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THE JEWS IN TIMES  
OF WAR AND THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RIOTS  
IN THE SOUTHEAST OF THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN  
COMMONWEALTH IN THE 17<sup>th</sup> AND 18<sup>th</sup> CENTURIES

CONTRIBUTION TO THE RESEARCH

Research into the history of the Jews in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth has been conducted quite intensively for the last century through the use of historical research methods. A wide range of publications has been created in which a lot of attention has been paid to the history of Jewish settlement, numbers and distribution, as well as the role Jews have played in the economy. Demographic research has been based on taxation records. As such, they are source material that allows only for approximate estimations of the Jewish population in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> c. as is well documented by the demographic data available in the literature. For the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> c., on the basis of the poll tax paid by the Jews for 1563, 1569, 1578, it can be assumed that the Jewish population in the Republic of Poland varied from approx. 30 000 to as many as 300 000. The most often quoted estimate assumes there were 100 000–150 000 Jews<sup>1</sup>. They were arguably the most dynamically

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<sup>1</sup> B.D. Weinryb, *A Social and Economic History of the Jewish Community in Poland from 1100 to 1800*, (1972), pp. 114, 310–311, 316; I. Schiper, *Rozwój ludności żydowskiej*

growing ethnic and religious group within the multinational Poland of the time, but that in the 16<sup>th</sup> c. – and possibly as early as the 15<sup>th</sup> – it was no longer the result of incoming settlement but a relatively high rate of natural population growth. The taxation registers, mainly the *podymne* tax register (a tax paid by each household) from 1629, unreliable as demographic sources, do not allow for precise estimates of population growth and the Jewish population in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>2</sup> The literature quotes at least 170 000 Jews living in Poland in 1648<sup>3</sup>. There are also some remarkably higher estimates – Schiper believed that they could have been as many as 450 000, taking into account the entire Commonwealth<sup>4</sup>. If the highest estimates are to be believed, in the 17<sup>th</sup> c., the Polish-Lithuanian state was an asylum to the greatest cluster of Jews in the world<sup>5</sup>.

Such remarkable population growth must be attributed to ‘taking roots’ by the Jews, who found extremely favourable living conditions in Poland and Lithuania, based mainly on their high legal and economic status. As a social group, they enjoyed political and legal autonomy, as well as religious freedom. Superior authority and protection was through the king. As far as the state went, they were obliged to pay

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na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, in: *Żydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej. Działalność społeczna, gospodarcza, oświatowa i kulturalna*, 1 (1932), ed. by I. Schiper, A. Tartakower, A. Haffka, pp. 29–30; Z. Guldon, *Osadnictwo żydowskie i liczebność ludności żydowskiej na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej w okresie przedrozbiorowym. Stan i program badań*, in: *Żydzi i judaizm we współczesnych badaniach polskich. Materiały z konferencji Kraków 21–23 XI 1995*, ed. by K. Pilarczyk, (1997), pp. 148–149; Z. Guldon, *Żydzi w Polsce do końca XVIII wieku. Wybrane zagadnienia*, in: *Z przeszłości Żydów polskich. Polityka, gospodarka, kultura, społeczeństwo*, ed. by J. Wijaczka, G. Miernik, (2005), pp. 19–47.

<sup>2</sup> Z. Guldon, *Źródła i metody szacunków liczebności ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w XVI–XVIII wieku*, “Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej”, 34, 2 (1986), pp. 249–263

<sup>3</sup> Weinryb, *A Social*, pp. 115–116, 314–316.

<sup>4</sup> Schiper, *Rozwój*, p. 31

<sup>5</sup> B.L. Sherwin, *Duchowe dziedzictwo Żydów polskich*, (1995), p. 250; Guldon, *Żydzi w Polsce*, p. 18; G.D. Hundert, *Żydzi w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w XVIII wieku. Genealogia nowoczesności*, (2007), p. 31.

a fixed tax which was initially calculated according to the number of adults ('heads'), later assuming a fixed-rate form, and also to extraordinary taxation burdens that were levied only in the case of war. In return, they had their own three-stage self-government with judicial powers. The lowest level were communes, *kehalie* administered by *kahals*, the higher were provinces and districts, *aracot*, and the highest were two *Waads*, separate parliaments for the Jews of Poland and Lithuania respectively, existing from 1764<sup>6</sup>. As a religious group, the Jews enjoyed a high level of freedom, including the right to publicly cultivate their faith, if only at the level of a commune. On the basis of their 'location' privileges issued by royal or magnate authorities, each was allowed to have their own synagogue, cemetery, school, baths and slaughterhouse, as well as employing a rabbi. The Jews were a free people, enjoying full liberty of movement, albeit somehow limited when it came to change of residence. They had the right to possess property, carry weapons, and above all, to run a wide range of economic activities<sup>7</sup>. The main businesses included trade – wholesale, foreign and domestic; retail in small towns and in villages; banking and credit, including the 'commercial' activity of granting loans to the nobility, craftsmen and small-scale merchants, irrespective of religion or nationality; crafts in almost all professions; leasing of various enterprises and related privileges; administrative activities and farming. One could also mention the leasing of mills, breweries and distilleries, together with related monopolies,

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<sup>6</sup> J. Goldberg, *Gminy żydowskie (kahaly) w systemie władztwa dominialnego w szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej*, in: *Między historia a teorią. Refleksje nad problematyką dziejów i wiedzy historycznej*, ed. by M. Drozdowski, (1988), pp. 152–171; idem, *Żydowski Sejm Czterech Ziem w społecznym i politycznym ustroju dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, 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. by A. Link-Lenczowski, T. Polański, (1991), pp. 44–58; A. Leszczyński, *Sejm Żydów Korony 1623–1764*, (Seria Prac Naukowych ŻIH 1994), passim. See also: *Gminy żydowskie w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej. Wybór tekstów źródłowych*, ed. by A. Michałowska, (2003), passim.

