Judith Kalik

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Acknowledgements

The expression "movable inn" (*v peredvizhnoi karchme*, whatever it exactly means) as attested in one of the sources used for this study, seems to me a good metaphor for the living conditions of rural Jews in the Russian Empire. Rural Jews were officially labelled by the Russian authorities as "unsettled burghers" (*neosedlyye meshchane*). They were constantly on the move from town to village and from village to town. A Sword of Damocles hung ominously over their necks because of the almost constant threat of evection from rural areas. Not for nothing is the most valuable source for the rural Jewish population of Minsk Guberniya to be found in shape of the eviction lists composed in 1808.

East European rural Jews carried in their hearts this metaphoric "movable inn" everywhere they went. Their descendants, who were interested in the rural roots of their ancestors, found to their astonishment that research on Russian rural Jews is practically non-existent. This situation triggered this research project through the initiative and financial backing of the International Institute for Jewish Genealogy in Jerusalem.

The present study is a result of three years of research. The preliminary results of this work were presented for the 16th World Congress of Jewish Studies held in Jerusalem in 2013 in a lecture entitled "Village Jews in 19th Century Minsk Guberniya", and its text was published in the International Review of Jewish Genealogy *Avoteynu* in the same year.[1] The International Institute for Jewish Genealogy in Jerusalem has been closely associated with this study and I would like to express my appreciation of it and of its officers. Firstly, I must thank Dr Neville Lamdan, the Institute's Chairman, who proposed the subject of my research. He published a seminal article on the topic in 2011.[2] Next, I must thank the Institute itself and its director Ami Elyasaf, which in seeing an opportunity to move the field of Jewish genealogy to regional and local levels, extended its sponsorship to my project. I must also thank two Board members of the Institute, Mr. Harvey Krueger of New York and Dr Penny Rubinoff of Toronto, who generously supported the endeavour. Finally, I must thank Prof. Shaul Stampfer of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem who, as a member of the Institute's Academic Committee, took constant interest in my work and was available for consultation at all times. I thank them all.

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1 Kalik, Judith, "Researching the Rural Jewish Population of Minsk Guberniya, 1795-1914", *Avotaynu* 29, 2013, pp. 47-49.

2 Lamdan, Neville, "Village Jews in Imperial Russia's Nineteenth-Century Minsk Governate, Viewed through a Genealogical Lens", *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 99, 2011, pp. 133-44.

him in technical aspects of his stay in Minsk. I am grateful to the director of the National Historical Archives of Belarus, Prof. Dmitry Yatsevich, for permission to work in the archive, and to all workers of the Reading Room for their assistance. During my research journey to St. Petersburg in October 2014, where I copied lists of voters to the State Duma in 1907, I was assisted by devoted workers of the reading room of the Russian National Library. Likewise, I wish to thank workers of the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem, where I found lists of rural Jews in the estates of Prince Ludwig von Wittgenstein from 1848 and 1852.

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Judith Kalik
Jerusalem, 18 Kislev 5776

Introduction

Although Jews are typically viewed as urban dwellers, there existed a considerable rural Jewish population from the very beginning of their settlement in Eastern Europe until the end of the 19th century. The presence of a large Jewish population in villages, as distinct from their residence in cities and small towns ("*shtetls*"), was, in fact, one of the most distinctive features of east European Jewry from the 12th century to the Second World War.

The first Jews, who arrived on Polish soil in the late 12th – early 13th centuries, were, surprisingly, farmers living in at least three Silesian villages: Mały Tyniec,[3] Sokolniki[4] (both near Wrocław), and Bytom[5] near Katowice. The first two villages are said to have "belonged to the Jews", whatever that exactly means, while the Jewish inhabitants of Bytom actually tilled castle lands.[6] The very existence of Jewish farmers is recorded in the early Middle Ages, but mostly in south-eastern France rather than in Germany.[7] Since the very notion of "village" had not yet stabilized in the 12th century, it is possible that the Jewish "owners" of Silesian villages were simply the first settlers of several farmsteads, a situation not unique to Silesia, as shown in the following example. Podiva, a Jewish founder of a village Slivnice in Moravia in 11th century is also mentioned in Cosmas's "Bohemian Chronicle".[8] It is possible also that at least in Sokolniki the owners of the village were falconers, since the name of this village is translated into Latin as 'falconarii' (falconers) in several documents. Rural Jews gradually disappeared after the Mongol invasion, when a new wave of Jewish settlers came to Poland from Germany, and these farmers are mentioned for the last time in 1301 in a village of Grzegorzów near Strzelin in Lower Silesia.[9]

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3 *Codex diplomaticus nec non epistolaris Silesiae*, vol. 1, Annos 971-1204 comprehendens, ed. Karoł Maleczyński, Wrocław, 1956, No. 68, p. 158.

4 Ibid. No. 103, p. 249; No. 107, pp. 275-277; *Codex diplomaticus nec non epistolaris Silesiae*, vol. 2, Annos 1205-1220 comprehendens, ed. Karoł Maleczyński, Wrocław, 1959, No. 130, p. 35; No. 193, p. 185.

5 *Codex diplomaticus nec non epistolaris Silesiae*, vol. 3, Annos 1221-1227 comprehendens, ed. Karoł Maleczyński, Wrocław, 1964, No. 337, p. 164.

6 See Walerjański, Dariusz, „Żydzi rolnicy – nieznany epizod z dziejów Żydów śląskich w średniowieczu", *Żydzi na wsi polskiej, Sesja naukowa Szreniawa, 26-27 czerwca 2006*, ed. W. Mielewczyk and U. Siekacz, Szreniawa, 2006, pp. 12-16.

7 Toch, Michael, „Ikarim Yehudim BiYmei HaBeinaim? Khaklaut UVa'alut Yehudit ,al Karka'ot Be-Eiropa BaMeot HaShminit HaShteim-'Esre", *Zion* 75, 2010, pp. 291-311; Toch, Michael, *The Economic History of European Jews. Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages*, Leiden, 2013, p. 83.

8 *Cosmae pragensis chronica boemorum*, ed. Bertold Bretholz (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, new series vol. 2), Berlin, 1923, 2.21 (in English: Cosmas of Prague, *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, transl. Lisa Wolverton, Washington DC, 2009).

9 *Regesten zur schlesischen Geschichte* vol. 4, *1301-1315*, ed. Colmar Grünhagen and Konrad Wutke (Codex diplomaticus Silesiae, vol. XVI), Breslau, 1892, No. 2666, p. 16.

Jews of the second wave of migration were overwhelmingly moneylenders, and they also appeared to have existed in the countryside as landowners and land users through the system of real estate mortgages known in Poland as *zastawa*, when mortgaged land passed to the hands of the creditor in case of default.[10]

Jewish settlement into rural areas began in earnest in the 16th century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The main reason for the ruralization of the Jewish population was the legal entrée into villages afforded to the Jews through a system of "lease-holding" of the "monopolies" or, more accurately, the monopoly rights enjoyed by the Polish nobility and landed gentry on their extensive country estates, where a feudal system vis-à-vis the serfs prevailed. The most widespread form of leasehold was, as in the Polish-Lithuanian economy in general, the leasing of propination rights (production and sale of alcoholic beverages). The leasing of propination rights rapidly expanded and reached its peak in the 17th and 18th centuries, being the easiest way of marketing grain locally in the form of alcohol. The overwhelming majority of these rural leaseholders were Jews, and, in some regions, rural Jews constituted the absolute majority of the Jewish population. Thus, in 1764 according to the census of the Jewish population of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, 87% of the total Jewish population of Polish Livonia (Inflanty, now in Latvia) were rural dwellers,[11] and, according to the same census for Crown Poland, rural Jews constituted 84% of the total population of the Węgrów Jewish community in Poldlasie.[12]

While awareness of the importance of rural Jewish life has grown lately, little serious research has been done on the subject, and that which exists generally concentrates on the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the period before the

10 See Kalik, Judith, "Hafkadah UWiderkaf BePe'ilutam HaKalkalit shel Yehudei Mamlekhet Polin-Lita", *Yazamut Yehudit Be'Et HeḤadashah. Mizraḥ Eiropa VeErets-Israel*, ed. R. Aaronsohn and Sh. Stampfer, Jerusalem, 2000, pp. 25-47.

11 Cieśla, Maria, „Żydzi wiejscy w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku", *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów* 253, 2015, p. 236.

12 Kleczyński, Józef, and Kluczycki, Franciszek, „liczba głów żydowskich w Koronie z taryf roku 1765", *Archiwum Komisji Historycznej Akademii Umiętności* 8, 1898, p. 19; Stampfer, Shaul, „The 1764 Census of Polish Jewry", *Bar-Ilan, Annual of Bar-Ilan University: Studies in Judaica and the Humanities* (Studies in the History and Culture of East European Jewry, ed. G. Bacon and M. Rosman) 24/25, 1989, p. 143.

partitions of Poland,[13] or in the post-partition Kingdom of Poland ("Congress Poland")[14] and Austrian Galicia.[15] As for the Russian territory of the post-partition Commonwealth, only the Jewish agricultural colonies established there in 19th century

13 Burszta, Józef, *Wieś i karczma: Rola karczmy w życiu wsi pańszczyźnianej*, Warszawa, 1950; Cieśla, Maria, „Żydzi wiejscy w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku", *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów* 253, 2015, pp. 231-246; Fjałkowski, Paweł, „Żydzi w mazowieckich wsiach od czasów najdawniejszich do początków XIX wieku", *Żydzi na wsi polskiej, Sesja naukowa Szreniawa, 26-27 czerwca 2006*, ed. W. Mielewczyk and U. Siekacz, Szreniawa, 2006, pp. 17-29; Goldberg, Jacob, „Rolnictwo wśród Żydów w ziemi wieluńskiej w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku", *Biuletyn ŻIH* 26, 1958, pp. 62-89; Goldberg, Jacob, „Żyd a karczma wiejska w XVIII wieku", *Wiek Oświecenia* 9, 1993, pp. 205-213; „HaYehudi VeHaPundak HaKafri", in J. Goldberg, *HaḤevra HaYehudit BeMamlekhet Polin-Lita*, Jerusalem, 1999, pp. 232-240; Goldberg, Jacob, „Władza dominialna Żydów-arendarzy dóbr ziemskich nad chłopami w XVII-XVIII w.", *Przegląd Historyczny* 1-2, 1990, pp. 189-198; „Die jüdische Gutspächter in Polen-Litauen und die Bauern im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert" *Kleine Völker in der geschichte Osteuropas; Festschrift für Günther Stökl*, ed. M. Alexander, Stuttgart, 1991, pp. 13-21; „Ḥokhrei HaAkhuzot HaYehudim Umarutam ,al HaIkarim", in J. Goldberg, *HaḤevra HaYehudit BeMamlekhet Polin-Lita*, Jerusalem, 1999, pp. 159-170; Kalik, Judith,"Deconstructing Communities: The Administrative Structure of the Rural Jewish Population in the Polish Crown Lands in the 18th Century", *Gal-ed* 21, 2007, pp. 53-76; Kalik, Judith, "Jewish Leaseholders (*Arendarze*) in 18th Century Crown Poland*", Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 54, 2006, pp. 229-240; Leszczyński, Anatol, „Karczmarze i szynkarze żydowscy ziemi Bielskiej od drugiej połowy XVII w. do 1795 r.", *Biuletyn ŻIH* 102, 1977, pp. 77-85; Podraza, Antoni, „Żydzi i wieś w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej", *Żydzi w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. A. Link-Lenczowski, T. Polański, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków, 1991, pp. 237-256; "Jews and the Village in the Polish Commonwealth", *The Jews in Old Poland*, ed. J. Basista, A. Link-Lenczowski, A. Polonsky, London, 1993, pp. 299-321; Teller, Adam, "Ḥakhira Klalit VeḤokher Klali BeAḥuzot Beit Radziwiłł Ba Mea Ha-18", *Yazamut Yehudit Be'Et HaḤadasha. Mizraḥ Eiropa VeErets Israel*, ed. R. Aaronsohn and S. Stampfer, Jerusalem, 2000, pp. 48-78; Węgrzynek, Hanna, "Zajęcia rolnicze Żydów w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVIII wieku", *Małżeństwo z rozsądku? Żydzi w społeczeństwie dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. M. Wodziński, A. Michałowska-Mycielska, Wrocław, 2007, pp. 87-104.

14 Bergman, Eleonora, „Żydzi na wsi w Królewstwie Polskim w XIX wieku", *Żydzi na wsi polskiej, Sesja naukowa Szreniawa, 26-27 czerwca 2006*, ed. W. Mielewczyk and U. Siekacz, Szreniawa, 2006, pp. 30-36; Dynner, Glenn, *Yankel's Tavern: Jews, Liquor, and Life in the Kingdom of Poland*, oxford, 2014; Hensel, Jürgen, „Żydowski arendarz i jego karczma. Uwagi na marginesie usunięcia Żydowskich arendarzy ze wsi w Królewstwie Polskim w latach 20. XIX wieku", *Kultura Żydów polskich XIX – XX wieku*, ed. R. Kołodziejczyk and R. Renz, Kielce, 1992, pp. 83-99; Krajniewski, Jarosław, „Żydzi wiejscy kahału będzińskiego na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku", *Żydzi na wsi polskiej, Sesja naukowa Szreniawa, 26-27 czerwca 2006*, ed. W. Mielewczyk and U. Siekacz, Szreniawa, 2006, pp. 37-40; Kwieciński, Mirosław, „Udział Żydów w propinacji w zakopiańskich dobrach hrabiego Władysława Zamoyskiego", *Żydzi na wsi polskiej, Sesja naukowa Szreniawa, 26-27 czerwca 2006*, ed. W. Mielewczyk and U. Siekacz, Szreniawa, 2006, pp. 78-96.

15 Gąsowski, Tomasz, "From *Austeria* to the Manor: Jewish Landowners in Autonomous Galicia", *Polin* 12, 1999, pp. 120-136; Stauter-Halstead, Keely, "Jews as Middleman Minorities in Rural Poland: Understanding the Galician Pogroms of 1898", *Anti-Semitism and its Opponents in Modern Poland*, ed. R. Blobaum, Ithaca (NY), 2001, pp. 39-59.

have become the subject of a monograph by Victor Nikitin.[16] However, the traditional Jewish rural population of leaseholders in these areas has been largely neglected in the scholarly research. Only one article, by Mikhail Agursky on the Jewish-Christian intermarriages in rural Ukraine,[17] and one genealogical study, by Neville Lamdan on the rural Jews in the community of Liakhovichi in Belarus,[18] have been published so far. There are objective reasons for this neglect. Basic statistical and demographic information concerning the Jewish population of Russian Empire is derived from four groups of documents: the fiscal censuses (*revizkiye skazki*) for the first half of the 19th century, the annual reports of the regional statistical committees called "Memorial Books" (*Pamiatnyye knizhki*) for the second half of this century, the first scientific national census of the population of the Russian Empire from 1897, and, finally, lists of voters for the State Duma from 1906-1912 published in official paper *Gubernskiye Vedomosti* in every Guberniya.

Ten fiscal censuses were taken periodically in Russia between 1718 and 1858, and after the Third Partition of Poland in 1795 they also counted the Jews. Because of the purely fiscal purpose of these censuses introduced by Peter the Great in order to assess the poll-tax, they were notoriously unreliable, since a large (and unquantifiable) part of the population tried to escape taxation and was not reported for census.[19] However, the main shortcoming of this group of sources for the study of the rural Jews is their manner of their arrangement: the Jews were listed with few exceptions by community without distinction between the inhabitants of an urban center and rural periphery. The statistical annuals published between 1860 and 1917 in every Guberniya distinguish between the urban population in "towns" and the rest of the districts' inhabitants. The problem is, that only district centers and two further urban settlements (Nesvizh and Dokshitsy) in Minsk Guberniya were regarded as "towns", while "districts" included *shtetls* and villages without distinguishing between them.

The original materials of the first national census of 1897 were never published and did not survive, and the published results of the census distinguish only between the settlements with more than 500 inhabitants and smaller.[20] Detailed information is given only for the first group of settlements, which includes towns, most of the *shtetls*, and some of the very large villages. Thus, general approximate numbers of the rural

16 Никитин, Виктор, *Еврейские поселения Северо и Юго-Западных губерний (1835-1890)*, С-Петербург, 1894.

17 Agursky, Mikhail, "Ukrainian-Jewish Intermarriages in Rural Areas of the Ukraine in the Nineteenth Century", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 9, 1985, pp. 139-144.

18 Lamdan, Neville, "Village Jews in Imperial Russia's Nineteenth-Century Minsk Governorate Viewed through a Genealogical Lens", *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 99, 2011, pp. 133-144.

19 See Пландовский, Владимир, *Народная перепись*, С-Петербург, 1898.

20 *Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской Империи 1897 г.*, том 22: *Минская губерния*, ред. Н. А. Тройницкий, Москва, 1904.

Jewish population can be deduced by elimination for every district, but the precise distribution between villages remains unknown.

The elections to the State Duma held in 1906 (twice), 1907, and 1912 were neither universal, nor direct, and only some fraction of the male Jewish population was registered as voters. Their exact addresses, including names of villages, were published only in few cases, and thus these lists also do not provide the full picture of the rural Jewish population at the beginning of the 20th century.

There are also the subjective reasons for the disproportionate research concerning rural Jews in pre-partition Commonwealth and Congress Poland on the one hand, and in Russian territory of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the post-partition age, on the other hand. Rural Jews of the pre-partition age have usually been studied in a context of the magnates' relations with them, and have been considered as an important factor in pre-partition Polish economy and society. The picturesque figure of the rural Jewish tavern-keeper also drew much attention in literature and public discourse in post-partition Congress Poland. All these elements are missing for Jewish history in Imperial Russia: its rural Jews do not fit into any of the conventional historical narratives, since they remained outside processes of modernization, and were not involved in the major 19th century ideological trends of either Zionist or socialist orientation.

This study is a systematic survey, the first of its kind, on the rural Jews in the Minsk Guberniya, from its establishment as a major administrative unit within the Russian Empire in 1793 to the outbreak of World War I in 1914. This region has been chosen because of its central position in the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This area, in present-day Belarus, was a core area of Jewish settlement for centuries prior to the partitions of Poland and a highly significant component of "Litvak" Jewry as a whole. The present study is based mainly on systematic sources (various lists of rural Jews) which produced, for the first time, a full picture of Jewish settlement in the countryside in one particular region of Russian Empire over the course of a little more than one century. It is less concerned with the everyday life of the rural Jews.

By far the most valuable information concerning the composition of the rural Jewish population of Russian Empire is found in lists of rural Jews composed in 1808 by district marshals by the order of the second committee "for improvement of the conditions of the Jews" for the purpose of the eviction of the Jews from rural areas in an accord with the article 34 of the Jewish Statute of 1804. Although the eviction lists for seven districts of Minsk Guberniya are available in the National Historical Archives of Belarus (NIAB),[21] they have never been used for any historical research. Every file has a heading: "List of Jews found in villages and on highways, who should be resettled in towns and *shtetls*, or on agricultural lands". Every page of these lists is comprised of eight columns: 1) number of the family (counted by community);

21 NIAB, F 138, od. 1, d 2-7.

2) personal names (surnames, forenames and patronymics) including women and children with an indication of their kinship ties; 3) age of males; 4) age of females; 5) occupations of heads of the families, names of the villages, and names of the landlords; 6) names of towns and *shtetls*, which were supposed to be the destinations of the evicted Jewish families; 7) remarks on the feasibility of resettlement for every family (in most cases unfeasible because of poverty and other reasons); and 8) the year of proposed resettlement. The list for district of Borisov is signed by Hieronim Zenowicz, of the district of Minsk – by Józef Wańkowski, of the district of Mozyr' – by standard-bearer (*chorąży*) Adam Lenkiewicz, of the district of Pinsk – by Prince Karol Drucki-Lubecki, of the district of Rechitsa – by Count Potocki, of the district of Slutsk – by Michał Świeżyński, and the district marshal of Bobruisk, whose name is not indicated. However we know that in 1808 this office was held by Kasper Pruszanowski.

The district of Igumen is missing, but a local census taken in 1807 in the district of Igumen lists the dwelling place of every Jew including villages.[22]

These sources with their wealth of information serve as a basis for the present study. The main shortcoming of the eviction lists is their lack of diachronic perspective, since they provide information for 1808 only. This problem can only be partly solved: there exist two lists of rural Jews who lived in the estates of Prince Ludwig von Wittgenstein (the former estates of Prince Dominik Radziwiłł) in the district of Slutsk from 1848 and 1852,[23] which provide some insight into the dynamics of the rural Jewish population. Lists of voters for the Third State Duma from 1907 contain the exact addresses of rural Jews in the districts of Bobruisk, Igumen and Pinsk,[24] supplying valuable information concerning the geographical distribution of rural Jews. All these lists are utilized here in order to extract from them information far beyond merely statistical and demographic data.

During the period of Russian jurisdiction, the internal administrative units of the Minsk Guberniya were changed and re-organized by the authorities. Initially, Minsk Guberniya embraced the districts (*uyezd*) of Bobruisk, Borisov, Disna, Igumen, Minsk, Mozyr', Pinsk, Rechitsa, Slutsk, and Vileika. In 1842 the districts of Disna and Vileika were transferred to the Guberniya of Vilna, while the large district of Novogrudok was added to Minsk Guberniya. The present study examines the rural Jewish population of Minsk Guberniya in its narrowest sense, that is, without the districts of Disna, Vileika and Novogrudok (see appendix 4, figure 13.1).

The chronological framework of this study covers the so-called "long 19th century", which began in Minsk Guberniya not after the French revolution in 1789, as might be thought, but instead after the Second Partition of Poland in 1793. It concluded, as elsewhere in the world, with the outbreak of the World War I in 1914.

22 NIAB F 333 op. 9 d 35.

23 NIAB F 694 op. 3 d. 659 pp. 71-72, 82.

24 *Минские губернские ведомости* № 75, 29 сентября 1907 г.

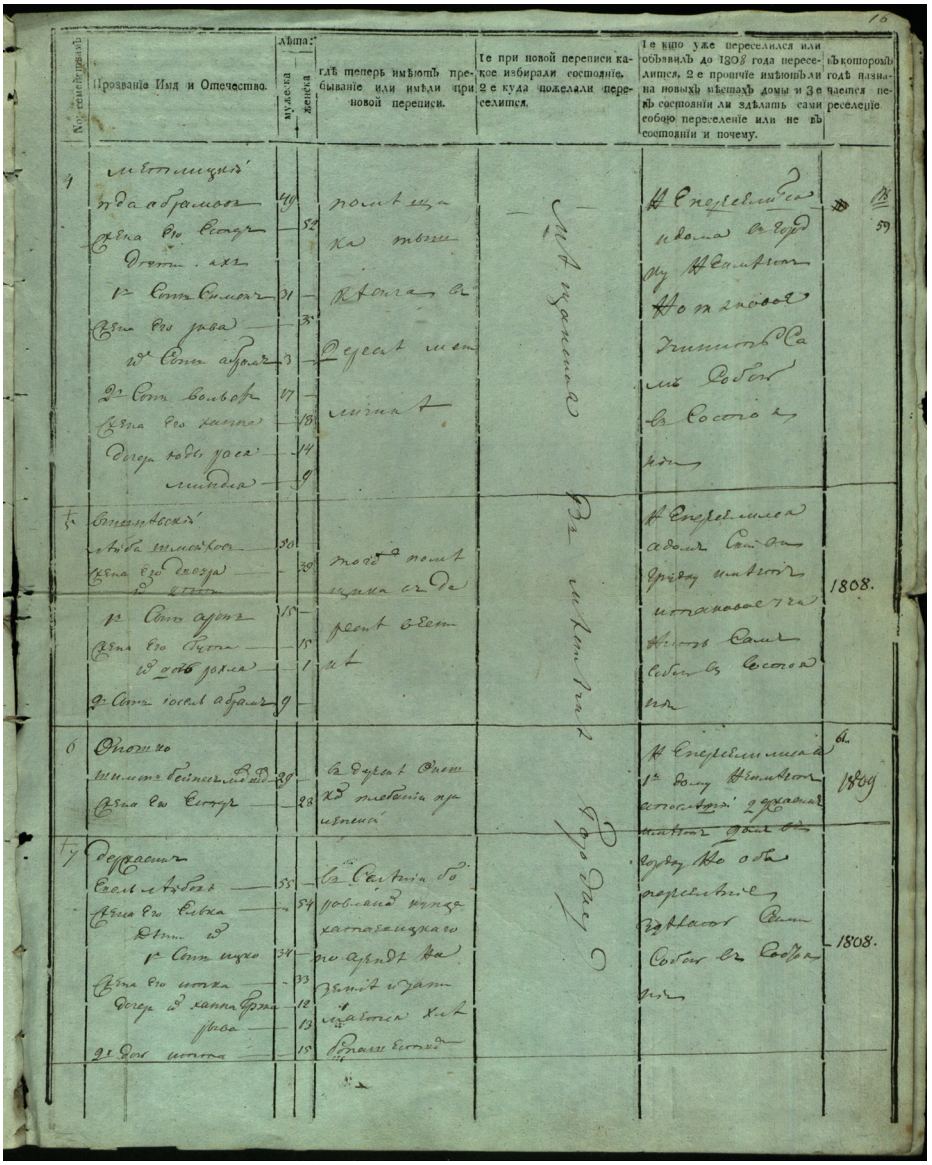

Figure 0.1. Eviction list page. District of Minsk, community of (Ostroshitski) Gorodok, 1808 (NIAB F 138, op. 1, d. 5, p. 16).

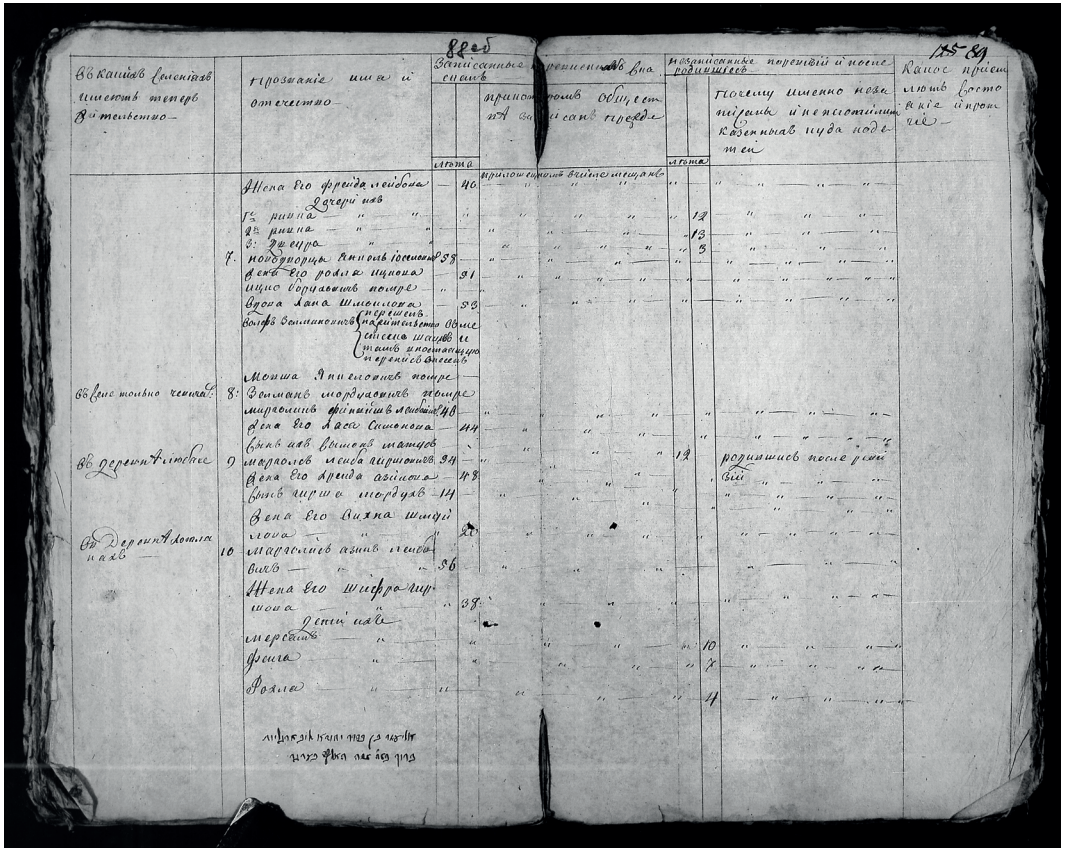

Figure 0.2. Census's page. District of Igumen, Losha community, 1807 (NIAB F 333, op. 9, d. 35, pp. 88b-89). Hebrew signature: Eliezer son of Rabbi Yehudah Leib Margaliyot.

Although the difference between "village" and "town" (especially small ones) was somewhat blurred in Eastern Europe, a village was legally distinguished from a town in the Russian Empire. However, many small towns, called "*shtetls*" by the Jews, were considered villages from the administrative point of view in the Russian Empire. Only in 1875 were they formally defined as "*mestechko*". Recently Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern has argued that the term *shtetl*, rather than being the equivalent of the Russian term *mestechko*, was also frequently attributed to mid-sized and even large towns with sizeable Jewish populations. He has proposed that the *shtetl* should be best defined as a "market town" with a predominant Jewish population.[25] Without entering the terminological discussion concerning the definition of the *shtetl*, which is hardly relevant in a study dedicated to the rural Jews, I regard for practical purposes in this study all Jews included in the eviction lists of 1808 as "rural", although some of them lived in settlements later defined by the Russian authorities as *shtetls*.

The book consists of eleven chapters. The first chapter surveys the historical background of the rural Jews in Belarus prior to the partitions of Poland. This chapter is neither a survey of the history of Belarus, nor a history of Belarusian Jewry, but, rather, an attempt to show that there should be no separation between Belarusian history and the history of Belarusian Jews, but there exists one history combining the two. Socio-economic and political developments, which later affected Belarus under the rule of different political entities, directly shaped the history of its Jewish population, and caused their gradual ruralization in the early modern age.

The second chapter deals with the legal position of rural Jews in the Russian Empire. The subject of Russian legislation concerning the Jews is, of course, well-studied, but here the legislation concerning the rural Jews is isolated from other legislation relating to Jews in Russia, showing in the process that the attitude of the Russian authorities towards rural Jews differed considerably from their attitudes towards Jews in general, being sometimes the opposite of liberal and reactionary tendencies in regards to the Jewish population in general.

The third chapter presents the available demographic data on the general Jewish population in Minsk Guberniya over the course of the 19th century, the proportion of rural Jews among them, as well as the geographical distribution of rural Jews throughout the districts. This is not a demographic study as such: only the raw statistics from fiscal censuses, statistical annuals, eviction lists and the national census of 1897 are presented here for the benefit of possible future demographic studies on this subject. This chapter is supplemented with a series of maps and tables presented in the book's appendixes.

The fourth chapter presents the only existing full picture of all kinds of landlords of rural Jews in any given territory of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: Polish-Lithuanian magnates, local *szlachta* (middle and lower nobles), Russian

25 Petrovsky-Shtern, Yohanan, *The Golden Age Shtetl: A New History of Jewish Life in East Europe*, Princeton, 2014.

dignitaries, non-noble landlords, ecclesiastic institutions of the Orthodox, Catholic and Uniate (Greek-Catholic) Churches, and public institutions (Imperial estates, treasury lands, municipalities). It also shows the proportion of Jews who served every one of them, as well as changes, which affected the structure of the landownership in the region over the course of the 19th century.

The fifth chapter deals with the occupational structure of the rural Jewish population, based upon the eviction lists of 1808, as well as its restructuring in the second half of the 19th century.

The sixth chapter analyses the family structures of the rural Jewish population in 1808 and compares them with that of Jewish farmers in 1858 and with the general Jewish population of Minsk Guberniya according to the census of 1897.

The seventh chapter deals with the place of rural Jews in the Jewish communal organization.

The eighth chapter discusses the peculiarities of the cultural and religious life of the rural Jews. Special attention is given to the reasons for the relative lack of success of the Hassidic movement in Belarus and Lithuania.

The ninth chapter is devoted to Jewish farmers. This group of the rural Jewish population differed considerably from traditional rural Jewish leaseholders. It emerged only in the 1830s with establishment of Jewish agricultural colonies in Belarus. They were the only rural Jews recorded separately in 19th century fiscal censuses, since they did not belong to Jewish urban communities, but were organized as separate Jewish rural societies.

The tenth chapter shows the paramount role of railway construction in the second half of the 19th century in the disintegration of the centuries-old propination system and in the total restructuring of the rural Jewish population.

The eleventh chapter presents a reconstruction of a sample genealogy of one rural Jewish family based on the eviction lists and fiscal censuses between 1808 and 1858.

All geographical names, except for those with conventional English forms (Kiev, Warsaw, Moscow etc.), are given in their official Russian names, regardless of previous Polish, modern Belarusian or Ukrainian forms. In cases of serious discrepancies, alternative forms are indicated in parenthesis. Personal names of Polish and Lithuanian nobles, on the contrary, are presented in the reconstructed Polish forms.

The principles of the transliteration of Cyrillic characters are as follows:

- Letters ж, х, ц, ч, ш, щ are transliterated as zh, kh, ts, ch, sh, shch.
- Letters е, ё, ю, я after consonants are presented as e, io, iu, ia; after vowels and at the beginning of a word as ye, yo, yu, ya.
- Letter ы is expressed as y.
- Sign ь is expressed as ‘ between consonants and at the end of a word; as y – before vowels.

The Hebrew letter א is not indicated, ע is expressed as ', the letter ח is transliterated as ḥ, the letter כ as kh, the letters פ and ק as k, ת and ט as t, צ as ts, שׁ as sh, and שׂ as s.

1 Historical Background

Minsk Guberniya was established in 1793 after the Second Partition of Poland. The main justification for the Russian annexation of the eastern parts of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the three partitions was the claim that these territories once were parts of Kievan Rus, and that the Russian Empire was the legal successor of this early medieval state. The Ukrainian historian Mykhailo Hrushevkyi has challenged this claim pointing to the lack of geographical continuity between Kievan Rus and the Muscovite State, the real legal predecessor of the Russian Empire.[26]

This example shows how difficult is to build an impartial historical narrative of the region in face of conflicting Polish, Lithuanian, Russian, Belarusian and Ukrainian national versions of regional history.

1.1 The Pre-Mongol Age: The Canaanite Jews

The territory of what was to become Belarus had been populated in antiquity and the early Middle Ages by Baltic tribes, as is evident from numerous hydronyms there, such as: Dvina, Disna, Narev, Nacha, Neman, Plisa, Pripiat', Pronia, Shchara, Svir', Svisloch, Tsna, Usha, Volma, Yasel'da as well as many others. In the course of Slavic colonization during the eighth century, the northern part of this territory became a homeland for the East Slavic tribe of Krivichi (from whose name is derived the modern Latvian name of Russia, Krievija), while the southern part of the territory was settled by tribe of Dregovichi. With the establishment of the Riurik (Rørik) dynasty of Scandinavian origin in mid-ninth century, all East Slavic tribes were united under the rule of the State of Rus, conventionally called, since the 19th century, Kievan Rus after its capital, Kiev. Kievan Grand Princes used to divide their realm between brothers, who were supposed to wait for their turn to acquire the Kievan throne according to the seniority principle. This system, naturally, lead to many tensions and violent clashes between claimants to the Grand Prince's title. Already in 1015, after the death of Grand Prince Vladimir the Saint, the Prince of Polotsk, Briacheslav, withdrew from the struggle for the Kievan throne and established the first local principality of Polotsk. With the disintegration of Kievan Rus in late 11th-early 12th century, this process of fragmentation continued. In 1088, Sviatopolk son of Grand Prince Iziaslav founded the principality of Turov. In 1101, the principality of Minsk separated from the principality of Polotsk. And, in 1183, the principality of Pinsk separated from the principality of Turov (see figure 1.1). In the 13th century, fragmentation of Kievan Rus continued, and small principalities of Slutsk, Kletsk and David-Gorodok were

26 Грушевський, Михайло, *Історія Украіни-Руси*, т. 1-4, Львів, 1904-1907.

established under the rule of the descendants of Turov and Pinsk branches of the Riurik dynasty.[27]

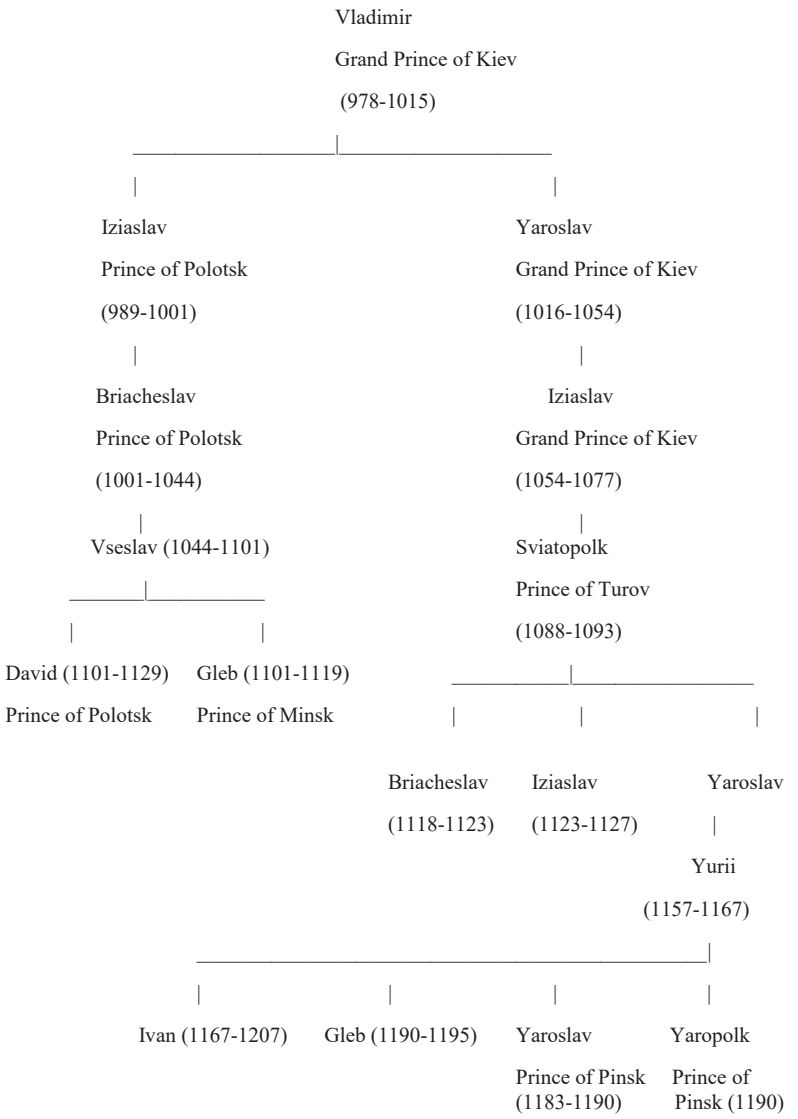

Figure 1.1 Rulers of North-Western Principalities of Rus in 1015-1190.

