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SUBURBAN STORY: STRUCTURE OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN LARGEST ROYAL CITIES OF 18TH CENTURY CROWN POLAND

The differentiation in the basic structures¹ of the Jewish urban communities in old Poland is not studied enough. There are three main topics that should be discussed in this respect: the distinction between royal and private towns, the distinction between the major and small communities including the scope of the communal jurisdiction over its rural periphery (Hebrew *svivot*), and the distinction between urban and suburban communities. The first subject only drew sufficient attention of the scholarly research. Gershon Hundert's monography on Opatów should be mentioned first and foremost², and studies dealing with the Jews in estates of Polish magnates also include discussion on the Jewish communities in private towns³. However, though the very existence of the rural peripheries of the urban Jewish communities and of the suburban communities is well known, no comprehensive study was dedicated to these two subjects. With the discovery of the entire corpus of the Jewish poll-tax lists in Crown Poland for 1717–1764 a significantly new information can be added to both of these subjects⁴. I deal with the structure the Jewish autonomous fiscal units including the distinction between major communities, small urban communities and their rural peripheries in a separate study⁵. The present article deals with the third

¹ By "basic structure" I mean spacial organisation, not internal structure, which is completely different subject. For this distinction see J. Goldberg, *Gminy żydowskie (kahaly) w systemie władztwa dominialnego w szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej*, in: *Między historią a teorią*, ed. M. Drozdowski, Warszawa–Poznań 1988, pp. 152–171.

² G. D. Hundert, *The Jews in a Polish Private Town: the Case of Opatów in the Eighteenth Century*, Baltimore 1992.

³ See M. Rosman, *The Lords' Jews, Magnate–Jewish Relations in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth during the 18th Century*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1990; A. Teller, *Kesef, koakh ve-hashpaa. Ha–yehudim be–akhuzot beit Radziwiłł be–Lita be–meah ha–18*, Jerusalem 2006.

⁴ On these lists see J. Kalik, *Ha–otsar ha–avud: reshimot mas ha–gulgolet ha–yehudi be–mea ha–18 she–be–arkhiyon ha–tsava ha–polani*, "Zion" 69, 2004, pp. 329–356; eadem, *Jewish Leaseholders (Arendarze) in 18th Century Crown Poland*, "Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas" 54, 2006, pp. 229–240.

⁵ J. Kalik, *Deconstructing communities: Administrative Structure of the Rural Jewish Population in 18th Century Crown Poland*, (forthcoming).

above-mentioned topic of the distinction between urban and suburban Jewish communities. Large urban Jewish communities of pre-partition Crown Poland left behind wealthy documentation (both Polish and Jewish)⁶. Their basic structure is known primarily from two systematic sources: the census of the Jewish population of 1764/1765⁷ and annual lists of the Jewish poll-tax⁸. Three different patterns of communal organisation can be distinguished on the basis of the comparative study of these two sources⁹: 1) urban community proper, 2) combination of urban and suburban communities, and 3) suburban communities only, without urban community itself. Vast majority of Jewish communities were of the first simple kind, but the Jewish communal organisation in largest royal towns, except for Poznań¹⁰, was characterised by the presence of independent suburban communities. The reason for this particular development is not clear except for several clear cases of an expulsion of the Jews from the city (Cracow, Warsaw), or the privileges not to tolerate Jews (*de non tolerandis Judaeis*)¹¹ granted to them (Gdańsk), or at least burghers' claim that such a privilege did exist (Lublin). One or more suburban communities co-existed with the urban one in Lublin, Lwów (modern Lviv in Ukraine), and Przemyśl; the Jews in Cracow (Kazimierz) and Gdańsk (German Danzig) were organised in suburban communities without urban community of their own. The present article deals with the two latter more complicated patterns only. There was no Jewish community, either urban or suburban, before 1775 in Warsaw, nevertheless this city is dealt with in this article, since the information found in the poll-tax lists provides a very interesting insight into the very initial steps of the Jewish settlement in the Polish capital. The Jewish community of Kazimierz, on the contrary, is not dealt with here though this "Jewish

⁶ See in general G. Hundert, *Jewish Urban Residence in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Early Modern Age*, "Jewish Journal of Sociology" 26, 1984, pp. 25-34; M. Piechotka, K. Piechotka, *Dzielnice żydowskie w strukturze przestrzennej miast polskich*, in: *Żydzi w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, eds. A. Link-Lenczowski, T. Poloniski, Wrocław 1991, pp. 306-320.

⁷ The original manuscript has been perished during the World War 2. A compilation of all published data of the census is found in S. Stampfer, *The 1764 Census of Polish Jewry*, "Bar-Ilan. Annual of Bar-Ilan University. Studies in Judaica and the Humanities" 24/25: *Studies in the History and Culture of East European Jewry*, ed. G. Bacon, M. Rosman, 1989, pp. 59-147.

⁸ See note 4.

⁹ For systematic comparison between the census and the poll-tax lists see J. Kalik, *Between the census and the poll-tax: the Jewish Population of Crown Poland during the 18th Century*, (in preparation).

¹⁰ History of Poznań Jewish community differed in many other respects from the rest of the Jewish communities in Polish royal towns. See more recent studies on Poznań Jewry with bibliography of earlier studies A. Michałowska, *Między demokracją a oligarchią: Władze gmin żydowskich w Poznaniu i Swarzędzu*, Warszawa 2000; A. Teller, *Khayim be-tsavta. Ha-rova ha-yehudi shel Poznań be-makhsit ha-rishona shel ha-mea ha-17*, Jerusalem 2003.

¹¹ On this privilege see J. Goldberg, 'De non tolerandis Judaeis'. *On the Introduction of Anti-Jewish Laws into Polish Towns and the Struggle against them*, in: *Studies in the Jewish History Presented to Professor Raphael Mahler on his Seventy-fifth Birthday*, ed. S. Yeivin, Merhaviva 1974, pp. 39-52.

town” was in fact a Jewish suburb of Cracow, since new material from the Jewish poll-tax lists does not add any significantly new information about this famous community¹².

Let us begin with the third pattern, whose origin is quite clear: Jews settled in suburbs of the cities with the privileges “not to tolerate Jews”.

1. Gdańsk

The Jews were banned from Western (Royal) Prussia since the Teutonic knights’ rule¹³, and the city of Gdańsk continued to enjoy this privilege also under the Polish rule. Jews, however, settled in several ecclesiastic jurydyka (exterritorial enclaves) under protection of the archbishop of Chełmno (Kulm) near Gdańsk¹⁴. Four such Jewish suburbs of Gdańsk appear in the census of 1764/1765: Wrzeszcz (Langforty) and Święta Studzienka (Heiligenbrunn) forming one community, Oruńskie Przedmieście (Hoppenbruch), and Chmielnik (Weinberg)¹⁵, but only two of them are found also in the Jewish poll-tax lists: Wrzeszcz¹⁶ (Langforty of the census) and Stare Szkoty¹⁷ (German Altschottland), which corresponds to neighbouring Oruńskie Przedmieście of the census. Combining together the information found in these two sources one can conclude that the Jews lived in 1751–1764 in five suburbs of Gdańsk (Stare Szkoty, Święta Studzienka, Oruńskie Przedmieście, Wrzeszcz, and Chmielnik), being organised in three communities (see table 1).

Table 1. Jewish suburbs of Gdańsk (Danzig)¹⁸

years	1751	1753	1754	1761	1763	Census of 1764/1765
Wrzeszcz	–	445	500	–	600	230
Stare Szkoty	800	–	–	200	–	504
Chmielnik	–	–	–	–	–	364

¹² See classical study by M. Bałaban, *Dzieje Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu, 1305–1868*, Kraków 1912; for more recent studies see *Kraka, Kazimierz, Kraków. Mekhkarim be-toldot zehudei Kraków*, ed. E. Reiner, Tel Aviv 1991, especially for bibliography see in this volume an article by G. D. Hundert, *Historiografiya shel Kraków ha-yehudit*, pp. 15–28.

¹³ See Z. H. Nowak, *Dzieje Żydów w Prusach Królewskich do roku 1772, Charakterystyka*, in: *Żydzi w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, pp. 136–143.

¹⁴ See S. Echt, *Die Geschichte der Juden in Danzig, Leer/Ostfriesland* 1972, p. 14.

¹⁵ J. Kleczyński, F. Kluczycki, *Liczba głów żydowskich w Koronie z taryf roku 1765*, „Archiwum Komisji Historycznej Akademii Umiejętności”, vol. 8, 1898, p. 10; reprinted in S. Stampfer, op. cit., p. 85.

¹⁶ AGAD, Archiwum Skarbu Wojskowego (ASW), dział (dz.) 84, sygn. 44, 45, 53.

¹⁷ Ibidem, sygn. 42, 51.

¹⁸ Numerals in all tables stand for assessed amount of the Jewish poll-tax in złoty in all annual columns, except for a column entitled “census of 1764/1765” where they stand for number of persons counted for the census. Short dash (–) in annual column means that this particular tax-payer (either communal or individual) did not pay any poll-tax during this year, and in a column of census of 1754/1765 it means that no Jews were reported in this place. Asterisk (*) means that this tax-payer appears, but under a different subheading, and a dot (·) appears when no information is available.