<sup>7</sup> Weinryb, *A Social*, pp. 33–55, 119–155

taxes and state, municipal and local duties, the rights to the collection of various feudal dues from noble estates; estate farms and fishponds<sup>8</sup>. A combination of skills in management and commerce, capital, and their readiness to undertake often unpopular activities including propination and usury, made Jews welcome, if not desired settlers in the expanding estates of the nobility in Podolia, Volhynia and Ukraine, especially those transformed into latifundia. Magnates attracted Jews, offering them constant protection and financial assistance to settle, and if need be, a greater scope of social and religious freedom than state law provided, including full economic freedom. In private towns Jews were allowed to legally undertake any kind of craft activity, not possible in the crown towns with their extensive guild systems. As a result, from the 16<sup>th</sup> c. Jews started manifesting a distinct tendency to settle on magnate properties which generated a settlement movement towards the south-eastern areas of the Commonwealth<sup>9</sup>. Its origins, albeit slight and limited to the towns of Volhynia and Podolia, can be traced back to the 15<sup>th</sup> c. Its intensification took place in the latter decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> c., when they spread to Ukraine, taken over by Poland in 1569.

In the late 16<sup>th</sup> c., the Jewish population in the south-eastern Polish Voivodeships is estimated to have been as much as several thousand. In 1648, according to Bernard Weinryb, there were already as many as ca. 52 000, around 30% of the Jewish population in Poland estimated by the historian as 170 000. The greatest concentration was almost 19 000 in Braclaw, territorially the smallest voivodeship, and 13 500 and 15 000 in Kiev and Volhyn Voivodeships respectively<sup>10</sup>. This seems to demonstrate that initially Volhynia and Ukraine were seen by Jews as safe and attractive places to live. And although they were dominated

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<sup>8</sup> M. Horn, *Żydzi na Rusi Czerwonej w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII w. Działalność gospodarcza na tle rozwoju demograficznego*, (1975), p. 83–264; Hundert, *Żydzi*, pp. 54–61, 79–84; M. Rosman, *Żydzi pańscy. Stosunki magnacko-żydowskie w Rzeczypospolitej XVIII wieku*, (2005), pp. 64–170; Guldon, *Żydzi w Polsce*, pp. 12–14.

<sup>9</sup> Rosman, *Żydzi*, pp. 62–64.

<sup>10</sup> Weinryb, *A Social*, pp. 316, 318–319.

by inn-keepers, craftsmen and townsmen, they were still seen in those areas as a wealthy, economically active group, with a sense of their own historical tradition and rich cultural traditions. At the same time, they were a minority, treated by other nationalities, mainly by Ruthenians, with contempt and slight, as newcomers and a new element in the feudal system, between landowners, i.e. the nobility, and their subjects – peasants and inhabitants of private towns. On top of that, they were responsible for the collection of financial dues and the implementation of the court monopolies<sup>11</sup>. There was also a high level of hostility to Judaism among the hierarchy and the faithful of the Orthodox and Uniate Churches, i.e. Ruthenians, as well.

In *Zwierciadło Korony Polskiej* (*Mirror of the Polish Crown*), first published in 1598, Stanisław Miczyński claimed that the Jews 'proliferated' so much because they married at the age of 12, did not fight in wars (so they were not killed) and they even did not die in epidemics<sup>12</sup>. These claims were not confirmed in 1648, when the Khmelnytsky Uprising broke out, and it was revealed how strong anti-Jewish sentiments were in Ukraine. Prejudices that had been growing for years resulted in the Jews being ruthlessly mass-slaughtered by Cossacks and peasants over the whole area covered by the uprising. Information can be found in Cossack, Polish and Jewish chronicles of the time and quote instances of civilian murder which were a reason for pride among the Cossacks. Paul of Aleppo, travelling across Ukraine in 1654 heard them boast that they had murdered more Jews than the Romans in Vespasian's times<sup>13</sup>. From the summer of 1648, Jews were being eradicated by

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<sup>11</sup> See for example J. Łoś, *Pamiętnik towarzysza chorągwi pancерnej*, ed. by R. Śreniawa-Szypioński, (2000), p. 58.

<sup>12</sup> Schiper, *Rozwój*, p. 31.

<sup>13</sup> *Ukraina w połowie XVII wieku w relacji arabskiego podróżnika Pawła, syna Makarego z Aleppo*, elab. M. Kowalska, (*Prace Orientalistyczne* 33, 1986), pp. 81–82. See also Cossack chronicles: Samovidca – *Літопис Самовидця*, <http://litopys.org.ua/samovyd/sam02.htm> (visited on 12.07.2012), Georga Grabianki – *Літопис гадяцького полковника Григорія Грабянки*, <http://litopys.org.ua/grab/hrab1.htm> (visited on

Cossack troops, and especially by Russian peasant forces. The Cossacks excelled in four techniques of murder: stoning, burning, strangling and slaughter, meaning the victim often died through loss of blood as a result of wounds suffered. It sometimes happened that the victims were skinned and given as food to dogs; pregnant women's bellies were slit open, and children were gutted 'like fish'<sup>14</sup>. Undoubtedly, there is much exaggeration in the fragment quoted from the chronicle of Nathan ben Moses Hannover, but its purpose was to show martyrdom, and to publicise the extermination. The greatest pogroms took place in Tulchyn, Nemyriv Bar, Starokostiantyniv, Ostroh, Polonne and Zaslav. Sources quote thousands of casualties, sometimes uncountable, whereas Jewish and Polish chroniclers claim there were from 2000–15 000 casualties or even as many as 75 000 in each<sup>15</sup>. The pogroms did not take place only

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12.07.2012) and Samuila Velichko – С. Величко, *Летопись событий в Юго-Западной России в XVII веке*, <http://litopys.org.ua/velichko/vel05.htm>, chapter XXI (visited on 12.07.2012). N. Jakowenko, *Historia Ukrainy do 1795 roku*, (2011), pp. 333–334.