27 On these principalities see Грушевский, Александр, *Пинское полесье. Исторические очерки. Часть I. XI - XIII вв.*, Киев, 1901.

It is not clear whether already at that point there was some Jewish presence in the territory that was to become Belarus. Jewish communities are refered to only in southern part of pre-Mongol Rus (future Ukraine): in Kiev, Chernigov, Peremyshl' (Przemyśl), Vladimir Volynski (Włodzimierz Wołyński), Kholm (Chełm), and possibly also in Suzdal' in North-Eastern Rus (future Muscovite Russia).[28] These were the so-called "Canaanite" – Slavic speaking Jews. Following the medieval practice of applying Biblical names to European countries of the Jewish diaspora, medieval Jews called Slavic countries Canaan because of Biblical prophecy "Cursed be Canaan; a slave of slaves shall he be to his brothers" (Genesis 9:25) which was a reference to word 'Slav' meaning 'slave'. The origin of these Canaanite Jews is unknown, but most probably they came from the Jewish communities in the Greek colonies of the Northern Pontic area via the principality of T'mutarakan' (Tamatarcha) on Taman' peninsula, which also belonged to Grand Princes of Kiev from 965 to 1095. Less clear is the connection of this community to the itinerant Jewish merchants called *ar-Radaniya* by the ninth century Arabic geographer Ibn Hurdabdeh,[29] who travelled from France to China passing through Eastern Europe. According to Ibn Hurdabdeh they spoke Slavic among other languages (Arabic, Persian, Roman, Frankish, Spanish), but their origin is also unknown.[30] The notion that the Canaanite Jews were connected with the Turkic Khazarian prozelites has gained popularity because of Arthur Koestler's book,[31] but mass prozelitism of Khazars is still practically unattested archaeologically.[32] These Jews were mainly merchants, and they were also involved in a slave-trade.

28 See Kulik, Alexander, «HaYehudim BeRusiya HaKduma: Mkorot Ve-Shiḥzur Histori», *Toldot Yehudei Rusiya,* chief editor I. Bartal, vol. 1: *MiYmei Kedem 'ad Ha'Et HaḤadasha HaMukdemet"*, ed. A. Kulik, Jerusalem, 2010, pp. 159-177; Кулик, Александр, «Евреи Древней Руси: источники и историческая реконструкция», *История еврейского народа в России,* общая ред. И. Барталь, том 1: *От Древности до раннего Нового Времени*, ред. А. Кулик, Иерусалим, 2010, с. 189-213.

29 *Źródła arabskie do dziejów słowiańszczyzny*, ed. Tadeusz Lewicki, vol. 1, Wrocław-Kraków, 1956, p. 75.

30 See, for alternative assessments, Adler, Elkan, *Jewish Travellers in the Middle Ages*. New York, 1987; Gil, Moshe, "The Radhanite Merchants and the Land of Radhan." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 17, 1976, pp. 299-328; Rabinowitz, Louis, *Jewish Merchant Adventurers: a study of the Radanites*. London, 1948.

31 Koestler, Arthur, *The Thirteenth tribe. The Khazar Empire and its Heritage*, London, 1976.

32 See Petrukhin, Vladimir and Flerov, Valery, "HaYahadut BeMamlekhet HaKuzarim 'al pi Memtsaim Arkheologiim", *Toldot Yehudei Rusiya,* chief editor I. Bartal, vol. 1: *MiYmei Kedem 'ad Ha'Et HaḤadasha HaMukdemet"*, ed. A. Kulik, Jerusalem, 2010, pp. 126-137; Путрухин, Владимир и Флёров, Виталий, "Иудаизм в Хазарии по данным археологии, *История еврейского народа в России*, общая ред. И. Барталь, том 1: *От Древности до раннего Нового Времени*, ред. А. Кулик, Иерусалим, 2010, с. 151-163.

1.2 Grand Duchy of Lithuania: Ashkenazi Jewish Settlement

After the Mongol invasion of 1237-1240 the north-western principalities' became the only part of the territory of Rus, which remained unconquered by Mongols. Thus, the historical path of Belarus diverged from the rest of the East Slavic countries which began that country's separate development. The name Belarus ("White Rus") originally applied only for the north-eastern part of the country, while its southern part was called Black Rus. Under the constant threat of Mongolian incursions, some of the north-western Princes pledged their principalities allegiance to pagan Lithuanian tribes. Lithuanians were divided into two tribal groups: Aukštaite ("Upper") and Žemaite ("Lower"), and Aukštatian tribes had just recently began to consolidate under the rule of the Grand Duke Mindaugas.[33] It is possible that the very process of Lithuanian expansion towards the north-western principalities of the former Kievan Rus served as a formative factor in the emergence of the early Lithuanian state.[34] In 1230s Mindaugas became the sole ruler of the Aukštatian tribes and by the 1240s he already controlled Novogrudok and Grodno. In 1285, the house of Mindaugas was superseded by the house of Gediminas (named after the third ruler of the dynasty), which continued the policy of territorial expansion. By 1320s all the principalities in the territory of modern-day Belarus were under the Lithuanian rule, and by the mid-14th century Lithuanian Grand Dukes took control of the south-western principalities of the former Kievan Rus, including Kiev, which had been under the rule of the Golden Horde since the Mongol invasion.[35] East Slavs or Ruthenians, as they were called in Grand Duchy of Lithuania, formed an absolute majority of population in this state, and the Ruthenian (Old Belarusian) language became the official language of the Lithuanian chancellery. Furthermore, the Lietuva – Lithuanians proper – who lived in the territory of modern-day Belarus were assimilated with the Ruthenians. This paradox of Lithuanian history has led some Belarusian historians to a claim that Belarusians are, in fact, Lithuanians, while Lithuanian historians have raised the counter-claim that modern-day Belarus controls some of the core-lands of historic Lithuania. It seems, however, much more likely that the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was the direct successor state of Kievan Rus: the old social and political order survived there intact. This included local principalities remaining under the nominal rule of Lithuanian Grand Dukes and the ruling class of *boyar* landlords, while the

33 For the early history of Lithuania from Lithuanian, Belarusian, Polish and Russian points of view see Jakštas, Juozas, "Beginning of the State", *Lithuania: 700 Years*, ed. Albertas Gerutis, translated by Algirdas Budreckis New York, 1984 (6th ed.), pp. 45-50; Краўцэвіч, Аляксандр, *Стварэнне Вялікага Княства Літоўскага,* Менск, 1997; Ochmański, Jerzy, *Historia Litwy*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk-Łódź, 1982; Пашуто, Владимир, *Образование литовского государства*, Москва, 1959.
34 For this view see Краўцэвіч, Аляксандр, *Стварэнне Вялікага Княства Літоўскага,* Менск, 1997.
35 For this period of Lithuanian history see Rowell, Stephen, *Lithuania Ascending: A Pagan Empire within East-Central Europe, 1295-1345*, Cambridge, 1994.

Gediminas dynasty was no more foreign than the old Riurik dynasty.[36] The Russian and the Ukrainian claims' to the title of legal successor of Kievan Rus are much less convincing. The Grand Principality of Moscow was essentially a patrimonial state and an extended local principality. The Ukrainian national identity began to form much later, with the establishment of Sich Zapariz'ka in the late 15th century, where entirely new forms of Cossack society began to emerge. Only the Yiddish name of Belarus – *Raisn* – Rus has preserved faithfully the special position of this country among the East Slavic nations as the sole successor of Kievan Rus.

In the second half of the 14th century the still pagan Grand Duchy of Lithuania encountered the territorial expansion of the Teutonic Order, a German crusaders' state formed in 13th century in the territory of pagan Prussians who were closely related to Lithuanians. In 1382 the Teutonic knights conquered Žemaitija (Latinized Samogitia, Polish Żmudź, Russian Zhmud'), and the Lithuanian Grand Duke Jogaila began to look for a foreign alliance. The Orthodox Christian Ruthenian princes and *boyars* favored the North-Eastern principalities of former Kievan Rus (modern Russia), that is, the republic of Novgorod, the Grand Principalities of Tver' and Moscow. Especially close dynastic ties existed between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Grand Principality of Tver', the chief competitor of Moscow for the unification of Russian lands: Princess Juliana (Ulyana), the daughter of the Grand Prince of Tver' Alexander, married in 1350 the Lithuanian Grand Duke Algirdas (Olgierd). The Grand Duke Jogaila (Jagiełło) was their son. In 1384 Juliana even arranged an engagement between her son Jogaila and Sophia, the daughter of Dmitry Donskoy, the Grand Prince of Moscow, on the condition that Jogaila be baptized into Orthodox Christianity. However, in 1385, Jogaila received an offer "he couldn't refuse" from the Polish nobles: to become a Polish King through his marriage with Jadwiga of Anjou on condition that he be baptized into the Roman Catholic Church.

The internal situation in Poland, which led to this offer of the Polish crown to the pagan Grand Duke, was very complicated. After the death in 1370 of the last Polish King of the Piast dynasty, Kazimierz III the Great, without male issue, Poland entered into a personal union with Hungary under the rule of Louis I of Anjou, the son of Elizabeth, sister of Kazimierz the Great. Louis also had no male heirs, and during his lifetime arranged the engagements of his two daughters Mary and Jadwiga (Hedvig) with Sigismund of Luxemburg and William von Habsburg Archduke of Austria respectively. Mary was supposed to inherit Hungary and Poland, and Jadwiga was supposed to become Archduchess of Austria. After the death of Louis in 1382, Mary arrived in Cracow to be crowned as the Queen of Poland. The Polish nobility, however, was dissatisfied with the continuation of this personal union with Hungary, as well as with the prospect of joining the Luxemburgian dynastic possessions, which had

36 For the history of local principalities in the Polesye region ("Black Rus") see Грушевский, Александр, *Пинское Полесье. Исторические очерки. Часть II. XIV-XVI вв.*, Киев, 1903.

included, since 1308, the Holy Roman Empire and the kingdom of Bohemia. In 1383, Mary was expelled from Poland, and her younger sister Jadwiga was invited to assume the Polish crown. Jadwiga was crowned in Cracow in 1384, and in 1385 Archduke William appeared in Poland to consummate his marriage, but he was expelled from Poland also, and the Polish nobles offered Jadwiga's hand and the Polish crown to the Lithuanian Grand Duke Jogaila[37] (see figure 1.2).

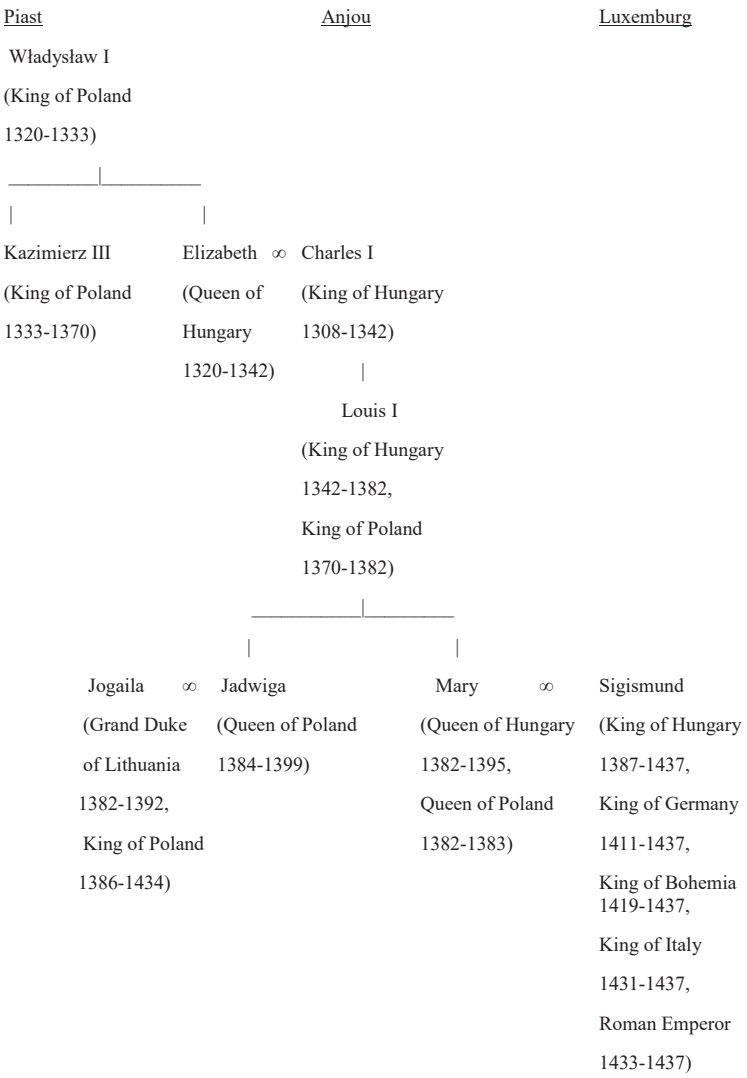

Figure 1.2 Houses of Anjou, Piast and Luxemburg: Dynastic Ties.

37 See Halecki, Oskar, *Jadwiga of Anjou and the Rise of East Central Europe*, New York, 1991.

Jogaila arrived in Cracow in 1386 and was baptized under the name of Władysław II. This personal union between Poland and Lithuania, which changed the history of Eastern Europe in the long term, did not last long. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland continued to function as two separate states under different rulers until 1501, since, according to a family arrangement, one member of the Jagiellonian dynasty served as the Polish King, while another one was to be the Grand Duke of Lithuania. In 1387 Jogaila appointed his brother Skrigaila as the regent of Lithuania, and after Skrigaila's death in 1392, Jogaila's nephew, Vytautas (Witold) the Great, became the Grand Duke of Lithuania (see figure 1.3).

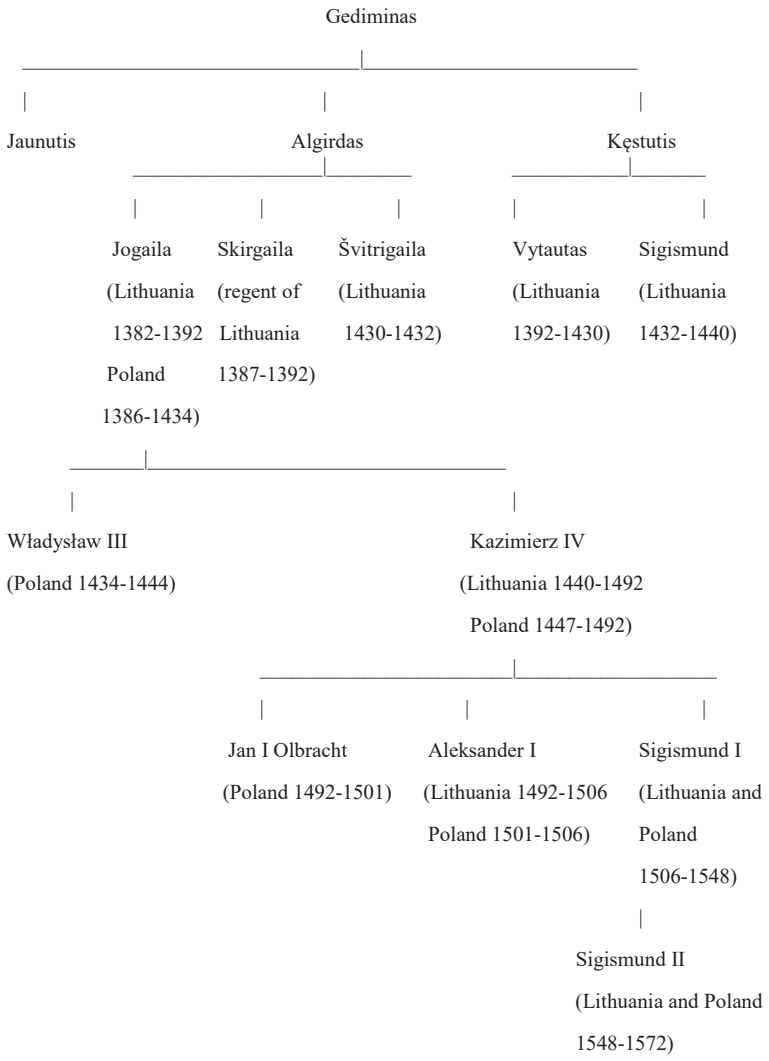

Figure 1.3 Jagiellonian dynasty in Lithuania and Poland in 1382-1569.

The earliest evidence of the Jewish presence in Belarus comes from the second half of the 13th century from the Lavrishevo monastery in the Novogrudok region, where a stone seal with a Hebrew inscription was found in 2015 during archaeological excavations.[38] The inscription reads *Itsḥak-Aizi[k]*, which represents the double Hebrew-Yiddish name of its owner. The presence of a Yiddish name shows that the earliest Jews in Belarus were German-speaking Ashkenazi Jews from Poland. This new wave of Jewish settlement began after the Mongol invasion. This was a smaller part of Germanic expansion into the area after its population was devastated by war.

In 1388 before assuming the title of the Grand Duke, Vytautas, in his capacity of Prince of Lutsk, issued a privilege to the Jews of Brest. In 1389, he granted a similar privilege to the Jews of Grodno.[39] After 1392, Vytautas extended these privileges to entire territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This was the turning point in the history of East European Jewry, since the privilege of 1388 set the basic conditions for Ashkenazi Jewish settlement in Lithuania, Belarus and large parts of Ukraine. This privilege remained in force until at least the mid-16th century.

The text of the privilege of 1388 is based upon the general privilege of Kazimierz the Great granted in 1367 to the Jews of Poland,[40] as well as on a similar (but not identical) privilege granted by the same King in the same year to the Jews of Red Ruthenia.[41] Both of these documents were modeled, in turn, after the earliest Polish privilege issued in 1264 for of the Jews of Kalisz by the Duke of Great Poland Bolesław the Pious (Pobożny).[42] The ultimate source of all these documents, as well as of the two other early Silesian privileges issued in 1295 and in 1299,[43] was the privilege granted to the Jews of Moravia by Ottokar II King of Bohemia in 1254.[44]

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38 «Надпіс на старажытнай пячатцы: іўрыт ёсьць, а габрэяў не было?», *http://www.svaboda.org/content/article/27331749.html*

39 Lazutka, Stanislavos and Gudavičius, Edvardas, *Privilege to Jews Granted by Vytautas the Great in 1388*, Moscow, 1993.

40 *Русско-еврейский архив. Документы и материалы для истории евреев в России*, собрал и издал Сергей А. Бершадский, т. 3: *Документы к истории польских и литовских евреев (1364-1569)*, С.-Петербург, 1903, с. 20-28; Bersohn, Mathias, *Dyplomataryusz dotyczący Żydów w dawnej Polsce, na źródłach archiwalnych osnuty (1388-1782)*, Warszawa, 1911, p. 18.

41 *Привілеї національних громад міста Львова (XIV-XVIII ст.),* упорядкував Мирон Капраль, Львів, 2000, с. 381-387.

42 *Kodeks dyplomatyczny wielkopolski obejmujący dokumenta tak już drukowane, jak dotąd nie ogłoszone, sięgające do roku* 1400, vol. 1. years 984-1287, ed. W. Łebiński, Poznań, 1877, No. 605; Labuda, Gerard, *Wybór źródeł do historii Polski średniowiecznej do połowy XV w.* vol. 2, Poznań, 1967, pp. 289-298.

43 Sommersberg, Fridrich Wilhelm, *Silesiacarum rerum scriptores*, Leipzig, vol. II, 1732, pp. 91-94, 105-107.

44 Scherer, Johannes E., *Die Rechtsverhältnisse der Juden in den deutsch-österreichischen Ländern*, vol. 1, 1901, pp. 336-8; Bretholz, Bertold, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in Mähren*, 1935, pp. 2-10.

The Ashkenazi Jews, who began to settle in the late 14th century in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, were a completely different kind of Jews, when compared with the previous period: their occupation was overwhelmingly money-lending. This is reflected well in the privilege of 1388 (as well as in the earliest privileges granted to the Jews of Moravia, Great Poland and Silesia), which is predominantly preoccupied with the issue of borrowing money from the Jews against a pledge. This is in sharp contrast to the first such privilege granted to the Jews of Speyer in Germany in 1084 where money-lending is not mentioned at all, and the sole Jewish occupations were said in the document to be money exchange and trade.[45] The transition of the Jews to money lending from their other previous occupations had been occurring in Western Europe since the excommunication of Christian usurers by Pope Alexander III in the 25th canon of the Third Lateran Ecumenical Council in 1179.[46] These Jews were also involved in leasing some of the state monopolies including taxes and customs, salt trade, and minting. These occupations made the Jews a central source of money, something always in short supply in agrarian society. Since the upper nobility found it difficult to convert incomes from their estates into money, and since state apparatus for the collection of taxes and customs was also underdeveloped, borrowing money against mortgages and leases of state monopoly rights became the most convenient way to obtain money. Some Jews obtained high positions in the state administration. These included, for example, the Józefowicz (Yezofovich) brothers: Abraham, Michael and Isaac. The eldest brother Abraham was originally a tax-farmer in principality of Kiev. In 1488 he converted to Orthodox Christianity under a name of Jan (Ivan) and became the governor of Smolensk from 1495 to 1505, and from 1509 to 1519 he served as a grand treasurer of Lithuania.[47] In spite of his conversion, Abraham continued to maintain business relations with his brothers Michael and Isaac, who leased in partnership a ducal salt monopoly and served as tax-farmers in the Brest region. In 1525 Michael was even granted a noble title, becoming the only Jew in either Poland or Lithuania who achieved noble status without conversion.

At the end of the 14th century or at the beginning of the 15th, Vytautas the Great also invited Karaite Jews from Crimea to Lithuania, and thus the Lithuanian Jewish population became composed of three culturally distinct communities: Slavic-

45 *Ausgevählte Urkunden zur Erläuterung der Verfassungsgeschichte Deutschlands im Mittelalter*, eds. Wilhelm Altmann and Ernst Bernheim, Berlin, 1904, p. 156.

46 Foreville, Raymonde, *Latran I, II, III, et Latran IV* (Histoire des conciles oecuméniques 6), Paris, 1965.

47 On him see Бершадский, Сергей, *Аврам Езофович Ребичкович, подскарбий земский, член Рады Великого Княжества Литовского: отрывок из истории внутренних отношений Литвы в начале XVI века*, Киев, 1888.

speaking Canaanite Jews, German-speaking Ashkenazi Jews and Turkic-speaking Karaites.[48]

However, in April 1495, the Grand Duke Aleksander I suddenly expelled all the Jews (including the Karaites) from Lithuania. This drastic measure, which contradicted the previous policy of the Lithuanian Grand Dukes, was probably connected to the so-called Judaizers' controversy in Novgorod and Moscow.[49] Judaizers' heresy was brought to Novgorod from Grand Duchy of Lithuania by Zacharia (Skhariya), the Kievan Jew who accompanied Prince of Slutsk Mikhailo Olelkovich, who had been elected in 1470 as a prince of the republic of Novgorod. After the annexation of Novgorod by the Grand Principality of Moscow in 1478, Grand Prince of Moscow Ivan III invited in 1480 some of the leading adherents of the sect to Moscow. Here they obtained the support of Helena, daughter of Ştefan (Stephan) III the Great, Prince (*hospodar*) of Moldova, who had married in 1483 the heir apparent of Moscow, Prince Ivan son of Ivan III. However, the heresy was opposed by Sophia Paleolog, daughter of Thomas, the Prince (*despotes*) of Morea and the second wife of Ivan III (since 1472). In 1490 Prince Ivan died, and the struggle between the supporters and the opponents of the Judaizers at the Muscovite court became especially acute, since Helena promoted her son Dmitry as the heir apparent, while Sophia supported the candidacy of her son Vasily, the future Grand Prince Vasily III. In January 1495, Helena, daughter of Ivan III and Sophia Paleolog, married Grand Duke Aleksander I, and came to Lithuania, where the Judaizers' controversy in the neighboring state had been followed with suspicion since 1482, when Prince Mikhailo Olelkovich had been executed for his participation in a conspiracy against the Grand Duke Kazimierz IV. Helena probably initiated the expulsion of the Jews from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the same year of her arrival, though the influence of the recent expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492 also cannot be excluded.

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48 On the Karaites of Lithuania see Aḥi'ezer, Golda, «HaKaraim BePolin-Lita 'ad Sof HaMeah Ha-17», *Toldot Yehudei Rusiya*, chief editor I. Bartal, vol. 1: *MiYmei Kedem 'ad Ha'Et HaḤadasha HaMukdemet"*, ed. A. Kulik, Jerusalem, 2010, pp. 233-257; Ахиэзер, Голда, «Караимы Польско-Литовского государства до конца XVII в.», *История еврейского народа в России*, общая ред. И. Барталь, том 1: *От Древности до раннего Нового Времени*, ред. А. Кулик, Иерусалим, 2010, с. 282-320.

49 On this matter see Ettinger, Shmuel, «HaHashpa'ah HaYehudit 'al HaTsisah HaDatit BeMizraḥ Eiropa BeSof HaMeah Ha-15», *Sefer HaYovel LeYitsḥak Ber*, ed. Sh. Ettinger, Jerusalem, 1961, pp. 228-247; *Bein Polin LeRusiya*, ed. I. Bartal, J. Frankel, Jerusalem, 1994, pp. 37-56; Taube, Moshe, "The Fifteenth-Century Ruthenian Translations from Hebrew and the Herecy of the Judaizers: Is There a Connection?", *Speculum Slaviae Orientalis: Muscovy, Ruthenia and Lithuania in the Late Middle Ages* (UCLA Slavic Studies, n. s. 4), eds. Ivanov, V. and Verkholantsev, J., Moscow, 2005, pp. 185-208; "Targumim Me'Ivrit LeSlavit BeRusiya VeTnu'at HaMityahadim", *Toldot Yehudei Rusiya*, chief editor I. Bartal, vol. 1: *MiYmei Kedem 'ad Ha'Et HaḤadasha HaMukdemet"*, ed. A. Kulik, Jerusalem, 2010, pp. 290-308; «Ересь «жидовствующих» и переводы с еврейского в средневековой Руси», *История еврейского народа в России*, общая ред. И. Барталь, том 1: *От Древности до раннего Нового Времени*, ред. А. Кулик, Иерусалим, 2010, с. 367-397.

Most of the expelled Lithuanian Jews found refuge in Poland. In 1501 Grand Duke Aleksander also became King of Poland, and in 1503 he allowed the Jews to return to Lithuania. However, the expulsion of 1495 was effectively the end of the Slavic-speaking Canaanite Jewish community in Lithuania. These Jews either converted to Christianity, or were assimilated with the Ashkenazi Jews during their temporary exile in Poland.

1.3 Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: Ruralization of the Jewish Population

The union with Poland proved to be a great success for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: in 1410 the combined Polish-Lithuanian forces decisively defeated the Teutonic Knights at the battle of Grünwald, and Žemaitija (Samogitia) was recovered. Under Vytautas's rule Lithuania became the largest state in Europe, stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea. However, by the end of the 15th century, Lithuania faced an internal crisis similar to the sort which had occurred in the early medieval barbarian states in Western Europe. Rapid territorial growth and the unity of the state had been initially secured by the Lithuanian tribal militia, which had provided a numerical superiority over the small private armies (*druzhina*) of local princes, and it was the only military force in Eastern Europe that was able to effectively withstand the similar tribal militias of the Golden Horde's Tatars. In the course of the 15th century this Lithuanian militia gradually disintegrated with the process of "feudalization" of the Lithuanian society. The term "feudalism" has been challenged in the late 20th century as a term applicable for describing medieval European society.[50] I use this term here in a purely technical sense without delving into the ideological connotations of the debate on the existence of feudalism, I simply mean the system of landholdings distributed by a central authority to knights on condition of military service. This system emerged in early Carolingian France and Norman England in Western Europe, but it reached Eastern Europe much later: the 14th century in Poland and Ottoman Turkey and 15th century in Muscovy and Lithuania. Initially, this system served as an effective tool for the unification of the country, but later on noble landholders began to demand more and more independence from central authority. This process was checked in Ottoman Empire with the creation of the standing army of Janissaries (*yeniçeri* – "new soldier") 1383.[51] In Poland, which had no financial resources for

50 Reynolds, Susan, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted*. Oxford, 1994; id. *The Middle Ages without Feudalism: Essays in Criticism and Comparison on the Medieval West*, Farnham, 2012.

51 See Shaw, Stanford J., *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. 1 *Empire of the Gazis. The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire 1280-1808*, Cambridge, 1976, p. 26.

such a measure, this process continued unchecked, as had occurred much earlier in Western Europe. In 1505, the Polish nobility achieved the so-called *Nihil novi* ("Nothing new") constitution, which determined that no law could pass without the approval of the bicameral Diet (*Sejm*), whose upper chamber (Senate) consisted of the magnates (upper nobility of large landowners) and whose lower chamber (House of Ambassadors) of representatives of the lower and middle nobles (*szlachta*) were elected in local assemblies (*Sejmiki*) by all members of this estate. Simultaneously, far reaching economic changes, which affected all of Eastern Europe, also played into the hands of the rising power of the Polish nobility. The gradual development of agricultural technology (especially the introduction of the three-field system) in early modern Eastern Europe considerably enlarged the amount of agricultural production available for the market. Simultaneously, the demand for agricultural products (especially grain) in early modern Western Europe grew constantly due to the rapid pre-industrial development of the urban economy there. The combination of these two factors introduced the market economy to archaic and under-developed agrarian Eastern Europe. The enserfment of peasants and the increasing conversion of rural estates into market-oriented latifundia (*folwark* in Poland) based on the serfs' corvée (*pańszczyzna* in Polish), only increased the political importance of the landed nobility.[52] The right of peasants to pass from one landowner to another was severely restricted in 1496, and in 1518 peasants were put under the full jurisdiction of their noble lords.[53]

In the first half of the 16th century Muscovy and Lithuania, where the process of feudalization took place later than in Poland and Turkey, had to choose between either the Polish or Turkish models. Muscovy had followed the Turkish model with the creation of the standing army of *strel'tsy* ("shooters") in 1550 who were like Janissaries, but Lithuania, which lacked the natural resources of Urals and Siberia chose to follow the Polish model. The transformation of the dynastic union with Poland into a personal union in 1501 also contributed to the acceleration of the restructuring of Lithuanian society after the Polish model. This restructuring was realized in several legislative forms in social, economic and political spheres. On the social level, the First Lithuanian Statute promulgated in 1529 granted to the Lithuanian nobility the same rights and privileges as had been obtained earlier by the Polish nobility.[54] In the field of economy the nationwide land register, known as the *Volochnaya Pomera*, composed in 1557, signaled the transition to the three field

52 See Skwarczyński, P. "The Problem of Feudalism in Poland up to the Beginning of the 16th Century", *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 1956, pp. 292-310.

53 Korta, Wacław, „Do upadku Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej", *Historia chłopów polskich*, ed. Inglot, S., Wrocław, 1992, p. 67.

54 Lazutka, Stanislavos, Valikonytė, Irena, Gudavičius, Edvardas, *Pirmasis Lietuvos Statutas (1529 M.)*, Vilnius, 2004.

system in agriculture, the introduction of the *folwark* economy and enserfment of peasants.[55] On a political level the Polonization of Lithuania culminated in the Union of Lublin in 1569, which transformed Poland and Lithuania into one state known as the Commonwealth of Both Nations (*Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów*) or the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Although Crown Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania preserved their own administrative systems, their Diets (Polish *Sejm* and Lithuanian *Rada*) merged together, meaning that Lithuanian magnates had gained seats in the Polish Senate, and the Lithuanian nobility (*szlachta*) began to send their representatives to the House of Ambassadors at Cracow (from 1596 at Warsaw). The Lithuanian part of Ukraine and Podlasie were also ceded by the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to Crown Poland.

All these drastic changes in 16th century Poland and Lithuania had an enormous impact on the Jewish population of these countries. Medieval Polish Jews were *servi camerae*, "slaves of the treasury", as in other European countries, but in the 16th century their legal position changed. Polish Jews were subjected to the private jurisdiction of their noble lords starting from 1539.[56] Secondly, Polish and Lithuanian Jews gradually abandoned money lending as their main occupation and became instead leaseholders of various kinds. Leaseholds were the payment of money for the use of property or monopoly rights. The contradictory situation of the co-existence of feudal monopoly rights with market economy made leases one of the most convenient ways for the nobility to extract money from land and from monopoly rights. This formed the basis of their domination in agrarian feudal society. Jews initially entered the practice of leaseholding by way of their traditional involvement in money lending. Land values rose because of the development of more advanced agricultural techniques and growing profitability of agricultural production. On the one hand, this made mortgaging of rural estates more profitable, as the borrower could then repay a loan from estate income rather from his own cash reserves. But, on the other hand, the same process led to the gradual monopolization of landholding rights by the nobility. Additionally the Jews who were formally denied such rights by legislation in 1496,[57] found it increasingly difficult to take out mortgages because they could not assume ownership of land in case of default. As a result, raising money on real estate from Jews could only be achieved by leasing it to them, since in that case ownership could not change hands.

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55 Пичета, Владимир, *Аграрная реформа Сигизмунда-Августа в Литовско-Русском государстве*, Москва, 1958.

56 *Sejmy i sejmiki koronne wobec Żydów. Wybór tekstów źródłowych*, ed. Michałowska-Mycielska, A., Warszawa, 2006, No. XIII, p. 33; Kaźmierczyk, Adam, *Żydzi w dobrach prywatnych w świetle sądowniczej i administracyjnej praktyki dóbr magnackich w wiekach XVI-XVIII*, Kraków, 2002, pp. 21-23.

57 See Nadav, Mordechai, "Jewish Ownership of Land and Agricultural Activity in 16th Century Lithuania", *Studies in the History of the Jews in Old Poland in Honor of Jacob Goldberg* , (ed.) A. Teller, Jerusalem (*Scripta Hierosolymitana 38*), 1998, p. 161.

Leasing rural estates to Jews was increasingly widespread until the mid-seventeenth century. The leasing of entire estates was the most popular practice, and included both the land itself as well as the landowner's various monopoly rights.

In the magnates' latifundia, which could consist of hundreds of villages, the general leaseholder usually subleased his parts to secondary leaseholders, who most often were Jewish too. However, as this form of leasing became more profitable with the development of the *folwark* system, it began to attract the lower and middle nobility. With the expansion of the economic and political power of Polish-Lithuanian magnates from the mid-seventeenth century, leases of large landed estates began to serve political rather than economic ends. Magnates preferred to lease estates to their noble clients in order to secure the latter's loyalty in local (and national) political arenas. As a result, Jews were effectively excluded from leasing large estates, though they continued to lease the smaller estates of lower and middle nobility, especially in regions where this form of land ownership was dominant. These regions, which stretched from northern Podlasie to the Carpathian Mountains, formed a leaseholders' belt in which hundreds of Jews leased individual villages belonging to small landowners, the King and monastic orders.[58] This form of leasehold existed also in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. For example the leasehold of Solomon Maimon's grandfather stated:

> "He selected for his residence one of these villages on the river Nieman, called Sukoviborg, where, besides a few peasants' plots, there was a water-mill, a small harbor, and a warehouse for use of the vessels that come from Königsberg, in Prussia. All this, along with a bridge behind the village, and on the other side a drawbridge on the river Nieman, belonged to the leasehold, which was worth a thousand gulden, and formed my grandfather's *Chazakah*" (Hebrew *ḥazakah* – "tenure").[59]

Jews continued to lease royal and ecclesiastic estates despite legislation to the contrary.

In the private sector, the politicization of leaseholds on estates gave the lease of monopoly rights greater economic significance. These included milling, fishing, use of forest produce, and the sale of salt and tobacco. By far the most important item was the so-called *propinacja*, the estate owner's monopoly on the production and sale of alcohol. Its importance stemmed from the fact that the sale of alcohol at local markets was the easiest and least expensive way to offload any estate's agricultural surplus. Because of the differences in grain prices between Eastern and Western Europe grain shipment to the Baltic ports was very profitable business, but it was also

58 See Kalik, Judith, "Jewish Leaseholders (*Arendarze*) in 18th Century Crown Poland", *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 54, 2006, pp. 229-240.

