

MAGDALENA LILIANA FIGURNIAK
(Uniwersytet Opolski)

THE HISTORY OF THE JEWISH POPULATION ON THE ZAMOYSKI *LATIFUNDIUM*

DURING THE PERIOD OF THE CHANCELLOR LINE
(JAN 'SARIUSZ', TOMASZ AND JAN 'SOBIEPAN'
ZAMOYSKI): CONTRIBUTION TO THE RESEARCH

INTRODUCTION

The goal of this discussion is to consider the history of the Jewish population on the Zamoyski *latifundium*, starting from the second half of the 16th c. and ending in the second half of the 17th. It will concern the period starting from Jan 'Sariusz' Zamoyski (1542–1605), the Grand Chancellor and Hetman of the Crown, founder of the Zamoyski Family Entail¹ and ending with the rule of his grandson Jan 'Sobiepan' Zamoyski (1627–1665), the Voivode of Kiev and Sandomierz, the third and at the same time the last *ordynat*² from the so-called 'older' or 'chancellor' line. I'm going to limit my research in 1665 when Jan 'Sobiepan' died.

¹ Fee Tail or Entail – old feudal expression for a title to real property called, in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, *Ordynacja*, an estate in land subject to a restriction regarding inheritance and could be inherited in full only by the eldest son or certain heirs who were blood relatives.

² *Ordynat* – in the former times the title of the principal heir of the *Ordynacja* (Fee tail).

I intend to discuss social, cultural, and economic aspects as well as the political conditions which accompanied the settling of Jews on Zamoyski's *latifundium*, certainly taking into account the crucial historical events for the development of the Jewish community in its wider sense. I decided to deal with this topic because even at this present time there is no research comprehensively concerning the history of the Jewish population strictly linked to the Zamoyski Family Entail which is found mainly in the Bełz Voivodeship, Lublin Voivodeship, Chełm *Land* and Przemyśl *Land*. The research above all focused on the larger municipal centres such as Zamość, Szczebrzeszyn, Tomaszów (at present Tomaszów Lubelski), Kraśnik, and Tarnogród which were counted as 'private' towns³ belonging to the Zamoyski Family. I decided to choose these towns because they were the largest concentrations of the Jewish community on the Zamoyski *latifundium*. But before I go on to discuss the subject I would like to cite the words of Jakub Goldberg⁴, a researcher into the history of Jews in Poland, which very accurately characterise the present historical reality:

[...] almost every Polish historian comes across in her/his academic work issues of Polish Jewry throughout all periods of Polish history⁵.

This very accurate remark, spoken over twenty years ago, is and will always be valid. I became convinced about this while conducting my own research into the Zamoyski *latifundium*. The subject of Jews in

³ 'Private' towns- towns belonging to the nobility in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as against royal towns which were within crown lands.

⁴ J. Goldberg, *Jewish Privileges in the Polish Commonwealth: Charters of Rights Granted to Jewish Communities in Poland-Lithuania in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, (1985); J. Goldberg, *Żydzi w społeczeństwie, gospodarce i kulturze Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej*, (2012); *Sejm Czterech Ziem. Źródła*, ed. by J. Goldberg & A. Kaźmierczyk, (2011).

⁵ J. Goldberg, *Wystąpienie na uroczystości nadania tytułu doktora honoris causa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego*, "Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego" (further BŻIH), 1–2 (1993), p. 127.

the Zamość district was very broadly discussed in the joint publication entitled *The Jews in Zamość and the Zamość district: history-culture-literature*⁶. At the same time the research of Adam Kopciowski⁷, Hanna Węgrzynek⁸ and Aleksandra Bilewicz⁹ cannot be omitted, which have a fundamental significance for the period that I deal with. A long time earlier, it was Jakub Szacki¹⁰ and Janina Morgensztern¹¹ who dealt with the subject of the Jews in the Zamość district. When it comes to sources, it can certainly be said that those related to the Jews on the Zamoyski *latifundium* in the 16th and 17th c. are very diverse and relatively dispersed. Information on the Jewish population here may be found above all in different kinds of archival sources¹², such as municipal books, inventories of, inspections¹³, different types of privileges granted subsequently, and registers from *Metrica Regni Poloniae*¹⁴.

⁶ Żydzi w Zamościu i na Zamojszczyźnie. Historia – kultura – literatura, ed. by W. Litwin, M. Szablowska-Zaremba & S.J. Żurek, (2012).

⁷ A. Kopciowski, *Stan badań nad historią i kulturą zamojskich Żydów. Próba syntezy*, in: *Żydzi w Zamościu i na Zamojszczyźnie*, pp. 19–29.

⁸ H. Węgrzynek, *Rola Żydów w gospodarce Ordynacji Zamojskiej w drugiej połowie XVII i na początku XVIII wieku*, in: *Żydzi w Zamościu i na Zamojszczyźnie*, pp. 45–52.

⁹ A. Bilewicz, *Frenkowie. Kim byli lwowscy i zamojscy Sefardyjczycy?*, in: *Żydzi w Zamościu i na Zamojszczyźnie*, pp. 31–43.

¹⁰ J. Szacki, *Znakomici Żydzi rodem z Zamościa*, “Teki Zamojska”, 1, 2 (1921), p. 19.

