143 (omits the Serock powiat); Dunin-Wąsowicz, “Podziały administracyjne”, pp. 40, 59-60.

368 Rutkowski, “Osadnictwo. Lokalizacja miejscowości”, pp. 75-76.

Table 40: The number of places of worship in the Mazowsze palatinate circa 1772.

Religions and denominations	Dioceses / Eparchy	Archdeaconry/ Officialate	Deanery/ Protopopy/ Governorship	Main places of worship	Auxiliary places of worship			
Uniate (Greek Catholic)				-	1			
Latin (Roman Catholic)	Gniezno	Kurzelów	Przytyk	4	1			
	Kraków	Kielce Dziekania	Zwoleń	1	-			
	Płock	Płock	Bodzanów		9	-		
			Ciechanów		8	3		
			Janowo		6	2		
			Nowe Miasto		10	1		
			Płońsk		3	2		
			Przasnysz		9	7		
			Wyszogród		9	5		
			Zakroczym		11	4		
						65	24	
			Pułtusk	Pułtusk	Andrzejewo		10	3
					Kamieńczyk		10	-
					Łomża		11	11
					Maków Mazowiecki		10	7
	Ostrów Mazowiecka				9	5		
	Pułtusk				11	11		
	Radzymin				8	3		
	Stanisławów				8	-		
	Wąsosz				10	4		
	Wizna				9	5		
	Wyszków		11	3				
				107	52			
			172	76				
Poznań	Warsaw	Błonie		12	1			
		Garwolin		12	3			
		Grójec		12	1			
		Latowicz		12	-			

		Liw	12	2
		Mszczonów	2	-
		Piaseczno	21	35
		Sochaczew	1	-
		Warka	13	6
			97	48
			274	125
Lutheran			-	1
Jewish			20	9
Total			294	136

In the second half of the eighteenth century, the Mazowsze palatinate was not diversified in religious or ethnic terms. Like in the other two palatinates of the Mazowsze province the structures of the Catholic Church prevailed in that area. The palatinate of Mazowsze was divided between the dioceses of Płock (the eastern part of the Płock archdeaconry and the Pułtusk archdeaconry) and Poznań (the eastern part of the Czersk archdeaconry).³⁶⁹ Only in the south did the Mazowsze palatinate extend beyond the borders of the Czersk deanery. A few parishes belonged to the Przytyk deanery in the archdiocese of Gniezno (Białobrzegi, Jasionna, Stromiec and Wyśmierzyce), and the parish of Głowaczów to the Zwoleń deanery in the diocese of Kraków. This again supports the proposition put forward by Dunin-Wąsowicz that the borders of church administration did not correspond with those of the state administration.³⁷⁰ These discrepancies were rooted in the Middle Ages and they were due to the later shaping of state borders as well as prospective church border changes resulting from conflicts between bishops.

There was a total of 399 Catholic churches in the Mazowsze palatinate. That part of the Mazowsze province differed from the Rawa and Płock palatinates by the more intense development of parish network in the sixteenth century which resulted from a settlement programme launched in its northern and eastern powiats. For example, at that time nine parishes were established in the Nur deanery.³⁷¹ That process also stimulated the growth of the deanery network in the Płock diocese discussed above. There is also quite clear disparity between the number of filial churches in the “Płock” part of the palatinate in north east

369 A short discussion of the Płock diocese's organization has been included in the part devoted to the Płock palatinate, and of the Poznań diocese – in the Poznań palatinate.

370 Dunin-Wąsowicz, “Podziały administracyjne”, p. 52.

371 Ibid, p. 56.

and the “Poznań” part in south west. In the Pułtusk archdeaconry the auxiliary churches accounted for 32.7 percent, and in the Mazowsze part of the Czersk archdeaconry (excluding the Piaseczno deanery and Warsaw) for only 16.7 percent. The Mazowsze palatinate was marked by a higher number of monasteries – 21 percent of all churches either belonged to monasteries or were serviced by religious orders. In contrast, in the Rawa palatinate there were 13.8 percent of them, and in the Płock palatinate – 8.9 percent.

The small number of filial churches in the deaneries of Grójec, Mszczonów or Błonie may be explained to some extent by the concentration of monastic life and the social activity of the Latin Church in nearby Warsaw with five parish and 26 filial churches (of which 21 belonged to monasteries). Apart from Warsaw with a collegiate church and the seat of an archdeaconry, the most important church centres in the Mazowsze palatinate were in Pułtusk (with a collegiate church), Warka, Góra Kalwaria, Przasnysz and Łomża, which was located the furthest to the north-east.

In spite of a formal ban on Jewish settlement in Mazowsze, in place until 1768, in the Mazowsze palatinate there were organized Jewish communities (kahals and branch kahals). The way individual Jewish centres were referred to in the 1765 poll tax register is an opportunity, like in the case of the Rawa and Podlasie palatinates, to dwell on terminological issues. There are direct references to kahals (“Kachał Kałuszyński”, “Kachał Makowski”), but most communities have been labelled as a “parish alias branch kahal” and subordinated to the kahals at Tykocin (Wizna, Grajewo, Szczuczyn, Jedwabne, Stawiski, Zambrów, Jabłoń,³⁷² Rutki, Zawady, Śniadowo, Lipno³⁷³), Maków (Różan) and Węgrów (Czyżewo, Zareby, Stoczek, Ostrów Mazowiecka, Wąsewo, Wólka Brzezińska). On top of that there are mentions of three “towns with parishes” (Wyszogród, Ciechanów and Nasielsk) and “Goworowo, a church village in the land of Łomża in the same

372 There are problems with the identification of this locality. The source refers to a “town of Jabłonka with villages” belonging to the Ciechanów kahal (“Liczba głów”, p. 404), that may be the village of Jabłonka Kościelna in the Brańsk deanery located in the Podlasie palatinate, because the 1750 visitation reports on a synagogue in that village, ADP. D134, f. 63. “A parish or a branch kahal of Jabłonski belonging to the same [Tykocin kahal]”. But it may also be the village of Jabłoń (Nagórki-Jabłoń) near Zambrów.

373 “The Lipno parish or branch kahal belonging to the same [Tykocin kahal]” (“Liczba głów”, p. 405). In the Łomża land there is no Latin parish or any major locality of that name. It could be a reference to the villages of Lipno near Zambrów or Lipniaki near Wąsosz.

parish [Wólka Brzezińska] belonging to the Tykocin kahal". The Warsaw land is referred to as "this land".³⁷⁴

It is interesting to confront the information from the 1765 poll tax register with other sources and literature on the development of the Jewish settlement in the palatinate of Mazowsze. In the above-mentioned three towns with parishes, the visitations of the Płock diocese inform about synagogues and thus they may be classified as kahals – in the visitation report of the parish in Nasielsk there is a direct mention of the Nasielsk kahal.³⁷⁵ A little more complicated is the problem of "branch kahals with parishes". The 1742 list of synagogues does not include most of them and instead it mentions a synagogue at Stawiski.³⁷⁶ In his work on wooden synagogues in Poland, Moshe Verbin offers information about a synagogue at Śniadowo built in 1768.³⁷⁷ The 1781 visitation reports that there

374 "Liczba głów", pp. 405-406.

375 The synagogue in Wyszogród is included in the 1742 list of synagogues of the Płock diocese, ADP. D156, f. 332. A new brick building was built close to a parish church in 1766, *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, part 2, p. 201. See: P. Fijałkowski, "Kultura i sztuka religijna Żydów na Mazowszu w XVI-XVIII wieku", *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, 2007, no. 2, p. 156; D. Dawidowicz, *Synagogues in Poland and their Destruction*, Jerusalem 1960 (access: D. Dawidowicz, *The Vishogrod Synagogue*, <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Wyszogrod/wyse003.html#Page9>, 2.11.2005). – The Jewish community in Ciechanów existed in the eighteenth century, M. Fuchs, "Overall History Of The Jews Of Ciechanow", in: *Memorial Book for the Community of Ciechanow*, ed. A.W. Yassini, Tel Aviv 1962 (access: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Ciechanow/Ciechanow.html>, 28.10.2005). It is mentioned by the 1775 visitation: "A Jewish synagogue has existed in this town for a long time", *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, part 4, ed. M.M. Grzybowski, Płock 1985, p. 15, also see: Fijałkowski, "Kultura i sztuka religijna Żydów na Mazowszu", p. 149. – A wooden synagogue in Nasielsk was built at the end of the seventeenth century, Verbin, *Wooden synagogues*, p. 7; Fijałkowski, "Kultura i sztuka religijna Żydów na Mazowszu", p. 150. It is probably included in the 1742 list, ADP. D156, f. 332. M. Verbin claims that it ceased to exist in 1880. But it follows from the 1775 visitation of the Nasielsk parish that it must have been built in 1765 ("The Jews of the Nosilsk kahal have their own school and public synagogue in the town of Nosilsk built in 1765 with a permission of Illustrious Hieronim Antoni Szeptycki, the proprietor of Szeptyce, bishop of Płock, on a serious request of Illustrious Ludwika Wesłowa, the wife of the Golub starost, upon notice and with permission of Venerable Nikodem Milewski"), *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, part 4, p. 221.

376 ADP. D156, f. 332. The kahal at Stawiski is also featured on the map of Jewish communities in *Acta Congressus Generalis*.

377 Verbin, *Wooden synagogues*, p. 6.

was “a prayer house or synagogue” outside the town of Rożan. The local Jews belonged to the synagogue in the town of Krasnosielc.³⁷⁸ At Wólka Brzezińska the Jews had “their school in a private house where they used to gather during their feasts and on other occasions”.³⁷⁹ It follows from the foregoing that a locality was classified as a “parish or a branch kahal” in the 1765 poll tax register because there was a place of worship. But it could have been either a separate building like a synagogue or a dedicated room in a private house. It is difficult to determine if a branch kahal stood for a public or private place of meetings and the question calls for further research. How hard it is to resolve that problem is best demonstrated by the example of Stoczek Łukowski. In the poll tax register it is classified as a “parish or branch kahal” recognizing the jurisdiction of the Węgrów kahal, but the 1778 visitation report reads that the local Jews had neither a synagogue nor a cemetery.³⁸⁰ Equally complex is the case of Wólka Brzezińska located in the Latin parish of Goworowo. According to the 1765 poll tax register there was a branch kahal subordinated to the Tykocin kahal. Affiliated with that branch kahal, or a Jewish parish, was the village of Goworowo.³⁸¹ The 1767 list of Jewish communities includes a “parish of Goworowo”.³⁸² But the 1781 visitation of the parish church at Goworowo reports unequivocally that “No oratories or chapels exist in this parish. The Jews have their school in a private house at the nearby village of Wólka Brzezińska where they come from other villages and gather for feasts and on other occasions”.³⁸³

At this point it should be pointed out that the visitation reports on the Płock diocese in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and other sources inform about temples or other places of worship in the localities not mentioned by the poll tax register. There were synagogues at Skaryszew and near the village of Duczymin,³⁸⁴ and in such localities as Chorzele, Dzierzgowo, Krzynowłoga, Nowe Miasto, Pniewnik and Stanisławów the Jews prayed at inns or in the inn-

378 *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, part 6, ed. M.M. Grzybowski, Płock 1991, pp. 64-65; see: też: EJCP. IV, pp. 427429; A. Buchner, *Rozhan: An Historical Sketch* (access: <http://www.jewishgen.org>, 8.01.2010).

379 *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, part 6, p. 136.

380 ADP. D137, f. 175.

381 “Liczba głów”, p. 406.

382 *Acta Congressus Generalis*, p. LXXXI.

383 *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, part 6, p. 136.

384 *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, part 7, p. 29; *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, part 8, p. 85.

keeper's house.³⁸⁵ Maria and Kazimierz Piechotkowie inform that in 1770 a synagogue was built at Jedwabne.³⁸⁶ In Popowo Kościelne the Jews built a "house residential in form where they accommodated their teacher and where they have their services".³⁸⁷ Similarly to Seroczyn where the Jews performed their rituals in a separate house.³⁸⁸ It is not known when exactly a Jewish community was established at Ostrów Mazowiecka, and the entry in the 1765 poll tax register suggests that there was no independent kahal there. The Radziłów Jews were convinced that a wooden synagogue that survived the Holocaust had been built there as early as the seventeenth century.³⁸⁹

After the critical analysis of the data included in the 1765 poll tax register and after the source base has been supplemented with the visitations of the Płock diocese one may conclude that before the First Partition in the Mazowsze palatinate there were 20 main (kahal) and nine filial synagogues and public prayer houses. Most of them were located in the eastern areas of the palatinate. There is a clear link between the Mazowsze and Podlasie Jews as evidenced by the affiliation of many Jewish communities with the Tykocin kahal (the lands of Wizna and Łomża) and Węgrów (the lands of Nur and Liw). It follows from the map of Jewish communities enclosed with Halperin's work that the kahals at Wyszogród, Nasielsk, Ciechanów and Maków belonged to the Wielkopolska zemstvo. The north-eastern part of the Mazowsze palatinate, *inter alia* the kahal at Stawiski, featured on the map, while the kahal at Ciechanowiec wrongly attributed to the Mazowsze palatinate belonged to the Tykocin district. The part of the palatinate south of the Bug River, *inter alia* the kahal at Kałuszyn, was part of the Węgrów

385 Chorzele ("The Jews administer their services in an *austeria*, where they come in large numbers from nearby villages, but it cannot be said that they have a synagogue"), Dzierzgowo ("The Jews have no especially built synagogue, but they gather at a brewery"), Krzynowłoga ("At Krzynowłoga the Jews have a post-and-plank brewery where they hold their services"), Nowe Miasto ("All those Jews come to Nowe Miasto on Sabbath for a private service at the lessee of the starost's liquor monopoly"), Pniewnik ("The Jews have their services only in the brewery"), Stanisławów ("They hold their services sometimes when they gather at the local *arenda*"), *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, part 7, pp. 23, 38, 87; *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, part 4, p. 226; *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, part 8, pp. 185, 205.

386 M. Piechotka, *Bramy nieba: bóżnice drewniane na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 1996, p. 231.

387 *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, part 6, p. 213.

388 ADP. D137, f. 190.

389 EJCP. IV, pp. 422-424.

district. But it remains a controversial question whether the kahal at Radzymin³⁹⁰ has correctly been attributed to that district because no sources corroborate that a Jewish community lived in that town. Moreover, the 1775 visitation states explicitly that “the so-called Jewish school does not exist in this town”.³⁹¹

As for the other denominations and religions present in Mazowsze, it should be noted that apart from the Roman Catholics and a Basilian monastery, there were Jewish and Lutheran communities in Warsaw since 1721. The situation of the Jews living in enclaves in the suburbs of Warsaw was quite difficult because of the hostile attitude of the city council. Through 1772 any attempts to establish a kahal or to build a synagogue had to fail. The Warsaw Jews were represented by the office of a syndic established in 1759.³⁹² Throughout early modern times the Evangelicals of Warsaw belonged to an Evangelical parish at Węgrów. It was as late as 1767 that a Danish envoy built a prayer house. In 1778-1781 a separate church was built and in 1785 the Evangelicals founded their own parish in Warsaw thus becoming independent of Węgrów. In the same period a church was built in Warsaw by Basilian monks brought here in 1721. But their monastery was built half a century later and the Orthodox church of the Dormition of the Mother of God was consecrated in 1784.³⁹³

In the Mazowsze palatinate there were 430 sacral facilities of Christian religions and Judaism. In terms of the number of places of worship, the domination of the Latin Church was nearly the same as in the other palatinates of Mazowsze (92.8 percent). Their density was lower only compared with the palatinates of Rawa and Płock. There was one Latin church per 57.5 km² (one parish per 83.8 km² and one filial church per 183.7 km²). This disparity cannot be explained by the situation in settlements because the number of localities per 100 km² was higher in the sixteenth century than in the Rawa palatinate.³⁹⁴ It was rather due to the economic standing of the nobility living in western and eastern Mazowsze. This dichotomy between a richer west (parish farms of three or four voloks) and

390 *Acta Congressus Generalis, map.*

391 *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, part 8, p. 72.

392 M.M. Drozdowski, “Żydzi Warszawy stanisławowskiej”, in: *Żydzi w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej. Materiały z konferencji “Autonomia Żydów w Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej”. Międzywydziałowy Zakład Historii i Kultury Żydów w Polsce, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 22-26 IX 1986*, ed. A. Link-Lenczowski, T. Polański, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1991, p. 196.

393 J. Bartoszewicz, *Kościół Warszawskie rzymsko-katolickie opisane również względem historycznym*, Warszawa 1855, pp. 296-300.

394 Rutkowski, “Osadnictwo. Lokalizacja miejscowości”, pp. 75-76.

poorer east (one or two voloks) has been pointed out by Główka.³⁹⁵ The distribution of the Jewish communities clearly corresponded with the map of roads and transportation hubs of the Mazowsze palatinate. It was a crossing of two highly important trade routes: the one running south and north (from Moldova and Ruthenian lands of the Crown via Lublin to Gdańsk) and that between west and east (from Wielkopolska to Lithuania and Russia).

Conclusions. It follows from the analysis of the three palatinates of Rawa, Płock and Mazowsze that in the second half the eighteenth century Mazowsze was a historical region with nearly homogeneous religious and ethnic structures. The percentage of Roman Catholic churches ranged from 92 in the Rawa palatinate to 93.2 in the Płock palatinate. The other denominations lived mainly in towns (Jewish communities) and in the northern peripheries of Mazowsze, along the border with Ducal Prussia (Lutherans). While the settlements of the followers of other religions translated into the number of places of worship (synagogues), the number of Lutherans is evidenced only by demographic sources. There were fewer of them compared to the Catholics and the Jews, and they lived in relatively small communities. And this is why their religious practices were confined to private prayer houses.

Table 41: The number and percentage of the places of worship of individual denominations and religions in Mazowsze circa 1772.

Palatinate	Number and percentage of places of worship:				
	Latin (Roman Catholic)	Uniate (Greek Catholic)	Lutheran	Mennonite	Jewish
Rawa 6 214 km ²	92.0 % 138	-	-	0.7% 1	7.3 % 11
Płock 4 503 km ²	93.2 % 123	-	-	-	6.8 % 9
Mazowsze 22 957 km ²	92.8 % 399	0.2 % 1	0.2 % 1	-	6.7 % 29
Total 33 674 km ²	92.7 % 660	0.14 % 1	0.14 % 1	0.14 % 1	6.88 % 49

395 Główka, *Gospodarka w dobrach plebańskich*, p. 27.

Table 42: The population in the palatinates of Płock and Mazowsze belonging to the Płock diocese in 1776.

	Number and percent of population			Total
	Latin (Roman Catholic)	Protestant	Jewish	
Płock land	32 035 91 %	194 0.6 %	2 960 8.4 %	35 189 100 %
Zawkrze land	20 162 93.7 %	392 1.8 %	962 4.5 %	21 516 100 %
Płock palatinate (total)	52 197 92.1 % (93.2 %)	586 1 % (0.0 %)	3922 6.9 % (6.8 %)	52 197 100 %
Ciechanów land	32 872 95.2 %	367 1.1 %	1273 3.7 %	34 512 100 %
Czersk land	266 91.1 %	-	26 8.9 %	292 100 %
Łomża land	39 389 89.2 %	230 0.5 %	4535 10.3 %	44 154 100 %
Liw land	2 921 91.2 %	39 1.2 %	244 7.6 %	3 204 100 %
Nur land	3 287 94.37 %	6 0.02 %	1 955 5.61 %	34 838 100 %
Różan land	11 904 87.4 %	22 0.2 %	1 688 12.4 %	13 614 100 %
Warsaw land	8 504 95.6 %	110 1.2 %	280 3.2 %	8 894 100 %
Wizna land	17 118 90.8 %	290 1.5 %	1 450 7.7 %	18 858 100 %
Wyszogród land	9 349 88.1 %	63 0.6 %	1 203 11.3 %	10 615 100 %
Zakroczym land	15 189 94.34 %	8 0.05 %	904 5.61 %	16 101 100 %
Mazowsze palatinate (total)	170 389 92.1 % (92.8 %)	1 135 0.6 % (0.2 %)	13 558 7.3 % (6.7 %)	185 082 100 %

Source: *Rozporządzenia y pisma pasterskie za rządów [...] Michała Jerzego Poniatowskiego biskupa płockiego etc. etc. do dyecezyi płockiey wydane. Dla wygody teyże dyecezyi zebrane, i do druku podane*, vol. 4, Warsaw 1785, pp. 413-469. The percentage of sacral buildings of individual denominations is offered in the table in italics.

Owing to surviving population censuses of the Płock diocese, it is possible to carry out a partial assessment of the conclusions regarding the confessional situation in the palatinates of Mazowsze that have been put forward in this chapter. The 1776 census of the Płock diocese divided its population into Catholics, dissenters (Protestants) and Jews. It excluded children under seven years of age. It is easier to compare the information on the number of population and sacral facilities because the census was compiled according to the units of state administration (palatinates, lands), and in individual palatinates – according to Latin Church deaneries.

The above Table 42 demonstrates that there was a correlation between the size of the population and the number of sacral buildings of individual denominations in the compared area. Bishop Poniatowski's population census corroborates the domination of Roman Catholics (90 percent) in the part of the Płock diocese located in the Mazowsze and Płock palatinates. The Protestants accounted for circa one percent. And they had no churches in this area. The largest concentrations of the Jewish population (of more than 10 percent) existed in the lands of Łomża, Różan and Wyszogród of the Mazowsze palatinate. But on average they did not exceed seven percent. Mazowsze was unique in that the most populous Jewish communities lived not only in towns but also in villages.³⁹⁶

In Mazowsze there was almost no correlation between the church and state borders.³⁹⁷ The area of its three palatinates was a meeting point of the borders of several Latin Church dioceses: Poznań, Płock, Gniezno, Włocławek and Kraków. The borders of kahals also crossed here: of the Wielkopolska zemstvo, Tykocin and Węgrów districts.

The palatinates of Rawa, Mazowsze and Płock were also marked by the absence of Protestant churches. Müller's postulate that it is necessary to examine the reasons behind the absence of the Reformation in the Płock diocese and in Mazowsze is still waiting for a serious historical study.³⁹⁸ The propositions that the nobility of that province was backward have not been corroborated. Litak tends to attribute that situation to different political (late integration with the Crown) and socio-economic (small estates and absence of major magnate families) developments that shaped a specific mentality, one that was more respectful of the lay and church authorities.³⁹⁹ One should be aware that the absence of magnates and the relatively new and still unconsolidated rule of the king accounted for the fact that the Catholic Church, present in Mazowsze for several centuries,

396 Litak, "Parafie i ludność", p. 236.

397 Dunin-Wąsowicz, "Podziały administracyjne", p. 52.

398 Müller, "Diecezja płocka", p. 156.

399 Litak, *Od reformacji do oświecenia*, p. 49.

with its permanent and unmodified structures, was the most important point of reference to a petty nobleman. Small-sized properties had frequently mixed patronage. This in turn hampered the conversion of a church into a Protestant place of worship because permission of many people was required to appoint a minister and to break with a Catholic bishop. A weak economic standing and in consequence a weak social position put the petty nobility at a disadvantage in situations of any conflicts or litigations over church property with the bishop of Płock. It follows from the analysis of court files that in the seventeenth century the church apparatus was very efficient in the recovery of ecclesiastical assets and properties. It should be remembered that conversion to Protestantism resulted *ipso facto* in the loss of the right to patronage over a parish benefice, and the parish priest could be appointed independently by the bishop without the landlord's permission.

Compared with the other parts of the Wielkopolska province, Mazowsze had a lower density of sacral facilities. There were 712 registered places of worship which means that there was one sacral building per 47.3 km². Let us recall that in Wielkopolska with Kujawy and the land of Łęczyca-Sieradz there was one sacral facility per 29.2 km², and in Royal Prussia – one per 33.6 km². It follows from the analysis of individual palatinates of the Mazowsze region that there were disparities in this regard mainly due to the settlement and ownership situation in that region. In the Rawa palatinate there was one sacral building per 41.4 km², in the Płock palatinate – one per 34.1 km², and in the Mazowsze palatinate – one per 53.4 km². The density of churches decreased in the east as one approached Podlasie with one place of worship per 47.5 km².

Chapter III

Religious and Confessional Regionalization of the Crown

1. Geographical Range of Religions and Denominations

The statistical and geographical analysis carried out in two earlier chapters covered the number and distribution of sacral facilities in individual palatinates of the Małopolska and Wielkopolska provinces. It may be somewhat controversial to determine the range of individual religions or denominations based only on individual places of worship. Similar reservations arise in respect of the accuracy of statistical data on the number of confessional and ethnic groups computed only on the basis of the number of places of worship. Accordingly, the conclusions following from them should be approached with some caution, remembering that the adopted research method is only a substitute for studies based on demographic or census data which cannot be carried out on a wide scale in respect to the period preceding the Partitions.

The term “range” used in this chapter’s subtitle will therefore refer to a broader geographical area – a powiat, land, palatinate or the entire country. If the “range” of individual religions and denominations is local, referring to a single settlement such as a town or village, it is no more than a survey. That type of research is determined by information about the topography of individual localities, and therefore it may be conducted in respect of a limited number of entities.

The problem of the geographical range of individual religions or denominations involves the issue of borders, the continuous existence of the communities of worshippers and distances between them. These factors had a direct impact on the character of religious life, they determined contacts with other groups of worshippers and centres of ecclesiastical administration. Church courts played an important role in the life of societies because apart from religious matters their jurisdiction covered many civil issues (marital problems, testaments, and so on). The distance from a place of worship also determined the distance from a school or the nearest poorhouse.

It is very difficult to determine the external boundaries of individual religions and denominations in the Crown. When the line of the territorial range of a religion is demarcated according to most distant sacral facilities, that may result in certain falsifications. This is most apparent in the case of the Uniate Church whose westernmost sacral facility in the eighteenth century, the Basilian

monastery, was located in Warsaw where they had moved from a monastery in Supraśl in the mid-eighteenth century. Had the boundaries of the administration of Uniate Church included Warsaw, that would have significantly expanded its range westward. On the 1772 map of the Uniate diocese of Chełm, even Lublin was not included within its borders, and the affiliation of the Uniate church of the Transfiguration of the Lord with the Chełm diocese was marked with an arrow.¹

The cartographic attempts to feature the problem have so far been of quite a general nature due to the use of small-scale maps. In general historiography and cartography, the most interesting approach has been taken in *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte*, and especially the map *Die konfessionelle Gliederung Europas um 1680*² drawn in collaboration with Ernst Walter Zeeden. In Polish historiography, the most important are the maps by Jerzy Kłoczowski³ (scale 1:7 000 000) and Stanisław Litak (scale 1:7 000 000)⁴ which demonstrate relations between religions in the eighteenth century. These Polish works reflect significant progress in the studies of the geography of denominations and religions because Kłoczowski's map did not distinguish the Greek Catholic and Armenian rites and marked all Catholics in a white colour, while the works by Litak distinguished between all three rites existing in the Commonwealth.

Modern geospatial analysis offers several methods of research and presentation of discrete phenomena. They include, as in this case, the places of worship of various religions and denominations. The simplest method that is most frequently proposed by geoinformation software is the creation of a convex hull for points on a map. However, due to quite irregular distribution of the places of worship the use of that function involves a high degree of generalization and does not produce satisfactory results. A more precise contour range of points (sacral facilities) may be achieved by using the concave hull. However, not all applications and database software have functionalities which allow the application of those two methods (apart from Oracle Spatial).⁵ It has been possible to

1 Gil, *Chełmska diecezja unicka*, map: Chełmska diecezja unicka w 1772 r.

2 H. Jedin, K.S. Latourette, J. Martin, *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte: die christlichen Kirchen in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Freiburg 1987, p. 93.

3 J. Kłoczowski, "Stosunki wyznaniowe w Polsce około 1580 r. i w XVIII w.," in: *Kościół w Polsce*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, vol. 2 (maps 1 and 2), Kraków 1968.

4 S. Litak, "Religie, wyznania i obrządki w XVIII w.," in: Idem, *Atlas Kościoła katolickiego*, p. 168. This map was first published in the scale of circa 1: 11 500 000, in: J. Kłoczowski, *Dzieje chrześcijaństwa polskiego*, Paris 1991, vol. 2, map 133.

5 When the convex hull was generated it was not possible to use Oracle Spatial (ver. 11g release 2) because of the price of the software and lack of access to that database.

overcome this problem by resorting to kernel density estimation. This permits, by means of the reclassification of raster imagery, to map out the range of sacral facilities of individual denominations and religions (density contouring).⁶ The statistics and analysis of the range and density would however skip 61 sacral facilities in localities which it was not possible to locate or identify.

It follows from the analysis of the distribution of Uniate churches in the Crown that it is necessary to raise a question of range not only in the administrative dimension delimited by diocesan borders, but also in confessional and ethnic terms which are better described by locating sacral facilities. The range of the Uniate Church in the east of the Commonwealth was mainly determined by political developments and international relations. In this case the administrative borders of the state defined the range of the Uniate Church administration. While political borders may be viewed as stable and quite precisely defined, the borders between denominations became volatile and unclear in the second half of the eighteenth century due to the rising tensions between the Orthodox Church and Catholicism (both Greek and Latin). This is evidenced by the fact that many Orthodox and Uniate churches in the Braclaw and Kiev palatinates frequently changed hands at the time of the haidamak rebellion (1768) which had a predominantly religious nature.⁷ The changing administrative affiliations of many Orthodox and Uniate churches make precise geographical and historical analysis impossible. Hence the above statistical data (Chapter II.1) reflecting

6 The use of the results of kernel density estimation to generate the range of phenomena was treated as the appropriate solution in, *inter alia*, the manual of geospatial analysis by M.J. de Smith, M.F. Goodchild and P.A. Longley. The authors propose three methods of concave hull mapping out: by the expansion of the area around the points until the external contour (expansion), limitation or reduction of the convex hull according to specific rules (contraction, alpha hulls or alpha shapes), and by using density contouring. M.J. de Smith, M.F. Goodchild, P.A. Longley, *Geospatial Analysis: A Comprehensive Guide to Principles, Techniques and Software Tools*, Leicester 2009, pp. 150-152 (access: <http://www.spatialanalysisonline.com/output/>, 8.02.2010). Also see: A. de Klerk, *A case study of GIS analysis for the determination of service delivery* (FOSS4G 2008, access: <http://www.osgeo.org/ocs/index.php/foss4g/2008/paper/view/226>, 8.02.2010). Practically all proposed solutions to the creation of concave polygons based on a network of dots have been put forward by the natural sciences (biology, chemistry and mathematics). The algorithms allowing concave hull creation are available, *inter alia*, under the following concave hull projects (<http://www.concavehull.com>), pgrouting (<http://pgrouting.postlbs.org/>) and cgal (<http://www.cgal.org/>).

7 B. Skinner, "Borderlands of Faith: Reconsidering the Origins of a Ukrainian Tragedy", *Slavic Review*, 64 (2005), no 1, p. 90.

the range of the structures of the Orthodox and Uniate Churches before that conflict.

The organizational development of the Uniate Church in the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century coincided with the loss of large areas where the Orthodox Church had had its structures. It was mainly the part of the Kiev-Vilnius diocese located on the eastern bank of the Dnieper River that fell under Muscovy's jurisdiction in the mid-seventeenth century. The friendly attitude to the Orthodox religion shown by the nobility of the Volhynia, Kiev and Braclaw palatinates in the initial decades following the Union of Brześć⁸ makes it necessary to question the proposition that at any time the Uniate Church played any major role in those easternmost areas of the Crown. At the end of the eighteenth century the Uniate Church lost its influence in that region in favour of the Orthodox metropolitan archbishopric in Kiev and the bishopric of Perejasław which were trying to extend their jurisdiction over the right bank of the Dnieper River. It is worth recalling that the 1782 list of the Uniate churches of the Braclaw and Kiev palatinates is short of several dozen easternmost places of worship that at that time were administered by the Orthodox clergy.⁹

Most unstable and changeable were the south-eastern limits of the Uniate Church between the Dniester and Dnieper Rivers, the so-called Yedisan. They were affected by the competition between Muscovy and Turkey for influence over that area resulting in endless wars and conflicts in the eighteenth century. The area known as the "Wild Fields" is treated by the literature on the subject not as a frontier or borderland but as a territorial buffer between Polish, Muscovite and Ottoman influences.¹⁰ The same transition also occurred on the religious and confessional plane. It was there that the structures of the Uniate Church came in touch with the Orthodox Church that predominated in Zaporizhia (between the Boh and Dnieper Rivers) and Islam, which was dominant in the lands of the Crimean Khanate (a strip between the estuaries of the Dniester and the Boh).¹¹

West of the Jahorłyk River the situation was different. The area of Moldova and Valahia which were under the political jurisdiction of the Ottoman Empire

8 Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego", p. 842.

9 *Socjografia kościoła greckokatolickiego*, pp. 130-132.

10 P.R. Magocsi, *A history of Ukraine*, Toronto 1996, p. 176.

11 A.W Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars*, Stanford 1978, pp. 30, 79-80; L. Podhorodecki, *Chanat Krymski i jego stosunki z Polską w XV-XVIII w.*, Warszawa 1987, p. 48; I. Сочилияс, "Південна межа Галицької (Львівської) єпархії у XV–XVIII століттях (Історико-географічний аспект)", *Український археографічний щорічник. Нова серія*, 13-14 (2009), pp. 321-322.

was under the influence of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. In demographic and organizational terms the Orthodox structures prevailed – they had developed owing to the centres located north of the Carpathians (Kiev and Halicz), but also under the influence of southern patriarchs (Constantinople and Ohrid). In the second half of the eighteenth century in north Moldova, that is next to the border with the Crown, the Uniate and Latin dioceses bordered on the Orthodox Church diocese in Rădăuți (Radowce) (on the Dniester River) and the metropolitan diocese in Suceava (Suczawa, Jassy), and also with a purely nominal Latin diocese in Bacău (Baków) which was part of the Lwów metropolitan province.¹²

As for the eastern and southern borderlands reaching as far as Bucovina, the administrative limits of the Uniate Church were also political borders (with the Tsardom of Russia and the Ottoman Empire) and confessional borders (with the Orthodox Church and Islam). The situation differed on the Carpathian border where the Commonwealth's Uniates had been in touch with the Uniates of Transylvania, Carpathian Ruthenia and Bucovina. That ethnic and religious continuity in the Carpathians was represented by the Hutsuls, Boykos and Lemkos living in Galicia, Bucovina and Carpathian Ruthenia. According to Paul Robert Magocsi in the nineteenth century they formed a separate nation that is referred to as "Carpatho-Russyns".¹³ In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, through a series of church unions, and following in the footsteps of the Orthodox Church in the Commonwealth, members of the Orthodox congregations in Zakarpattia (the union of Uzhhorod in 1646, of Mukachevo in 1664 and of Maramureș in 1713) and Transylvania (the union of Baia Mare in 1700) recognized the jurisdiction of Rome. The Transylvania Uniates had their own diocese in Alba Iulia (with its seat in Făgăraș since 1721 and in Blaj since 1737), and those in Carpathian Ruthenia – in Mukachevo. There were certain differences between the Uniate Churches in the Commonwealth, Zakarpattia or Transylvania, especially

12 B. Kumor, "Baków", in : *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 2, ed. F. Gryglewicz, R. Łukaszzyk, Z. Sułowski, Lublin 1995, col. 1270-1271; E. Dumea, *Il cattolicesimo in Romania e specialmente nella Moldavia dagli inizi al XVIII secolo* (access: <http://reocities.com/Athens/forum/9934/riassunto.html>, 28.06.2010); Скоциляс, "Південна межа Галицької (Львівської) єпархії", pp. 306, 312; also cf.: E. Dumea, *Il cattolicesimo nella Moldavia-Romania nel XVIIImo secolo*, Roma 1997.