59 Maimon, Solomon, *An Autobiography*, translated by J. C. Murray, introduction by M. Shapiro, Urbana-Chicago, 2001, p. 6.

very costly and insecure, since river navigation was closed in winter, and the rivers of grain producing Ukraine flow to the Black Sea which was closed for commerce by the hostile Ottoman Empire. Although the method for distilling pure alcohol had already been discovered in the Middle Ages,[60] commercial vodka produced from grain spirit appeared first at about 1500,[61] and its production and sale to the local population soon became the cheapest way for the landowner to convert grain into cash. Magnate estate owners often leased all their monopoly rights as a package to one person, most often a Jew (or a consortium of Jews), who further sublet them piecemeal to secondary leaseholders. This form of package was often called a general leaseholder.[62] The most famous general leaseholders in the estates of Radziwiłł family were the Ickowicz brothers, Shmuel and Yosef-Gedalya, whose activities even provoked a peasants' rebellion led by Wasko Woszczyłło from 1740 to 1744 in Eastern Belarus. In 1745 Shmuel Ickowicz was arrested for corruption and died in prison in 1747, while his brother fled to Prussia.[63]

The leasing of inns and taverns, where alcohol was sold to the local population, became a typical Jewish occupation. In taking over this sector of the economy, Jews displaced peasants and burghers who were also interested in competing for leaseholds. In fact, before the profitability of *propinacja* leases became clear in the sixteenth century, the majority of inn- and tavern-keepers had been hereditary peasant leaseholders. The success of Jews in ousting them was a result of several factors: modest drinking habits, relatively advanced literacy and mathematical knowledge, but above all their ability to pay in advance and to bear the constant rise in the cost of leases caused by growing profits and inflation. Hereditary leaseholders survived to a certain extent on royal and ecclesiastic estates, but had practically disappeared on magnate estates by the mid-17th century. However, Jewish lease holdings were so profitable that they were also enacted on royal and even ecclesiastic estates, despite explicit synodal prohibitions.

In order to increase their incomes from *propinacja* in both urban and rural areas, landlords strictly enforced their monopolies with heavy fines for infringements.

60 See Phillips, Rod, *Alcohol: A History,* Chapel Hill, 2014.

61 See, for different views on this matter, Похлёбкин, Вильям, *История водки*, Москва, 1991; Pokhlebkin, William (transl. Renfrey Clarke), *A History of Vodka*, London, 1992; *Public Drinking in the Early Modern World: Voices from the Tavern, 1500-1800*, eds. Brennan, Th. E., Kumin, B., Tlusty, B. A., Hancock, D., and McDonald, M., London, 2011; *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Kumin, B. and Tlusty, B. A., Burlington, 2002.

62 See Teller, Adam, "Ḥakhira Klalit VeḤokher Klali BeAḥuzot Beit Radziwiłł Ba Mea Ha-18", *Yazamut Yehudit Be'Et HaḤadasha. Mizraḥ Eiropa VeErets Israel*, ed. R. Aaronsohn and S. Stampfer, Jerusalem, 2000, pp. 48-78.

63 For their carrier see Zielińska, Teresa, "Kariera i upadek żydowskiego potentata w dobrach radziwiłłowskich w XVIII wieku," *Kwartalnik historyczny* 98, 1991, pp. 33-49; Teller, Adam, *Kesef, Koaḥ VeHshpa'a: HaYehudim BeAḥuzot Beit Radziwiłł BeLita BaMea Ha-18*, Jerusalem, 2006, pp. 89-127.

Fines were imposed for not buying alcohol exclusively from the lord's tavern, for not filling obligatory minimal quotas for alcohol consumption, and for producing alcohol for self-consumption. The costs of taking leases, which were much higher in towns than in villages, rose constantly. Penalties for leaseholders who failed to pay could be heavy, including the confiscation of property. This confiscation often forced less fortunate leaseholders to flee. This situation gave an added edge to the already stiff economic competition for leaseholds among Jews. In an attempt to check this situation and to keep the cost of leases low, Jewish communal authorities tried to enforce the tenure (*ḥazakah*), which granted an existing leaseholder the right to renew a contract annually without competitive interference from other Jewish businessmen. These attempts usually failed, and the turnover of leaseholders was relatively high.

According to the Jewish census of 1764-65 in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, more than one-third of employed Jews were leaseholders of various kinds. The fierce competition with burghers for *propinacja* leaseholds in town shifted the Jewish population into rural areas. By the end of the 18th century, Jews in villages made up almost 40% of the Jewish population in certain regions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[64] The large rural Jewish population was a unique East European phenomenon. The process of ruralization of East European Jewry had far-reaching social and even religious implications, as rural Jewish innkeepers tended to live in isolation from the Jewish communities in market towns, and so were distant from established educational systems and communal religious life.

Holding leases on rural estates gave the Jewish leaseholder the de facto status of a noble landowner, a situation that led to much tension with the local peasant population and may have been one of the causes of the Khmel'nits'kyi rebellion of 1648. Jews may have preferred general leaseholds comprising of all monopoly rights of the estate noble owner since this did not put them in position of direct power over the peasants. However, leaseholds on monopoly rights did not prove to cause less troubles than leases on rural estates. Clerics in churches on lands owned by the nobility also enjoyed the right to produce alcohol for their own consumption, a factor that could lead to conflicts (sometimes violent) between local clerics and Jewish leaseholders. Such conflicts involving the Orthodox clergy, which was vulnerable in Catholic Poland-Lithuania was particularly susceptible, created the legend of Jews leasing Orthodox churches in Ukraine on the eve of Khmel'nits'kyi rebellion.[65]

Massive Jewish involvement in *propinacja* lease holding created special (and sometimes close) ties between leaseholders and Polish magnates, who often used Jewish leaseholders as their general agents for various financial transactions. Magnates also protected them not only from church and state, but even from the

64 Mahler, Rafael, *Yidn in Amolikn Poiln in Likht fun Tsifern*, Warsaw, 1958, pp. 50-51.
65 Kalik, Judith, "The Orthodox Church and the Jews in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth", *Jewish History* 17, 2003, pp. 229-237.

Jewish communal authorities. This protection gave the leaseholders special status and not inconsiderable power within Jewish society.[66]

Contrary to the stereotypical view, Jewish rural leaseholders were not lonely Jews isolated from their brethren. The Jewish population of many villages was often quite large, since leaseholders, shop owners, and innkeepers lived in them with their families. Rural Jews of some villages formed rural Jewish communities, which sometimes tried to gain independence from urban Jewish communities.[67]

The relations of rural Jewish lease-holders with local Slavonic peasants were rather complicated. On the one hand, the Jewish leaseholder was an important figure in a village, and the rural inn served as a focal point of social life, providing often the only place for different social strata to interact.[68] The inn often served also as a shop, and both innkeepers and shop-keepers also often lent money to peasants against a pledge. On the other hand, the Jewish leaseholder was seen in the eyes of peasants as a representative, often the sole one, of their lord. Lease holding contracts usually included a clause which provided the leaseholder with the corvée labor of local serfs.[69] Jewish rule over Christian serfs was as problematic for the Jews themselves, for *halakhic* reasons, as it was for the Church. The problem was that if entire village or an estate was leased to a Jew, all its inhabitants could neither work on Sabbath, nor breed pigs, since the enterprise was under "name of Israel". The compulsory work of serfs was especially problematic since it differed from the normal employment of the so-called "Sabbath goy" for which the *halakhic* solution has already been established.[70] However, economic needs caused frequent violations of the *halakhic* rules, just as in the case of ecclesiastic legislation. A *halakhic* solution was urgently needed and, indeed, it was soon found. Rabbi Yoel Sirkis (HaBaKh) ruled that a leasehold was not a Jewish enterprise, since the Jewish leaseholder served as a *sar*

66 For the economic ties between the Jews and magnates see Rosman, Moshe, *Lords' Jews: Magnate-Jewish Relations in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1990 and Teller, Adam, *Kesef, Koaḥ VeHshpa'a: HaYehudim BeAḥuzot Beit Radziwiłł BeLita BaMea Ha-18*, Jerusalem, 2006.

67 Kalik, Judith,"Deconstructing Communities: The Administrative Structure of the Rural Jewish Population in the Polish Crown Lands in the 18th Century", *Gal-ed* 21, 2007, pp. 53-76.

68 Kalik, Judith, "The Inn as a Focal Point for Jewish Relations with the Catholic Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth", *Jews and Slavs 21*, 2008, pp. 381-390.

69 See Goldberg, Jacob, "Władza dominialna Żydów-arendarzy dóbr ziemskich nad chłopami w XVII-XVIII w.", *Przegląd Historyczny* 1-2, 1990, pp. 189-198; "Die jüdische Gutspächter in Polen-Litauen und die Bauern im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert" *Kleine Völker in der Geschichte Osteuropas; Festschrift für Günther Stökl*, ed. M. Alexander, Stuttgart, 1991, pp. 13-21; „Ḥokhrei HaAkhuzot HaYehudim Umarutam ,al Halkarim", in J. Goldberg, *HaḤevra HaYehudit BeMamlekhet Polin-Lita*, Jerusalem, 1999, pp. 159-170.

70 This problem was seriously discussed for the first time in an article of Ben-Sasson, Ḥayim, "Takanot isurei-shabat shel Polin u-mashmautam ha-khevratit ve-ha-kalkalit", *Zion* 21, 1956, pp. 183-206. See also Kaz, Israel, *Goi shel Shabat*, Jerusalem, 1983, pp. 70-83.

("minister"), and therefore it was permitted for the gentiles to work on the Sabbath as well as on Jewish holidays.[71]

Records of rural communal courts also preserve many vivid references to the everyday interactions between rural Jews and local Slavonic peasants. Usually these cases reflect drinking habits of the latter. In 1764 Maciej Wydrzak, a miller in the ecclesiastical village Węglów sold to the Jewish innkeeper various implements of his mill, bolts, railings etc., thus bringing the mill to standstill. The community asked the *ekonom* (manager) of the village to replace the drunkard Wydrzak with another miller. The latter, however, swore on a cross in 1765 that that he would never again enter the Jewish inn, and only his wife would be allowed to bring him vodka, and then only as a remedy in event of illness.[72]

Priests, monks, and other clerics were often to be found among the regular customers of Jewish taverns and inns and their drinking habits sometimes caused trouble. In an attempt to avoid unnecessary tensions, Rabbi Judah Puchowicer wrote in the mid-17th century Lithuania in his book *Kvod Ḥakhamim* ("Honor of Wisemen") that Jewish innkeepers should serve their clerical customers on the Sabbath for the sake of the 'ways of peace' (*mipne darkei shalom*).[73] Jews themselves were often not so different from their Slavic neighbors in their drinking habits, as Solomon Maimon testified in his memoirs: "... and wherever they [Jewish general leaseholders] found a leaseholder who, instead of looking after his own interests and those of his landlord in the improvement of his leasehold by industry and economy, spent the whole day in idleness, or lay drunk about the stove, they soon brought him to his senses, and roused him out of his indolence by a flogging. This procedure of course acquired for the general leaseholders, among their own people, the name of tyrants".[74]

The positive side of the rural Jewish experience should not be overlooked. The rural inn or tavern was the place where Jews and Slavs often met in situations as diverse as violence and hostility, on the one hand, and friendship and co-operation, on the other. Close contacts and mutual life experience led to better acquaintance between Jews and Christians and even to mutual cultural influences. Rural Jews shared often with their Slavic co-villagers common beliefs and superstitions. Coexistence between Jews and Christians in a closed rural microcosm led sometimes even to intermarriages. Thus, the usually dry judicial account of the court of Mogilev from 1748 reveals an incredible story of human suffering in the deaths of two people,

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71 Syrkish, Yoel, *She'elot VeTshuvot Beit He-Ḥadash HaYeshanot SheḤiber MOHaRaR BaKaK Kraka*, New York, 1966, resp. 27.

72 *Księgi sądowe wiejskie*, vol. 1, ed. Bolesław Ulanowski (Starodawne prawa polskiego pomniki, vol. 9), Kraków, 1921, No. 3735, p. 421.

73 Ben-Sasson, Ḥayim "Takanot isurei-shabat shel Polin u-mashmautan he-khevratit ve-ha-kalkalit", *Zion* 21, 1956, pp. 183-206.

74 Maimon, Solomon, *An Autobiography*, translated by J. C. Murray, introduction by M. Shapiro, Urbana-Chicago, 2001, p. 3.

who lost their lives for the sake of love.[75] These were Abraham Michalewicz, the sub-leaseholder in an estate of Mr. Mison, which was located in the village of Dubrovka, and Paraska Danilowna, who was the a Uniate maid of Leyb, the general leaseholder in the same estate. After Paraska became pregnant, both she and Abraham fled Dubrovka and settled in the village of Vendorozh, where Abraham became a brewer in a service of Hersh, the Jewish leaseholder of Mr. Krojer. Paraska began preparations for conversion to Judaism. When the matter was disclosed to the authorities, both were sentenced to death and beheaded.[76]

Jews of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth enjoyed a high degree of self-government: in 1581, or thereabouts, the famous Jewish autonomous "government", the Council of Four Lands (*Va'ad 'Arba Aratsot*) was established. The original constituent "four lands" were Great Poland, Little Poland, Volhynia and Lithuania, but in 1623 Lithuania separated from the Council of Four Lands and formed an independent Council of Lithuania (*Va'ad Medinat Lita*). The Council of Four Lands consisted of regional councils (*galil*) subdivided into major communities (*kehilah rashit*), which, in turn, were comprised of several urban Jewish communities with their rural peripheries (called *svivot* in Hebrew). The Council of Four Lands preserved its original name, but several large urban communities later gained exterritorial status (Poznań, Cracow, Lublin, Przemyśl as well as several others), and several major communities became independent of their former regional councils (Węgrów, Tykocin, Rzeszów). As result of this process of fragmentation, the Council of Four Lands consisted by the mid-18th century of twenty three constituent bodies.[77] The Council of Lithuania, being originally a regional council itself, consisted of the five major communities of Brest, Grodno, Pinsk, Vilna (from 1631) and Slutsk (from 1691). Some of them had also subordinate regional councils such as Żmudź (Žemaitija), Belarus (in the north-eastern part of modern Belarus, preserving the original name of this region), Novogrudok, Minsk, Smorgon', and Polotsk.[78]

From the point of view of the Polish authorities, the main purpose of Jewish autonomy was the collection of the Jewish poll-tax. This tax was not collected *per capita*, but a global sum for Crown Poland and for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and was assessed by the treasury. The Council of Four Lands and the Council of Lithuania assessed this sum for their constituent councils and individual communities. This

75 Бершадский, Сергей, *Регесты и надписи. Свод материалов для истории евреев в России (80 г.-1800 г.)*, С. Петербург, 1899, vol. 3, no. 1957, pp. 56-58.

76 For detailed account of this affair see Kalik, Judith, "Fusion versus Alienation – Erotic Attraction, Sex and Love between Jews and Christians in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth"in *Kommunikation durch symbolische Akte. Religiöse Heterogenität und politische Herrschaft in Polen-Litauen,* ed. Y. Kleinmann, Leipzig, 2010, pp. 166-168.

77 See Kalik, Judith, *Scepter of Judah. Jewish Autonomy in the Eighteenth-Century Crown Poland* (Studia Judaeoslavica 2, ed. A. Kulik), Leiden-Boston, 2009.

78 See Michałowska-Mycielska, Anna, *Sejm Żydów litiewskich (1623-1764)*, Warszawa, 2014.

sum was periodically updated in accordance with the growth of the Jewish population and the inflation rate, rising for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from 3,000 *złoty* in 1613 to 60,000 *złoty* in 1717, when it was updated for the last time,[79] but it always lagged behind the real size of the Jewish population. In 1764 Jewish autonomy was abolished, Jewish councils were dissolved, and the Polish treasury adopted the Russian system of periodic censuses of population (which had been introduced by Peter the Great in 1718) as the basis for poll-tax assessment. The first nationwide census of the Jewish population in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had been taken in 1764/65, and it had shown the size of the Jewish population in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as standing at 104,277. 39,892, 38%, of them lived in villages.[80]

1.4 The Age of the Partitions: "Reform of the Jews"

The abolition of Jewish autonomy in 1764 was only one of the steps in series of attempts to reform the archaic and inadequate political system of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Great Northern War of 1700-1721, when Russian and Swedish troops operated against each other on Polish territory without any obstruction, had shown clearly that a Poland-Lithuania surrounded by centralized absolutist monarchies would have little chance to survive the course of the 18th century. This "republic of nobles" still had no modern regular army, its government was paralyzed by the so-called *liberum veto* (the principle of unanimity in the Diet), and, if any decision was taken, it could be instantly annulled by the magnates' "confederation" (a constitutional rebellion), one of the most bizarre "golden liberties" of the Polish nobility.

The reform movement started already in the late 1720s, when the so-called "Familia", a group of reformists headed by the powerful magnate family of Czartoryski, which became an active political faction. Their conservative opponents grouped in Crown Poland around the Potocki family, and, in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, around the Radziwiłł clan. The successful fiscal reform of 1764, which stabilized the Polish currency, was the first real achievement of the "Familia". The abolition of Jewish autonomy was a part of this reform, since Jewish self-government was not autonomy in its modern sense, but rather a typically medieval separate administrative network for a certain section of population. The "Familia" was less successful with its attempt to abolish the *liberum veto*: although the Diet of 1764 restricted the principle of unanimity to non-financial matters, the Diet of 1766 rejected the proposal to abolish

79 *Sejmy i sejmiki koronne wobec Żydów. Wybór tekstów źródłowych*, ed. Michałowska-Mycielska, A., Warszawa, 2006, No. LIII, p. 51; No. CXXXIV, p. 137.

80 Cieśla, Maria, „Żydzi wiejscy w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku", *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów* 253, 2015, p. 236.

the *liberum veto* altogether, under the pressure of Russia and Prussia.[81] In 1767 the confederation of Radom was formed under Russian protection, and its supporters succeeded in passing through the Diet the so-called Cardinal Laws, which could not be changed by any future legislation, and the *liberum veto* was among them. However, since the Radom confederation served Russian interests, the same Diet also promulgated equal rights for dissidents, Greek Orthodox and Protestants (the former were under the Russian protection). This act of foreign intervention provoked the formation of the confederation of Bar in 1768, which united all conservative, Catholic and patriotic forces in fighting against foreigners, reformers and dissidents alike. The armed forces of the confederates were crushed by Russian troops in 1771, and in 1772 Russia, Prussia and Austria reached an agreement for the First Partition of Poland. Russia annexed the so-called Belarusian province, the north-eastern part of what is today Belarus, which was later divided into Mogilev and Vitebsk Guberniyas.

The First Partition of Poland served as a strong impetus for the reform movement. The radical reform of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was widely perceived as the last chance to save this rapidly disintegrating state. This reform movement culminated in the Four Years' Diet of 1788-1792, whose expressed aim was to transform the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth into a centralized and constitutional monarchy organized according to the political principles of the French Enlightenment. The Jewish question was also hotly debated during Diet's sessions. Polish reformists were generally sympathetic to the Jews (especially Hugo Kołłątaj) and strove for their full emancipation and integration into the Polish society. Several projects concerning the "reform of the Jews" were proposed.[82] However, the very same people who otherwise held enlightened views on the Jews in general expressed extremely hostile attitude towards the rural Jews. Thus, for example, Mateusz Butrymowicz, the author of the most detailed project submitted to the Diet concerning the "reform of the Jews", called the rural Jews "leeches on our subjects [i.e. serfs] and destroyers not only

81 See Lukowski, Jerzy, "'Machines of Government': Replacing the Liberum Veto in the Eighteenth-Century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth", *The Slavonic and East European Review* 90, 2012, pp. 65-97.

82 Materials of the Four Years' Diet concerning the Jews have been published in *Materiały do dziejów Sejmu Czteroletniego*, tom 6, ed. A. Eisenbach, J. Michalski, E. Rostworowski, J. Woliński, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków, 1969. On the rpojects of „reform of the Jews" see Gelber, Nathan, „Żydzi a zagadnienie reformy Żydów na Sejmie Czteroletnim", *Miesięcznik Żydowski* 1, 1931, pp. 326-344, 429-440; Ringelblum, Emanuel, „Projekty i próby przewarstwowienia Żydów w epoce stanisławowskiej", *Sprawy Narodowościowe* 1, 1934, pp. 3-9, 2-3, 1934, pp. 18-26; Wodziński, Marcin, „"Cywilni chrześcijanie": Spory o reformę Żydów w Polsce, 1789-1830", *Kwestia żydowska w XIX wieku: Spory o tożsamość Polaków*, ed. G. Borkowska, M. Rudkowska, Warszawa, 2004, pp. 9-42; Zienkowska, Krystyna,"Citizens or Inhabitants? The Attempt to Reform the Status of the Polish Jews during the Four Years' Sejm", *Acta Poloniae Historica* 76, 1997, pp. 31-52.

of the property of our peasants, but also of their health".[83] Butrymowicz proposed prohibiting the leasing of rural taverns and inns to the Jews, as well as expelling Jews from rural areas or force them into becoming farmers.[84]

There were several reasons for this hostility. Firstly, the Polish reformers were heavily influenced by the ideas of the French Enlightenment in general and by the physiocratic economic theory of François Quesnay in particular, which saw agriculture as the only source of national wealth, and as the only really productive occupation. Secondly, the Polish reformers generally saw Western Europe as a model for imitation. Lease holding of landlord' monopolies did not exist there, and it was seen as one of the signs of the Polish "backwardness". Thirdly, and most importantly, the main enemy of the reform movement in Poland was the reactionary camp led by Polish and Lithuanian magnates, who wanted to protect the "golden liberty" at any cost. To this way of thinking their Jewish rural leaseholders were widely perceived as their agents.

The first draft of the "reform of the Jews" submitted to the Diet in August 1791 proposed prohibiting completely the leasing of rural inns and taverns to Jews, terminating all existing contracts, and evicting Jews from rural areas, except for Jewish farmers, by May 1792.[85] However, because of the fierce opposition of the magnates and the petitions submitted by the Jewish lobby,[86] the final draft of the reform issued in January 1792 considerably softened these demands: Jewish residence in villages was permitted unconditionally, and the fate of rural leaseholds was formulated in two alternative drafts, the first of which extended the deadline for leasing contracts' termination to seven years, while the second left the decision for the voivodeships' consideration.[87]

The proposed reform of the Jews was never implemented in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, because of the general failure of the Polish reform movement, but its influence on the post-partitions policy of the Russian government regarding rural Jews was immense. Although the Russian government was motivated by different factors in its attitude towards rural Jews, it adopted both the demand for the eviction of Jews from rural areas, as well as the projects to transform rural Jews into farmers.

The greatest achievement of the Four Years' Diet was the promulgation of the constitution of May 3rd, 1791 (this date is still celebrated in Poland as a national holiday),

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83 *Materiały do dziejów Sejmu Czteroletniego*, tom 6, ed. A. Eisenbach, J. Michalski, E. Rostworowski, J. Woliński, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków, 1969, p. 90.

84 Ibid. pp. 122-123.

85 Ibid. pp. 222-224.

86 For the Jewish participation in the Four Years' Diet see Goldberg, Jacob, "Pierwszy ruch polityczny wśród Żydów polskich. Plenipotenci żydowscy w dobie Sejmu Czteroletniego", *Lud żydowski w narodzie polskim. Materiały Sesji Naukowej w Warszawie 15-16 wrzesień 1992*, ed. J. Michalski, Warszawa, 1994, pp. 45-63; „MiShtadlanut LeMedinaut: Natsigei HaKehilot BeTkufat Seim Arba' HaShanim (1788-1792)", in J. Goldberg, *HaḤevra HaYehudit BeMamlekhet Polin-Lita*, Jerusalem, 1999, pp. 217-232.

87 *Materiały do dziejów Sejmu Czteroletniego*, tom 6, ed. A. Eisenbach, J. Michalski, E. Rostworowski, J. Woliński, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków, 1969, pp. 494-495.

an exemplary piece of Enlightenment legislation inspired by Montesquieu's ideas concerning the separation of powers. However, this radical constitutional reform was met with the fierce opposition of the reactionary camp, which organized, with Russian support, the confederation of Targowica in April 1792. The confederates defeated the forces loyal to the last Polish King Stanisław August and forced him to annul the Third of May Constitution. This civil war in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth gave an opportunity to Russia and Prussia to execute the Second Partition of Poland in 1793 under the pretext of restoration of "law and order". The last Polish Diet, convened at Grodno by Russian troops, was forced to ratify the partition of the country. Such a turn of events was a complete surprise to the confederates. The reactionary camp were discredited as traitors, and all patriotic forces joined together in April 1794 in an uprising, led by Tadeusz Kościuszko, inspired by the ideas of the French Revolution. The rebellion was crushed in November 1794 by Russian and Prussian troops, and in January 1795, Russia, Prussia and Austria reached an agreement as to how to divide between themselves the remnants of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Third Partition took place in October 1795, and with it the Polish-Lithuanian state ceased to exist.

As result of the three partitions of Poland, the Jews of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania had to face an entirely new reality. Instead of the decentralized and rapidly disintegrating state where they were safely protected by the powerful magnates, they found themselves in an over-centralized autocratic empire where Polish and Lithuanian magnates, their erstwhile lords and protectors, were treated with suspicion and as potential rebels.

1.5 Jewish Experience in Russia during the Pre-Partition Age (1654-1772)

As a matter of fact, this new reality was not entirely unfamiliar for the Jews of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania: already in 1654 a large part of this state, the Voivodeship of Smolensk, was annexed by Russia, and the Left-Bank Ukraine was taken over by Russians from Crown Poland. This annexation was internationally recognized by terms of the Truce of Andrusovo in 1667. Contrary to the widespread view that the Jews were expelled from all of these territories, a relatively large Jewish population remained there under Russian rule.[88] For example, the village of Zverovichi, which served as the main stage of the so-called "Voznitsyn affair"

88 See Kalik, Judith, "HaNokheḥut HaYehudit BeRusiya BeMeot Ha-16-18", *Toldot Yehudei Rusiya*, chief editor I. Bartal, vol. 1: *MiYmei Kedem 'ad Ha'Et HaḤadasha HaMukdemet"*, ed. A. Kulik, Jerusalem, 2010, pp. 258-273; Калик, Юдит, "Еврейское присутствие в России в XVI-XVIII вв.", *История еврейского народа в России*, общая ред. И. Барталь, том 1: *От Древности до раннего Нового Времени*, ред. А. Кулик, Иерусалим, 2010, с. 321-341.

(a conversion of Russian noble into Judaism in the mid-18th century),[89] was located in Smolensk Guberniya. However, the Jewish presence in Russia was never formally legalized, and Jews continued to live there under the constant threat of expulsion. Such expulsion orders were in fact issued periodically during the 18th century: in 1727, 1731, 1739, and 1742. However, each time Jews were allowed to return soon after the expulsion, because of pressure exerted by local administrators and landlords. The Jews rapidly adjusted to the endemic features of the Russian legal system: selective implementation of laws, use of unrealistic Draconian legislation which was designed to extract bribes rather than preserve order, and periodical campaigns of feverish activity for the strict implementation of the law. Jews of the former Polish-Lithuanian territories usually found safe haven in the chain of Jewish communities on the Polish side of the Russian border during such campaigns of expulsion and returned to their homes within Russia during the periods of calm. It is important to stress that it is practically impossible to understand the living conditions of rural Jews in the Russian Empire during the post-partition age without taking into account this earlier Jewish experience in Russia in course of this earlier one hundred and fifty year period.

89 On this matter see Фельдман, Дмитрий, «Последний инквизиционный костер в России. Московское следствие по делу Александра Возницына и Бороха Лейбова 1738-1740 гг.», *Параллели* 6-7, 2005, приложение, с. 3-87.

2 The Legal Position of Rural Jews in the Russian Empire

Rural Jews held a special position in the Jewish legislation of the Russian Empire. After the three partitions of Poland in 1772, 1793 and 1795, when the Jewish presence in Russia in towns was finally legalized, their presence in rural areas remained illegal. There were several reasons for the special hostility of the Russian authorities towards rural Jews. We have seen that the idea about the "unproductive", harmful and "parasitic" nature of the rural Jewish leaseholders had originated already in enlightened "progressive" circles of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the pre-partition age, culminating in the projects for the "correction" of the Jews during the Four Years' Diet of 1788-1792. This way of reasoning continued also under Russian rule[90]. Therefore, Russian legislation concerning rural Jews followed its own path of development, different from general Jewish legislation in the Russian Empire.[91] The most liberal periods in relation to Jews in general were also the hardest and most painful experience for rural Jews, and vice versa, what might have been thought as the most reactionary and conservative epochs were often periods of relative calm for the rural Jewish population. The personal positions of Russian politicians often displayed similarly reversed picture: those holding sympathetic attitude towards Jews in general (such as Mikhail Speransky and Sergey Witte), which included "enlightened" Jews themselves, expressed hostility towards rural Jews, while the most infamous enemies of the Jews (Viacheslav Plehve, for example), especially by the end of the discussed epoch, adopted a more lenient attitude towards them, seeing in rural Jews a traditionalist element, non-affected by revolutionary agitation. The paradoxical nature of Russian legislation concerning rural Jews has often been

90 On the influence of Enlightenment ideas on Russian Jewish legislation see Bartal, Israel, *LeTaken 'Am: Neorut VeLeumiyut BeMizraḥ Eiropa*, Jerusalem, 2013.

91 The history of Russian Jewish legislation has been studied in numerous publications. See, for example, (not including chapters in general studies on Russian Jewry) Ettinger, Shmuel, "HaYesodot VeHaMgamot Be'Itsuv Mediniyuto shel HaShilton HaRusi Klapei HaYehudim 'im Ḥalukot Polin", *He'Avar* 19, 1972, pp. 20-34; *Bein Polin LeRusiya*, ed. I. Bartal, J. Frankel, Jerusalem, 1994, pp. 217-233; Гессен, Юлий, *Закон и жизнь: Как созидались ограничительные законы о жительстве евреев в России*, С-Петербург, 1911; Голицын, Николай, *История русского законодательства о евреях*, С-Петербург, 1886; Klier, John, *Russia Gathers her Jews: The Origins of the 'Jewish Question' in Russia 1772-1825*, DeKalb (Ill.), 1986; Клиер, Джон, *Россия собирает своих евреев: происхождение еврейского вопроса в России, 1772-1825*, Москва, 2000; Klier, John, "Hitpatḥut HaḤakika klapei HaYehudim BeRusiya (1772-1881)", *Toldot Yehudei Rusiya*, chief editor I. Bartal, vol. 2: *MiḤalukot Polin 'ad Nefilat HaKeisarut HaRusit, 1772-1917*, ed. I. Lurie, Jerusalem, 2012, pp. 15-23; Мышь, М., *Руководство к действующим законам о евреях*, С-Петербург, 1909; Оршанский, И., *Русское законодательство о евреях: Очерки и исследования*, С-Петербург, 1877.

overlooked in general studies on Russian Jewish legislation, but it becomes evident, when we isolate legislation concerning rural Jews from the rest of Jewish legislation.

There were at least two other considerations which affected Russian policy concerning rural Jews. One of the ideological justifications of the annexation of the eastern part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by Russia was the protection of the Orthodox "Russian" (i.e., Ukrainian and Belarusian) population of these regions against their oppression by Polish Catholics and their "Jewish agents". This ideology of the "Jewish oppression" of peasants had also originated in the pre-partition Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in the anti-Polish Orthodox agitation against the Union of Brest in 1594, and especially during the Khmel'nits'kyi Cossack rebellion of 1648-1649, when Jewish oppression became one of the central slogans of the rebels. In practice, however, the Russian authorities were neither able nor willing to infringe on the seigniorial rule of Polish and Lithuanian landlords over their "Russian" serfs for a variety of reasons. The Polish magnates' connections in the Winter Palace court, their policy of reconciliation with the Polish elites, the fear to undermine the serfdom system in Russia proper etc. all played their part. Jewish rural leaseholders became an easy target for a demagogic policy of peasants' protection. The situation changed only after the Polish rebellion of 1863, when the Russian government decided finally to crush the Polish large land-ownership in western provinces, which opened the way for many Jews to purchase or lease rural estates. As result the rural Jewish population began to grow on unprecedented scale. The hostility of the Russian authorities towards rural Jews only increased during this epoch. The policy of protection of the peasants from the "Jewish oppression" continued and even intensified after the wave of pogroms in a wake of the assassination of Alexander II in 1881. This was the only epoch when the liberal age and the subsequent reaction coincided with the improvement and then the worsening of the living conditions of the rural Jewish population of Russian Empire.

The third justification for the hostility towards rural Jews was based on the claim that Jewish rural leaseholders were responsible for widespread drunkenness throughout the Russian Empire. This accusation seems to have been Russian in origin, and it served to redirect the culpability of the Russian government, which actively promoted the drunkenness through the system of "Czar's taverns" (*tsarev kabak*) in the age of the state monopoly of liquor sales in Muscovy in the 16th and 17th centuries[92]. This idea of Jewish responsibility was found in numerous reflections in Russian literature from Alexei Konstantinovich Tolstoy's "Hero" ("Knock and diverge cups,

92 See Серман, Илья, «Царев кабак и его отражение в русском литературном творчестве XVII столетия», *Filologia e litteratura nei paesi slavi. Studi in onore di Sante Graciotti. Roma*, 1990, pp. 455-466.

Drinking business grows, Jews are getting richer, fatter, People – poorer, thinner", 1849)[93] to Venedikt Yerofeyev's "Walpurgis Night" (1985, in metaphorical form)[94].

The eviction of Jews from rural areas had begun already during the "honeymoon" of the Russian-Jewish relations after the First Partition of Poland in 1772 when Jews received for a short time equal rights with the rest of population of the annexed territory[95]. In 1775 the Jews were allowed to be enlisted into urban estates of merchants (*kuptsy*) and burghers (*meshchane*), but in 1783 the government ordered the eviction of all members of urban estates from rural areas, and the Governor General of the Belarusian provinces (Mogilev and Vitebsk Guberiyas) Piotr Passek interpreted this order as a license to evict from villages the rural Jewish leaseholders who had dwelt there for centuries. This was probably one of the earliest cases (before the French Revolution) when real human suffering was inflicted in the name of progress. Although evictions were suspended "temporarily" on humanitarian grounds in 1786 following the protests of local Polish landowners and the petitions of the Jews themselves, this was a very unfortunate experience for the rural Jews of Mogilev and Vitebsk Guberiniyas. They were evicted again in 1824 and, when the Jewish presence in rural areas was finally legalized in the remainder of the Pale of Settlement in 1835, it remained illegal in these two provinces.

An attempt to evict Jews from rural areas was triggered by the 1796 famine in Belarus. In order to deal with the situation, the Governor of Minsk Guberniya, Zakhar Korneyev, convened in Minsk the district marshals to act as the representatives of the local Polish nobility. Quite predictably, the marshals blamed the Jews in an attempt to avoid placing responsibility on the Polish noble landowners. This was very shortsighted, since Jewish rural leaseholders served as the main source of income for Polish nobles, and they were the first to protest, when this blame materialized in the government's program of eviction of rural Jews several years later[96]. No action was taken at the time, but a new outbreak of famine in 1800 renewed attention on the role of rural Jews in the province's misfortunes. The governor of Vilna Guberniya, Johann Friedrich Friesell, submitted his proposal for the "improvement" of the Jews in the same year. Being a Baltic German himself, Friesell relayed heavily on Prussian legislation for former Polish provinces taken over by Prussia after the partitions of

93 Толстой, Алексей Константинович, «Богатырь», *Собрание сочинений*, вступительная статья, подготовка текста и примечания И. Ямпольского, Москва, 1963, том 1, с. 238.

94 Ерофеев, Венедикт, «Вальпургиева ночь или «Шаги Командора», *Континент* 45, 1985, с. 96-185.

95 For the legal position of the Jews during this age see Кулишер, М. И., "Екатерина II и евреи", *Восход* 11, 1896, с. 133-147; Миндлин, Александр, "Евреи в царствование Екатерины II", *Параллели* 1, 2002, с. 11-31; Pipes, Richard, "Catherine II and the Jews: The Origins of the Pale of Settlement", *Soviet Jewish Affairs* 5, 1975, pp. 3-20.

96 For Korneyev's report see Бершадский, Сергей, «Положение о евреях 1804 года», *Восход* 15, 1895, № 1, с. 87-88.

Poland, proposing to "sort" Jews into the strictly defined categories of merchants and craftsmen, and thereby eliminate Jewish rural leaseholds, which would be prohibited by law and rural Jews themselves would be transformed into farmers[97]. Since Jewish rural leaseholds were practically non-exist in the western regions of Poland[98] which had fallen into Prussian hands after the partitions, Friesell's proposal was hardly relevant for the socio-economic conditions prevailing in the eastern provinces of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth annexed by Russia with its rural Jewish population. Nevertheless, Friesell's ideas were realized in practice many years later in Kiselev's program of "sorting" the Jews, which was promulgated in 1846. In June 1800 the great Russian poet, Senator Gavriil Derzhavin, was sent to Belarus on a fact-finding mission, and in December of the same year Derzhavin submitted his report to the Senate. Derzhavin overwhelmingly blamed the Jews for the appalling conditions of the Belarusian peasants and strongly recommended expelling the Jews from the villages.[99] Other than the use of Friesell's arguments, Derzhavin, astonishingly, but not surprisingly, relayed the opinion of an enlightened Jew, Nota Notkin (known also as Nathan Shklover), who also sought to transform rural Jews into farmers. Derzhavin quoted Nota Notkin in his report, side by side with the opposing view of the Polish magnate Prince Lubomirski, who claimed that the Jews were not responsible for the 1800 famine and that their eviction from the villages would heavily impact local landowners.