¹¹ J. Morgensztern, *O działalności gospodarczej Żydów w Zamościu w XVI i XVII w.*, BŻIH, 53 (1965), pp. 11–28; eadem, *Podatki Żydów Ordynacji Zamojskiej w XVI i XVII w.*, BŻIH, 71–72 (1969), pp. 9–38; eadem, *Uwagi o Żydach sefardyjskich w Zamościu w latach 1588–1650*, BŻIH, 38 (1961), pp. 68–82; eadem, *O osadnictwie Żydów w Zamościu na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku*, BŻIH, 43–44 (1962), pp. 3–17.

¹² Some of these archival sources can be found in Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie [State Archive of Lublin] (further: APL), specifically in: *Akta miasta Zamościa* [Records of the town of Zamość], fond No. 35,61,0; *Akta miasta Kraśnika* [Records of the town of Kraśnik], fond No. 35,40,0.

¹³ B. Horodyski, *Najstarsza lustracja Zamościa*, “Teki Zamojska”, 1–4 (1938), pp. 197–212.

¹⁴ J. Morgensztern, *Regesty dokumentów z Metryki Koronnej do historii Żydów w Polsce z lat 1574–1586*, BŻIH, 47–48 (1963), pp. 113–129; eadem, *Regesty doku-*

Moreover, an equally valuable source is the Zamoyski correspondence in which information about the Jewish population in the *latifundium* can be found. In this discussion, I will try to present the history of the Jewish population on the Zamoyski *latifundium*, presenting information which I was able to find during my research on given places. Some academics have thought that the Jewish community appeared on Polish territory relatively early at the beginning of the 10th c.¹⁵, based on chronicle records¹⁶ and at first was not very numerous (at the close of the Middle Ages they constituted approx. 0.6% of the total population), while others asserted that Jews appeared in Poland in 13th c.¹⁷ In the mid-17th c. their number was approximately 5% of the total population of the noble Commonwealth¹⁸. When it comes to attitudes towards the Jews, in the mid-16th c. they enjoyed significant support on the part of the nobility¹⁹, as opposed to the gentry and bourgeoisie, with whom they conducted frequent feuds²⁰. The Jews found shelter on the great estates, such as the Zamoyski *latifundium* (especially the Zamoyski Family Entail). Moreover they were settled in newly established towns,

mentów z Metryki Koronnej do historii Żydów w Polsce z lat 1633–1660, BŻIH, 58 (1966), pp. 107–148; eadem, *Regesty dokumentów z Metryki Koronnej i Sigillat do historii Żydów w Polsce z lat 1660–1668*, BŻIH, 67 (1968), pp. 67–109; eadem, *Regesty dokumentów z Metryki Koronnej i Sigillat do historii Żydów w Polsce z lat 1588–1632*, BŻIH, 51 (1964), pp. 59–78; eadem, *Regesty dokumentów z Metryki Koronnej i Sigillat do historii Żydów w Polsce z lat 1669–1696*, BŻIH, 69 (1969), pp. 71–109.

¹⁵ *Żydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej: działalność społeczna, gospodarcza, oświatowa i kulturalna*, ed. by I. Schiper, A. Tartakower, A. Hafftko, 1 (1933), p. 21.

¹⁶ I. Schiper, *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego na ziemiach polskich*, (1957), p. 2.

¹⁷ J. Zawadzki, *Dokumenty do historii Żydów okresu nowożytnego przechowywane w archiwach prywatnej proweniencji w Archiwum Głównym Akt Dawnych*, in: *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, ed. by B. Woszczyński, V. Urbaniak, (2001), p. 30.

¹⁸ J. Tazbir, *Żydzi w opinii staropolskiej*, in: *Świat Panów Pasków*, ed. by J. Tazbir, (1986), p. 220.

¹⁹ *Relacje nuncjuszów apostolskich i innych osób o Polsce*, ed. by E. Rykaczewski, 1 (1864), pp. 32–33.

²⁰ M. Balaban, *Żydzi lwowscy na przełomie XVI–XVII w.*, (1906), p. 103.

for instance at the end of the 16th c. in Zamość²¹. For the nobility, the Jews constituted an inseparable element of the contemporary economic system as they exercised the roles of tenants, innkeepers, moneylenders and merchants²².

JEWES ON THE ZAMOYSKI *LATIFUNDIUM*

Concerning the arrival of the Jewish population on the land of the Zamoyski *latifundium*, it is difficult to establish a concrete date, partly due to the vastness of the estate included in the property. However, it may be assumed that starting from the first Jewish settlers in these areas, there were further continuous arrivals and their immigration was connected with the persecution they suffered in Western Europe (especially in Spain and Portugal²³). The oldest Jewish community, on Zamoyski territory, was established in 1567 in Turobin²⁴. The Zamość district, especially Zamość itself, was a place where the culture of the Sephardi and the Ashkenazi met²⁵. The city of Zamość was founded in 1580²⁶ by Jan Zamoyski. According to the founder's initial assumption it was to be typically Catholic, but as the population did not reach forecast levels, Zamoyski very quickly revoked the limitation. First he allowed the settlement of Armenians (by a privilege of 30th April 1585), and three years later Sephardi Jews (by a privilege of 26th February 1588)²⁷ who moved there from Lviv²⁸. Zamoyski supported their will to live

²¹ Tazbir, *Żydzi w opinii staropolskiej*, p. 223.