13 P.R. Magocsi, "The Carpatho-Russyns", *Carpatho-Russyn American*, 18 (1995), no. 2 (access: <http://www.carpatho-russyn.org/cra/>, 25.01.2010). This issue was the focus of a conference titled "Is There the Third Ruthenia? Around Cultural Identity in the Carpathian Region" staged by South Eastern Research Institute in Przemyśl on 24-26 May, 2006.

in respect of rituals (church music), but the origins and nature of all these unions were similar.¹⁴

In the east the political border of the Commonwealth and the religious border of the Uniate Church was reinforced by natural barriers. They consisted of the rivers of Dniester and Dnieper as well as a few smaller ones in the south eastern area – between the Jahorłyk (the deanery of Raszków) and Kryłów (in 1741 in the deanery of Czehryn) – the Jahorłyk, Kodyma, Siniucha, and Wyś rivers. The natural border of the Eastern Carpathians did delimit the political frontier of the state but it was not a religious barrier.

The situation was different in respect of the range of the Uniate Church in the north and west. In the north its influence was delimited by the border with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. But it was by no means a religious border as the palatinates of Brześć Litewski and Minsk were predominantly inhabited by the followers of the Uniate Church. One may see certain correspondence between the northern borders of some Uniate dioceses (for example of Chełm or Łuck) and the frontier of the Crown. This was by no means a general rule as evidenced by the division of the metropolitan Kiev-Vilnius diocese between the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In the west the range of the Uniate Church reached as far as the borders of the Orthodox dioceses which created the organizational foundations of the Greek Catholic Church in the Commonwealth. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they overlapped with the Principality of Halicz and Włodzimierz.¹⁵ More specifically, the range of the dioceses of Przemyśl and Chełm-Belz, and the western borderlands of the Włodzimierz-Brześć diocese and the metropolitan Kiev-Vilnius diocese overlapped to a high degree with the borders of the palatinates of Ruthenia and Podlasie. Zdzisław Budzyński has pointed out that initially the Ruthenians settled further to the west (the basins of the Wisłok and Wisłoka rivers).¹⁶ So the settlement limits of the Uniate population moved about 50-100 km east in the direction of the San River basin. In the south, because of the mountain range, the influence of the Uniate Church reached much further west, as far as the Spisz land in the Kraków

14 A.B. Pekar, *The History of the Church in Carpathian Rus'*, New York 1992, pp. 18-35; P.R. Magocsi, "Adaptacja bez asymilacji: fenomen greckokatolickiej eparchii w Mukaczewie", in: *Polska – Ukraina. 1000 lat sąsiedztwa*, vol. 4, ed. S. Stępień, Przemyśl 1998, pp. 233-238; also see: M. Lacko, *Unio Užhorodiensis Ruthenorum Carpaticorum cum Ecclesia Catholica*, Roma 1965.

15 P.R. Magocsi, J. Geoffrey, *Ukraine: A Historical Atlas*, Toronto 1985 (map 8: Southern Rus' circa 1250).

16 Budzyński, *Ludność pogranicza polsko-ruskiego*, vol. 1, p. 317.

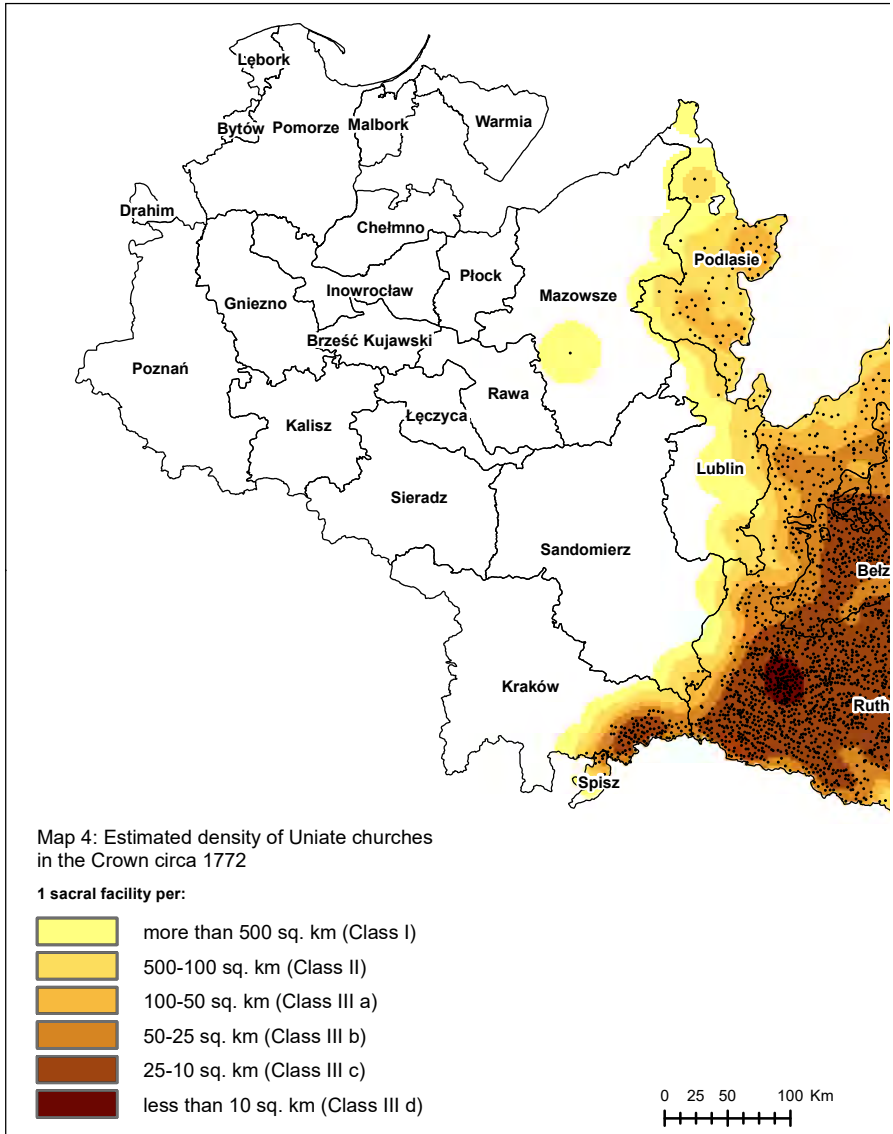
palatinate. The farthest Uniate place of worship in this area was the parish church of the Protection of Our Lady (Pokrowa) situated in the village of Szlachtowa near Szczawnica. It has survived to date. The map (in Chapter I) shows against the modern topographic background that Uniate churches were located in the forested and less accessible areas of the Beskid Mountains. Those geographical conditions could have resulted in the greater isolation of this ethnic group and in effect in a more stable and lasting confessional and ethnic situation that had persisted since the Middle Ages.

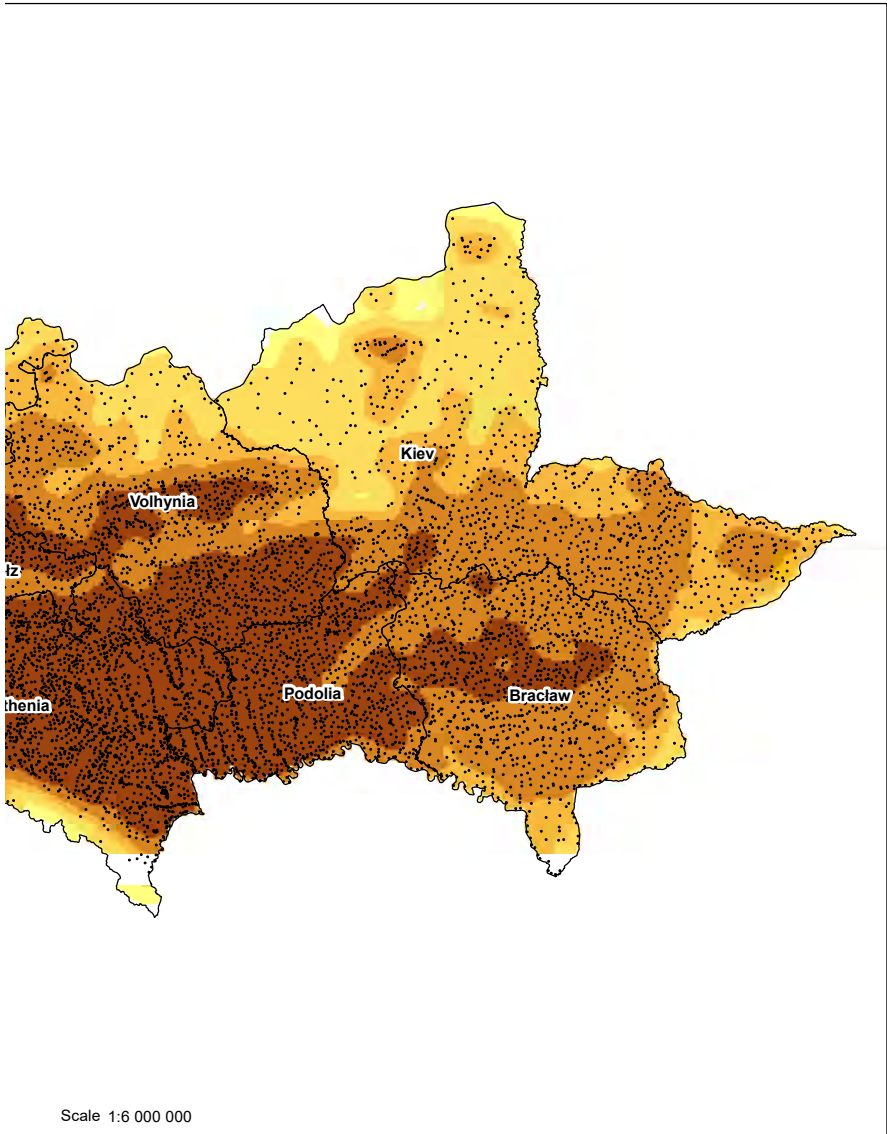
As emphasized earlier, the range of Uniate churches in the Crown did not overlap either with diocesan boundaries (for example, in Warsaw and Lublin), or the state administration borders. Owing to the geostatistical method called "density contouring"¹⁷ it has been possible to estimate the area in which 8311 Uniate churches had been located, of which 8166 were parish churches (map 4). It totaled 263 545 km² (one church per 31.7 km², one parish per 32.3 km²) and accounted for 62.1 percent of the Crown's territory. It should be recalled that it was not possible to identify the geographical location of 55 churches and they were not taken into account in cartographic analysis. The maximum distance between two adjacent Uniate parishes was 58.4 km in the Crown (the distance between the Augustów and Boguszewo parishes in the Podlasie palatinate).¹⁸

The geographic range of the Roman Catholic Church was much bigger than that of the Uniate Church, which in the early modern period was unable to create larger communities outside the area of close-knit Ruthenian settlement. Although rooted in the western and central parts of the Crown, the Latin Church also managed to develop, albeit less intensively, its structures in Crown Ruthenia and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In organizational terms this territorial expansion manifested itself most in the emergence of a separate metropolitan province in Lwów for the Ruthenian lands of the Crown. Its development and geographic range were the outcome of political and border changes in the east. In the second half of the eighteenth century the Crown hosted the easternmost administrative unit of the Latin Church in Europe – the parish of St. Francis Xavier at Śmiła in the Chwastów deanery of the Kiev diocese. The boundaries of the Latin Church in the Commonwealth were also the limits of the Roman Church in that part of Europe.

17 More detailed description of kernel density estimation is offered further on in this chapter when it discusses the density of sacral facilities.

18 The parish of Augustów was closer to the churches at Lipsk and Kopciówka, but they were located in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. A monastery church in Warsaw was even farther off from the parish at Kosowo Ruskie in Podlasie (85.7 km).





Bishops' reports reflect adequately the borderland nature of the Kiev diocese and the Braclaw part of the Łuck diocese. All eighteenth-century reports emphasize the deplorable condition of the Kiev diocese due to war ravages and small size of the Catholic population compared to the Uniates and Jews. In the mid-seventeenth century the Latin Church, like the Uniate Church, lost a sizable part of the area under its jurisdiction due to the wars with Muscovy. The borders of the Łuck diocese were also delimited by the territorial reach of the Commonwealth. It follows from map no. 5 that the eastern borderlands of those two dioceses were practically devoid of Latin churches, which proves that they were in the hands of eastern Christianity.

After Moldova had become a fief of the Commonwealth, a Latin diocese with its seat in Bacău was reinstated at the beginning of the sixteenth century. This, however, did not significantly impact the confessional situation in that area where the Orthodox Church had prevailed since the Middle Ages. After the Moldovan ruler had recognized the supremacy of Ottoman Porte, the Bacău bishopric became nominal and the number of Catholics in that area was insignificant. From 1751 the Bacău bishop had his seat in Śniatyn in the region of Pokuttia which was incorporated into that diocese in 1768. Due to the foregoing circumstances the southern border of the Commonwealth and the Latin dioceses of Kamieniec, Lwów and Bacău marked the approximate range of influence of the Catholicism in that part of Europe. In Moldova itself, a small number of about eight thousand Catholics dispersed across 13 parishes were in the pastoral care of the Franciscan order.¹⁹

In confessional terms the area of the Carpathian Foothills may be divided into two parts. Its eastern part – in the strip of the Spisz starosty – was mainly inhabited by the Uniates and separated the Catholics of the Latin rite of the Commonwealth (the dioceses of Przemyśl and Kraków) from those in Transylvania and Hungary (the bishoprics of Eger and Esztergom). In the western part of the Carpathians and further to the north-west the Latin Church in the Commonwealth bordered Moravian and Silesian Catholics. The confessional continuity between the Crown and the Habsburg monarchy is best evidenced by the formal affiliation of the Breslau diocese with the Gniezno metropolitan province that continued till the beginning of the nineteenth century.²⁰

As in the east, the western and northern borders of the Crown corresponded with the confessional range of influence of the Latin Church. Brandenburg and Pomorze Zachodnie (Western Pomerania), which were part of Royal Prussia, bordered the

19 Kumor, "Baków", col. 1271; Idem, *Granice metropolii i diecezji polskich*, pp. 334-336; Dumea, *Il cattolicesimo in Romania*.

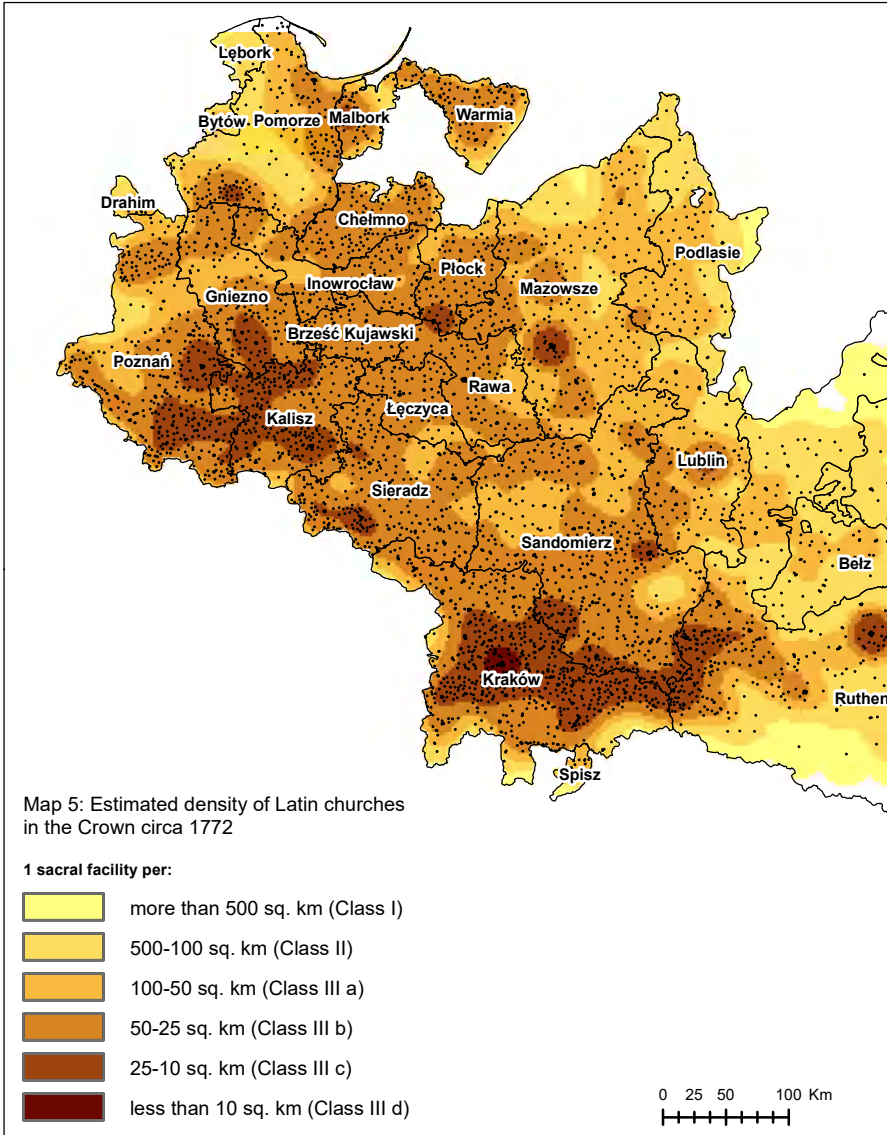
20 W. Müller, "Diecezje w okresie potrydenckim", in: *Kościół w Polsce*, vol. 2, Kraków 1969, pp. 71-72.

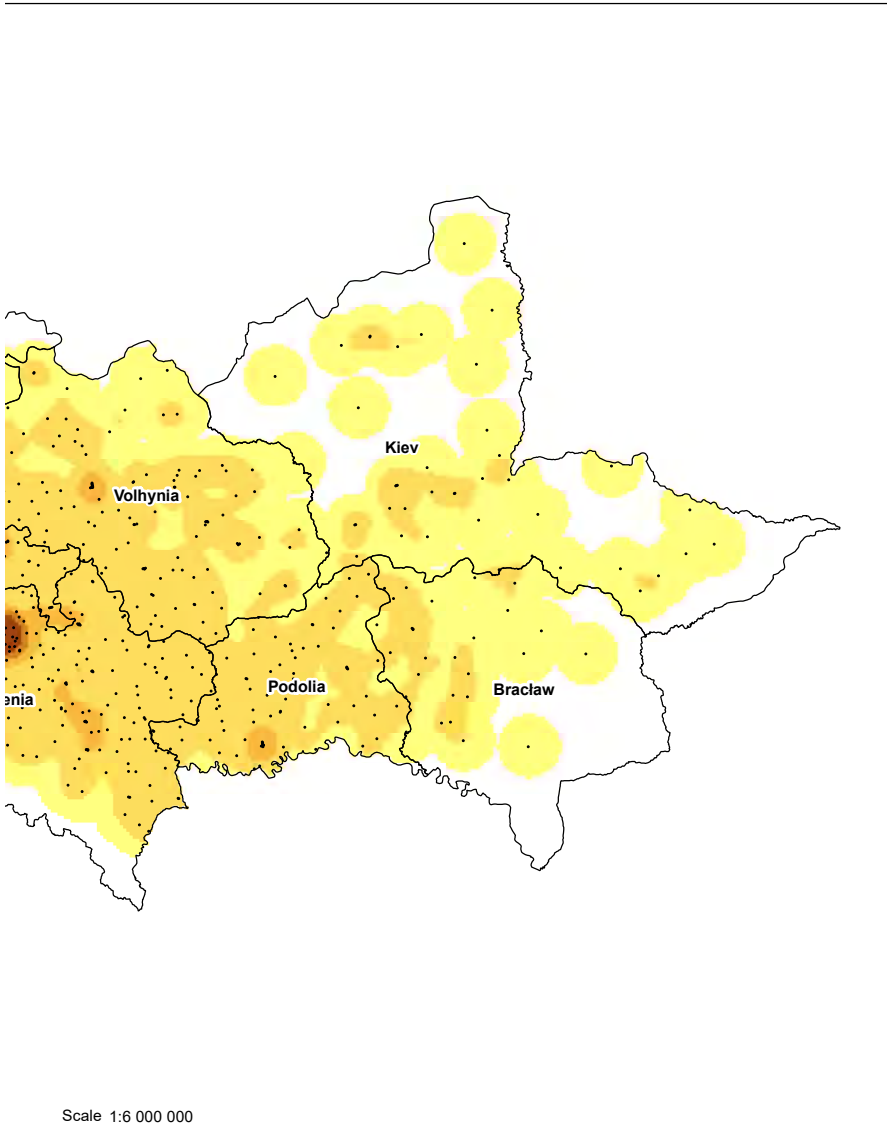
Crown in the west, and the so-called Ducal Prussia – in the north. The proximity of Lutheranism with its strong organization and state support was most palpable first of all in the palatinates of Poznań and Gniezno, but also those of Pomorze and Malbork. The political border clearly overlapped with the confessional one in Catholic Warmia that seemed to be immersed in the surrounding Lutheran Prussia.

The border between the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania frequently cut through the borders of the Latin dioceses. This is demonstrated, *inter alia*, by the divisions of the Łuck diocese whose southern and western parts belonged to the Crown, whereas the central and north-eastern areas were part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This was a result of complicated circumstances in which the structures of the Latin Church along the Polish Lithuanian border had been shaped in the fifteenth century.²¹ This is also indirect evidence of ties between the organizational structures of the Catholic Church in the Crown and Lithuania. They were an outcome of the origins and course of the process of Christianization in the latter. It should be remembered that the largest diocese of Europe at this time – Vilnius – most of which was located in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (apart from its fringes belonging to the Podlasie palatinate), was affiliated to the Gniezno metropolitan province.

The range of the Latin Church in the Crown was delineated by means of the same method that was applied in the case of the Uniate Church, and the maximum distance between two Latin parishes turned out to be about 70 km (the distance between the parishes of Rzyszczów and Biała Cerkiew in the Chwastów deanery of the Kiev diocese). As expected, the outreach of the Latin Church covering 5720 places of worship, including 3395 parish churches, extended over nearly the entire territory of the Crown (map 5) and totalled 380 073 km² (89.6 percent of the Crown's territory). There was one church per 66.4 km², and one parish per 111.9 km², a figure three times greater than that for the Uniate Church. If only parish churches are taken into account, the dominance of Uniate churches is even more apparent. The most evident shortages in the Latin Church structures were in the eastern parts of the Crown, in the Braclaw and Kiev palatinates where Eastern Christianity prevailed almost completely. More pronounced than in respect of the Uniate Church was the lack of settlements in Polesie in the north of the Kiev palatinate and along its border with the Minsk palatinate. Such natural conditions as the high Carpathian Mountains accounted for the absence of the Latin Church structures in the south of the Ruthenian and Kraków palatinates. In the west of the Crown the range of the Roman Catholic influences traversed the lands of Drahim, Lębork and Bytów that had been under the actual rule of the Brandenburg elector since the mid-seventeenth century.

21 Królik, *Organizacja diecezji łuckiej i brzeskiej*, p. 93.





The small number of Armenian communities in the Catholic Church resulted in their limited territorial range. The location along the Dniester River of the majority of the 22 Armenian parish churches makes it necessary to discuss the geography of their distribution in the Moldovan and Crimean contexts. Although the Dniester River was a state border in the eighteenth century, it was also a transportation and trade route with the Commonwealth in the direction of the Black Sea. The Armenians played a crucial role in that trade, competing with the Jews. Sometimes they gained the upper hand, as happened in Kamieniec Podolski.

The Armenian archdiocese of Lwów extended its jurisdiction over Moldova and Transylvania. That area had not had its own bishop since 1715 when Aksenty Werczirski had died, but the Armenian community connected with Rome was in the care of the vicar of the Lwów archbishop for Moldova and Valahia.²² In the second half of the eighteenth century the Armenian Uniates in Crimea were also subordinated to the archbishop of Lwów.²³ But the majority of Armenians living south of the Dniester River remained Monophysites who were subordinated to the Catholicoi of All Armenians in Eczmiadzin.

The structures of the Armenian archdiocese of Lwów, which formally comprised the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in fact covered four palatinates in the south-east of the Commonwealth: Ruthenia, Podolia, Volhynia and Braclaw (map 6). The westernmost community lived in Zamość, and the northernmost in Łuck. These were also the most distant Armenian churches (110-111 km). The area delimited by Armenian parishes totaled 23 319 km² (one church per 1060 km²), that is 5.5 percent of the Crown's territory. Its shape, location and apparent orientation from south-east to north-west indicate that the Armenian settlement concentrated along the borders and was of a commercial nature. Contacts with co-believers across the Dniester River seem to be obvious.

The geographical distribution of the Orthodox population in the Commonwealth was also of a borderland nature. Both in formal terms and in the practice of religious and socio-political life the members of the Orthodox Church in the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were under the jurisdiction of the Most Holy Synod in Petersburg. The range of the Orthodox religion in the Commonwealth was the outcome of two factors: the internal one, that is the

22 Z. Obertyński, "Kościół ormiański. Kryzysy XVIII wieku", in: *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*, ed. B. Kumor, Z. Obertyński, vol. 1, part 2, Poznań–Warszawa 1974, p. 480.

23 Smirnow, *Katedra ormiańska*, p. 51.

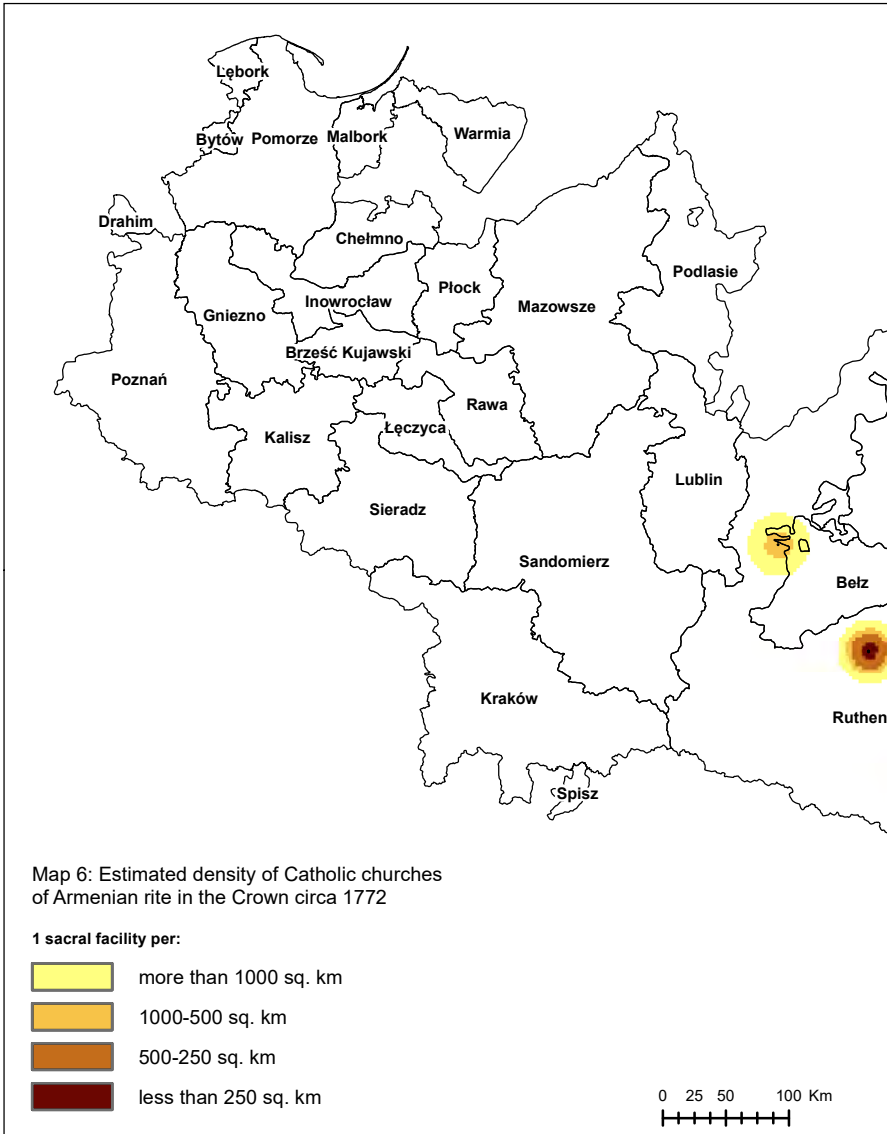
fact that the structures of the Orthodox Church had been pushed out by the Uniates, and the external one, resulting from political developments in Crown Ruthenia (the Polish-Muscovite and Polish-Ottoman wars) in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Only the members of the Orthodox Church living closest to the Russian border were able to maintain a small number of their places of worship. Most of them were located in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (in the palatinates of Mścisław, Połock and Witebsk, but also of Minsk and Nowogródek).²⁴

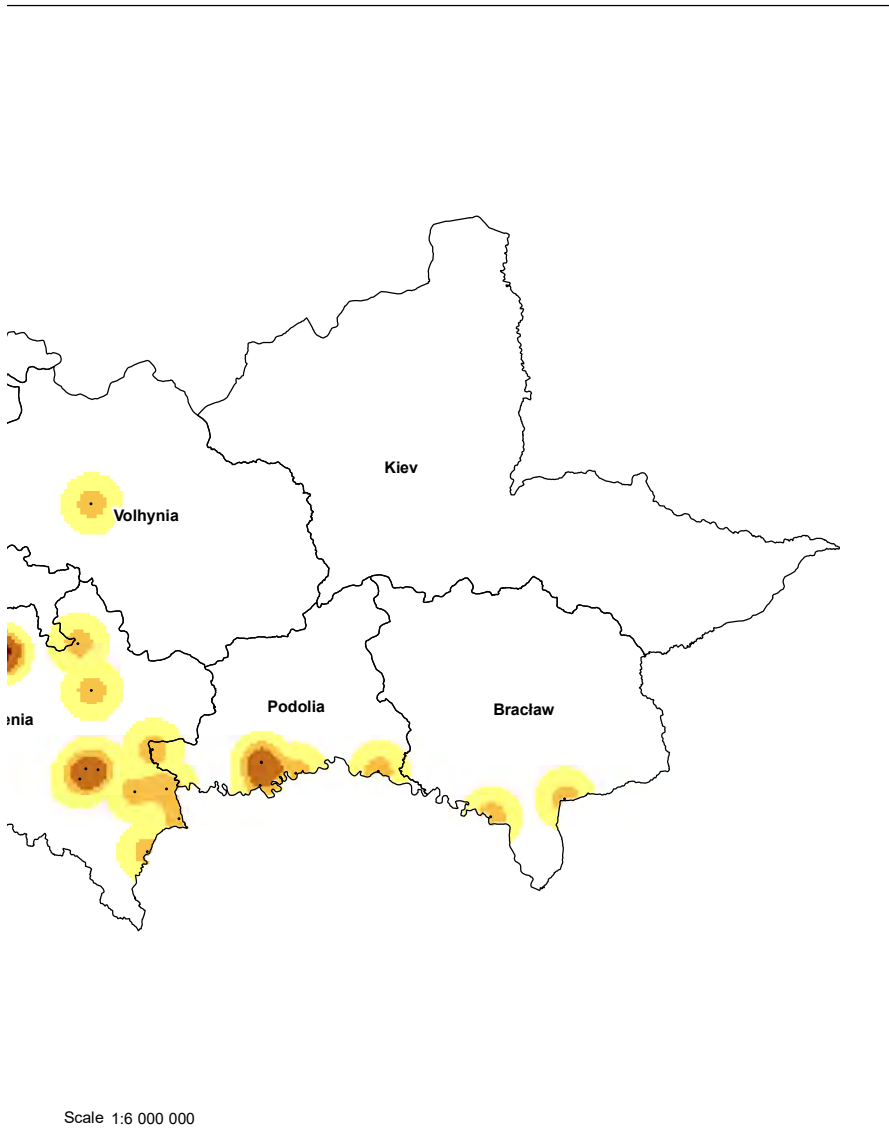
In terms of the geography of the Orthodox Church in the Crown the eastern borderlands of the Kiev palatinate mark the area of the dominance of that denomination in Tsarist Russia. No Orthodox bishop had his seat in the Crown, but immediately across its border there were the seats of the Kiev metropolitan archbishop as well as two bishops: of Perejasław and Czernichów that had once lain within the territory of the Commonwealth. The jurisdiction of the Kiev metropolitan and his co-adjutor in Perejasław covered the members of the Orthodox Church in the Crown and part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (the palatinates of Vilnius, Minsk, Nowogródek, Troki and Brześć Litewski).²⁵

The distribution of Orthodox churches shows the limited influence of the Orthodox Church in south-eastern Crown Ruthenia, in the palatinates of Braclaw and Podolia. Individual Orthodox churches dispersed across the palatinates of Podlasie, Ruthenia, Volhynia and Podolia extended the range of the Orthodox islands westward. They were the remnants of its former influence in the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The Commonwealth's internal border had no impact on the distribution of the Orthodox churches and structures. The two monasteries in Drohiczyn and Bielsk in the Podlasie palatinate (see map 7), the westernmost centres of the Orthodox confession in the Commonwealth, were geographically connected with its centres in the palatinates of Troki and Brześć Litewski. The Orthodox churches in north-eastern part of the Kiev palatinate (near Łojów) were also connected with a sizable group of Orthodox centres in the Minsk palatinate of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

24 This is well illustrated by the map enclosed with the history of the Orthodox Church by F. Titow, Ф.И. Титов, *Русская православная церковь в Польско-Литовском государстве в XVII-XVIII вв. (1654-1795 г.)*, т. 1: Западная русь в борьбе за веру и народность в XVII-XVIII вв. Первая половина тома (1654-1725 г.), Киев 1905.

25 Bienkowski, "Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego", pp. 856-858.





The territorial range of the Orthodox places of worship (totaling 35 churches of which 17 were parish churches) determined by the method described at the beginning of the chapter totaled 35 080 km² (one church per 1002.3 km², one parish church per 2064 km²), that is 8.3 percent of the Crown. If a few westernmost centres (Drohiczyn and Bielsk Podlaski in the Podlasie palatinate, Skit Maniawski in the Ruthenian palatinate, Siekuń and Hryców in the Volhynian palatinate and Mohylów in the Podolian palatinate) were to be excluded, there would be two most populous centres in the Kiev palatinate (near Berdyczów and Łojów in the north-east and near Korsuń and Czehryn in the east) covering an area of 24 078 km² (one church per 891.8 km²), accounting for 5.7 percent of the Crown. In this area the distance between Orthodox churches did not exceed 100 km.

In the eighteenth century the Protestant Reformation left a lasting imprint on the structure of religions and denominations of the Commonwealth. Apart from Lutheranism, which was widely represented in the Crown, there were churches of the Calvinists, Mennonites and Bohemian Brethren. Following the premise adopted at the beginning of this work the Bohemian Brethren have been treated separately. In spite of a strong trend to unite with the Calvinists, it cannot be said that the unification actually took place.²⁶ Their distinctness is also apparent based on the geographical distribution of their churches that will be discussed further on.