As appropriate for a bureaucratic Empire, the fate of Jews was decided in Russia by a series of committees specially created for the "improvement of the conditions of the Jews"[100]. The first such committee was established in 1802, soon after accession of Alexander I to the throne. Its members were Derzhavin himself, who had meanwhile been appointed the Minister of Justice, the Minister of the Interior, Count Victor Kochubey, General-en-chef Count Valerian Zubov, Deputy Minister of the Interior Prince Adam Czartoryski, and Count Seweryn Potocki (both of the Polish members were magnates and employers of numerous Jewish rural leaseholders). Jewish representatives from Kiev, Minsk, Mogilev and Podolia Guberniyas were also invited as advisors by members of the committee (Nota Notkin was among them). In October 1803 Derzhavin was dismissed from his ministerial post, Zubov died in June 1804 and both were replaced in the committee by Derzhavin's successor, the Minister for

97 For Frisiell's report see ibid., No. 3, pp. 85-96.

98 See Topolski, Jerzy, „Uwagi o strukturze gospodarsko-społecznej Wielkopolski, czyli dlaczego na jej terenie nie było Żydowskich karczmarzy", *Żydzi w Wielkopolsce na przestrzeni dziejów*, ed. J. Topolski and K. Modelski, Poznań, 1995, pp. 71-82.

99 See Державин, Гавриил, «Мнение об отвращении голода и устройстве быта евреев», Г. Д. Державин, *Сочинения с примечаниями Я. Грота*, С.-Петербург, 1872, том 7, с. 246-299.

100 On these committees see Миндлин, Александр, «Правительственные комитеты, комиссии и совещания по еврейскому вопросу в России в XIX-начале XX века», *Вопросы истории* 8, 2000, с. 43-62.

Justice, Piotr Lopukhin. Mikhail Speransky, the Department Director in the Ministry of the Interior and a member of an inner circle of advisors of Alexander I, also took an active role in the committee's work, at times replacing Kochubey as his subordinate in the Ministry of the Interior. Without being a formal member of the committee, Speransky probably formulated and wrote many of its documents. In October 1804 the committee submitted to the Czar its slate of reforms in regard to the legal position of Jews in the Russian Empire. On December 9th 1804 it was approved by Alexander I and became the famous Jewish Statute. This document provided the legal basis for the Jewish experience in Russia for the coming century[101].

Articles 34-41 of the Statute of 1804 dealt with rural Jews. Article 34 prohibited unconditionally the Jewish presence in rural areas setting January 1st 1808 as the deadline for their eviction. All Jewish leaseholds of taverns and inns in villages and on highways had to be terminated by this date. Article 35 set a fine of five rubles for any landlord violating this regulation in the first instance, in the second the fine was doubled, and in the third an estate was to be confiscated for ten years. The leaseholder of estate responsible for the violation of regulation was to be dismissed. The fine for the Jewish violator was set in article 36 at 100 rubles for the first instance, 200 rubles for the second, and for the third the culprit was to be exiled to Siberia. Article 37 declared all liquor sale contracts with rural Jews invalid, and all debts held by peasants owed to Jews were cancelled in article 38, once the January 1st, 1808 deadline passed. Article 39 put responsibility for the implementation of these regulations in Treasury estates on Deputy Governors and on the *starostas* (the former Polish royal administrators) in Imperial estates (former royal estates). Article 40 explicitly prohibited the transformation of villages into *shtetls* (*mestechko*) in order to legalize the Jewish presence in them, and article 41 prohibited urban Jews from selling alcohol to peasants in credit and cancelled all debts related to these sales.

This law was the heaviest blow to the rural Jewish population of the Russian Empire. Their presence in villages suddenly became illegal, and in practice they returned to the legal position of Russian Jews prior to the First Partition of Poland in 1772, when the Jewish presence in Russia had been legalized for the first time. It should be stressed that the Statute of 1804 was promulgated during one of the most liberal epochs in Russian history, the first half of the reign of Alexander I, and under the guidance of Speransky, the most liberal Russian politician of this age.

The second committee on Jews was formed in August 1806 for the practical implication of the provisions of the Statute. Foreign Minister Baron Gotthard von

101 For the Jewish Statute of 1804 see Бершадский, Сергей, «Положение о евреях 1804 года», *Восход* 15, 1895, № 1, с. 82-104, № 3, с. 69-96, № 4, с. 86-96, № 6, с. 33-63; Ettinger, Shmuel, «Takanat 1804», *He'Avar* 22, 1977, pp. 87-110; *Bein Polin LeRusiya*, ed. I. Bartal, J. Frankel, Jerusalem, 1994, pp. 234-256; Rest, Matthias, *Die russische Judengesetzgebung von der ersten polnischen Teilung bis zum ‚Položenie dlja Evreev' (1804)*, Wiesbaden, 1975.

Budberg, President of Imperial Academy of Sciences, Count Nikolay Novosiltsev and Polish historian Count Tadeusz Czacky joined the four members of the former committee. The committee's members expressed different opinions. Von Budberg pressed for the strict implementation of the law, while Czartoryski and Czacki expressed a fear that the mass eviction of rural Jews in Russia would provoke widespread Jewish support for the Napoleonic Jewish Synedrion in Paris. Kochubey also supported the postponement of the implementation of the 34th paragraph of the Statute on more practical grounds, given the hurdles *shtetls* would face in absorbing evicted rural Jews, while their resettlement plan in Kherson Guberniya would be too costly. The Treaty of Tilsit with Napoleon in June 1807 quelled fears concerning the "Jewish Synedrion", and, in October 1807, Alexander I ordered the eviction of all rural Jews to begin within three years. Full lists of rural Jews were prepared by district marshals during the following year along with detailed provisions for their future resettlement, thus providing us with the most comprehensive information available concerning the rural Jewish population of Russian Empire at this time. In practice, few rural Jews were evicted. The warnings of Kochubey proved to be fully justified. Rudimentary industrial development in the towns and *shtetls* in Pale of Settlement did not provide adequate economic conditions for absorption of the rural Jews, and state funds were not enough to allow for the financing of Jewish agricultural colonies in Kherson Guberniya. Local Polish landlords were also far from co-operative. The difficulties in the implementation of article 34 of the Jewish Statute caused the suspension, in December 1808, of the eviction order.

In January 1809 the third Jewish committee was appointed with the aim resolving the problem. Its members were Active Privy Councilor Vasily Popov (who acted as chairman), the Deputy Minister of the Interior Osip Kozodavlev, Senator Ivan Alekseyev, former Governor of Minsk Guberniya Senator Zakhar Korneyev and Count Seweryn Potocki. The committee worked for three years and produced its report in March 1812, which completely absolved rural Jewish leaseholders from any responsibility in either the poverty or drunkenness of peasants in the former Polish provinces[102].

While the the third committee on Jews had favorable conclusions, it did not prevent the next wave of evictions. As previously, this was triggered by the famine of 1821 in Belarus. Senator Dmitri Baranov was dispatched in 1822 to the that region for investigation, and Alexander I himself visited Belarus in the same year. Baranov blamed the Jews again in his report, and the Czar ordered the appointment a new committee for the assistance to the population of Western provinces (Belarus and Pskov Guberniya). Its members were Count Aleksey Arakcheyev, State Councilor and the most influential private advisor to Alexander I, the Minister of the Interior Victor

102 The text of this report is published in Гессен, Юлий, *К истории выселения евреев из сел и деревень* (Книжки Восхода 3), С-Петербург, 1903.

Kochubey and Chief of the General Staff Count Hans Karl von Diebitsch. The committee recommended the eviction of the rural Jews of Vitebsk and Mogilev Guberniyas by January 1st, 1824, but the eviction was postponed until January 1st 1825 through the petitioning of the Ober-Procurator of the Holy Synod and the Minister of Education Prince Alexander Golitsyn. A special treatment of the rural Jews of Vitebsk and Mogilev Guberniayas can be explained by their geographical position on the border of the Pale of settlement with the inner Russian provinces, where the state monopoly of liquor sale was in effect from 1817 to 1828. Because of a gap in prices between inner Russia with fixed prices on alcohol and the western provinces with the competitive prices, the widespread smuggling of liquors from the Mogilev and Vitebsk Guberniyas to the neighboring Smolensk and Pskov Guberniyas seriously undermined state revenues from liquor sales in this region.[103] The eviction was ordered in April 1823. This was the cruelest eviction of all. 20,455 rural Jews were expelled from their homes during the winter without any alternative housing provided for them[104].

Simultaneously with the eviction order the fourth committee for the improvement of the conditions of the Jews was created in May 1823. It was composed of the Minister of the Interior (Victor Kochubey), the Minister of Finance (Georg Cancrin), the Minister for Justice (Dmitry Lobanov-Rostorvsky) and the Minister for Education (Alexander Golitsyn). The committee was supposed to have completed its work within a year, but it continued its work into the reign of Nicolas I for more than a decade. Only in 1834 did it submit its report to the Department of Law of the State Council, whose chairman was Prince Illarion Vasil'chikov. At that time Cancrin was still the Minister of Finance, Dmitry Bludov was Minister of the Interior, Dmitry Dashkov was the Minister for Justice, and Sergey Uvarov was the Minister for Education. All members of the committee, except for Cancrin, recommended once again the eviction of all rural Jews within three years. The Department of Law, however, did not accept this recommendation, claiming that the eviction of 1824 was counterproductive, improving neither peasants' nor Jews' conditions in the province. On April 13th 1835 the State Council prepared two laws for the Czar's ratification, namely one law entitled "On the Termination of the Evictions of the Jews from villages", as well as a new Jewish Statute, which legalized for the first time the Jewish presence in rural areas within the Pale of Settlement, except for Mogilev and Vitebsk Guberniyas.

The Statute of 1835 signaled the start of a calm period of relative prosperity for rural Jews of the Russian Empire, which paradoxically coincided with the most reactionary

103 Mahler, Rafael, *Divrei Ymei Israel. Dorot Aḥronim MiShelhei HaMeah HaShmoneh-'Esreh ,ad Yameinu*, vol. 2: *Tkufat HaReaktsiyah Ve"HaBrit Hakdoshah"*, Merḥaviyah, 1970, pp. 22-23.
104 Ibid. p. 24; Гессен, Юлий, «Записки Виленского кагала о нуждах евреев (1833 г.)», *Еврейская старина* 1911, № 1, с. 105.

epoch in Russian history, namely the reign of Nicolas I.[105] However this did not last for a long time. In 1840 Nicolas I created a fifth Jewish committee called the "Committee for the Determination of Measures for the Radical Reorganization of the Russian Jews" under the chairmanship of the Minister of State Properties Count Pavel Kiselev, and was comprised of the Minister of the Interior (Alexander Stroganov), the Minister for Finance (Cancrin), the Minister for Education (Uvarov), the State Secretary for the Kingdom of Poland (Ignacy Turkuł), and the Directors of the Second (legislative) and the Third Section (secret police) of His Majesty's Own Chancellery (Dmitry Bludov and Alexander Benckendorff). Kiselev's approach towards rural Jews differed radically from that of the previous committees. Instead of proposing their total eviction, Kiselev revived Friesell's idea of "sorting" Jews into definite professional groups, which Friesell regarded as useful and productive. In 1846 Nicolas I approved this proposal and it became law. Jews were required to be enlisted by January 1st 1850 into one of four professional groups (*razriady*): one of the three merchant guilds, burghers owning property in any town, members of any artisan guild and farmers. Although Jews were not expressly forbidden to live in villages, Jewish leaseholders dwelling there who fit into no category, and those who failed to find an alternative occupation by the deadline were subject to eviction[106]. As can be seen from the list of rural Jews in the estates of Prince Ludwig von Wittgenstein (former estates of Prince Dominik Radziwiłł) in Slutsk district from 1852, Jews were indeed evicted from twenty out of forty-one villages, and of those remaining only three continued as inn-keepers, while the rest were declared as tenants (15), merchants (2), servants (1) or millers (1)[107].

After the death of Nicolas I, Kiselev submitted in 1856 his report to Nicolas's successor Alexander II, wherein Kiselev admitted that the policy of "sorting" Jews was mistaken and proposed to abandon it. In 1858 the committee officially decided to abolish the "sorting" and in February 1859 Alexander II approved this decision.

The emancipation of serfs in 1861 did not bring an immediate change in the condition of rural Jews, since landlords continued to enjoy their monopoly of propination rights, which they continued to lease to the Jews. However in April 1862 the committee decided that Jews could acquire full ownership of noble estates where obligatory relations between peasants and landlords had terminated[108]. The full impact of this decision became clear only in aftermath of the Polish rebellion of 1863. To this point the Russian government had been very lenient to the rebellious Polish nobles: rural estates of neither the Polish participants in the Napoleonic

105 For the general Jewish policies of Nicolas I see Stanislawski, Michael, *Tsar Nicholas and the Jews: The Transformation of Jewish Society in Russia – 1825-1855*, Philadelpia, 1983.

106 See ibid. pp. 157-159.

107 NIAB F 694 op. 3 d. 659 pp. 71-72.

108 Мышь, М., *Руководство к действующим законам о евреях*, С-Петербург, 1909, с. 350; Rogger, Hans, *Jewish Policies and Right-Wing politics in Imperial Russia*, Berkley-Los Angeles, 1996, p. 125.

invasion of 1812, nor of the rebels of the Polish uprising of 1831 were confiscated, but this time Russian authorities were determined to crush the Polish landownership in former Polish territories under Russian rule. The Russian authorites reluctance to infringe on the seigniorial rule of Polish and Lithuanian landlords because of the fear of undermining the serfdom system in Russia proper was no more valid after the emancipation of serfs in 1861. Although the radical agrarian reform conducted by the Minister of War, Dmitry Miliutin, in the Kingdom of Poland was not extended into the Belarusian and Ukrainian provinces, several measures directed against Polish landlords were taken in these areas too. A ten per cent income tax on rural estates was introduced and bankrupt estates were confiscated[109]. Landlords were also obliged to terminate the legal obligations of their former serfs which still remained after their emancipation and to redeem their land allotments[110]. Ethnic Russians (including Belarusians and Ukrainians) were encouraged to buy land from the Poles through tax exemption and long term loans. Although Jews (alongside with Germans) were excluded from these benefits, Jews often had enough financial resources to buy and lease rural estates, and a new class of Jewish landlords began to emerge. New Jewish landowners and leaseholders brought with them to the countryside numerous Jewish administrators, trade agents, subcontractors, craftsmen and tenants, which led to the rapid growth of the rural Jewish population. Initially, some representatives of the local administration looked favorably on this process[111], but the nationalistic press began a campaign against the supposed Polish-Jewish "conspiracy", claiming that Polish landlords leased their estates to Jews in order to avoid punitive measures[112]. It was against this background that in July 1864 it was forbidden for all Jews without exception to purchase land from landlords and peasants in nine western Guberniyas (Kiev, Podolia, Volhynia, Minsk, Mogilev, Grodno, Vitebsk, Vilna and Kovna).[113] This measure did not prevent the steady growth of the rural Jewish population, since the leasing of rural estates by Jews continued, reviving the practices abandoned by the Jews in the 17th century. In 1865, Jews were allowed to settle in the rural areas of Mogilev and Vitebsk Guberniyas, where their presence had previously been illegal since the late 18th century. Jews could even buy land for farming there.

109 Beauvois, Daniel, *Trójkąt ukraiński: Szlachta, carat i lud na Wołyniu, Podolu i Kijowszczyźnie, 1793-1914*, Lublin, 2005, pp. 471-476.

110 Rogger, Hans, *Jewish Policies and Right-Wing politics in Imperial Russia*, Berkley-Los Angeles, 1996, p. 126.

111 Klier, John, *Imperial Russia's Jewish Question, 1855-1881*, Cambridge, 1995, pp. 153-158, 165-166; Polonsky, Antony, *The Jews in Poland and Russia*, vol. 1: *1350 to 1881*, Oxford, 2010, p. 422.

112 Klier, John, "The Polish Revolt of 1863 and the Birth of Russification: Bad for the Jews?", *Polin* 1, 1986, pp. 95-110; Beauvois, Daniel, *Trójkąt ukraiński: Szlachta, carat i lud na Wołyniu, Podolu i Kijowszczyźnie, 1793-1914*, Lublin, 2005, pp. 491-492.

113 Rogger, Hans, *Jewish Policies and Right-Wing politics in Imperial Russia*, Berkley-Los Angeles, 1996, p. 126.

The fifth Jewish committee was dissolved in January 1865, but in June 1872 the Special Commission for Reorganization of the Jewish Life was formed under the chairmanship of the Deputy Minister of the Interior Prince Aleksey Lobanov-Rostovsky. In October of the 1872 the Governor-General of South-Western Province Prince Alexander Dondukov-Korsakov submitted to the Czar a lengthy memorandum on the dangers of the growing Jewish penetration into the countryside in his province. Besides recycling all the known accusation of the rural Jews in parasitic unproductiveness, oppression and exploitation of peasants, condoning drunkenness, its author referred also to the world-wide Jewish conspiracy, which had been invented in Brafman's "Book of Kahal" of 1869[114]. Dondukov-Korsakov demanded that Jews be prohibited from leasing rural estates, warning that this practice would lead to the popular unrest, as evidenced by the Odessa pogrom of 1871.[115] Although the Jewish Commission rejected the recommendations of Dondukov-Korsakov, the tide began to turn from liberalization of the Jewish legislation to more restrictive measures. From May 1874, Jewish rural inn- and tavern-keepers were required by law to conduct their business solely on their own premises. Since this requirement contradicted the law of July 1864, which had prohibited Jews from buying real estate in the countryside, this was a severe blow to the Jewish rural leaseholders. From1877 the rural Jews of Mogilev and Vitebsk Guberniyas were no longer permitted to buy land [116].

A wave of pogroms swept the Pale of Settlement in the aftermath of the assassination of Alexander II on March 1st 1881.[117] Appointed in May 1881 the new Minister of the Interior Count Nikolay Ignatyev interpreted these pogroms, in the spirit of Dondukov-Korsakov's memorandum, as the natural response of the peasants to Jewish oppression in the countryside during the liberal reign of Alexander II. There were no pogroms in North-Western provinces (Lithuania and Belarus), where the Governor-General Eduard Totleben has shown that honest policeman could prevent them with relatively simple measures. Nevertheless, in October 1881 Ignatyev dismissed the Commission for Reorganization of the Jewish Life as too liberal and appointed the sixth Jewish committee under the chairmanship of his deputy Senator Dmitry Gotovtsev.[118] The committee submitted its recommendations to the cabinet of ministers in March 1882. Quite predictably, it proposed expeling Jews once again from the countryside. The Minister of State Properties Mikhail Ostrovsky supported

114 Брафман, Яков, *Книга Кагала. Материалы для изучения еврейского быта*, Вильна, 1869.

115 On this memorandum see Rogger, Hans, *Jewish Policies and Right-Wing politics in Imperial Russia*, Berkley-Los Angeles, 1996, pp. 127-131.

116 See ibid. pp. 130-131; Мышь, М., *Руководство к действующим законам о евреях*, С-Петербург, 1909, с. 108, 390-395.

117 See Aronson, Michael, *Troubled Waters: The Origin of the 1881 Anti-Jewish Pogroms in Russia*, Pittsburgh (PA), 1990; id., "The Anti-Jewish Pogroms of 1881-1884", *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History*, eds. J. Klier and S. Lambroza, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 44-61.

118 See Aronson, Michael, "Russian Commissions on the Jewish Question in the 1880s", *East European Quarterly* 14, 1980, pp. 59-74.

the proposal, but the Minister for Finance Nikolai von Bunge and the Minister for Justice Dmitry Nabokov opposed it on formal grounds, since such a radical program of reforms couldn't be expected to pass the State Council. Finally, Ignatyev reached a compromise with the other members of the cabinet of ministers: Jews were forbidden to lease rural estates, and their presence in the countryside was allowed, but they had to stay where they were at the time of the legislation. Even in this abridged form the new regulations were entitled "Temporary Rules" in order to avoid their submission to the State Council, and they became a law on May 3rd 1882. These were the infamous "May Laws" which remained in force until the February revolution of 1917[119].

Hans Rogger justifies Ignatyev's approach to Jewish-peasant relations in the Russian countryside by claiming that any responsible government would have had to protect weaker population from the exploitation of better educated and more economically advanced Jewish intruders.[120] Rogger compares rural Jews in late 19th century Russia with to contemporary Indian merchants in British Africa and Hindu moneylenders in Deccan in British India, as well as citing the contemporary British Aliens Act and American steps against Oriental immigrants[121] and furthermore claims that it was "this abnormal economic situation, not religious intolerance, had caused pogroms".[122] Leaving aside the question as to what extent British colonial rule in Africa and India, which was itself responsible for the appearance of unwanted newcomers in the countryside, was "normal", one should recall that rural Jews of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were not foreign intruders, but part and parcel of the traditional rural microcosm which had existed there for centuries. As for Jewish landowners and estates' leaseholders, their appearance in the 1860s was a very small part of much wider process in the transition of rural estates from the nobility to the bourgeoisie after the emancipation of serfs in 1861. In neighboring Austrian Galicia, with its very similar socio-economic characteristics, Jewish landownership became much more widespread in the second half of the 19th century without any anti-Polish or anti-Jewish discriminatory legislation, reaching 13% of all landowners and lands in the province by 1889.[123]

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119 On these laws see Frankel, Jonathan, "The Crisis of 1881-82 as a Turning-Point in Modern Jewish History", *The Legacy of Jewish Migration: 1881 and its Impact*, ed. D. Berger, New York, 1983, pp. 9-22; Гессен, Юлий, «Граф Н. П. Игнатьев и «Временные правила» о евреях 3 мая 1882 года», *Право* 30, 1908, с. 1631-1637; 31, 1908, с. 1878-1887.

120 Rogger, Hans, *Jewish Policies and Right-Wing politics in Imperial Russia*, Berkley-Los Angeles, 1996, pp. 171-174.

121 Ibid. 172-173.

122 Ibid. p. 71.

123 See Gąsowski, Tomasz, "From *Austeria* to the Manor: Jewish Landowners in Autonomous Galicia", *Polin* 12, 1999, pp. 120-136; Stauter-Halstead, Keely, "Jews as Middleman Minorities in Rural Poland: Understanding the Galician Pogroms of 1898", *Anti-Semitism and its Opponents in Modern Poland*, ed. R. Blobaum, Ithaca (NY), 2001, pp. 39-59.

In twelve Guberniyas of the Pale of Settlement in the Russian Empire Jews owned in 1881 1.4% of arable land in average and leased 3.9% more.[124]

Jonathan Frankel has defined the events of 1881-1882 in Russia as "a turning-point in modern Jewish history",[125] claiming that the wave of pogroms and especially the response of Russian government and Russian public opinion, which blamed the Jews themselves, caused Jewish disillusionment in the hopes for gradual liberalization of Russian legislation leading eventually towards their emancipation. As result, many Jews began to turn to other options, such as mass emigration, Zionism and joining socialist revolutionary movements. However, the impact of the May Laws on the rural Jewish population was greatly exaggerated, as Ber Brutskus has noted: the rural Jewish population continued to grow between 1882 and the first national census of population of the Russian Empire of 1897, and, furthermore, it remained proportionally the same when compared with the general Jewish population.[126] All this in spite of the fact that the May Laws were directed specifically against the growing Jewish presence in rural areas. We should take into account that the May Laws, unlike the Statute of 1804, did not delegitimize the Jewish presence in the countryside, but simply "froze" the situation before May 3rd 1882. According to the lengthy commentaries to the law issued by the Senate, the traditional turnover of rural Jewish leaseholders was stopped: those Jewish leaseholders whose lease had been terminated could be neither replaced by another leaseholder, nor returned to their leasehold after spending some time in the *shtetl*.[127] In 1887 the movement of Jews from one village to another was also prohibited.[128] Thus, the May Laws can be seen as a turning point in the history of rural Jews. Indeed, they effectively created a new type of rural Jew, the so-called *yishuvnik*, who permanently dwelt in the village and was cut off from the center of his Jewish community in the *shtetl*.

On May 30th, 1882 Ignatyev was dismissed, and his successor Dmitry Tolstoy dissolved the sixth Jewish committee and appointed in February 1883 a High Commission for Reevaluation of the Acting Laws for the Jews in the Russian Empire

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124 Аленицин, Владимир, *Еврейское население и землевладение в юго-западных губерниях европейской России, входящих в черту еврейской оседлости*, С-Петербург, 1884, с. XIV.

125 Frankel, Jonathan, "The Crisis of 1881-82 as a Turning-Point in Modern Jewish History", *The Legacy of Jewish Migration: 1881 and its Impact*, ed. D. Berger, New York, 1983, pp. 9-22.

126 Бруцкус, Бер, *Статистика еврейского населения: распределение по территории, демографические и культурные признаки еврейского населения по данным переписи 1897 г.*, С-Петербург, 1909, с. 4-6.

127 *Систематический сборник действующих законов о евреях: по Своду законов, продолжениями 1906, 1908, 1909 и 1910 гг. и Собранию узаконений 1911, 1912 и 1913 гг. (по 1 июня): с постатейными разъяснениями, извлеченными из решений Правительствующего Сената, циркуляров и отношений Министерств и с указ. постатейным, хронологическим и предметным*, сост. Л.М. Роговин С-Петербург, 1913, с. 17.

128 Ibid. p. 19.

under the chairmanship of the former Minister of the Interior Lev Makov, who soon after committed suicide while suspected of corruption. Makov was replaced by Count Konstantin Pahlen. The Pahlen commission produced an extensive report in 1888, which, as in 1812, cleared the rural Jews of all charges[129], but its report had no effect on the restrictive legislation and the commission was dissolved.

In 1894 the Minister for Finance Sergey Witte introduced a state monopoly, initially in four Guberniyas of central Russia, for the production and sale of alcohol. In order to persuade Alexander III to extend monopoly to the Western Guberniyas Witte submitted a viciously anti-Jewish memorandum where he repeated all the old accusations against Jewish rural leaseholders.[130] Witte was the last person who could be accused of anti-Semitism. He was married to a Jewish woman and was an ardent supporter of Jewish emancipation. But, in this case, he did not hesitate to display hostility towards rural Jews, seeing them as an obstacle to his economic goals. The state monopoly was extended to the Pale of Settlement in 1897, and its introduction in Minsk Guberniya was announced as follows:

> "Form the 1st of July 1897 state sale of beverages is introduced in Minsk Guberniya and simultaneously in the other Guberniyas of North-Western Province and Smolensk Guberniya.
>
> State wine shall be prepared from rectified spirits that shall be submitted then to cold refining through coal filters. Rectification of spirits shall be conducted according to special contracts in the following thirteen private refineries: that of Mr. Lubański in the estate of Loshitsa in the district of Minsk, that of Mr. Czapski in the estate of Stan'kovo in the district of Minsk, that of Mr. Bułhak in the estate of Beresenevka in the district of Borisov, that of Mr. Wańkowicz in the estate of Olesino in the district of Igumen, that of Mr. Ricca in the estate of Soltanovo in the district of Rechitsa, that of Mr. Myslin in the estate of Glukhovichi and that of Mr. Horwatt in the estate of Golovchitsy, both in the district of Rechitsa, that of Mr. Kieniewicz in the estate of Doroshevichi in the district of Mozyr', that of Mr. Rat'kov-Rozhanov in the town of Pinsk, that of Mr. Bułhak and of Mrs. Żylińska in the town of Bobruisk, that of Mr. Wojniłowicz in the estate of Kuntsovshchizna in the district of Slutsk, that of Mrs. Lubańska in the estate of Voroncha in the district of Novogrudok, that of Mrs. von Lilienfeld in the estate of Rudobelka in the Bobruisk district.
>
> The cold refining of wine and its bottling shall be done in seventeen refinery stores, which shall be located in the following towns and *shtetls*: the towns of Minsk, Pinsk, Bobruisk, Novogrudok, Slutsk, Mozyr', Igumen, Borisov, Rechitsa, Nesvizh, the *shtetls* of Baranovichi, Bragin, Petrikov, Begoml', Glusk, Rakov, and in the estate of Kuntsovshchizna. The stores in the towns of Minsk, Pinsk, Bobruisk, Rechitsa, Mozyr', Novogrudok, Nesvizh, and in the *shtetls* of Rakov, Baranovichi and Bragin shall be constructed at state expense and on plots of land acquired by the Treasury. The rest of the stores shall be located in constructions built by private persons according to contracts with the Treasury and for leasing to the Treasury. Apart from the

129 See Субботин, Андрей, *Общая записка по еврейскому вопросу А.П. Субботина, сотрудника бывшей Высшей комиссии по еврейскому вопросу под председательством графа Палена*, Cambridge, Mass., 1981.

130 Витте, Сергей, «Еврейский вопрос при введении питейной монополии: Всеподданнейший доклад С. Ю. Витте (1894 г.)», *Еврейская старина* 8, 1915, с. 405-410.

aforementioned refinery stores, a bottling stock shall be opened in the *shtetl* of Uzda, i.e. the stock where the wine refined in Minsk store will be bottled.

For retail sales state liquor stores shall be opened where bottled and sealed wine will be sold exclusively for off-site consumption and for cash. 603 state liquor stores shall be opened, 47 of them in towns, and 556 in countryside. The right to sell alcohol shall be given (according to agreements between the Excise Manager and the Governor) also to private persons, but in such cases the wine shall be sold exclusively for off-site or local consumption and in sealed containers with the price determined by the state. Beside this, taverns of high quality (restaurants, buffets etc.) will be permitted to sell alcohol freely and at a competitive price.

For the protection of the population from the abuse of alcoholic beverages the Tutelage for the Public Soberness shall be established with the right of supervision over the proper production and the sale of alcoholic beverages, as well as organization of establishments beneficiary for public (tea-houses) and amusements of various kinds (public readings, theaters etc.) with the purpose of diverting people from extensive wine consumption.

Right of propination is abolished with the introduction of the state monopoly on liquor sales, while propination commissions shall be established in Guberniyas centers for the the clarification of private and public rights and for compensation from the Treasury for the abolition of the propination rights"[131].

The archaic propination system was dying out anyway because of the changing priorities of the local landlords, caused by economic processes which had nothing to do with the Russian legislation.[132] However the state monopoly did not eliminate the Jewish involvement in the liquor trade. Rural taverns and inns, however, were closed, and many rural Jews had to find other means of subsistence.

By the turn of the century the restrictions of the May Laws began to be relaxed. At that point the Russian authorities began to realize that they had been fighting the wrong enemy for a century. Revolutionary movements posed a real threat to the existence of the Czarist regime, but rural Jews were practically unaffected by this agitation, while urban Jews joined these movements in growing numbers. In March 1902 the Minister of the Interior Dmitry Sipiagin proposed opening to Jewish settlement those villages, which had become large enough to have railway stations and had lost their agricultural character[133]. Sipiagin was assassinated in April of the same year, but his successor Viacheslav Plehve carried on his program by opening 101 villages for Jewish settlement in May and another 57 in December 1903. Simultaneously with the extension of the geographical range of Jewish rural settlement, Plehve also released several groups of Jewish population from the restrictions of the May Laws. From 1903 Jews with academic degrees, students and merchants of the first guild (with members of their families, servants, assistants and secretaries) could freely settle in

131 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1897 г.*, составил А. П. Смородский, Минск, 1896, с. 151-152.

132 See on this subject chapter 10.

133 Rogger, Hans, *Jewish Policies and Right-Wing politics in Imperial Russia*, Berkley-Los Angeles, 1996, p. 158.

rural areas.[134] Plehve was not particularly a friend of the Jews (an understatement if ever there was one), and he was widely believed to be personally responsible for the Kishinev pogrom of 1903.[135] The contrast between Witte and Plehve shows more than anything else, that their Judeophile or Judeophobic personal views had no effect on their respective attitudes towards rural Jews. The policy of relaxation did not end with the assassination of Plehve in July 1904. Indeed, his successors Piotr Sviatopolk-Mirsky, Alexander Bulygin, Piotr Durnavo, and Piotr Stolypin all followed the same policy. The list of villages exempted from the restrictions of the May Laws was enlarged three times in the following years, in 1905, 1906 and 1910. It finally included 290 names.[136] Jewish chemist assistants, dentists, paramedics, obstetricians, craftsmen, masons, stonecutters, carpenters, plasterers, gardeners, bridge-builders and diggers (together with their hired workers) were added in 1905 to the list of those who could dwell the countryside without restriction.[137] This list reflected the restructuring of the Jewish rural population after the downfall of the propination system.

However, this period of relaxation was relatively short. The last wave of evictions of rural Jews before the World War I took place after the assassination of the Prime Minister Piotr Stolypin in September 1911. Though his successor Vladimir Kokovtsev prevented pogroms from occurring after the assassination, he did not stop local administrators from renewing the eviction policy[138]. In Minsk Guberniya the Governor Aleksey Giers initiated in December 1912 this policy of judicial prosecution and eviction of Jewish violators of the May Laws. In January 1913 he met with a Jewish deputation and promised to halt evictions until spring.[139]

Another form of the "Jewish peril" perceived by the Russian authorities as existing in the Russian countryside were corporate companies, with Jewish shareholders and members of their boards of directors, which began to enter the agricultural business on the eve of the World War I. The last legal act of the Russian Empire concerning

134 *Систематический сборник действующих законов о евреях: по Своду законов, продолжениями 1906, 1908, 1909 и 1910 гг. и Собранию узаконений 1911, 1912 и 1913 гг. (по 1 июня): с постатейными разъяснениями, извлеченными из решений Правительствующего Сената, циркуляров и отношений Министерств и с указ. постатейным, хронологическим и предметным*, сост. Л.М. Роговин С-Петербург, 1913, с. 3-5.

135 On Plehve in general and on his attitude towards the Jews see Judge, Edward, *Plehve: Repression and Reform in Imperial Russia 1902-1904,* Syracuse (NY), 1983; Lambroza, Shlomo, "Plehve, Kishinev and the Jewish Question: A Reappraisal", *Nationalities Papers* 12/1, 1984, 117-127.

136 Ibid. pp. 8-12.

137 See note 42.

138 Rogger, Hans, *Jewish Policies and Right-Wing politics in Imperial Russia*, Berkley-Los Angeles, 1996, p. 169.

139 Shohet Azriel, *The Jews of Pinsk, 1881 to 1941*, ed. Mark Jay Mirsky and Moshe Rosman, transl. Faigie Tropper and Moshe Rosman, afterword by Zvi Gitelman, Stanford, 2012, pp. 7-9.

rural Jews was the law of April 1914, which limited the number of Jewish directors and managers in such companies to a minority.[140]

In summing up our survey of Russian legislation affecting rural Jews, we can observe that there were four waves of mass eviction of the Jews from the countryside: from 1783 to1785, from 1824 to 1825, from 1850 to 1856, and from 1911 to1913, of which only the final two affected Minsk Guberniya. There were three periods of relative calm characterized by a policy of relaxation: from 1835 to 1846, from 1859 to 1874, and from 1902 to 1910. Usually these waves of evictions and periods of relaxation did not correspond to the "liberal" and "reactionary" periods of Russian history. On the contrary, Russian liberals, including the Jewish ones, usually disliked traditional rural Jews and tried to "improve" them by force, while Russian reactionaries, hostile to Jews in general, usually did not oppose the Jewish presence in villages. Three legislative acts had the most longstanding effect on the rural Jews: the Statute of 1804, which made their presence in the countryside illegal, the Statute of 1835, which legalized their presence in villages, and the Temporary Rules of 1882, which severely restricted it.

140 Rogger, Hans, *Jewish Policies and Right-Wing politics in Imperial Russia*, Berkley-Los Angeles, 1996, p. 169.

3 The Demographics and Geographic Distribution of Rural Jews

It is not easy to estimate the number of rural Jews in Minsk Guberniya, since most sources do not distinguish between them and the rest of the Jewish population. Fiscal censuses (*revizskiye skazki*), taken periodically in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, list Jews either by estate, or by community. In the first case all Jews belonged to the "urban" estates of merchants (*kuptsy*) and burghers (*meshchane*) and from 1833 a rural estate of Jewish farmers dwelling in newly established Jewish agricultural colonies was added. From 1850 a few Jews were also were registered as members of another estate of "honorary citizens" which included "learned Jews", physicians, chemists, veterinarians, agronomists, and engineers (see table 3.1). Listing by community also did not distinguish rural Jews from those living in *shtetls*, which served as centers of communities (see table 3.2).

Two local censuses taken in 1795 and 1807 in Igumen district indicate the exact dwelling place of every Jew, including villages,[141] and information on the rural Jewish population of Novogrudok district in 1818 was published by Hillel Aleksandrov in 1930.[142]

Regional censuses published annually by the statistical department of Minsk Guberniya from 1860 to 1915 in the so-called "Memorial Books" (*Pamiatnyye knizhki*) differentiate between the Jewish population of towns and districts, but only two towns besides the district centers were treated separately in these lists: Dokshitsy in the district of Borisov and Nesvizh in the district of Slutsk. The remainder were regarded as part of the district together with the villages. The demographic information found in these "Memorial Books" is summarized in tables 3.3 to 3.8. The total male Jewish population of Minsk Guderniya grew from 10,947 in 1797 to 188,731 (without the district of Novogrudok) in 1913. Annual population growth rate thus stood at 2.8%.