<sup>14</sup> M. Balaban, *Kroniki, opisy i elegie hebrajskie z czasów Chmielnickiego* (further: Hannover, *Jawein Mecula*), „Ruś. Czasopismo poświęcone dziejom i kulturze Ukrainy, Podola, Wołynia i Rusi Czerwonej”, 1, 1–3 (1911): 1, 1: pp. 46–63, 1, 2: pp. 152–177, 1, 3: pp. 285–300 – here the source edition by Natan Hannover *Jawein Mecula*; F. Rawita-Gawroński, *Żydzi w historii i literaturze ludowej na Rusi*, (1923), pp. 136–160; T. Ciesielski, *Cruelty in the Polish-Cossack conflicts of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries*, in: *Barbarians at the Gates. A monograph based on material from the VI International Study Session on the History of Peoples of the Baltic Sea, Wolin, 5–7 August 2011*, ed. by M. Franz, Z. Pilarczyk, (*Mare Integrans* 2013), pp. 281–282.

<sup>15</sup> Hannover, *Jawein Mecula*, 1, 2: pp. 153, 154, 159–165, 167–173, 1, 3: pp. 285–287, 295–296; Weinryb, *A Social*, pp. 188, 193–194, 362–363. Polish diaries and chronicles: T. Józefowicz, *Kronika miasta Lwowa od r. 1634 do 1690, obejmująca w ogółności dzieje dawnej Rusi Czerwonej a zwłaszcza historia arcybiskupstwa lwowskiego w teje epoce*, (1854), pp. 96–97, 101 (about 15 000 noblemen and Jews killed in Tulchyn); M. Mimiowski, *Pamiętnik dzieje Polski zawierający (1648–1679)*, ed. by J. Dziegielewski, (2000), p. 48, 53; *Pamiętnik Bogusława Kazimierza Maskiewicza*, in: *Pamiętniki Samuela i Bogusława Kazimierza Maskiewiczów (wiek XVII)*, ed. by A. Sajakowski, W. Czaplński, (1961), p. 249 (about a pogrom in Machnowka). But Maskiewicz's diary denies the massacre of Jews in Nemyriv – the author wrote that the army of Prince Wisniowiecki saved them: *Pamiętnik Bogusława Kazimierza Maskiewicza*, p. 247. M. Nadav, *The Jewish Community od Nemyriv in 1648: Their Massacre and*

in 1648–1649, but also in the following years during further western offensives by Cossack, and from 1654, Muscovite troops. Their victims included Jews who had fled from areas captured by the Cossacks in 1648, but after the Polish victory at Berestechko and the signing of the truce in Bila Tserkva, together with the nobility they returned to what seemed safe areas in Volhynia and Podolia between autumn 1651 and spring 1652. Many of them paid the highest price for that hasty decision in the summer of 1652 after the Polish troops were defeated at Batoh<sup>16</sup>. After 1649, the greatest pogroms took place in 1654–1655 in Belaya Rus and Lithuania – in Smolensk, Vitebsk, Mohyliv and especially in Vilnius – with an alleged 25 000 Jews being slaughtered<sup>17</sup>.

Jewish reports from 1648–1657 are largely exaggerated, but their aim was to stress their martyrdom and publicize extermination activities. Thus casualty estimates of the pogroms were very high, as were those of epidemics and those taken captive by Tatars. The highest estimates are those by Shmuel ben Nathan Feydel, as high as 670 000 in the first two years of the uprising only. Other chroniclers were more conservative, estimating Jewish losses at 121 000–180 000<sup>18</sup>. On that

*Loyalty Oath to the Cossacks*, “Harvard Ukrainian Studies”, 8, 3/4 (December 1984), pp. 376–395; Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka, *Żydzi a chrześcijaństwo na Wołyniu w XVI–XVIII wieku*, “Nasza Przeszłość. Szkice z dziejów Kościoła i kultury katolickiej w Polsce”, 80 (1993), pp. 229–232; Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka, *Procesy o mordy rytualne na Rusi Czerwonej, Podolu i prawobrzeżnej Ukrainie w XVI–XVIII wieku*, “Nasza Przeszłość. Szkice z dziejów Kościoła i kultury katolickiej w Polsce”, 81 (1994), pp. 53–54, 67–68, 73–74; Z. Guldon, J. Wijaczka, *Procesy o mordy rytualne w Polsce w XVI–XVIII wieku*, (1995), pp. 52–52, 57, 61; Jakowenko, *Historia Ukrainy*, pp. 335–337.

<sup>16</sup> T. Ciesielski, *Od Batohu do Żwańca. Wojna na Ukrainie, Podolu i o Mołdawię 1652–1653*, (2007), p. 42.

<sup>17</sup> Z. Guldon, *Osadnictwo żydowskie*, p. 150; B.M. Pendzich, *Los Żydów na Białej i Czarnej Rusi w czasie „Nieznanej wojny” 1654–1667*, in: *Żydzi i judaizm*, pp. 157–158; T. Ciesielski, *Kronika Surty i Trubnickich jako źródło do dziejów Mohylewa w okresie wojny polsko-moskiewskiej 1654–1667. Studium historyczno-źródłoznawcze*, in: *Studia z dziejów stosunków Rzeczypospolitej z Państwem Moskiewskim w XVI–XVII wieku*, ed. by M. Nagielski, K. Bobiatyński, P. Gawron, (2013), pp. 366, 377–378.

<sup>18</sup> Schiper, *Rozwój*, p. 32; Weinryb, *A Social*, p. 193–195; J. van Straten, *Did Shmuel*

basis, even as late as in the 20<sup>th</sup> c., researchers were convinced that in 1648–1660 approximately 100 000–180 000 Jews were killed or left the Commonwealth in one way or another<sup>19</sup>. The figure cannot be verified in any way but is certain to be considerably overestimated – there could be agreement with Shaul Stampfer who estimated casualties at a maximum of 20 000, but no fewer than 6 000<sup>20</sup>.