The Lutheran Church dominated in the areas neighbouring the Commonwealth in the west and north. The second half of the eighteenth century is marked by the growing political influence of Hohenzollern Prussia followed by the geographical and social expansion of Lutheranism. It also manifested itself in the Crown, especially after the publication of the edict of toleration in 1768 when many churches existing in the sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries were reactivated. Although the range of the Lutheran Church covered both the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the borderlands in the west and north of the Crown (Wielkopolska and Pomorze) had the highest percentage of Evangelicals in the population. The state's political border in the west and north was to the Lutheran Church a communication strip with co-believers living in Ducal Prussia, Pomorze Zachodnie (West Pomerania) and Brandenburg. It should be remembered that the western corners of the Commonwealth were a place where

26 See. Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, p. 79; Gmiterek, *Bracia czescy a kalwini*, p. 141.

during the Thirty Years' War the refugees from Bohemia, Brandenburg and Pomorze could find a safe haven.²⁷

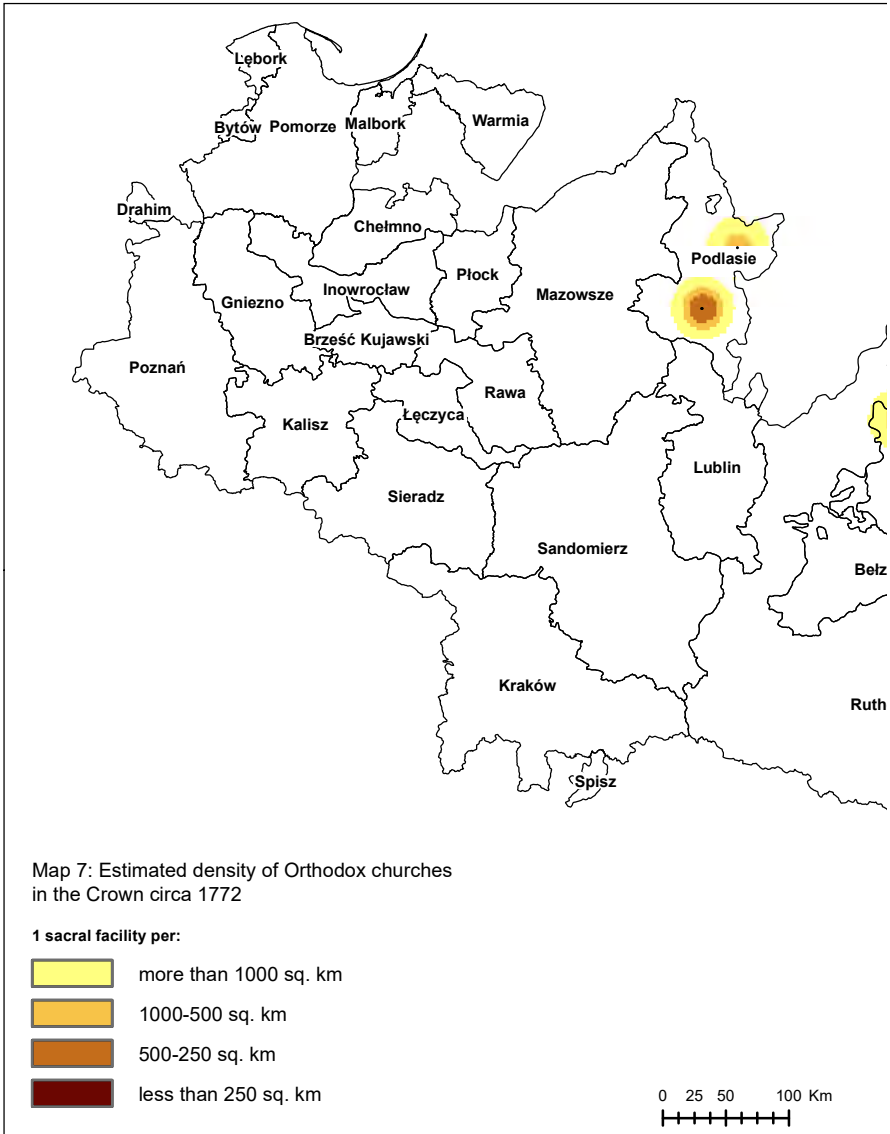
Map 8 features the most compact Lutheran centres of Wielkopolska and Royal Prussia situated in the territory of the palatinates of Poznań, Gniezno, Pomorze, Malbork and Chełmno. Outside that area it has been possible to locate only eight Lutheran churches: in Warsaw (a church consecrated in 1781, in the Mazowsze palatinate), Węgrów (in the Podlasie palatinate), Piaski (in the Lublin palatinate), and Siedlec (in the Sandomierz palatinate). The distribution of Lutheran churches is a little similar to that of the Orthodox churches: clear-cut concentrations of churches in borderlands and their higher dispersal in the central areas of the state. The easternmost Lutheran community lived in Piaski, side by side with a community of Reformed Evangelicals.²⁸

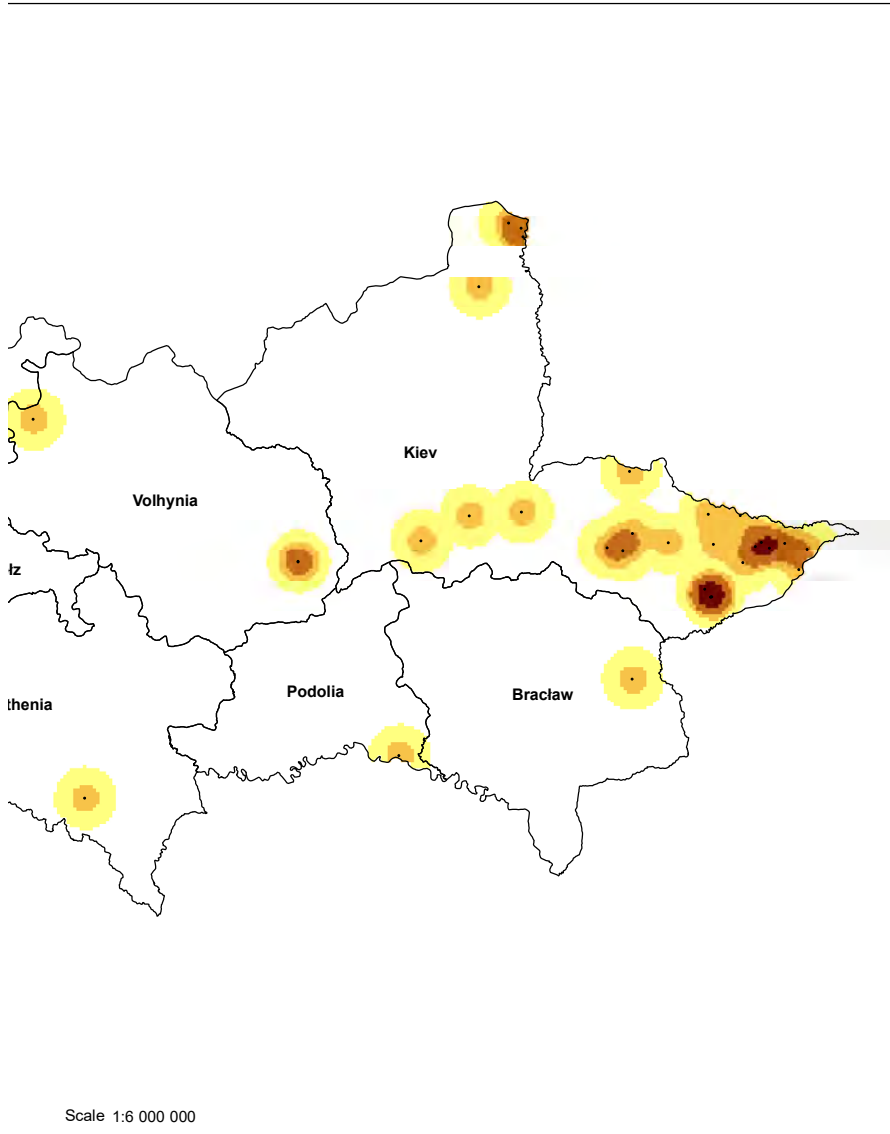
The territorial range of 276 Lutheran churches registered in the Crown in the second half of the eighteenth century, including 212 parish churches²⁹ (map 8), totalled 60 867 km² (one church per 220.5 km², one Lutheran parish per 287.1 km²), accounting for 14.3 percent of the Crown. In the east their outreach is irregular due to the four above-mentioned churches located outside the main centre of Lutheranism in Pomorze and Wielkopolska. Should they be excluded, the area with Lutheran churches would decrease to 52 997 km², accounting for 12.5 percent of the Crown's territory, and the average density of churches would increase to one church per 194.8 km². The distances between them in that area did not exceed 30 km. From the point of view of confessional geography, most interesting was the limit of the Church's range in the east. It reached the borderlands of the Chełmno and Inowrocław palatinates as far as Toruń and the nearby churches at Górsk, Grębobcin, Lubicz and Rogowo. Then it cut across the narrowing of the Inowrocław palatinate near Bydgoszcz and then south through the Gniezno palatinate to the towns of Skoki and Swarzędz, the village of Rejowiec (in the Gniezno palatinate) and the town of Murowana Goślina (in the Poznań palatinate), the centres of Lutheranism located furthest to the south-east in that region. In the south of the Poznań palatinate, along the border with Silesia, the influence of Lutheranism reached farther east, entering the Kalisz palatinate (Kobylin, Zduny).

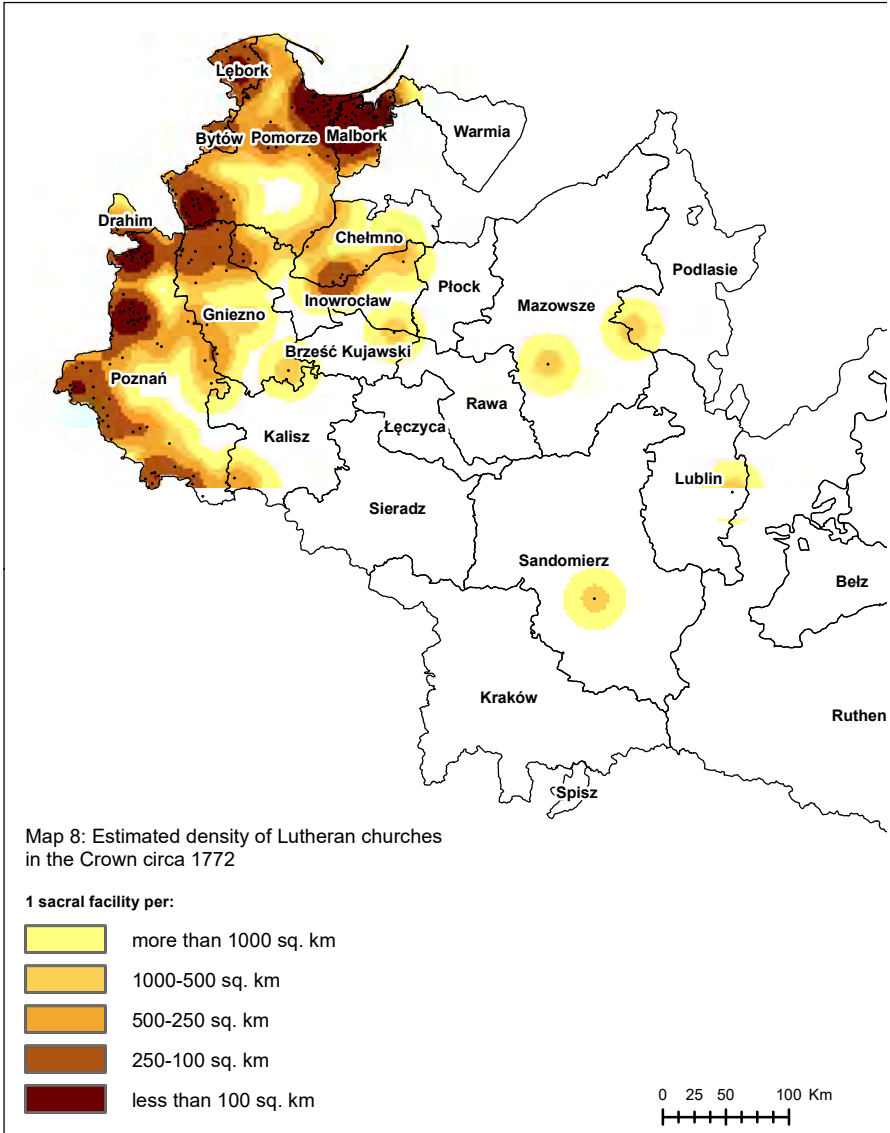
27 Dworzaczkowa, "Reformacja w Wielkopolsce", p. 567.

28 Kossowski, *Protestantyzm w Lublinie i w Lubelskiem*, p. 232; Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, p. 60; Bem, "Zarys dziejów zboru ewangelicko-reformowanego w Piaskach Luterskich", p. 94.

29 The statistical data do not include three churches that were hard to identify or locate: at Młodycz, Sapieher Haulander and Mieszów, see: Annex.









Scale 1:6 000 000

Due to the small number of Calvinist churches in the second half of the eighteenth century and their significant dispersal, the geographical range does not reflect the significance of that confession in the religious structure of the Crown and Lithuania. The fourteen Calvinist churches were located both in the provinces of Małopolska (Małopolska, Podlasie) and Wielkopolska (Wielkopolska, Pomorze).³⁰ Their territorial range in the Crown – calculated by means of density contouring – was equal to 20 480 km² (4.8 percent of the Crown). Only Crown Ruthenia and Mazowsze, whose nobles were convinced that the anti-Protestant legislation adopted by the Mazovian Duke Janusz³¹ still applied, had no organized Reformed communities (map 9). Due to the small number and high dispersal of the Calvinist places of worship there was only one church per 1462.9 km², and the distances between them were within the range of 40-60 km. Most distant of all was the church in the town of Orla in Podlasie situated 180 km from Piaski, but – as we know – that community was connected with the Lithuanian Unity and at the beginning of the eighteenth century it was part of the Podlasie district.³²

In view of the significant dispersal of this denomination, the limits of its range in the Crown are purely hypothetical and should be treated with a high degree of caution. To quote Bohdan Cywiński: “The presence of the Lutherans, Calvinists and Bohemian Brethren was confined to small and further decreasing enclaves dispersed throughout various regions of that state that was enormous at the time”.³³ The diasporic nature of the Evangelical Reformed communities was also emphasized by Wojciech Kriegseisen.³⁴ It was also characteristic of the Calvinist structures in the areas neighbouring the Crown in the north, west and south, that is, in Ducal Prussia, Brandenburg and Silesia.

Equally noteworthy is the distribution of Calvinist churches in the central part of the Crown, and particularly in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (a church at Dziewałtów in the western part of the Vilnius palatinate represented the east-

30 Of 14 churches only the one in Elbląg was recognized as a filial one, Harnoch, *Chronik und Statistik*, pp. 559-560; Rhesa, *Kurzgefasste Nachrichten von allen seit der Reformation an den evangelischen Kirchen in Westpreussen angestellten Predigern*, p. 169; “Die kirchliche Organisation um 1785” (Bethaus).

31 Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, p. 29.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 101.

33 B. Cywiński, *Ogniem próbowane. Z dziejów najnowszych Kościoła katolickiego w Europie środkowo-wschodniej*, vol. 1: *Korzenie tożsamości*, Rzym 1982, p. 48.

34 Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, p. 61.

ernmost Calvinist community).³⁵ This may indicate that the organizational range of European Calvinism in the eighteenth century ended in the Commonwealth in the vicinity of meridians 23 and 25. The absence of Calvinist churches in the palatinates of Wielkopolska proper was due to the presence of the communities of Bohemian Brethren in that area who, in theological and organizational terms, were close to the Reformed Evangelicals.

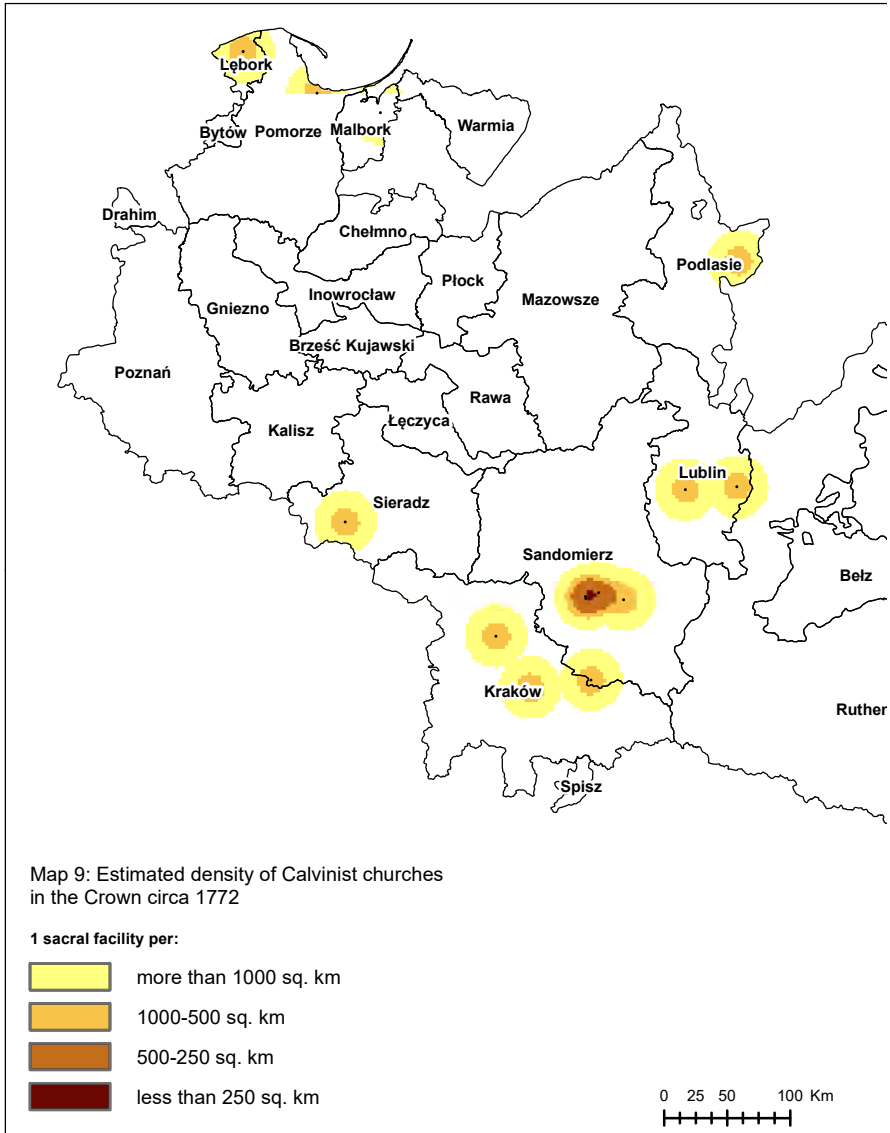
One of the three provinces of the Unity of Bohemian Brethren existed in the Commonwealth. In the second half of the eighteenth century their churches were situated over the area of 14 023 km², accounting for 3.3 percent of the Crown's territory. It follows from map 10 that the organizational structures of that denomination did not extend beyond the province of Wielkopolska. This is understandable given the origins of the Bohemian Brethren in the Polish lands. They had migrated from Bohemia and Moravia to Ducal Prussia in the second half of the sixteenth century via Silesia and Wielkopolska.

The ten organized communities of the Bohemian Brethren that lived in the Commonwealth in its final years were the modest remains of a strong Unity that had been active in the mid-sixteenth century. The communities could only operate where local proprietors acting as their patrons had decided to maintain them. Like in the case of Calvinism the distribution of their places of worship was of a diasporic nature. In effect, distances between them oscillated within 50-70 km, with one church per 1402.3 km². The provinces of the Bohemian Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia neighbouring the Polish Unity were equally dispersed. Living in small groups, under protection of the rich, these communities functioned in the lands across the border with Wielkopolska in the west, south and north (Silesia, Brandenburg, and Ducal Prussia). Although in the east their influence did not extend further than the borders of the Kalisz, Gniezno and Chełmno palatinates, it should be remembered that they were closely in touch with the Małopolska Unity of Reformed Evangelicals.³⁶

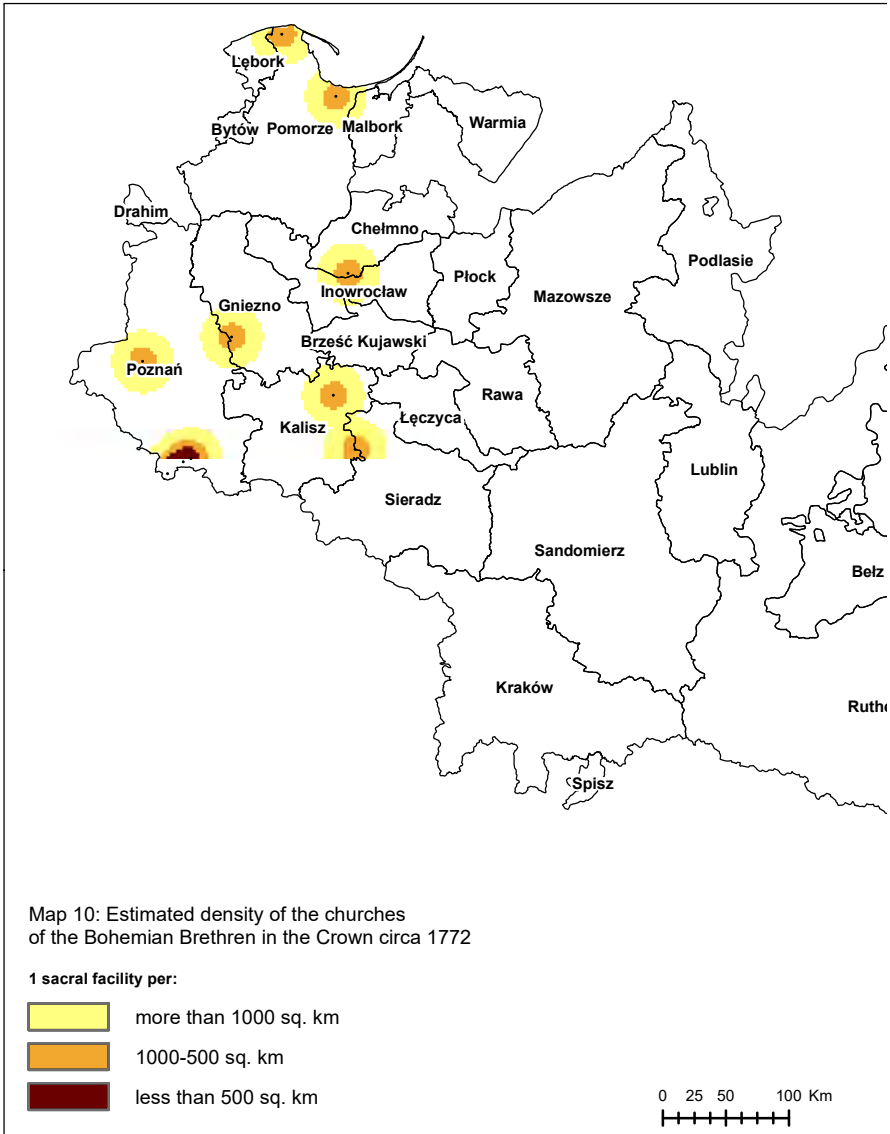
More numerous in the Crown than the Bohemian Brethren in demographic terms, but also from the point of view of the number of religious communities, were the Mennonites connected with the so-called Olęder settlement. This type of settlement began in the first half of the sixteenth century. In modern times they developed their organizational structures owing to the geographical expansion of that denomination, mainly southward. This process transpires from the chronology in which their places of worship or prayer houses were opened.

35 On the confessional situation in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the eighteenth century, see: recently: M.B. Topolska, *Spółczesność i kultura w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim od XV do XVIII w.*, Poznań-Zielona Góra 2002, pp. 244-284.

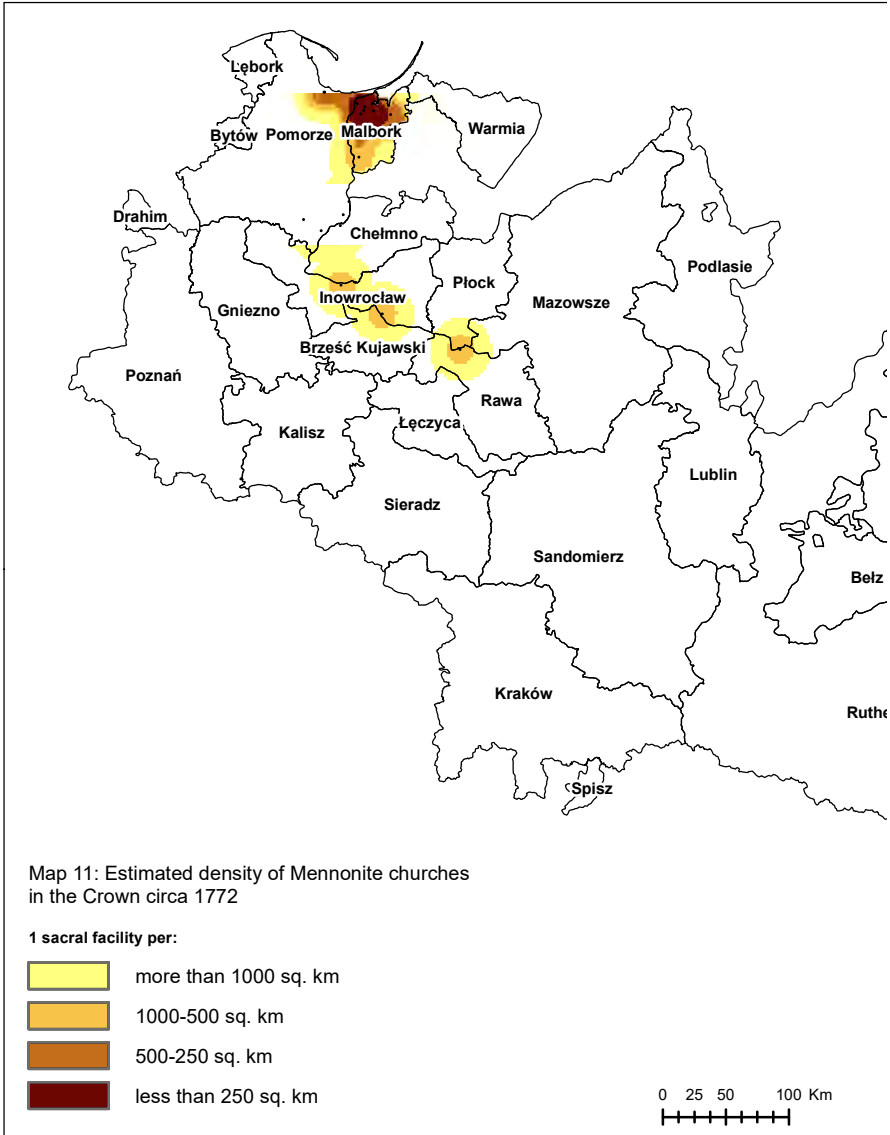
36 Dworzaczkowa, *Bracia czescy*, pp. 19, 50.



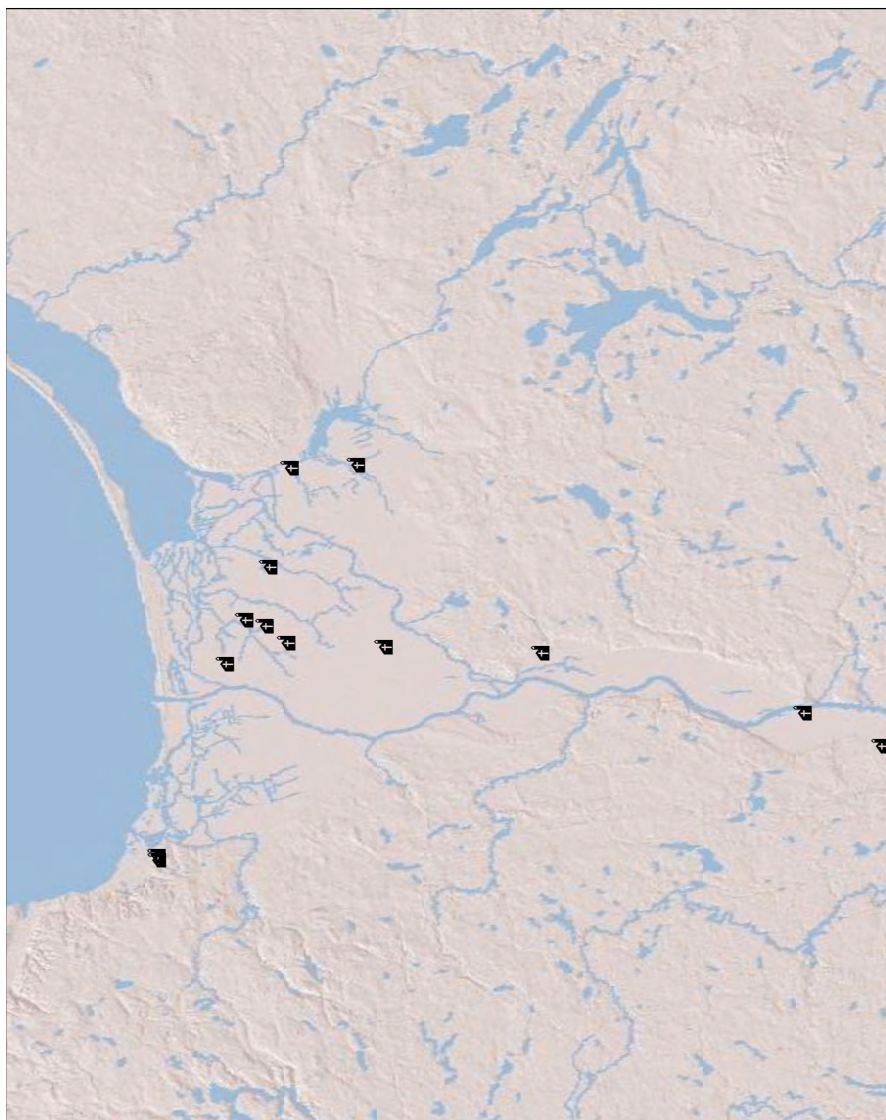


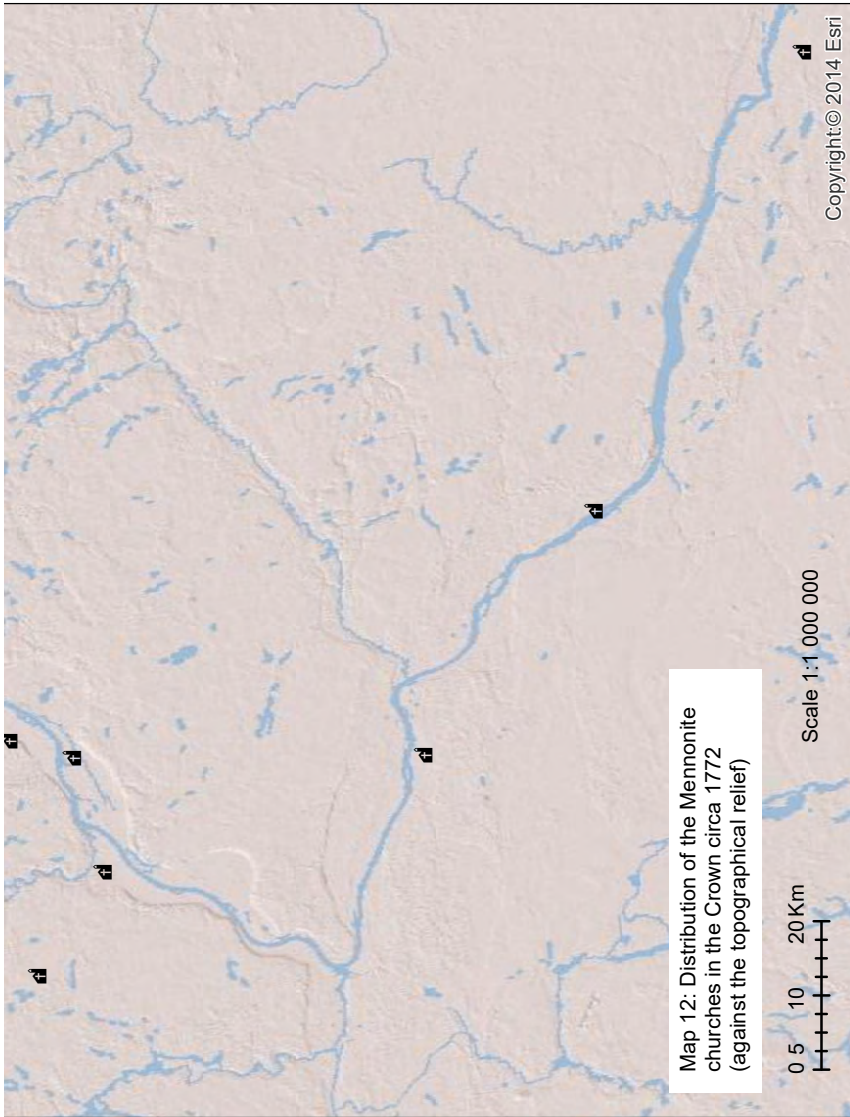












The maps featuring both the territorial range of Mennonite churches (map 11) and their distribution against the topographical relief (map 12) are a good illustration of the development of the Ołędz settlement confined to the basin of the Vistula River, within a strip narrowing in the south-eastern direction.³⁷ The southernmost Mennonite churches were in the villages of Bógpomóż and Nowe Wymysle. But most of their places of worship and prayer houses were situated in the palatinates of Malbork, Pomorze, Chełmno and Inowrocław, in an area totalling 14 186 km² (3.3 percent of the Crown's territory). Of the 19 Mennonite sacral facilities three (at Jezorki, Grupa and Bógpomóż³⁸) were classified as filial, and the remaining ones were their main places of worship.

Unlike in the case of the Bohemian Brethren and Reformed Evangelicals, the Mennonite places of worship clearly formed clusters (one church per 746.6 km²). Distances between them oscillated between 5-15 km. There are also evident traces of Ołędz settlement in western Wielkopolska, but it began a little later. Centres functioning in modern times cannot be always associated with the Mennonite denomination because those groups included a high percentage of Germans (Lutherans) and Poles (Catholics).³⁹

The early modern period in the Commonwealth was also marked by the demographic expansion and settlement of Jews. In effect, the Jewish population – like the Latin Catholics – could be found in all corners of the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (apart from Warmia). A special role in that regard was played by internal colonization due to the demographic growth of communities and their expansion in the direction of the eastern and south-eastern borderlands of the Commonwealth.⁴⁰ It follows from map 13 that only the dominion of the Warmia bishops had no Jewish settlement. Naturally, one cannot rule out that individual Jews lived in Warmia in the second half of the eighteenth cen-

37 Ludkiewicz, *Osady holenderskie na Nizinie Sartawicko-Nowskiej*, pp. 26-32; Ciesielska, "Osadnictwo ołędzkie", pp. 222-225; Kizik, *Mennonici w Gdańsku, Elblągu i na Żuławach*, p. 61.

38 ADWł. AV26, p. 189; *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, p. 607; vol. 3, p. 110; vol. 4, pp. 741-742; Kizik, *Mennonici w Gdańsku, Elblągu i na Żuławach*, p. 128; also see map: "Die Mennoniten-Gemeinden in Ost- und Westpreussen" in the work by H. Penner, *Die ost- und westpreussischen*.

39 See: W. Rusiński, *Osady tzw. "Ołędzów" w dawnym województwie poznańskim*, Poznań 1939-Kraków 1947, pp. 9, 27-34.

40 See Chapter LXIX ("Territorial and Numerical Expansion") in the work by S.W. Baron, *A Social and Religious*, pp. 164-213.

tury, but for political reasons and due to the proprietary situation (ecclesiastical estates) no permanent kahals were established there.