The most valuable source of information on the rural Jewish population is found in the National Historical Archives of Belarus (NIAB) in five files prepared by the Committee for Resettlement of the Rural Jews in Towns and *Shtetls* in 1808. These documents provide full lists of all rural Jews in seven districts in Minsk Guberniya, the districts of Bobruisk[143], Borisov[144], Minsk[145], Mozyr'[146], Pinsk[147], Rechitsa[148],

141 1795: NIAB F 333 op 9 d 31; 1807: NIAB F 333 op 9 d 35.
142 Aleksandrov, Hillel, "Yidn in Novagrodker uyezd in onheib 19-tn yh", *Tseitshrift* 1930, 3, pp. 74-83.
143 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 6.
144 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 7, pp. 60-127.
145 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 5.
146 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 7 pp. 128-158.
147 Ibid., pp. 20-59.
148 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 3.

and Slutsk[149]. Lists for the districts of Novogrudok and Igumen are missing, since Novogrudok was not a part of Minsk Guberniya in 1808, and as for Igumen, the committee probably relied upon the census of 1807 taken in this district only a year earlier and where the rural Jews were distinguished from the urban ones, which was unusual[150]. All in all these documents show that the total number of rural Jews, of both sexes, in Minsk Guberniya stood in at 5759 in 1807/8.

Further information concerning the rural Jews of Minsk Guberniya is found in a book by Vladimir Alenitsin on the Jewish population and landownership in South-Western provinces of European Russia[151]. This book was published in 1884 in an atmosphere of a public uproar, which followed the crisis of 1881-82 whose events included the assassination of Alexander II, a wave of pogroms and the May Laws of 1882. The book was specifically dedicated to the clarification of the statistical basis for a claim about an influx of the Jews into the countryside as a result of liberalization of government's policy in the 1860s. Therefore, this book provides full statistics for the percentage of rural and urban Jewish population in the Pale of Settlement, as well as the relative percentage of the Jewish and non-Jewish population in the countryside in 1881 (before the May Laws). According to Alenitsin there were 64,548 rural Jews in Minsk Guberniya in 1881, and they constituted 21.8% of the entire Jewish population of this Guberniya.

The first national census of population in Russian Empire in 1897 does not include separate statistics on the rural Jewish population, but its size can be estimated by elimination, i.e. the reduction of the number of the Jewish population of settlements with more than 500 inhabitants (except for Jewish agricultural colonies) from the general Jewish population of every district of Minsk Guberniya[152]. The data available from the aforementioned sources on the rural Jews of Minsk Guberniya is presented in table 3.9. According to the census there were 75,247 rural Jews there, or 23.9% of the total Jewish population of Minsk Guberniya.

The total Jewish population of Minsk Guberniya in 1808 is unknown, but it can be extrapolated on the basis of the total male Jewish population of its eight districts (without the district of Novogrudok) in 1811 shown in table 3.2 by reduction, assuming an annual population growth standing at 2.8%, and its estimated size of 15,134 males can be compared with the male rural Jewish population attested in 1808 in the eviction lists plus the male rural Jewish population of Igumen district in the year 1807.

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149 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 2.

150 See note 21.

151 Аленицин, Владимир, *Еврейское население и землевладение в юго-западных губерниях европейской России, входящих в черту еврейской оседлости*, С-Петербург, 1884, 2: Еврейское население в юго-западных губерниях европейской России, с. 24-26.

152 Шабад, Я.Б «Минская губерния», *Еврейская энциклопедия*, ред. А. Гаркави, Л. Каценельсон, С-Петербург, 1908-1913, том 11, табл. № 1, 2; *Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской Империи 1897 г.*, том 22: *Минская губерния*, ред. Н. А. Тройницкий, Москва, 1904, с. 78-79.

The percentage of the rural Jewish population in these districts of Minsk Guberniya over the course of the 19th century is shown in table 3.10.

As we can see, this table shows that the century-long policy of the Russian government directed to the reduction of the rural Jewish population was an absolute failure: the population continued to grow consistently from 5759 in 1807/8 to 75,247 in 1897 (not including the district of Novogrudok), and its proportion among the general Jewish population grew as well from 16.3% to 23.9%. The percentage of the Jewish rural population amongst the general rural population of Minsk Guberniya it stood at 6.2% in 1881, according to Alenitsin.[153]

Between 1906 and 1912 there were four electoral campaigns in Russia for the State Duma, and lists of voters were published in the official paper of Minsk Guberniya, *Minskiye Gubernskiye Vedomosti*. Exact addresses for voters were published only in the districts of Bobruisk, Igumen and Pinsk for the 1907 elections to the Third Duma.[154] These elections were neither universal, nor direct: electoral rights were restricted according to the law of June 3rd, 1907 to males older than 25 who owned immovable property, paid taxes or worked in factories with not less than 50 workers. They were divided into four curias with unequal representation (peasants, landowners, three urban curias with varied electoral representation, and workers). Elections were conducted in three stages. Voters of each curia elected their representatives for the district electoral assemblies, who, in turn, elected a board of electors, and it was only these who voted for the State Duma deputies in a second electoral assembly common to all curias and convened in Guberniya's capital.[155] According to the calculations of Vladimir Levin around 50% of male Jews above 25 years old were eligible to participate in the elections to the Second Duma in 1906,[156] but their number was reduced for the elections for the Third Duma. However, the published lists of voters refer actually only to the participants of the first and second electoral assemblies. The number of rural Jews in these lists stands at about 3% of male rural Jewish population of the same three districts according to the 1897 census. The real value of lists of voters in 1907 lies not in the fact that they relate the absolute numbers of rural Jews, but in the fact that they note the geographical distribution of rural Jews. This evidence demonstrates the restructuring of the rural Jewish population after the disintegration of the propination system. Jewish voters are registered mainly in Jewish agricultural colonies, villages with the attested presence of Jewish landowners, and in those villages, where railway stations were constructed.

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153 Аленицин, Владимир, *Еврейское население и землевладение в юго-западных губерниях европейской России, входящих в черту еврейской оседлости*, С-Петербург, 1884, 2: Еврейское население в юго-западных губерниях европейской России, с. 26.

154 *Минские губернские ведомости* № 75, 29 сентября 1907 г.

155 See Levin, Alfred, *The Third Duma: Election and Profile*, Hamden (Conn.), 1973.

156 Levin, Vladimir, "Russian Jewry and the Duma Elections, 1906-1907, *Jews and Slavs* 7, 2000, pp. 234-235.

Let us look more precisely at the information concerning the geographical distribution of rural Jews in the districts of Minsk Guberniya. Administratively, the Russian districts (*uyezd*) were subdivided into rural cantons called *volost'*, but the Jewish communities (called *yevreiskoye obshchestvo* or *kahal*) were centered in towns and *shtetls* (*mestechko*) were usually much larger than *volost'*, were comprised of several such cantons, and served as the basic unit of registration for rural Jews both in census lists and in lists prepared for evictions. The borders of the Jewish communities did not always conform with the Russian administrative system, many communities crossed borders of districts and even of Guberniyas.

Of course, the difference between town and village was blurred in Eastern Europe in general and in the Russian Empire in particular, and many *shtetls* were themselves large villages. Nonetheless, our sources regularly distinguished the *shtetl* Jews, whom they called "settled burghers" (*osedlyye meshchane*), from the rural Jews whom they called "unsettled" (*neosedlyye*). Villages were subdivided into categories: *selo*, a large village, usually with a church, *derevnia*, a small or middle-sized village; *sloboda*, a rural area inside the town, *okolitsa*, a suburban village, *zastenok*, a Lithuanian term that designated lands which remained outside of the 16th century land-register *Volochnaya Pomera* and thus were not incorporated into the *folwark* system; and *khutor*, isolated farmsteads.

Many Jews lived outside the settled areas in highway inns, in inns near potash pits or even in movable inns (*v peredvizhnoi karchme*), or as ferrymen living on river-banks. Internal migrations are also reflected in the sources. Many Jews lived in villages far away from their home communities, which is indicated in eviction lists; many others left their original places of dwelling and their present whereabouts were also indicated in the census lists.

Mapping the Jewish rural settlement shows that the eviction lists of 1808 are more reliable than the fiscal censuses. Villages with the Jewish presence attested in eviction lists cover entire territory of all districts, except for the Loyev community in Rechitsa district. On the other hand, the censuses of 1795 and 1807 for Igumen district show Jewish presence in several clusters of villages leaving large "white spots" on the territory of this district. All relevant information on the geographical distribution of the rural Jewish population in Minsk Guberniya from 1795 to 1907 is presented in the nine tables of Appendix One (tables 3.11-3.19) and in the eight maps (figures 13.2-9) in Appendix Four. Here are some explanatory notes.

3.1 District of Bobruisk

(Appendix 1, table 3.11; appendix 4, figure 13.2)

The district of Bobruisk was located in the east-central part of Minsk Guberniya, and its rural Jews belonged in 1808 to seven communities: Bobruisk (38 villages and "in a highway inn"), Glusk (45 villages), Urechye (47 villages and "on a river-bank"),

Ozarichi (12 villages), Svisloch (3 villages), Liubonichi (20 villages), and Parichi (18 villages). Bobruisk was a former royal town. Glusk (Hłusk) was a private town, which belonged from 1690 to a Radziwiłł family. Urechye (Urzecze) was a *shtetl* founded by Radziwiłł family in 1635, and it was a center of the glass industry. Ozarichi was a *shtetl* granted in 1799 to the Privy Councilor Sergei Lashkarev, Svisloch (Świsłocz) which had once been a center of principality, but it became a private town which belonged from 1778 to Tyszkiewicz family. Liubonichi was a former royal *shtetl* and a center of *starostwo*. Parichi (known also as Ugarichi) was a former royal *shtetl*, which was granted in 1797 to the admiral Piotr Pushchin. The rural periphery of the community of Liubonichi consisted of two territorially unconnected enclaves: one around Liubonichi itself, and another in the valley of the river Ola, east of Parichi. Several villages which belonged to the community of Urechye were located beyond the borders of the district of Bobruisk in the districts of Slutsk (Malaya Sliva), Igumen (Shchitkovichi), and Mozyr' (Kuz'michi).

Three Jewish agricultural societies (*zevledek'cheskoye obshchestvo*) were founded in the district of Bobruisk in the first half of 19th century. Brozha comprised of four villages, Omel'ma and Shchedrin which later became a *shtetl*. In 1907 Jewish voters to the State Duma were registered in 71 villages of Bobruisk district, 35 match the Jewish settlement in 1808, but at this time most Jews were concentrated at Osipovichi which had a railway junction and in the former Jewish agricultural colony Shchedrin.

3.2 The District of Borisov

(Appendix 1, tables 3.12 and 3.13; appendix 4, figure 13.3)

The district of Borisov was located in the northern part of Minsk Guberniya. Rural Jews of the district of Borisov belonged in 1808 to nine communities: Borisov (73 villages and "near the potash pit"), Zembin (29 villages), Kholopenichi (13 villages), Krasnoluki (22 villages), Logoisk (22 villages), Pleshchenitsy (34 villages), Dokshitsy (24 villages), Dokshitskaya Sloboda (25 villages), and Smolevichi (15 villages and "inn near the highway"). Borisov was a former royal town, and its rural periphery was the largest one in Minsk Guberniya, covering the entire southern part of the district of Borisov and beyond the border in the district of Igumen. Zembin was a private *shtetl*, which had received this status from its owner Count Joachim Chreptowicz in 1783, and the Jews began to settle there in the same year. In 1793 Russian authorities confiscated this *shtetl*, but gave it to his son Ireneusz Chreptowicz in 1807. Kholopenichi was also a private *shtetl*, which belonged to the Chreptowicz family from 1730. Krasnoluki was a village which also belonged to the Chreptowicz family, and its Jewish community is an example of a purely rural community. The Jewish inhabitants of Krasnoluki were also included in the eviction list. Logoisk was a private town, which belonged from 1528 to the Tyszkiewicz family, and its rural periphery also included some villages in Minsk district. Pleshchenitsy

was also a private *shtetl* of the Tyszkiewicz family, and its rural periphery included several villages in Vilna Guberniya. Dokshitsy was a private town of the Kiszka family, which receive the status of town in 1621. In 1793 it became the center of the district, but in 1797 its territory was divided between districts of Vileika and Borisov. Its rural periphery included several villages in Vileika. The Jewish rural community of Dokshitskaya Sloboda was yet another example of a purely rural community without a *shtetl* or town as its center. Its territory circled around the rural periphery of Dokshitsy and was located largely in Vileika district. Smolevichi was a private town, which belonged to the Radziwiłł family, and under Russian rule it belonged until 1805 to the district of Igumen. For this reason, the rural periphery of its Jewish community is attested in the census lists for Igumen district from 1795, as well as in the eviction list for Borisov district from 1808. Therefore, this is the only case, when a comparison between the two sources is possible. In 1795 the community of Smolevichi comprised 17 villages, and five of the villages match those listed in the eviction list of 1808 (see table 3.13).

3.3 The District of Igumen

(Appendix 1, tables 3.13 and 3.14; appendix 4, figure 13.4)

The district of Igumen was located in the central Minsk Guberiya. In 1795 the rural Jews of this district belonged to five communities: Smolevichi (17 villages), Smilovichi (21 villages), Pukhovichi (15 villages), Bogushevichi (11 villages), and Shatsk (5 villages). But by 1807 twelve communities of this district had rural peripheries: Pukhovichi (15 villages), Lapichi (1 village), Uzliany (7 villages), Klichev (4 villages), Dukora (7 villages), Berezino (16 villages), Pogost (14 villages), Bogushevichi (9 villages), Shatsk (4 villages), Mogil'no (2 villages), Uzda (6 villages), and Losha (3 villages). Smolevichi with its rural periphery passed in 1805 to the district of Borisov, the community of Smilovichi had lost between the two censuses all its rural periphery, which was divided between communities of Pukhovichi, Dukora and Uzliany. The community of Bogushevichi had lost half of its rural periphery to the communities of Berezino and Pogost. The only village of the community of Lapichi (Tsel') belonged in 1795 to Pukhovichi, the communities of Losha, Uzda, Mogilno and Klichev appeared in 1807 in territory not covered by the census of 1795, and only the community of Shatsk did not change between the two censuses. The rural peripheries of two Jewish communities were unattested in both censuses: the communities of Igumen (Ihumen, now Cherven') and of Kholui (Chałuy, now Lipen'). These territories appear as a large white spot in the middle part of the map of Igumen district which has been composed from the censuses of 1795 and 1807 (see appendix 2, figure 13.4). An example from Igumen district shows clearly how unreliable the fiscal censuses of late 18th – early 19th centuries in Russian Empire were.

All the *shtetls* which served as centers of Jewish communities in Igumen district were private towns. Smilovichi (Śmiłowicze) belonged from 1791 to the Moniuszko family. Pukhovichi belonged to the Sulistrowski family, Bogushevichi (Bohuszewicze) belonged to the Świętorzecki family. Shatsk belonged to the Oskierko family from 1735. Lapichi (Łapicze) belonged to the Niezabitowski family. Uzliany (Użłany) belonged to bishops of Vilna, but in 1793 it was confiscated and from 1805 belonged to the Saker family who were Germans from Kurland origin. Dukora belonged from 1791 to the Åstorp family who were of Swedish origin. Berezino and Pogost belonged from 1671 to the Tyszkiewicz family. Mogilno belonged to the Radziwiłł family. Uzda and Losha belonged to the Zawisza family. Klichev was a village, which belonged to the former royal estate (*starostwo*) of Liuboshany.

By the mid-19th century there was also an Jewish agricultural society of Volma in the district of Igumen, and in 1907 most of the Jewish voters registered in this district lived either in its three agricultural colonies (Luchnoye, Prosnishche and Vysokaya Starina), or in the village of Sutin which included Jewish landowners.

3.4 The District of Minsk

(Appendix 1, table 3.15; appendix 4, figure 13.5)

Rural Jews of the district of Minsk belonged in 1808 to eight communities. Minsk (22 villages), Beloruchye (6 villages), Kaidanovo (69 villages), Rakov (24 villages), Samokhvalovichi (24 villages), Ostroshitski Gorodok (19 villages), Stolbtsy (5 villages), and Zaslavl' (4 villages). Minsk, of course, was the Guberniya's capital. It was the former center of a principality, and of the voivodeship, and was also a royal town. Beloruchye (Białorucze) was a village, its small Jewish community was around the community of Ostroshitski Gorodok, and was located mostly in the territory of the district of Borisov. Kaidanovo (or Koidanov, now Dzerzhinsk) was a private town, which belonged from 1550 to the Radziwiłł family. Its Jewish community had the largest rural periphery in Minsk district, and some of its villages were located in the territory of the districts of Igumen and Novogrudok. From 1833 Kaidanovo served as a seat of the Hassidic dynasty founded by Rabbi Shlomo Ḥayim Perlow. Rakov belonged to the Sanguszko family, but in 1794 it was confiscated and granted to Nikolai Saltykov, who sold it in 1804 to Wawrzyniec Zdziechowski. The rural periphery of its Jewish community was partly located in Vilna Guberniya. Samokhvalovichi was also a private *shtetl*, which passed at some point in the 18th century as a dowry from the Chalecki family to Albrecht Radziwiłł and from him to Michał Puzyna. The rural periphery of its Jewish community was partly located in the territory of the district of Igumen. Ostroshitski Gorodok belonged from 1650 to the Tyszkiewicz family. Stolbtsy belonged to the Czartoryski family. Zaslavl', or Iziaslav, was a former center of a principality, in the 18th century it belonged to the Przezdziecki family. The Jewish community of Ivenets had no rural periphery in 1808.

3.5 The District of Mozyr'

(Appendix 1, table 3.16, appendix 4, figure 13.6)

The district of Mozyr' was located in the southern Minsk Guberniya. It was the largest district of the Guberniya, but it was very sparsely populated, and most of its territory was covered by uninhabitable marshes. Most of its villages were located along the Pripiat' river, which flows through the district from west to east. The rural Jews of this district belonged in 1808 to eight communities: Karolin (21 villages), Petrikov (33 villages), Lel'chitsy (7 villages), Skrygalov (8 villages), Kopatkevichi (17 villages), Turov (25 villages), Lakhva (31 villages), and David-Gorodok (13 villages). Mozyr' itself had no rural periphery of its own, and villages near the town belonged to the community of Karolin (now Yel'sk), which was a private town which belonged to the Sulistrowski family. Petrikov belonged to the Chodkiewicz family, Kopatkewichi became a *shtetl* in 1795 and it belonged to the Jeleński family. Turov had been in the Middle Ages the center of principality, but it became a private town in 1508. In the 18th century it belonged to the Sołłohub family, but in 1793 they sold it to the British Russia Company, and in 1796 Czar Paul bought for the Treasury[157]. David-Gorodok and Lakhva were private towns, which belonged to the Radziwiłł family, and Skrygalov belonged to the Oskierko family. Lel'chitsy was a village and its Jewish community was entirely rural. A large part of the community of Lakhva was located on the territories of districts of Pinsk and Slutsk. The Jewish community of the *shtetl* Lenin had no rural periphery of its own, and the villages in its vicinity belonged to the community of Lakhva.

3.6 The District of Pinsk

(Appendix 1, table 3.17; appendix 4, figure 13.7)

The district of Pinsk was located in the south-west of Minsk Guberniya in the Pripiat' river valley. It was cut off from the rest of Guberniya by uninhabitable marshes in its northern regions, and was more connected culturally and economically with Ukrainian Polesye region, than with the rest of Belarus. The southern part of this district belongs now to Ukraine.

The rural Jews of Pinsk district belonged in 1808 to eight communities: Logishin (24 villages), Liubeshov (24 villages), Pogost-Zarechny (40 villages), Stolin (30 villages and "on a highway"), Pinsk (45 villages), Karolin (19 villages), Pogost-Zagorodski (11 villages), and Gorodna (7 villages). Two more villages belonged to the community of Lakhva in the district of Mozyr', but appeared in the eviction list of the district of Pinsk as "unaffiliated".

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157 On the history of the Jewish community of Torov see Смиловицкий, Лев, *Евреи в Турове. История местечка Мозырского Полесья*, Иерусалим, 2008.

Pinsk was a center of a medieval principality, which split off from the principality of Turov in 1174, and was a center of a major Jewish community within the Jewish autonomous Council of Lithuania in 1623-1764. Jews of Pinsk[158] belonged to two communities: Pinsk itself and Karolin (or Karlin). Pinsk was a royal town and Karolin, its private suburb, was founded in 1690 by Jan Karol Dolski. In 1749 or 1750 the Jewish community of Karolin separated from the community of Pinsk following the well-established pattern of the organization of separate Jewish communities in large royal towns and their suburbs in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth which had happened before in Lublin, Lwów, and Przemyśl in Crown Poland,[159] and in Vilna in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.[160] Both communities controlled rural peripheries of their own, and shared the same territory near Pinsk. Karolin was also the home of the Karlin Hassidic movement which had been founded in 1760s by Rabbi Aharon the Great. Later branches of Karlin Hassidism spread to Stolin, Liakhovichi, Kaidanovo, Kobrin, Slonim, and Novominsk (Mińsk Mazowiecki). Logishin and Pogost-Zagorodski were private towns, which belonged to Prince Drucki-Lubecki. Stolin belonged to the Skirmunt family, and it served as a seat of the Karlin Hassidic court in from 1792 to 1798 and after 1867 as well. Gorodna (or Gorodnaya) was a royal town with Magdeburg rights since 1579 and it was famous for its pottery. Liubeshov and Pogost-Zarechny (now Zarechnoye) along with their rural peripheries now belong to Ukraine. Liubeshov belonged to the Czarnecki family, and Pogost-Zarechny to the Nielubowicz family.

In 1907 Jewish voters were registered in 102 villages of Pinsk district. They were concentrated in Sviataya Volia, Nobel', Serniki, Voinovka, and the railway junction Luninets. Finally, 62 villages in Pinsk district appear in a list concerned with the ritual sale of *ḥamets* (leavened food) belonging to Rabbi Hirsh Volk for Passover 1909.[161]

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158 On the history of the Jews of Pinsk see Nadav, Mordekhai, "Toldot Kehilat Pinsk: 5266/1506-5640/1880", *Pinsk. Sefer 'Edut VeZikaron LeKehilat Pinsk-Karlin, Kerakh Histori. Toldot Kehilat Pinsk-Karlin 1506-1941,* ed. W. Z. Rabinowitsch, Tel Aviv-Haifa, 1973, pp. 15-334; *The Jews of Pinsk, 1506 to 1880*, ed. Mark Jay Mirsky and Moshe Rosman, transl. Moshe Rosman and Faigie Tropper, Stanford, 2008; Shohat, Azriel, "History of the Jews of Pinsk: 1881-1941", *Pinsk. Sefer 'edut VeZikaron LeKehilat Pinsk-Karlin, Kerakh Histori. Toldot Kehilat Pinsk-Karlin 1506-1941,* ed. W. Z. Rabinowitsch, Tel Aviv-Haifa, 1973, pp. 50-65; Shohet, Azriel, *The Jews of Pinsk, 1881 to 1941*, ed. Mark Jay Mirsky and Moshe Rosman, transl. Faigie Tropper and Moshe Rosman, afterword by Zvi Gitelman, Stanford, 2012.

159 See Kalik, Judith, "Suburban Story: Structure of Jewish Communities in Largest Royal Cities of 18th Century Crown Poland", *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 113, 2006, pp. 54-65; Kalik, Judith, *Scepter of Judah. Jewish Autonomy in the Eighteenth-Century Crown Poland* (Studia Judaeoslavica 2, ed. A. Kulik), Leiden-Boston, 2009, pp. 49-59.

160 Nadav, Mordekhai, "Toldot Kehilat Pinsk: 5266/1506-5640/1880", *Pinsk. Sefer 'Edut VeZikaron LeKehilat Pinsk-Karlin, Kerakh Histori. Toldot Kehilat Pinsk-Karlin 1506-1941,* ed. W. Z. Rabinowitsch, Tel Aviv-Haifa, 1973, p. 164.

161 Shohet, Azriel, *The Jews of Pinsk, 1881 to 1941*, ed. Mark Jay Mirsky and Moshe Rosman, transl. Faigie Tropper and Moshe Rosman, afterword by Zvi Gitelman, Stanford, 2012, p. 7.

3.7 The District of Rechitsa

(Appendix 1, table 3.18; appendix 4, figure 13.8)

The district of Rechitsa was located in the south-east of Minsk Guberniya, and its southern part belonged in the pre-partition age to Crown Poland. Rural Jews of this district belonged in 1808 to eight communities: Rechitsa (34 villages), Bragin (32 villages), Kholmech (14 villages), Khoiniki (19 villages), Gorval' (28 villages and three disabled vagabonds), Yurovichi (14 villages), Kalinkovichi (27 villages), and Narovlia (9 villages). The rural periphery of the community of Loyev is missing from the eviction list, and its territory remains a "white spot" between communities of Kholmech and Bragin on the map of the district, the only such case in eviction lists of 1808. Rechitsa was a former royal town,[162] Kholmech belonged to the Wołłowicz family, Gorval belonged to the Bishops of Vilna and it was confiscated in 1793, Yurovichi belonged to the Jesuits, but in 1800 it was given to the Bernardines. Kalinkovichi belonged to Prince Shakhovskoi, but it was confiscated in 1805, Narovlia belonged to the Oskierko family from 1764. Bragin and Khoiniki belonged in the pre-partition age to the voivodeship of Kiev in Crown Poland. Brahin belonged to the Rokicki family, and Khoiniki to the Prozor family. From 1880 to 1908 Rechitsa became a center of the Ḥabad Hassidic movement, when it served as the seat of Rabbi Shalom Dov Ber Shneersohn.

3.8 The District of Sluck

(Appendix 1, table 3.19; appendix 4, figure 13.9)

The district of Slutsk was a small, but densely populated district in the west-central part of Minsk Guberniya. Its rural Jewish population consisted in 1808 of six communities: Slutsk (23 villages), Nesvizh (22 villages), Liakhovichi (7 villages), Grozovo (2 villages), Satrobin (11 villages), Kletsk (51 villages). Medieval Slutsk was a center of a principality, and from 1596 it belonged to the Radziwiłł family. Within the Jewish Autonomous Council of Lithuania, Slutsk served as a center of a major community between 1691 and 1764. Nesvizh belonged to the Radziwiłł family from 1513, and from 1533 it was the center of an *ordynacja*, a cluster of villages with the lord's palace in the centre – primogeniture holding passing strictly through a male line of descent. Several villages, which belonged to the Jewish community of Nesvizh, were located in districts of Minsk and Novogrudok. Liakhovichi belonged from 1793 to the Kossakowski family. The rural periphery of the Jewish community

162 On the history of the Jews of Rechitsa see Kaganovitch, Albert, *The Long Life and Swift Death of Jewish Rechitsa. A Community in Belarus 1625-2000*, Madison (Wisc.), 2013; Каганович, Альберт, *Речица. История еврейского местечка Юго-Восточной Белоруссии*, Иерусалим, 2007.

of Liakhovichi was one of the largest in the pre-partition age and consisted of about one hundred villages[163]. However, after the Second Partition of Poland in 1793 most of its territory remained in Polish hands, while Liakhovichi itself passed to Russia and was incorporated into Minsk Guberniya. In 1795 after the Third Partition of Poland the rest of the former community of Liakhovichi was also annexed to Russia, but it was incorporated into the district of Novogrudok, which until 1842 belonged to Vilna Guberniya. From 1792 Liakhovichi served as a center of the Hassidic court established by Rabbi Mordechai of Liakhovichi, a disciple of Rabbi Shlomo of Karlin. Grozovo (Hrozów) belonged until 1863 to the Mierzejewski family. The rural periphery of its Jewish community was very small and comprised of only two villages, one of which was located in the district of Igumen. Starobin and Kletsk both belonged to the Radziwiłł family, and Kletsk served as a center of *ordynacja* from 1586. The large Jewish communities of Kopyl', Timkovichi and Vyzna had no rural peripheries in 1808.

The rural periphery of the community of Slutsk grew in 1848 after a decade of relaxation of Russian legislation on rural Jews. It consisted of 31 villages[164], but in 1852 it was reduced again to 22 villages after the eviction of Jews from 20 villages as result of the implementation of Kiselev's policy of "sorting" the Jews.[165]

163 On this Jewish community see Lamdan, Neville, "Village Jews in Imperial Russia's Nineteenth-Century Minsk Governorate Viewed through a Genealogical Lens", *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 99, 2011, pp. 133-144.

164 NIAB F 694 op. 3 d. 659 p. 82.

165 Ibid. pp. 71-72.

Appendix 1: Tables to Chapter 3

Table 3.1 The Jewish population of Minsk Guberniya 1797-1857 (by estate).

Category of population	Honorary citizens		Merchants		Burghers		Farmers		Total	
Year	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
1797[166]			322		10625				10947	
1799[167]			212		12122				12334	
1800[168]			205		14055				14260	
1805[169]			184		14077				14261	
1812[170]			168		18152				18320	
1817[171]			132		16310				16442	
1833[172]			766	761	42492	42693	868	878	44126	44332
1843[173]			1847		84903				86750	
1850[174]	9	4	1128	1245	43141	49811	1493	1931	45771	52991
1855[175]			1147		44651		1871		47669	
1857[176]	16	15	1297	1330	29152	40752	1917	2053	32382	44150

166 Шабад, Я.Б «Минская губерния», *Еврейская энциклопедия*, ред. А. Гаркави, Л. Каценельсон, С-Петербург, 1908-1913, том 11, с. 78.
167 Ibid.
168 Ibid.
169 Ibid.
170 Соболевская, Ольга, *Повседневная жизнь евреев Беларуси в конце XVIII – первой половине XIX века*, Гродно, 2012, с. 415.
171 Ibid.
172 Зеленский, Илларион, *Материалы для географии и статистики России, собранные офицерами генерального штаба. Минская губерния*, С-Петербург, 1864, том 1, с. 469 (приложение 7).
173 Ibid., с. 418.
174 Ibid., с. 469 (приложение 7).
175 Шабад, Я.Б «Минская губерния», *Еврейская энциклопедия*, ред. А. Гаркави, Л. Каценельсон, С-Петербург, 1908-1913, том 11, с. 78.
176 Зеленский, Илларион, *Материалы для географии и статистики России, собранные офицерами генерального штаба. Минская губерния*, С-Петербург, 1864, том 1, с. 469 (приложение 7).

Table 3.2 The Jewish population of Minsk Guberniya 1811-1847 (by district and community).

District and community	1811[177]	1816/1819[178]		1847[179]
	m	m	f	
Bobruisk	655	537	544	4702
Glusk	528	729	676	3148
Kazimirovo	53	88	72	
Liuban’		382	179	
Liubonichi	74	134	113	
Ozarichi	93	147	122	
Parichi	366	391	290	1888
Pobolovo	69	80	88	
Svisloch	80	101	82	
Urechye	92	113	109	
total	2010	2602	2275	9738
Borisov	865	849	687	3887
Es’mon	28	64	55	
Gaina	9	14	12	
Kamen’	38	44	45	
Krasnoluki	94	191	141	
Logoisk	86	232	186	1509
Kholopenichi	164	247	193	1224
Dokshitsy	187	193	221	1808
Pleshchenitsy	82	94	69	
Smolevichi	105	120	114	
Zembin	103	111	100	

177 Aleksandrov, Hillel, «Di yidishe bofelkerung in Minsker gubernie in anheib 19-tn yorhundert», *Tseitshrift* 1930, 4, pp. 67-88.

178 Ibid.

179 Bobruisk: *Еврейская энциклопедия*, ред. А. Гаркави, Л. Каценельсон, С-Петербург, 1908-1913, том 4, с. 688; Borisov: ibid. p.p. 828; Igumen: ibid. vol. 8, p. 20; Minsk: ibid. vol. 11, p. 87; Mozyr’: ibid. p. 166; Novogrudok: ibid. p. 757; Pinsk: ibid. vol. 12, p. 531; Rechitsa: ibid. vol. 13, p. 756; Slutsk: ibid. vol. 14, pp. 312-313.

Continued Table 3.2

District and community	1811[177]	1816/1819[178]		1847[179]
	m	m	f	
total	1761	2159	1823	8428
Igumen	284	256	297	1215
Smilovichi	217	244	187	1063
Berezino	114			1289
Bogushevichi	51	76	68	
Kholui	66	97	97	
Klichev		57	58	
Lapichi	23	52	68	
Losha	24	67	48	
Mogil'no	34	54	52	
Dukora	67	82	74	
Pogost	144	203	193	
Pukhovichi	154	298	178	764
Shatsk	20	65	60	
Uzda	180	468	281	1618
Uzliany	133	102	90	
total	1511	2121	1751	5949
Minsk	2738	4169	3322	12976
Gorodok	86	89	82	
Stolbtsy	259	339	363	1315
Ivenets	169	463	362	2342
Koidanov	671	640	724	2497
Komarovka	41	53	49	
Rakov	174	340	338	
Rubezhevichi	76	156	181	
Samokhvalovichi	160	157	147	
Svezhen'	130	171	159	
Zaslavl'	116	121	159	
total	4620	6698	5886	19530
Mozyr'	337	481	467	2256
David-Gorodok	215	302	260	1572

Continued Table 3.2

District and community	1811[177]	1816/1819[178]		1847[179]
	m	m	f	
Karolin	54	102	91	
Kopatkevichi	54	196	144	
Lakhva	73	75	86	
Lel'chitsy		22	20	
Lenin	35	51	55	
Petrikov	102	264	163	1275
Skrygalov	37	54	54	
Turov	190	363	332	1447
total	1097	1910	2672	6550
Novogrudok				2576
Liubcha				973
Stolovichi				1571
Mir				2273
total				7393
Pinsk	703	867	938	5050
Karolin	326	468	480	
Kozhan-Gorodok	70	72	81	
Logishin	81	122	128	1240
Liubeshov	110	277	263	831
Nobel'	21	21	33	
Stolin	130	242	288	777
Sviataya Volia	38	42	67	
total	1479	2111	2278	7928
Rechitsa	283	480	361	2080
Bragin	259	692	600	1612
Gorval'	99	256	167	
Kalinkovichi	101	242	184	
Khoiniki	89	244	195	2393
Kholmech	102	223	175	
Loyev	180	345	315	1653
Narovlia	48	279	250	

Continued Table 3.2

District and community	1811[177]	1816/1819[178]		1847[179]
	m	m	f	
Yurovichi	65	167	158	
total	1226	2928	2405	7738
Slutsk	851	1417	917	5897
Bobovnia	11	18	23	
Grozovo	49	69	60	
Kletsk	662	1054	463	2138
Kopyl’	131	299	260	1824
Liakhovichi	199	378	358	1071
Nesvizh	716	766	740	3449
Pogost		34	41	
Romanovo	31	59	70	
Starobin	85	117	133	
Timkovichi	49	136	167	
Vyzna	32	30	40	
total	2816	4377	3272	14379
grand total	16520	24906	21362	87633

Table 3.3 The Jewish population of Minsk Guberniya 1858-1887 (by district).

Year	1858[180]		1863[181]	1873[182]	1878[183]	1887[184]	
District	m	f				m	f
Bobruisk	5814	6058	8778	12648	17935	13737	14858
district	3914	4560	9357	13593	17588	12099	11789
Borisov	1191	1260	2355	2473	8655	4990	5190
Dokshitsy	340	365	675	1482	2775	1390	1400
district	2209	2217	4482	6449	14646	7090	7600
Igumen	297	349	891	1006	632	900	1000
district	2389	2760	5598	10347	7972	11916	12518
Minsk	7031	4940	12016	22121	23649	17116	19113
district	3210	3856	4740	9162	14744	8700	8810
Mozyr’	876	890	1785	1432	1898	3121	3178
district	2642	2967	4189	6722	12903	7341	6618
Novogrudok	922	1183	2652	4200	7045	3601	3579
district	2411	2458	6159	12057	22091	13624	12405
Pinsk-Karolin	3274	3331	6405	14539	19754	10381	11672
district	1385	1570	3873	7788	9523	11757	11504
Rechitsa	901	1017	1818	2199	3384	1782	1772
district	2786	3212	7296	7937	13600	7181	7007
Slutsk	1660	1720	5232	6381	10881	5505	5361
Nesvizh	907	1170	3053	3560	5053	2771	2368
district	3050	3327	6476	11330	24276	15585	19511
total in towns	23213	22483	45660	72041	101661	65596	69491
total in districts	23946	26927	52170	85385	137343	98326	97792
grand total	47209	49410	97830	157426	239004	163922	167283

180 *Памятная книжка для Минской губернии на 1860 г.* Статистическое обозрение Минской губернии, Минск, 1860, с. 22-29.

181 *Памятная книжка для Минской губернии на 1865 г.*, Дополнение: Статистические сведения о Минской губернии за 1863 год. Составил, на основании официальных источников, секр. ком. И. И. Зданович, 1864, с. 12.

182 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии 1875 года*, часть 2: Статистические сведения по губернии, Минск, 1875, с. 27.

183 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии 1878 года*, часть 2, отдел IV: Описание уездов, городов и замечательных местностей, Минск, 1878, с. 3-95.

184 *Памятная книжка и календарь Минской губернии на 1888 високосный год. Царствования императора Александра III год восьмой*, III Статистические сведения, Минск, 1887, с. 103.

Table 3.4 The Jewish population of Minsk Guberniya 1889-1892.