²² Tazbir, *Żydzi w opinii staropolskiej*, p. 224; M. Balaban, *Kiedy i skąd przybyli Żydzi do Polski*, "Miesięcznik Żydowski", 2 (1931), p. 118.

²³ Balaban, *Żydzi lwowscy*, p. 39; Szacki, *Znakomici Żydzi rodem z Zamościa*, p. 18.

²⁴ Morgensztern, *Podatki Żydów w Ordynacji Zamojskiej*, p. 9.

²⁵ Eadem, *O osadnictwie Żydów w Zamościu*, p. 12.

²⁶ B. Chlebowski, *Zamość, ordynacja Zamoyskich i powiat zamojski*, (1947), p. 9.

²⁷ A.A. Wituski, *O Zamojskich, Zamościu i Akademii Zamojskiej*, (1978), p. 41.

²⁸ Morgensztern, *O osadnictwie Żydów w Zamościu*, p. 4.

in Zamość and finally he accepted them under his own jurisdiction²⁹. The Sephardi Jews could live inside the city at an indicated place and organize a *qahal*. Moreover, the community could erect a synagogue³⁰, cemetery, *cheder* (a religious school), and *mikveh* (ritual bath). According to the regulations, Sephardi Jews could admit Ashkenazi Jews, of course with the prior consent of Zamoyski, however it usually did not happen as cultural differences were too great. Members of the Sephardi community in Zamość were granted the same entitlements as other citizens. They could dispose of their property, leave the city freely, and follow their religion. The privilege referred to many other aspects of life including those related to earning a living. Sephardi Jews could deal in commerce and crafts, however within certain limitations³¹. When it comes to numbers in Zamość, information from the inspection of 1591 mentions only two Jewish owners of houses³², small compared to the overall number of houses found at that time³³. Before 1600, eleven Sephardi surnames were found in the sources³⁴. The first mention of Ashkenazi Jews appears in 1583 and mentions Abram from Wojsławice³⁵. Practically, until the 1st half of the 17th c., Ashkenazi Jews, living on the *latifundium*, dealt only with the lease of mills or with tolls. In 1618 an Ashkenazi Jew is mentioned as the owner of a house at Żydowska St, i.e. within the walls. In 1621 another Ashkenazi Jew obtained the consent of Tomasz Zamoyski for the purchase of a house in the centre. In municipal acts from 1632 to 1635, over twenty differ-

²⁹ Balaban, *Żydzi lwowscy*, p. 462.

³⁰ J. Zętar, *Architektura Sakralna Lubelszczyzny jako przejaw wielokulturowych tradycji regionu*, "Teka Komisji Architektury, Urbanistyki i Studiów Krajobrazowych", (2007), p. 219.

³¹ *Zamość. Szlak chasydzki*, ed. by R. Kuwałek. W. Litwin, (2008) p. 9.

³² Horodyski, *Najstarsza lustracja Zamościa*, p. 197.

³³ A. Śliwiński, *Jan Zamoyski, kanclerz i hetman wielki koronny*, (1947), p. 350.

³⁴ Morgensztern, *O osadnictwie Żydów w Zamościu*, p. 6.

³⁵ Eadem, *Uwagi o Żydach sefardyjskich w Zamościu*, p. 74.

ent Ashkenazi families can be found³⁶. Their number grew especially after the outbreak of Khmelnytsky's uprising in 1648, since the entire local Jewish population looked for refuge from the Cossack danger³⁷. Subsequent years brought about significant changes. Ashkenazi Jews became owners of houses, were joined by marriage with Sephardi Jews and played an increasingly important role. Information about the Ashkenazi community in Zamość comes from the 2nd half of the 17th c., precisely from 1658³⁸. It is also known that in the 17th c. the Zamość Jewish community played an outstanding role in the Council of Four Lands (*Waad*)³⁹.

It is impossible to establish exactly when the Jewish population appeared for the very first time in Szczepieszyn. The earliest preserved information comes from 1507 from the tax registers⁴⁰. However, the Szczepieszyn estate only came into the possession of Jan Zamoyski in 1593 and officially only in 1595. Zamoyski accommodated himself to the privileges granted by his predecessors (Jan Czarnecki and Andrzej Górka) and in 1597 he confirmed them, at the same time relieving the Jews from the rent for the synagogue and cemetery (*kirkut*)⁴¹. The Szczepieszyn estate was inhabited by a rather numerous Ashkenazi Jewish community⁴², related to the commercial route linking Lviv and Cracow⁴³. The Szczepieszyn Jewish community, compared with other communities in the Zamoyski estate, had relatively minor responsibili-

³⁶ Morgensztern, *O osadnictwie Żydów w Zamościu*, pp. 12–13.

³⁷ Szacki, *Znakomicy Żydzi rodem z Zamościa*, p. 19.

³⁸ Morgensztern, *O osadnictwie Żydów w Zamościu*, pp. 14, 15.

³⁹ Szacki, *Znakomicy Żydzi rodem z Zamościa*, p. 19; *Sejm Czterech Ziem. Źródła*, pp. 5, 23.