As far as the south-eastern Voivodeships of the Commonwealth are concerned, the results of war in 1648–1667 were not limited to demographic losses. Already in the mid–17<sup>th</sup> c. it was impossible to estimate the material losses incurred by individual families and whole communities. Suffice to say that all synagogues were destroyed in the towns and cities captured by the Cossacks. In the years 1648–1649 all functioning administrative, social and economic structures were totally ruined. Their restoration turned out to be impossible in some areas, and in others it had to wait until the situation in Ukraine was brought under control, which did not happen until the 1660s. For the Jewish communities this meant a liquidation – at least temporary – of a large number of their communes (*qahals*), according to Jewish chronicles as many as 140, 263, 744 or even over 1000<sup>21</sup>. Undoubtedly, the lowest estimate is the closest to the truth since there did not seem to be more than 180 *qahals* within the Russian and Volhynian provinces, and those in Red Ruthenia survived the Cossack invasion almost untouched. Some of the lost communes were never restored, or at least not before the 19<sup>th</sup> c. These were urban centres on lands lost by the Commonwealth to the State of Muscovy, namely the en-

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*Ben Nathan and Nathan Hannover Exaggerate? Estimates of Jewish casualties in the Ukraine during the Cossack Revolt in 1648*, "Zutot", 6, 1 (2009), p. 75–79; Guldon, *Osa-dnictwo żydowskie*, p. 150.

<sup>19</sup> J. Tazbir, *Świat Panów Pasków. Eseje i studia*, (1986), p. 226; Jakowenko, *Historia Ukrainy*, p. 336.

<sup>20</sup> S. Stampfer, *What actually happened to the Jews on Ukraine in 1648?*, "Jewish History", 17 (2003), pp. 207–227.

<sup>21</sup> Weinryb, *A Social*, p. 194.

tire Chernihiv Voivodeship and parts of Kiev Voivodeship east of the Dnieper, as well as the city and district of Kiev. In the remaining parts of Kiev Voivodeship, in Braclaw Voivodeship and in the eastern parts of Podolia and Volhynia, the restoration of Jewish communes did not commence before the 1660s since they were still controlled by Cossacks or were considered buffer areas. One of the certain results of the pogroms of 1648–1649 and 1654–1655 was the loss of that the Commonwealth was a good place for settlement, running a business or cultivating religion and culture. Doubts must have arisen also as to relations with other social, national and ethnic groups. Of paramount importance were the attitudes of the Polish-Lithuanian nobility, not always unambiguous, though on the whole Jews and Poles shared the same fate – both those slaughtered by the Cossacks and those seeking refuge in the interior of Poland and Lithuania, or even abroad. Numerous Jews owed their salvation to the nobility, and according to Nathan Hannover, the attitude of Jeremi Wiśniowiecki, who ‘loved the Jews’, was most commendable, manifested most notably when he took great care in protecting five hundred Jewish families being transported east of the Dnieper<sup>22</sup>. However, it also happened that Poles, under a Cossack ultimatum, did not accept or chased away Jews from towns such as Tulchyn, Dubno and Ostroh<sup>23</sup>. Most probably they faced similar dilemmas and levels of disillusionment with the state as an institution that was unable to protect them, restore peace in Ukraine and properly punish the Cossacks. Especially those wars with Muscovy and Sweden that were soon to come, and their high costs were borne by civilians, irrespective of their nationality or religion – the costs were equally dis-

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<sup>22</sup> Hannover, *Jawein Mecula*, 1, 2: p. 152. Translated by B.D. Weinryb: “Count Jeremi Wiśniowiecki was a friend of Israel [...] and with him escaped some five hundred Jews. [...] He carried them as on the wings of eagles until they were brought to their destination”: Weinryb, *A Social*, p. 172. See also: T. Wasilewski, *Działalność polityczna i wojskowa Jeremiego Wiśniowieckiego*, in: *Epoka “Ogniem i mieczem” we współczesnych badaniach historycznych. Zbiór studiów*, ed. by M. Nagielski, (2000), p. 79.

<sup>23</sup> Weinryb, *A Social*, p. 172.

tributed for the wars with the Cossacks and Tatars, and later with the Russians and Swedes. The evaluation of the state's efficiency must have suffered a great deal because of the attitudes of the Polish and Lithuanian soldiers. All too often they crossed the borders of acceptable behaviour towards the Jews. In 1656, troops under Stefan Czarniecki plundered and murdered Protestants and Jews in Greater Poland, and in the towns of Sandomierz and Lublin Voivodeships a few thousand Jews charged with cooperation with the Swedes were killed<sup>24</sup>.

Although the events of 1648–1667 did not bring about an open animosity between the Jews and the Polish and Lithuanian communities, they did however awaken or enliven mutual prejudices based on medieval stereotypes, and manifested in anti-Jewish riots in numerous Polish towns in the 1660s. The main role was played on the Christian side by townspeople, and this must have brought the Jews closer to the nobility, and especially to their wealthier representatives, the so-called magnates. While rebuilding their properties in the east, they created exceptionally favourable conditions for Jews to resettle in Ukraine, Podolia and Volhynia. These new conditions brought about new relationships between landowners and the Jews. To a certain extent, they were related to the system of client and patron common in the Polish-Lithuanian nobility, service in return for legal and financial support. In the relationship between the magnates and the Jews, the former expected an efficient management of their property, commercial and financial services while in return the Jews could expect legal protection and assistance in running their businesses, including commerce, and above all, exclusiveness for the lease of some estate business to monopolies and the right to receive feudal benefits. Quite a numerous

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<sup>24</sup> Weinryb, *A Social*, p. 191, 361; L. Lewin, *Die Judenverfolgungen im zweiten schwedisch-polnischen Kriege (1655–1659)*, "Zeitschrift der historischen Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen", 16 (1901), pp. 79–101; Z. Guldon, *Osadnictwo żydowskie*, p. 151; Z. Guldon, *Straty ludności żydowskiej w Koronie w latach potopu*, in: *Rzeczpospolita w latach potopu*, ed. by J. Muszyska, J. Wijaczka, (*Prace Instytutu Historii Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Kielcach* 1, 1996), pp. 305–311.

group was thus formed in Jewish society referred to by Moshe Rosmann as the 'Lord's Jews'<sup>25</sup>.