Year	**1889**[185]		**1890**[186]		**1891**[187]		**1892**[188]	
District	**m**	**f**	**m**	**f**	**m**	**f**	**m**	**f**
Bobruisk	14220	13532	14441	13741	14629	13590	15807	13897
district	11987	11833	13310	13217	13524	13362	13732	13664
Borisov	5152	5342	5199	5377	5261	5428	5455	5508
Dokshitsy	1425	1466	1443	1475	1504	1529	1575	1579
district	7335	7790	7387	7866	7662	8169	7827	8272
Igumen	1046	1073	1246	1326	1316	1360	1413	1490
district	13472	13523	13696	13897	13926	14253	14216	14610
Minsk	18923	19122	20576	20581	21978	21502	23600	23159
district	9102	8963	9215	9040	9332	9119	9452	9182
Mozyr’	3559	3175	3613	3121	3625	3089	2875	2334
district	7730	7086	7841	7866	7958	7239	8820	8658
Novogrudok	3718	3720	3718	3720	3718	3720	3730	3789
district	14965	13107	15950	13200	15950	13200	15900	13240
Pinsk-Karolin	11708	11997	13456	13179	13213	12857	13582	13214
district	9441	9545	10424	11006	10566	11687	11416	12179
Rechitsa	1865	1843	1904	1942	1996	1949	2158	2363
district	8931	8610	9301	9346	9177	9279	9222	9317
Slutsk	5920	5635	4212	4876	4152	4802	4195	4766
Nesvizh	2647	2515	2660	2525	2660	2525	2660	2525
district	12620	12936	12728	13019	12193	13333	14043	14083
total in towns	70183	69420	73468	71863	74052	72351	77050	74574
total in districts	95583	93393	99852	97753	100288	99641	104628	103205
grand total	165766	162813	172320	169616	174340	171992	181678	177779

185 *Памятная книжка для Минской губернии на 1891 г.*, IV Статистические сведения, Минск, 1890, с. 204.

186 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1892 високосный год*, IV Приложение: Статистические сведения, Минск, 1891, с. 3.

187 *Памятная книжка и календарь Минской губернии на 1893 год. Царствования императора Александра III год тринадцатый*, IV Приложение: Статистические сведения, Минск, 1892, с. 3.

188 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1894 г.*, составил А. П. Смородский, Приложение: Статистические сведения, Минск, 1893, с. 3.

Table 3.5 The Jewish population of Minsk Guberniya 1893-1896.

Year	**1893**[189]		**1894**[190]		**1896**[191]	
District	**m**	**f**	**m**	**f**	**m**	**f**
Bobruisk	15898	13905	15908	13900	9628	9497
district	13909	13783	14160	13980	16140	15459
Borisov	5554	5549	5652	5627	6183	6015
Dokshitsy	1599	1585	1631	1603	1723	1682
district	7920	8296	8022	8350	11562	11347
Igumen	1402	1488	975	1015	1018	1000
district	14139	15061	14543	15388	16169	16164
Minsk	24725	25028	25310	25261	24130	25827
district	9595	9262	9515	9396	11329	11710
Mozyr’	2930	2337	2957	2328	2930	2344
district	9476	9146	9625	9300	9836	9847
Novogrudok	3793	3815	3998	3985	3400	3470
district	12617	12661	13117	13145	14120	12837
Pinsk-Karolin	13686	13260	13691	13293	10375	11444
district	12354	12679	13200	13500	11795	10788
Rechitsa	2346	2372	2346	2370	2501	2458
district	9289	9309	8349	8423	9019	8963
Slutsk	4459	4690	4543	4631	5260	5294
Nesvizh	2651	2442	2707	2490	2375	2389
district	13130	12921	13271	12969	13289	13454
total in towns	79043	76481	79718	76503	69523	71420
total in districts	102429	103118	104202	104451	113259	110569
grand total	181472	179599	183920	180954	182782	181989

189 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1895 г.*, составил А. П. Смородский, Приложение: Статистические сведения, Минск, 1894, с. 3.
190 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1896 г.*, составил А. П. Смородский, Приложение: Статистические сведения, Минск, 1895, с. 3.
191 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1898 г.*, составил А. П. Смородский, Приложение: Статистические сведения, Минск, 1898, с. 3.

Table 3.6 The Jewish population of Minsk Guberniya 1903-1906.

Year	**1903**[192]		**1904**[193]		**1905**[194]		**1906**[195]	
District	**m**	**f**	**m**	**f**	**m**	**f**	**m**	**f**
Bobruisk	11547	11291	11780	11456	11945	11520	12160	11610
district	16178	15858	16410	16064	16660	16251	16935	16435
Borisov	4418	4611	4546	4708	4624	4791	4730	4869
Dokshitsy	1546	1583	1552	1593	1575	1607	1615	1632
district	8544	8731	8502	8689	8543	8701	8577	8696
Igumen	1605	1608	1662	1708	1696	1735	1726	1779
district	14031	14801	14390	15275	14714	15527	14950	15794
Minsk	26335	26583	26731	26908	27026	27085	27336	27228
district	9276	9838	9402	9930	9494	9998	9554	10056
Mozyr’	3102	3206	3230	3276	3329	3325	3394	3352
district	12961	12872	13214	12966	13347	13040	13454	13128
Novogrudok	2641	2710	2675	2740	2691	2743	2728	2761
district	13427	13999	13628	14142	13758	14210	13890	14276
Pinsk-Karolin	11927	12442	12222	12626	12415	12721	12671	12865
district	13877	13278	14177	13441	14338	13557	14551	13689
Rechitsa	3233	3167	3325	3197	3380	3239	3441	3293
district	12385	12890	12591	13027	12739	13171	12902	13256
Slutsk	5395	5728	5432	5774	5506	5801	5546	5835
Nesvizh	2527	2539	2541	2550	2547	2552	2560	2556
district	14194	14051	14388	14171	14500	14245	14640	14314
total in towns	74276	75528	75696	76536	76744	77119	77907	77780
total in districts	114873	116318	116702	117705	118093	118700	119453	119644
grand total	189149	191846	192398	194241	194837	195819	197360	197424

192 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1905 г.*, III Статистические сведения, Минск, 1904, с. 92-93.

193 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1906 г.*, III Статистические сведения, Минск, 1905, с. 108-109.

194 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1907 г.*, III Статистические сведения, Минск, 1906, с. 126-127.

195 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1908 г.*, III Статистические сведения, Минск, 1907, с. 90-91.

Table 3.7 The Jewish population of Minsk Guberniya 1907-1910.

Year	1907[196]		1908[197]		1909[198]		1910[199]	
District	**m**	**f**	**m**	**f**	**m**	**f**	**m**	**f**
Bobruisk	12406	11718	12608	11767	12755	11858	12972	11956
district	17268	16816	17438	16945	17576	17057	17809	17208
Borisov	4796	4921	4901	5006	4970	5078	5052	5131
Dokshitsy	1637	1644	1661	1657	1681	1679	1702	1692
district	8656	8778	8750	8827	8824	8863	8891	8924
Igumen	1751	1807	1789	1831	1825	1857	1851	1895
district	15138	15967	15361	16216	15602	16463	15713	16579
Minsk	20392	21862	20613	22089	20919	22316	21135	22406
district	9643	10113	9737	10143	9843	10261	9944	10317
Mozyr’	3475	3388	3518	3423	3596	3448	3632	3460
district	13634	13232	13790	13377	13993	13433	14202	13514
Novogrudok	2738	2752	2756	2757	2761	2763	2755	2768
district	14040	14340	14214	14398	14339	14485	14458	14522
Pinsk-Karolin	12923	13016	13126	13168	13330	13296	13567	13472
district	14771	13832	14955	13951	15130	14079	15295	14205
Rechitsa	3491	3333	3555	3382	3639	3425	3712	3448
district	12970	13246	13066	13331	13218	13450	13310	13556
Slutsk	5593	5848	5646	5894	5734	5919	5785	5936
Nesvizh	2586	2565	2619	2576	2641	2572	2652	2579
district	14813	14400	14973	14461	15148	14586	15272	14722
total in towns	71788	72854	72810	73550	73851	74211	74815	74743
total in districts	120933	120724	122284	121649	123673	122677	124894	123547
grand total	192721	193578	195094	195199	197524	196888	199709	198290

196 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1909 г.*, III Статистические сведения, Минск, 1908, с. 104-105.
197 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1910 г.*, III Статистические сведения, Минск, 1909, с. 92-93.
198 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1911 г.*, III Статистические сведения, Минск, 1910, с. 66-67.
199 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1912 г.*, III Статистические сведения, Минск, 1911, с. 86-87.

Table 3.8 The Jewish population of Minsk Guberniya 1911-1913.

Year	**1911**[200]		**1912**[201]		**1913**[202]	
District	**m**	**f**	**m**	**f**	**m**	**f**
Bobruisk	13176	12065	13422	12216	13590	12286
district	17970	17336	18254	17521	18461	17677
Borisov	5161	5193	5228	5249	5307	5310
Dokshitsy	1710	1708	1736	1722	1745	1740
district	8937	8964	9004	9022	9061	9116
Igumen	1869	1904	1857	1897	1875	1918
district	15756	16616	15858	16732	15921	16836
Minsk	21504	22661	21799	22865	22053	23050
district	10018	10352	10083	10430	10177	10482
Mozyr’	3668	3498	3715	3560	3770	3606
district	14396	13666	14549	13773	14749	13914
Novogrudok	2779	2769	2805	2772	2821	2763
district	14634	14585	14789	14713	14912	14776
Pinsk-Karolin	13781	13622	13979	13797	14143	13920
district	15479	14333	15617	14428	15951	14815
Rechitsa	3776	3488	3855	3528	3932	3567
district	13442	13681	13575	13783	13726	13880
Slutsk	5852	5942	5854	5949	5908	5979
Nesvizh	2680	2595	2686	2622	2709	2625
district	15410	14792	15560	14885	15653	14889
total in towns	75956	75445	76936	76177	77853	76764
total in districts	126042	124325	127289	125287	128611	126385
grand total	201998	199770	204225	201464	206464	203149

200 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1913 г.*, IV Статистические сведения, Минск, 1912, с. 94-95.

201 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1914 г.*, IV Статистические сведения, Минск, 1913, с. 108-109.

202 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1915 г.*, IV Статистические сведения, Минск, 1914, с. 72-73.

Table 3.9 The Rural Jewish population of Minsk Guberniya 1795-1897.

Year	1795		1807		1808		1818		1881	1897
District	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f		
Bobruisk					327	373			6808	12576
Borisov					564	748			6096	8674
Igumen	117	162	158	189					4436	11728
Minsk					312	346			5423	5470
Mozyr’					276	300			8493	8329
Novogrudok							1460	1276	9236	6786
Pinsk					508	548			12137	9128
Rechitsa					326	420			5911	10157
Slutsk					150	214			6008	9185
total	117	162	158	189	2463	2949	1460	1276	64548	82033

Table 3.10 The Proportion of the rural Jews in Minsk Guberniya 1808-1897.

District	Total male 1807-1808 (estimated)	Rural male 1807-1808	%	Total 1881	Rural 1881	%	Total 1897	Rural 1897	%
Bobruisk	1846	327	17.7	44011	6808	15.5	49710	12576	25.3
Borisov	1617	564	33.0	24205	6096	25.2	26822	8674	32.3
Igumen	1349	158	11.7	19924	4436	22.3	28920	11728	40.5
Minsk	4243	312	7.4	45353	5423	12	65029	5470	8.4
Mozyr’	1007	276	27.4	20051	8493	42.4	29508	8329	28.2
Pinsk	1359	508	37.4	40775	12137	29.8	45119	9128	20.2
Rechitsa	1127	326	28.9	18951	5911	31.2	28522	10157	35.6
Slutsk	2586	150	5.8	40572	6008	14.8	40906	9185	22.5
total	15134	2463	16.3	253842	55312	21.8	314533	75247	23.9

Table 3.11 The district of Bobruisk.

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d. 6 pp. 1-16		1907 MGV No. 76	Occupation	Landlord	Migrants' origin
	m	f				
Bobruisk						
Baranovichi			1			
Bel'cho	2	2			Pruszanowski	
Bircha	3	4			Movsha Shimonovich	
Bochary(?)	1	2			Wojdzbun	
Bogushovka			2			
Bol'shiye Bortniki			1			
Bortniki	3	4	2	2 inn-keepers	Hryniewicz	
Brody	1	2			*starostwo* Brody	
Brozha			1	farmers	on state land	
Demidkovichi	1	2			*starostwo* Brody	
Doinichi			1			
Dvoraninovichi	1	1			Pruszanowski	
Falichi	1	1	4		*starostwo* Brody	
Glebova Rudnia	2	2			*starostwo* Brody	
Glusha			1			
Gorbatsevichi	1	2	1		Hryniewicz	
Kacherichi(?)	2	2			Wolk	
Kamenka			1			
Khimy			2			
Kholmichi	1	1			Wolk	
Kiselevichi	1	2			Węcesławowicz	
Krasnoye	2	2			Bishop Bykowski	
Kukhtenka			1			
Makarichi	1	1			*starostwo* Brody	
Mikhalevo			1			
Mikulichi	4	3			Kielczewski	
Noviny	1	2	2	inn-keeper	Movsha Shimonovich	
Ol'sa	2	2			Zabiełłowa	
Omel'no	2	3		inn-keeper	Bułhak	
Orenichi	1	1			*starostwo* Brody	
Paniushkevichi	1	2			Bishop Bykowski	
Pankratovichi	2	2			Lamb	
Parfenkovichi	1	2	1		Kielczewski	
Petrovichi	3	4			*starostwo* Brody	
„ „	1					

Continued Table 3.11

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d. 6 pp. 1-16		1907 MGV No. 76	Occupation	Landlord	Migrants' origin
	m	f				
Plessy	2	2			Lamb	
Pobokovichi	2	2			Bishop Bykowski	
Pobolovo			9			
Pustoshka	1	1	1		Kielczewski	
Radusha	1	1			Kaspar Pruszanowski	
Ratmirovichi	1	1			*starostwo* Brody	
Rogoselye	1	4			Hryniewicz	
Sharayevshchina	2	3			Kielczewski	
Shpilevshchina	1	3			Pruszanowski	
Stepy	3	4			Chalecki	
Turki	1	2	1		Bułhak	
Uznoga	2	3			Pruszanowski	
Volosovichi	1	1			Kielczewski	
Vorotyn'	1	2			Zhegulin	
Yevseyevichi			1			
Zherebtsy	2	3	1		Kielczewski	
on a highway	1	2			Pruszanowski	
totals 50	63	87	35			
Glusk						
Balashevichi	2	3		inn-keeper	Judycki	
Beriozovka	1	3		in a rented house	Wiszczyński	
Boyanichi	1	1		inn-keeper	Hipolit Wołodźko	
Boyanov	1	1		in a rented house with a mill	Wiszczyński	
Budenichi	2	1		in peasants' house	Daszkiewicz	
Dubrova	1	1		in a rented house	Wiszczyński	
Gliadovichi	1	2		in a rented house	Dominik Radziwiłł	
Kadka			1			
Kalatichi	2	2		inn-keeper	Judycki	
Khoromtsy	1	1		in a rented house	Krasiński	
Knyshi	2	1		in peasants' house	Ratyński	
Korytnoye	1	3	2	inn-keeper	Uzłowski	
Kosarichi	3	1		inn-keeper	Wiszczyński	
Kozlovichi	2	2			*starostwo* Brody	
Krapivnia	3	2		in a house with a mill	Wolk	

Continued Table 3.11

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d. 6 pp. 1-16		1907 MGV No. 76	Occupation	Landlord	Migrants' origin
	m	f				
Krynki	1	1	1	in a rented house with a mill	Dominik Radziwiłł	
Liaskovichi	1	1		in a rented house	Krasiński	
Liaskovitskaya Sloboda	1	1		inn-keeper	Krasiński	
Makeyevichi	1	1	1	inn-keeper	Dominik Radziwiłł	
Makovichi	1	1		in peasants' house	Bułharynowa	
Mezhlesyye			1			
Miazovichi	1	2		in peasants' house	Dominik Radziwiłł	
Minkovichi	1	1		in a rented peasants' house	Rudnicki	
Moshnitsa	1	1		in a rented house with a mill	Teofil Malinowski	
Myslotin	1	1		inn-keeper	Judycki	
Novyye Dorogi	1	1		in a rented house	Dominik Radziwiłł	
Ol'nitsa	1	1		inn-keeper	Daszkiewicz	
Osovets	1	1		in a rented house with a mill	Dominik Radziwiłł	
Paseka	2	2		in peasants' house	Dominik Radziwiłł	
Pogost	1	1		in peasants' house	Judycki	
Porechye	2	3	1	inn-keeper	Wszczyński	
Protasevichi	2	2		in a rented house	Dominik Radziwiłł	
Prusy	1	1		in peasants house	Dominik Radziwiłł	
Radutichi	2	2		in peasants' house	Dominik Radziwiłł	
Rudobelka	1	1		inn-keeper	Łapa	
Rukhovo	1	2	1	in peasants' house	Dominik Radziwiłł	
Sel'tsy	1	1		inn-keeper	Judycki	
Shkava	2	2		inn-keeper	Wańkowicz	
Slavkovichi	2	2		in a rented house	Dominik Radziwiłł	
Stashevichi(?)	3	3		in a rented house with a mill	Rudnicki	
Usterkhi	1	1		in a rented house with a mill	Kamiński	
Velikiye Luki			1			
Vesno	2	3		inn-keeper	Teofil Malinowski	
Vilcha	1	1		inn-keeper	Ratyński	
Vovulichi			1			

Continued Table 3.11

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d. 6 pp. 1-16		1907 MGV No. 76	Occupation	Landlord	Migrants' origin
	m	f				
Zagalye	1	1	1	in a rented house	Krasiński	
„ „	1	1		inn-keeper	Kozlowska	
„ „	1	1		inn-keeper	Bykowski	
Zamoshye	1	1	2	in peasants' house	Shmakov	
Zholvinets	1	1		in peasants' house	Wolk	
Zhukovichi	1	1		in peasants' house	Judycki	
totals 53	65	71	13			
Urechye						
Borovaya	1	1			Dominik Radziwiłł	
Karchma						
Chabusy	1	1			Bishop Bykowski	
Daraganovo			1			
Derevtsy			1			
Dombrova	1	1	1		Dominik Radziwiłł	
Drazhno	1	1		inn-keeper	Dominik Radziwiłł	
Dubilovka	3	2		inn-keeper	Dominik Radziwiłł	
Gorki	2	1	2		Sołtan	
Karmazy	1	2		inn-keeper	Dominik Radziwiłł	
Kosteshi			1			
Kostiuki	1	1	1		Dominik Radziwiłł	
Kremok	1	1	1	inn-keeper	Dominik Radziwiłł	
Krivonosy	1	1			Bishop Bykowski	
Kuchino			2			
Kuz'michi	1	1		inn-keeper	Dominik Radziwiłł	
„ „	1	1			Dominik Radziwiłł	
Levki	1	1	1		Dominik Radziwiłł	
Liuban'	5	6	1		Dominik Radziwiłł	
Makarichi	1	1		inn-keeper	Dobrowolski	
Malaya Sliva	1	1			Dominik Radziwiłł	Slutsk
Molyn'	1	1		inn-keeper	Dominik Radziwiłł	
Mordvinovichi	1	1			Dominik Radziwiłł	
Moseyevichi			2			
Obchin	4	3			Dominik Radziwiłł	
Omgovichi	2	1		inn-keeper	Bishop Bykowski	
„ „	1	1		inn-keeper	Dominik Radziwiłł	

Continued Table 3.11

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d. 6 pp. 1-16		1907 MGV No. 76	Occupation	Landlord	Migrants' origin
	m	f				
Orlev	1	2			Dominik Radziwiłł	
Osipovichi	1	2	49	inn-keeper	Dominik Radziwiłł	
Ozlomlia	2	1			Dominik Radziwiłł	
Peklichi	1	1			Bishop Bykowski	
Plastok	1	1	1	inn-keeper	Bishop Bykowski	
Podoresye	3	2			Dominik Radziwiłł	
Rechen'	2	2			Dominik Radziwiłł	
Redkovichi	2	1			Dominik Radziwiłł	
Ryzhitsy			1			
Shchitkovichi	1	1		inn-keeper	Dominik Radziwiłł	Slutsk
Sinegovo	1	2			Dominik Radziwiłł	
Slobodka	2	2		inn-keeper	Dominik Radziwiłł	
Solon	3	2	2		Dominik Radziwiłł	
Sorochi	1	1	1		Dominik Radziwiłł	
Sorogi	2	3			Dobrowolski	
„ „	1	1		inn-keeper	Dobrowolski	
Starevo			3			
Staryye Dorogi	2	1	9		Dominik Radziwiłł	
Strazhi	1	1			Dominik Radziwiłł	
Tal'	9	6	1		Dominik Radziwiłł	
„ „	1	1			Dobrowolski	
Yaminsk	2	1			Trinity monastery of Slutsk	
„ „	1	1			Dobrowolski	
Yazyl'	5	5	1		Dominik Radziwiłł	
„ „	1	1		inn-keeper	Dominik Radziwiłł	
Yeremichi	4	2			Dominik Radziwiłł	
„ „	1	1		inn-keeper	Dobrowolski	
Yurkovichi	1	1			Dominik Radziwiłł	
Yurovichi	1	1		inn-keeper	Dominik Radziwiłł	
Yushkovichi	2	1			Dominik Radziwiłł	
„ „	1			inn-keeper	Dobrowolski	
Zakal'noye	5	4			Dominik Radziwiłł	
Zaluzhye	2	2	1		Dominik Radziwiłł	
Zelionka	2	2			Dominik Radziwiłł	
Zhitin	2	1			Dominik Radziwiłł	

Continued Table 3.11

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d. 6 pp. 1-16		1907 MGV No. 76	Occupation	Landlord	Migrants' origin
	m	f				
river Oresa	3	2		ferrymen	Dominik Radziwiłł	
totals 68	101	88	83			
Ozarichi						
Bubnovka			1			
Grabyo	3	2			*starostwo*	
Kholm	2	2			Wolbek	
Kobyl'shchina	1	1			General Lashkarev	
Litvinovichi	1	3		in a peasant hut	Wolbek	
Mekhovshchina	1	2		inn-keeper	General Lashkarev	
Mlynishchi	1	3		miller	General Lashkarev	
Myslov Rog	1	1		in a purchased peasant house	General Lashkarev	
Nestanovichi	1	2		in a peasant hut	*starostwo*	
Nivnoye			1			
Rylovichi	1	2		inn-keeper	General Lashkarev	
Semenovichi	1	1		in a purchased peasant hut	General Lashkarev	
Tsydovo	1	3			General Lashkarev	
Zamoshchany	2	2			General Lashkarev	
Zaozerye			1			
totals 13	16	24	3			
Svisloch						
Britsalovichi			1	forester		
Chuchye			1			
Durinichi			1			
Kobylianka			1			
Orlino			2			
Osovy	2	2		inn-keeper	Zabiełłowa	
Ustizh	1	1	1	inn-keeper	Pawlikowski	
Voyevichi	2	3		inn-keeper	Zabiełłowa	
totals 7	5	6	7			
Liubonichi						
Antonovka	2	2			Major Niemczynowicz	
Gorodets			1			
Guta	6	8		inn-keeper	*starostwo* Liubonichi	

Continued Table 3.11

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d. 6 pp. 1-16		1907 MGV No. 76	Occupation	Landlord	Migrants' origin
	m	f				
Itol'			1			
Korotkovichi	3	2			Major Niemczynowicz	
Kosarichi	2	2			Major Niemczynovicz	
Kostrichi	2	3	1		*starostwo* Liubonichi	
Kozulichi	3	3			*starostwo* Liubonichi	
Krasnyi Bereg	1	1			Hryniewski	
Morkhovichi			2			
Okhotichi	1	2	1		Skorino	
Patsova Sloboda	6	6	2		*starostwo* Liubonichi	
Plesovichi	3	2			Major Niemczynovicz	
Podrechye	1	3			*starostwo* Liubonichi	
Pol'kovichi	1	2		inn-keeper	Kielczewski	
Rubezhi	1	3			Hryniewski	
Sergeyevichi	1	2		inn-keeper	*starostwo* Liubonichi	
Slobodka	3	5	2	inn-keeper	*starostwo* Liubonichi	
„ „	2	1			Major Niemczynovicz	
Starinka	1	1			Wolk	
Stolpishche	2	3			*starostwo* Liubonichi	
Vlasovichi	1	1		inn-keeper	*starostwo* Liubonichi	
Yasen'	1	1			Tadeusz Muraszko	
Zmeyovka	2	3			Major Niemczynowicz	
totals 25	45	56	10			
Parichi						
Chernin	3	3			General Lamb	
Chirkovichi	2	2	2		Admiral Pushchin	
Drazhnia	1	2			Pruszanowski	
Dubrava	2	2			Bishop Bykowski	
Knyshevichi	2	5			Admiral Pushchin	
Korolevskaya Sloboda	1	1			Pruszanowski	
Kovchitsy	1	3				

Continued Table 3.11

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d. 6 pp. 1-16		1907 MGV No. 76	Occupation	Landlord	Migrants' origin
	m	f				
Kuz'michi	2	2			Admiral Pushchin	
Ola	1	1			Admiral Pushchin	
Peremanishchi	1	2			Admiral Pushchin	
Pleshchanka	1	2			Admiral Pushchin	
Prudok	2	2			Admiral Pushchin	
Rosova	2	3			Admiral Pushchin	
Rudnia	2	2			Admiral Pushchin	
Sekerichi	6	5			Admiral Pushchin	
Shchedrin			14			
Skalka	1	2			Admiral Pushchin	
Yazvin	1	1			Admiral Pushchin	
Zdudichi	1	1			Admiral Pushchin	
totals 19	32	41	16			
grand total 227	327	373	164			

Table 3.12 The district of Borisov.

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d. 7 pp. 60-127		Occupation	Landlord	Migrant's origin
	m	f			
Borisov					
Baran'	3	4	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
„ „	1	1		Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Belavichi	1	1	inn-keeper	Bielikowicz	
Bol'shoi Stakhov	2	5	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Bol'shiye Negnovichi	2	2	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
„ „	1	1		Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Borki	1	3	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Boyary	3	3	2 inn-keepers	Prince Michał Radziwill	
Brodovka	1	1	tailor	Kukiewicz	
„ „	6	5	inn-keeper	Kukiewicz	
Budzenichi	2	3	inn-keeper	Ślizień	
Chernitsa	3	4	inn-keeper	Święcicki	
Denisovichi	3	5		Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Dokudov	1	1	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
„ „	1	4		Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Drazy	3	2	inn-keeper	Kukiewicz	
Drozdino	1	1	inn-keeper	*starostwo* Smorki	
Dubeni	3	2		Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Dubovyi Log	2	1	inn-keeper	Lichodziejewski	
Es'mon	3	4		*starostwo* Es'mon	
„ „	2	2	tailor		
„ „	3	1		Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Glivin	2	1	inn-keeper	Świda	
Golubichi	1	1	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Gorodno	4	5	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Grodno	3	4	master glassmaker	Count Pius Tyszkiewicz	
Gumny	1	1		Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Igrishche	4	4		Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Klion	2	1	inn-keeper	Roman Catholic parish of Borisov	
Kostritsa	1	2	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Kozubets	2	3	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Kratsevichi	3	2		Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Krichino	1	1	inn-keeper	Kukiewicz	
Kristopovshchina	1	1		Prince Michał Radziwiłł	

Continued Table 3.12

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d. 7 pp. 60-127		Occupation	Landlord	Migrant's origin
	m	f			
Kupenichi	2	2	inn-keeper	*starostwo* Smorki	
„ „	4	4			
Loshnitsa	4	7		Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
„ „	1	3	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Malyye Negnovichi	2	3	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
„ „	1	1			
Masalai	2	1	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Mikheyevichi	2	4	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Miotcha	3	3	inn-keeper	*starostwo* Veliatichi	
Mlekhov	4	2		Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Nach’	6	4		Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
„ „	2	3			
Nemanitsa	2	4		Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
„ „	2	3	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
„ „	2	3	*bobyl’*	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Novosiolki	3	2		Świda	
„ „	4	4	2 inn-keepers	Roman Catholic parish of Borisov	
Oreshkovichi	1	1	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Osova	1	2	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Ozdiatichi	12	12		Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Pogoditsa	2	1	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Pupelichi	2	4	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Raditsy	1	5	agricultural manager	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
„ „	2	2	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Rannoye	2	2	inn-keeper	Roman Catholic parish of Borisov	
Ratutichi	2	2	inn-keeper	Roman Catholic parish of Borisov	
Rodina	4	3	inn-keeper	Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Rogatka	1	3	inn-keeper	Kukiewicz	
Rudnia	6	7		Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Selishche	3	2	inn-keeper	*starostwo* of Veliatichi	
Selitraniki	2	2		Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Shevernichi	3	1		Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Skakovka	1	2	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Sloboda	3	2	inn-keeper	Ciundziewicki	

Continued Table 3.12

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d. 7 pp. 60-127		Occupation	Landlord	Migrant's origin
	m	f			
Slobodka	1	2	inn-keeper	former Marshal Wańkowicz	
Sokol	1	3	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Somry	2	3	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Sosenka	4	2		Terliakova	Vileika
Staiki	4	2		Kukiewicz	
Sutoki	3	2	inn-keeper	Count Pius Tyszkiewisz	
Sviridovka	1	1	inn-keeper	*starostwo*	
Teterino	5	4	inn-keeper	Count Saltykov	Mogilev
Timki	2	2		Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Ukholoda	4	6	inn-keeper	Świda	
„ „	5	3			
„ „	1	2	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Ukhvala	3	3	agricultural manager	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
„ „	1	4	hired agricultural worker	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
„ „	1	2		Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Usha	2	3	inn-keeper	Mościński	Igumen
Uznazh	2	1		Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Veliatichi	6	5	inn-keeper	*starostwo*	
„ „	2	1		*starostwo*	
„ „	3	2			
Volkovshchina	5	7	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Vydritsa	3	3		Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Yushkevichi	1	1	inn-keeper	Świda	
Zabashevichi	5	5	inn-keeper	Wańkowicz	
„ „	2	2	inn-keeper	Sachnowicz	
Zabin'kova	1	3		Świda	
Zhit'kov	2	2	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
„ „	2			Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
potash pit	2	1	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
totals 74	243	265			
Zembin					
Budenichi	1	4		Ślizień	
Chernitsa	2	4	inn-keeper	Święcicki	
„ „	1	2	inn-keeper	Kowierski	
„ „	1	1	inn-keeper	Dyszliewicz	

Continued Table 3.12

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d. 7 pp. 60-127		Occupation	Landlord	Migrant's origin
	m	f			
Chmelevichi	2	2	inn-keeper	Święcicki	
Dal'kovichi	1	3	inn-keeper	Kowierski	
Davidovichi	2	2	inn-keeper	State Prosecutor Ślizień	
Dubovyi Log	1	2	inn-keeper	Lichodziejewski	
Kholmovka	2	2	inn-keeper	Ślizień	
Kishchin	7	9	inn-keeper	Lichodziejewski	
Korsakovichi	2	2	inn-keeper	Rodziewicz	
Kostiuki	2	3	inn-keeper	Lichodziejewski	
Liakhovka	2	3	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Liubcha	1	2	inn-keeper	Lichodziejewski	
Makovye	1	3		Ślizień	
Mstizh	1	2	master tailor	former Marshal Ślizień	
„ „	4	9	inn-keeper	Ślizień	
„ „		3	wine brewer	Ślizień	
„ „	1	2	*bobyl'*	Ślizień	
„ „	1	2	barber	Ślizień	
Nivki	1	6		Ślizień	
Osovy	1	1		State Prosecutor Ślizień	
Otrub	1	2	inn-keeper	State Prosecutor Ślizień	
Pogulianka	1	2	inn-keeper	Rodzewicz	
Prusevichi	2	5	inn-keeper	Kowierski	
Pusto Mstizh	2	4	inn-keeper	Ślizień	
Selets	2	3	inn-keeper	Ślizień	
Shamka(?)	1	1	inn-keeper	Boguszewski	
Skuplin	1	4	inn-keeper	Rodzewicz	
Slobodka	1	3	inn-keeper	former Marshal Wańkowicz	
Strelkovtsy	2	1	inn-keeper	former Marshal Wańkowicz	
Trostianitsa	3	2	inn-keeper	Lichodziejewski	
Tsna	2	2	inn-keeper	Kowierski	
Zausye	1	3	inn-keeper	Neumoino	
Zherstvianka	1	1	inn-keeper	Lichodziejewski	
totals 29	57	102			
Kholopenichi					
Beloye	1	1		Count Chreptowicz	
Gal'ki	2	6	inn-keeper	Count Chreptowicz	
Gritskovichi	1	2		Count Chreptowicz	

Continued Table 3.12

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d. 7 pp. 60-127		Occupation	Landlord	Migrant's origin
	m	f			
Khotiukhovo	2	4		Count Chreptowicz	
„ „	3	5	inn-keeper	Count Chreptowicz	
Kopachevka	2	3	inn-keeper	Count Chreptowicz	
Maksimovka	1	4		Count Chreptowicz	
Mkherin	2	2	inn-keeper	Count Chreptowicz	
Moiseyevshchina	3	5	2 inn-keepers	Omulska	
Novosiolki	3	3	inn-keeper	Roman Catholic parish of Borisov	
Pogoreloye	3	3	inn-keeper	Dominican monastery of Kholopenichi	
Sloboda	1	1	inn-keeper	Count Chreptowicz	
Uznatsk	2	5		Count Chreptowicz	
Zhortaika	2	2		Count Chreptowicz	
totals 13	28	46			
Krasnoluki					
Cherekhi	1	3		Count Chreptowicz	
Gadivlia	1	1	inn-keeper	Zhabina	
Gritskovichi	1	1	inn-keeper	Dominican monastery of Kholopenichi	
Ikany	1	1		Kołbowa	Senno
Krasnoluki	1	1	inn-keeper	Reutt	
Liutets	2	2	inn-keeper	Count Chreptowicz	
Lutchino	1	2	inn-keeper	Kołbowa	Senno
Mkherin	1	2	inn-keeper	Dominican monastery of Kholopenichi	
Mochulishche	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Chreptowicz	
Novosiolki	1	1	inn-keeper	Roman Catholic parish of Borisov	
Novoye Selo	2	1	inn-keeper	Count Chreptowicz	
Podzarovka(?)	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Chreptowicz	
Pristoi		3	inn-keeper	Bogdanowicz	
„ „	1	1	inn-keeper	Count Chreptowicz	
Senchin(?)	1	2	inn-keeper	Prince Michał Radziwiłł	
Starina	1	3	inn-keeper	Omulska	
Struga	1	3	inn-keeper	Count Chreptowicz	
Sviaditsa	1	2	barber	Zhabina	
Tarasino	1	1	inn-keeper	Kołbowa	Senno
Usvid		2	inn-keeper	Zhabina	
Vily	1	2	inn-keeper	Zhabina	

Continued Table 3.12

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d. 7 pp. 60-127		Occupation	Landlord	Migrant's origin
	m	f			
Volosovichi	1	1	inn-keeper	Reutt	
Zaboyenye	1	2	inn-keeper	Reutt	
totals 22	23	41			
Logoisk					
Antopolye	2	2		Count Tyszkiewicz	
„ „	1	1	tavern-keeper	Count Tyszkiewicz	
Brodok	1	3	foundry leaseholder	Count Tyszkiewicz	
Chernevo	1	1	inn-keeper	Senator Nepliuyev	
Dobrinevo	1	2	inn-keeper	parish of Logoisk	
Gaina	1	2	inn-keeper	Kodż	
„ „	1	1		Kodż	
„ „	1	3	foundry worker	Catholic priest Cydzin	
„ „	2	3	inn-keeper	*starostwo* leased to Kudzinovich	
Ganevichi	7	9	inn-keeper	Senator Nepliuyev	
Gorodok	1	1	teacher	Count Tyszkiewicz	
Gostilovichi	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Tyszkiewicz	
Kholkholitsa	1	3	inn-keeper	Lichodziejewski	
Khotyn’	1	2	tavern-keeper	Count Tyszkiewicz	
Kosino	2	4		Count Tyszkiewicz	
Kuzevichi	1	3	inn-keeper	Jankowski	
Logoza	2	4	inn-keeper	Pawlikowski	
Mikhalovo	2	2	inn-keeper	Pawlikowski	
Narovichi(?)	1		inn-keeper	Senator Nepliuyev	
Ponizovye	2	4	inn-keeper	Count Tyszkiewicz	
Prudishche	1	1		Count Tyszkiewicz	
Podevichi	1	2	inn-keeper	Councilor Malafeyev	
Sloboda	1	1	inn-keeper	Senator Nepliuyev	
Svidno	2	4	inn-keeper	Count Tyszkiewicz	
Vnushkevichi(?)	1	2	inn-keeper	Seman(?)	
Yurkovichi	1	3	tavern-keeper	Senator Nepliuyev	
totals 22	39	65			
Pleshchenitsy					
Alaya(?)	1	5		Osiecimski	
Chistobor(?)	2	3		Wołłowicz	

Continued Table 3.12

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d. 7 pp. 60-127		Occupation	Landlord	Migrant's origin
	m	f			
Dedilovichi	1	2	barber	State Prosecutor Slizeń	
Dryla	1	2	inn-keeper	Podsudnajmowski(?)	
Glubochany	2	3	inn-keeper	Późniak	Vileika
Gorbovshchina	2	3	inn-keeper	Osiecimski	
Goreloye	1	3	inn-keeper	Wołkowicz	
Gorodets	2	4	inn-keeper	Senator Nepliuyev	
Gorodishche	1	1	inn-keeper	Walicki	
Guba	1	3	inn-keeper	Count Tyszkiewicz	
Kameno	6	9	inn and tavern-keeper	Count Tyszkiewicz	
Kamenskaya Sloboda	2	3	inn-keeper		
Khatayevichi	1	1	*bobyl'* in the inn	Dominican monastery at Khatayevichi	
„ „	1		inn-keeper	Dominican monastery at Khatayevichi	
„ „	6	2	tenant farmer	Dominican monastery at Khatayevichi	
Khodaki	1	1	inn-keeper		
Khorosheye	1	2	inn-keeper	Wołłowicz	
Klin	1	3	inn-keeper	Świrski	
Korzhen'	3	2	inn-keeper	Roman Catholic parish church	
Lisino	1	2	inn-keeper	Rodziewicz	
Metlichitsy	1	2	tenant farmer	Żyżniewska	
„ „	1	2	inn-keeper	Żyżniewska	
Mikhalkovichi	9	9	inn-keeper	Senator Nepliuyev	
Okolovo	1	2	in a rented house	Wołłowicz	
„ „	1	1	in a rented house	Wołkowicz	
„ „	2	2	barber	Wołkowicz	Vileika
„ „	4	4	in a purchased house	Wołkowicz	Minsk
Osintsy	1	3	inn-keeper		
Ostrozhitsy	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Tyszkiewich	
Prudki	2	2	inn-keeper	Senator Nepliuyev	
Putilovo	1	1	inn-keeper	Meysztowicz	
Rudnia	2	2	inn-keeper	Wołkowicz	Vileika
Sinevichi(?)	1	1	inn-keeper	Judge Kaziemirski	
Sittsy	1	2	butcher		
Sokoly	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Dominik Tyszkiewicz	

Continued Table 3.12

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d. 7 pp. 60-127		Occupation	Landlord	Migrant's origin
	m	f			
Terekhi	1	3	inn-keeper	Senator Nepliuyev	
Volkovshchina	1	1	inn-keeper	Wołkowicz	
Zabolotye	1	1	inn-keeper	Siemaszko	
Zaozerye	2	3	inn-keeper	Count Tyszkiewicz	
Zasovye	1	2	inn-keeper	Korsak	
totals 34	72	101			
Dokshitsy					
Borki(?)	2	2	miller in the inn	Chmielewski	
Chisti	2	2	inn-keeper	Karavayeva	
Chupry	1	1	inn-keeper	Korsak	
Derkovshchina	1	1	inn-keeper	Domeyko	Disna
Dobrun'	3	4	3 inn-keepers	Korkozowicz	
Gnezdilovo	2	3	2 inn-keeper	Carmelites of Glubokoye	
„ „	1	2	inn-keeper	Hutorowicz	Vileika
Gordzionki(?)	1	1		State Prosecutor Ślizień	
Izbishche	2	1	inn-keeper	Karavayeva	
Khoten'chitsy	1	3	inn-keeper	Wizgierd	Vileika
Kraisk	5	8	5 inn-keepers	Wizgierd	Vileika
Mil'kun'	2	2	2 inn-keepers	State Prosecutor Ślizień	
Nebysheno	1	2	inn-keeper	Korkozowicz	
Okolovo	1	1	inn-keeper	Wołłowicz	
Osinovik	1	1	inn-keeper	Chmielewski	
Otrubok	2	2	2 inn-keepers	Hutorowicz	Vileika
Rogozin(?)	1	1	inn-keeper	Piarist priests	
Smoliary	2	5	inn-keeper	Baczyżmalski	
Solomenka	1	1	inn-keeper	Carmelites of Glubokoye	
Svitilovka(?)	1	2	inn-keeper	Hrebnicka	
Tatiatevka(?)	1	1	inn-keeper	Waśkowicz	
Vileika	2	2	inn-keeper	Visitation nunnery of Vileika	
Vitunichi	1	2	inn-keeper	Chmielewski	
Vol'berovichi	1	1	barber	Carmrlites of Glubokoye	
Zapolovye	1	2	inn-keeper	Fedorowicz	
totals 24	39	53			

Continued Table 3.12

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d. 7 pp. 60-127		Occupation	Landlord	Migrant's origin
	m	f			
Dokshitskaya Sloboda					
Berezino	1	1	tailor	Tołwiński	
Bubny	1	2	inn-keeper	Oskierko	Vileika
Cherviaki	2	2	inn-keeper	Shemerny	Vileika
Germanovichi	1	4		Shirin	Disna
Kalachi	1	2	inn-keeper	*starostwo* Staiki	Vileika
Koliagi	1	1	inn-keeper	Krasovski	Vileika
Kunda	1	1		*starostwo* Gaina	
Kurilovichi	1	3		*starostwo*	*Vileika*
Kvachi	1	2	inn-keeper	Jesipowicz	
Lipsk	1	1	inn-keeper	Wolodźko	
Malyye Dol'tsy	2	3	inn-keeper	Korsak	
Ozhartsy	2	2	inn-keeper	Asch	Vileika
Prudishche	2	3	farmer	Pawlikowski	Vileika
Puli	1	1	tavern-keeper	Chmielewski	Vileika
Pyshno	2	2	tavern-keeper	Sielawa	Lepel'
Shkliantsy	1	2	tavern-keeper	Kozieł	
Skuraty	1	2		Mackiewicz	
Slizhino	3	2		*starostwo* Gaina	
Stodomoshche	1	2	inn-keeper	General Vereshchagin	
Tilovo(?)	2	2	barber	Korsak	
Vol'berovichi	4	2	2 inn-keepers	Carmelites of Glubokoye	
Zaguzye	1	2	inn-keeper	Tołwiński	
Zarchenitsy	1	4		Borowski	
unindicated	1			Prince Radziwiłł leased to Obloczymski	Vileika
unindicated	1	1	tavern-keeper	Chojecki	Vileika
totals 25	36	49			
grand total 243	535	722			

Table 3.13 The Community of Smolevichi. The districts of Igumen (1795)/Borisov (1808).