⁴⁰ A.B. Sidorowska, *Szczepieszynska gmina żydowska w XVI–XVIII wieku*, "Res Historica", 20 (2005), p. 189.

⁴¹ Sidorowska, *Szczepieszynska gmina żydowska*, p. 189.

⁴² Eadem, *Klucz szczepieszki Ordynacji Zamoyskiej w XVII i XVIII wieku*, (2009), p. 10.

⁴³ Eadem, *Szczepieszynska gmina żydowska*, p. 189.

ties towards the nobility. The tax in favour of the Church (*columbiata*) did not apply to the Jews of Szczebrzeszyn, in terms of socage they did not work and they were not obliged to defend the city in case of war (privilege of 1593), in addition in times of war the other taxes they were obliged to pay did not increase, an intentional action of the entailers and, for example in 1653, they were even decreased during the rule of Jan 'Sobiepan' Zamoyski. An exclusion was the rent, so-called 'on settlement', which was the highest in the whole entail⁴⁴. In the town, the Jews had a synagogue⁴⁵, their own hospital⁴⁶ (it appears in the inventory of 1600) and the previously mentioned cemetery⁴⁷, already marked out in the times of Jan Czarnkowski (1593). The Szczebrzeszyn community, similar to Zamość, was threatened by war, first during Khmelnytsky's uprising⁴⁸ (the synagogue was burnt at that time) and next during the invasion of the Swedes. It was only in 1659 that Jan 'Sobiepan' gave his consent to the rebuilding of the synagogue.

The next settlement on the Zamoyski *latifundium* in which Jews settled was Tomaszów (at present Tomaszów Lubelski), probably founded by Jan Zamoyski⁴⁹, although it was founded according to 'Magdeburg rights' only in 1621 by his son, Tomasz⁵⁰. In the same year, in which it was officially founded, Tomasz Zamoyski guaranteed a lot of freedom for the Jewish community in a privilege, among others to erect a synagogue, a house for the rabbi, and the right to purchase land in

⁴⁴ Eadem, *Klucz szczebrzeski Ordynacji Zamoyskiej*, p. 86.

⁴⁵ Eadem, *Szczebrzeszyńska gmina żydowska*, p. 195.

⁴⁶ W. Partyka, *Opieka społeczna w Ordynacji Zamoyskiej w XVII–XVIII wieku*, (2008), p. 31.

⁴⁷ T. Pańczyk, *Szczebrzeszyn*, available on the Internet: <http://www.kirkuty.xip.pl/szczebrzeszyn.html>, (visited on 28.11.2013).

⁴⁸ *Zachowane synagogi i domy modlitwy w Polsce*, ed. by J. Jagielski, E. Bergman, (1964), pp. 131–131.

⁴⁹ Śliwiński, *Jan Zamoyski*, p. 350.

⁵⁰ R. Szczygieł, *Prawda i fikcja o początkach miasta Tomaszowa*, "Res Historica", 20 (2005), p. 89.

order to build a cemetery on the outskirts of Tomaszów. The Jews also obtained the right to settle, similarly to other inhabitants of Tomaszów (with the exception of the area around the marketplace and limitations related to the number of houses) but they were allowed to trade and deal with crafts⁵¹. The limitations also concerned the alienation of real estates between Jews and Christians. In such cases the consent of the entailer was required⁵². Thereby they were obliged to pay taxes and rent in favour of the nobility. For example, in 1641 during the times of Jan 'Sobiepan', the fines paid by Tomaszów Jews were allocated for the needs of the army⁵³. The first independent community was established in 1630 and thirteen years later, there were already 60 Jewish houses⁵⁴. The 1650's and '60's were a turbulent period for the Jewish community in Tomaszów. During the invasions many inhabitants were killed and the synagogue and Jewish quarter were destroyed⁵⁵.

More than 100 kilometres to the north-west of Tomaszów is Kraśnik, a town which became a part of the estate belonging to the Zamoyskis in 1604 owing to the great efforts of Jan Zamoyski. Jews already inhabited Kraśnik at the beginning of the 16th c. and there is information from 1531 about two Jewish merchants who traded with Gdańsk⁵⁶. Further it is mentioned that by the end of the 16th c. the Jews of Kraśnik already had their own synagogue, a rabbi's house, and a cemetery on the out-

⁵¹ K. Sochaniewicz, *Przywileje miasta Tomaszowa*, "Teki Zamojska", 3, 4 (1921), pp. 62–64.

⁵² E. Hanejko, *Ordynaci Zamojscy a miasto Tomaszów w drugiej połowie XVII i w XVIII wieku*, in: *Władza i prestiż. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. by J. Urwanowicz, E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, P. Guzowski, (2003), p. 424.

⁵³ E. Janas, *Prywatne wojska Zamojskich*, in: *Zamość Z przeszłości twierdzy i miasta*, ed. by A. Kopruckowniak, A. Witusik, (1980), p. 100.

⁵⁴ M. Horn, *Żydzi na Rusi Czerwonej w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku. Działalność gospodarcza na tle rozwoju demograficznego*, (1975), p. 69.

⁵⁵ A. Trzciniński, *Śladami zabytków kultury żydowskiej na Lubelszczyźnie*, (1991), p. 18.