Because of the policy of prohibitions and resettlements pursued by the Russian state towards the Jews in the eighteenth century (decrees of 1727, 1742 and 1744), the Jewish communities located in the territories of the Kiev and Braclaw palatinates were the easternmost organized communities in this part of Europe. In the areas lost by the Commonwealth in the mid-seventeenth century there were only small groups of Jews after 1648. In spite of formal bans issued by the Tsars, the Jews migrated across the border from the Commonwealth to what was officially called 'Malorossiiia'.⁴¹ The situation changed after the First Partition when Russia acquired the territories with mass-scale Jewish settlements. Catherine the Great allowed the Jews to settle in 'Novorossiiia' and in consequence of that policy the so-called settlement areas were delimited.⁴²

The Polish-Russian border was formally closed to Jewish migration, but Jews could move southward without any major problems. Although not officially recognized, Judaism was tolerated in eighteenth-century Moldova and Jews were allowed to organize themselves freely and to build their synagogues. The geographical location along the main trade route between Poland and Constantinople created opportunities for contacts and exchanges with the Jews of Lwów and Kraków.⁴³ The situation of Hungarian, Czech and Moravian Jews was more difficult⁴⁴, mainly due to the intolerant policy pursued by Vienna which resulted in their migrations to the north and south. There were quite regular contacts between the Jews living in the south-eastern palatinates of the Commonwealth and the northern provinces of the Habsburg empire. This is evidenced by Judah Bolechower (of Bolechów) and his son Ber who maintained animated business contacts with the Hungarian Jews.⁴⁵

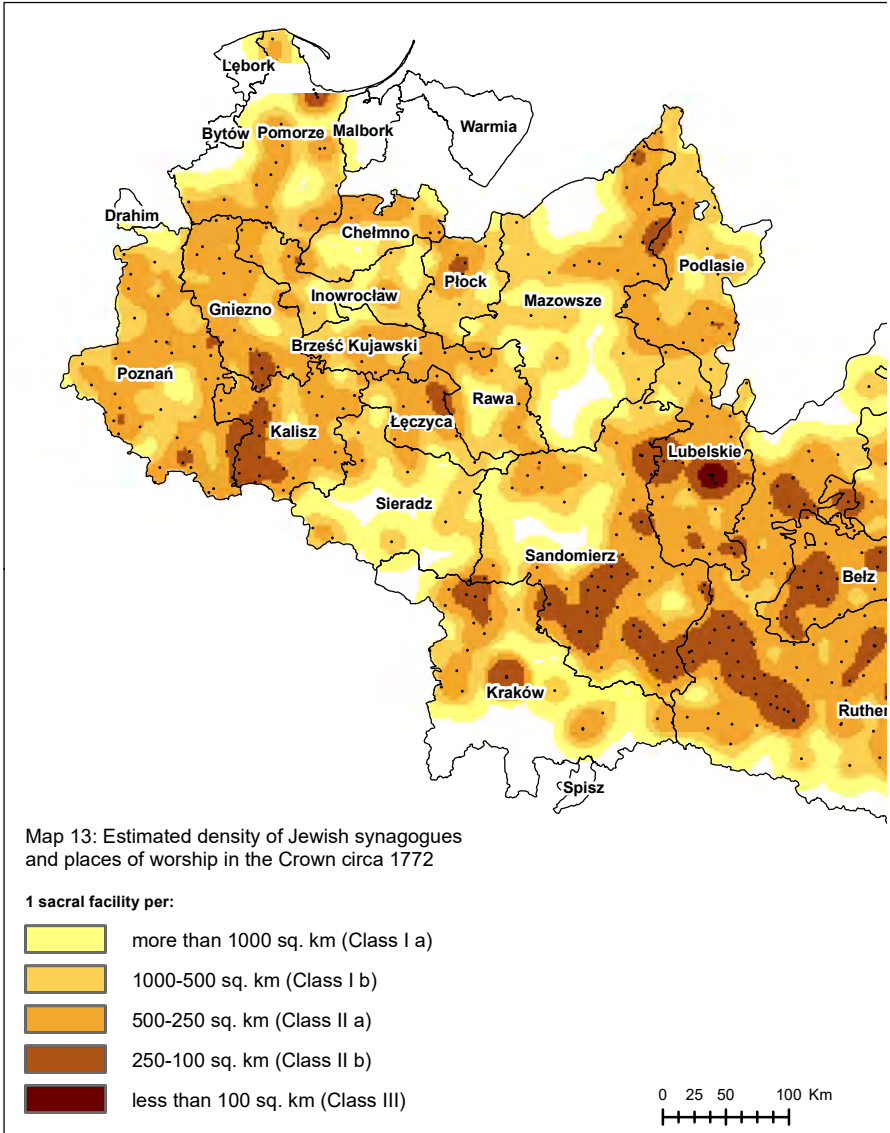
41 S.M. Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland, from the Earliest Times until the Present Day*, vol. 1, Philadelphia 1916, pp. 245-261.

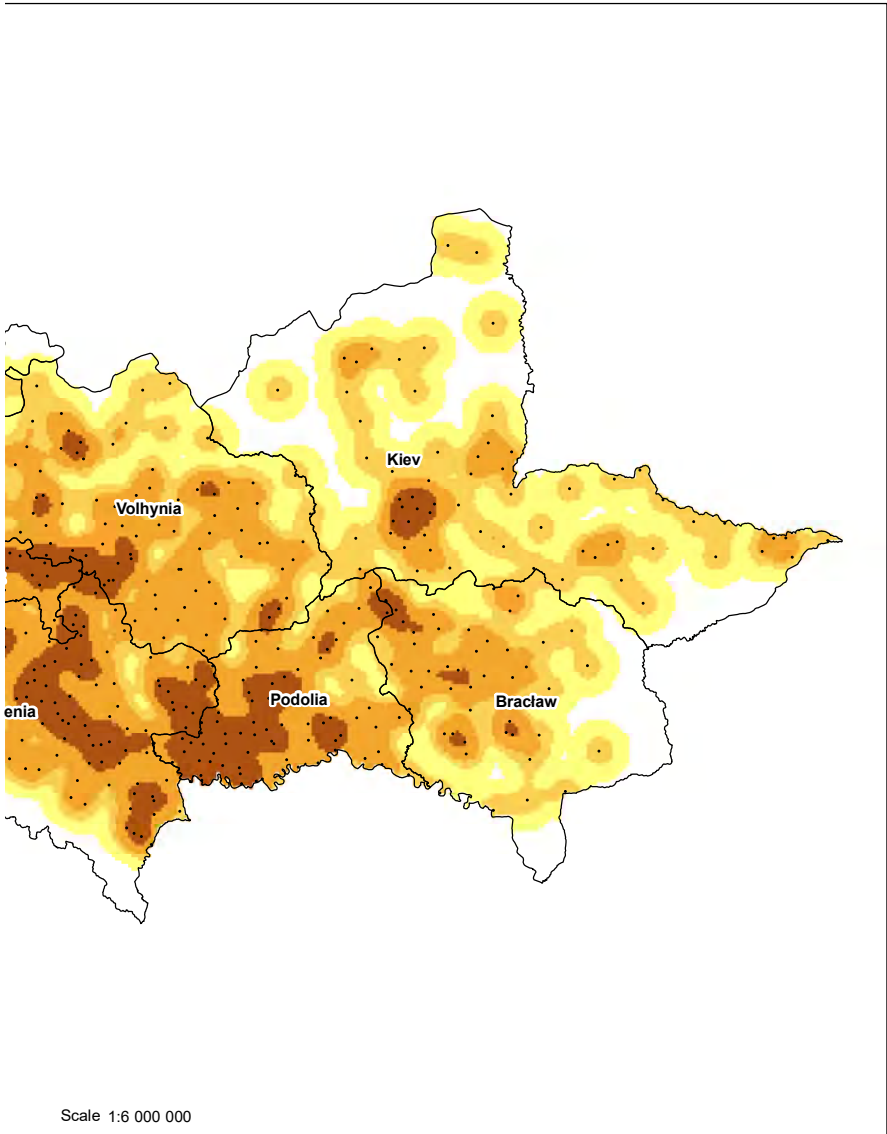
42 H. Haumann, *Historia Żydów w Europie Środkowej i Wschodniej*, Warszawa 2000, pp. 90-95 (map: Strefa osiedlenia Żydów w carskiej Rosji).

43 E. Schwarzfeld, "The Jews of Moldavia at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century", *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 16 (1903), no. 1, pp. 113-114, 116, 122-123; S. Costachie, "Geopolitical Aspects of Jewish Presence in the Romanian Principalities, During the Middle Ages", *Human Geographies. Journal of Studies and Research in Human Geographies*, 1 (2007), pp. 84-85.

44 Haumann, *Historia Żydów*, p. 104; M.E. Ducreux, "Czechy i Węgry w monarchii habsburskiej w XVIII-XIX wieku", in: *Historia Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, vol. 1, Lublin 2000, p. 343.

45 M. Vishnitzer, "A Jewish Diarist of the Eighteenth Century: Social and Economic Conditions of the Jews in Eastern Europe", *The Jewish Quarterly Review, New Series*, 12 (1921), no. 1, pp. 4-6.





The policy of moderate religious tolerance conducted by Brandenburg-Prussia after the Thirty Years' War fostered Jewish settlement across the Commonwealth's western and northern borders.⁴⁶ The attitude of the Prussian authorities was mainly dictated by economic considerations and the role played by the Jews both in internal and external trade. In his testament Frederick II wrote: "We have too many Jews in the cities. They are needed along the border with Poland because they are involved in trade there".⁴⁷ His opinion is corroborated by a peculiar abundance of kahals along the border between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Ducal Prussia in the second half of the eighteenth century.

It follows from the foregoing that the Jews were tolerated, though to a varying degree, in all the states surrounding the Commonwealth (other than Russia). The commercial activity pursued by the Jews living in Małopolska and Wielkopolska and the neighbouring lands features this religious and ethnic minority as exceptionally open territorially and mobile in geographical terms. The territorial range of Judaism determined by the distribution of synagogues and prayer houses in the Crown (map 13) does not delineate the limit of that religion's reach in Europe. Only the borders of the Ruthenian zemstvo in the east delimited, albeit roughly, the Jewish settlement in this part of Europe.

It follows from map 13 that the range of the Jewish settlement in the Crown, both in terms of the shape and size of that territory (of 377 379 km², accounting for 88.9 percent of the Crown) is similar to the range of the Latin Church structures. Assuming prudently that each Jewish community had a synagogue, there was one place of worship per 448.7 km². There were 807 kahal synagogues and 34 places of worship that were not the seats of kahals or branch kahals.⁴⁸ The opposite situation existed in Ducal Prussia where the strong position of German-speaking burghers impeded the growth of the Jewish kahal organization. In the highlands of the Ruthenian and Kraków palatinates, where no urban centres could develop, no community organization emerged either. This does not mean that no Jews lived there, but rather that their number and centres were negligible. It is also characteristic that kahal organization was weak in the central palatinates of the Crown, in a strip between the provinces of Małopolska and Wielkopolska traversing the palatinates of Sieradz, Łęczyca, Rawa and Mazowsze. In the

46 *German-Jewish History in Modern Times*, vol. 1: Tradition and Enlightenment, 1600-1780, ed. M. Meyer, New York 1997, p. 102.

47 Stern, *Der Preussische Staat und die Juden*, vol. 3, p. 145.

48 I mean the so-called minor synagogues situated in such larger urban centres as Lublin, Kazimierz, Pińczów, and Nowy Korczyn. Not included are three kahals that were hard to identify: at Jabłoń, Kosnica and Podole, see: the Annex.

second half of the eighteenth century the most distant from one another (circa 50 km) were the Jewish communities living in the north of the Kiev palatinate (Olewska and Czarnobyl), probably due to a poor settlement network, and along the border between Małopolska and Wielkopolska (Działoszyń).

Apart from the Christians and Jews in the second half of the eighteenth century the Crown was inhabited by organized communities of two other monotheistic religions – Karaism and Islam (professed by the Tatars). Due to the small number of their places of worship (three Karaite *kenesas* and two mosques) the idea to feature them on the map was abandoned. Both religious and ethnic groups, like the Armenians, are classified as speaking Turkic (Kipchak language). Although the origins of the Karaite movement in the Polish lands are connected with migrations from south-eastern Europe and Crimea, the town of Troki is considered as its centre in Poland and Lithuania. Szymon Szyszman questions the claim that the first Karaites were brought to the Commonwealth by Grand Duke Vytautas (Witold), and that the Troki Karaites were the ones to start the communities at Łuck and Halicz. In his opinion there was a slow influx of the followers of that confession from the Crimea and Hungary.⁴⁹

The Karaite communities at Łuck (in the palatinate of Volhynia), Kukizów and Halicz (in the palatinate of Ruthenia) that functioned in the second half of the eighteenth century are the remnants of more than a dozen, or even several dozen or so communities in the Commonwealth that had existed in the Middle Ages. After the decline of, *inter alia*, the oldest community with its seat in Lwów, what remained of it was united with the community at Halicz and thus the community at Kukizów emerged.⁵⁰ The Lithuanian communities, for example at Birże, did not always have a separate place of worship, and this is why they have not been included on the map.⁵¹ But since they functioned in different times, it is quite difficult to establish what their condition was at the time of the caesura adopted in this work.

49 Sz. Szyszman, *Karaimizm. Historia i doktryna*, Wrocław 2005, pp. 90 (map), 92-97.

50 Sz. Szyszman claims that at the time of the First Partition in Crown Ruthenia there were communities at Bereżany, Halicz, Sambor, Kukizów, Tyśmienica and Żółkiew, Szyszman, *Karaimizm*, p. 123. An in-depth presentation of the origins of the Karaite population in Lithuania and Ruthenia, based on the literature on the subject, has recently been published by S. Gąsiorowski, *Karaimi w Koronie i na Litwie*, pp. 135-180.

51 A. Szyszman has included the following localities in his list: Sałaty, Birże, Karaimiszki, Poswole (Po- swół), Święte Jezioro, Puszałaty, Pompiany, Poniewież, Nowe Miasto, Upina, Krakinów, Szaty, Wilkomierz, Kowno, and Nowe Troki, A. Szyszman, "Osadnictwo karaimskie i tatarskie na ziemiach W. Księstwa Litewskiego", *Mysł Karaimska*, 10 (1932-1934), fasc. 10, pp. 29-36.

In respect to the Muslims living in the Crown it was possible to corroborate the existence of only two mosques: at Jukowce in the Volhynian palatinate and at Niemirów in the Podlasie palatinate. The main centres of Tatar settlement were in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It was also the area where the northern and easternmost Tatar and Karaite settlements were located. In respect of the Karaites the location of their kenesas explains to some extent the geography of their influx first into Halicz and Włodzimierz Ruthenia and thence northwards into Lithuania. The location of mosques seems to indicate a slightly different direction of Tatar migration from the Crimea. It most probably proceeded north along the Dnieper River skirting the lands of the Crown Ruthenia.

An interesting hypothesis on the distribution of the Tatar and Karaite settlements, and thus their places of worship, has been put forward by Abraham Szyszman. He claims based on geographical analysis that Vytautas deliberately deployed the Karaite settlers in a strip from Sałaty to Kowno, along the border with the Livonian Brothers of the Sword. The Tatars were allowed to settle along the border with the Teutonic Knights.⁵² The most comprehensive and frequently quoted to date list of the mosques was drawn up in the nineteenth century by Stanisław Kryczyński.⁵³ It was chronologically edited by Jan Tyszkiewicz, but since they operated at different times it is quite difficult to prepare their complete and homogeneous list for one period. The number of 23 mosques offered by Zorina Kanapačka and of 65 prayer houses that had supposedly functioned in the Commonwealth at the time of the Third Partition is hard to verify in the absence of a comprehensive list.⁵⁴ But it has been possible to corroborate the existence of 15 mosques most of which were situated in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.⁵⁵

The distribution of individual religions, denominations and rites in the Crown of the second half of the eighteenth century divides it into a western and an eastern part. This division does not only demonstrate the prevalence of the Catholic

52 Idem, pp. 30-34.

53 Kryczyński, *Tatarzy litewscy*, pp. 184-187.

54 З.И. Канапацкая, "Мечети татар Беларуси, Литвы и Польши: история и современность", in: *Мечети в духовной культуре татарского народа (XVIII в. - 1917 г.)*. *Материалы Всероссийской научно-практической конференции (25 апреля 2006 г., г. Казань)*, Казань 2006, p. 7. If the author relied on the study by Kryczyński then the number of 65 prayer houses should be viewed as a mistake, because Kryczyński mentions only five of them, Kryczyński, *Tatarzy litewscy*, pp. 184-185.

55 J. Tyszkiewicz, *Tatarzy na Litwie i w Polsce*, Warszawa 1989, pp. 286-287; Kryczyński, *Tatarzy litewscy*, p. 184.

Table 43: The number of places of worship in the Crown circa 1772^a

Palatinate	Religions and denominations											Total
	Bohemian Brethren	Calvinist	Uniate (Greek Catholic)	Latin (Roman Catholic)	Armenian Catholic	Lutheran	Mennonite	Orthodox	Karaite	Jewish	Muslim	
Bełz			413	69						34		516
Braclaw			1 140	27	2			1		48	1	1 219
Brześć Kujawski				101		1				6		108
Bytów l.				8		7						15
Chełmno	1			151		11	1			9		173
Drahim l.				11		3						14
Gniezno	1			220		19				22		262
Inowrocław				158		5	2			11		176
Kalisz	2			336		2				28		368
Kiev			1 105	40				26		64		1 235
Kraków		2	100	822						27		951
Lębork l.		1		7		16						24
Lublin		2	15	167		1				39		224
Łęczyca				117						11		128
Malbork		1		62		47	9					119
Mazowsze			1	399		1				28		429
Płock				123						9		132
Podlasie		1	88	123		1		3		26		242
Podolia			1 022	78	6			1		76		1 183
Pomorze	2	1		221		79	6			22		331
Poznań	4			483		82				39		608
Rawa				138			1			11		150
Ruthenia			3 091	583	13			1	2	165		3 855
Sandomierz		5	6	650		1				68		730
Sieradz		1		372						11		384
Spisz l.			11	9								20
Warmia				124								124
Volhynia			1 319	121	1			3	1	87	1	1 533
Total	10	14	8 311	5 720	22	276	19	35	3	841	2	15 253
Percent	0.07	0.09	54.49	37.50	0.14	1.81	0.12	0.23	0.02	5.51	0.01	100

^a Summary statistics do not cover 61 places of worship situated in locations that could not be identified or located, and hence the difference between the number of all sacral facilities arising from the summary of the data regarding individual palatinates (15 314) and the total included in the table (15 253).

Church of the Latin rite in the western, and of the Greek rite in the eastern part of the Crown, but also the distribution of other religions. It depicts the geography of the influx of ethnic minorities. Bearing in mind that this study does not cover the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and focuses solely on the Crown palatinates, it is worth noting that the organizational structure of Protestant denominations (Lutherans, Calvinists, Bohemian Brethren and Mennonites) did not extend beyond the provinces of Wielkopolska and Małopolska. The same applies to religions and denominations that migrated into the Crown Ruthenia from the south-east (the Armenian Church, Karaism and Islam) and remained there.

It may also be added that this vast territory of 424 358 km² contained limits of the influence of nearly all ethnic and religious groups that had their communities in there (sacral facilities). To some confessions, such as Orthodoxy, it was the area of their western borderlands, and to the Latin Church, Evangelical Churches and Judaism – their eastern borderlands. To Greek Catholics and Armenians, Karaites and Tatars the territory of the Crown marked the end of the range of their structures in the north and west.

2. Density of Sacral Facilities

The foregoing analysis of the territorial range of sacral buildings provides only a picture of the external limits and the area covered by the structures of individual confessions. In order to determine the diversity of the territory with the most important religious groups in the light of this analysis, mainly the Catholics of the Latin and Greek rite as well as the Jews, it will be necessary to conduct a point pattern analysis, and especially kernel density estimation. To that end two methods have been adopted.

The first one that has been applied by cartography for many years is called a quadrant count method. For the sake of analysis, the area of the entire Crown was divided into equal quadrants with sides of 25 km (and an area of 625 km²), in respect to the Jews – with a side of 50 km (the area of 2500 km²). The facilities located in each quadrant have then been added and the results in every quadrant expressed as classes or subclasses. A map of quadrants allows us to determine and calculate the area of regions with the highest, medium or lowest density of sacral facilities of each religion, denomination or rite.

The second of the applied methods is a density method carried out based on the so-called kernel density estimation. Its aim is to identify a geographical centre or centres of the analysed confessions. Based on the provided parameters and selected classification method the estimated density of points is featured in the form of a density map. This method, like the quadrant count and the near-

est neighbour methods, allows the assessment of the intensity of a phenomenon based on the distribution of points and it is one of fundamental methods in geospatial analysis.⁵⁶ Although it has been used only sporadically in Polish humanities,⁵⁷ it seems a good tool to analyse the distribution of sacral facilities in the Crown. To make the analysis homogeneous, the same parameters have been used in respect to all confessions. The search radius was of 25 km, and adopted as the classification methods were defined intervals and division into classes and subclasses. The size of the classes differed depending on the religion and denomination to allow the diversification of the density of the places of worship of a religion or denomination, without ruling out comparisons with other confessions (Table 44).⁵⁸

It follows from Table 44 that the analyses of the Latin Church conducted according to both methods provide similar results. Maps 5 and 14 perfectly demonstrate a diversified density of Latin churches in the Crown. In the areas where the Latin Church was present class II b had the highest share, with one church per 100 – 250 km². Class III c-d, covering regions with one Latin church per less than 25 km², was the smallest in territorial terms. Quite pronounced are two clusters of Roman Catholic churches with equally high density, which was mainly due to the settlement situation. One was located along Kraków's longitudinal belt and was confined in a rectangle marked by such localities as Pilica (in the north), Oświęcim (in the west), Sącz (in the south) and Brzozów (in the east). The second cluster was situated in Wielkopolska around such cities as Poznań, Gniezno, Pyzdry, Środa, Kalisz, Gostynin and Borek. The other, much smaller clusters were connected with individual cities such as Lublin, Lwów, Łęczycza, Malbork, Płock, Przemyśl, Rzeszów, Sandomierz, Wieluń, Warsaw, and Wolbórz. Most of those centres were located in Małopolska and Wielkopolska.

56 I.N. Gregory, P.S. Ell, *Historical GIS. Technologies, Methodologies and Scholarship*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 167-170.

57 An interesting example of the analysis of point distribution used to diversify early medieval settlement in Wysoczyzna Kościańska was provided by J. Jasiewicz and I. Holdebrandt-Radke (their presentation is available on: http://www.geoinfo.amu.edu.pl/skng/gisday/2007/11_punkty.pdf, access: 21.02.2010).

58 Used in density analysis was ArcGIS with Spatial Analyst extension. Version 9.3 provides, depending on the user's needs, a few classification methods of the analysed points – equal interval, defined interval, quantile, natural breaks, geometrical interval, or standard deviation.

Table 44: Classification of the density of sacral facilities in the Crown circa 1772^a

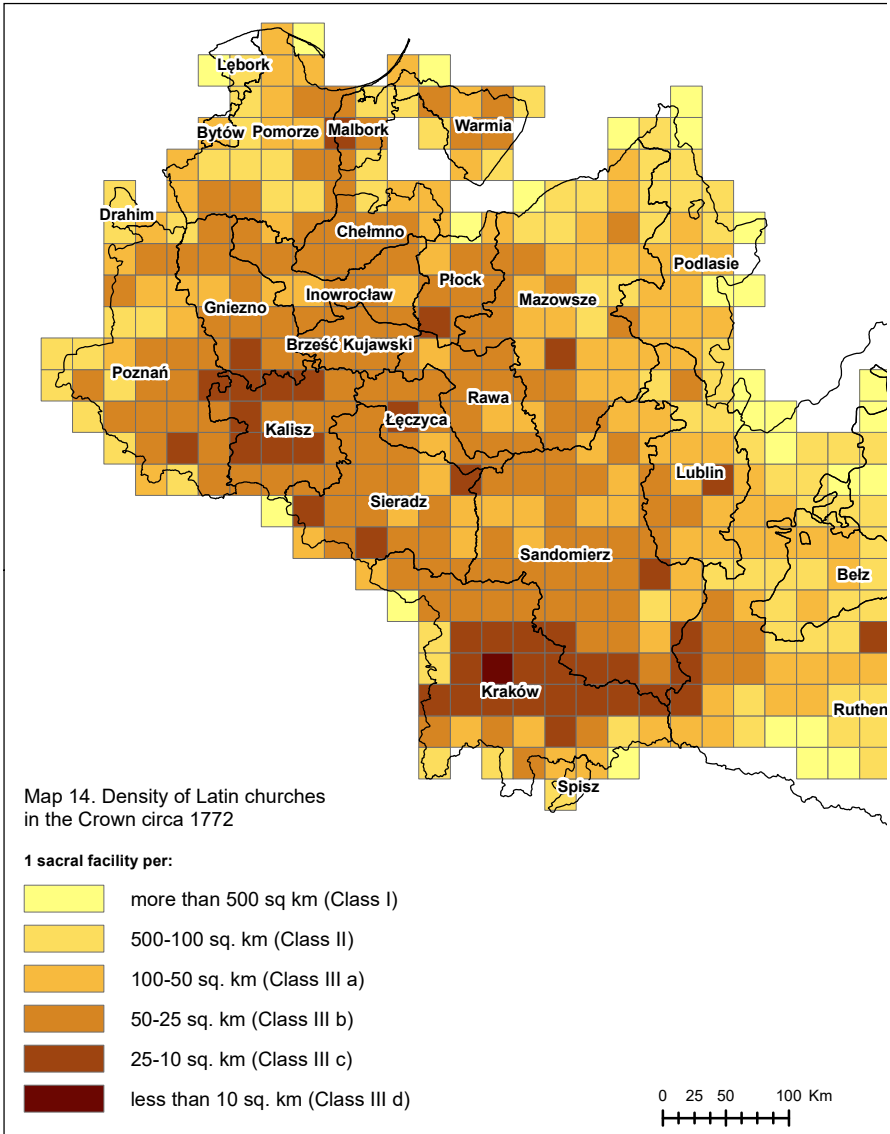
CLASSES	One building per (sq. km):	Latin churches	Uniate churches	Synagogues
		Quadrant count method sq. km/percent		
Class I	a. over 1000	63 125 17.66%	13 125 4.82%	135 000 30.51%
	b. 1000-500			87 500 19.77%
Class II	a. 500-250	106 250 29.72%	60 000 22.02%	175 000 39.55%
	b. 250-100			45 000 10.17%
Class III	a. 100-50	70 625 19.76%	40 625 14.91%	-
	b. 50-25	91 250 25.52%	70 000 25.69%	
	c. 25-10	25 625 7.17%	87 500 32.11%	
	d. below 10	625 0.17%	1250 0.46%	
CLASSES	One building per (sq. km):	Density analysis sq. km/percent		
Class I	a. over 1000	87 236 22.96%	18 372 6.97%	93 486 24.78%
	b. 1000-500			104 948 27.82%
Class II	a. 500-250	108 552 28.57%	46 415 17.61%	135 696 35.97%
	b. 250-100			42 740 11.33%
Class III	a. 100-50	65 006 17.11%	41 129 15.60%	382 0.10%
	b. 50-25	94 155 24.78%	72 944 27.67%	
	c. 25-10	24 304 6.40%	83 751 31.77%	
	d. below 10	660 0.17%	1012 0.38%	

^a The generalization that occurred after the raster image presenting individual classes had been converted into the vector (polygon) layer produced a minimal difference in the territorial range of the entire denominations offered in the previous part of the chapter and a sum of individual class areas: in respect of the Latin Church it was of 160 km² (that is, 0.04 percent), Uniate Church – 78 km² (0.03 percent), and Judaism – 127 km² (0.03 percent).

The sizes of each palatinate's individual class areas based on the density analysis are presented in Table 45. Highlighted in grey are the classes dominant in each palatinate. The most homogeneous, with a regular network of Latin churches, was the palatinate of Brześć Kujawski with one church per 25 – 50 km² (class III b). The most diversified in terms of the density of churches was the Kraków palatinate, where all classes were present, and the Pomorze palatinate, whose territory was evenly divided among classes II, III a and III b. In the case of the Kraków palatinate the high-density diversification may be attributed to natural conditions, because the density of churches was very high in Kraków and much lower in the south (in the Carpathian Mountains) where the parishes were few and far apart.

The density of churches had a very significant impact on the picture of pastoral care obtained for clergy of the Latin Church. Although in the entire Crown the average distance between two closest places of worship was about 3.5 km (3475 m), and between parish churches about 6 km (5909 m), the situation in individual palatinates was highly diverse. The average distance between parish churches in the Kraków and Kalisz palatinates was about 4 km, whereas in the Kiev palatinate it was more than 30 km (Table 48). There were similar differences in the statistical data regarding both parish and filial churches. If the values offered in Table 48 were to be divided by two, they could express the average longest distance to a parish or filial church to be covered by the worshippers in each palatinate. In respect of the palatinate of Kiev, which according to the data had the least developed network of Latin churches, in the areas most probably inhabited only by small groups of the Latin Church members, that distance did not exceed 15 km on average. In view of the fact that in the twentieth century the residents of the village of Żminne (now in the Lublin palatinate) were the members of the Parczew parish located 9 km away, in the second half of the eighteenth century the situation in distant Ukraine was not that bad, regardless of the network of roads, means of transportation, and so on.

A similar analysis of sacral facilities as in respect to the Latin Church has been carried out in the case of the Catholic Church of Greek rite. It follows from maps 4 and 15 and table 46 that the shares of individual classes of density were completely different compared to the Latin churches. Approximately 60 percent of the territory with Uniate churches was in classes III b-d which stands for the densest network of parish and filial churches. In respect of the Latin Church it was only circa 30 percent of the occupied area. In the Uniate Church classes III c-d, with one church per less than 25 km², covered an area that was many times larger compared to the Latin Church. This means that the Uniate Church, al-



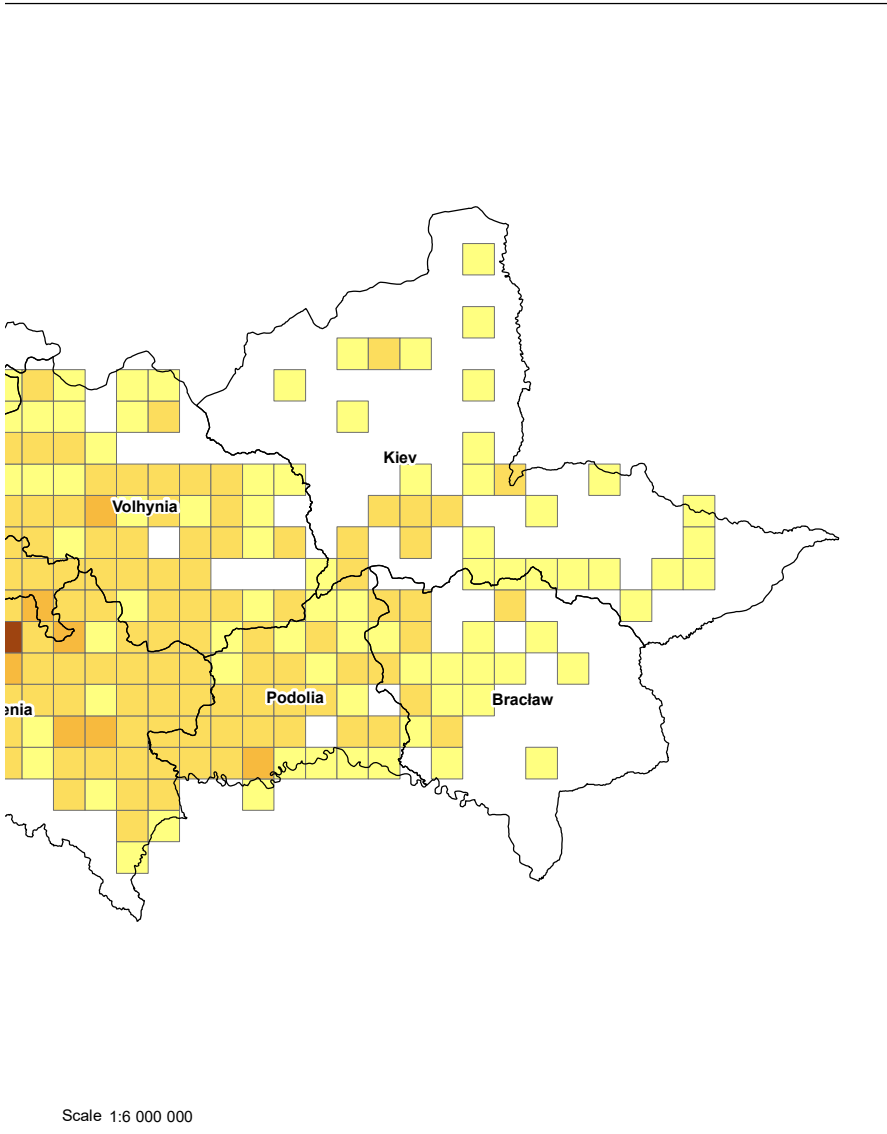
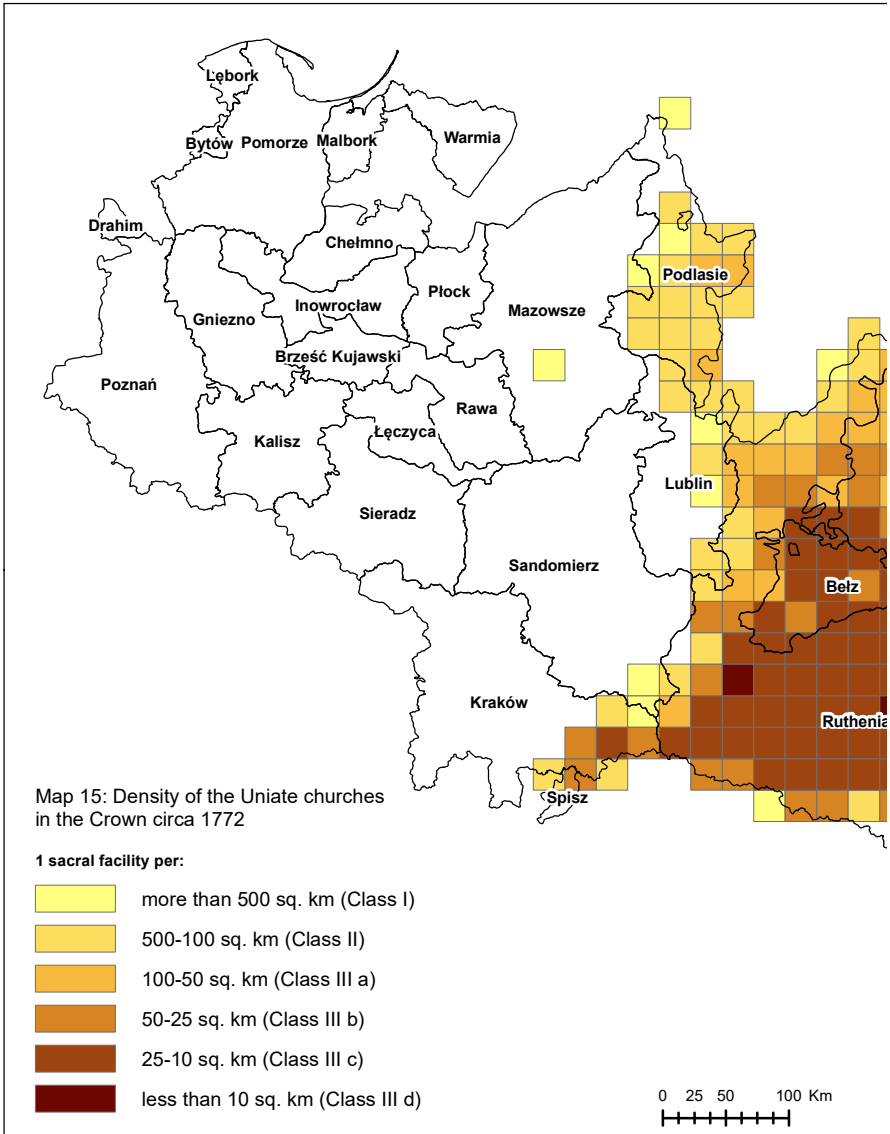