2. Warsaw

A similar situation is attested at Warsaw, where the Jews were prohibited to settle by Mazowian princes, and this prohibition remained in force after the incorporation of Mazowian principality into Crown Poland¹⁹. According to the census, 235 Jews lived in district of Warsaw (ziemia warszawska)²⁰. In the poll-tax lists Warsaw belonged to the Jewish autonomous council of Węgrów, but it appeared there only as a subheading introducing rural Jews living in villages near Warsaw. Such subheadings began to appear from 1750, introducing either individual tax-payers (mostly leaseholders), or simply names of the villages, without indication who paid taxes there. As everywhere in council of Węgrów, villages are usually grouped in pairs, and 23 villages altogether appear in nine annual lists²¹. This does not mean that the Jews began to settle in these villages only after 1750. The subheadings before groups of villages were introduced in poll-tax lists only in the seventeen forties in response to numerous complains of military tax-collectors, who could not find small villages belonging to the Jewish council of Węgrów²². Villages that later were identified as located "near Warsaw" began to appear in poll-tax lists already from 1725. Initially they appeared without any indication of their geographical location inside the community of Węgrów²³, from 1748 they were introduced by the subheading "near Kałuszyn"²⁴, and only from seventeen fifties they began to be identified as located near Warsaw (see tables 2 and 2a).

Table 2. Villages near Warsaw

year	1750	1754	Census of 1764/1765
Małe Dębe and Kolno	40	30	-
Miłosna and Borków	-	30	-
Targówek and Marki	-	30	-
Wołomin and Duczki	40	30	-
Zbytki and Zerno	-	30	-
total	80	150	235

¹⁹ On the history of Warsawian Jewry see A. Lewinsohn, *Toldot yehudei Warsha*, Tel Aviv 1953; E. Ringelblum, *Żydzi w Warszawie (do roku 1527)*, Warszawa 1932; J. Shatzky, *Geshikhte fun yidn in Warshe*, vol. 1: *Fun di anheibn bizn oifshand fun 1831*, New York 1947.

²⁰ J. Kleczyński, F. Kluczycki, op. cit., p. 20; S. Stampfer, op. cit., p. 144.

²¹ AGAD. ASW, dz. 84, sygn 41, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 53.

²² Ibidem, sygn. 23, pp. 199–201; sygn. 26, pp. 307–308.

²³ Ibidem, sygn. 15, 16, 17, 19, 26, 28, 38.

²⁴ Ibidem, sygn. 39, 41, 43.

Table 2a. Individual taxpayers in villages near Warsaw

village	occu- pation	Without subheading									
		1725	1726	1727	1729	1736	1738	1747	1755	1758	
Borków	lease- holder	36	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Michałów	lease- holder	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Popów on Bug	lease- holder	-	-	-	-	-	30	*	40	-	
Pustelnik	lease- holder	-	-	-	-	40	-	-	-	-	
Pustelnik and Łęki	lease- holder	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	*	-	
Radzymin, Ręczaje and Wólka Ręczajska	tavern- keepers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	-	
Wołomin	Moszek the Jew	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	
Zabraniec	lease- holder	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	
village	occu- pation	Near Kałuszyn			Near Warsaw						
		1748	1750	1752	1753	1755	1757	1758	1760	1761	1763
Dębe behind Praga	lease- holder	-	80	-	20	-	-	-	-	-	-
Duczki	lease- holder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-
Golędzinów behind Praga	lease- holder	-	-	-	-	40	-	30	-	-	-
Kolno and Zabraniec	lease- holder	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kuligów	lease- holder	*	-	*	-	*	-	-	-	20	-
Łęka and Krupki	lease- holder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	20	-
Michałów	lease- holder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	-
Miłosna	lease- holder	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Miłosna and Borków	two lease- holders	-	-	-	-	40	-	-	-	-	-
Popów on Bug	lease- holder	*	-	*	-	-	-	-	40	*	-
Pustelnik	lease- holder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	20	-
Radzymin	Lewko the Jew	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	-	*

village	occu- pation	Near Kałuszyn			Near Warsaw							
		1748	1750	1752	1753	1755	1757	1758	1760	1761	1763	
Targówek behind Praga and Zbytki	lease- holder	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Zabraniec	lease- holder	-	-	-	-	-	18	-	-	-	-	50
Zagościnniec	lease- holder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	-
Załużbice	lease- holder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	-
Zbytki and Miłosna	two lease- holders	-	-	30	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Zbytki and Zerzeń	two tavern- keepers	-	-	-	-	30	-	-	-	-	-	-

All of these villages are located on the right bank of the Vistula, some of them in considerable distance from Warsaw (Popów on Bug²⁵, Załużbice), others formed a rural periphery of Warsaw (Duczki, Kolno, Krupki, Marki, Miłosna, Pustelnik, Radzymin, Wołomin, Zabraniec, Zagościnniec²⁶), just as hundreds of villages around all other towns on the territory of the Jewish council of Węgrów. Some of these villages, however, gradually became integral parts of Warsaw's suburbs of Praga (Gołędzinów, Michałów, Targówek)²⁷, and Wawer (Borków, Kuligów, Zbytki, Zerzeń). The Jewish population of Gołędzinów, Michałów, and Targówek formed a nucleus of the Jewish community of Praga (so-called "Szmulki") established in 1775²⁸. Its founder, Szmul Zbytkower came in 1756 from neighbouring village Zbytki near Wawer²⁹. Thus, the Jewish poll-tax lists reflect the earliest stage of the Jewish presence in two suburbs of Warsaw, immediately preceding their communal organisation.

²⁵ In 1744, 1747, and 1752 (*ibid.* sygn. 35, 38, 43) Popów on Bug appears under the heading "near Kosów and Czyżew"; in 1748 (*ibidem*, sygn. 39) — under the heading "near Niegów"; in 1761 (*ibidem*, sygn. 51) four villages (Jackowo, Łosie, Ślężany, and Wola) were introduced by subheading "near Popów on Bug". Nearby Kuligów on Bug also appeared in poll-tax lists, but never under subheading "near Warsaw". In 1744, 1745, 1748, and 1752 (*ibidem*, sygn. 35, 36, 39, 43) it is introduced by subheading "near Kosów and Czyżew", and in 1755 (*ibidem*, sygn. 46) it appears without subheading. It should be distinguished from Kuligów in Wawer.

²⁶ Miłosna now is part of Wesola, Pustelnik is part of Marki, Radzymin and Wołomin are towns. In 1751 (*ibidem*, sygn. 42) Miłosna and Zbytki appear under the heading "near Mińsk" [i.e. Mińsk Mazowiecki], in 1755 (*ibidem*, sygn. 46) Pustelnik and Łęki appear under the heading "near Węgrów".

²⁷ See map of Praga by M. Deutsch from 1770 reproduced in T. Zielińska, *Szlacheccy właściciele nieruchomości w miastach XVIII w.*, Warszawa-Łódź 1987, appendix (original lost).

²⁸ See M. M. Drozdowski, *Żydzi Warszawy stanisławowskiej*, in: *Żydzi w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 196.

²⁹ See A. Lewinsohn, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

It should be especially noticed that, if the role of Praga in the formation of the Jewish community of Warsaw is well known³⁰, the early Jewish presence at Wawer remained so far unknown, probably because it never developed into a separate suburban community. Unlike Praga, the early urban development of Wawer was short-lived and continued from 1720 when Elżbieta Sieniawska founded Wawer's inn until the turn of the century. Precisely during this age (1725–1761) poll-tax lists reflect the concentration of the Jewish population in the vicinity of Wawer.

The dynamics of the Jewish presence in Radzymin near Warsaw are rather unusual. From 1718 to 1739 and in 1763 again Radzymin was one of the urban communities paying from 50 to 200 *złoty* in the framework of the council of Węgrów (see table 2b), but in 1755 and 1760 it was treated as a rural community paying its poll-tax together with nearby villages of Ręczaje and Wólka Ręczajska (see table 2a).

Table 2b. Radzymin

years	1718	1719	1722	1723	1727	1730	1732	1733	1734	1736	1737	1739	1763
Radzymin	100	100	80	200	50	120	100	100	100	120	120	110	50

Jews lived also inside Warsaw proper during the 18th century in spite of the prohibition, mainly in numerous private jurydyka³¹. However, since their presence there remained technically illegal, they paid their poll-tax not in the framework of the community of Węgrów, but in other Jewish fiscal units. Three such Jews are attested in the poll-tax lists: Lewek in the Warsaw steam-kitchen (garkuchnia warszawska) who paid his tax in 1737 on behalf of the Jewish council of Lublin³², Dawid the cook (garkuchniarz) living on the Senatorska Street in Warsaw, and Wigdor from Toruń in the palace of the royal manager of Goszczyn (starosta goszczyński) at Warsaw, both paying their taxes in 1752 on behalf of the Jewish council of Little Poland³³. The choice of the fiscal unit where these Warsaw Jews were obliged to pay their poll-tax was not determined by their origin, since at least one of them (Wigdor) was from Toruń (Thorn) in the voivodeship of Chełmno in Western Prussia where Jewish presence was illegal as well as in Warsaw. This Wigdor, however, lived in the palace of Adam Tarło (1708–1772), who was starosta of Goszczyn in 1752, and the power-base of Tarło family was located in Piekoszów near Kielce in the voivodeship of Sandomierz, or, in Jewish terms, on the territory of the Jewish autonomous council of Little Poland.