In the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> c., whenever there were symptoms, or even as much as an illusion, of restoring public peace, Jews returned to their places of residence, and only a small percentage decided to remain in the western Voivodeships of Poland, or to emigrate. As a result, the restoration of Jewish communities in Volhynia and Podolia was rather a quick process, but took slightly longer in Ukraine. In 1662, Jews lived in 77 towns and cities of Volhynia, including those from which they had vanished during the Khmelnytsky Uprising<sup>26</sup>. In areas untouched by Cossack pogroms, the Jews formed numerous groups, and in Lutsk and in Volodymir they accounted for over half the population. At the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> c., the followers of Judaism in Volhynia were probably more numerous than they had been before 1648. The economic power of most of the communes in Volhynia grew remarkably too and the significance of Jews increased especially in regional and national trade. The town of Brody, situated in Rus, but close to the border with Volhynia, became an important foreign trade and financial centre, totally dominated by Jews. It was also an important Jewish cultural centre having an impact on the surrounding areas<sup>27</sup>.

In Podolia, Jewish settlement structures were not only restored quickly, but were also spectacularly increased by the addition of Kamieniec-Podolski. Before the outbreak of the Khmelnytsky Uprising, Jews were not allowed to settle in the town, but when fleeing the Cossack pogroms in 1648, and later, they found shelter there. The law was not changed and what is more, the king ordered Jews to be removed

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<sup>25</sup> Rosman, *Żydzi*, passim. See also Hundert, *Żydzi*, pp. 61–69.

<sup>26</sup> Guldon, *Wijaczka, Żydzi a chrześcijaństwo na Wołyniu*, pp. 233, 241–244.

<sup>27</sup> D. Wurm, *Z dziejów Żydostwa brodzkiego za czasów dawnej Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (do r. 1772)*, (1935), pp. 12–54.

from Kamieniec. Yet, they remained in the town, and in 1662 it was the largest centre of Jewish families in Podolia<sup>28</sup>.

However, as early as 1672 another exodus of Jews from Podolia and Ukraine was brought about. This was caused by the capture of a large part of south-eastern Poland by Turkish troops. The events of August 1672 that led to the collapse of Kamieniec, brought about an increase of anti-Jewish sentiments among Polish communities, which in turn was caused by rumours of Jews being the cause of the Polish-Turkish war. The rumours were so widely spread that on 4<sup>th</sup> September 1672, King Michał Korybut had to intervene and order the municipal authorities to provide safety measures for them<sup>29</sup>.

War in the following years involving not only Poland and Turkey, but also Russia, caused further depopulation in the south-eastern areas of the Commonwealth. This was especially acute in Podolia which suffered Ottoman occupation for over 27 years. In 1674, Sultan Mehmed IV ordered a displacement of all the Jews and Armenians from the areas controlled by his troops to Plovdiv, Adrianople and Istanbul. The displacement involved approximately 1300 Jews. After 1676 the Turks tried to enliven Kamieniec economically, changed their mind and allowed the Jews to inhabit the town. The Turkish plans related to the Eyalet of Kamieniec and its capital collapsed, however, with the outbreak of another Polish-Turkish war in 1683. The blockade of Kamieniec by Polish troops until 1699 caused the depopulation of the town. Moreover in 1699, many of its inhabitants that had settled there in the 1670s and 1680s left the town with the Ottoman troops. It is possible, however, that some remained, since they were mentioned in a census conducted in 1700. A long-lasting peace in the borderland between

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<sup>28</sup> Guldon, Wijaczka, *Procesy o mordy rytualne na Rusi Czerwone*, pp. 68–69; Guldon, Wijaczka, *Procesy o mordy rytualne w Polsce*, pp. 57–58.

<sup>29</sup> *Żydzi polscy 1648–1772. Źródła*, ed. by A. Kaźmierczyk, (*Studia Judaica Cracoviensia. Series Fontium* 6, 2001), no 10 (pp. 9–10).

Poland and the Ottoman Empire resulted in Jewish possessions being restored and strengthened in Podolia relatively quickly<sup>30</sup>.

The process of Jews returning to Ukraine in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> c. took considerably longer. However, at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> c., they were a considerable group among the inhabitants of the Kiev and Braclaw Voivodeships. Not only through their sheer numbers, but through their economic significance in towns and the role they played in administering estates. That significance was acknowledged by the Cossacks, who in the second half of 1702, during their last uprising during the time of the Commonwealth, slaughtered with the same zeal the nobility, Catholic priests and the Jews, i.e. those groups who, in their opinion, were unwanted on 'Cossack' territories. The greatest massacres took place in Bohuslav, Sataniv, Nemyriv and Bila Tserkva. In the last, the Cossacks were to save Christians and murder only Jews<sup>31</sup>. The events of 1702 had a limited character territorially and did not last long, the power of the Cossack rebels was not so great and Polish troops relatively quickly undertook a counterattack and quenched the uprising by early 1703. The only negative consequence was the ban on Jewish settlement in Bila Tserkva and its neighbourhood for nearly 20 years, since that territory was ruled by Cossacks and later by Russians. In the following years, the territories of Volhynia, Podolia and Ukraine were saved by the Great Northern War which did not reach the south-east of the Commonwealth until 1708, and Ivan Mazepa, carrying out his own political plans, made sure that the Cossacks under his command did not get involved in social and religious activities against the nobility

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<sup>30</sup> Guldon, Wijaczka, *Procesy o mordy rytualne na Rusi Czerwonej*, pp. 69–70; Guldon, Wijaczka, *Procesy o mordy rytualne w Polsce*, p. 58–59; R. Król-Mazur, *Miasto trzech nacji. Studia z dziejów Kamieńca Podolskiego w XVIII wieku*, (2008), p. 292–298.