⁵⁶ J. Morgenstern, *Z dziejów Żydów w Kraśniku do połowy XVII wieku*, BŻIH, 34 (1960), p. 72.

skirts⁵⁷. They certainly had their own hospital however news about it appears only in 1631. Not much is known about the Kraśnik Jews from the times of Jan 'Sariusz', probably because their number in the town was small and because of the rule of *de non tolerandis iudeais* which had been observed. Most information comes from 1631–1633 and later, during the rule of Tomasz Zamoyski. In terms of population, in 1631 the Jewish community constituted around 11% of the total⁵⁸. Kraśnik Jews were mainly involved with trade (there were also innkeepers and vintners among them) and were craftsmen⁵⁹. Based on materials from the 'city books', it was established that the Jews of Kraśnik had the right to produce and sell alcohol. There is also information from 1605 about Jewish butchers⁶⁰ since in Kraśnik a ritual slaughterhouse was operating⁶¹. In 1637 there was a fire of the town and the Jews were accused. The entailer, most probably persuaded by the town's authorities, issued a decree prohibiting building Jewish houses and stalls in the marketplace, which had an impact on the population's distribution⁶². The reconstruction of the synagogue, destroyed during the fire, lasted until 1654. However, the building was erected in another place near the town walls⁶³. The decree, which limited the Jews' mobility, was lifted only in 1661 during the times of Jan 'Sobiepan'⁶⁴. Concerning the obligations of the Jewish population in Kraśnik they were obligated to pay a tax in

⁵⁷ Trzeciński, *Śladami zabytków kultury żydowskiej*, p. 26.

⁵⁸ Morgensztern, *Z dziejów Żydów w Kraśniku*, p. 82.

⁵⁹ T. Opas, *Kraśnik w pierwszej połowie XVIII wieku*, in: *Z dziejów powiatu kraśnickiego: materiały z sesji naukowej*, ed. by J.R. Szaflik, K. Myśliński, (1964), p. 140.

⁶⁰ Morgensztern, *Z dziejów Żydów w Kraśniku*, p. 83.

⁶¹ B.J. Albin, *Rzemiosło i handel miasta Kraśnika w XVI i XVII wieku*, in: *Z dziejów powiatu kraśnickiego*, p. 79.

⁶² *Kraśnik. Szlak chasydzki*, ed. by S. Mańko, W. Litwin, (2008), p. 11.

⁶³ *Kraśnik – historia gminy żydowskiej*, available on the internet: <http://polin.org.pl/heritage/30/> (visited on 16.09.2013).

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*.

favour of the Church (*columbiata*)⁶⁵ and a poll tax. Also in the case of Kraśnik, the development of the Jewish community was abruptly halted by the invasions of the Cossacks and the Swedes, however anti-Jewish activity on the part of the town's inhabitants should not be forgotten. In this context, in the second half of the 17th c. the number of Jews living there dwindled⁶⁶.

Tarnogród is an equally interesting place for research. The town came into the Zamoyski's possession relatively early in 1588, including 14 villages in the *starosts* of Krzeszów and Zamch⁶⁷. Only two years elapsed from Tarnogród's foundation⁶⁸ when in 1569 it received a privilege from Sigismund Augustus forbidding Jews to settle within its walls⁶⁹. However, in 1580 the Jews of Tarnogród obtained from Stephen Báthory a privilege granting them the right to settle and conduct free trade, especially related to alcohol⁷⁰. In the times of Jan 'Sariusz' in 1589 a precedent took place. Zamoyski allowed two Jews to settle in Tarnogród, despite *de non tolerandis iudeis*⁷¹ which probably had been re-established with the reign of King Sigismund III Vasa. He did it against the will of the Tarnogród bourgeoisie, but according to the law and granted them citizenship as well⁷². At the end of the 16th c. the Jewish community was developing in favourable conditions. It was then that the most important community institutions (a synagogue,

⁶⁵ Sidorowska, *Klucz szczebrzeski Ordynacji Zamoyskiej*, p. 86.

⁶⁶ *Kraśnik. Szlak chasydzki*, p. 12.

⁶⁷ A. Tarnawski, *Działalność gospodarcza Jana Zamoyskiego. Kanclerza i hetmana wielkiego koronnego (1572–1605)*, (1935), p. 19.

⁶⁸ R. Szczygieł, *Lokacja miasta i jego dzieje do końca XVI wieku*, in: *Dzieje Tarnogrodu*, ed. by R. Szczygieł, (2006), p. 47.

⁶⁹ Schiper, *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego na ziemiach polskich*, p. 105.

⁷⁰ Morgensztern, *Regesty z Metryki Koronnej do historii Żydów w Polsce (1574–1586)*, p. 121.

⁷¹ Schiper, *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego na ziemiach polskich*, p. 105.

⁷² Tarnawski, *Działalność gospodarcza Jana Zamoyskiego*, p. 382.

most probably a wooden one) were established⁷³. Approximately in the mid-17th c., the Jewish community constituted around 15% of the total population. During the attacks of the Cossacks in 1648, they suffered severely and radically dwindled⁷⁴. However, probably in the second half of the 17th c. a new community⁷⁵ had already been established which owed its greatest prosperity to future entailers.