Dawid the cook, who lived on Senatorska Street “opposite the Primate’s palace”, also paid his poll-tax in Little Poland because of the identity of his lord — Andrzej Stanisław Załuski the bishop of Cracow, whose palace was situated “opposite Primate’s palace”. The strange way

³⁰ See *ibidem*, pp. 57–61.

³¹ See A. Lewinsohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 45–46, 49–50; J. Shatzky, *op. cit.*, pp. 70–84.

³² AGAD, ASW, dz. 84, sygn. 27.

³³ *Ibidem*, sygn. 43.

of indication of his address without disclosure of the identity of his lord resulted probably from an attempt to conceal the violation of ecclesiastic prohibition by the bishop³⁴. These examples show that the decisive factor for the choice of the fiscal framework for some Jews could be neither their place of residence, nor their origin, but the place of residence of their Polish lord³⁵. Of course, there were much more Jews living in private *ju-rydyka* inside Warsaw, and it is not at all clear why the above mentioned three, and they only, were singled out by the Jewish autonomous administration for the purpose of the poll-tax assessment. One can assume that the rest of the Warsaw Jews were effectively tax-exempt remaining outside the authority of the Jewish councils. One can also notice that there was no administrative connection whatsoever between the suburban Jews subjected to the council of Węgrów and Warsaw Jews on the left bank-side of Vistula.

3. Lublin

The city of Lublin as one of the largest Polish towns and one of the major places of the Jewish settlement in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth drew relatively much attention of the scholars dealing with history of this country's Jewry. Two volumes of sources' collections were published recently³⁶, and many important studies were written³⁷. Sources about the Jewish population of Lublin in 18th century are numerous, but mostly unsystematic. The court records of the Lublin Castle provide wealthy information about daily life of individual Jews of Lublin, while the only known systematic source — the census of 1764–1765³⁸ — provided the basis framework of their communal structure. The annual Jewish poll-tax lists combine for the first time these two kinds of information, since communal as well as individual tax-payers appear their side by side. The city of Lublin appears in the annual lists of the Jewish poll-tax as

³⁴ About these prohibitions see J. Kalik, *Jews in Catholic Ecclesiastical Legislation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*, "Jewish History Quarterly" 2004, 209, pp. 26–39.

³⁵ This problem of personal and extraterritorial relations between the Polish magnate and his Jews is discussed in detail in my another article J. Kalik, *Jewish Subjects of Kazimierz Granowski, Voivode of Rawa*, Jewish History (forthcoming).

³⁶ See *Materiały źródłowe do dziejów Żydów w księgach grodzkich lubelskich z doby panowania Augusta II Sasa 1697–1733*, ed. H. Gmiterek, Lublin 2001, *Judaica Lublinensia*, vol. 1; *Materiały źródłowe do dziejów Żydów w księgach grodzkich lubelskich z doby panowania Michała Korybuta Wiśniowieckiego i Jana III Sobieskiego 1669–1697*, ed. H. Gmiterek, Lublin, 2003, *Judaica Lublinensia*, vol. 2.

³⁷ See *Żydzi w Lublinie*, ed. T. Radzik, vol. 1–2, Lublin 1995–1998; M. Bałaban, *Die Judenstadt von Lublin*, Berlin 1919 (Polish version: *Żydowskie miasto w Lublinie*, Lublin 1991); S. Wojciechowski, *Gmina żydowska w Lublinie w XVI wieku*, "Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego" 1952, 3, pp. 204–212; B. Mandelsberg-Schildkraut, *Mekhkarim le-toldot yehudei Lublin*, Tel-Aviv 1965; J. Mazurkiewicz, *Jurydyki lubelskie*, Wrocław 1956; J. Muszyńska, *Żydzi w miastach województwa sandomierskiego i lubelskiego w XVIII wieku. Studium osadnicze*, Kielce 1998.

³⁸ R. Mahler, *Statistik fun yidn in der Lubliner Voyevodstvo*, "Yunger Historiker" 2, 1929, pp. 67–108; S. Stampfer, op. cit., pp. 126–128.

separate fiscal unit from 1723 to 1764³⁹. Among other cities found in this capacity⁴⁰, Lublin is exceptionally well documented. Not only surrounding villages and suburbs are indicated in these lists, but also numerous individual tax-payers figure there under their personal names and other qualifications, such as name of their lord, occupation, place of residence, and family connections. This unusual level of details was not a good sign for the Jews of Lublin. The Jewish poll-tax lists reflect the epoch of 1717–1764, when this tax was collected directly by the military, by-passing Jewish autonomous bodies, and only the tax assessment remained in the hands of the Jewish councils. Thus, being singled out as individual tax-payer in practice meant that the Jewish regional council issued personal assignment (*asygnacja*) in the name of this particular Jew, and handed it to the particular cavalry unit, which had a right to collect an assessed amount of money. It was not very pleasant situation for any Jew to be harassed by Polish military, but for a modern scholar it provides an unusually wealthy information.

The Jewish fiscal unit called City of Lublin consisted of the Jewish community of Lublin proper, called Lublin synagogue or walled town, three suburbs, small town of Głusk, one cluster of estates (*klucz*), and 20 villages. Part of the Lublin community proper in the burden of taxation diminished all the time dropping from 1773 złoty out of 2949 złoty (60%) paid by a entire fiscal unit in 1733 to merely 30 złoty out of 650 złoty (4.6%) in 1764. This process probably reflects attempts of well established urban community to transfer most of the taxation burden to weaker suburban population. Three of the suburbs of Lublin appear as separate tax-paying communities: Wola Ciechowska otherwise known as Wieniawa, Wola Kalinowszczyzna called also Lubelskie Przedmieście, and Krakowskie Przedmieście. Krakowskie Przedmieście appears as separate community only during one decade in 1737–1747 and its existence as a separate Jewish community was previously unknown. Wieniawa and Kalinowszczyzna bore jointly most of the taxation burden.

The Jewish community of a small town of Głusk paid their poll-tax in the framework of the voivodeship of Lublin (*galil* in Jewish terms) in 1735, but in 1738 and 1750 this community was annexed to the city of Lublin. It did not pay any tax in 1764, but nevertheless 268 Jews lived there according to the census. The cluster of estates *klucz* Pliszczyński consisted of three villages: Turka, Pliszczyn, and Ciecierzyn. The villages appear as tax-paying entities without indication of individual tax-payers during three years only: 1738, 1741, and 1744. 38 villages near Lublin and three more villages near Głusk are mentioned in the census, but their names remained unknown, since the part of the original manuscript of the census dealing with Lublin area was never fully published. The above discussed information is summarised in the table 3. The comparison of

³⁹ AGAD, ASW, dz. 84, sygn. 13–54.

⁴⁰ Cracow (1717–1763), Poznań (1717–1723, 1745–1761), Przemyśl (1717–1724, 1732–1763), Międzyrzecz Podlaski (1721–1724, 1733–1735, 1744–1764), Józefów (1724–1757), Dębica (1729–1764), Siemiatycze (1736), Międzyrzecz Korecki (1758).

the poll-tax potential⁴¹ of this fiscal unit with the figures of the census of 1764/1765 shows clearly that though the figures of the total for entire fiscal unit are quite comparable, the taxation burden was distributed very disproportionately, shifting abruptly from the urban community ("Lublin synagogue") to suburbs and villages.

Table 3. Structure of the fiscal unit of Lublin: City, suburbs, villages

years	1723	1724	1725	1726	1727	1728	1729	1730	1731	1732	1733	1734	1735
City of Lublin	228	221	2322	1708	2468	2614	3221	2146	1154	3644	2949	2100	2070
Lublin synagogue	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1443	1773	1066	970
Wola Ciechowska (Wieniawa)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	798	400	400	400
Wola Kalinowszczyzna	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1398	700	700	700
years	1736	1737	1738	1739	1740	1741	1742	1743	1744	1745	1746	1747	1748
City of Lublin	1300	1854	3073	2605	2253	2975	2586	1053	4050	2899	2762	3301	1759
Lublin synagogue	400	-	-	-	482	505	246	-	320	-	-	-	-
Wieniawa	500	500	500	500	500	380	-	-	-	-	-	-	400
Kalinowszczyzna	400	700	700	700	730	730	730	720	500	650	650	720	-
Krakowskie Przedmieście	-	-	650	750	-	-	1000	-	2000	1350	1200	1201	-
Głusk	-	-	800	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
klucz Pliszczyński	-	-	100	-	-	80	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Biskupie	-	-	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bystrzyca	-	-	-	-	-	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Czechów Wielki	-	-	-	-	-	54	-	-	30	-	-	-	-
Dąbrówka	-	-	40	-	-	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dys	-	-	50	-	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Domki	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	-	-	-	-
Dziesiąta	-	-	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jakubówka Końska	-	-	33	-	-	50	-	-	30	-	-	-	-
Jakubówka Murowana	-	-	50	-	-	40	-	-	50	-	-	-	-
Jastków	-	-	50	-	-	40	-	-	80	-	50	-	-
Konopnica	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	-	-	-	-
Kraszanin	-	-	50	-	-	50	-	-	40	-	-	-	-
Nasutów	-	-	50	-	-	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sławin Mały	-	-	-	-	-	25	-	-	30	-	-	-	-
Sławin Wielki	-	-	-	-	-	25	-	-	30	-	-	-	-
Snopków	-	-	-	-	-	30	-	-	40	-	-	-	-
Sobianowice	-	-	-	-	-	36	-	-	40	-	-	-	-