<sup>31</sup> Message from Lviv, 1702–1703, *Rzeczpospolita w dobie upadku 1700–1704. Wybór źródeł*, ed. by J. Gierowski, (1955), p. 58; E. Otwinowski, *Dzieje Polski pod panowaniem Augusta II od roku 1696 do 1728*, ed. by A. Mułkowski, (1849), p. 42; J. Perednia, *Stanowisko Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej wobec sprawy Ukrainy na przełomie XVII–XVIII w.*, (*Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych* 8, 1963), pp. 144, 150, 160–162.

or the Jews. In addition, Sieniawski, the commander the Polish troops, took care to keep peace in the south-western Voivodeships where he possessed vast estates largely inhabited by Jews. What is more, Volhynia, Podolia and Ukraine were affected by the epidemic of 1708–1711 to a lesser degree than the rest of Poland.

The sense of security and relative welfare of those living in the south-eastern Voivodeship were disturbed first at the end of 1729 with the so called Cossack riots. In fact perpetrators of the disturbances were the so-called *Haidamaka* movement, which Poles were unable to crush until the 1770s. In Ukrainian and Polish historiography the *Haidamaka* movement is often perceived as an expression of social, religious or national rebellion<sup>32</sup>. In actuality, the *Haidamakas* were formed of groups of common highwaymen and they aimed not at some specific social or religious groups, but money, jewellery and other material goods. The *Haidamaka* would rob the Jews since it often met with the approbation of others, especially Orthodox peasants and townspeople. Such assaults were recorded in nearly all the towns and cities of the Kiev and Braclaw Voivodeships, as well as in eastern Podolia over a period of 30 years. Victims of their assaults included Jews travelling on business to the Crimea who were robbed of absolutely everything, but were set free. Sometimes the victims were whipped as a ‘souvenir’ and caution<sup>33</sup>. Murders took place only sporadically, for example at the end of 1730 one *Haidamaka* group killed 14 Jews near Korsun<sup>34</sup>.

Polish troops restored tranquility in Ukraine at the beginning of 1731, but society in the south-eastern Voivodeship was disturbed in the

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<sup>32</sup> T. Ciesielski, *O hajdamaczyźnie w latach 1733–1763*, in: *W kręgu Hadziacza A.D. 1658. Od historii do literatury*, ed. by P. Borek, (2008), pp. 181–182.

<sup>33</sup> Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie [The National Archives in Kraków], *Zbiór Rusieckich*, 23, p. 14; “Kurier Polski”, (1729), no 50, (1730), no 1, 2, (1739), no 192, 198, (1749), no 681, 692; J. Kitowicz, *Opis obyczajów za panowania Augusta III*, ed. by R. Pollak, (1951), p. 339; W.A. Serczyk, *Hajdamacy*, (1972), p. 238–241; Ciesielski, *O hajdamaczyźnie*, pp. 192–195.

<sup>34</sup> “Kurier Polski”, (1730), no 53.

winter and summer of 1734 by rioting of their feudal subjects. In the course of the riots many Jews were robbed, and incidentally some more serious crimes also took place, for example in Hovory, where peasants murdered the local inn-keeper – a Jew. Altogether during the riots on the vast territories in the south-east approximately 90 noblemen lost their lives, and as many Jews. Peace came in the summer of 1734, when the Russians, worried about their transport routes, pacified the peasants and crushed Cossack and *Haidamaka* units<sup>35</sup>.

Peace did not last long though, and with the withdrawal of Russian troops in 1736 Ukraine saw the development of the *Haidamaka* movement<sup>36</sup>. From the 1730s to the 1770s, murders of Jews by *Haidamaka* took place only sporadically, and they were brought about by either revenge or excessive greed of their leaders. Records indicate not more than a few murders a year, for example in 1749 the *Haidamaka* killed 6–7 Jews in Krasne, in 1750 two Jews in Krasne, and in 1757–1758 – four or five on the Uman estate. The most tragic incidents in the 1740s and 50s included the murder of over 20 captive Jews by Ivan Tschupryn when besieged by Polish troops in the mid-1750s, and an assault on Mohyliv in 1750 when 60 merchants were killed, most of them probably Jewish<sup>37</sup>.

These events in the period pale in comparison with a real pogrom referred to as *Koliyivshchyna*. During the rebellion of the Cossack population and the peasants that took place between May and mid-July 1768, tens of Jews were killed in Zhabotin, Smila, Kaniv and Lysianka.

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<sup>35</sup> S. Humiecki to J. Mnisch, Kamieniec Podolski 27 III 1734, *Pamiętnik dziejów polskich*, ed. by S. Barącz, (1855), pp. 258–259; Ciesielski, *O hajdamaczyźnie*, pp. 183–185; Ciesielski, *Cruelty*, p. 289.

<sup>36</sup> Weinryb, *A Social*, p. 204.

<sup>37</sup> “Kurier Polski”, (1750), no 729; *Wyprawa na hajdamaków (Z pamiętników starosty Zakrzewskiego)*, in: *Z dziejów hajdamaczyzny*, with a preface by H. Mościcki, (1905), pp. 27–32; M. Horn, *Regesty dokumentów i ekscerpty z Metryki Koronnej do historii Żydów w Polsce (1697–1795)*, 1: *Czasy saskie (1697–1763)*, (1984), no 464 (pp. 99–100), 476–478 (pp. 104–105), 480–481 (pp. 106–107); Rawita-Gawroński, *Żydzi*, pp. 204–207.

In the last village, the rebels hanged in one place a priest, a Jew and a dog, in order to ridicule them as ‘creatures’ of the same faith that could be murdered without fear of God or earthly authorities<sup>38</sup>. The greatest slaughters took place in Uman and its neighbourhood, where according to sources the last 10 days of June saw the murder of several thousand Jews, nobility, and Catholic and Uniat clergy, as well as students of a Basilian school. In the synagogue of Uman alone, some 3000 Jews were murdered, with their legs, arms and ears being cut off and the mutilated bodies being left to bleed to death. Many Jews were killed in the street and in their own homes by peasants who arrived from neighbouring villages<sup>39</sup>. Modern historiography lowers the number of victims of the Uman massacre to approx. 12 000, of which 7000 were Jewish<sup>40</sup>.