Summarising discussion on the history of the Jewish population on the Zamoyski *latifundium* in the 16th and 17th c., I would like to emphasise that during such a short presentation I was unable to present all the information that I had found. I have not mentioned the Jews residing in the 16th and 17th c. in Janów (at present Janów Lubelski), Turobin, or Szarogród. I focused my examination on five municipal centres, namely Zamość, Szczepieszyn, Tomaszów, Kraśnik, and Tarnogród. I have also tried to present the most important issues in the history of the Jewish population. During my analysis some conclusions came to my mind related to Zamoyski's attitude to the Jewish community. I think it was rather favourable. Jan 'Sariusz', the founder of the Zamoyski Family Entail, was characterised by great religious tolerance⁷⁶ towards the Jews. It could have been connected with his extensive settling and colonising activity which he developed in the second half of the 16th c.⁷⁷ His descendants, Tomasz and Jan 'Sobiepan' maintained a similar attitude. Among the ensuing events in the history of the Jewish population, 1588 is a significant year, namely the turning point in the settlement of Sephardi Jews in the Zamość district, particularly in the newly established Zamość itself. Ashkenazi Jews inhabited the Zamoyski estate long before the Sephardi, however most of them were outside the walls and in villages. It was possibly connected with the privilege *de non tolerandis*

⁷³ Trzeciński, *Śladami zabytków kultury żydowskiej*, p. 19.

⁷⁴ *Zachowane synagogi i domy modlitwy w Polsce*, p. 134.

⁷⁵ Trzeciński, *Śladami zabytków kultury żydowskiej*, p. 19.

⁷⁶ Witusik, *O Zamojskich, Zamościu i Akademii Zamojskiej*, p. 27.

⁷⁷ Śliwiński, *Jan Zamoyski*, p. 351.

Judaeis, mentioned earlier. Both groups were guaranteed favourable conditions for development in a wider sense. At first, the Sephardi Jews had been more privileged, however gradually these differences started to fade away to finally disappear, for example in Zamość. The period of wars was also significant, specifically 1648 and the outbreak of Khmelnytsky's uprising and next through the invasion of the Swedes in 1655, during which the Jewish population suffered heavy losses. It is assumed that in the mid-17th c. over 100 000 Jews could have perished from Cossack hands⁷⁸. It was in that period when the greatest setback to the development of Jewish communities in *latifundium* settlements, mainly in terms of demography and the economy, was visible. Referring to statistical data, unfortunately it is difficult to precisely establish the size of the Jewish population on the Zamoyski *latifundium* in the 16th and 17th c. This subject requires separate research.

DZIEJE LUDNOŚCI ŻYDOWSKIEJ NA TERENACH *LATYFUNDIUM* ZAMOYSKICH

ZA CZASÓW LINII KANCLERSKIEJ (JAN „SARIUSZ”, TOMASZ, JAN „SOBIEPAN”
ZAMOYSCY). PRZYCZYNEK DO BADAŃ

(STRESZCZENIE)

Celem artykułu jest omówienie dziejów ludności żydowskiej na terenach należących do rodziny Zamoyskich w okresie od drugiej połowy XVI do drugiej połowy XVII wieku, w kresie rządów założyciela ordynacji Jana „Sariusza” Zamoyskiego (1542–1605), jego syna Tomasza Zamoyskiego (1594–1638) oraz wnuka Jana „Sobiepana” Zamoyskiego (1627–1665), ostatniego ordynata z tzw. linii starszej, zwanej też „kanclerską”. Zostały w nim omówione warunki polityczne, jakie towarzyszyły osiedlaniu się Żydów w *latyfundium* Zamoyskich (w szczególności w większych ośrodkach miejskich: Zamościu, Szczepreszynie, Tomaszowie, Kraśniku oraz Tarnogrodzie) oraz aspekty społeczne, kulturowe i gospodarcze ich funkcjonowania na tym terenie.

⁷⁸ Tazbir, *Żydzi w opinii staropolskiej*, p. 226.

GESCHICHTE DER JÜDISCHEN BEVÖLKERUNG IM RAUM DES *LATIFUNDIUMS* DER FAMILIE ZAMOYSKI

IN DER ZEIT DER KANZLER-LINIE (JAN „SARIUSZ“, TOMASZ, JAN „SOBIEPAN“
ZAMOYSKI). VERSUCH EINER ANNÄHERUNG

(ZUSAMMENFASSUNG)

Der vorliegende Beitrag möchte die Geschichte der jüdischen Bevölkerung in den Landgütern der Familie Zamoyski von der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jh. bis zur zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jh. näher untersuchen. Dabei handelt es sich um die Zeit der Regierung des Majoratsgründers Jan „Sariusz“ Zamoyski (1542–1605), seines Sohns Tomasz Zamoyski (1594–1638) sowie Enkels Jan „Sobiepan“ Zamoyski (1627–1665), der Letztere aus der sog. „älteren“, genannt auch „kanzlerischen“ Linie. Es werden die politischen Bedingungen vorgestellt, welche die Ansiedlung der Juden im Latifundium Zamoyski begleiteten (vor allem in größeren Städten: Zamość, Szcebrzeszyn, Tomaszów, Kraśnik und Tarnogród) sowie die sozialen, kulturellen und wirtschaftlichen Aspekte ihres Wirkens in diesem Gebiet.