⁴¹ For the definition of "poll-tax potential" and its relation to the estimated size of the population see J. Kalik, *Between the census and the poll-tax*.

years	1736	1737	1738	1739	1740	1741	1742	1743	1744	1745	1746	1747	1748
Świdniczek	-	-	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Turka	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	-	-	-	-
Wrotków (wójtostwo)	-	-	-	-	-	30	-	-	30	-	-	-	-
years	1749	1750	1751	1752	1753	1754	1755	1756	1758	1759	1760	1761	1762
City of Lublin	2701	2597	2034	1832	2332	960	2596	1814	1107	1448	1935	1540	2051
Lublin synagogue	1030	-	1033	-	-	-	116	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wieniawa	310	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kalinow- szczyzna	-	-	-	-	-	-	2000	-	-	-	-	-	-
Głusk	-	700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
years	1763	1764	Census of 1764/1765		Poll-tax potential								
City of Lublin	423	650	2695		3275								
Lublin synagogue	-	30	1383		30								
Wieniawa	-	270	403		270								
Kalinow- szczyzna	-	350	325		350								
Krakowskie Przedmieście	-	-	-		1201								
Głusk	-	-	268		700								
villages	-	-	316		724								

No individual tax-payers are attested either in Wieniawa⁴² or in Głusk, but numerous individuals residents of Lublin, Krakowskie Przedmieście, Kalinowszczyzna, and surrounding villages appear in poll-tax lists. Individual Jewish tax-payers in Lublin proper, which consisted of the walled town, the castle and the suburb Czwartek, can be subdivided into two main groups: those employed by ecclesiastic institutions, and those employed by secular lords. The first group is particularly interesting. This is in fact the most concentrated example of economic ties between the Catholic Church and the Jews in old Poland⁴³. The sheer number of ecclesiastic institutions, as well as variety of Jewish occupations, are really impressive, especially taking into account, that any business with the Jews was strictly forbidden by ecclesiastic synodal legislation⁴⁴. Three Roman Catholic male monastic orders, two nunnaries, one Uni-

⁴² On this suburb see W. Witkowski, *Podlubelska Wieniawa*, "Rocznik Lubelski" 14, 1938, pp. 155-157.

⁴³ First comprehensive study on the entire complex of Jewish-Christian relation in old Poland see J. Kalik, *Ha-knesiya ha-katolit ve-ha-yehudim be-mamleket Polin-Lita bameot 17-18*, Jerusalem (forthcoming); on these relations in towns in particular see J. Kalik, *Church's Involvement in the Contacts between Jews and Burghers*, "Jewish History Quarterly" 2003, 207, pp. 342-348; on the Jewish-Christian relations in Lublin see A. Kuwałków, R. Kuwałków, *Żydzi i chrześcijanie w Lublinie w XVI i XVII wieku*, in: *Żydzi w Lublinie*, vol. 2, pp. 9-32.

⁴⁴ See note 34.

ate (Greek Catholic) monastery, and two secular churches employed 13 Jews at Lublin during the decade of 1745–1755. Business connections of different ecclesiastic institutions with the Jews were not uniform. The Piarists employed three Jewish craftsmen: glazier, printer, and ribbon-maker (pasamonik). To find the Jewish printer of Christian prayer-books is rather unusual, but since in the 18th century the Piarists were the pioneers of the Polish enlightenment, this Jewish connection maybe is less surprising⁴⁵. Sisters of the Immaculate Conception employed Jewish polisher (szlifierz), probably of the jewels. The church of Trinity owned a bath-house (łaźnia), which it leased to a Jew. Occupations of the other Jews employed by the Church remain unknown; they are simply said to be on the ground or in the household of this or that convent or church. The information about the Jews on the service of the Church at Lublin is summarised in the table 3a.

Table 3a. Individual taxpayers. City of Lublin, ecclesiastic institutions

Employer	Name	Occupation/ place of residence	1745	1747	1749	1750	1751	1752	1755
Basilians (Uniates)	Lewek Mosiek Dobryzow	.	-	-	-	-	-	206	-
Bernardine Sisters	Lewek Ciechowski	.	-	-	-	54	-	-	-
Barefoot Carmelites	Kielman Abram Saul	.	-	-	36 50	-	-	-	- 30
Sisters of Immaculate Conception	Mayer	polisher	-	-	-	-	30	-	-
Jesuits	Szymon Berko Chaneles	.	-	-	-	-	-	54	-
Piarists	Szmul Mertha Nota	glazier	-	-	-	30	-	-	-
	Mosiek Jakob	printer	-	-	-	30	-	-	-
	Fizel Herszel	ribbon-maker	-	-	-	40	-	-	-
Church of St. Nicolas	Fizel Moszy Dobryzow	.	-	100	-	-	-	-	-
Church of the Holy Trinity	Moszek Markowicz Słowiński	bath-house	-	-	-	-	-	54	-
	Moszek son of Abram Liskirs	bath-house	100	60	-	-	-	-	-

Secular lords of individual Jews of Lublin included famous magnate Paweł Karol Sanguszko, great marshal of Lithuania (marszałek wielki

⁴⁵ On Polish enlightenment and the Piarists see J. Kalik, *Attitudes towards the Jews and Catholic identity in eighteenth-century Poland*, in: *Confessional Identity in East-Central Europe, St Andrews Studies in Reformation History*, eds. M. Crăciun, O. Ghitta, G. Mordock, Ashgate 2002, pp. 181–193.

litewski), such high state dignitaries as for example Franciszek Salezy Potocki the Crown master food-cutter (*krajczy koronny*), voivode of Rus August Aleksander Czartoryski, two castellans (*kasztelan*) of Lublin Felicjan Gałęzowski and Maciej Suchodolski⁴⁶, but also a humble tailor. Jews leased their taverns (*austeria*) and inns (*karczma*), or are simply found in their palaces, courts, and houses without indication of their occupations. The full information about the Jews of Lublin employed by secular lords is found in a table 3b.

Table 3b. Individual taxpayers. City of Lublin, secular lords

employer	name	Occupation/place of residence/family connection	1746	1748	1749	1750	1751
August Czartoryski prince voivode of Rus	Moszek	tavern with companion	-	-	100	-	-
Paweł Karol Sanguszko great mashal of Lithuania	Chaim Leyb Maunes Jakob Leyzer Liskers	inn	200	200	-	-	-
		son in law of Abram	60	-	-	-	-
tailor	Jakob Izrael Lemels	near Bernardine monastery	-	-	30	30	-
tailor Wojciech	Herszel Wolf Reszel	in his house	-	-	-	30	-
Wojciechowski	Leyba Moszek Zęborzucki Icek Josiel Manasze	with companion	-	-	-	-	25
			-	-	-	-	30
Brzeźnowski	Abram Leyzer Liskur	.	-	-	-	30	-
Felicjan Gałęzowski castellan of Lublin	Jakob Azyk	inn under his court	-	-	2	-	72
		in his palace	-	-	100	90	-
Maciej Suchodolski castellan of Lublin	Jakob	in his court	-	-	-	36	-
Trzciniński	Kusiel	in his court	-	-	-	36	-
Janek	Nota	father in law of Leyba Moszek Maneles	-	-	-	40	-
Franciszek Salezy Potocki crown master food-cutter	Leyb Opatowski	.	-	-	-	30	-
Orański	Chaim Leyb Maunes	in the inn in Podwale	-	-	-	100	-

Krakowskie Przedmieście was rich suburb where many palaces of upper class residents were located⁴⁷. The only ecclesiastic institution em-

⁴⁶ See: *Urzednicy województwa lubelskiego XVI-XVIII wieku. Spisy*, eds. W. Kłaczewski, W. Urban, Kórnik 1991, *Urzednicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XII-XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. A. Gašiorowski, vol. 4, part 4, pp. 25 (No. 81), 26 (No. 82).

⁴⁷ T. Zielińska, op. cit., pp. 92-96.

ploying Jews there was the Visitation nunnery, which had its own inn with the Jewish innkeeper. Most of the other Jews, however, were not inn- or tavern-keepers, as expected, but merchants and craftsmen: sweets merchant (cukiernik), spices merchant (korzennik), furrier (futernik), butchers (rzeźnicy). The full information about Jewish tax-payers in this Lublin suburb is summarised in table 3c.