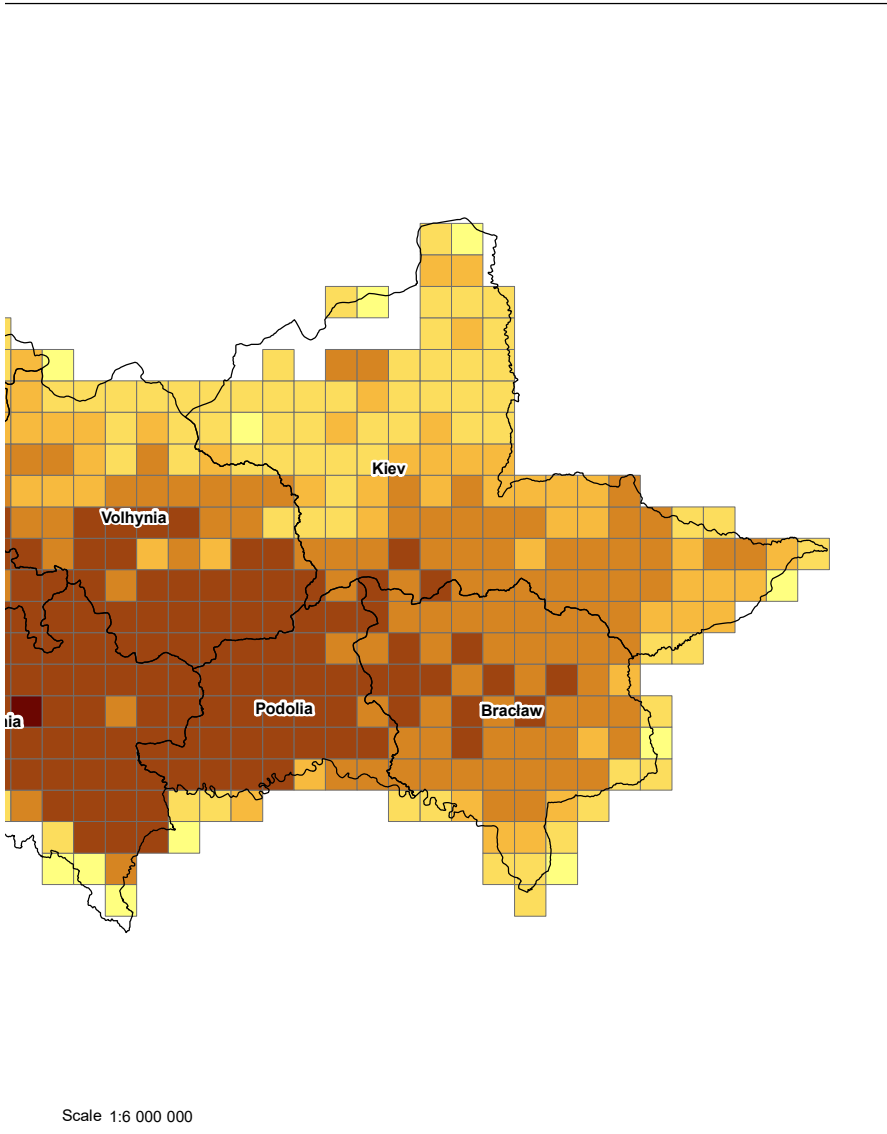
Table 45: Estimated density of Latin churches circa 1772 according to classes and palatinates^a

Palatinate	Classes					
	I a-b one facility per more than 500 sq. km		II a-b one facility per 500-100 sq. km		III a one facility per 100-50 sq. km	
	area	percent	area	percent	area	percent
Bełz			6 666	73.52	2 401	26.48
Braclaw	16 862	77.53	4 887	22.47		
Brześć Kujawski						
Bytów l.			335	57.17	251	42.83
Chełmno			18	0.37	668	13.70
Drahim l.	18	2.86	285	45.31	326	51.83
Gniezno					1 947	24.38
Inowrocław					1 270	19.60
Kalisz			41	0.48	157	1.84
Kiev	38 711	89.88	4 360	10.12		
Kraków	231	1.14	1 343	6.61	1 867	9.19
Lębork l.	168	13.84	1 046	86.16		
Lublin			2 429	23.50	4 922	47.62
Łęczyca					639	14.92
Malbork			385	17.66	677	31.06
Mazowsze	236	1.03	4 239	18.49	12 184	53.15
Płock			106	2.36	891	19.84
Podlasie	794	6.99	5 068	44.64	5 283	46.53
Podolia	3 335	16.96	15 798	80.35	528	2.69
Pomorze	14	0.11	4 417	34.01	4 625	35.61
Poznań	3	0.02	1 127	7.00	4 347	27.01
Rawa					1 319	21.22
Ruthenia	9 474	16.94	30 730	54.95	8 523	15.24
Sandomierz			485	1.86	8 529	32.62
Sieradz					1 501	12.32
Spisz l.	88	14.52	226	37.29	292	48.18
Warmia			356	8.41	1 129	26.67
Volhynia	16 989	41.28	23 719	57.63	446	1.08
Total	86 923	22.95	108 066	28.54	64 722	17.09

^a Minor differences between the areas of individual classes compared to the data included in the previous subchapter and in Table 44 are due to generalizations of the areas of individual classes and palatinates. In terms of the entire Crown the difference for the Latin Church totalled 1366 km², or 0.36 percent, and for individual classes it did not exceed 500 km², or 0.05 percent.

Classes						Area (sq. km)
III b one facility per 50-25 sq. km		III c one facility per 25-10 sq. km		III d one facility per less than 10 sq. km		
area	percent	area	percent	area	percent	
						9 067
						21 749
3 412	99.97	1	0.03			3 413
						586
4 191	85.93					4 877
						629
4 837	60.56	1 203	15.06			7 987
5 210	80.40					6 480
4 289	50.16	4 064	47.53			8 551
						43 071
8 156	40.15	8 057	39.66	660	3.25	20 314
						1 214
2 738	26.49	246	2.38			10 335
3 644	85.08					4 283
841	38.58	277	12.71			2 180
5 565	24.27	701	3.06			22 925
3 120	69.47	374	8.33			4 491
208	1.83					11 353
						19 661
3 760	28.95	171	1.32			12 987
7 369	45.78	3 250	20.19			16 096
4 811	77.41	85	1.37			6 215
4 637	8.29	2 558	4.57			55 922
14 642	56.00	2 489	9.52			26 145
9 855	80.89	827	6.79			12 183
						606
2 748	64.92					4 233
						41 154
94 033	24.83	24 303	6.42	660	0.17	378 707





though covering a smaller area, was more compact in organizational terms and in most of its territory its network of churches was denser than in a diocese of the Latin Church. Adding a class representing areas with one church per less than 10 km² (class III d) has enabled the identification of the areas with the densest network of Uniate churches. The first of these was in the vicinity of Przemyśl, with Hnatkowice and Trójczyce in the north, Radochońce in the east, Dobromil and Tarnawa in the south and Krzeczkowa and Mielnów in the west. The second area featured on the map developed by quadrant method (map 15) was situated about 50 km south-east of Lwów, in the vicinity of Żydaczów.

The most diversified in terms of the density of Uniate churches was the vast Kiev palatinate. In the south, along the border with the palatinate of Braclaw, their density was highest (class III b). In the eastern and central areas of the palatinate class III a prevailed, which faded into class II upon approaching the borders with Polesie and the palatinate of Minsk. The network of Uniate churches was most developed in the palatinate of Podolia and in the southern and eastern parts of the palatinates of Ruthenia and Belz (more than 60 percent of their area was in class III c-d).

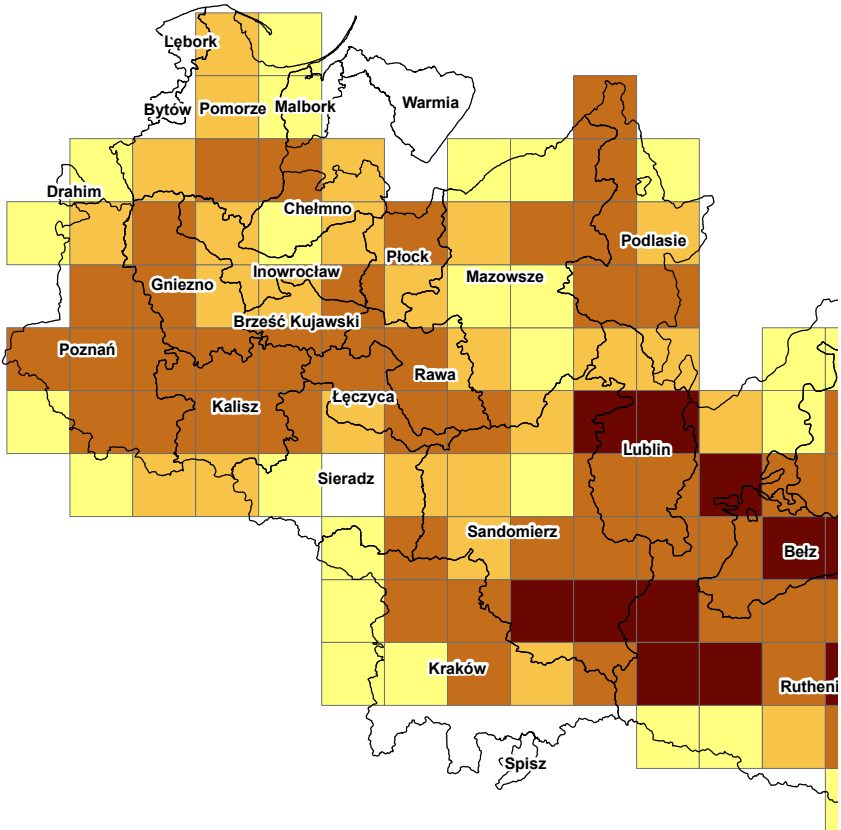
The distances between the Uniate churches were distinctly lower than between the Latin churches and were directly connected with the higher density of the former. The average distance between two closest Uniate churches was less than 3 km (2850 m). In respect to parishes the average was a few meters more (2876 m). There were no major disparities in that regard between individual palatinates. The highest distances between the Uniate churches existed in the Lublin and Podlasie palatinates, and the shortest – in the palatinates of Podolia, Ruthenia and Belz.

The much lower number of synagogues compared to the Latin and Uniate churches makes it difficult to compare those confessions based on the above classification of the density of sacral buildings. Even the tentative data included in Table 44 demonstrate a far lower density of synagogues compared to Latin churches. In the case of the Latin and Uniate Churches, the initial two classes representing the areas with least developed networks of the places of worship (one per more than 100 km²) accounted for about 50 and 25 percent of the areas inhabited by those rites. In respect to Judaism nearly the entire area in which the synagogues operated has been placed in the first two classes. The only exception was the city of Lublin with its suburbs, which represented the greatest cluster of synagogues in a small area in the entire Commonwealth. Hence the frequent references to Lublin as the Jerusalem of the Kingdom of Poland.

Table 46: Estimated density of Uniate churches in the Crown ca 1772 according to classes and palatines^a.

Palatinate	Classes												Area (sq. km)
	I a-b one facility per more than 500 sq. km		II a-b one facility per 500-100 sq. km		III a one facility per 100-50 sq. km		III b one facility per 50-25 sq. km		III c one facility per 25-10 sq. km		III d one facility per less than 10 sq. km		
	area	percent	area	percent	area	percent	area	percent	area	percent	area	percent	
Belz					66	0.73	3 140	34.63	5 861	64.64			9 067
Braclaw			1 287	3.66	4 174	11.86	22 449	63.78	7 287	20.70			35 196
Kiev	3 519	5.15	24 254	35.51	18 184	26.62	21 366	31.28	985	1.44			68 309
Kraków	1 066	25.24	841	19.93	527	12.47	998	23.65	790	18.71			4 222
Lublin	3 736	54.40	2 929	42.66	202	2.94							6 866
Mazowsze	3 870	97.18	112	2.82									3 983
Podlasie	2 856	25.99	5 607	51.02	2 528	23.00							10 991
Podolia					51	0.26	3 027	15.34	16 656	84.41			19 733
Ruthenia	1 593	2.65	5 389	8.96	7 108	11.82	8 330	13.85	36 711	61.04	1 012	1.68	60 143
Sandomierz	1 282	61.03	686	32.67	132	6.30							2 100
Spisz l.	181	32.55	170	30.55	118	21.27	87	15.62					555
Volhynia	100	0.24	4 760	11.48	7 844	18.91	13 362	32.22	15 407	37.15			41 473
Total	18 202	6.93	46 035	17.53	40 934	15.59	72 758	27.70	83 697	31.87	1 012	0.39	262 638

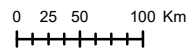
^a Small differences in the areas of individual classes, compared with the data included in the previous sub-chapter's Table 44, are due to generalization of the areas of individual classes and palatines. In terms of the entire Crown that difference in respect to the Uniate Church equalled 907 km², or 0.34 percent, and in respect of individual classes it did not exceed 400 km², or 0.1 percent.

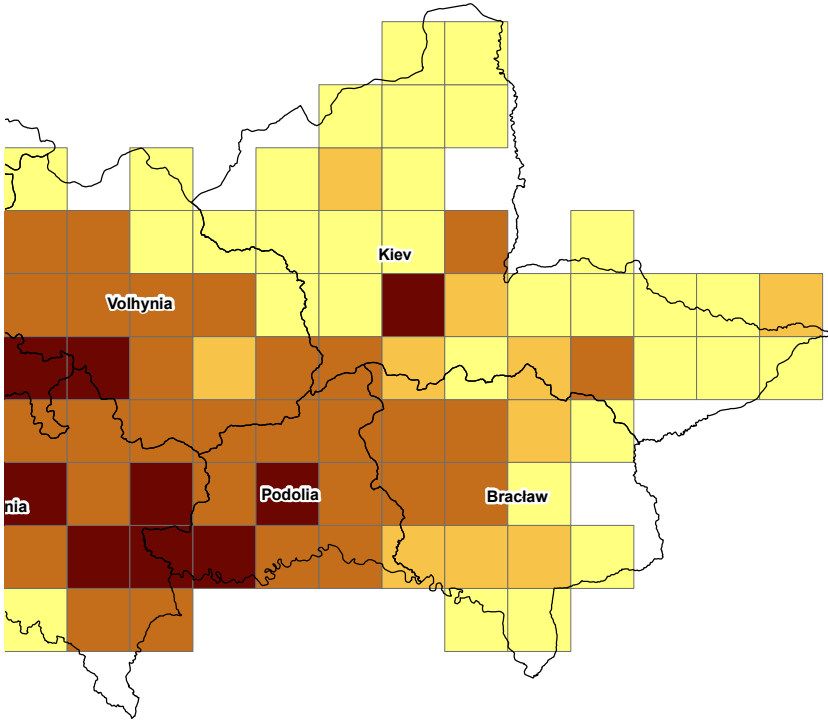


Map 16. Density of synagogues and Jewish places of worship in the Crown circa 1772

1 sacral facility per:

- more than 1000 sq. km (Class I a)
- 1000-500 sq. km (Class I b)
- 500-250 sq. km (Class II a)
- less than 250 sq. km (Class II b, III)





Scale 1:6 000 000

Table 47: Estimated density of synagogues and Jewish places of worship in the Crown circa 1772 according to classes and palatinates^a.

Palatinate	Classes			
	I a one facility per more than 1000 sq. km		I b one facility per 1000-500 sq. km	
	area	percent	area	percent
Bełż			225	2.48
Braclaw	10 712	36.58	9 216	31.47
Brześć Kujawski	426	12.50	1 134	33.27
Bytów l.	74	100.00		
Chełmno	1 650	33.99	1 568	32.30
Drahim l.	49	100.00		
Gniezno	341	4.27	1 612	20.18
Inowrocław	1 625	25.09	3 075	47.48
Kalisz	424	4.96	1 688	19.73
Kiev	26 970	50.53	19 707	36.92
Kraków	5 903	38.82	4 094	26.93
Lębork l.	479	83.45	95	16.55
Lublin	184	1.78	1 808	17.49
Łęczyca	443	10.35	1 231	28.75
Malbork	425	98.84	5	1.16
Mazowsze	7 638	38.54	7 382	37.25
Płock	651	14.51	2 266	50.50
Podlasie	1 332	11.92	5 286	47.29
Podolia	1 172	5.94	3 063	15.52
Pomorze	3 776	31.38	3 988	33.14
Poznań	1 325	8.26	5 060	31.55
Rawa	1 321	21.38	2 092	33.85
Ruthenia	7 243	13.11	8 283	15.00
Sandomierz	4 871	19.19	5 423	21.37
Sieradz	5 819	52.49	4 221	38.08
Spisz l.	25	100.00		
Volhynia	8 251	20.05	12 122	29.46
Total	93 129	24.75	104 644	27.81

^a Minor differences between the areas of individual classes, compared with the information included in the previous sub-chapter and in Table 44 are due to generalization of the areas of individual classes and palatinates. In terms of the entire Crown that difference in respect of Judaism is of 1061 km², or 0.28 percent, and in respect of individual classes it did not exceed 400 km², or 0.03 percent.

Classes						Area (sq. km)
II a one facility per 500-250 sq. km		II b one facility per 250-100 sq. km		IIIa-d one facility per 100 sq. km		
area	percent	percent	area	percent	area	
5 151	56.81	3 691	40.71			9 067
8 397	28.67	961	3.28			29 286
1 848	54.23					3 408
						74
1 637	33.72					4 855
						49
5 547	69.45	487	6.10			7 987
1 758	27.15	18	0.28			6 476
4 820	56.33	1 625	18.99			8 557
5 557	10.41	1 144	2.14			53 378
3 703	24.35	1 505	9.90			15 205
						574
5 931	57.38	2 032	19.66	382	3.70	10 337
2 228	52.03	380	8.87			4 282
						430
4 411	22.26	387	1.95			19 818
1 389	30.96	181	4.03			4 487
4 296	38.44	263	2.35			11 177
9 074	45.96	6 433	32.59			19 742
3 954	32.86	314	2.61			12 032
8 930	55.69	721	4.50			16 036
2 682	43.40	85	1.38			6 180
25 501	46.17	14 211	25.73			55 238
9 773	38.50	5 315	20.94			25 382
1 020	9.20	26	0.23			11 086
						25
17 870	43.43	2 907	7.06			41 150
135 477	36.00	42 686	11.34	382	0.10	376 318

It may be concluded from the distribution of individual classes among palatinates (Table 47) that the kahal network was most developed in the Małopolska palatinates of Bełz, Lublin, Podolia, Ruthenia and Sandomierz (maps 13 and 16). It is a little surprising that the maximum distance between two neighbouring synagogues in the Crown (57.8 km between the synagogues at Czarnobyl and Brahiń) was lower than in the case of the Latin and Uniate churches. This means that the network of kahals was highly regular. This regularity is also evident in the lower difference compared to the Latin and Uniate churches between the average (12.7 km) and the highest (57.8 km) distance between two closest synagogues. In the case of the two principal Catholic rites, the difference was 55.5 km in the Uniate Church and 66.4 km in the Latin Church. On the map of kahals there were “white spots” not only in the Malbork and Warmia palatinates, but also in the northern and eastern parts of the Wielkopolska province (in Royal Prussia, Mazowsze and the land of Łęczyca and Sieradz respectively).

In respect of the other confessions the density analysis does not produce any significant results due to their much lower geographical range and small number of the places of worship, as well as their significant dispersal. The statistical data on individual denominations in palatinates are offered in Table 43. Maps 4-13 feature the territorial range and density of the places of worship divided into classes and subclasses. However, only general conclusions follow from the cartographic and statistical analysis. The distribution of the Catholic churches of Armenian rite, like in respect of other minorities, was marked by quite high dispersal. Most Armenian Catholics lived in Lwów. Groups of several churches existed in the south-east of the palatinate of Ruthenia (Stanisławów, Jazłowiec, Obertyn, Kuty) and in the south of the palatinate of Podolia (Kamieniec Podolski, Żwaniec). The structures of the Orthodox Church were also dispersed in the territory of the Crown. Its organizational centres were situated in the eastern part of the Kiev palatinate: one in the vicinity of Łojów, near the border with the Minsk palatinate, the second one near Czehryn and Czerkasy. Greater diversity in the density of places of worship may be seen on the map of Lutheran churches (map 8). Apart from the fact that most of them were distributed in Royal Prussia and western Wielkopolska, noteworthy is also their density in the Żuławki Wiślane, both in its Pomorze and Malbork parts, and in the areas bordering directly Brandenburg. Other important centres were situated near Toruń (in the Chełmno palatinate), Kościerzyna (in the Pomorze palatinate), in a vast area of the borderland between the Gniezno and Pomorze palatinates (from Łobżenica in the Gniezno palatinate to Czarne in the Pomorze palatinate), near Wąlcz and Mirosławiec (in the northern part of the Poznań palatinate) and along the border

with Silesia in a strip between Międzyrzec and Babimost, but also in the vicinity of Wschowa and Szlichtyngowa (in the Poznań palatinate). The map of the Calvinist churches (map 9) demonstrates their high dispersal in the territory of the Crown in the second half of the eighteenth century. The highest density of the Reformed Evangelical churches marked Małopolska proper, especially the central areas of the Sandomierz palatinate, near Tursko Wielkie and Siedlec. In keeping with the confession's historical tradition there was a centre of Bohemian Brethren near Leszno and Jędrzychowice, close to the border with Silesia (map 10). By no means surprising is the evident organizational centre of the Mennonites in the Żuławy Wiślane, and a rising density of their churches in a south-eastern direction along the Vistula River (map 11). As for the non-Christian minorities such as the Karaites and Muslims, in view of the very low number of their places of worship – three kenesas and two mosques – one can hardly speak about any diversity in their density.

The diversified density of sacral facilities had a natural impact on the size and distribution of the units of religious administration. The number of places of worship was one of the main factors accounting for territorial divisions inside individual confessions. It should also be added that not all of them developed a homogeneous and systematic territorial organization. In the case of Christian denominations, one may speak of planned activities of individual bishops and chapters, as evidenced by synodal regulations and decisions made by ecclesiastical authorities in the early modern era. The efforts made by Christian Churches to make their organization orderly and uniform most clearly transpire from canonical visitations (both internal and external) and various types of registers and lists of benefices. Sources of this kind have not been left behind by the authorities of Jewish *zemstvos* and districts. It is also worth recalling that we owe the most important source on the territorial organization of the Polish Jews to a decision taken by the Polish diet followed by the work done by mixed state-kahal tax commissions operating during 1764-1765. Due to the demise of the Orthodox Church organization in the second half of the eighteenth century and the small number of the places of worship in the Crown it is hard to speak about more complex forms of its territorial structure. According to Antoni Mironowicz, who has analysed the census of the Orthodox clergy and believers conducted in connection with the Pińsk congregation, in 1791 there were 251 Orthodox parishes in eight protopopies of south-eastern Crown Ruthenia.⁵⁹ These figures most prob-

59 Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny*, p. 262.

Table 48: Average distance between two neighbouring places of worship in the Crown circa 1772 (according to palatinates)

Palatinate	Latin (Roman Catholic) – average distance between churches		Uniate (Greek Catholic) – average distance between churches		Jewish – average distance between places of worship	
	parish (in meters)	parish and filial (in meters)	parish (in meters)	parish and filial (in meters)	kahal synagogues (in meters)	kahal and other synagogues (in meters)
Bełz	8 050	5 174	2 832	2 744	10 045	10 045
Braclaw	20 630	16 326	3 146	3 142	15 351	15 351
Brześć Kujawski	4 479	2 879	–	–	13 863	13 863
Bytów l.	5 898	4 476	–	–	–	–
Chełmno	4 584	3 221	–	–	13 458	13 458
Drahim l.	20 641	3 920	–	–	–	–
Gniezno	4 862	2 833	–	–	11 527	11 527
Inowrocław	4 914	3 138	–	–	14 034	14 034
Kalisz	3 934	2 448	–	–	11 844	11 844
Kiev	30 882	21 797	3 970	3 953	19 595	19 595
Kraków	4 036	2 094	2 905	2 650	17 176	11 307
Lębork l.	19 889	6 302	–	–	–	–
Łęczyca	4 985	3 249	–	–	13 300	13 300
Lublin	6 747	3 256	8 820	8 820	10 813	8 943
Malbork	5 182	2 877	–	–	–	–
Mazowsze	5 757	3 939	–	85 657	15 305	16 013
Płock	5 204	3 049	–	–	16 441	16 441
Podolia	12 135	8 437	2 450	2 449	9 980	9 980
Podlasie	8 067	5 328	6 789	6 621	17 508	17 006
Pomorze	7 043	4 042	–	–	11 453	11 453
Poznań	5 028	2 706	–	–	13 057	13 057
Rawa	4 892	3 352	–	–	15 238	15 238
Ruthenia	7 013	4 015	2 310	2 257	11 388	10 745
Sandomierz	4 921	2 811	3 879	3 879	11 894	10 709
Sieradz	4 801	2 754	–	–	20 917	20 917
Spisz l.	3 687	2 129	4 934	3 068	–	–
Warmia	5 298	3 322	–	–	–	–
Volhynia	13 024	8 223	3 048	3 035	13 343	13 343

ably reflect the situation after the events in the 1770s and 1780s.⁶⁰ It was a time of rising political, and also organizational, significance of the Orthodox Church in Crown Ruthenia. It should also be added that until the end of the eighteenth century the borders of Orthodox dioceses and their internal divisions were not regulated.⁶¹ It is only known that in 1768-1769, when the diocese of Perejasław and Boryspol flourished organizationally, its part situated in the Commonwealth was divided into ten protopopies including 650 Orthodox churches (at Czehryn, Moszny, Smiła, Bohusław, Lisianka, Humań, Tetyjów, Koneła, Biała Cerkiew and Kaniów).⁶²

Those religious minorities that had a few or several dozen places of worship in the Crown did not develop higher units of territorial administration. The community of Karaites, who were generally associated with the Jews professing Judaism, was similarly organized to the Jews. In modern times Jewish terminology was used in reference to various Karaite institutions (kahal for a community, synagogue for Karaite kenesa, Karaite rabbi to refer to a hazzan). All small religious groups (the Jews, Armenians, Tatars and Karaites) enjoyed significant autonomy in the places of their residence that had been guaranteed by grand ducal or royal privileges. This was the case of the Karaites in Troki who enjoyed equal rights with the Christian population and had their own hierarchy of officials independent of the “Christian city”.⁶³ Little is known about the congregations of the representatives of Muslim parishes in Lithuania (dzemiats). Although Stanisław Kryczyński mentions Tatar diets, they were rather of an occasional nature and devoid of any permanent organizational structure.⁶⁴

60 Bieńkowski, “Organizacja Kościoła wschodniego”, p. 859.

61 І.М. Шугальова, “Устрій українських православних епархій: традиційні засади і напрям еволюції (кінець XVIII – середина XIX ст.)”, *Наукові праці історичного факультету Запорізького державного університету*, 8 (2004), pp. 34, 36-37; A. Mironowicz, “Organizacja Kościoła prawosławnego w Rzeczypospolitej do końca XVIII w.”, in: *Europa Orientalis. Polska i jej wschodni sąsiedzi od średniowiecza po współczesność. Studia i materiały ofiarowane Profesorowi Stanisławowi Alexandrowiczowi w 65 rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Z. Karpus, T. Kempa, D. Michaluk, Toruń 1996, p. 217; E. Sakowicz, *Kościół prawosławny w Polsce w epoce Sejmu Wielkiego*, Warszawa 1935, pp. 5-6.

62 Пархоменко, *Очерк истории Переяславско-Бориспольской епархии*, p. 16; В.В. Лас-товський, *Між суспільством і державою. Православна церква в Україні наприкінці XVII - у XVIII ст. в історії та історіографії*, Київ 2008, pp. 141, 486 (Table 7).

63 Gąsiorowski, *Karaimi w Koronie*, s. 184-185, 223-224, 283-285.

64 Kryczyński, *Tatarzy litewscy*, s. 193.

Table 49: The number of Latin parish and filial churches in the Crown circa 1772 (according to dioceses and palatinates).

Diocese	Type of facility	Palatinate												
		beł	brac	brz- kuj	byt	che	drah	gn	in	kal	kij	kr	łęb	lub
Baków	parish													
	filial													
Chełm	parish	38												2
	filial	19												
		57												2
Chełmno	parish					88								
	filial					57								
						145								
Gniezno	parish			7				128	14	135		4		
	filial			4				80	21	80		3		
				11				208	35	215		7		
Kamieniec Podolski	parish													
	filial													
Kiev	parish		1								28			
	filial										11			
			1								39			
Kraków	parish											430		85
	filial											385		80
												815		165
Lwów	parish	2												
	filial	3												
		5												
Łuck	parish	1	21								1			
	filial		5											
		1	26								1			

Palatinate														Total	
łącz	malb	maz	pł	pod	podl	pom	poz	raw	rus	san	sier	sp	war		woł
									2						2
									1						1
									3						3
									43					1	84
									23					1	43
									66					2	127
	32														120
	24														81
	56														201
75		4				20		41		74	175				677
37		1				50		27		42	150				495
112		5				70		68		116	325				1172
				57					1						58
				21											21
				78					1						79
														1	30
															11
														1	41
		1								323		6			845
										209		3			677
		1								532		9			1522
									135						137
									76					1	80
									211					1	217
					76				5					77	181
					25				3					40	73
					101				8					117	254

Płock	parish			1		3			41					
	filial					3			18					
				1		6			59					
Poznań	parish						1	9		80				
	filial						10	3		41				
							11	12		121				
Przemysł	parish	5												
	filial	1												
		6												
Warmia	parish													
	filial													
Vilnius	parish													
	filial													
Włocławek	parish			60	2				49					1
	filial			29	6				15					6
				89	8				64					7
Breslau	parish													
	filial													
Total		69	27	101	8	151	11	220	158	336	40	822	7	167

Owing to Litak's synthetic research covering the entire Commonwealth and the regional studies referred to in the previous chapters, there are no major problems with the presentation of the territorial organization of the Latin Church in the second half of the eighteenth century. The Eastern Churches have also been approached in a synthetic way in the works by Witold Kołbuk. Due to the shortage of regional studies – many dioceses still have not been covered by monographs – the information about the Uniate, Orthodox and Armenian Churches remains less accurate than in the case of

		172	76					6							299
		76	46					4							147
		248	122					10							446
		97	1				231	47		1					467
		48					248	12							362
		145	1				479	59		1					829
								170							175
								124							125
								294							300
	3												75		78
	3												49		52
	6												124		130
						15									15
						7									7
						22									22
	5						83	1			3				204
							68			1	6				131
	5						151	1		1	9				335
								2			21				23
								2			17				19
								4			38				42
117	62	399	123	78	123	221	483	138	583	650	372	9	124	121	5720

the Latin Church.⁶⁵ The territorial structures of the above denominations were quite homogeneous due to the development of the administrations of Christian Churches in the Middle Ages. Allowing for some regional differences, a similar hierarchical territorial organization may be found in various parts of Europe. It should be remembered that not all dioceses of the Commonwealth had a full-

⁶⁵ Litak, *Kościół łaciński*, passim; Idem, *Atlas Kościoła łacińskiego w Rzeczypospolitej*, passim; Kołbuk, *Kościół wschodnie*, passim.

fledged hierarchical structure of territorial units. In its most developed form it consisted of five levels. In the Latin Church it was a metropolitan province, diocese, archdeaconry, deanery and parish. Much greater diversity, mainly in terminology, marked the Eastern Churches. There were differences only in respect to the terminology of intermediate units: diocese – eparchy, deanery – protopopy, governorship, archdeaconry – officialate, general governorship. The organizational unification of the Uniate Church with the Latin Church became particularly intense after the 1720 council of Zamość – especially in respect of a network of officialates (general governorships) which do not exist in the Orthodox Church.

Statistical data on the Catholic churches of the Latin and Greek rite, divided into main and auxiliary churches, as well as palatinates and major ecclesiastical administration units (dioceses and eparchies), are presented in Tables 49 and 50. More specific data broken down into smaller units of territorial division were discussed in connection with the confessional situation in individual palatinates (in Chapters One and Two). The strikingly higher number of filial Latin churches is due both to the fact that they include monastic churches, but also to the different conditions in which Latin and Uniate parishes developed. The small number of auxiliary churches in the Uniate and Orthodox Churches stems from the fact that nearly every new church automatically became a parish church. In the case of the Latin Church the process of parish formation was more formalized and complex, and involved a requirement to provide a parish priest with an adequately resourced benefice. When the attempts to finance it failed, such a church functioned as an auxiliary church.

It is interesting to examine the interdependencies between the density of sacral facilities described earlier and the extent of territorial administration units – mainly the size of Latin archdeaconries and deaneries and Uniate officialates and protopopies (governorships). The administrative limits of higher-level units, such as, for example, dioceses, were shaped in another way and were closely connected with the changes affecting the political borders and those of lay administration. As this analysis covers the area of the Crown, the units located within the administrative borders of the provinces of Małopolska and Wielkopolska have been taken into account. Those deaneries and protopopies that were only partly situated in the Crown have been excluded. Hence some differences in total figures compared to earlier tables which included all places of worship in the territory of the Crown.

Regional differences in the density of places of worship translated to a limited degree into the size of deaneries expressed both as an area and the number of

Table 50: The number of Uniate parish and filial churches in the Crown (according to dioceses and palatinates)^a

Diocese	Type of facility	Palatinate										Total					
		beł	brac	kij	kr	lub	maz	pod	podl	rus	san		sp	woł			
Chełm	parish	320				15							190			18	543
	filial	9											9				18
Kiev-Vilnius	parish	329				15							199			18	561
	filial		1118	1068						36	9					6	2237
Lwów	parish		7	29						1							37
	filial		1125	1097					1	36	9					6	2274
Łuck	parish	22	15							969			1655			22	2683
	filial								1				37				38
Pińsk	parish	22	15							970			1692			22	2721
	filial									16			67			1066	1157
Przemysł	parish	1											1			5	6
	filial									16			70			1073	1163
Włodzimierz	parish	1															1
	filial																
Total	parish	59			91								1107	6	5		1268
	filial	2			9								25		6		42
Total	parish	61			100								1132	6	11		1310
	filial										78					200	278
Total	parish															2	3
	filial												79			204	281
Total	parish	413	1166	1114	100	15	1	1026	88	3103	6	11	1323	8311			
	filial																

^aThe statistical data do not include 55 facilities that were hard to identify or locate.

churches. Although in the palatinates of Chełmno, Malbork and Płock, parish structures were not highly developed, the network of the Latin Church deaneries expanded the most (map 17). In the second half of the eighteenth century the average Latin archdeaconry in the Crown had an area of 5687 km², but it should be remembered that four “Crown” dioceses of Chełmno, Warmia, Kiev and Kamieniec were not divided into archdeaconries. An average deanery was of 1513 km² and comprised 13 parishes. Territorially largest were the deaneries located in the east: the deaneries of Braclaw (36 040 km², an area greater than most Crown dioceses), Chwastów (26 461 km²) and Żytomierz (13 976 km²), and the smallest was the deanery of Borek in the Poznań diocese, which covered less than 38 km². In terms of the number of places of worship the least of all – one parish and a few filial churches – were in the above-mentioned deaneries of Borek and Lębork (the latter located in the diocese of Włocławek). The highest number of parish churches could be found in the deaneries of the diocese of Kraków (Lelów – 32, Skala – 29, Nowa Góra and Nowy Sącz – 27 each) and the archdiocese of Gniezno (Żnin – 29, Konin – 27). Owing to the geoinformation software used in territorial analysis it has been possible to verify a little the areas of deaneries computed for the Commonwealth by Litak.⁶⁶ The tentative differences between his data and the results of this analysis were of around ten percent.