Übersetzt von
Renata Skowrońska

THE HISTORY OF THE JEWISH POPULATION ON THE ZAMOYSKI *LATIFUNDIUM*

DURING THE PERIOD THE CHANCELLOR LINE (JAN 'SARIUSZ', TOMASZ
AND JAN 'SOBIEPAN' ZAMOYSKI): CONTRIBUTION TO THE RESEARCH

(SUMMARY)

The aim of this article is to consider the history of the Jewish population on lands belonging to the Zamoyski family from the second half of the 16th to the second half of the 17th c., during the time of the founder of the Zamoyski Family estate, Jan 'Sariusz' Zamoyski (1542–1605), his son Tomasz Zamoyski (1594–1638) and grandson Jan 'Sobiepan' Zamoyski (1627–1665), the last heir of the so-called 'older' or 'chancellor' line. In this work the political conditions which accompanied the settling of Jews on the Zamoyski latifundium (especially in the larger municipal centres such as Zamość, Szcebrzeszyn, Tomaszów, Kraśnik and Tarnogród) are discussed as well as the social, cultural and economic aspects of this settlement.

Słowa kluczowe / Schlagworte / Keywords

- latyfundium; Żydzi; Ordynacja Zamoyska; Jan „Sariusz” Zamoyski (1542–1605); Tomasz Zamoyski (1594–1638); Jan „Sobiepan” Zamoyski (1627–1665);
- latifundium; Juden; Majoratsgut der Familie Zamoyski; Jan „Sariusz” Zamoyski (1542–1605); Tomasz Zamoyski (1594–1638); Jan „Sobiepan” Zamoyski (1627–1665);
- latifundium; Jews; Zamoyski Family Fee Tail; Jan ‘Sariusz’ Zamoyski (1542–1605); Tomasz Zamoyski (1594–1638); Jan ‘Sobiepan’ Zamoyski (1627–1665)

BIBLIOGRAFIA / BIBLIOGRAFIE / BIBLIOGRAPHY**ŹRÓDŁA DRUKOWANE / GEDRUCKTE QUELLEN / PRINTED SOURCES**

- Morgensztern J., *Regesty dokumentów z Metryki Koronnej do historii Żydów w Polsce z lat 1574–1586*, “Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego”, 47–48 (1963), pp. 113–129.
- Morgensztern J., *Regesty dokumentów z Metryki Koronnej do historii Żydów w Polsce z lat 1633–1660*, “Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego”, 58 (1966), pp. 107–148.
- Morgensztern J., *Regesty dokumentów z Metryki Koronnej i Sigillat do historii Żydów w Polsce z lat 1588–1632*, “Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego”, 51 (1964), pp. 59–78.
- Morgensztern J., *Regesty dokumentów z Metryki Koronnej i Sigillat do historii Żydów w Polsce z lat 1660–1668*, “Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego”, 67 (1968), pp. 67–109.
- Morgensztern J., *Regesty dokumentów z Metryki Koronnej i Sigillat do historii Żydów w Polsce z lat 1669–1696*, “Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego”, 69 (1969), pp. 71–109.
- Relacje nuncjuszów apostolskich i innych osób o Polsce*, ed. by E. Rykaczewski, 1 (1864). *Sejm Czterech Ziem. Źródła*, ed. by J. Goldberg, A. Kaźmierczyk, (2011).

LITERATURA / LITERATUR / LITERATURE

- Albin B.J., *Rzemiosło i handel miasta Kraśnika w XVI i XVII wieku*, in: *Z dziejów powiatu kraśnickiego: materiały z sesji naukowej*, ed. by J.R. Szaflik, K. Myśliński, (1963), pp. 77–98.
- Balaban M., *Kiedy i skąd przybyli Żydzi do Polski*, “Miesięcznik Żydowski”, 2 (1931), pp. 112–121.
- Balaban M., *Żydzi lwowscy na przełomie XVI–XVII w.*, (1906).
- Bilewicz A., *Kim byli lwowscy i zamojscy Sefardyjczycy?*, in: *Żydzi w Zamościu i na Zamojszczyźnie. Historia – kultura – literatura*, ed. by W. Litwin, M. Szabłowska-Zaremba, S.J. Żurek, (2012), pp. 31–44.
- Chlebowski B., *Zamość, ordynacja Zamojskich i powiat zamojski*, (1947).
- Goldberg J., *Jewish Privileges in the Polish Commonwealth Charters of Rights Granted to Jewish Communities in Poland-Lithuania in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, (1985).
- Goldberg J., *Wystąpienie na uroczystości nadania tytułu doktora honoris causa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego*, “Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego”, 1–2 (1993), pp. 127–130.
- Goldberg J., *Żydzi w społeczeństwie, gospodarce i kulturze Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej*, (2012).
- Hanejko E., *Ordynaci Zamojscy a miasto Tomaszów w drugiej połowie XVII i w XVIII wieku*, in: *Władza i prestiż. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. by J. Urwanowicz, E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, P. Guzowski, (2003), pp. 423–434.
- Horn M., *Żydzi na Rusi Czerwonej w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku: działalność gospodarcza na tle rozwoju demograficznego*, (1975).
- Horodyski B., *Najstarsza lustracja Zamościa*, “Teki Zamojska”, 1–4, (1938), pp. 197–212.
- Janas E., *Prywatne wojska Zamojskich*, in: *Zamość. Z przeszłości twierdzy i miasta*, ed. by A. Koprucki, A. Witusik, (1980), pp. 88–105.
- Kopciowski A., *Stan badań nad historią i kulturą zamojskich Żydów. Próba syntezy*, in: *Żydzi w Zamościu i na Zamojszczyźnie. Historia – kultura – literatura*, ed. by W. Litwin, M. Szabłowska-Zaremba, S.J. Żurek, (2012), pp. 19–29.
- Kraśnik. Szlak chasydzki*, ed. by S. Mańko, W. Litwin, (2008).
- Kraśnik-historia gminy żydowskiej*, <http://polin.org.pl/heritage/30/>.
- Morgenstern J., *Z dziejów Żydów w Kraśniku do połowy XVII wieku*, “Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego”, 34 (1960), pp. 71–96.
- Morgensztern J., *O działalności gospodarczej Żydów w Zamościu w XVI i XVII w.*, “Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego”, 53 (1965), pp. 11–28.