Table 3c. Individual tax-payers. Suburbs of Lublin. Krakowskie Przedmieście

employer	Name	Occupation/place of residence/family connection	1737	1741	1744	1745	1746	1747	1749	1750	1751	1752
.	Hirsz	son of Chaim with his son in law,	645	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
.	Hersz	butchers son in law of Chaim councilor	-	700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
.	Lazor Peltowicz, Heszal, Szloma	spices merchant son of Chaim flour merchant	-	-	-	-	-	-	32	-	-	-
Iżycki	Leyba Sus	in his court	-	-	60	-	-	-	100	100	-	-
Forkop	Herz	in his house	-	-	-	-	-	-	52	-	-	-
Józef Łażniewski treasurer of Urzędów	Herszel Pajeryls	son in law of Moszek Manel, in his house	-	-	-	-	-	-	120	-	-	216
Stasiewski	Peysach	in his house	-	-	-	-	-	-	52	-	-	-
Bonecki	Berek	in his house	-	-	-	-	-	-	51	-	-	-
castellan of Czersk	Leyzor	sweets and spices merchant, in his palace	-	-	400	197	300	200	-	-	-	-
	Marko	son in law of Mendel Manes, in his palace	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36
	Lewek Nosen Wawelnicki	in his palace	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	-	-	-

employer	Name	Occupation/place of residence/family connection	1737	1741	1744	1745	1746	1747	1749	1750	1751	1752
Kuczyński	Icek Basies	in his house	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	-	-	-
	Mortha	in his house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	54	-
Visitation nuns	Kuszel	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	-	-	-
	Fabel	son in law of Abuś Tarnopolski, in the inn	-	-	-	-	-	-	90	-	-	-
Paryszowski (Paruszcowski?) starosta of Ropczyce	Wolf Reszel	furrier	-	-	-	-	-	-	36	-	-	-
	Icek Josiel Manellow	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	54	-	-	-
	Wolf Josiel Reszel and Berko	.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	80	-
Tekla Bielińska Mrs. voivode of Chełmno	Leyba Mauszy Maneles	in her house	-	-	-	-	-	300	-	-	-	
Mrs. Grajewska wife of Antoni Grajewski podstol of Smoleńsk	Moszek Majorowicz	in her house	-	-	-	-	-	210	-	-	-	

Kalinowszczyzna was a market-place east of Lublin, centered around the so-called Hay-market (Słomiany Rynek). Mosts of the Jews there worked for three lords: Augustine monks, Józef Sierakowski crown guardian (strażnik koronny), who controlled the northern part of the suburb called Sierakowszczyzna, and Kielczewski, who controlled the Białkowska Góra (Hill) in the southern part of Kalinowszczyzna⁴⁸. Augustines employed general leaseholder, who sub-leased taverns and inns of the monastery to his inn- and tavern-keepers. The highest amount of money, 1000 złoty out of 1759 złoty (56.8%) paid by entire fiscal unit of Lublin, was paid in 1748 by Moszko Szabszowicz, who worked for the Augustines in the hay-market. Since the church of Augustines was located in the hay-market, it is not clear what was his exact occupation. One unnamed paintress (malarka) employed two Jews, one of them a tavern-keeper (szynkarz), and one Jew leased a house in Sierakowszczyzna,

⁴⁸ For the structure of the noble property at Kalinowszczyzna see *ibidem*, p. 39.

which he rented to tenants (komorniki). The information about individual tax-payers of Kalinowszczyzna is found in table 3d.

Table 3d. Individual tax-payers. Suburbs of Lublin. Kalinowszczyzna (Lubelskie Przedmieście)

employer	name	Occupation/place of residence/family connection	1744	1745	1747	1748	1750	1751	1752	1755
Augustines	Szymon	leaseholder	-	-	-	-	-	200	162	-
	Mortha	innkeeper	-	-	-	-	-	70	-	-
	Moszek Szabszowicz	in the haymarket	-	-	-	1000	-	-	-	-
	Jankel Jozefowicz	leaseholder with his tavern-keepers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	150
Sierakowski (Sierakowszczyzna)	Gerszon Azykowicz	in the haymarket	-	200	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Leyzor Moszek	son of Abram Leyzer Liskers	-	-	400	-	-	-	-	-
	Jonas Szymon	with his tenants	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	54
	Berel Chones		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	54
Komarovski	Leyzor Pułtowicz	in his house	-	-	-	-	-	90	-	
Borkowski	Szmul, Solim, Leyzer Liskur	in his house	-	-	-	-	36	54	-	-
paintress	Leyb Maunes, Szloma	son in law of Chaim tavern-keeper	-	-	-	-	-	30	-	-
Kielczewski	Chaim	flour merchant on Białowska Hill	-	100	100	100	70	-	-	-
	Izrael	on Białkowska Hill, son of Chaim flour merchant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30
	Szymon Berko Chounes	with his son	-	-	-	-	-	50	-	-

employer	name	Occupation/place of residence/family connection	1744	1745	1747	1748	1750	1751	1752	1755
.	Herszel Forman	son in law of Manusz	-	-	-	-	-	20	-	-
.	Szmer Boruch Joseles	and daughter in law of Szymon Bryski	-	-	-	-	-	20	-	-
.	Gierszon Michalowicz	son in law of Aron Chańcza	-	-	-	-	-	-	324	-
.	Leyzor Chańcza Obernicki	Behind household of Chaim, on the hay-market	300	-	-	-	-	-	272	-

Several Jews appear in both suburbs without reference to their Polish lord, and all of them are associated in one way or another with certain Chaim, as if he was their employer. The problem is that there were in Lublin at least two prominent Jews called Chaim: Chaim the flour merchant (*maćzarcz*) and Chaim the councilor (*szkolnik*).

Chaim the flour merchant worked for Kielczewski on Białkowska Hill, his son Izrael succeeded him in 1755, and his son in law Leyb Maunes worked for the above mentioned paintress in 1751. Chaim the councilor never appeared directly in poll-tax lists. In 1737 Hirsz, son of Chaim and his son in law were butchers and paid 645 zloty of poll-tax. It is not clear whether this Hirsz is identical with Hersz son in law of Chaim the councilor, who paid 700 zloty together with three companions in 1741 also without indication of their Polish employer. In 1751 he became a leaseholder in the village Zemborzyce. Several other prominent Jewish families can be apprehended in Lublin. Abram Leyzer Liskur (the other spellings: Lisker, Liskers) worked for Brzeźnowski, one of his sons Leyzor Moszko worked for Józef Sierakowski, his another son Moszko leased a bath-house from the Church of Holy Trinity, and his son in law Jakob Leyzer Lisker worked for P. K. Sanguszko. Leyba Moszek Maneles worked for Tekla de domo Peplowska, wife of Michał Bieliński voivode of Chełmno (*pani wojewodzina chełmińska*), his son in law Herszel Pajeryls worked for Józef Łażniewski treasurer (*skarbnik*) of Urzędów⁴⁹, and his father in law Nota worked for Janek. One of the most unusual references to family connections is the appearance of the daughter in law (*niewiasta*)⁵⁰ of

⁴⁹ See *Urzednicy województwa lubelskiego*, p. 100 (No. 753).

⁵⁰ Since the Polish text of the Jewish poll-tax lists was certainly based on Hebrew originals (even the Hebrew alphabetic order is usually preserved), *niewiasta* is probably a translation of Hebrew *kalato* — “his bride” (= daughter in law). Wife in poll-tax lists is always *żona*.

Szymon Bryski as business companion of Szmer Boruch Joneles on the service of Kielczewski on Białkowska Hill.

Vast majority of the rural Jewish tax-payers were leaseholders (*arendarze*): 25 out of 29 (86%). Since Lublin belonged to the leaseholders belt stretching through Crown Poland from northern Podlasie to the Carpatians, most of them, as everywhere in this region, leased villages⁵¹. As usual in such lists, they are rarely identified by their names, and their employers are mentioned only in exceptional cases. For example, the village Wrotków was divided between the royal manager (*wójtostwo*) and private lord, Józef Sierakowski, but the Jewish leaseholder Icek served neither of them, but the monastic order of Bonifratres. The few Jews, who were not leaseholders, were either innkeepers (*karczmarz*), or worked in an unspecified manner for the royal manager (*na wójtostwie*). Rural Jewish tax-payers near Lublin are summarised in table 3e.

About 100 individual Jewish tax-payers of Lublin and its surroundings, of course, do not represent the Jewish population of this city, not even its upper strata. However, their topographical distribution through the city, its suburbs and villages, their affiliation to ecclesiastical institutions, Polish high ranking officials, and private nobles, their professions, and their family connections do produce a unique and coherent picture of the Jewish society in an 18th century Polish royal city.