The Uniate Church deaneries (protopopies and governorships) covered smaller territories which, however, were marked by a higher number of places of worship compared to similar units of the Latin Church (map 18). The network of general governorships, also referred to as officialates, existed in the dioceses of Lwów (5), Chełm-Belz (2) and Włodzimierz and Brześć (2). An average Uniate deanery (excluding the four borderland deaneries in the Kiev-Vilnius archdiocese and the Łuck and Włodzimierz dioceses in respect of which it was impossible to determine their division into deaneries) covered 1104 km² and comprised circa 39 parishes. A group of deaneries with the smallest area and the lowest number of parishes was located along the borders of the palatinates of Ruthenia and Belz (the deaneries of Strzemilcze – 189 km² and 12 parishes, and of Tartaków – 196 km² and ten parishes). The territorially largest deaneries of more than six thousand km² (Barasze – 8620 km² and Czarnobyl – 6360 km²) were located in the south-eastern part of the metropolitan archdiocese. The deaneries with approximately one hundred parishes were situated in the Podolian part of the diocese of Lwów: the deaneries of Bar with 100 parishes and of Kamieniec Podolski with 98 parishes.

66 Litak, *Kościół łaciński*, pp. 117-131.

The lists of Protestant churches that may be found both in the sources⁶⁷ and in the studies, among which the work by Kriegseisen is fundamental,⁶⁸ clearly demonstrate the sense of territorial community among the Evangelicals of the Commonwealth. Kriegseisen's arrangement of the narration according to state provinces is an evidence of their supremacy over the administrative units of the main Protestant confessions he had analysed.⁶⁹ This makes them significantly different from the Latin or Uniate Churches in which confessional administration played a basic role in the organization of religious and spiritual life of the clergy and believers. The other important feature that makes them different from the Latin Church is higher volatility and the sometimes hard to grasp dynamics of the confessional situation in individual churches which alternately functioned as Calvinist, Lutheran or Mennonite, and sometimes served two confessions at the same time. There were, of course, situations when Catholic churches were shared with other denominations, but these were rare.

In the eighteenth century there was almost no trace of the earlier division of the Reformed churches of the Małopolska Unity into districts and all of them were subordinated to the general senior. The Wielkopolska Unity of the Bohemian Brethren, with which the Calvinist churches in Prussia were connected,⁷⁰ did not develop a district organization. It had a two-tier structure – there were councils of individual churches and central authorities. The Lutheran Church in Wielkopolska was better organized. Intense migration from Silesia during the Thirty Years' War, and later on from Franconia (Frankenland), Swabia (Schwaben) and the Palatinate (Pfalz) resulted in the reorganization of the Lutheran Wielkopolska province in 1737 and its division into 11 districts (Senioraten).⁷¹ To date no complete list of Lutheran churches with district affiliations coming from the second half of the eighteenth century has survived. Recognized as the

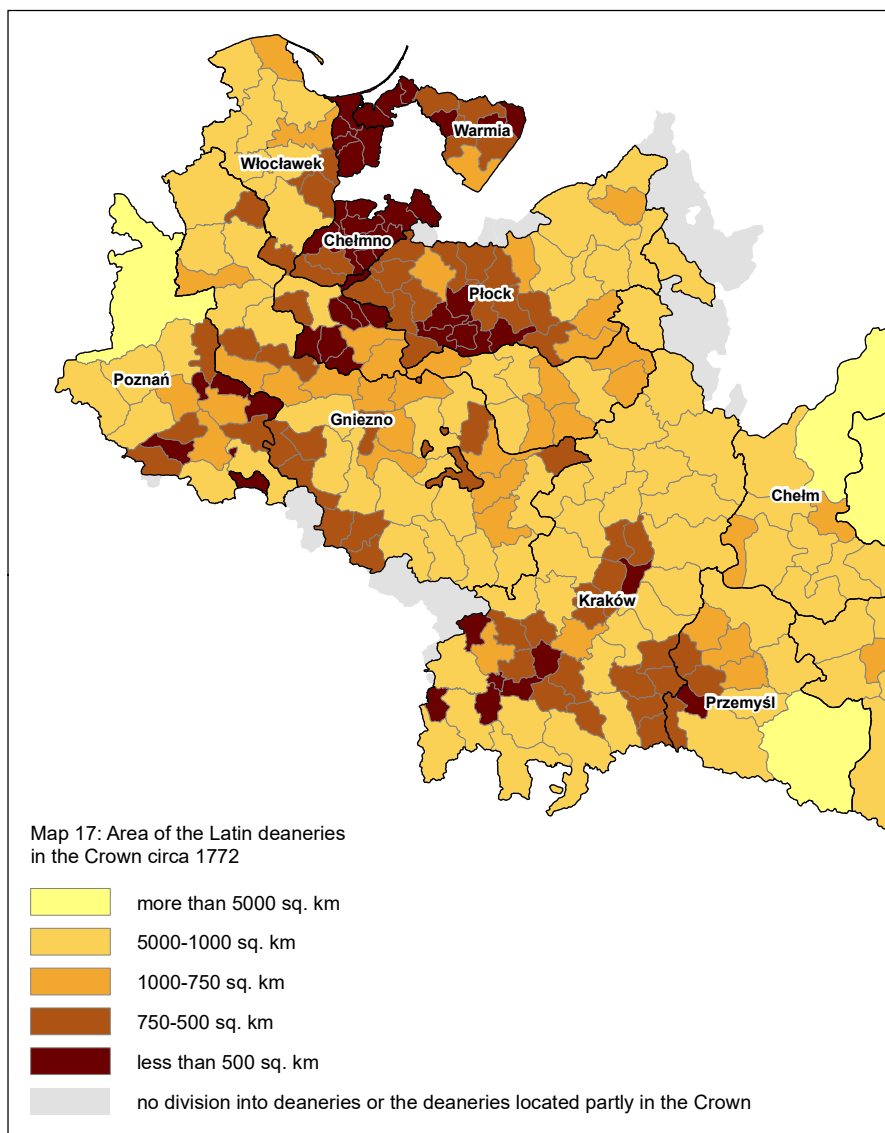
67 See, *inter alia*, lists of Lutheran and Calvinist churches in the eighteenth century, APP. *Akta braci czeskich*, MS. 1700, 1701, 1702, 1703 (lists of Protestant churches in the eighteenth century); Thomas, *Altes und Neues*, pp. 67-137.

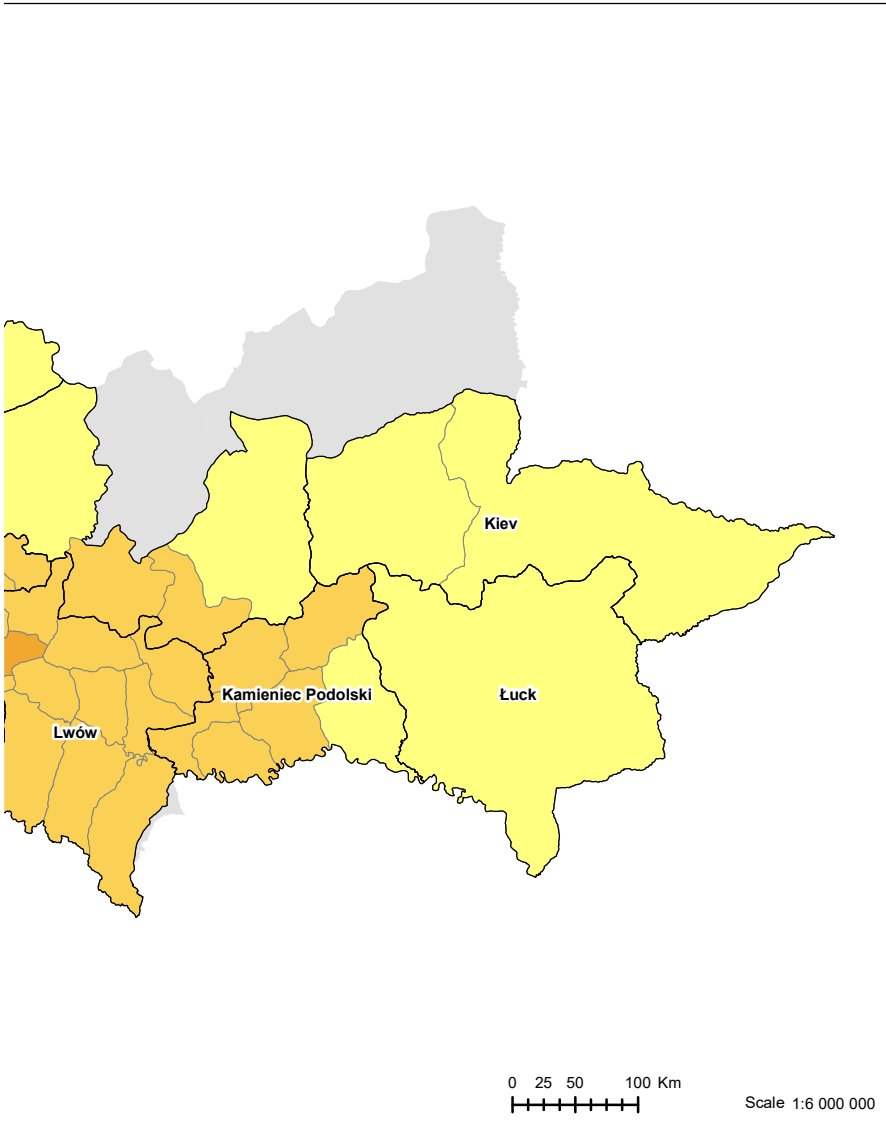
68 Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, passim.

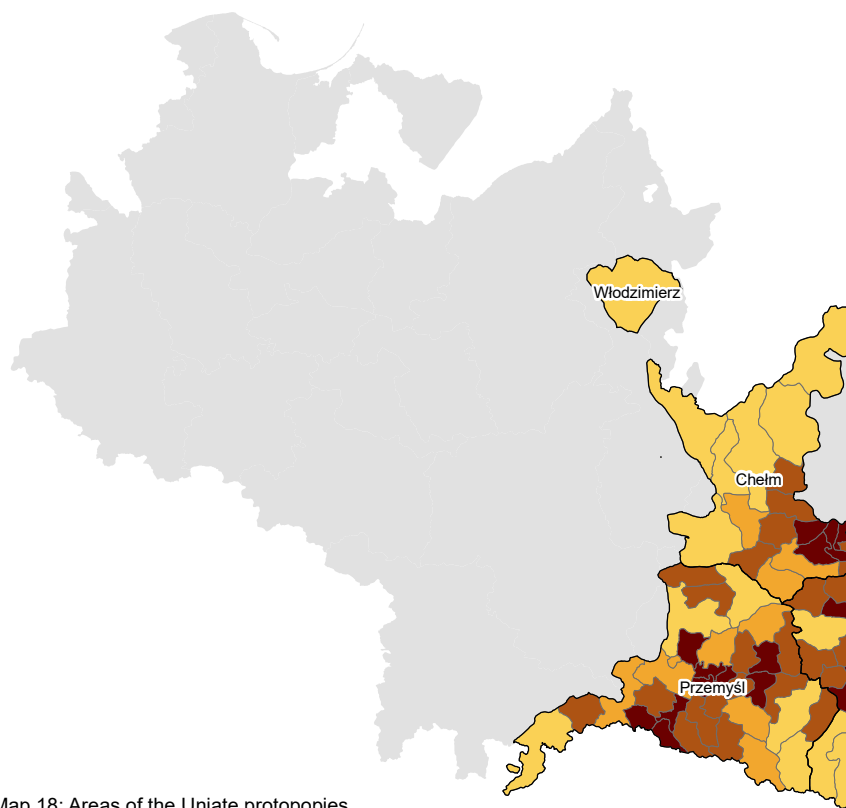
69 It is worth quoting the Author's opinion: "In the following discussion this particular geographical division will be adopted and we shall discuss the situation of Evangelicals in Małopolska, Wielkopolska (excluding Royal Prussia) and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Crucial in the selection of that approach was a diversified local social, even mental, specificity of individual provincial communities which transgressed confessional ties and divisions", Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy*, p. 50.

70 Klemp, *Protestanci w dobrach prywatnych*, pp. 138-140.

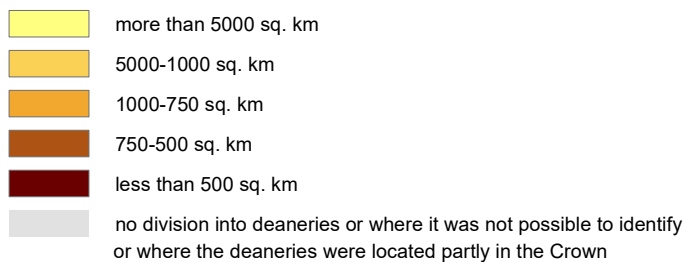
71 Idem, pp. 58, 72-73, 80; Rhode, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche*, p. 111 and enclosed maps.

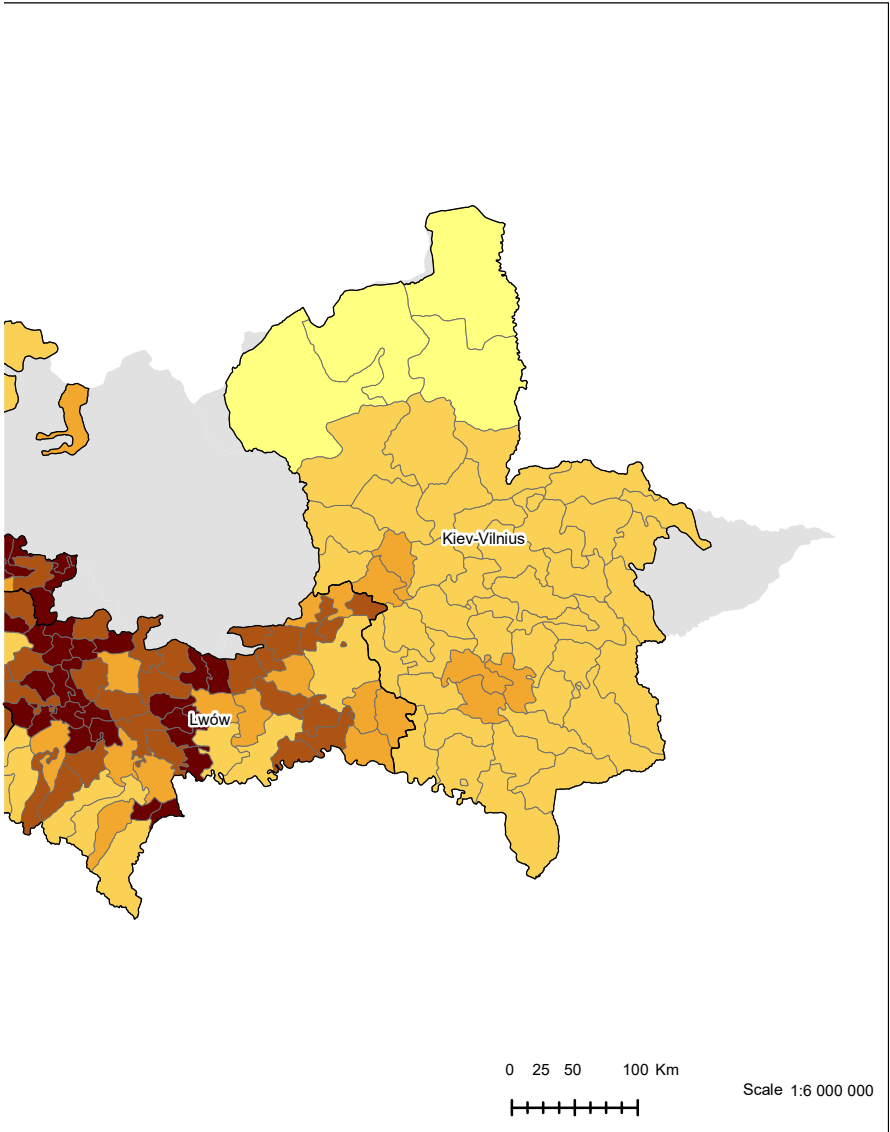






Map 18: Areas of the Uniate protopopies and governorship in the Crown circa 1772





best list is the above quoted publication by Christian Siegmund Thomas from 1750 (*Altes und Neues vom Zustande der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirchen im Königreiche Polen*). This divides the churches into urban and rural ones, and attributes them to individual provinces (Małopolska, Wielkopolska and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania). But it does not include the churches in Royal Prussia that also did not have a homogeneous territorial organization. Although the so-called Mortensen map reflects the division of the Lutheran Church in Prussia into consistories (Westpreussische Konsistorium) and inspections, and of the Reformed Church into inspections subordinated to the general council (board) in Berlin, that structure evolved after the Partitions and was dated by the authors at 1785.⁷² Aleksander Klemp who deals with the history of Protestant churches in Royal Prussia does not mention any organization above individual churches in Royal Prussia around 1772.⁷³

Such specialists in the kahal system in the Commonwealth as, *inter alia*, Simon Dubnow, Majer Bałaban, Israel Halperin, Ignacy Schipper, Jakub Goldberg, or Anatol Leszczyński⁷⁴ have tried to put in order the territorial organization of the Jews in the Crown. The two most important cartographic approaches to the Jewish administration in Poland and Lithuania have been authored by Piotr Marek⁷⁵ (1914) and Halperin (1945).⁷⁶ The discrepancies between both maps and studies that discuss the territorial organization of the Jews are quite significant. Even the number of zemstvos had not been determined,⁷⁷ not to mention the attempts to establish the accurate affiliation of a kahal with a zemstvo or district.

The maps by Halperin and Marek feature similar territorial structures. Halperin divided the Crown into eight zemstvos (Hebr. *aracot*): Małopolska,

72 "Die kirchliche Organisation um 1785".

73 Klemp, *Protestanci w dobrach prywatnych*, pp. 134-136.

74 Their views have been recapped by A. Leszczyński, "Nazewnictwo organów samorządu żydowskiego", pp. 26-33. On the development of the Jewish local government in Poland, see: H. Węgrzynek, "Żydzi w Koronie i Litwie w XV i XVI wieku", *Kalendarz Żydowski*, 1986-1987, pp. 33-45.

75 П. Марек, "Карта Польши и Литвы от 1667 г. до 3го раздела включительно. Схема территорий входивших в польский и литовский ваады", in: *История еврейского народа*, т. 11: История евреев в Польше и Литве, Москва 1914, after p. 113. The map is connected with a text in the same volume: М. Балабан, "Еврейский сейм в Польше или ваад Короны, и сеймики, или ваады округов", in: *История еврейского народа*, т. 11: История евреев в Польше и Литве, Москва 1914, pp. 161-180.

76 *Acta Congressus Generalis*, map.

77 S. Ettinger, "Sejm Czterech Ziem", in: *Żydzi w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. A. Link-Lenczowski, T. Polański, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1991, p. 39.

Wielkopolska, Ruthenia, Volhynia, Nine Kahals (Chełm and Bełz), Lublin, Tykocin and Węgrów, and the names of the latter three were preceded with a word *galil* which is most frequently translated as *district*. Marek introduced a division into seven *oblasts* (Russian: *область*): Kraków and Sandomierz, Poznań and Kalisz, Ruthenia, Chełm, Lublin, Tykocin, and Volhynia. Some of them (Ruthenia, Chełm, and Volhynia) were divided into districts (Russian: *округ*). This does not quite correspond with Bałaban's approach. He abandoned the use of the term *область* and instead used *округ* (Heb. *aracot*). He divided the Crown into several districts: Wielkopolska, Kraków-Sandomierz, Ruthenia-Braclaw, Lublin, Chełm-Bełz-Zamość, Volhynia-Kiev, Podolia and Podlasie (Tykocin). He also introduced other independent units such as the land of Przemyśl and the kahal of Rzeszów (set apart in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from the Ruthenian district), the district of the Zamoyski Entail (set apart in the eighteenth century from the Chełm-Bełz-Zamość district), and the districts of the Włodzimierz Wołyński, Łuck and Dubno kahals (subordinated to the Volhynia-Kiev district), the Węgrów district, and the kahals of Międzyrzec and Ciechanów (set apart in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from the Podlasie district). Leszczyński supplemented that list with kahals with *zemstvo* status, *inter alia* in Poznań, Kraków, Sambor, Międzyrzec Korecki and Ołyka.⁷⁸

It follows from the above short review that there were different approaches to such crucial issues as the understanding of basic terms – “*aracot*” was translated as *zemstvo* or *district*. Problems with the territorial administration of the Jews in the Crown stem mainly from the fact that throughout the early modern period Jewish communities were in the process of emancipation and constantly struggled with one another for autonomy or supremacy over other kahals. Different opinions propounded by scholars regarded not only the so-called intermediate level of Jewish organization in Poland (between the kahal and the Great Vaad), but also the classification and categorization of kahals (main, independent, branch kahals, and so on). This problem requires an in-depth monograph based on the available sources.

In this study, the statistical analysis has been conducted according to the division into palatinates. It should be remembered that the main source which is the basis of the map of Jewish communities in the Crown, the poll tax register of 1765, includes a list of kahals featured according to state administration units divided into palatinates and *powiats*. This was partly due to the 1764 abo-

78 Leszczyński, *Sejm Żydów Korony*, pp. 74-77.

lition of Jewish diets and zemstvos, including the Council of the Four Lands (the Great Vaad).⁷⁹ Regardless of the differences of opinion and problems with the presentation of a coherent territorial organization of the Jews in the Crown in the second half of the eighteenth century it is noteworthy that most of the administrative units at a higher level than the kahal were located in the central palatinates of the Crown, along the border with Małopolska and Crown Ruthenia.

- In summary of this part of the study, it is possible to draw a few more general conclusions. The organizational structure of each denomination may be viewed from two basic perspectives: quantitative (statistical) and geographical (spatial). The Greek rite of the Catholic Church (that is, the Uniate Church) had the organizational structure that was most developed in quantitative and statistical terms. It was marked by the highest number of places of worship and their highest density. Both the average area of parishes, the distance from neighbouring places of worship, and the areas of territorial administration units were smaller, especially compared with the Latin Church. But the number of parishes in individual deaneries was three times higher.
- In terms of their territorial range, the Catholics of the Latin rite and the Jews had the most developed organizational structures in the Crown. Adherents of both religions were dispersed throughout the entire Crown, but the density of their organizational units was much lower than in the Uniate Church. The territorial distribution of kahals was the most regular. Compared to the Uniate Church, the Latin Church was marked by a lower density of parishes, higher deanery areas and lower number of parishes within them, and also by greater distances between churches.
- Other religions and denominations had a limited geographical range and much less complex territorial and organizational structures. The number and density of organizational units of religious minorities affected the picture only on a local scale (the Lutherans in Prussia and Wielkopolska, the Mennonites in Żuławy, and the Orthodox along the Dnieper River).

79 J. Goldberg, "Żydowski Sejm Czterech Ziem w społecznym i politycznym ustroju dawnej Rzeczypospolitej", in: *Żydzi w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. A. Link-Lenczowski, T. Polański, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1991, p. 57.

3. Borders and Borderlands – Homogeneous and Heterogeneous Confessional Areas

In Chapter Three the situation of every religion or denomination has been analysed separately. If the comparative method is to be fully applied, it is necessary to put religious groups side by side in order to carry out the ethnic and religious regionalization of the Crown in the second half of the eighteenth century. The problem of regionalization is inseparably related to the issue of ethnic and religious borders.

From the geographical point of view the notion of a border does not exist.⁸⁰ It does not happen in real life that members of a specific religion or language are separated by some demarcation line. Such an approach to the notion of borders particularly applies to the early modern Commonwealth where religions and ethnic minorities intermingled both on a macro scale and in the local history of small towns and even villages. In respect to the confessional geography of the old Commonwealth it is better to use the notion of borderland, or a division into areas that were homogeneous or heterogeneous in religious terms.

However, the notions and definitions of borderlands that are used in sciences, mainly in sociology and other social sciences, do not completely correspond with historical reality.⁸¹ In Andrzej Sadowski's opinion, a borderland, apart from the socio-cultural and personal-cultural dimension, has first of all a spatial dimension (geographical, territorial).⁸² It does not suffice to treat a borderland as an area where different linguistic-ethnic or national groups border on one another (a con-

80 It is worthwhile to refer to a very interesting analysis of the border as a historical phenomenon conducted by T. Manteuffel. He proposed to depart completely from linear borders and replaced them by M. Handelsman's transition areas that better correspond with historical reality (T. Manteuffel, "Metoda oznaczania granic w geografii historycznej", in: *Księga Pamiątkowa ku uczczeniu dwudziestopięcioletniej działalności naukowej prof. Marcelego Handelsmana*, Warszawa 1929, pp. 221-228).

81 A review of social sciences has recently been made by W. Romanowicz in respect to the concept of borderland, "Pogranicze jako przedmiot badań społecznych", *Rozprawy Naukowe. Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa im. Papieża Jana Pawła II w Białej Podlaskiej*, 1 (2007), pp. 87-97.

82 A. Sadowski, "The Borderlands of Civilizations as a Research Category in the Sociology of Borderland", *Limes*, 2 (2009), no. 1, p. 83. Also see: "Pogranicze. Studia społeczne. Zarys problematyki", *Pogranicze. Studia Społeczne*, 1 (1992), p. 5; Idem, "Socjologia pogranicza", in: *Wschodnie pogranicze w perspektywie socjologicznej*, ed. A. Sadowski, Białystok 1995, pp. 12-19.

tact or transitional borderland).⁸³ The understanding and classification of borderlands proposed by Grzegorz Babiński seems to be closest to the realities of the early modern Crown. He has distinguished three types of borderlands:

1. an area between similarly shaped entities,
2. an area between a clearly defined majority and smaller or less organized ethnic or confessional minorities (*kresy*),
3. an area of natural coexistence of many groups without a clear cut or dominant centre.⁸⁴

The foregoing understanding of borderlands is very broad and may be associated with the notion of heterogeneous areas marked by different degree of differentiation. Therefore in order to demonstrate ethnic and religious diversity it is crucial to outline on the map of the Crown those areas that were religiously homogeneous and heterogeneous. But it will be problematic to provide accurate percentages that will define such areas. It will also be necessary to tackle the issue of the degree (intensity) of heterogeneity, on the one hand, and its nature, on the other hand. At this point one may invoke Andrzej Janeczek's opinion expressed in his article on the Polish-Ruthenian borderlands where he has referred to "*the borderland limits*". He did not specify, however, what percentages of individual ethnic groups allow us to label an area as a borderland.⁸⁵

It follows from the analysis conducted in earlier parts of this chapter, and from the tentative attempt to do this in respect of the Polish-Ruthenian borderland discussed below, that in order to identify the degree and character of religious diversity one may successfully use the statistics and distribution of sacral facilities of individual denominations. The fact that a place of worship of one religion or denomination existed in a village is not tantamount to saying that the locality was completely homogeneous. However, usually there is correspondence between the existence of a place of worship in a locality and a clear demographic domination of people professing a specific religion. A tentative verification of that hypothesis covered more than a dozen towns and villages in areas with the most pronounced mix of Latin and Uniate churches.

83 J. Chlebowczyk, *Procesy narodotwórcze we wschodniej Europie środkowej*, Warszawa 1975, p. 23.

84 G. Babiński, "Pogranicze etniczne, pogranicze kulturowe, peryferie. Szkic wstępny problematyki", *Pogranicze. Studia Społeczne*, 4 (1994), pp. 9-10.

85 A. Janeczek, "Między sobą. Polacy i Rusini na wspólnym pograniczu w XIV-XV w.", in: *Między sobą. Szkice historyczne polsko-ukraińskie*, ed. T. Chynczewska-Hennel, N. Jakowenko, Lublin 2000, p. 53.

It follows from the following table (Table 51) that only in exceptional localities with only a Uniate church were the Catholics of Greek rite a minority, while the Catholics of the Latin rite were members of the parish in a nearby locality. Usually members of either Uniate or Latin Church predominated very clearly, exceeding more than 80 percent. The same number of Uniate and Latin churches in a centre reflected more balanced proportions between the Latin and Uniate populations (Table 52).

Table 51: Demographic relations in selected localities of the Polish-Ruthenian borderland with only Latin and Uniate churches circa 1772

Locality	Church type	Percent of population	
		Latin	Uniate
Between Jasło and Strzyżów			
Oparówka	Uniate	4.8	98.4
Dobrzechów	Latin	98.8	0.0
Łączki Jagiellońskie	Latin	100.0	0.0
Rzepnik	Uniate	0.0	98.1
Wojkówka	Latin	98.3	0.0
Bonarówka	Uniate	1.8	96.4
Węglówka	Uniate	4.0	94.0
Krasna	Uniate	1.4	96.6
Żyżnów	Latin	98.7	0.0
Lutcza	Latin	97.8	0.0
Gwoździanka	Uniate	14.2	83.4
Blizianka	Uniate	5.2	89.1
Niebylec	Latin	88.7	0.0
Konieczkowa	Latin	98.9	0.0
South of Sanok			
Nowotaniec	Latin	83.6	6.6
Nagórzany	Uniate	82.9	15.5
Wolica	Uniate	18.0	74.0
Pobiedno	Uniate	69.1	28.3
Zboiska	Latin	100.0	0.0
Prusiek	Uniate	35.3	63.0
Ratnawica	Uniate	3.3	91.5
Niebieszczany	Latin	91.2	7.4
Poraż	Latin	98.9	0.0

South of Lwów			
Rudno	Uniate	29.1	66.8
Zimna Woda	Latin	81.9	0.0
Obroszyn	Uniate	17.9	80.6
Hodowica	Latin	66.4	32.6
Skniłów	Uniate	13.6	85.4
Sokolniki	Latin	97.6	1.6
Sołonka Wielka	Uniate	1.4	97.0
Zubrza	Latin	97.5	1.2
Sichów	Uniate	54.9	41.0
Krotoszyn	Latin	97.6	0.0
Żyrawka	Uniate	0.5	99.5

Source: Budzyński: *Ludność pogranicza polsko-ruskiego*, vol. 2, p. 27, Idem, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, vol. 1, passim. The Jewish population was not accounted for.

In order to reproduce accurately the ethnic and religious diversity of an area it is necessary to take into account both the density of sacral facilities in the analysed territory, and the number of confessions to which they belonged. Of help is the ethnolinguistic fractionalization (ELF) successfully used in current research on the distribution of ethnic, linguistic and religious groups. By means of a special algorithm it allows the production of a parameter assessing the degree of ethnic, linguistic or religious diversity of a selected country, region or continent.⁸⁶ Equally useful may be the tools of geospatial analysis applied earlier. Owing to the quadrant count method it is possible to calculate proportions between sacral buildings of individual religious groups. When the method of ethnolinguistic fractionalization is combined with the quadrant count method, it is possible to compute a religious diversity index for each of the 744 quadrants of 625 km² each delineated in the Crown. The results expressed in classes show areas with the highest religious homogeneity (class I, index 0 – 0.15) through the class of average diversity (class II, index 0.15 – 0.35), to the most heterogeneous areas (class III, index 0.35 – 0.67). The religious fractionalization index for the entire Crown was of 0.56. At present it

86 Of more recent works of ethnic, religious and linguistic fractionalization, including those regarding Poland, the following should be mentioned: J. Fearon, "Ethnic and Cultural Diversity by Country", *Journal of Economic Growth*, 8 (2003), pp. 195-222; A. Alesina [et al.], "Fractionalization", *Journal of Economic Growth*, 8 (2003), pp. 155-194; N.F. Campos, V.S. Kuzeyev, "On the Dynamics of Ethnic Fractionalization", *American Journal of Political Science*, 51, no. 3 (July 2007), pp. 620-639.

Table 52: Demographic relations in selected localities of the Polish-Ruthenian borderland where the number of Latin and Uniate churches was equal circa 1772

Locality	Percentage of population	
	Latin	Uniate
the vicinity of Sanok		
Besko	41.6	56.2
Dudyńce	9.3	88.4
Jurowce	36.2	57.8
Trepcza	3.0	94.5
Średnia Wieś	31.5	65.6
Morochów	12.3	84.9
Mrzyglód	64.2	25.8
Leszczawa Dolna	33.0	65.2
Tyrawa Wołoska	31.8	55.7
Nowosielce Kozickie	23.8	74.4
Uherce Mineralne	37.6	56.9
Jasień	29.7	67.6
Wołkowyja	14.8	83.7
Polana	49.5	41.2
the vicinity of Gródek Jagielloński		
Radenice	36.5	61.1
Stojańce	55.1	42.8
Bruchnal	48.6	48.6
Czarnokońce	48.1	48.1
Rodatycze	72.5	25.5
Milczyce	82.3	16.4
Pohorce	48.7	49.9
Malczyce	6.5	90.3
Rumno	34.5	62.8
Siemianówka	82.6	16.3

Source: Budzyński, *Ludność pogranicza polsko-ruskiego*, vol. 2, p. 67; Idem, *Kresy południowo-wschodnie*, vol. 1, passim. The Jewish population was not accounted for.

is circa 0.17 and it is lowest in the whole of Central and Eastern Europe. This means that Poland is now the most homogeneous country in this region.⁸⁷

87 Alesina [et al.], "Fractionalization", p.18; Campos, Kuzeyev, "On the Dynamics of Ethnic Fractionalization", p. 635.

Table 53: The fractionalization index of religions and denominations in the Crown circa 1772 (from the least to the most heterogeneous palatinates)

Palatinate	Religious fractionalization index
Warmia	0.00
Sieradz	0.06
Braclaw	0.12
Brześć Kujawski	0.12
Płock	0.13
Mazowsze	0.13
Rawa	0.15
Łęczyca	0.16
Kalisz	0.16
Inowrocław	0.19
Kiev	0.19
Sandomierz	0.20
Chełmno	0.23
Kraków	0.24
Podolia	0.25
Volhynia	0.25
Gniezno	0.28
Ruthenia	0.33
Drahim l.	0.34
Bełz	0.34
Poznań	0.35
Lublin	0.39
Pomorze	0.49
Spisz l.	0.50
Łębork and Bytów l.	0.50
Malbork	0.57
Podlasie	0.60

Three very important conclusions arise from map 19 and Table 53:

- The fractionalization index was apparently highest in Podlasie and Royal Prussia.