- Morgensztern J., *O osadnictwie Żydów w Zamościu na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku*, "Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego", 43–44 (1962), pp. 3–17.
- Morgensztern J., *Podatki Żydów Ordynacji Zamojskiej w XVI i XVII w.*, "Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego", 71–72 (1969), pp. 9–38.
- Morgensztern J., *Uwagi o Żydach sefardyjskich w Zamościu w latach 1588–1650*, "Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego", 38 (1961), pp. 68–82.
- Opas T., *Kraśnik w pierwszej połowie XVIII wieku*, in: *Z dziejów powiatu kraśnickiego: materiały z sesji naukowej*, ed. by J.R. Szaflik, K. Myśliński, (1963), pp. 138–140.
- Pańczyk T., *Szczerzeszyn*, available on the Internet: <http://www.kirkuty.xip.pl/szczerzeszyn.html>.
- Partyka W., *Opieka społeczna w Ordynacji Zamojskiej w XVII–XVIII wieku*, (2008).
- Schiper I., *Dzieje handlu żydowskiego na ziemiach polskich*, (1957).
- Sidorowska A.B., *Klucz szczerzeski Ordynacji Zamojskiej w XVII i XVIII wieku*, (2009).
- Sidorowska A.B., *Szczerzeszyńska gmina żydowska w XVI–XVIII wieku*, "Res Historica", 20 (2005), pp. 189–198.
- Śliwiński A., *Jan Zamojski, kanclerz i hetman wielki koronny*, (1947).
- Sochaniewicz K., *Przywileje miasta Tomaszowa*, "Teki Zamojskie", 3, 4 (1921), pp. 62–63.
- Szacki J., *Znakomicy Żydzi rodem z Zamościa*, "Teki Zamojskie", 1, 2 (1921), pp. 18–24.
- Szczygieł R., *Lokacja miasta i jego dzieje do końca XVI wieku*, in: *Dzieje Tarnobrodzkiego powiatu*, ed. by R. Szczygieł, (2006), pp. 45–63.
- Szczygieł R., *Prawda i fikcja o początkach miasta Tomaszowa*, "Res Historica", 20 (2005), pp. 79–89.
- Tarnawski A., *Działalność gospodarcza Jana Zamojskiego. Kanclerza i hetmana wielkiego koronnego (1572–1605)*, (1935).
- Tazbir J., *Żydzi w opinii staropolskiej*, in: *Świat Panów Pasków*, ed. by J. Tazbir, (1986).
- Trzciniński A., *Śladami zabytków kultury żydowskiej na Lubelszczyźnie*, (1991).
- Węgrzynek H., *Rola Żydów w gospodarce Ordynacji Zamojskiej w drugiej połowie XVII i na początku XVIII wieku*, in: *Żydzi w Zamościu i na Zamojszczyźnie. Historia – kultura – literatura*, ed. by W. Litwin, M. Szablowska-Zaremba, S.J. Żurek, (2012), pp. 45–52.
- Wituski A.A., *O Zamojskich, Zamościu i Akademii Zamojskiej*, (1978).
- Zachowane synagogi i domy modlitwy w Polsce*, ed. by J. Jagielski, E. Bergman, (1964).
- Zamość. Szlak chasydzki*, ed. by R. Kuwałek, W. Litwin, (2008).
- Zawadzki J., *Dokumenty do historii Żydów okresu nowożytnego przechowywane w archiwach prywatnej proveniencji w Archiwum Głównym Akt Dawnych*, in: *Źródła archiwalne do dziejów Żydów w Polsce*, ed. by B. Woszczyński, V. Urbaniak, (2001), pp. 27–30.

Zętar J., *Architektura Sakralna Lubelszczyzny jako przejaw wielokulturowych tradycji regionu*, "Teki Komisji Architektury, Urbanistyki i Studiów Krajobrazowych", (2007), pp. 203–224.

Żydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej: działalność społeczna, gospodarcza, oświatowa i kulturalna, ed. by I. Schiper, A. Tartakower, A. Haffka, 1 (1933).

Żydzi w Zamościu i na Zamojszczyźnie. Historia – kultura – literatura, ed. by W. Litwin, M. Szablowska-Zaremba, S.J. Żurek, (2012).