Table 3e. Individual tax-payers. Villages near Lublin

village	Occupation/ emoloyer/ family con- nection	1740	1745	1746	1747	1748	1749	1750	1751	1752	1755
Czechów Wielki	leaseholder	-	40	-	-	-	36	30	30	36	-
Dąbrowica	leaseholder	30	-	-	-	30	-	36	-	-	-
Domki Jezuickie	innkeeper	-	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dys	leaseholder	50	-	-	50	50	-	-	-	-	-
Dziesiąta	leaseholder	-	30	36	30	40	-	30	-	-	36
Jakubowice Końskie	leaseholder	40	50	-	-	30	-	-	-	54	-
Jakubowice Murowane	leaseholder	35	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jastków	leaseholder of wójt	50	100	-	-	50	-	-	30	90	-
Konopnice	leaseholder	35	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	36	-
Krasinin	leaseholder	40	60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Łobanowice	leaseholder	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mieszowice	leaseholder	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	30	36	-
Motycz	leaseholder	-	40	-	30	36	30	30	-	-	-
Nasutów	leaseholder	40	-	-	-	40	50	60	-	-	-
Nasutów and Dąbrowica	leaseholder	-	-	-	70	-	-	-	-	-	-

⁵¹ For leaseholders belt see J. Kalik, *Jewish Leaseholders*.

village	Occupation/ employer/ family con- nection	1740	1745	1746	1747	1748	1749	1750	1751	1752	1755
Pliszczyn	leaseholder	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sławin	leaseholder	-	60	70	-	-	-	60	-	-	-
Sławin Mały	leaseholder	20	-	-	-	20	30	-	-	36	36
Sławin Wielki	leaseholder	30	-	-	30	30	36	-	-	-	-
Snopków	leaseholder	-	-	36	-	30	-	36	-	36	-
Sobinowice	leaseholder	-	52	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Świdnik part of starostwa of Tysznów	leaseholder	-	-	-	-	-	-	36	-	37	-
Tomaszewice	leaseholder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	-	-
Turka	innkeeper	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	-	-
Wrotków part of Sierakowski	leaseholder of PP. Bonifratres	40	50	50	-	40	100	42	-	-	-
Zemborzyce	leaseholder son in law of Chaim councilor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36	36	-
	leaseholder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	-
	of wójt	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	-

Their composition is shown on table 3f, where all individual tax-payers in the fiscal unit of the city of Lublin are classified according to their place of residence, the identity of their lords, and according to their occupation. Differences between urban, suburban and rural areas are conspicuous indeed: ecclesiastic employers are much more prominent inside the city than in the suburbs, leaseholding dominates the rural areas, but merchants are present only in suburbs, and craftsmen are most numerous inside the city.

Table 3f. Composition of individual tax-payers

Employer/ occupatin	employer						occupation							
	Eccle- siastic institu- tions		Secular lords		unindi- cated		lease- holders		mer- chants		crafts- men		unindi- cated	
City of Lublin	13	43%	17	57%	-	-	7	23.3%	-	-	6	20%	17	56.7%
suburbs	6	12.5%	30	62.5%	12	25%	6	12.5%	8	16.7%	3	6.2%	31	64.6%
villages	1	3.5%	3	10.3%	25	86.2%	27	93%	-	-	-	-	2	7%
totals	20	18.7%	50	46.7%	37	34.6%	40	37.4%	8	7.5%	9	8.4%	50	46.7%

4. Lwów

There were two Jewish communities in Lwów: in the city and in the suburb called Krakowskie Przedmieście⁵². These two communities are distinguished, however, in the census only⁵³, while in the poll-tax lists the city of Lwów alone appears during the entire recorded period of 1717–1764 in the framework of the Jewish council of Ruś. However, 49 villages near Lwów appear in the annual lists for 1750–52, and 1754⁵⁴ under the subheading “submitted by the community of Lwów” (z podania kahału lwowskiego). Since the district of Lwów is one of the few regions in Crown Poland, for which the original text of the census of 1764/1765 was published in full⁵⁵, the demographic data for 42 villages of Lwów’s rural periphery can be compared with the data of the poll-tax lists (see table 4).

Table 4. Lwów and nearby villages

years	1717	1718	1719	1720	1722	1723	1724	1725	1726	1727	1728	1729	1730	1731
Lwów	1480	1480	2520	793	723	4080	4000	3132	3249	4534	5013	4180	2700	3700
years	1732	1733	1734	1736	1737	1738	1739	1740	1741	1742	1744	1745	1746	1747
Lwów	4416	3000	2200	2300	1330	1880	530	3000	2444	1530	824	950	802	1579
years	1748	1749	1750	1751	1752	1753	1754	1758	1761	1764	Census of 1764/1765	Poll-tax potential		
Lwów	2460	1072	636	2721	–	782	1912	1800	1000	1500	1710	1500		
Krakow- skie Przed- mieście	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4208	–		
Bereż- nica	–	–	–	–	–	–	40	–	–	–	–	40		
Białka Królew- ska	–	–	54	54	36	–	29	–	–	–	–	29		
Borki	–	–	–	–	26	–	–	–	–	–	7	26		
Brodki	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	8	–		
Brzu- chowice	–	–	–	–	36	–	22	–	–	–	10	22		
Ciżyków	–	–	–	–	18	–	–	–	–	–	–	18		
Cyciów	–	–	–	–	–	–	160	–	–	–	–	160		
Dawi- dów	–	–	30	36	54	–	–	–	–	–	4	54		
Dąbro- wica	–	–	–	54	54	–	56	–	–	–	13	56		
Dębna	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	–		

⁵² See M. Bałaban, *Żydzi lwowscy na przełomie XVI-go i XVII-go wieku*, Lwów 1906, pp. 1, 202.

⁵³ F. Bostel, *Żydzi ziemi lwowskiej i powiatu żydaczowskiego w r. 1765*, “Archiwum Komisji Historycznej Akademii Umiejętności”, vol. 6, 1891, p. 357; S. Stampfer, op. cit., p. 85.

⁵⁴ AGAD, ASW, dz. 84, sygn. 41, 42, 43, 45.

⁵⁵ For state of publication of the census see S. Stampfer, op. cit., pp. 58–59.

years	1748	1749	1750	1751	1752	1753	1754	1758	1761	1764	Census of 1764/1765	Poll-tax potential
Dobroszyn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	-
Domażyr	-	-	-	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	36
Dublańny and Malechów	-	-	-	-	20	-	22	-	-	-	5	22
Gajów	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
Głuchovice	-	-	-	-	54	-	-	-	-	-	-	54
Grzybowice	-	-	50	-	54	-	47	-	-	-	14	47
Jańska and Łozina	-	-	-	54	54	-	56	-	-	-	29	56
Kamińopol	-	-	-	-	18	-	-	-	-	-	33	-
Kohajec	-	-	-	-	36	-	18	-	-	-	7	18
Korzelnik	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	-	-	-	-	18
Kozice	-	-	36	36	36	-	29	-	-	-	-	22
Kroczyń	-	-	-	-	36	-	38	-	-	-	-	29
Krotoszyn	-	-	72	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	19	38
Krywce	-	-	50	50	54	-	38	-	-	-	-	36
Laszki	-	-	-	20	20	-	22	-	-	-	6	22
Leszkowice	-	-	-	-	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
Lisienice	-	-	36	36	36	-	-	-	-	-	10	36
Malczyce	-	-	-	54	54	-	-	-	-	-	23	54
Międzyrzecz	-	-	-	-	36	-	44	-	-	-	-	44
Mikłaszów	-	-	72	72	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	72
Milatyce	-	-	-	54	36	-	18	-	-	-	7	18
Mostka	-	-	-	36	18	-	20	-	-	-	-	20
Mszana	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
Piekulowice	-	-	-	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30
Podborce	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	-
Podciemno	-	-	-	-	30	-	-	-	-	-	9	30
Podsadki	-	-	-	54	18	-	20	-	-	-	-	20
Rakowiec	-	-	72	-	36	-	-	-	-	-	19	36
Rokitna	-	-	-	54	18	-	56	-	-	-	8	56
Rzęsna Polska	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-
Rzęsna Ruska	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-

years	1748	1749	1750	1751	1752	1753	1754	1758	1761	1764	Census of 1764/1765	Poll-tax potential
Selicze	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	-	-	-	-	22
Skniłów	-	-	-	54	36	-	29	-	-	-	4	29
Słonka	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	20
Sokol- niki	-	-	-	54	54	-	20	-	-	-	27	20
Sroki	-	-	54	-	36	-	56	-	-	-	9	56
Staw- czany	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	-
Sucha- wola	-	-	-	50	18	-	40	-	-	-	6	40
Sychów	-	-	-	-	36	-	26	-	-	-	-	26
Tołczów	-	-	54	54	54	-	-	-	-	-	12	54
Winniki	-	-	80	54	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	54
Wielkie	-	-	-	30	36	-	-	-	-	-	9	36
Wołów	-	-	-	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	36
Wroców	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
Zagorze	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	47
Zboiska	-	-	54	-	54	-	47	-	-	-	9	36
Zimna- woda	-	-	-	36	36	-	-	-	-	-	17	22
Zimna- wódka	-	-	-	25	25	-	22	-	-	-	5	-
Zniesie- nie	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	47
Zubrze	-	-	54	-	54	-	47	-	-	-	6	20
Żyda- czyce	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	-	-	-		
total	2460	1072	1404	3880	1345	782	3018	1800	1000	1500	6378 (+15)	3340

Two villages (Domażyr and Wroców) belonged to the community of Lwów according to the poll-tax lists, but according to the census they were part of the neighbouring community of Janów (modern Ivano-Frankovsk), and their Jewish population of 15 is added in brackets to the grand total in the table. The comparison of the figures of the census with the poll-tax potential of Lwów and its rural periphery shows that most probably the suburban community was completely tax-exempt, and the taxation burden was divided nearly equally between the urban community and the rural periphery. However, if the urban Jews paid almost per capita (1500 złoty for 1700 persons), the rural population was heavily overtaxed (1840 złoty for 475 persons).