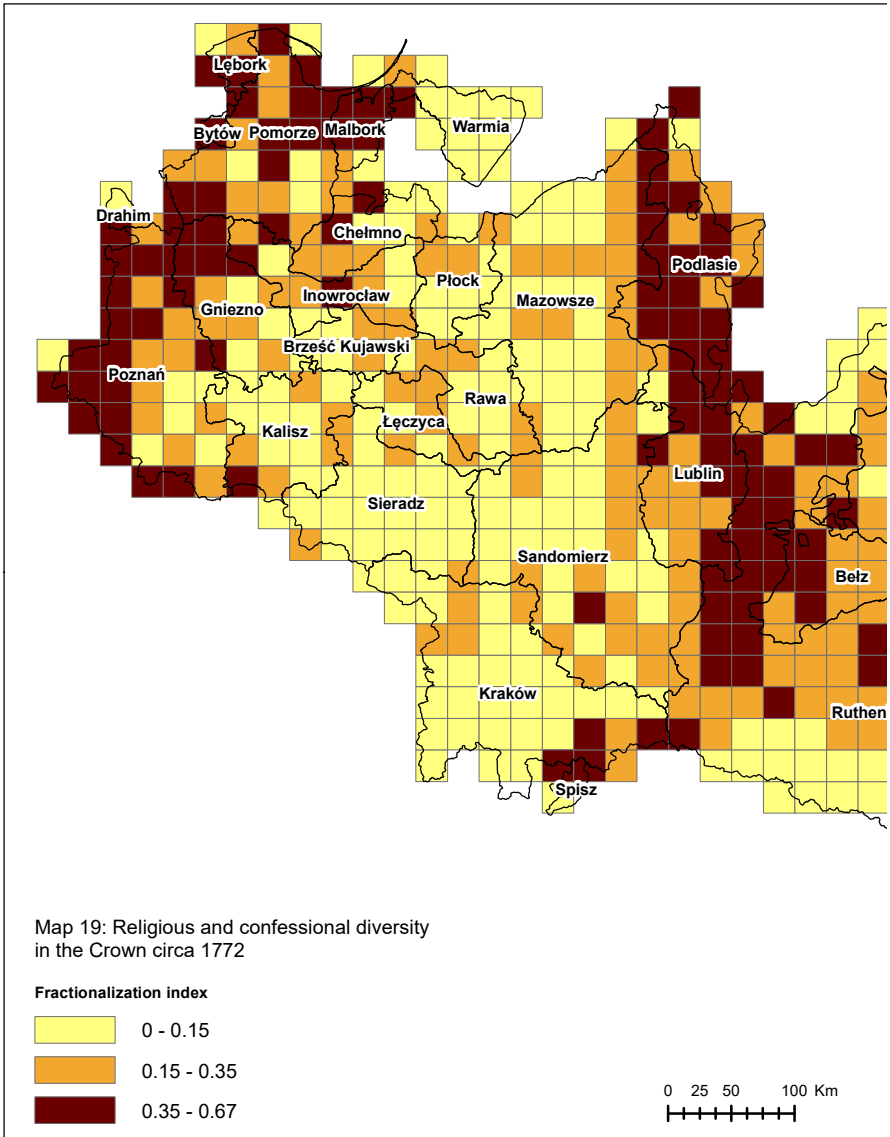
It was:

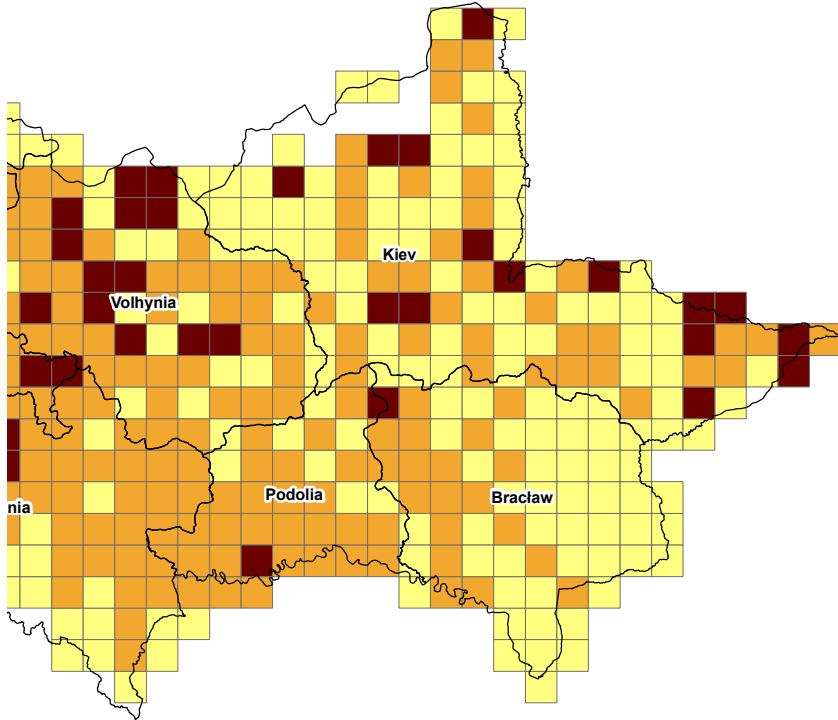
- Małopolska : 0.26
- Crown Ruthenia : 0.27
- Podlasie : 0.59
- Wielkopolska : 0.22

- Royal Prussia : 0.42
- Mazowsze : 0.13
- The most homogeneous areas (index of 0 – 0.15) covered 204 375 km², or approximately 44 percent of the Crown's territory, those with average religious diversity (index 0.15 – 0.35) – 175 625 km², or about 38 percent, and the most heterogeneous ones in religious terms, with the degree of diversity comparable to the present-day Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Ukraine or Belarus (index 0.35 – 0.67) – 85 000 km², or about 18 percent of the analysed area. In the eighteenth-century Crown there were two clear confessionally heterogeneous centres. The first of them may be referred to as the Latin-Uniate borderland (which might also be expressed in ethno-linguistic terms as Polish-Ruthenian), the second one as the Catholic-Lutheran borderland (which could also be called Polish-German). Also conspicuous, but to a lesser degree, is the Uniate-Orthodox borderland.
- The Latin-Uniate borderland may be classified as closed (contact, separating) in the western direction, and open (transitional, connecting) in the eastern direction. The religious fractionalization index sharply drops in the west, whereas in the east its decrease is gradual. Which means that the weakening of the borderland phenomenon, which is the focus of the sociologists dealing with borderlands, is not evenly distributed here. The characteristics of the Catholic-Lutheran and Uniate-Orthodox borderlands are not complete due to the absence of research conducted by means of the same methodology on Silesia, Brandenburg, Western Pomerania and Left-Bank Ukraine.

The main focus of religious fractionalization is the problem of religious diversity. To make the interpretation of this phenomenon more complete, it is necessary to expand it by the analysis of proportions between the number of sacral facilities of individual religions. This may be done on two levels: of points (localities) and areas. The analysis will overlook those places of worship which could not be identified or whose geographical position could not be located – 61 places of worship (55 Uniate, three Lutheran and three Jewish ones).

It is worth beginning the analysis by determining the number, character and distribution of localities with places of worship of only one denomination, those that – at least theoretically – were the most homogeneous. Of 11 532 localities of the Crown which in the second half of the eighteenth century had sacral facilities 3403 (29.5 percent) had only Latin churches, 6839 (59.3 percent) Uniate churches, 30 (0.3 percent) – synagogues, 153 (1.3 percent) – Lutheran churches, six (0.05 percent) – Calvinist churches, 13 (0.1 percent) – Orthodox churches, 12 (0.1 percent) – Mennonite churches, four (0.03 percent) – churches of the Bohemian Brethren, and one (at Juwkowce) – a mosque. Only Armenian churches





Scale 1:6 000 000

and Karaite kenesas were always in the company of the places of worship of other denominations. It follows from the foregoing that in as many as 10 461 localities, accounting for 90.7 percent of the whole, there were places of worship of only one religion or denomination. Multiconfessionality – viewed from the perspective of the geography of sacral facilities – applied only to 1071 (9.3 percent) towns and villages of the Crown.

A little more than one thousand localities with places of worship of more than one denomination comprised 844 towns – 78.8 percent and 227 villages – 21.2 percent. If the same problem is approached from the perspective of the number of towns and villages, that difference is even more pronounced, because 844 towns with the places of worship of various denominations accounted for more than a half (59.7 percent) of all cities and towns, and the above-mentioned 227 villages accounted for only 2.2 percent of rural localities with sacral buildings. Bearing that in mind it is possible to propound a view that the phenomenon of multiconfessionality in the old Commonwealth was more evident in cities and towns and they should become the focus of attention of the scholars who try to examine that issue on a micro scale. Fewest localities of this type were situated in the central parts of the Crown (the palatinates of Sieradz, Rawa and Mazowsze), in the Pomorze palatinate and Warmia, but also in the south of the Kraków palatinate and in the east of the Sandomierz palatinate. A certain role was played by natural conditions (the Bory Tucholskie forests, the Świętokrzyskie Mountains, the Carpathian Highlands) and the specific proprietary and settlement situation (Mazowsze, Warmia). Equally noteworthy are two distinct centres where the places of worship of many denominations were also located in villages. They were situated in the Malbork palatinate, where predominantly Latin and Lutheran elements lived side by side, and the Ruthenian and Belz palatinates which constituted the Latin-Uniate borderland (map 20). They correspond with the areas with the highest religious fractionalization coefficient.

Based on the number of places of worship of various confessions in one locality, it is possible to raise a problem of coexistence in local communities. To begin with it is necessary to assume that life in one town or village involved maintenance of at least basic social relations.

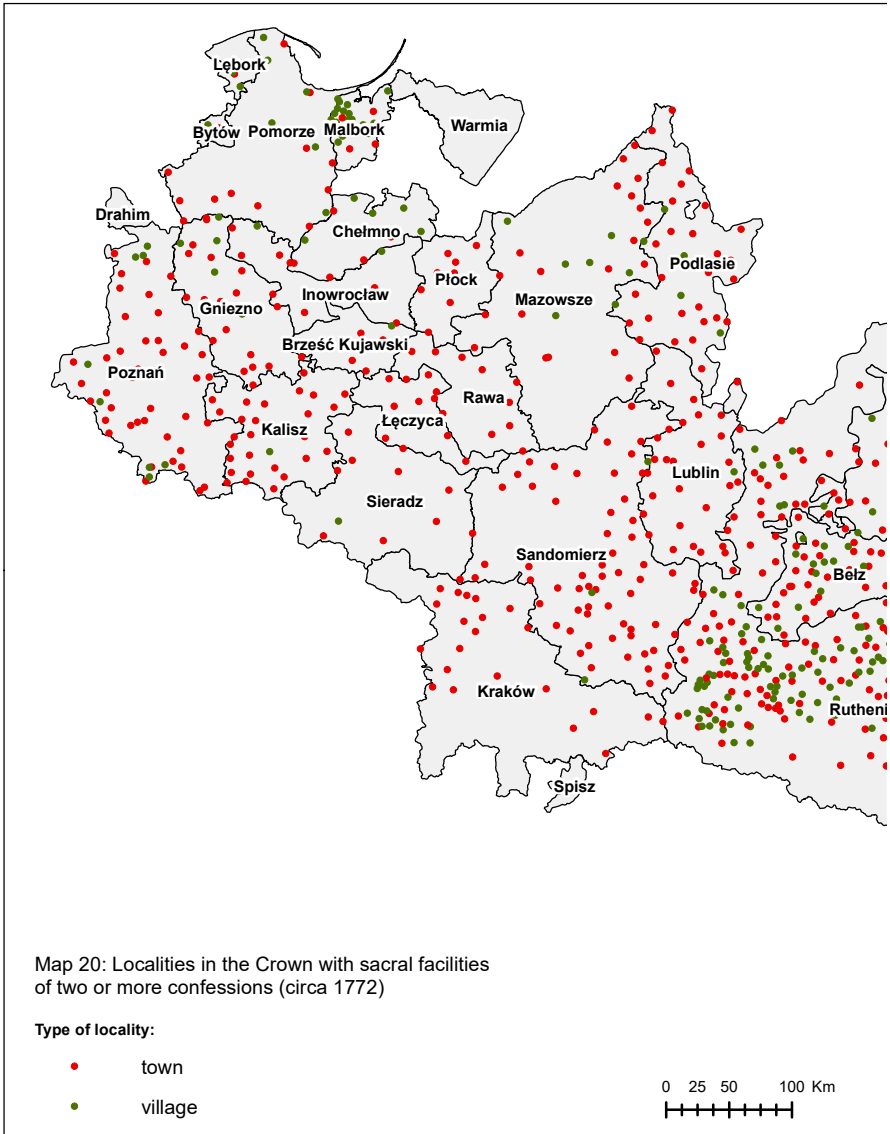
It follows from Table 54 that Jewish, Karaite and Armenian places of worship were almost always situated next to Christian churches. This is understandable because the functioning and economic existence of such communities were determined by contacts with the Latin or Uniate population. Commercial activity – that was the specificity of those denominations and at the same time an area of competition – was determined by the location of those communities close to

Table 54: The number of localities with the places of worship of various denominations (according to denominations)

Religions and denominations	Number of localities				
	with sacral facilities	with places of worship of one denomination		with places of worship of many denominations (percent column 5/ column 2)	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1	2	3	4	5	6
Latin (Roman Catholic)	4 328	3 403	78.6	925	21.4
Uniate (Greek Catholic)	7 517	6 839	91.0	678	9.0
Armenian Catholic	19	–	–	19	100.0
Orthodox	31	13	41.9	18	58.1
Lutheran	254	153	60.2	101	39.8
Calvinist	14	6	42.9	8	57.1
Bohemian Brethren	10	4	40.0	6	60.0
Mennonite	19	12	63.2	7	36.8
Jewish	819	30	3.7	789	96.3
Karaite	3	–	–	3	100
Muslim	2	1	50	1	50

Christian centres availing of their services. They showed a preference for larger centres, mainly cities and towns. Whenever possible, in the towns without privileges such as “*de non tolerandis Judaeis*”, the Jews settled down and built their synagogues close to the market square, not far away from Christian churches.

The number of Christian churches in towns and villages was a direct consequence of the settlement structure of individual areas – the more urbanized ones were marked by a higher number of churches in the cities. Only the percentage of Latin places of worship in the cities of the Ruthenian palatinates of the Crown was disproportionately higher than the number of towns and cities where such sacral facilities were located. This is exemplified by the Belz palatinate. Cities and towns accounted for circa 11 percent of all localities with places of worship. Located in them were more than two thirds (49 out of 69) of all Latin churches (parish and filial). A similar situation could be observed in the Braclaw palatinate where all 27 Roman Catholic churches were situated in the cities, but it also applies to the palatinates of Kiev, Podolia, Ruthenia and Volhynia.





In respect to Judaism the location of kahals may be viewed as more deliberate and hence their more even distribution across the entire Crown. This clearly follows from Table 55 where the percentage of kahals in cities and villages is inversely proportional to the number of cities and villages in individual palatinates. Only the Prussian palatinates of Chełmno and Pomorze were exceptional in this regard, as the majority of kahals were located in villages. The reasons behind this phenomenon have been discussed at length in the context of the confessional situation in Royal Prussia. It should also be added that such distribution of kahals in urban areas does not adequately reflect the distribution of the Jewish population. It follows from Antonii Podraza's research on Małopolska that in spite of the location of nearly all synagogues in towns, approximately 40 percent of the Jews lived in the countryside.⁸⁸ As religious and ethnic groups involved in commerce, the Armenians and Karaites were also organized exclusively in urban centres. The kind of activity they pursued decided the nature of Mennonite communities connected with *Olęder* settlement and agricultural activity – only two out of 19 Mennonite registered places of worship were located in centres of an urban character.

Before proceeding with the spatial analysis of quantitative relations between individual confessions, it is necessary to point out the difficulties involved in the selection of appropriate parameters to carry out this task. They stem from the fact that the area subject to analysis is vast, especially in latitudinal terms, but also from the high diversity of the examined phenomenon as reflected by the degree of density of localities and sacral facilities. The areas that could be labelled as religiously homogeneous only apply to the Latin and Uniate Churches. Only those two confessions, mainly due to the demographic domination of their adherents, were able to create structures that completely predominated in specific regions of the old Crown. The places of worship of other religions and denominations did not exceed 60 percent in any of 744 quadrants (each of 625 km²) demarcated in the examined area. Map 21 features the areas in which more than 80 percent of the places of worship belonged to either the Latin or the Uniate Church. Marked in darker colour, green in respect of the Uniate Church and brown for the Latin Church, are the quadrants with exclusively Uniate and Latin places of worship. The domination of the Latin Church is most pronounced in a belt between meridians 19 and 21. It comprised the south of the palatinate of Kraków, most of the palatinate of Sieradz, the central part of the palatinate of Sandomierz, large areas of the palatinates of Rawa and Mazowsze, as well as Warmia. The Uniate

88 A. Podraza, "Żydzi i wieś w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej", in: *Żydzi w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. A. Link-Lenczowski, T. Polański, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1991, p. 247.

Church structures predominated in the palatinates of Braclaw, Kiev, the north of the palatinate of Volhynia and the south of the palatinate of Ruthenia. When less a stringent criterion of homogeneous area identification is adopted – when places of worship of one religion or rite account for more than 80 percent – there are two large confessional areas: the Latin one in the west and the Uniate one in the east.

The correlation between the number of sacral facilities of individual religions and denominations and the number of their adherents pointed out in the first two chapters leads to a proposition that in the Crown two confessional identities enjoyed nearly complete dominance. The question arises if and how that apparent geographical and confessional division of the Crown corresponds with the concept of confessionalization developed by Heinz Schilling. In his understanding this concept covers three, sometimes four (Anglicanism) main Christian denominations in Europe. The Uniate Church cannot be taken into account as an element shaping the Catholic-Tridentine identity because of the linguistic, ethnic and cultural distinctness of both rites. Nor is it possible to include the Uniates in the groups that did not develop their own ecclesiastical and confessional systems. In view of the geographical range discussed above, and consequently, the social and demographic range of the Uniate Church, it is worth posing the question of whether the confessionalization paradigm developed by Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard should be extended to cover the Greek Catholic confession. Thus the confessional identity of the Uniates will not only be a factor accounting for the development of national identity as the basis of the awareness of the national state, but also of political and national identity without the creation of a state (“contextual confessionalization”).⁸⁹

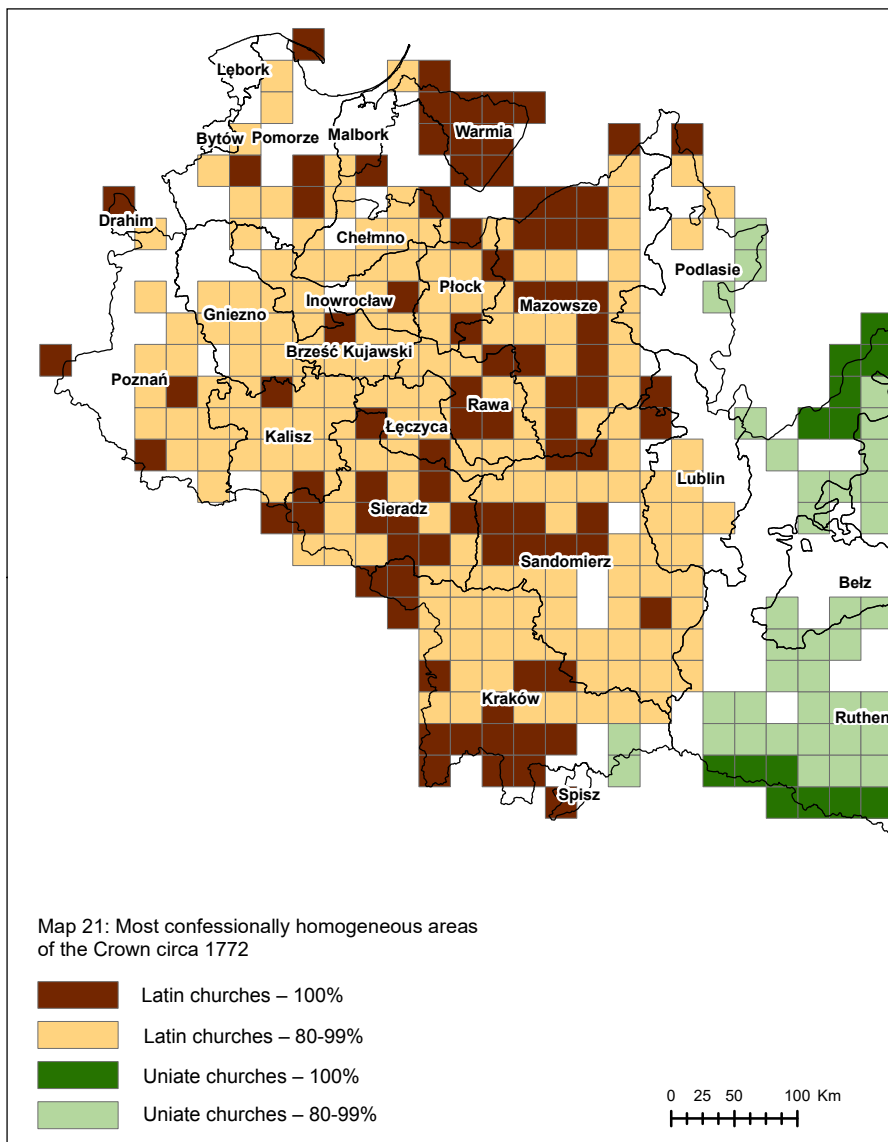
89 H. Schilling, *Konfesjonalizacja. Kościół i państwo w Europie doby przednowoczesnej*, Poznań 2010, pp. 321-322; Idem, “Konfessionelle und politische Identität in frühneuzeitlichen Europa”, in: *Nationale, ethnischen Minderheiten und regionale Identitäten in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, hrsg. A. Czacharowski, Toruń 1994, pp. 105, 111-112. On the problems faced when the confessionalization paradigm is applied in the history of the Commonwealth and Central and Eastern Europe, see: *Stosunki międzywyznaniowe w Europie Środkowej i Wschodniej w XIV-XVII wieku*, ed. M. Dygo, S. Gawlas, H. Grala, Warszawa 2002 (especially the summery by M. Dygo, pp. 105-109); A. Moritz, H.J. Müller, M. Pohlig, “Konfesjonalizacja Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej w XVII i XVIII wieku?”, *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 108 (2001), no. 1, pp. 3746. The Ukrainian historiography is still waiting for the history of the Uniate Church approached from the perspective of the confessionalization paradigm, L. Berezhnaya, “Does Ukraine Have a Church History?”, *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, 10, no. 4 (autumn 2009), p. 906.

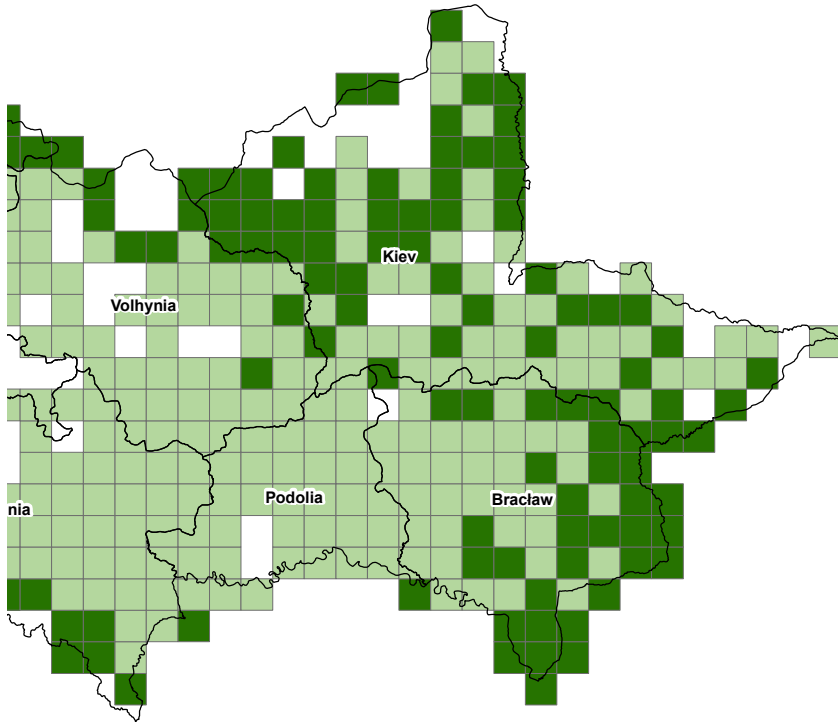
Table 55: The number of sacral facilities in the towns (t) and villages (v) of the Crown circa 1772.

Localities				Sacral facilities							
Palatinate	type	number	%	Bohemian Brethren		Calvinist		Uniate (Greek Catholic)		Latin (Roman Catholic)	
				number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
beł	t	42	10.61	-	-	-	-	59	41.55	49	34.51
	v	354	89.39	-	-	-	-	354	94.65	20	5.35
brac	t	100	9.35	-	-	-	-	145	65.32	27	12.16
	v	969	90.65	-	-	-	-	995	99.80	-	-
brzkuj	t	17	20.99	-	-	-	-	-	-	36	85.71
	v	64	79.01	-	-	-	-	-	-	65	98.48
byt	t	1	9.09	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	33.33
	v	10	90.91	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	58.33
che	t	14	10.45	1	2.17	-	-	-	-	37	80.43
	v	120	89.55	-	-	-	-	-	-	114	89.76
drah	t	1	7.14	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100.00
	v	13	92.86	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	76.92
gn	t	44	24.04	1	0.85	-	-	-	-	92	78.63
	v	139	75.96	-	-	-	-	-	-	128	88.28
in	t	26	19.70	-	-	-	-	-	-	57	83.82
	v	106	80.30	-	-	-	-	-	-	101	93.52
kal	t	49	18.99	-	-	-	-	-	-	120	80.54
	v	209	81.01	2	0.91	-	-	-	-	216	98.63
kij	t	120	11.76	-	-	-	-	192	67.13	32	11.19
	v	900	88.24	-	-	-	-	913	96.21	8	0.84
kr	t	78	11.91	-	-	-	-	2	0.65	278	90.55
	v	577	88.09	-	-	2	0.31	98	15.22	544	84.47
łęb	t	1	5.26	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	50.00
	v	18	94.74	-	-	1	4.55	-	-	6	27.27
lub	t	44	34.11	-	-	2	1.49	6	4.48	89	66.42
	v	85	65.89	-	-	-	-	9	10.00	78	86.67
łęcz	t	25	26.88	-	-	-	-	-	-	48	81.36
	v	68	73.12	-	-	-	-	-	-	69	100.00

Localities				Sacral facilities							
Palatinate	type	number	%	Bohemian Brethren		Calvinist		Uniate (Greek Catholic)		Latin (Roman Catholic)	
				number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
malb	t	7	9.21	-	-	1	4.00	-	-	14	56.00
	v	69	90.79	-	-	-	-	-	-	48	51.06
maz	t	69	21.90	-	-	-	-	1	0.62	142	87.65
	v	246	78.10	-	-	-	-	-	-	257	96.25
pł	t	12	13.04	-	-	-	-	-	-	41	82.00
	v	80	86.96	-	-	-	-	-	-	82	100.00
pod	t	93	9.96	-	-	-	-	156	50.49	70	22.65
	v	841	90.04	-	-	-	-	866	99.08	8	0.92
podl	t	45	27.78	-	-	1	0.84	28	23.53	63	52.94
	v	117	72.22	-	-	-	-	60	48.78	60	48.78
pom	t	17	6.34	-	-	1	1.47	-	-	33	48.53
	v	251	93.66	2	0.76	-	-	-	-	188	71.48
poz	t	74	17.37	1	0.43	-	-	-	-	170	72.65
	v	352	82.63	3	0.80	-	-	-	-	313	83.69
raw	t	20	18.69	-	-	-	-	-	-	48	81.36
	v	87	81.31	-	-	-	-	-	-	90	98.90
rus	t	218	7.73	-	-	-	-	433	44.92	355	36.83
	v	2 601	92.27	-	-	-	-	2 658	91.94	228	7.89
san	t	124	25.15	-	-	-	-	-	-	264	79.52
	v	369	74.85	-	-	5	1.26	6	1.51	386	96.98
sier	t	45	16.07	-	-	-	-	-	-	125	91.91
	v	235	83.93	-	-	1	0.40	-	-	247	99.60
sp	t	3	16.67	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	100.00
	v	15	83.33	-	-	-	-	11	73.33	4	26.67
war	t	12	12.50	-	-	-	-	-	-	39	100.00
	v	84	87.50	-	-	-	-	-	-	85	100.00
woł	t	113	9.03	-	-	-	-	180	49.45	93	25.55
	v	1 139	90.97	-	-	-	-	1 139	97.43	28	2.40
Total			11 532	10	0.07	14	0.09	8 311	54.49	5 720	37.50

Sacral facilities														
Armenian Catholic		Lutheran		Mennonite		Orthodox		Karaites		Jewish		Muslim		Total
number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	
-	-	9	36.00	1	4.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25
-	-	38	40.43	8	8.51	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	94
-	-	1	0.62	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	11.11	-	-	162
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	3.75	-	-	267
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	18.00	-	-	50
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	82
6	1.94	-	-	-	-	1	0.32	-	-	76	24.60	-	-	309
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	874
-	-	1	0.84	-	-	3	2.52	-	-	23	19.33	-	-	119
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2.44	-	-	123
-	-	28	41.18	1	1.47	-	-	-	-	5	7.35	-	-	68
-	-	51	19.39	5	1.90	-	-	-	-	17	6.46	-	-	263
-	-	24	10.26	-	-	-	-	-	-	39	16.67	-	-	234
-	-	58	15.51	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	374
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	18.64	-	-	59
-	-	-	-	1	1.10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	91
13	1.35	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.21	161	16.70	-	-	964
-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.03	-	-	4	0.14	-	-	2 891
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	68	20.48	-	-	332
-	-	1	0.25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	398
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	8.09	-	-	136
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	248
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	85
1	0.27	-	-	-	-	2	0.55	1	0.27	87	23.90	-	-	364
-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.09	-	-	-	-	1	0.09	1 169
22	0.14	276	1.81	19	0.12	35	0.23	3	0.02	841	5.51	2	0.01	15 253



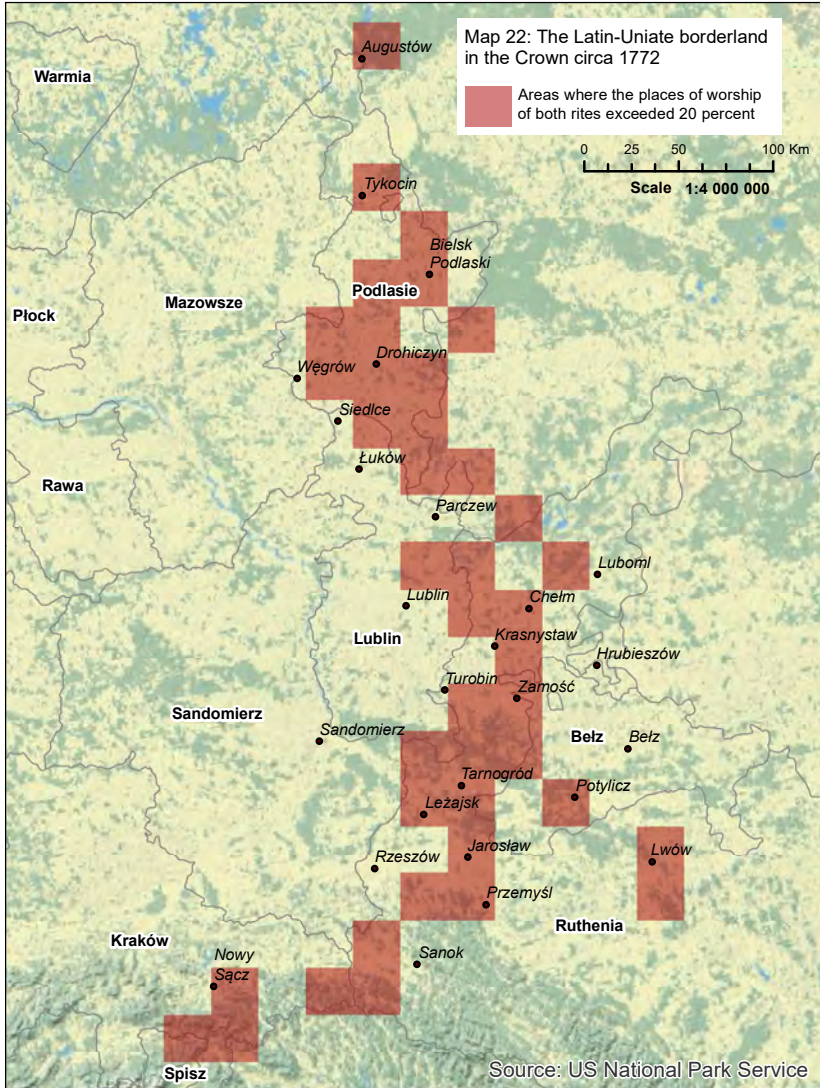


Scale 1:6 000 000

Map 22 features almost perfectly the borderland between the above-mentioned denominations. It is a strip of land nearly 50 km wide along the border between the Ruthenian palatinate and the palatinates of Kraków, Sandomierz and Lublin, and across Podlasie. In order to provide the best possible picture of the most confessionally heterogeneous areas adopted as the index were those where the share of the places of worship of each denomination was higher than 20 percent. This has allowed the singling out of the areas with the best balance between the number of Uniate and Latin churches. East of the identified transitional zone the Uniate Church dominated, and west of it – the Latin Church. It is noteworthy that in the north (Podlasie) this border belt was wider than in its central and southern parts. Moreover, the central area of the borderland was located further to the east. There is also an apparent concurrence of the demarcated area with the region with the highest religious fractionalization index which is an evidence that the degree of confessional diversity depended on the Latin and Uniate denominations.

The tentatively used or mapped demographic data corroborate that the identified borderland belt has been properly delimited. An area of about four thousand square kilometers in the vicinity of Jaśliska, Sanok and Krosno where 306 localities had been situated has been selected for verification purposes. This area was inhabited both by the Latin and Uniate population. When the percentage of the population and the percentage of churches of both Catholic rites are put side by side (map 2), the above shape of the confessional borderland in that region is validated. It may also be added that the latitudinal, southern belt of that borderland running along the Carpathian mountains was more distinct than its eastern part where the percentage of the Catholics only gradually decreased.

One more conclusion may be drawn from the statistical data on the number of people of both confessions in the analysed localities. It transpires that in the majority of those places where the Latin and Uniate population lived side by side, the Uniates were more numerous. In 108 localities inhabited by more Catholics, there were no Uniates in 66 of them (61.1 percent). In 198 localities where the Uniate population prevailed, there were no Catholics in only 57 of them (28.8 percent). This means that the Catholics functioned as a religious minority in individual settlements more frequently than did the Uniates. This may have been due to a more distinct and stronger confessional identity of Latin Catholics. Though in the minority, they were able to build and maintain their permanent communities. On the other hand, the Ruthenians, when in the minority in border areas, were Latinized faster and more frequently. Thus the buffer separating compact Latin settlements from the localities with a pronounced dominance of the Uniate population grew narrower. This phenomenon may be labelled as the



tightening or narrowing of the borderland belt. The different widths of the borderland east as well as west and south of the area bordering the San River have been pointed out by Budzyński. Based on sociological studies he attributed them to the greater isolationism of the Vlach settlers (highlanders) and the settlement process in the western part of the principalities of Rus.⁹⁰

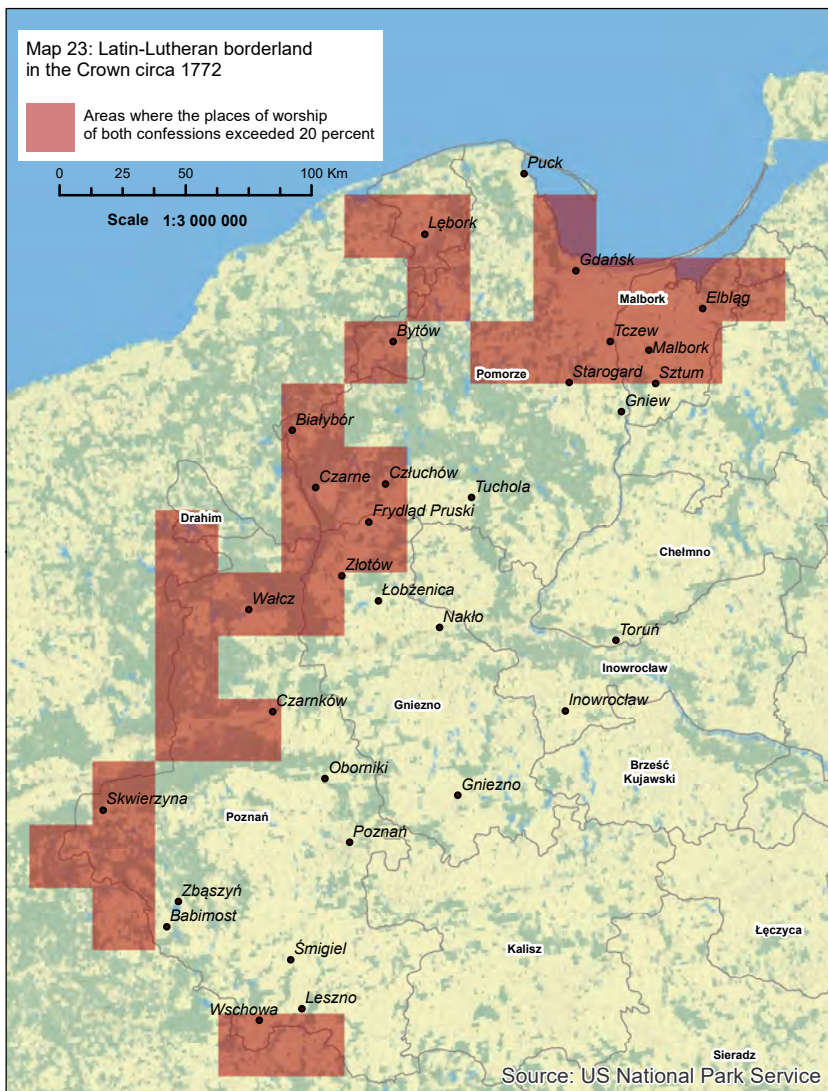
Along the western and northern frontiers of the Crown ran a borderland belt between the adherents of Catholicism and Lutheranism. In terms of the distribution of churches, it provides a much less distinct picture (map 23) than the one between the followers of the Latin and Uniate Churches described above. This was mainly due to a greater dispersal of the less populous Evangelicals, and in consequence, the less developed structures of that confession. The highest percentage of Lutheran churches in the Crown could be found within a triangle delimited by Gdańsk, Elbląg and Malbork, where their number exceeded that of the Latin churches. The belt of confessional borderland went beyond the Crown's frontier with Silesia, Brandenburg and West Pomerania. It is evidenced by the demographic data coming from the 1765 population census of the Poznań diocese and Prussian censuses from the first half of the nineteenth century.