Koliyivshchyna was the last such bloody event in the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Although it was undoubtedly traumatic, just like the earlier pogroms beginning from the times of the Khmelnytsky Uprising, it did not affect the attitudes of the Jews as to the value of settlement in Volhynia and Ukraine. This is more than adequately manifested by poll tax records from 1765–1791 which are considered to be a good demographic source. They show that in 1765

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<sup>38</sup> *Bunt hajdamaków na Ukrainie w r. 1768 opisany przez Lippomana i dwóch bezimiennych*, ed. by E. Raczyński, (1854), pp. 8–9, 22–23; J. Kitowicz, *Pamiętniki czyli Historia polska*, ed. by P. Matuszewska, Z. Lewinówna, (1971), p. 177; W.A. Serczyk, *Koliszczyzna, (Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 193, Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne 24, 1968)*, pp. 83, 88–89, 106; P. Borek, *Ukraina w staropolskich dziuryszach i pamiętnikach. Bohaterowie, fortece, tradycja, (Biblioteka Tradycji Literackich, Seria 2, 7, 2001)*, pp. 132–132.

<sup>39</sup> *Bunt hajdamaków*, pp. 55, 92–93, 130–135 (three comments about pogroms in Uman); *Opis autentyczny rzezi humańskiej przez córkę gubernatora Humania z Mładanowiczów zamężną Krebsową*, (1840), p. 21; Serczyk, *Koliszczyzna*, pp. 97–99; Borek, *Ukraina*, pp. 135–137.

<sup>40</sup> Weinryb, *A Social*, pp. 204–205, 365–366; Guldon, Wijaczka, *Procesy o mordy rytualne na Rusi Czerwonej*, pp. 74–75; Rawita-Gawroński, *Żydzi*, pp. 215–233; Ciesielski, *Cruelty*, pp. 290–291.

the mainly 'Polish' Ukraine was inhabited by 43 000 Jews, Volhynia by 52 000 and Podolia by 38 500. That suggests a tripling of the population in relation to 1648, with the territory in question being nearly 50% smaller. Moreover, the growth rate was considerably higher. By the end of the 1780s the Jewish population in Ukraine alone grew to approx. 56 000, and their territorial spread increased as well. In 1765 Jews inhabited 131 towns and 1997 villages, whereas in 1784 the figures were 144 and 2670 respectively. In 1765, the south-eastern Voivodeships were inhabited by approx. 149 000 Jews, which was over 25% of the Jewish population in the entire Commonwealth, estimated at 588 000<sup>41</sup>. Taking into account the population of the Kingdom of Poland, the share of Volhynia, Podolia and Ukraine amounted to 35%. The attractiveness of those territories sprang from an unquestionable domination of ownership by the nobility over the state. The nobility owned 90% of the land, of which a large part belonged to approximately a dozen large magnate latifundia. Jews found extremely favourable settlement conditions there, which made them settle and endure even through very difficult historical moments. In Podolia, Volhynia and Ukraine, they created permanent foundations for their existence, not only economic and institutional (communes, provinces), but also cultural. The development of Jewish communities was severely disturbed by the Khmelnytsky Uprising. The cruelty of those events was remembered by the Jews for years to come, even in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. (in Mohyliv, they gathered annually by the hill where the Cossacks murdered a large number in the winter of 1655). However, they were able to restore their settlement, economic and cultural structures very quickly. In the 18<sup>th</sup> c., the development of Jewish communities was not disturbed by *Haidamaka* or peasant revolts, or growing anti-Jewish attitudes among Catholics. The latter

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<sup>41</sup> Schiper, *Rozwój*, pp. 35–36; Weinryb, *A Social*, pp. 318–319; Hundert, *Żydzi*, pp. 42–51; R. Mahler, *Żydzi w dawnej Polsce w świetle liczb*, "Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski", 1967, pp. 131–180; Guldon, *Osadnictwo żydowskie*, pp. 152–154; Guldon, *Wijaczka, Żydzi a chrześcijaństwo na Wołyniu*, pp. 233–234, 245–248; Guldon, *Wijaczka, Procesy o mordy rytualne na Rusi Czerwonej*, p. 70, 75–77.

were manifested in the growing number of lawsuits for defilement of the Host, ritual murders and the severe sentences that were handed down<sup>42</sup>. In the south-eastern territories, one of the most famous was the trial in Zhytomir in the spring of 1753, in which 25 Jews were charged with killing a Christian child. Fourteen death sentences were ruled, of which 12 were executed, with only the method being slightly softened – the convicted were not quartered, only beheaded<sup>43</sup>. The trial was accompanied by anti-Jewish resolutions by church authorities which are best illustrated by a pastoral letter by the Bishop of Lutsk, Kobielski, of 10<sup>th</sup> May 1742<sup>44</sup>. This was added to by unrest within the Jewish communities themselves. All this did not make their existence in the Commonwealth easy, but according to many Jewish and Polish historians, it had a significant impact on cultural processes. The pogroms, social conflicts, uncertainty of tomorrow, so characteristic for times of war and plague, together with favourable living conditions in times of peace, contributed to the development of the material culture on the one hand – manifested by Jewish households and the architecture of synagogues<sup>45</sup> – and on the other, to the development of mystic and messianic movements, such as Sabbateism and Frankism, and above all Hassidism<sup>46</sup>, which revived the Jewish orthodoxy in Central Europe.

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<sup>42</sup> Horn, *Regesty*, no 398 (pp. 83–84); *Żydzi polscy 1648–1772*, no 41 (pp. 87–88), no 77 (pp. 136–137), no 133 (pp. 228–229); Guldon, Wijaczka, *Procesy o mordy rytualne w Polsce*, passim; Guldon, Wijaczka, *Żydzi a chrześcijaństwo na Wołyniu*, pp. 237–239; Guldon, Wijaczka, *Procesy o mordy rytualne na Rusi Czerwonej*, pp. 58–66, 70–72, 77, 81–83; Guldon, *Żydzi w Polsce*, pp. 15–17; Weinryb, *A Social*, p. 153; Hundert, *Żydzi*, pp. 105–108.

<sup>43</sup> Guldon, Wijaczka, *Procesy o mordy rytualne na Rusi Czerwonej*, pp. 77–81; Guldon, Wijaczka, *Procesy o mordy rytualne w Polsce*, pp. 63–64.