5. Przemysł

The Jews of the city of Przemysł constituted an exterritorial urban community, which paid its poll-tax separately from the territorial Jewish council of Przemysł⁵⁶. However, unlike Lublin, two suburban Jewish

⁵⁶ On Jews of Przemysł in general see M. Krämer, *Dzieje Żydów przemyskich na przełomie XVII-XVIII w.*, Warszawa 1934 (mps. in the archives of ŻIH at Warsaw); J. Krochmal,

communities of Przemyśl had not belonged to this urban fiscal unit, but paid their poll-tax in the framework of the territorial district (powiat) of Przemyśl. One of them called “Przemyskie Przedmieście beyond the wall” (za murem) appeared in the poll-tax lists from 1742 to 1764⁵⁷, and another one called “the Jews of Przemyśl living over San (Zasanie)” appeared from 1749 to 1764⁵⁸ (see table 5).

Table 5. Przemyśl and its suburbs

years	1717	1718	1719	1720	1721	1722	1723	1724	1733	1734	1735	1736	1737	1738
City of Przemyśl	2888	2886	1801	2469	2139	2112	1368	1871	1683	1686	1560	1560	1628	1671
years	1739	1740	1741	1742	1743	1744	1745	1746	1747	1748	1749	1750	1751	1752
City of Przemyśl	1622	1600	1279	818	1638	1728	2068	2068	1968	2000	1743	1593	2883	1153
Przemyskie Przedmieście	-	-	-	60	80	-	80	90	90	90	108	-	131	126
Zasanie (over San)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	90	90	-	-
years	1753	1754	1755	1756	1757	1758	1759	1760	1761	1762	1763	1764	Census of 1764/1765	
City of Przemyśl	1172	1200	2874	1563	1408	2145	1345	1542	1225	1677	2000		2418	
Przemyskie Przedmieście	126	162	-	-	162	162	108	130	130	140	140	140	-	
Zasanie (over San)	-	60	-	-	60	70	60	60	-	60	60	60	-	

Since the part of the census of 1764/1765 dealing with the district of Przemyśl was never published in full, these suburbs are not distinguished from the urban community of Przemyśl in the existing publications⁵⁹. However, since the poll-tax list for 1754 has survived not only in the Central Archives for Ancient Acts at Warsaw⁶⁰ but also in the Czartorski Library at Cracow⁶¹, the very existence of these two suburbs was

Krzyż i menora, żydzi i chrześcijanie w Przemyślu w latach 1559–1772, Przemyśl 1996; M. Schorr, *Żydzi w Przemyślu do końca XVIII wieku*, Lwów 1903.

⁵⁷ AGAD, ASW, dz. 84, sygn. 33, 34, 36–40, 42–45, 47–54.

⁵⁸ Ibidem, sygn. 40, 41, 45, 47–50, 54.

⁵⁹ J. Kleczyński, F. Kluczycki, op. cit., p. 12; S. Stampfer, op. cit., p. 103.

⁶⁰ AGAD, ASW, dz. 84, sygn. 45.

⁶¹ BC, rkp. 1079.

known to the scholars⁶², There is no doubt that the Jews living “over San” lived in a suburb called now Zasanie on the left bank of the river San, but the location of the suburb called simply Przemyskie Przedmieście “beyond the wall” remained unknown. However, several individual tax-payers are mentioned in poll-tax lists for 1735, 1740, 1741, 1745, 1749, and 1752⁶³. One of them, Józef, lived in 1740–41 in Przemyskie Przedmieście, but in 1745 he payed his poll-tax together with another Jew, Lewko, and their places of residence are more precisely defined as Przedmieście Wołkowskie i Mnisze, and yet another Jew, Herszko, payed his poll-tax in 1741, 1749, and 1752 in a suburb of Przemyśl called Wołkowszczyzna. Przedmieście Wołkowskie or Wołkowszczyzna obviously corresponds to modern suburb of Przemyśl called Wilcze, being Ukrainian variants of this place-name, and Mnisze is now a part of the nearby suburb called Lwowskie Przedmieście located south of Wilcze. The occupations of all these three suburban Jews is not indicated, but in 1735 an unnamed “leaseholder of mills” (arendarz, który trzyma młyny) paid his poll-tax in the framework of the community of Sambor (Samborszczyzna), but living “near Przemyśl” (pod Przemyślą). Since he paid the same amount of money as Herszko in Wołkowszczyzna in 1741 (40 złoty), it is possible that he was the same person.