The cartographic presentation of the percentage of the Protestant population in the diocese of Poznań, based on the 1765 population census (map 3), is far more credible than the analysis carried out based on the number of the places of worship. As already emphasized in the chapter devoted to the situation in Wielkopolska, the statistics compiled based on the data regarding places of worship understate the number of Protestants in that province of the Crown. The number of churches reflects only a general trend regarding the differences in the density of the Lutheran population. The areas where their share dropped below 15 percent were completely devoid of organized communities of that denomination (the Latin deaneries of Buk, Kościan, Śrem, Środa, Borek, Nowe Miasto and Pызdry). Lutheran churches are more regular in the areas situated further to the west and north, where they accounted for more than 30 percent (in the Latin deaneries of Grodzisk, Lwówek, Zbąszyń and Czarnków).

In the face of imprecise and unreliable demographic data, it is very difficult to carry out a similar cartographic analysis for Pomorze. Suffice it to say that the visitation of the Bytów deanery in 1766 refers to 5751 Catholics, 9224 "a-Catholics" and 48 Jews.⁹¹ In 1780 the same deanery was allegedly inhabited by 7435 Catho-

90 Budzyński, *Ludność pogranicza polsko-ruskiego*, vol. 1, pp. 319-321.

91 ADPeł. G63a, f. II.



lics, 7594 “a-Catholics” and 96 Jews.⁹² It is doubtful that over 14 years, especially in that historical period, about 11 percent of the deanery’s residents converted to Catholicism. Much more reliable is the comparison of the statistical data from the same set of sources for the deanery of Mirachowo: in 1766 it was inhabited by 8413 Catholics and 2048 “a-Catholics”,⁹³ in 1780 – by 10 670 Catholics and 2860 “a-Catholics”.⁹⁴ Given that further studies are required, based on demographic sources, at present it is only possible to conclude that the Evangelical percentage of the overall population in the whole of Pomorze, apart from the lands of Łębork and Bytów, was lower than that of the Catholics.⁹⁵ The only exceptions were major urban centres which change the relations between denominations, when approached in the terms of area. For example, in the towns of Tczew and Skarszewy situated in the deanery of Tczew the number of “a-Catholics” was so high that it equalled that of the Catholics, even though the adjoining rural parishes were dominated by the Catholic population. The situation was similar in Toruń or Grudziądz in the Chełmno palatinate.

The sources also note the presence of the Lutheran population in the northern parts of the palatinates of Chełmno, Płock, Mazowsze and Podlasie. But this presence did not translate into the number of organized religious communities. Apart from Toruń, Brodnica and Grudziądz, where numerous Protestant communities had their own churches, the 1795 visitations and reports by the bishop of Chełmno, Karl von Hohenzollern, also mention a number of parishes with a significant number of “dissenters” without their own places of worship. It is likely that in such localities as Mokre, Okonin, or Błędowo, the Protestants were in the spiritual care of the church in Grudziądz, located a few or a dozen or so kilometres away. The location near the border of other localities (Szynwałd, Jabłonowo) allowed the Evangelicals to avail themselves of the services administered by parishes located in Royal Prussia.⁹⁶

92 ADPel. G69, ff. 5, 24, 41, 55, 67, 80.

93 ADPel. G63a, f.II

94 ADPel. G69, k. 117, 132, 144, 157, 170, 187, 210, 228, 246

95 It follows from the data compiled by E. Waschinski for Royal Prussia in 1772 (excluding Gdańsk and its vicinity) that Latin population predominated. E. Waschinski offers the number of 101 830 Catholics and 39 399 Protestants in the area of the First Prussian Partition in 1772, Waschinski, *Wie groß war die Bevölkerung Pommerellens*, p. 47. These data largely depart from those offered in the criticized work by G. Dabbinus: 45 431 Germans, 16 995 Kashubs, 31 752 Poles, 751 Jews and 7 449 people of doubtful nationality, Dabinnus, *Die ländische Bevölkerung Pommerellens*, p. 73.

96 ADPel. C67, pp. 111, 133, 137, 185, 219.

A much lower percentage of Protestants lived in the northern part of the palatinates of Płock and Mazowsze (at Janowiec Kościelny among others).⁹⁷ There is an evident difference in the border areas between the Chełmno palatinate and Prussia, and between the Mazowsze palatinate and Prussia. The former political border of the state did not demarcate a distinct limit of influence of the Lutheranism dominant in Royal Prussia and still present in the Chełmno palatinate. This was due to the political, social and religious developments in the Chełmno land, which was part of Teutonic Prussia in the Middle Ages and had been subject to systematic colonization by German settlers. On the other hand, the border between Prussia and the Mazowsze palatinate had both political and ethnic, as well as cultural dimensions, which were partially determined by the tradition of medieval conflicts between Poland and the Teutonic Knights.

The above-mentioned irregular distribution of the Lutheran population and its concentration in major urban centres makes it necessary to approach the border between the Catholicism and Protestantism in this part of the Crown more in the social than the geographical context.⁹⁸ The landscape of Royal Prussia was characterized by a definitive domination of the Catholics in villages and smaller towns, and a large number of Protestants in major cities. This was undoubtedly due to the nature of German colonization in the Middle Ages and the early modern era, that mainly focused on urban centres. The success of the Latin Church in its struggle with the Reformation in the villages, and mainly in noble estates, did not produce a similar outcome in major cities where a strong Lutheran confessional identity, connected with the German language and the population of German origins, could develop. Strong Protestant communities lived in such centres until the end of the Commonwealth.

In summary of the comments on ethnic and religious regionalization of the Crown, it is worth emphasizing once again the most important features of the distribution of the structures of individual religions and denominations. The frameworks of the confessional and ethnic zones of the Crown (map 24) that are proposed below were shaped in the Middle Ages.⁹⁹

97 *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, part 7, ed. M.M. Grzybowski, Płock 1995, p. 54.

98 See: H.J. Bömelburg, *Zwischen polnischer Ständegesellschaft und preußischem Obrigkeitsstaat. Vom Königlichen Preußen zu Westpreußen (1756-1806)*, München 1995, p. 49.

99 H. Samsonowicz, "Grupy etniczne w Polsce XV wieku", in: *Ojczyzna bliższa i dalsza. Studia historyczne ofiarowane Feliksowi Kirykowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Kraków 1993, p. 462.

- The second half of the eighteenth century was marked by the prevalence of areas which may be referred to as homogeneous in religious terms. They were by no means 100 percent homogeneous, as such homogeneity does not exist in respect of religions and denominations. However, very distinct were the relatively homogeneous areas where either the Latin or Uniate population predominated.
- The actual borderline between the Latin and Uniate confessions seems to be quite a narrow strip (of circa 50 km) running along the western borders of the palatinate of Ruthenia and across Podlasie. In this area there was genuine and mass scale exchange and co-existence of two equally populous religious communities both in small towns and villages. That borderland was of an internal nature, where the two confessions met and coexisted, developing centres of their religious life and ecclesiastical structures in the Crown.
- A wide band of the presence of Lutherans and their Church structures in the Crown was delimited by the regions bordering the Crown in the west and north where that denomination had a state and dominant status. In this context western Wielkopolska and Royal Prussia are a sort of a bridge between the Lutherans living in Silesia, Brandenburg and West Pomerania and the Evangelicals from Ducal Prussia. That such a spatial approach to the problem is adequate is best corroborated by the efficient incorporation of Royal Prussia into the structures of the Evangelical Church of Prussia under the rule of Frederick II after the First Partition.¹⁰⁰ The borderland between the Catholics and Lutherans in the Crown was of an external nature – it was there that the Catholicism prevailing in the Crown met with the Lutheranism dominant in the Kingdom of Prussia. The state frontier ran along the border between both denominations.
- In the aftermath of the incorporation of the Kiev and Braclaw palatinates into the administrative area of the Crown in 1569, in the early modern period a new

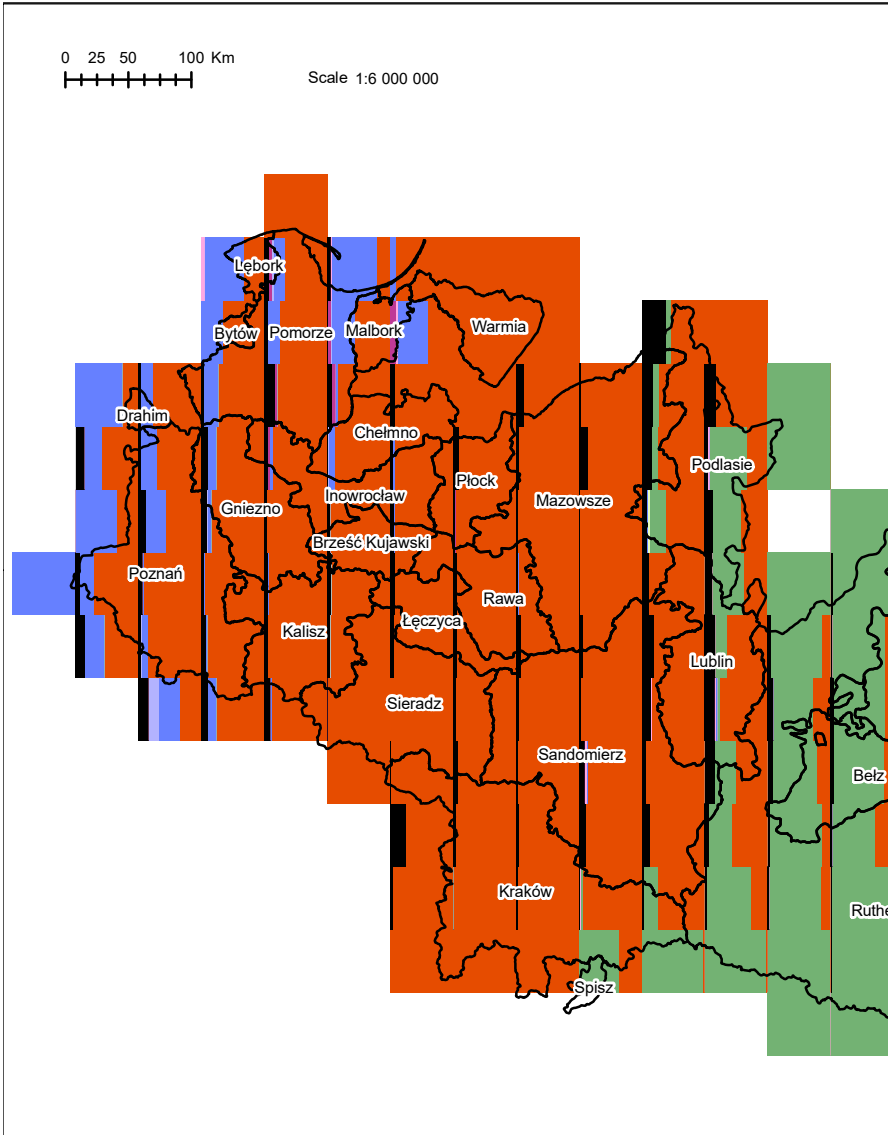
100 The territorial division of Protestant structures in 1785 is featured on the so-called Mortensens' map and covers the consistory of West Prussia (Westpreussisches Konsistorium) comprising 11 inspections ("Die kirchliche Organisation um 1785"). Immediately after the seizure of Royal Prussia the Lutheran churches were subordinated to the inspection board at Kwidzyń (Ostpreussischen Konsistorium), and the Reformed churches – to the board (Kirchendirektorium) in Berlin. It follows from the study by M. Bär that pursuant to the decree of 17 May 1773 the Lutheran churches in Royal Prussia were divided into eight inspections, M. Bär, *Westpreussen unter Friedrich dem Grossen*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1909, p. 539; Idem, *Die Behördenverfassung in Westpreussen seit der Ordenszeit*, Danzig 1912, p. 319.

region emerged in Crown Ruthenia. It was a borderland between the Uniate and Orthodox Churches that was a product of the systematic development of Uniate structures and the corresponding shrinkage of the Orthodox administration. It was a stage of the most pronounced and important religious conflict that arose in the Commonwealth in the eighteenth century. The situation in this borderland was the most dynamic, as evidenced by changing and unclear affiliation of individual churches and protopopies in the 1760s and 80s.

In conclusion it should be emphasized that regionalization at the local level was equally important as that in the confessional macro regions described above where ultimately, divisions corresponded with the typology of settlements divided into towns and villages. The micro scale and regional approach to the problem has shed light on the real dimension of relations between individuals and groups belonging to different religious and ethnic communities. The overall picture drawn above is definitely more important to a historian or historical geographer. The local dimension of the examined phenomenon, reflected by the location of the places of worship in individual localities, allows the presentation of the problem from the perspective of the eighteenth-century participant in social and religious life. This is why it is worth focusing on the confessional topography of the Crown's small towns and villages, even tentatively.

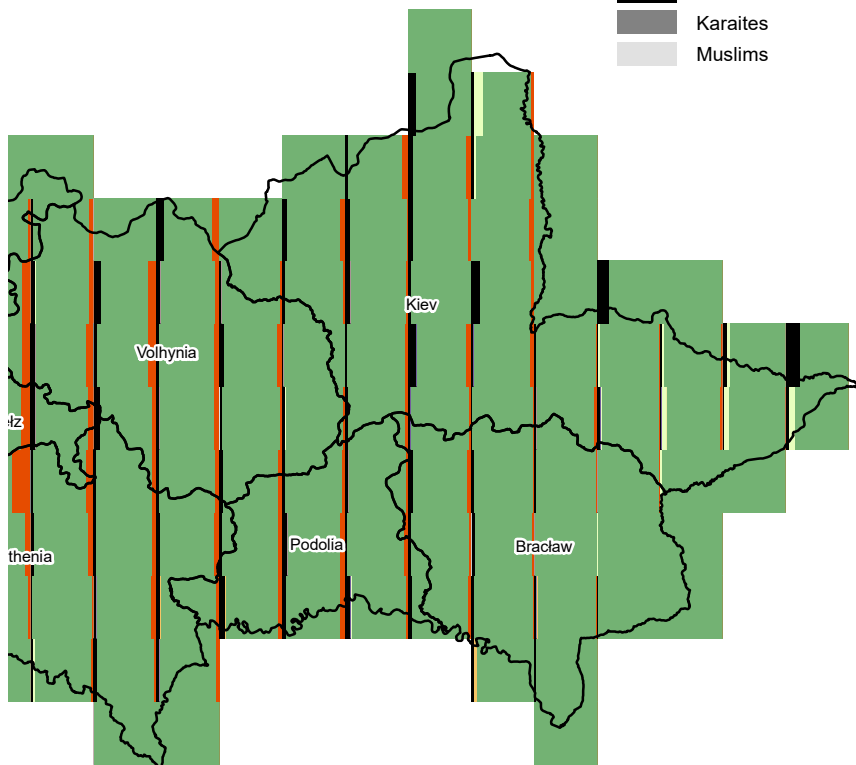
Among the 227 villages with places of worship of more than one religion or denomination, Latin-Uniate ones predominated (135 localities, 59.5 percent). There were also 23 villages (10.1 percent) where next to a Latin church there was a synagogue, 36 (15.9 percent) where there was a Lutheran church, two (0.9 percent) with a Calvinist church, one (0.4 percent) with a Mennonite church and one (0.4 percent) where there was a church of the Bohemian Brethren. There were very few villages in which Latin, Uniate and Jewish places of worship were located (six, 2.6 percent). At Bohusław, apart from three Uniate churches, there was also a kahal and an Orthodox monastery. At Lubieszewo and Niedźwiedzica, apart from the Lutheran and Latin churches, there was also a Mennonite prayer house (Bethaus).¹⁰¹ Most common among the so-called multi-confessional villages devoid of Latin churches were those with a Uniate church and a synagogue (eight, 3.5 percent). It has also been established that there were five villages (2.2 percent) where a Uniate and Orthodox churches existed side by side. There were also two villages with a Jewish and Lutheran community (Bolszewo and Stare

101 ADPel. C67, p. 295; Rhesa, *Kurzgefasste Nachrichten*, p. 190; "Die kirchliche Organisation um 1785", *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, vol. 3, p. 267; Litak, *Kościół łaciński*, p. 165.



Map 24: Religions and denominations in the Crown circa 1772 (according to the percentage of sacral facilities)

- Places of worship of:
- Roman Catholics
 - Uniates
 - Armenian Catholics
 - Orthodox
 - Lutherans
 - Bohemian Brethren
 - Calvinists
 - Mennonites
 - Jews
 - Karaites
 - Muslims



Gronowo) and individual villages with a synagogue and a Mennonite church (Górna Grupa), a synagogue and a church of the Bohemian Brethren (Krokowa), a Lutheran church and a Mennonite “Bethaus” (Jezioro), Calvinist and Lutheran churches (Siedlec) and a Lutheran church and a church of the Bohemian Brethren (Jędrzychowice). The three latter cases are poorly documented by the sources and therefore it may be presumed that both communities were using one place of worship.¹⁰²

From the point of view of confessional diversity the number of cities exceeded that of villages and this is why they have been featured in Table 56. Of 844 cities with places of worship of more than one confession there was a prevalence of those where next to a Latin church or churches there was a Uniate church and a synagogue (310, 36.7 percent). These places were mainly located in Crown Ruthenia. Less numerous were the towns where next to the places of worship of Jewish communities there were also Latin (263, 31.2 percent) or Uniate churches (111, 13.5 percent). It should be underscored that there is a strong correlation between the proposed regionalization and the type of multi-confessional towns and cities. Predominant in Crown Ruthenia were the cities of the Latin-Uniate-Jewish type. In the central area there were towns with a majority of Latin churches and a synagogue next to them (especially in Małopolska). In western Wielkopolska and Royal Prussia, the Latin communities lived side by side with the Protestant ones.¹⁰³ The significant number of towns and cities with sacral facilities of various denominations calls for more in-depth local studies. But analysis of that kind is highly difficult, due to the absence of specific topographic information about the location of many places of worship that existed in the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁴

Nevertheless, such analysis has produced quite interesting results, when attempted with regard to Chełm, which was located in the Latin-Uniate border area. Here, in the second half of the eighteenth century there were two Uniate

102 See: *Annex*.

103 Samsonowicz, “Grupy etniczne w Polsce XV wieku”, pp. 462-463. On the multiconfessionality of European cities in the 16th-18th centuries, see: A. Wyrobisz, “Mniejszości etniczne i wyznaniowe w miastach Europy wczesnonowożytnej (XVI-XVIII w.)”, in: *Ojczyzna bliższa i dalsza. Studia historyczne ofiarowane Feliksowi Kirykowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Kraków 1993, pp. 471-484.

104 An interesting analysis of the spatial approach to the problem of Jewish quarters is offered by M. and K. Piechotkowie, “Dzielnice żydowskie w strukturze przestrzennej miast polskich”, in: *Żydzi w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. A. Link-Lenczowski, T. Polański, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1991, pp. 306-320.

Table 56: The number of towns in the Crown with sacral facilities of two or more confessions (circa 1772).

Number of towns	Percent	Uniate (Greek Catholic)	Latin (Roman Catholic)	Jewish	Armenian Catholic	Calvinist	Lutheran	Orthodox	Mennonite	Bohemian Brethren	Karaite	Muslim
310	36.73	+	+	+								
263	31.16		+	+								
111	13.15	+		+								
67	7.94	+	+									
26	3.08		+	+			+					
22	2.61		+				+					
12	1.42	+	+	+	+							
5	0.59	+		+				+				
4	0.47	+	+	+				+				
3	0.36	+		+	+							
3	0.36		+	+			+			+		
3	0.36			+			+					
2	0.24	+	+		+							
2	0.24		+			+	+		+			
1	0.12	+	+	+	+						+	
1	0.12	+	+	+							+	
1	0.12	+	+	+								+
1	0.12	+	+				+					
1	0.12	+	+					+				
1	0.12	+		+	+			+				
1	0.12	+		+		+						
1	0.12	+						+				
1	0.12		+	+		+	+					
1	0.12		+	+		+						

communities attending the churches of the Nativity of Mary (the cathedral) and of St. Nicholas (with a seminary), a Latin Catholic parish dedicated to the Sending of the Apostles, along with the filial churches of the Holy Spirit (hospital) and St. Andrew (Reformed Franciscans), and a Jewish community with a synagogue. Owing to written and cartographic sources it has been possible to establish that located closest to the castle were the places of worship of the Eastern Church. This means, at least from the point of view of the city's confessional topography, that in Chełm it was the Uniate Church which dominated and enjoyed prestige. On top of this, the city was also the seat of the Uniate bishopric. In view of the fact that the Latin bishop's cathedral had been relocated to Krasnystaw in the fifteenth century, Chełm was perceived as a Greek Catholic capital rather than a Roman Catholic one.¹⁰⁵

The topography of the distribution of places of worship and short distances between the Christian churches of the Latin and Greek rites and the synagogue are evidence that the denominations and religions could co-exist within city walls. That co-existence was formally reflected by that fact that the city's authorities comprised the representatives of both rites, and by the contacts between the city burghers and both communities. The distance between the Uniate seminar, St. Nicholas' church and the synagogue did not exceed 150 meters. The monastic church of the Sending of the Apostles run by the Piarist order was located only 200 meters from the synagogue. They were separated only by the market square. No wonder, then, that the processions on the occasion of church feasts marching in front of the synagogue could enhance the risk of conflicts and incidents between the followers of both religions.¹⁰⁶ Located even closer were the places of worship in other towns situated along the border. At Szczebrzeszyn, located south of Chełm, all sacral facilities were situated near the market square. The Orthodox church was only 80 meters from the synagogue. The same distance separated the synagogue and the Franciscans' church. Such short distances must have resulted in frequent and intensive contacts between the followers of various confessions.

105 Szady, "Wspólnoty wyznaniowe w Chełmie", p. 301.

106 Particularly sensitive were feast days – the commercial activity pursued by the Jews during the Christian (Orthodox and Catholic) celebrations was the most common bone of contention, *Акты издаваемые Виленскою комиссиею для разбора древних актов*, vol. 23, p. 180; *Акты издаваемые Виленскою комиссиею для разбора древних актов*, т. 19: Акты относящиеся к истории бывшей Холмской епархии, Вильна 1892, p. 232.

When analysing the topography of the towns in the southern part of the Latin-Uniate borderland, Jerzy Motylewicz makes slightly different observations about the distribution of sacral facilities in them. He agrees with the opinion that the location of places of worship reflects the distribution of population. But based on the peripheral location of the majority of Uniate churches (circa 70 percent) he also concludes that the Ruthenian population lived in the suburbs of the towns of the Przemyśl and Sanok lands. He claims that there was a “sort of religious, spatial and customary isolationism of ethnic groups”.¹⁰⁷ Two such diverse observations and opinions indicate that there is a demand for further in-depth topographic studies, based on the expertise of historians collaborating with historians of art and archaeologists.

107 J. Motylewicz, “Społeczność unicka w miastach województwa ruskiego w XVII i XVIII wieku”, in: *Polska – Ukraina. 1000 lat sąsiedztwa*, vol. 4, Przemyśl 1998, p. 191.

Conclusion

The importance of church administration and divisions for historical geography was emphasized by Władysław Semkowicz in 1922 when he presented the “Historical Atlas of Poland”.¹ Unlike the atlas of the Ruthenian lands by Aleksander Jabłonowski,² the map of the Kraków palatinate at the time of the Four Years’ Diet, produced under Semkowicz’s guidance,³ did take into account the borders of the Roman Catholic Church organization (parishes, deaneries, archdeaconries and dioceses). It is worth stressing that research on confessional structures is of fundamental importance for understanding contours of nationality and ethnicity in the studied area. There are no major doubts that confessional and ethnic geographies were interrelated in the eighteenth century. Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel views religion and confession as an important factor in the shaping of national identity, next to the sense of linguistic and territorial community, as well as a common historical tradition.⁴ The existence of Orthodox, Protestant, Uniate or Latin churches reflects not only the range but also the significance and intensity of the settlement of confessional groups in individual regions. Thus the picture of multiconfessionality and multi-ethnicity in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth that has long been an element of historical consciousness has gained complexity: the Commonwealth was unequally diversified in religious terms. When characterizing the phenomenon of multiconfessionality, one should take into account both the different geographical perspective of each social group (nobility, burghers, peasants), and the geographical region where it lived. This regional and social diversification of the intensity of the phenomenon of multiconfessionality in the Crown is perfectly reflected by the distribution of sacral facilities. From the social point of view the phenomenon labelled as “multiconfessionality” applied mainly to cities, but from a geographical perspective – to the Latin-Uniate and Latin-Lutheran border regions. Generally speaking, the most confessionally heterogeneous areas and communities in the Crown were the cities located in borderlands where the Latin Church was losing its dominant

1 Semkowicz, “Atlas historyczny Polski”, p. 4.

2 *Ziemie Ruskie Rzeczypospolitej*.

3 *Mapa województwa krakowskiego w dobie Sejmu Czteroletniego 1788-1792*.

4 Chynczewska-Hennel, “Rola prawosławia w kształtowaniu się świadomości narodowej”, p. 106.

position: in the east, in favour of the Uniate Church; in the west and north – in favour of the Lutheran Church.

The confessional situation, which was analysed in the first two chapters for each of the two provinces of the Crown, shows religious diversification, not only at the level of provinces, but of individual palatinates as well. The ensuing conclusion resulted in Chapter Three, in which the confessional regionalization of the Crown was carried out in isolation from the units of state and church administration. Owing to the methodology used in current studies of religious diversity (inter alia, religious fractionalization) it has been possible to classify the areas according to the criterion of the degree and nature of diversity that could be observed based on the distribution of sacral buildings. The maps demonstrate clearly which areas may be classified as more or less homogeneous or heterogeneous from the confessional point of view. The most heterogeneous areas overlap with two most important border regions which were decidedly smaller in geographic than in historiographic terms.⁵

The picture obtained of the confessional diversity of the Crown, combined with significant autonomy of religious communities (corroborated by numerous studies), makes it necessary to redefine the very notion of the “multiconfessional Commonwealth”. This is because the term implies some kind of unity or community of a multiconfessional nature. It would be more adequate to label the polity as the “Commonwealth of many confessions”. This concept covers the same geographic area, but religious affiliation may hardly be viewed as a binding or bonding element. It should be remembered that the sense of religious identity also involved linguistic and cultural identity. This was noticed by Hugo Kołłątaj who wrote:

“thus a major part of the people, bound with the clergy by religion, seemed to have nothing in common with the state government due to linguistic deficiency”.⁶

And perhaps this is why Stanisław Staszic warned a little later:

“Neither the Lutherans, nor the Calvinists, nor the Greeks or Armenians, nor any human beings living any place, can enjoy separate rights, offices and justices, but must be under the jurisdiction of the law and city councils”.⁷

5 Janeczek, “Między sobą”, p. 37.

6 H. Kołłątaj, *Stan oświecenia w Polsce w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III (1750-1764)*, Warszawa 1905, p. 27.

7 S. Staszic, *Przestrogi dla Polski*, ed. S. Czarnowski, Kraków 1926, p. 189.

More general conclusions about the reasons and circumstances in which the confessional landscape of the Crown was taking shape before the First Partition may be drawn from the analysis of religious and confessional structures in the Crown and the picture that emerges from the tables with data regarding its individual palatinates, but also its entire area. In view of the fact that the confessional situation of the Crown was the outcome of a longer historical process and that its foundations had been shaped in the Middle Ages, these factors may be divided into two groups. They are closely interconnected and interdependent. Two elements head the first group that may be labelled as “medieval”. The first of these was the range and character of the initial Christianization of Slavic lands; the second – the policy pursued by the Polish, and then the Polish-Lithuanian state in the international and internal dimensions. The second element was also significant to the changes that began to affect the religious and confessional structures in the early modern period. The second group of factors shaping the confessional situation of the Crown, which may be labelled as “early modern”, included the 1569 Polish-Lithuanian Union and the 1596 Union of Brześć (which according to Oskar Halecki was the consequence of the former in religious sphere), then the progress of the Reformation and the gradual loss of importance by Protestant Churches, and finally, the demographic and organizational growth of the Jewish Diaspora. Each of these areas was affected by significant changes in the 1760s: the dismantling of the Jewish self-government in 1764, the *Koliyivshchyna* of 1768 and the Treaty of Warsaw of 1768. Due to these events, which also affected the number and affiliation of sacral buildings, the tables included in this study reflect the situation at the beginning of the 1760s rather than the 1770s. This is why the reference to the “second half of the eighteenth century” used in this work seems to be more adequate. Apart from the above-mentioned factors it is possible to identify two additional elements that had a direct impact on the development of religious structures. These were the proprietary and settlement situation, and also the internal regulations underlying the organization of churches and religions.

The impact of each of these factors was reflected in slightly different aspects of confessional geography. The course and formation of political borders determined the shape of the largest units of ecclesiastical administration (dioceses), but at the lower level a much greater role was played by proprietary relations and the settlements in the region in question. This is not tantamount to saying that diocesan borders overlapped with palatinate borders, because ecclesiastical borders were more stable and did not always “respond” to the territorial changes of state administration. The attitudes of landowners were an important factor in de-

termining the confessional situation, because their voice was decisive about the building and maintaining of places of worship on their estates and about the clergy working there (via the right of patronage). On the other hand, the apparent difference in the character of the organization of the Latin and Eastern Churches translated into a higher density of Orthodox and Uniate churches, because in Eastern Churches the model of the one-village-parish prevailed, whereas in the Latin Church the parishes usually covered several villages.

Due to the role played by the foregoing factors, and the external and internal processes of colonization, the dynamics of the changes affecting each of the religious groups living in the early modern Crown were different. The groups that benefited most demographically and organizationally – as manifested by the organization of new entities (for example, the emancipation of the *kahals*) and the building of new places of worship – were the Greek Catholics and the Jews. The Latin Church also consolidated its position, as did the minorities living in the Crown Ruthenia: the Armenians, Muslims and Karaites. On the defensive were the Orthodox and Protestant confessions, except for the Mennonites. In order to get a broader picture and a synthesis of those changes it is necessary to conduct studies similar to this one covering the turn of the medieval and early modern periods, that is, before the Protestant Reformation.

Finally, it is also worth invoking the methodological dimension of this study. One of the objectives formulated at the start was to verify if it was valid to assume that the distribution of the places of worship was an adequate reflection of the confessional structure of the population. It is possible to say that across the entire Crown, granted minor deviations in each province that had been determined by the above-mentioned factors, the geography of sacral buildings reflects adequately the confessional situation of the Crown. However, in the process of working on the thus formulated research task, further questions and doubts arose. First of all, is there another method for defining the confessions in the eighteenth-century population than identifying the denomination of a place of worship where they could practise their religion? Second, how should we treat a religious person who in the 1760s and 1770s attended services in an Orthodox church that changed its confessional affiliation several times between Orthodoxy and the Greek Catholicism? Third, the approach in terms of the existence of a church, synagogue, mosque or *kenesa* certainly does not address the problem because a religious group did not always function as an organized community. The description of the Rokicie parish in the Dobrzyń land includes the following passage:

“Unfit and little children 17, the Lutherans living at Kepa Więclawska 7, the Jews living in the villages of this parish 18, but they celebrate no services nor do they get together for that purpose.”⁸

This consideration applied especially to the Jewish minority and Protestant communities. They had to have special permits and privileges in order to legalize and organize their community and build a place of worship. The formal and legal difficulties involved when organizing religious communities accumulated in the eighteenth century (after 1717). It is obvious that the analysis of the confessional structure based on sacral buildings may reflect only large centres of the adherents of one religion or confessional group which were able to create communities, build a church, synagogue, mosque or kenesa.

The analysis of the geographical distribution of sacral facilities in the Crown is only an introduction to the presentation of the practical dimension of the functioning of a society with intersecting influences of many confessions. They could meet both within a certain formal and legal framework and in everyday life, especially in those regions which were labelled as confessionally diversified (borderlands). The question arises about the role played by confessional identity and affiliation in local communities. Perhaps the confessional element played a secondary role vis-a-vis common interests and benefits gained from being “neighbours”? Maybe the policy pursued by the authorities or pressure exerted by them clashed with well functioning interests “below”. The latter were mainly of an economic nature, whereby the “helpfulness” or rather “usefulness” of each of those groups of neighbours came to the fore.⁹ Landowners determined confessional relations mainly by shaping the relations and creating the organizational and legal framework in which those communities could co-exist. The geographical and historical analysis showing the religious diversity of the Crown and its split into two parts (Latin and Uniate) as well as three evident borderlands (Latin-Uniate, Latin-Lutheran and Uniate-Orthodox) shows a dissonance present throughout the early modern era between the political centre and the confessional and religious peripheries.

8 *Materiały do dziejów ziemi płockiej*, vol. 10, p. 38.

9 Gąsiorowski, *Chrześcijananie i Żydzi*, pp. 130-136, 159, 169, 176, 195, 201, 219-224.

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List of Abbreviations

beł – palatinate of Bełz
brac – palatinate of Braclaw
brzkuj – palatinate of Brześć Kujawski
byt – Bytów land
che – palatinate of Chełmno
drah – Drahim land
gn – palatinate of Gniezno
in – palatinate of Inowrocław
kal – palatinate of Kalisz
kij – palatinate of Kiev
kr – palatinate of Kraków
l. – land
łęb – Łębork land
lub – palatinate of Lublin
łącz – palatinate of Łęczyca
malb – palatinate of Malbork
maz – palatinate of Mazowsze
pal. – palatinate
pł – palatinate of Płock
pod – palatinate of Podolia
podl – palatinate of Podlasie
pom – palatinate of Pomorze
poz – palatinate of Poznań
raw – palatinate of Rawa
rus – palatinate of Ruthenia
san – palatinate of Sandomierz
sier – palatinate of Sieradz
sp – Spisz land
war – Warmia
woł – palatinate of Volhynia

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