Village	1795 NIAB 333 op 9 d 31		1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d. 7 pp. 60-127		Occupation	Landlord	Migrants	
							Place of origin	Destination
	m	f	m	f				
Smolevichi								
Dinarovka	1	2			tavern-keeper			
Domashany	1	2			tavern-keeper			
Dubrovka			1	2	inn-keeper	Dominik Radziwiłł		
Glebokovichi			1	2	inn-keeper	Dominik Radziwiłł	Minsk	
Gorodishche	3	2	5 (1)	3 (3)	tavern-keeper/ 3 inn-keepers	Dominik Radziwiłł	Minsk „ „	Russia
Guchuzhin	1	2			tavern-keeper			
Levnevichi	2	1			tavern-keeper			
Makaraliustov	1	1			tavern-keeper			
Ochizha	2	3			tavern-keeper			
Ostrov			2	6	2 inn-keepers	Dominik Radziwiłł		
Pekalin			1	1	inn-keeper	Dominik Radziwiłł	Igumen	
Plisa	4	5	3	5	2 leaseholders/ inn-keeper	Dominik Radziwiłł		
Rubezhevichi			1	2	inn-keeper	Dominik Radziwiłł		
Shabuni	1	2			tavern-keeper			
Shemotovo			2	2	inn-keeper	Dominik Radziwiłł		
Shipiany	2	6			2 leaseholders			
Sloboda	5	5			leaseholder			
Starina	1	2			tavern-keeper			
Verkhmino			1	3	inn-keeper	Judge Moniushko	Igumen	
Volma	2	2	1	3	leaseholder/ inn-keeper	Dominik Radziwiłł	Igumen	
Yukhnovka	3	3	3	4	tavern-keeper/ inn-keeper	Dominik Radziwiłł	Minsk	
„ „	2	4	2	4	tavern-keeper/ inn-keeper	„ „		

Continued Table 3.13

Village	1795 NIAB 333 op 9 d 31		1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d. 7 pp. 60-127		Occupation	Landlord	Migrants	
							Place of origin	Destination
	m	f	m	f				
Yurkovichi			1	4	inn-keeper	Pius Tyszkiewicz		
Zabolotye	1	3			tavern-keeper			
„ „	1	1			leaseholder			
Zhodino	3	3	3	2	leaseholder/ inn-keeper	Dominik Radziwiłł		
„ „			1	1	agricultural manager	„ „		
on the highway			1	2	inn-keeper	Dominik Radziwiłł		
total: 24	36	49	29(1)	46(3)				

Table 3.14 The district of Igumen.

Village	1795 NIAB F 333 op 9 d 31		1807 NIAB F 333 op 9 d 35		1907 MGV No. 76	Occupation	Migrants	
	m	f	m	f	m		Place of origin	Destination
Smilovichi								
Blon’	1	2				leaseholder		
„ „	1	1				tavern-keeper		
Borovaya	2	3				tavern-keeper		
Drachkovo	2	3				inn-keeper		
Drichin	2	3				leaseholder		
Kunariovo	1	2				inn-keeper		
Leskovichi	1	1				inn-keeper		
Liady	2	3				inn-keeper		
Nechury	1	2				leaseholder		
Novosiolki	2	3				leaseholder		
„ „	1	2				tavern-keeper and barber		
Petrovichi	1	2				leaseholder		
Prudichi	3	5				leaseholder		
Slobodka	1	2				tavern-keeper		
Dubovaya Slobodka	1	2				tavern-keeper		

Continued Table 3.14

Village	1795 NIAB F 333 op 9 d 31		1807 NIAB F 333 op 9 d 35		1907 MGV No. 76	Occupation	Migrants	
	m	f	m	f	m		Place of origin	Destination
Sincha						tavern-keeper		
Turets	2	3				leaseholder		
„ „	1	2				tavern-keeper		
Viazhevtsy	3	4				tavern-keeper		
Volma	1	2				tavern-keeper		
Zabolotye	1	2				tavern-keeper		
Zabychi	2	2				leaseholder		
Zazerka	1	1				tavern-keeper		
total: 21	33	52						
Pukhovichi								
Birfa			5	5				
Blon’			2 (5)	1				unknown
Bluzha	4	7				2 inn-keepers		
„ „	3	2				tavern-keeper		
Bolocha	1	3				tavern-keeper		
Drachkovo			2	3				
Grebenets	1	2				tavern-keeper		
Khidra			5	6				
Klinok			2	3				
Luchnoye					22	farmers		
Mateyevichi	1	3				inn-keeper		
Mizhrechye	1	2				tavern-keeper		
Ochizha	4	2	4	4		inn-keeper		
Oreshkovichi	2	2				leaseholder		
„ „	1	2				tavern-keeper		
Petrovichi			2	2				
Podprosnishche					3			
Poluchka	1	1				tavern-keeper		
Pozrin			4 (1)	4				Minsk
Prosnishche					8	farmers		
Puditsk			2 (2)	2				unknown
Skobrovka			2 (1)	2				unknown

Continued Table 3.14

Village	1795 NIAB F 333 op 9 d 31		1807 NIAB F 333 op 9 d 35		1907 MGV No. 76	Occupation	Migrants	
	m	f	m	f	m		Place of origin	Destination
Sloboda	2	4				leaseholder		
Sloboda Rudna	1	1				tavern-keeper		
Slobodka			2 (2)	1				unknown
Solocha			1 (1)	1 (1)				Smilovichi
			(2)					Minsk
Sutin	1	1			2	inn-keeper		
Tsel'	2	2				tavern-keeper		
Turets			1	2				
Turin	2	3				inn-keeper		
Ugolets	2	2				tavern-keeper		
Vabolevye(?)			1	1				
Zabolotye			2					
Zhudry	2	4				tavern-keeper		
total: 32	30	43	37 (14)	39 (1)	35			
Lapichi								
Tsel'			3	3				
Vysokaya Starina					4	farmers		
total: 2			3	3	4			
Uzliany								
Lesnitsa		2	2					
Perezhir		4	3					
Peski		2	3					
Plebantsy		2	2					
Osoka		1	3					
Slobodka		1	2					
Yachenka		2	1					
total: 7		14	16					
Klichev								
Dolgoye			3	3				
Dubno			4 (1)	2				Bobruisk

Continued Table 3.14

Village	1795 NIAB F 333 op 9 d 31		1807 NIAB F 333 op 9 d 35		1907 MGV No. 76	Occupation	Migrants	
	m	f	m	f	m		Place of origin	Destination
			(1)					Mogilev
Osechinov			(1)					Bobruisk
Osipovka					1			
Senno			4	6				
total: 5			11(3)	11	1			
Dukora								
Karavayevo			(1)					Igumen
Kuliki			(1)					Smilovichi
Loshitsa			1	1				
Motorovo			3					Minsk
Peski			3	2				
Sloboda			(1)					unknown
Zhorovka			3	2				
total: 7			7(6)	5				
Berezino								
Belichany			3 (2)	4 (1)				Igumen
Borovino					5			
Bozhino			1 (1)	1				Minsk
Chernevichi			1	1				
Gorenichi			3	6				
Kniaziovka			1	2				
Krapivnia			1	1				
Liady			1	2				
Loshnitsa			3	1				
Martiyanovka			(1)	(2)				unknown
Negonichi			(1)	(1)				unknown
Perevoz			3	(2)				Bogushevichi
Sloboda			1	2				
Usha			(1)	(1)				Borisov
Zheremets			3	3				
Zhornovka			3	2				
Zhuravka			2	2				
total: 17			23(9)	27(7)	5			

Continued Table 3.14

Village	1795 NIAB F 333 op 9 d 31		1807 NIAB F 333 op 9 d 35		1907 MGV No. 76	Occupation	Migrants	
	m	f	m	f	m		Place of origin	Destination
Pogost								
Cheresin			2	1				
Druchany			(1)					unknown
Duleby			1 (1)	2				unknown
Kaplantsy			5	6				
Leskovichi			1	2				
Maksimovichi			1	1				
Matevichi			1 (2)	3				unknown
Milistovo				1				
Novoselki			1 (1)	3 (1)				Berezino
Padevichi			4 (4)	3				unknown
Parinoshitsy(?)			1	2				
Pribor			1 (1)	2				unknown
Veshevka			2	5				
Vysokaya Gora			2	2				
total: 14			22 (10)	33 (1)				
Bogushevichi								
Brodets	2	2				leaseholder		
Ganuta	2	3				leaseholder		
Ganuta Malaya	1	2				tavern-keeper		
Gorenichi	2	1				tavern-keeper		
Kolbcha			2	4				
Koliuzhitsa	1	1				on the ground		
Lapotki			1 (1)	4				unknown
Liady	3	1	3	2		leaseholder		
Lipnitsa	1	1	2 (1)	3		tavern-keeper		Bobruisk
Maksimovichi	3	3	1 (1)	1				unknown
Mshintsy			1	1				
Neset’			1	2			Bobruisk	
Sharby	1	2				potash worker		
Smolovka			1	2				
Usha	1	2						
Yagodka			1	1				

Continued Table 3.14

Village	1795 NIAB F 333 op 9 d 31		1807 NIAB F 333 op 9 d 35		1907 MGV No. 76	Occupation	Migrants	
	m	f	m	f	m		Place of origin	Destination
Zadobricy	1	1						
Zhalin					1			
total: 18	18	20	13 (3)	20	1			
Shatsk								
Barki					1			
Chernevichi	1	2				tavern-keeper		
Gorelets	2	2	3	4		tavern-keeper		
Kobylichi	2	3	2	6		tavern-keeper		
Kovalevichi	1	1	1	2		tavern-keeper		
Kupovets					4			
Rusakovichi	1	2				tavern-keeper		
Tsitva			1	1				
total: 8	7	10	7	13	5			
Mogil'no								
Kosteshi			2 (1)	5				unknown
Podsadskiye			1	2				
total: 2			3(1)	7				
Uzda								
Danilivichi			2 (3)	1				unknown
Litviany			2	1				
Pyrashevo			3	3				
Sloboda			4 (2)	3				unknown
Teliakovo			1	1				
Vitkovichi (?)			1	1				
total: 6			13 (5)	10				
Losha								
Chekichi			2	1				
Liubich			2	2				
Lomliaki			1	2				
total: 3			5	5				
grand total: 139	81	113	158 (51)	189 (9)	51			

Table 3.15 The district of Minsk.

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 5		Occupation	Landlord	Migrants' origin
	m	f			
Minsk					
Annopol'	2	4		Radkiewicz	
Dobromysl'	5	8		Zhizhelina	
Dushkovo	2	2		Rylski	
Gorodok	2	3		Chmarina	
Khatezhino	5	5		Count Tyszkiewicz	Borisov
Komarovka	10	11		Prince Radziwiłł	
Leshnitsa	3	4		Niemorszański	
Neferkhin(?)	1	1		Wołłowicz	
Novosady	3	1		Lichodziejewski	
Papernia	1	3		Wańkowicz	
Senitsa	2	5		Kostrowicki	
Siomkovo	3	2		Chmarina	
Slepaki	3	3		Archbishop Iov	
Sloboda	3	1		Gorich	Vileika
Staroye Selo	3	2		Archbishop Iov	
Stolova	3	4		Archbishop Iov	
Strochitsa	1	2		Prince Radziwiłł	
Vertniki	6	4		Archbishop Iov	
Zazerka	2	2		Wańkowicz	Igumen
Zelionyi Lug	1	2		Prince Radziwiłł	
Ziguyevo	2	2		Chmarina	
Zverinets	3	1		Senator Nepliuyev	Borisov
totals 22	66	72			
Beloruchye					
Bychki	2	2		Tyszkiewicz	
Gayany	2	4		Oborski	
Luskovo	4	3		Oborski	
Prudishche	2	3		Oborski	
Siomkovo	2	3		Oborski	
Sloboda	2	2		Oborski	
totals 6	14	17			

Continued Table 3.15

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 5		Occupation	Landlord	Migrants' origin
	m	f			
Kaidanovo					
Berioza	2	2		Czapski	
Besmanovka	1	1		Czapski	
Bochkalovshchina	2	1		Kostrowicki	
Borki	1	1		Czapski	
Chapli	2	2		Kostrowicki	
Chekhovo	1	1		Wańkowicz	
Dalidovichi	1	1		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Dudki	2	2		Leński	
Garbuzy	1	1		Rzewuski	
Golynka	1	1		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Gorokhovka	2	1		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Gorutishki	1	1		Krasowski	
Grichino	3	2		Czapski	
Ilkhovichi	2	2		Czapski	
Ioakhimovo	1	1		Lichodziejewski	
Kaltan	1	2		Lichodziejewski	
Khotova	1	1		Łopatto	
Komycha	4	3		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Kosilovichi	1	1		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Kostevshchina	1	2		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Krysak	2	2		Czapski	
Kudrishchi	1	2		Lichodziejewski	
Kusheliovshchina	1	1		Wańkowiczowa	
Lantsevichi	1	1		Czapski	
Ledniki	2	1		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Levkovshchina	1	1		Kukiewicz	
Livye	2	1		Rzewuski	
Lovishcha	1	1		de Fourment	
Malarechka	1	1		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Marukhi	1	1		Brochocki	
Mikulino	1	1		Iwanowska	
Mironovichi	1	1		Iwanowska	

Continued Table 3.15

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 5		Occupation	Landlord	Migrants' origin
	m	f			
Novaya Ruditsa	2	2		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Novosady	2	1		Lichodziejewski	
Ozero	2	2		Czapski	
Pavelkovo	1	1		Czapski	
Petrashevichi	2	2		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Pil'nitsa	2	2		Wańkowicz	
Plashevo	1	1		Lichodziejewski	
Ploskoye	1	1		Czapski	
Polonevichi	3	1		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Priluchki	1			Iwanowska	
Prudy	3	2		Kostrowicki	
Putchino	1	1		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Ridevichi	1	1		Godziewski	
Rubilki	1			Czapski	
Rudnia	1	1		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Samodurovshchina	1	1		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Serkuly	1	2		Leński	
Shabunovshchina	1	1		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Shpaki	2	1		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Skirmantovo	2	1		Brochocki	
Sloboda	2	1		Ślizień	
Stan'kovo	3	3		Czapski	
Staraya Ruditsa	2	2		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Starinki	2	2		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Sula	3	2		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Taborovshchina	1	1		Sielawa	
Tatarshchina	1	2		Wańkowicz	Igumen
Teliakovo	1	1		Unichowski	
Tishkovshchina	2	1		Godziewski	
Tomkovichi	1	2		Iwanowska	
Usa	3	3		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Vertniki	2	1		Brochocki	
Viazan'	3	4		Czapski	

Continued Table 3.15

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 5		Occupation	Landlord	Migrants' origin
	m	f			
Volma	3	4		Rzewuski	
Volovniki	1	1		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Zabelichi	1	1		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	Igumen
Zen'kovichi	2	1		Benedictine nunnery of Nesvizh	
totals 69	110	99			
Rakov					
Al'skhut	1	1		Świętorzęcki	
Berezinskoye	1	1		Karnicki	Vileika
Borki	1	1		Chmara	Vileika
Dennichi	1	1		Oziembłowski	
Dory	2	3		Rzewuski	
Dubentsy	1	1		Zarębska	
Dubrova	1	2		Chmara	
Dulichi	1	2		Tyszkiewicz	
Gritskovshchina	1	1		parish church of Ivenets	
Kisel'	1	2		Karnicki	Vileika
„ „	2	2		Karnicki	
Krasnoye Selo	1	2		Prince Radziwiłł	
Krzhishki	1	1		parish church of Ivenets	
Kuchkuny	1	1		Basilian priest Rakowski	
Pershai	2	2		Rzewuski	
Polochanka	2	2		Świętorzęcki	
„ „	1	3		Sulistrowski	Vileika
Pral'niki	1	1		Ratyński	
Ptich	1	1		Świda	
Rudnia	1	1		Treasury	
Sivitsa	1	1		Potocki	
Solovyi	1	1		Świętorzęcki	
Vazginishki(?)	2	1	miller	Karnicki	
Vazhenka	1	1		Przezdziecki	
Velikoye Selo	1	1		Czechowski	
Yel'niki	1	2		Chmara	
totals 24	31	38			

Continued Table 3.15

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 5		Occupation	Landlord	Migrants' origin
	m	f			
Samokhvalovichi					
Annopol'	1	1		Princess Radziwiłłowa	
„ „	1	1		Prince Radziwiłł	
Bererznik(?)	1	3		Pruszyński	
Churilovichi	1	1		Princess Radziwiłłowa	
Dudichi	1	3		Colonel Jelski	Igumen
Gorodenets	1	1		Piszczallo	
Greben'	1	3		Colonel Jelski	Igumen
Grichino	1	3		Barsuk	
Kurkovichi	3	2		General Bykowski	
Leshnitsy	1	2		Count Denisov	Igumen
Novy Dvor	2	2		Pruszyński	
„ „	1	1		Wołodkowicz	
Pashkevichi	2	4		Olędzski	
Piatevshchina	1	1		General Bykowski	
Priluki	4	6		Iwanowska	
Pukhurka	1	2		Piszczallo	
Rubilki	2	5		Czapski	
Senil	1	2		Gruszczyński	Igumen
Sennitsa	1	2		Turczyński	
Stukotichi	2	1		Petropavlovski monastery	
Sukharev	1	1		Wołłowicz	
Terebel'	1	2		Colonel Jelski	Igumen
Tolkachevichi	1	2		Morawski	Igumen
Vishniovka	1	3		Czapski	
Volkovichi	1	1		Iwanowska	
Volma	2	5		Puzyna	
totals 24	36	60			
Ostroshitski Gorodok					
Borovliany	2	5	tenant farmer	merchant Chatajewicki	
Gubichi	1	1		Count Pius Tyszkiewicz	
Karpilovka	2	6		Count Pius Tyszkiewicz	
Kholiavshchina	1	1		local *szlachta*	

Continued Table 3.15

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 5		Occupation	Landlord	Migrants' origin
	m	f			
Krasnoye	1	1		Burzyński	Vileika
Logoisk	2	2		Count Pius Tyszkiewicz	Borisov
Metlichino	4	5		Count Pius Tyszkiewicz	
Novosiolki	3	3		Count Pius Tyszkiewicz	
Onoshki	1	1		parish church of Prilepy	
Pisachi	1				Vileika
Podonichi	2	3		Count Pius Tyszkiewicz	Borisov
Selishche	2	1		Count Pius Tyszkiewicz	
Studionka	2	2		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Tsudzenevichi	1	2		Benedictine nuns of Minsk	
Usiazha	1	1		Gusdenski(?)	
Veliatichi	2			Count Pius Tyszkiewicz	
Vesnevo	3	3		Count Pius Tyszkiewicz	
Zadomlia	2	3		Count Pius Tyszkiewicz	
Zagreblia	2	6		Count Pius Tyszkiewicz	
totals 19	35	46			
Stolbtsy					
Novopole	3	1		Oskierko	
Sloboda	2	2		Prince Czartoryski	
Yachnoye	3	2		Prince Czartoryski	
Yachonka	1	1		Oskierko	
Zadvorye	2	2		Prince Czartoryski	
totals 5	11	8			
Zaslavl'					
Khmeliovka	3	3			
Shubniki	4	2		Przezdziecki	
Sukovichi	1				
Vekshitsy	1	1			
totals 4	9	6			
grand total 173	312	346			

Table 3.16 The district of Mozyr'.

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d 7 pp. 128-158		Occupation	Landlord	Migrants' origin
	m	f			
Karolin					
Beriozovka	1	4	inn-keeper	Andrzej Lenkiewicz	
Boriskovichi	2	2	inn-keeper	Teasury	
Chernichpole	1	2	inn-keeper	Górski	
Dobryn'	1	4	inn-keeper	Sulistrowska in possession of Novosel'ski	
Dvizhki	1	1	inn-keeper	Bernard Stecki	
Kamenka	5	3	2 inn-keepers	Treasury	
Kuz'michi	3	6	inn-keeper	Trzeciakowa	
Maly Bokov	2	2	inn-keeper	Adam Lenkiewicz	
Matrunki	1	2	inn-keeper	town of Mozyr'	
Meleshkovichi	2	4	inn-keeper	Marshal Sulistrowski	
Mikhalki	1	3	in a rented house tenant farmer	Adam Lenkiewicz	
„ „	1	1	inn-keeper	Adam Lenkiewicz	
Novaya	2	4		Adam Lenkiewicz in possession of Wasylewski	
Rudnia			inn-keeper		
Remezy	3	2	inn-keeper	Bernard Stecki	
Rudnia	2	1	inn-keeper	Sulistrowska	
Saniuki	4	4	inn-keeper	Andrzej Lenkiewicz	
Shchekotova	1	2	inn-keeper	Andrzej Lenkiewicz	
Tverichevka	2	2	inn-keeper	Rokicki	
Veliki Bokov	2	3	inn-keeper	Przybora	
Velikiye	4	5		Rychwalski	
Zimovishchi			inn-keeper		
Vishen'ki	1	4	inn-keeper	Sulistrowska	
Zhakhovichi	2	3		Sulistrowska	
total: 21	44	64			
Petrikov					
Atirki	1	2		Count Chodkiewicz	
Babunichi	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Chodkiewicz	
Belanovichi	2	4		Count Chodkiewicz	
Belev	1	1	inn-keeper	Count Chodkiewicz	

Continued Table 3.16

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d 7 pp. 128-158		Occupation	Landlord	Migrants' origin
	m	f			
Briniov	2	3	inn-keeper	Count Chodkiewicz	
Doroshevichi	1	1			
Glinitsa	1	2	inn-keeper	Judge Kieniewicz Radziejowski	
Golichi	1	1	miller	Count Chodkiewicz	
Golovchitsy	2	3		Count Chodkiewicz	
Golubitsa	1	1		Judge Kieniewicz	
Konkovichi	4	3	inn-keeper	Count Chodkiewicz	
Koptsevichi	1	2	inn-keeper	Judge Kieniewicz	
Krasnoye Selo	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Chodkiewicz	
Kuritichi	2	2	inn-keeper	Count Chodkiewicz	
Leskovichi	2	2	inn-keeper	Count Chodkiewicz	
Liakhovichi	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Chodkiewicz	
Lukitichi	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Chodkiewicz	
Makarichi	1	1	inn-keeper	Judge Kieniewicz	
Manchitsy	1	1		Radziejowski	
Mikhedovichi	2	1	inn-keeper	Count Chodkiewicz	
Moyseyevichi	1	1		Radziejowski	
Ogolichi	2	3	inn-keeper	Count Chodkiewicz	
Ostrozhanka	1	2	inn-keeper	Radziejowski	
Pukhovichi	2	1	inn-keeper	Trinity monastery of Slutsk	
Seliutichi	2	3	inn-keeper	Count Chodkiewicz	
Shestovichi	1	2	inn-keeper	Radziejowski	
Shlinkova Rudnia	2	1	inn-keeper	Count Chodkiewicz	
Smetanichi	1	3		Count Chodkiewicz	
Sniadin	4	5	inn-keeper	Judge Kieniewicz	
Turok	1	3	inn-keeper	Judge Kieniewicz	
Vyshelov	1	2		Judge Kieniewicz	
Zalesye	2	4		Count Chodkiewicz	
Zamoshye	1	1		Radziejowski	
total: 33	50	69			

Continued Table 3.16

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d 7 pp. 128-158		Occupation	Landlord	Migrants' origin
	m	f			
Lel'chitsy					
Buynovichi	1	1	inn-keeper	Count Sievers	
Dubrova	4	1		Count Sievers	
Lel'chitsy	2	3	inn-keeper	Count Sievers	
„ „	1	3		Count Sievers	
„ „	1	3	court barber in peasant house	Count Sievers	
Miloshevichi	3	2		Count Sievers	
Shestovichi	1	1		Count Sievers	
Simonichi	1	3		Count Sievers	
Zlodino	1	3		Count Sievers	
total: 7	15	20			
Skrygalov					
Bagrimovichi	1	1	inn-keeper	*starostwo* of Bagrimovichi	
Kamenka	2	1	brewer (*vinnik*)	Treasury	
Kazimirovka	1	1	inn-keeper	Oskierkina	
Leshnia	1	1	inn-keeper	Oskierkina	
Makhnovici	1	3	inn-keeper	Radziejowski	
Pren'ki	1	1	inn-keeper	town of Mozyr'	
Sloboda	2	2	inn-keeper	Oskierkina	
„ „	1	1	in peasant house	Oskierkina	
„ „	2	2	inn-keeper	Michałowski	
Zimovishchi	3	5		Major Jeleński	
total: 8	15	18			
Kopatkevichi					
Besedy	2	3	inn-keeper	Sulistrowska	
Bol'shiye Gorodiatychi	2	4		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Fastovichi	1	2	inn –keeper	starostwo of Fastov in possession of Marcin Jeleński	
Gorodiatychi	1	1	inn-keeper	Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
„ „	1	2		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Khusnoye	2	2	inn-keeper	*starostwo* of Kalinkovichi	

Continued Table 3.16

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d 7 pp. 128-158		Occupation	Landlord	Migrants' origin
	m	f			
Khvoynia	2	1		Marshal Feliks Jeleński	
Komarovichi	1	3	inn-keeper	Józef Jeleński	
„ „	1	2	in his own house	Józef Jeleński	
Koptsevichi	2	1	inn-keeper	Filip Obuchowicz	
Kosishche	3	5	inn-keeper	Marshal Feliks Jeleński	
Kostiukovichi	1	2		Sulistrowska	
Malyye Gorodiatychi	3	4		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Myshanka	1	2		Sulistrowska	
Novosiolki	2	6	inn-keeper	Bogusz	
Rog	1	2		*starostwo* of Kalinkovichi	
Terebov	3	4		Sulistrowska	
Vetchin	2	6		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
total: 17	31	59			
Turov					
Bechi	1	1		Count Sołłohub	
Borki	1	1		Count Sołłohub	
Bukcha	2	2		Count Potocki	
Chernichi	1	1		Count Sołłohub	
Danilevichi	1	1	inn-keeper	Count Sołłohub	
Glushkovichi	4	3		Count Sołłohub	
Khil'chitsy	1	1	inn-keeper	Count Sołłohub	
Khlupin	1	1	inn-keeper	Count Sołłohub	
„ „	1	1		Count Sołłohub	
Khvoyensk	1	1		Count Sołłohub	
Kol'no	2	2	inn-keeper	Count Sołłohub	
„ „	1	1	inn-keeper	Jeleński	
Liudenevichi	2	2		Jeleński	
Ozdamichi	1	2		Count Sołłohub	
Ozerany	1	1		Count Sołłohub	
Pererov	1	1		Count Sołłohub	
Pogost	2	2		Count Sołłohub	
Pribolovichi	1	1	inn-keeper	Count Sołłohub	

Continued Table 3.16

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d 7 pp. 128-158		Occupation	Landlord	Migrants' origin
	m	f			
Radevichi	1	3	inn-keeper	English merchant Forster	
Richiov	3	2	inn-keeper	Count Potocki	
Sentsy	1	1	inn-keeper	Count Sołłohub	
Simonichi	1	1	inn-keeper	English merchant Forster	
Storosov	1	1	inn-keeper	Count Sołłohub	
Tereblichi	1	1		Count Sołłohub	
Tonezh	2	2		Count Sołłohub	
Veresnitsa	1	3		Count Potocki	
Zhitkovichi	1	1		Jeleński	
total: 25	37	40			
Lakhva					
Ananchitsy	3	3		Greek-Russian monastery of Moroch	
Berezniaki	1	3		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Diakovichi	3	2		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Domanovichi	2	2	inn-keeper	Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Gulevichi	1	2	inn-keeper	Prince Dominik Radziwiłł in possession of Keniewicz	
Gotsk	1	2	inn-keeper	Prince Dominik Radziwiłł in possession of Stankiewicz	
Grabovo	2	3		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Lakhovka	1	1		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Liubachin	3	4	inn-keeper	Prince Dominik Radziwiłł in possession of Sosnowski	
Liuban'	2	3	inn-keeper	Prince Dominik Radziwiłł in possession of Symonowicz	
Luninets	2	2	inn-keeper	Greek-Russian monastery of Diatlovichi	Rechitsa
Malyye Chuchevichi	1	2	inn-keeper	Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Milevichi	2	3		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Mokrovo	3	4		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Moroch'	2	2	inn-keeper	Greek-Russian monastery of Moroch	
Morshchinovichi	2	4	inn-keeper	Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Obidemlia	2	2		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Osovo	2	4		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	

Continued Table 3.16

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d 7 pp. 128-158		Occupation	Landlord	Migrants' origin
	m	f			
Ozernitsa	2	5	2 inn-keepers	Prince Dominik Radziwiłł in possession of Sosnowski	
Pisarevichi	1	2		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Polostevichi	2	3	2 inn-keepers	Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Puzichi	1	3	inn-keeper	Zamoyski	
Sinkevichi	1	2	inn-keeper	Prince Dominik Radziwiłł in possession of Symonowicz	
Sitnitsa	2	5		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Skovshin	1	2		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Steblevichi	1	2		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Timoshevichi	1	2		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Vichin	2	5	inn-keeper	Prince Dominik Radziwiłł in possession of Symonowicz	
Volia	1	2		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Yel'no		1		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Zaliutichi		1		Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
total: 31	50	83			
David-Gorodok					
Bereztsy	2	2		Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Bol'shoye Maleshevo	2	3	inn-keeper	Prince Radziwiłł	
Glinka	3	5		Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Khoromsk	1	3	inn-keeper	Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Liadets	3	7	inn-keeper	Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Ol'pen'		1	inn-keeper		
Ol'shany	4	3	inn-keeper	Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Orly	4	4	inn-keeper	Kieniewicz	
„ „	2	5		Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Perebrody	1	1	inn-keeper	Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Rubel'	4	4	inn-keeper	Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Semigostichi	2	2		Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Tury	4	6	inn-keeper	Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Velemichi	2	1	inn-keeper	Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
total: 13	34	47			
grand total: 155	276	300			

Table 3.17 The district of Pinsk.