<sup>44</sup> *Żydzi polscy 1648–1772*, no 32 (pp. 53–57); Hundert, *Żydzi*, pp. 91–102; Guldon, Wijaczka, *Żydzi a chrześcijaństwo na Wołyniu*, p. 236.

<sup>45</sup> *Żydzi polscy 1648–1772*, p. XVI.

<sup>46</sup> A. Kraushar, *Frank i frankiści polscy 1726–1816*, 1–2, (1895); J. Doktor, *Jakub Frank i jego nauka na tle kryzysu religijnej tradycji osiemnastowiecznego żydostwa pol-*

ŻYDZI W CZASACH WOJEN, SPOŁECZNYCH I POLITYCZNYCH  
ZAMIESZEK W POŁUDNIOWO-WSCHODNIEJ CZĘŚCI  
RZECZPOSPOLITEJ W XVII I XVIII WIEKU

PRZYSZYNEK DO BADAŃ

(STRESZCZENIE)

W wiekach XVII i XVIII na południowo-wschodnich terenach Rzeczypospolitej znajdowało się największe na świecie, dynamicznie rozwijające się skupisko ludności żydowskiej. Korzystne warunki zamieszkania zapewniały Żydom przywileje prawne i ekonomiczne oraz opiekę ze strony właścicieli wielkich majątków ziemskich. Egzystencja skupisk ludności wyznania mojżeszowego w stosunkowo niewielkim stopniu była zakłócana przez antyżydowskie działania władz kościelnych, procesy o mordy rytualne oraz wrogość ludności rodzimej (Rusinów). W początkowym okresie powstania Chmielnickiego doszło do wielkiego pogromu Żydów na Ukrainie, Podolu i Wołyniu. Jednak już w latach 60. XVII w. gminy żydowskie na tych terenach zaczęły się odradzać. Proces ten był nieznacznie spowalniany przez niski stan bezpieczeństwa publicznego, będący skutkiem zaangażowania państwa w wojny z Kozakami, Rosją, Szwecją i Turcją oraz niepokoje społeczne. W 1768 r. doszło na Ukrainie do kolejnego powstania ludności kozackiej i chłopskiej (koliszczyzna), podczas którego również dochodziło do pogromów ludności żydowskiej.

JUDEN IM ZEITALTER DES KRIEGES, DER SOZIALEN  
UND POLITISCHEN UNRUHEN IM SÜDÖSTLICHEN  
TEIL DER POLNISCH-LITAUISCHEN ADELSREPUBLIC  
IM 17. UND 18. JAHRHUNDERT.

VERSUCH EINER ANNÄHERUNG

(ZUSAMMENFASSUNG)

Im 17. und 18. Jh. waren die südöstlichen Teile der Rzeczypospolita in hohem Maße von einer jüdischen Bevölkerung besiedelt. Die Zahl von Juden auf diesem Gebiet war weltweit die größte und entwickelte sich dynamisch. Günstige Ansiedlungsvoraussetzungen gewährleisteten ihnen rechtliche und wirtschaftliche Privilegien sowie die

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*skiego*, (1991); Weinryb, *A Social*, pp. 206–303; Hundert, *Żydzi*, pp. 203–270; D. Wurm, *Z dziejów*, pp. 54–61; Guldon, Wijaczka, *Procesy o mordy rytualne na Rusi Czerwonej*, pp. 51–52.

Unterstützung von Großgrundbesitzern. Die Existenz der Siedlungen der Bevölkerung des mosaikischen Glaubens wurde zunächst nur geringfügig durch antijüdische Maßnahmen der Kirchengewalt, die Prozesse um die Ritualmorde und die Feindlichkeit der Einheimischen (Ruthenen) gestört. In der Anfangszeit des Chmelnizkyj-Aufstands kam es zu großen Pogromen der Juden in der Ukraine, Podolien und Wolhynien. Bereits in den 60er Jahren des 17. Jh. begannen sich die jüdischen Gemeinden zu erneuern. Dieser Prozess der Erneuerung wurde durch die geringe staatliche Ordnung verlangsamt, die ein Ergebnis der Eingebundenheit des Staates in die Kriege mit Kosaken, Russland, Schweden, der Türkei sowie allgemeinen Unruhen war. 1768 brach in der Ukraine ein weiterer Aufstand der Kosaken- und Bauernbevölkerung aus (sog. *Koliszczyzna*), während dem es auch zu Pogromen an Juden kam.

Übersetzt von  
Renata Skowrońska

THE JEWS IN TIMES OF WAR  
AND THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RIOTS IN THE SOUTHEAST  
OF THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH  
IN THE 17<sup>TH</sup> AND 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES  
CONTRIBUTION TO THE RESEARCH

(SUMMARY)

In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> c. the south-eastern areas of the Rzeczpospolita were inhabited by a dynamically growing Jewish community – the most numerous in the world. Jews enjoyed favourable living conditions; they were provided with legal and economic privileges and protected by owners of estates. Their existence was rarely disrupted by anti-Semitic incidents such as actions provoked by the Catholic Church, trials concerning ritual slaughters or the overall hostility of the local population (the Ruthenians). At the beginning of the Chmielnicki Uprising a great pogrom took place against the Jews in Ukraine, Podolia and Volhynia. Nevertheless, in the 1660s, Jewish communities in the areas in question started to revive. This process was somewhat decelerated by the dire condition of public security, which resulted from Poland's involvement in wars with the Cossacks, Russia, Sweden, and Turkey, as well as general social unrest. In 1768 in Ukraine another Cossack and peasant rebellion (*Kolijivshchyna*) broke out during which there were pogroms against the Jews.

Translated by  
Agnieszka Chabros

**Słowa kluczowe / Schlagworte / Keywords**

- Żydzi; Kozacy; demografia; pogromy; wojny; Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów
- Juden; Kosaken; Demografie; Pogrome; Krieg; Rzeczpospolita
- Jews; Cossacks; demography; pogroms; wars; Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

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