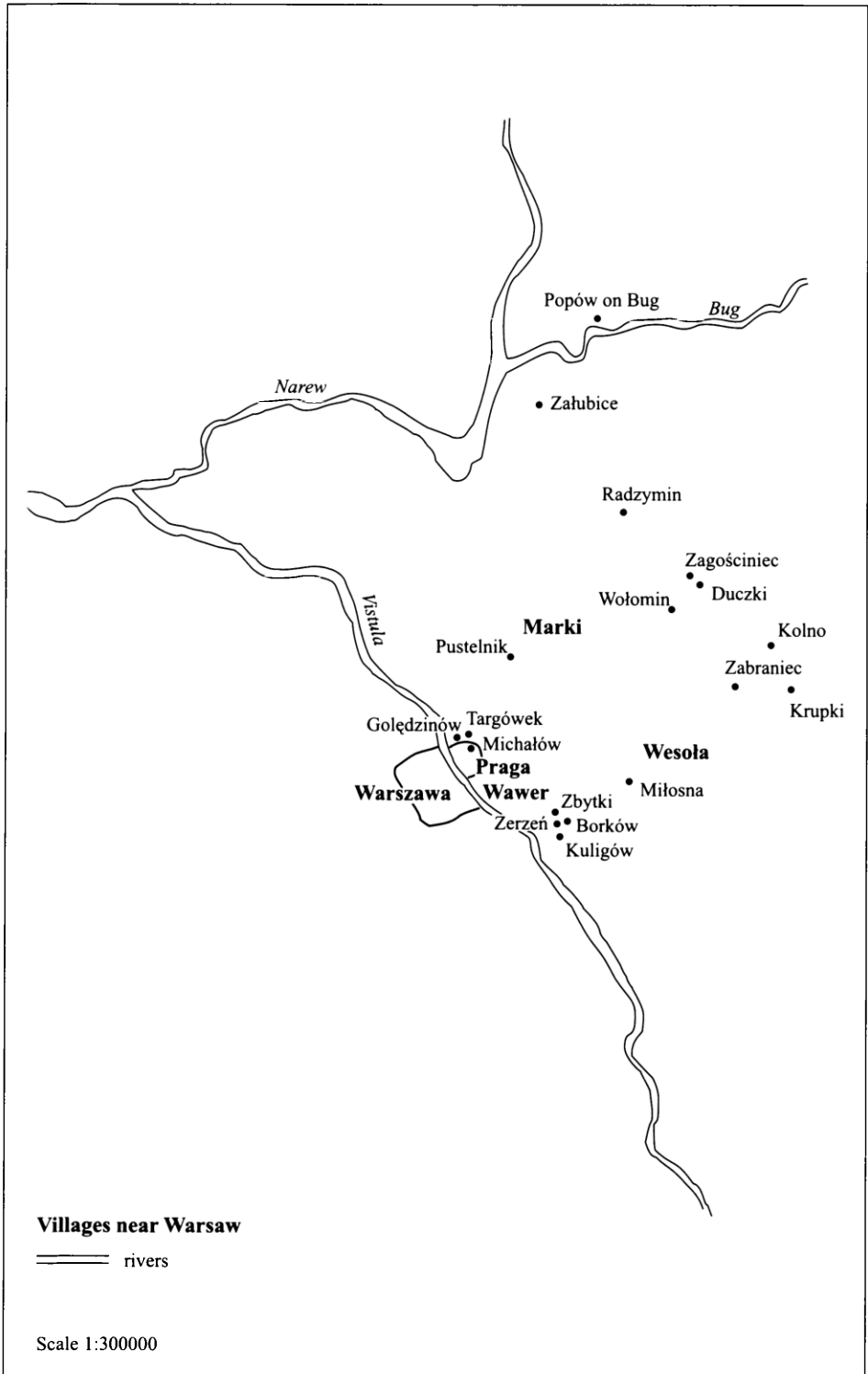
Conclusions

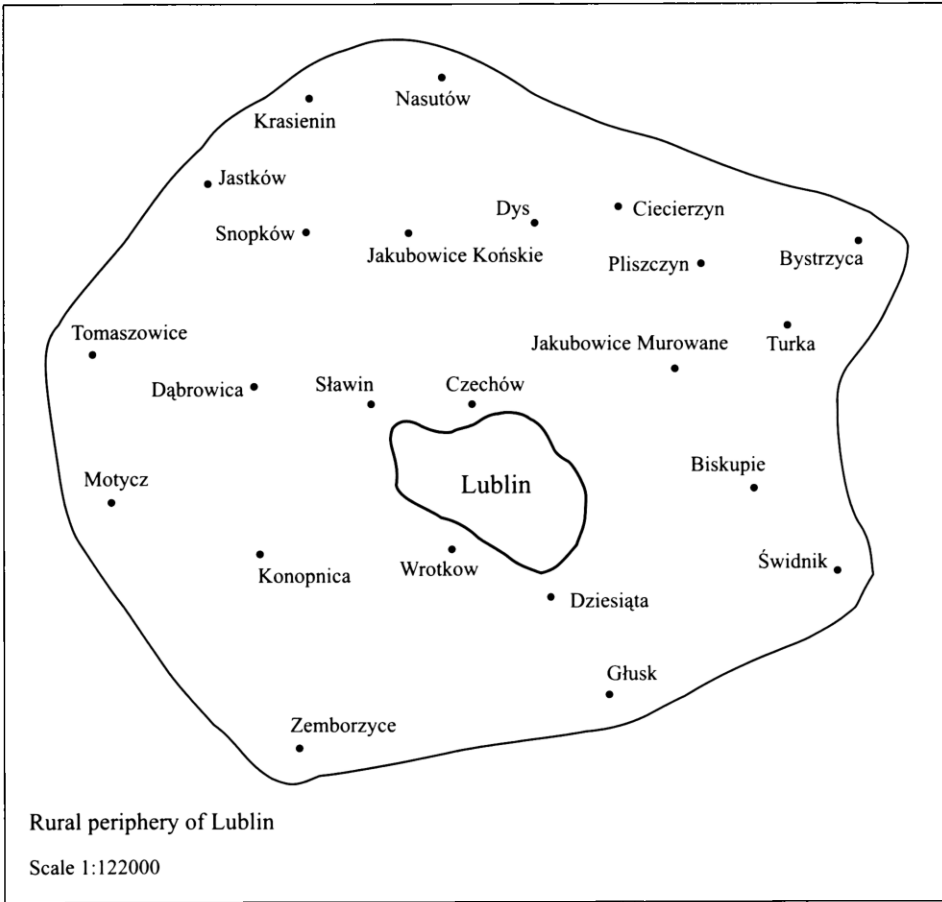
In general, we may conclude that the peculiar form of suburban Jewish communities in largest royal cities of Crown Poland was caused probably by a combination of two main factors: burghers’ self-government in those cities was powerful enough to expel the Jews from their municipal areas, or at least to restrict severely their presence there; but, not less powerful forces in the same cities (magnates and the King himself) were interested to settle the Jews in a close proximity. In those cases when urban and suburban Jewish communities co-existed, relations between them were not uniform. Thus, in Lublin the urban community was more powerful than the suburban ones, and its leadership had succeeded to burden most of the Jewish poll-tax on the suburbs, but in Lwów, on the contrary, the suburban community, being protected by the castle royal administration, escaped the burden of taxation.

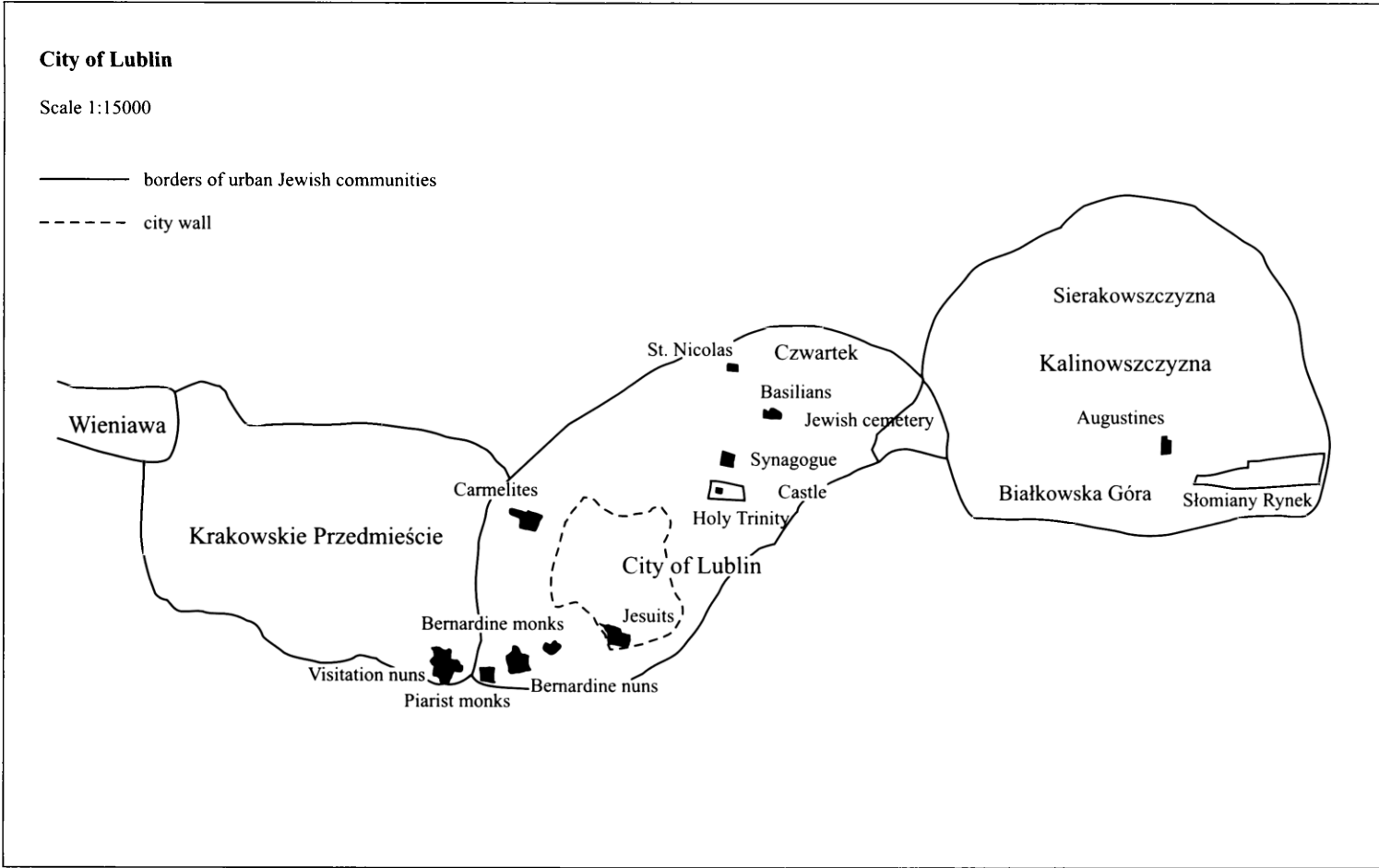
I would like to emphasise the following previously unknown points, which were raised for the first time in the above discussion: 1) the early Jewish presence in the suburb of Warsaw Wawer; 2) the temporary existence of the suburb of Lublin Krakowskie Przedmieście as a separate Jewish community, and 3) the localisation of the Jewish suburb of Przemyśl in modern neighbourhoods of Wilcze and Mnisze.

⁶² See J. Krochmal, op. cit., p. 30; A. Leszczyński, *Sejm Żydów Korony 1623–1764*, Warszawa 1994, p. 74.

⁶³ AGAD, ASW, dz. 84, sygn. 25, 30, 31, 36, 40, 43.







Historia przedmieść: struktura gmin żydowskich w największych miastach królewskich Korony Polskiej w XVIII wieku

Przedmiotem artykułu są różnice między gminami żydowskimi w miastach i na przedmieściach. Główne rysy struktury gmin żydowskich w Polsce przedrozbiorowej są znane przede wszystkim dzięki dwóm źródłom: spisowi cenzusowemu ludności żydowskiej z roku 1764/1765 i corocznym listom żydowskiego pogłównego. Wraz z odkryciem pełnego korpusu spisów podatkowych z lat 1717–1764 dotyczących pogłównego żydowskiego zyskujemy znaczące nowe informacje na temat gmin żydowskich. Organizacja gmin żydowskich w największych miastach królewskich z wyjątkiem Poznania była naznaczona przez obecność niezależnych gmin podmiejskich. Jedna lub więcej gmin podmiejskich współistniała z miejską gminą w Lublinie, Lwowie i Przemyślu. Żydzi z Krakowa (Kazimierza) i Gdańska byli zorganizowani w gminach podmiejskich, nie posiadając równocześnie własnej wspólnoty miejskiej. W Warszawie przed rokiem 1775 nie było gminy żydowskiej, ani miejskiej, ani podmiejskiej, jednak w niniejszym tekście są omawiane zagadnienia związane także z tym miastem, ponieważ informacje spisów pogłównego dostarczają ciekawych danych dotyczących początków osadnictwa żydowskiego w polskiej stolicy. Szczególnie dokładne informacje posiadamy dla Lublina. Spisy wykazują nie tylko okoliczne wsie i przedmieścia — również liczni podatnicy są wymieniani z imienia i nazwiska wraz z innymi określeniami ułatwiającymi identyfikację, takimi jak nazwisko patrona, miejsce zamieszkania oraz powiązania rodzinne. Specyficzna forma wspólnot żydowskich w największych miastach Korony Polskiej spowodowana była zapewne głównie przez dwa czynniki: samorząd miejski był wystarczająco silny, aby utrzymać Żydów poza granicami miast, a z drugiej strony, nie mniej poważne siły w tych samych miastach zainteresowane były w ich osiedlaniu w najbliższej okolicy.

Tłumaczyła Dorota Dukwicz