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d 7 pp. 20-59		1907 MGV No. 76	Occupation	Landlord
	m	f	m		
Logishin					
Bobrovichi	1			inn-keeper	Marcinkiewicz
Dolgoye	1	2		inn-keeper	Marcinkiewicz
Glinnaya	2	3		inn-keeper	Marcinkiewicz
Ivanisovka	1	1		inn-keeper	Drucki-Lubecki
Khvorosno	4	2		inn-keeper	Drucki-Lubecki
Kovniatin	1	3		inn-keeper	Drucki-Lubecki
Kraglevichi	4	3		inn-keeper	Hetman Ogiński
Krai	2	1		inn-keeper	heirs of Ogiński
Lozovo			1		
Lyshche	1	1		inn-keeper	Drucki-Lubecki
Malaya Gat’	1	2		inn-keeper	Marcinkiewicz
Merchitsy			1		
Mokraya Dubrova	2	1			Drucki-Lubecki
Obrovo	1	1	1	inn-keeper	Kozlianinova
Ol’shanka	1	2		inn-keeper	Drucki-Lubecki
Puchiny	1	2		inn-keeper	Drucki-Lubecki
Starozhlivets			1		
Stoshany	2	3		inn-keeper	Drucki-Lubecki
Sviataya Volia	3	3	40	inn-keeper	Marciniewicz
Telekhany	1	3	2	inn-keeper	Hetman Ogiński
Turnaya	1	1		inn-keeper	Marcinkiewicz
„ „	1	1		in peasants’ hut	Marcinkiewicz
Valishche	2	2		inn-keeper	Drucki-Lubecki
Velikaya Gat’	2	1	2	inn-keeper	Marcinkiewicz
„ „	5	5			„ „
Vygonoshchi			2		
Yarmolovka			2		
Zaborovtsy	2	2		inn-keeper	Drucki-Lubecki
Zhirovichi	2	1		inn-keeper	Chamberlain
in movable inn	2	1		inn-keeper	Drucki-Lubecki
total: 28	48	47	52		

Continued Table 3.17

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d 7 pp. 20-59		1907 MGV No. 76	Occupation	Landlord
	m	f	m		
Liubeshov					
Beloye			2		
Berezhnoye	4	2	2	inn-keeper	heirs of Korecki
Berezichi	2	3		inn-keeper	Czarnecki
Byshliak			1		
Chemerin			1		
Chervishche	3	5	2	2 inn-keepers	Czarnecki
Chernevitsy	2	5		inn-keeper	Radzewicz
Derevnaya	2	3	3	2 inn-keepers	Czarnecki
Derevok			1		
Dol'sk	4	5		inn-keeper	Czarnecki
Khrapin	2	2	1	inn-keeper	Radzewski
Komara			1		
Konchitsy	2	4		inn-keeper	starostwo of Lemnitsa
Kudilovo			1		
Kukhche	3	6	2	3 inn-keepers	Orda
„ „	1	1		inn-keeper	Radzewski
Kukhotskaya Volya			2		
Kuzhelichin			1		
Ladorozh			1		
Lemnitsa	1	2		in peasants hut	starostwo
Liubelpol	1	3		inn-keeper	Orda
Liubiaz'	3	3		inn-keeper	Czarnecki
Loknitsa			1		
Mokhro	4	4	1	inn-keeper	Andrzejkowicz
Morochnoye	1	2	1	inn-keeper	Terlecki
Muravin			1		
Nobel'	1	2	29	on land	municipality
„ „	1	1		inn-keeper	
Novosiolki			1		
Peshkovo			1		
Pnevno	3	3	3	inn-keeper	Piarist monastery
Privetovka	3	4		inn-keeper	Terlecki
Svalovichi	1	3		inn-keeper	starostwo

Continued Table 3.17

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d 7 pp. 20-59		1907 MGV No. 76	Occupation	Landlord
	m	f	m		
Sudche	4	8	2	2 inn-keepers	Czarnecki
Toboly			1		
Tsyr'	2	4	1	inn-keeper	Czarnecki
„ „	1	2		inn-keeper	Dominican monastery
Ugrinichi	1	1	1	inn-keeper	Czarnecki
Volia Liubashevskaya	3	2		inn-keeper	Czarnecki
Zhidchi	2	5		inn-keeper	
totals 37	57	85	64		
Pogost-Zarechny					
Borovoye	1	1		inn-keeper	Butrymowicz
Brody	2	2		inn-keeper	Orda
Chernovo	3	1			Wolszczyn
Dikovichi	2	1		inn-keeper	Poniatowski
Gornovo	1	1		inn-keeper	Skirmunt
Ivanchitsy	1	1		inn-keeper	Szyryna
Khliaby	3	1		inn-keeper	Butrymovicz
Khvoina	3	2		inn-keeper	Marcinkiewicz
Lemeshevichi	2	2		2 inn-keepers	Polba(?)
„ „	2	1		inn-keeper	Porbutowa(?)
„ „	2	2		inn-keeper	Płotnicki
Lisitsk	2	1		inn-keeper	Kurzeniecki
Loknitsa	4	3		inn-keeper	Radzewicz
Lopatino	3	1		inn-keeper	Butrymowicz
Losichi	1	1		inn-keeper	Skirmunt
Makhrovka	4	1		inn-keeper	Chrzanowski
Malyye Dvortsy	2	1		inn-keeper	Skirmunt
MalyyeTsiolkovichi			1		
Morochye	3	2		2 inn-keepers	Terlecki
Morozovichi	3	1		inn-keeper	Skirmunt
Motenets	1	2		inn-keeper	Nielubowicz
Mul'chitsy	3	1		inn-keeper	Nielubowicz
Nechatovo	2	2	2	2 inn-keepers	Skirmunt
Nevel'	2	1		inn-keeper	Lubecki

Continued Table 3.17

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d 7 pp. 20-59		1907 MGV No. 76	Occupation	Landlord
	m	f	m		
Nian'kovichi	5	3		inn-keeper	Nielubowicz
Nobel'	6	2		inn-keeper	Radzewski
Ostrov	1	1		inn-keeper	Marcinkiewicz
Pare	2	1		inn-keeper	Orda
Perekolye	1	1		inn-keeper	Skirmunt
Ploshchevo	1	1		inn-keeper	Szyrma
„ „	1	1		inn-keeper	
Pogost	2	2			
Polba	2	2		inn-keeper	Orda
Privetovka	4	3		2 inn-keepers	Skirmunt
„ „	2	1		inn-keeper	Terlecki
Serniki	10	5	15	3 inn-keepers	Skirmunt
Sochkovichi	2	2		inn-keeper	Vuroits(?)
Staryye Koni	5	3			Filatyeva
Svaritsevichi	2	1	1	inn-keeper	Cherepakhova
Velikiye Dvortsy	2	1		inn-keeper	Skirmunt
Velikiye Tsiolkovichi			1		
Veshnia	3	1		inn-keeper	Rysponcki(?)
Viliatichi	2			inn-keeper	Skirmunt
Yevlashi	3	3	1	inn-keeper	Kurzeniecki
Zhidchi	3			inn-keeper	Kurzeniecki
unnamed	4	2		inn-keeper	Drucki-Lubecki
unnamed	1	1		in peasants' hut	Skirmunt
unnamed	2	3			Skirmunt
unnamed	4	2			Filatyeva
unnamed	1	1		inn-keeper	Szyrma
totals 46	123	78	21		
Stolin					
Berezhnoye	1	2	1	inn-keeper	Radzewicz
„ „	1	2		inn-keeper	Tsemertinski(?)
Bereztsy	1	2	4	inn-keeper	Olesza
Borichevichi	1	2		inn-keeper	
Bukhlichi	2	1			Kurzeniecki
Chentlov(?)	1	1		inn-keeper	Kurzeniecki

Continued Table 3.17

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d 7 pp. 20-59		1907 MGV No. 76	Occupation	Landlord
	m	f	m		
Dorogi	2	2		inn-keeper	Kurzeniecki
Drebsk			1		
Duboi-Zarechnyi	2		3		
Glinka	1	1		inn-keeper	Kurzeniecki
Grivkovichi	1	3	3	2 inn-keepers	Orda
„ „	3	2		inn-keeper	
Gorodishche		2		inn-keeper	Kurzeniecki
Goryn’			2		
Kachanovichi			1		
Kallaurovichi	1	2		inn-keeper	
Khotomlia	1	2		inn-keeper	
Malyye Orly			1		
Man’kovichi	2	3	1	inn-keeper	Radziwiłł
Mesiatichi	1	4		inn-keeper	
Ol’shany	3	1		inn-keeper	Radziwiłł
Otlezhitsa	1	2		inn-keeper	Radziwiłł
Parovnia	1	1		inn-keeper	Olesza
Ploshchevo	1	2		inn-keeper	Rostocki
Plotnitsa	28	40		3 inn-keepers	
Rechitsa	1	2	3	inn-keeper	Kurzeniecki
Radchitsk			1		
Rukhcha	3	4	1	inn-keeper	Skirmunt
Smorotsk	1	3		inn-keeper	Kurzeniecki
Stakhovo	18	25		7 inn-keepers	
Struga	4	4	6	inn-keeper	Kurzeniecki
Terebezhov	3	3	1		Kurzeniecki
Tsmen’	1	1	1		Kurzeniecki
Tumen’	1	1			Kurzeniecki
Vidibor			1		
Vikorevichi	2	1	1	inn-keeper	Kurzeniecki
Vuivichi	4	4		2 inn-keepers	
Vylazy		4			
Yunishche	1	1	2		Kurzeniecki
on a highway	2	3		inn-keeper	Kurzeniecki
totals 39	93	124	36		

Continued Table 3.17

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d 7 pp. 20-59		1907 MGV No. 76	Occupation	Landlord
	m	f	m		
Pinsk					
Berduny	2	2		inn-keeper	Denfer(?)
Borovaya	1	1	2	inn-keeper	Kurzeniecki
Chernevichi	2	4			Skirmunt
Dikovichi	2	1		inn-keeper	Pusłowski
Dostoyevo	2	2	1	inn-keeper	Czaplicz
Duboye	1			inn-keeper	Kurzeniecki
„ „	1	2		inn-keeper	Kurzeniecka
Dubrovsk			1		
Gornoye			1		
Khoino			1		
Konchitsy	2	4	1		Pusłowski
Konotop	4	4		inn-keeper	Pusłowski
Krainovichi	1	1		inn-keeper	Bylewski
Krasovo	1	2		inn-keeper	Krasicki
Kudrichi	2	3			Pusłowski
„ „	1	2		inn-keeper	Franciscans
Leshchinskaya karchma	2	3		inn-keeper	Basilian monastery
Lopatino	2	2		2 inn-keepers	Butrymowicz
Lysukha	1	2		inn-keeper	Michałowski
Merchitsy	1	2			Pivziamovetski(?)
Mesiatichi			2		
Molodel'chitsy	1	1		inn-keeper	starostwo
Molotkovichi	2	2		inn-keeper	Krasicki
„ „	1	1		inn-keeper	Kurzeniecki
Morochno	1	1	4	inn-keeper	Terlecki
Mutvitsa	3	1		inn-keeper	Nielubowicz
Nabiynichi			1		
Nechatov	1	1		inn-keeper	Skirmunt
Nevel'	4	4	2	2 inn-keepers	Kurzeniecki
Nian'kovichi	5	5		inn-keeper	Nielubowicz
Okhovo	3	1		inn-keeper	Kurzeniecki
Pare	1	1		inn-keeper	Marcinkiewicz
Parshevichi	1	3		inn-keeper	Pusłowski

Continued Table 3.17

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d 7 pp. 20-59		1907 MGV No. 76	Occupation	Landlord
	m	f	m		
Perebrodye			1		
Pinkovichi	4	4		2 inn-keepers	Lubański
Pleshchitsy	3	5			Gutowski
Pochapovo	3	3		inn-keeper	Szyrma
Podpinsk	3	3			Drucki-Lubecki
Poniatichi	1	1		inn-keeper	Puslowski
Potapovichi	4	8			Pusłowski
Prikladinki	1	1		inn-keeper	Kurzeniecki
Radchitsk	2	2			Skirmunt
Sititsk	2	4		inn-keeper	Kurzeniecki
Stakhovo	7	5		inn-keeper	Kurzeniecki
Stoshany	1	1		inn-keeper	Lubecki
Stytychevo			1		
Svechina	3	3		inn-keeper	Skirmunt
Volia	4	4		inn-keeper	Marcinkiewicz
Voinovka			34		
Vuinichi			2		
Yayechkovichi			2		
Yukhnovichi			1		
Zakutse	1	1		inn-keeper	Dmochowski
Zapolye	1	1		inn-keeper	Dzikowiecki
Zavishye	1	1	1	inn-keeper	Niesłuchowski
Zhitkovichi	1	3	1	inn-keeper	Radzewski
unnamed	1			rent payer	Puchalski
totals 62	100	114	59		
Karolin					
Albrekhtovo			3		Skirmunt
Bereztsy	1	2		inn-keeper	starostwo
Bezkhlebichi	2	2		inn-keeper	Kurzeniecki
Bostyn’	2	3	2	inn-keeper	Lubecki
Brodnitsy	3	3	2	inn-keeper	Kurzeniecki
Chernovo	1	2		inn-keeper	Butrymovicz
„ „	1	1		inn-keeper	Wolszczyn
Gonchar	1	1		inn-keeper	Bylewski

Continued Table 3.17

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d 7 pp. 20-59		1907 MGV No. 76	Occupation	Landlord
	m	f	m		
Lisiatichi	2	2		inn-keeper	Lubecki
Liubias'			1		
Morozovichi	1	1		inn-keeper	starostwo
Novyi Dvor	2	4		2 inn-keepers	
Ostrov	1	1	1	inn-keeper	Szyryn
Otolchitsy			1		
Pircha(?)	1	1		inn-keeper	Strawiński
Polkotichi	1	3	2	inn-keeper	Strawiński
Poltoranovichi	1	3		inn-keeper	
Pomor	3	3		2 inn-keepers	Radzewski
„ „	1	2		inn-keeper	Marcinkiewicz
Porechye	6	10	4	4 inn-keepers	Skirmunt
Simonovichi	1	2		inn-keeper	Poniatowski
Smorodsk	2	2		inn-keeper	Kurzeniecki
Stakhovo	1	1		inn-keeper	
Tobulki			1		
Vulka	1	1		inn-keeper	
totals 24	34	49	17		
Pogost-Zagorodski					
Bobrik			1		
Bogdanovka	2	1	1	inn-keeper	Lubecki
Bokinichi	1	1	2	inn-keeper	Lubecki
Dubnovichi			1		
Grabnik			1		
Kamen'	2	1		inn-keeper	Lubecki
Khotynichi			2		
Liusino			2		
Lobcha	2	2		inn-keeper	Lubecki
Lunin	1	1	1		
Malaya Plotnitsa			1		
Malkovichi	2		1		Tiesenhausen
Ostrovichi	1	1		inn-keeper	Szyrma
Parokhonsk	2	1		inn-keeper	Lubecki
Perekhrestye		3		inn-keeper	Lubecki

Continued Table 3.17

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d 7 pp. 20-59		1907 MGV No. 76	Occupation	Landlord
	m	f	m		
Ploskino	2	1		inn-keeper	Lubecki
Rudnia	1	1	1	inn-keeper	Lubecki
Selishche	1	2		inn-keeper	Lubecki
Veluta			1		
totals 20	20	15	15		
Gorodna					
Borochevichi	2	2			Orda
Duboi	3	4		inn-keeper	Schmidt
Fedory			1		
Osovaya	1	1			Michałowski
Serniki	6	7		inn-keeper	local szlachta
„ „	4	4		2 inn-keepers	Skirmunt
Vichevka	7	7	5	inn-keeper	Drucki-Lubecki
Vuivichi	2	2		inn-keeper	Drucki-Lubecki
Zholkino	8	7		inn-keeper	Kurzeniecki
totals 8	33	34	6		
unaffiliated					
Diatlovichi	4			inn-keeper	Diatlovitski monastery
Luninets	2		54	inn-keeper	Diatlovitski monastery
Timoshevichi			1		
totals 3	6		55		
grand total 268	508	548	325		

Table 3.18 The district of Rechitsa.

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d 3		Occupation	Landlord	Migrants	
	m	f			Place of origin	Destination
Rechitsa						
Bezuyev	3	4	inn-keeper	*starostwo* Rechitsa		
Bronnoye	1	1		*starostwo* Rechitsa		
Gavinovichi	1	1	inn-keeper	Count Potocki		
Goroshkov	(1)	(2)				unknown
Kazazayevka	2	2		*starostwo* Rechitsa		
Khutor	7	10	2 inn-keepers	*starostwo* Rechitsa		
Kobyliov	3	3	inn-keeper	*starostwo* Rechitsa		
Korovatichi	3	3		*starostwo* Rechitsa		
Krynki	1	2	inn-keeper	*starostwo* Rechitsa		
Lazarevka	1	1	inn-keeper	Markiewicz		
Levashi	2	3	inn-keeper	Szyszkowa		
Liski	1	2	inn-keeper	*starostwo* Rechitsa		
Lubeniki	1	2	inn-keeper	*starostwo* Rechitsa		
Mol'cha	1	1		Sołtan		
Nebytov	1	3	inn-keeper	*starostwo* Zagalye		
Ostashkovichi	2	3	inn-keeper	*starostwo* Rechitsa		
Ozershchina	1	2	inn-keeper	*starostwo* Rechitsa		
Peresvetov	3	3	inn-keeper	Sołtan family		
Rebusa	3	4		*starostwo* Rechitsa	Strokovichi	
Rovnoye	1	2		Dominicans		
Rudnia Damekhovskaya	1	1		Sołtan		
Sloboda	1	3	inn-keeper	Dominicans		
Sloboda Zolotoy Dubravy	1	1	inn-keeper	*starostwo* Rechitsa		
Slavan'	2	2		*starostwo* Rechitsa		
Strokovichi	(1)	(2)		*starostwo* Rechitsa		
Umorit'	1	1	inn-keeper	*starostwo* Rechitsa		
Vasilevichi	3	3	inn-keeper	Judge Oskierko		
Vodovichi	1	2	inn-keeper	*starostwo* Rechitsa		
Volchya Gora	1	1				

Continued Table 3.18

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d 3		Occupation	Landlord	Migrants	
	m	f			Place of origin	Destination
Yanovka	1	3		Judge Szyszka		
Zagrebki	2	3	inn-keeper	Dominik Rymsza		
Zashchobye	1	1	inn-keeper	Sielicki		
Zaspa	3	2	inn-keeper	Szyszkowa		
„ „	2	2	in his own house	Szyszkowa		
Zhmurovka	1	1		*starostwo* Rechitsa		
total: 34	59 (2)	77 (4)				
Bragin						
Babchin	3	1	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Beriozka	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Burki	1	3	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Domamirka	2	3	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Galki	2	2	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Glukhovichi	2	2	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Kaporka	2	2		Count Rokicki		
Khotuga	2	2		Count Rokicki		
Komarin	1	1	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Krasnoselye	1	1	inn-keeper	Prozor		
Krivichi	2	2	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Krupa	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Kurazhin	1	1	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Listvin	2	2	inn-keeper	General Zabełło		
Mikulichi	2	3	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Mokisayev(?)	2	2	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Omel'kovshchina	2	2	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Petritskoye	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Posudovo	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Puchina	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Pudichi	3	2	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Ruchayovka	2	3	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Selets	3	2	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Shkuraty	1		inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Soboli	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		

Continued Table 3.18

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d 3		Occupation	Landlord	Migrants	
	m	f			Place of origin	Destination
Tiutski	3	4	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Ugly	1	1	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Unigovka	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Veliatin	2	2	inn-keeper	General Zabełło		
Vorottsy	1	2		Count Rokicki		
Yurkovichi	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Zveniatskoye	2	2	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
total: 32	53	63				
Kholmech						
Artuki	1	6	inn-keeper	Wołłowiczowa		
Beriozki	3	7	inn-keeper	Przybora		
Dvorets	4	7	inn-keeper	Wołłowiczowa		
Kolochin	2	2	inn-keeper	Wołłowiczowa		
Krasnaya Sloboda	1	2	inn-keeper	Wołłowiczowa		
Prokisel	3	6	inn-keeper	Wołłowiczowa		
Radmin	2	3	inn-keeper	Szyszkowa		
Rovenskaya Sloboda	1	5	inn-keeper	Dominicans of Rechitsa		
Starodubka	3	3	inn-keeper	Wołłowiczowa		
Sviridovichi	3	5	inn-keeper	Przybora		
Tsaplin	2	3		Węcesławowiczowa		
Velin	2	2	inn-keeper	Wołłowiczowa		
Vetkhin'	2	2	inn-keeper	Wołłowiczowa		
Zaspa	2	1	in a rented hut	Szyszkowa		
total: 14	31	54				
Khoiniki						
Bogushi	2	2	inn-keeper	Catholic parish of Glukhovichi		
Dubrovitsa	1	2		Prozor		
Dvorishche	4	3	inn-keeper	Prozor		
Khrapovo	2	2	inn-keeper	Prozor		
Khvoinochka	1	2	inn-keeper	*starostwo* of Zagalye		
Klivy	1	2	inn-keeper	Prozor		
Korchiovoye	2	3		Prozor		

Continued Table 3.18

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d 3		Occupation	Landlord	Migrants	
	m	f			Place of origin	Destination
Kozeluzhye	1	2	inn-keeper	*starostwo* of Zagalye		
Krasnoselye	1	2	inn-keeper	Prozor		
Novosiolki	3	3	inn-keeper	Prozor		
Ostrogladovichi	4	3	inn-keeper	Prozor		
Ploskoye	(4)	(2)				unknown
Rudakov	2	3	inn-keeper	Count Rokicki		
Rudnoye	2	3		Prozor		
Veliki Bor	2	3		Catholic parish of Glukhovichi		
Viazka	2	3	inn-keeper	Prozor		
Vorottsy	2	2	inn-keeper	Prozor		
Yanayev	1	1	inn-keeper	*starostwo* of Zagalye		
Zagalye	2	1	inn-keeper	*starostwo* of Zagalye		
total: 19	36 (4)	42 (2)				
Gorval'						
Beregovaya Sloboda	4	3	2 inn-keepers	Count Potocki		
Cherneyki	1	1	inn-keeper	Count Potocki		
Chernikhovo	1	1	inn-keeper	Count Potocki		
Demekhi	2	2	inn-keeper	Wincenty Sołtan		
Diurdevo	1	2	tavern-keeper	Count Potocki		
Dobrogoshcha	2	1		Count Potocki		
Dubrova	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Potocki		
Glybov	1	1	inn-keeper	Chalecki		
„ „	1	1		Chalecka		
Kakuyevichi	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Potocki		
Kaporovka	1	1		Markiewicz		
Kurgany	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Potocki		
Liady	4	4	inn-keeper	Count Potocki		
Luki	2	5	2 inn-keepers	Count Potocki		
Mikulichi	1	1	inn-keeper	Count Potocki		
Olizarevichi	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Potocki		
Polivalova Sloboda	1	1	tavern-keeper	Count Potocki		

Continued Table 3.18

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d 3		Occupation	Landlord	Migrants	
	m	f			Place of origin	Destination
Shatilki	1	1		local *szlachta*	Bobruisk	
Selishchi	3	4	inn-keeper	Count Potocki		
Shelkovichi	2	2	inn-keeper	Count Potocki		
Sukeyki	2	2	inn-keeper	Count Potocki		
Svechka	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Potocki		
Sviatovaya	2	2	inn-keeper	Count Potocki		
Svider	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Potocki		
Tolstyki	1	1	inn-keeper	Count Potocki		
Uznozh	2	1	inn-keeper	Count Potocki		
Vasilevichi	3	2	inn-keeper	Count Potocki		
Zabrodye	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Potocki		
Zadzerosvit (?)	1	1	inn-keeper	Count Potocki		
disabled	2	1				
total: 28	48	55				
Yurovichi						
Barbarov	2	3	inn-keeper	Count Sievers		
Beriozovka	3	4	inn-keeper	Judge Oskierko		
Glinishche	2					
Glinnaya Sloboda	2	3	inn-keeper	Jeleński		
Khobnoye	2	3				
Kryshichi	1	2	inn-keeper	Stecki		
Moklishche	1	1	inn-keeper	Oskierko		
Mutizhar	1	2	inn-keeper	Oskierko		
Obukhovshchina	1	1		Obuchowicz		
„ „	1	2				
Ogorodniki	1	3	inn-keeper	Judge Oskierko		
Poselichi	3	3	inn-keeper	Prozor		
Strelichevo	1	1	inn-keeper	Prozor		
„ „	1	2	inn-keeper	Oskierko		
Tul'govichi	2	2	inn-keeper	Stecki		
„ „	3	4				
Uzhinets	1	2	inn-keeper	Paweł Oskierko		
total: 14	28	38				

Continued Table 3.18

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d 3		Occupation	Landlord	Migrants	
	m	f			Place of origin	Destination
Kalinkovichi						
Antonovka	1	1	inn-keeper	Oskierko		
Avtiukevichi	3	3	inn-keeper	Jeleński		
Bobrovichi	1	1		Guard Oskierko		
Derniov	1	1	in his own house	Lenkiewicz		
„ „	1	1				
Gorbovichi	1	3	inn-keeper	Guard Oskierko		
Gulevichi	2	2		Guard Oskierko		
Kaplichi	3	3	inn-keeper	Nowakowski		
Korenyi	1	2	inn-keeper	Judge Horwatt		
„ „	16	21	8 house owners	Judge Horwatt		
Kozlovichi	3	3	inn-keeper	Jeleński		
Krotov	1	2	inn-keeper	Nowakowski		
Kurodichi	1	1	inn-keeper	Catholic parish of Mozyr’		
Mikhaylovskoye	1	1			Bobruisk	
Nestanovichi	1	2			Bobruisk	
Porechye	4	2				
Rudnia Gorbovichskaya	2	2	inn-keeper			
Savichi	2	1	inn-keeper	Węcesławowicz		
Sel’sty	1	2		Wolbekowa		
Shiichi	2	2	inn-keeper	Lenkiewicz		
Staroselye	1	1	inn-keeper			
Sukhovichi	2	4	inn-keeper	*starostwo* Sukhovichi		
„ „	2	2		*starostwo* Sukhovichi		
Turovichi	1	2	inn-keeper	Lenkiewicz		
Ugly	2	3	inn-keeper	Nowakowski		
Uznozh	1	1	inn-keeper	Korsakowa		
Yevtushkovichi	4		inn-keeper	Judge Horwatt		
„ „	2	1	inn-keeper	Korsak		
Zamostye	1	3	inn-keeper	Radzewski		
„ „	1	1	inn-keeper	Valozhinets(?)		

Continued Table 3.18

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op 1 d 3		Occupation	Landlord	Migrants	
	m	f			Place of origin	Destination
Zelenochi	1	1	inn-keeper	*starostwo* Sukhovichi		
Zherd'	2		inn-keeper	Judge Horwatt		
total: 27	66	75				
Narovlia						
Antonov	2	2	inn-keeper	Count Sievers		
Barbarov	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Sievers		
Beloberezhskaya Rudnia	2	2	inn-keeper	Count Sievers		
Demidova Rudnia	2	3	inn-keeper	Count Sievers		
Gazhin	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Sievers		
Golovchitsy	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Sievers		
Mukhayedy	1	4	inn-keeper	Treasury		
Provtiuki	2	2	inn-keeper	Count Sievers		
Vishnia	1	2	inn-keeper	Count Sievers		
total: 9	13	21				
grand total: 180	326 (2)	420 (4)				

Table 3.19 The district of Slutsk.

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 2		1852 NIAB F 694 op. 3 d. 659 pp. 71-72		Occupation	Landlord	Migrant's origin
	m	f	m	f			
Slutsk							
Baslavtsy			0		evicted	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Belichi	3	3				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Bezverkhovichi			1		inn-keeper	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Bokshytsy			1		servant	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Bolotchitsy			0		evicted	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Bondari			1		tenant	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Brianchitsy	1	1				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Bol'skoi Bykov	1	1				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Chislavichi			0		evicted	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Chaplitsy			1		tenant	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Derechino	1	1				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Doktorovichi			1		tenant	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Dubitsa			0		evicted	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Dubovaya Karchma	2	2			inn-keeper	Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Gavril'chitsy			0		evicted	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Gorodishche				1	tenant	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Grozovok			0		evicted	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Igrayev	2	1	1		tenant	Prince Dominik Radziwiłł/ Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Ivanets(?)			1		miller	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Khrenovo			0		evicted	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Klepchany	1	1	1		merchant	Prince Dominik Radziwiłł/ Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Kozlovichi			1		tenant	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Krivichi			0		evicted	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Kukhty			1		tenant	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Kulaki			1		tenant	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Lapatichi	1	1				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Latkovshchina			0		evicted	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Luchniki	1	2				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Malyi Bykov	1	3				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	

Continued Table 3.19

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 2		1852 NIAB F 694 op. 3 d. 659 pp. 71-72		Occupation	Landlord	Migrant's origin
	m	f	m	f			
Minkovshchina	2	3				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Musichi			0		evicted	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Neviaztsy	2	5				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Novaya Karchma	1				inn-keeper	Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Novodvortsy			2		inn-keeper	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Ogorodniki	2	4	1	1	tenant and	Prince Dominik Radziwiłł/	
					inn-keeper	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Ostrovok			0		evicted	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Pivashi	1	2				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Podlipki	1	1	1		tenant	Prince Dominik Radziwiłł/	
						Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Pratsevichi			1		tenant	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Putiaty(?)	2	1				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Radkov			1		tenant	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Rozhan			1		merchant	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Rusaki	1	1					Igumen
Sadovichi			0		evicted	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Selishche			1			Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Seriagi			0		evicted	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Shishchitsy	2	1			inn-keeper	Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Startsovichi			1		tenant	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Stol'chitsy			0		evicted	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Strokhovo	2	2				Sołtan	
Shuliaki			1		tenant	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Tanezhitsy			0		evicted	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Tserushki	4	3				Arkhimandrit of Slutsk	
Ulyanovka			0		evicted	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Vasilchitsy			0		evicted	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Velikaya Sliva	3	1	0		evicted	Prince Dominik Radziwiłł/	
						Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Zabrodye			0		evicted	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
Zamostye	2	3				Ginaprev(?)	
Zhabino			0		evicted	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	

Continued Table 3.19

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 2		1852 NIAB F 694 op. 3 d. 659 pp. 71-72		Occupation	Landlord	Migrant's origin
	m	f	m	f			
Zhivoglodovichi			1		tenant	Prince Ludwig Wittgenstein	
totals	39	43	22	2			
Nesvizh							
Beliny(?)	1	2				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Bel'kovshchina	1	3				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Ganusovshchina(?)	1	2				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Govezna	2	3				Benedictine nuns of Nesvizh	
Kachanovichi	2	3				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Khovshchi(?)	1	1				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Kolesovshchina	1	3				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Kudinovichi	2	3				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Kukovichi	1	1				Petrozolin	
Lan'	1	2				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Malevo	2	2				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Mit'kovichi	2	1				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Pleshevichi	1	3				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Pogorel'tsy	2	2				Rzeczycki	
Pravoye Selo	1	1				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Seilovichi	2	3				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Shostaki	2	3				Rasadawski(?)	
Slavkova	1	2				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Sverinova	2	2					
Yushevichi	1	3				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Zaushye	3	4				Count Morawski	Novogrudok
Zhukov Borok	1	1				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
unknown	6	7					
totals: 22	39	57					
Liakhovichi							
Golodovichi	3	3				Kobyliński	
Liubashevo	1	2				Marshal Świeżyński	
Mazurki	1	1				Wizgierd	
Petukhovshchina	2	4				Kobyliński	

Continued Table 3.19

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 2		1852 NIAB F 694 op. 3 d. 659 pp. 71-72		Occupation	Landlord	Migrant's origin
	m	f	m	f			
Robkovichi	1	1					
Yefimovichi	1	2				Kiersnowski	
Zherebkovichi	1	1				Skokowski	
totals: 7	10	14					
Grozovo							
Stepkovo	1	1			Bernowicz		
Trukhanovichi	3	3				Igumen	
totals: 2	4	4					
Starobin							
Chizhevichi	1	2				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Dolgoye	2	2				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Kashnitsy(?)	3	5				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Krivichi	2	4				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Mozoli	1	3				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Povarchitsy	1	2				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Ratkov(?)	3	3				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Shilkovichi(?)	2	3				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Velichkovichi	2	2				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Zazhevichi	1	3				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Zhabina	2	4				Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	
Kletsk							
Babayevichi	1	3				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Bolvany	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Boyany(?)	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Brodki(?)	1					Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Budcha	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Chuchevichi	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Chudin	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Deniskovichi	1	2				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Drabovshchina	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Filipovichi	1	1				Mohylnicki	
Godchitsy	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	

Continued Table 3.19

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 2		1852 NIAB F 694 op. 3 d. 659 pp. 71-72		Occupation	Landlord	Migrant's origin
	m	f	m	f			
Golynka	1	2				Wonderer(?)	
Gribovshchina	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Gurbonovichi(?)	1	2				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Kaliuga	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Kaplanovichi	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Karatsk	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Khodakovichi(?)	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Kosmovichi	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Krugovichi	1	2				Ksawery Obuchowicz	
Lognevichi(?)	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Loktyshi	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Luchnaya Sloboda	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Mashuki	1					Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Moroch	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Mostilovichi	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Nach'	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Nagornoye	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Navozy	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Orda	1					Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Ostrov	3	4				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Ostrovchitsy	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Panacha	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Puzovo	1	1				Wojniłowicz	
Radzivillimonty	1	2				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Rameiny(?)	3	2				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Rudnoye	1	2				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Sekerichi	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Shenkevichi(?)	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Siniavka	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Sukhlichi	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Tartaki	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Tsepra	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
„ „	1	1				Michał Nowakowicz	
Tucha	2	2				Obuchowiczewa	

Continued Table 3.19

Village	1808 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 2		1852 NIAB F 694 op. 3 d. 659 pp. 71-72		Occupation	Landlord	Migrant's origin
	m	f	m	f			
Uznoga	1	2				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Voronino		1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Yanovichi	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Zabolotniki	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Zashubtsy(?)	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Zayel'nia	3	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
Zhilichi	1	1				Prince Józef Radziwiłł	
totals: 51	58	63					
grand total: 134	150	214	22	2			

4 Lords and Masters

Most rural Jews were not self-employed entrepreneurs, but were dependent on, and/or served in one way or another (mostly as leaseholders) their landlords, who were private persons, mainly Polish and Lithuanian nobles, and various institutions. This was a direct continuation of the situation in the late Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, although with changes in the land ownership structure which had occurred under Czarist Russian rule. These changes included the penetration of Russian landowners into former Polish territories, and the abolition of the nobles' monopoly on land ownership. These opened a way for non-noble landowners (including Jewish ones) to acquire land in the region. The other changes were: stripping the Uniate (Greek-Catholic) Church of most of its property and giving it to the Orthodox church in 1805, and a distinction between Imperial estates (*udel'nyye zemli*) and treasury estates (*kazionnyye zemli*), which did not exist under Polish rule. However, it should be taken into account that the eviction lists were composed after the 1807 Treaty of Tilsit when Polish nobles in the service of Napoleonic Grand Duchy of Warsaw were not regarded as Russia's enemies.

The connection between Jews and Polish-Lithuanian magnates is, of course, one of the best-studied topics in the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Jewry[204], and I have personally contributed several studies on the economic connections between Polish Jews and various churches in the pre-partition period[205]. All these studies, however, are based either upon private magnates' archives or ecclesiastic archives and do not provide a full picture. Thus, it should be stressed that the eviction lists for 1808 held in Minsk and used for this study provide us, for the first time, with complete information about the distribution within a relatively large region of rural Jews along with different groups of their lords and masters.

The private landlords of the Jews were of three kinds: 214 Polish-Lithuanian nobles (see table 4.1), 26 Russian dignitaries (see table 4.2), and 3 non-noble merchants (see table 4.3). The institutional landlords were either ecclesiastic institutions (16 monasteries, 6 parish churches, 2 bishops and 2 priests: see table 4.4) or administrators of public lands (22 imperial estates, 3 treasury land-tracts, and 2 municipal land-tracts: see table 4.5). The three groups of private employers were heterogeneous. Most of the members of the first group, were either Lithuanian magnates, or Belarusian

204 The principal studies on this subject are Rosman, Moshe, *Lords' Jews: Magnate-Jewish Relations in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1990 and Teller, Adam, *Kesef, Koaḥ VeHshpa'a: HaYehudim BeAḥuzot Beit Radziwiłł BeLita BaMea Ha-18,* Jerusalem, 2006.

205 Kalik, Judith, "Patterns of Contacts between the Catholic Church and the Jews in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the 17-18th Centuries: Jewish Debts" in: *Studies in the History of the Jews in Old Poland in Honor of Jacob Goldberg* , ed. A. Teller, Jerusalem (*Scripta Hierosolymitana 38*), 1998, pp.102-122; Kalik, Judith, Economic Relations between the Catholic Church and the Jews in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 17th-18th Centuries, *Gal-ed* 23, 2012, pp. 15-36.

nobles of *boyar* origin. Ethnic Polish magnates were a minority. The second group were predominantly German, Danish, Scottish, or Georgian in origin, although there were a few ethnic Russians. It is not easy to distinguish between these two groups of landowners, since many Polish magnates held high positions in the Russian administration, and some of them were even newcomers whose estates were granted to them by the Russian authorities. Thus, Prince Adam Czartoryski served as the Russian Foreign Minister from 1804 to 1806, and the widow of the Polish General Józef Zabiełło, who was hanged by Kościuszko rebels as a Russian spy, received estates in Belarus as a reward for her late husband's service. The third group of private landlords consisted of one Jewish, one English, and one Belarusian merchant.

The Polish nobles belonged to two distinct groups: the so-called magnates, i.e. the members of the senatorial families, and local middle nobles, members of the *szlachta*. In their relations with Jews, however, the distinction between large landowners holding hundreds of Jews and small landowners with one or two Jewish leaseholders followed different lines. Many "magnates" were junior members of senatorial families and had little property in Minsk Guberniya, while many local powerful potentates, though not being "magnates" per se, dominated some Jewish communities. All in all, 82 magnates controlled 2808 Jews of both sexes in 690 villages, while 341 middle nobles controlled 1460 Jews in 133 villages. In other words, Polish nobles controlled 82% of all rural Jews in Minsk Guberniya in 1808, 54% of the Jews served the magnates, and 28% served the middle nobles. However, 28 "magnates" possessed just one village with one Jewish leaseholder. Many of these nobles bore the court titles of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which were mostly already obsolete under the Russian rule.

4.1 Polish-Lithuanian Magnates

The largest landlords, quite naturally, were the members of the Lithuanian aristocratic family of Radziwiłł, the richest magnates of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The 11th Prince-Ordynat of Nesvizh, Dominik Radziwiłł, alone controlled 686 Jews of both sexes, including members of their families in 168 villages. Only 61 of them belonged to the *ordynacja* of Nesvizh, while the remainder were scattered through his other estates in the districts of Slutsk, Bobruisk, Borisov, Minsk, and Mozyr'. The composition of the eviction lists in 1808 coincided with the dynastic crisis in the Radziwiłł family. In 1807 Dominik Radziwiłł married Elżbieta Mniszek, but 14 days after the wedding he fled the Nesvizh castle with his married cousin Teofila Starzeńska (née Morawska), who gave birth in 1808 to their illegitimate son Aleksander. Dominik and Teofila married only in 1809 after costly divorces with their previous spouses, and at the end of the same year their legitimate daughter Stefania was born. When Dominik Radziwiłł fell in action at the battle of Hanau in 1813 fighting on the side of Napoleon, his premarital son Aleksander was disinherited, and Stefania became his sole heiress. The *ordynacja* of Nesvizh, as a primogeniture possession, passed then to the Radziwiłł family,

namely to the Prince-Ordynat of Ołyka, Antoni Radziwiłł, while Stefania inherited the remainder of her father's estates. Stefania was raised in St. Petersburg under the patronage of the Dowager Empress Maria Fedorovna (née Sophia von Württemberg), widow of Czar Paul a distant relative of hers. Antoni Radziwiłł planned to marry Stefania to his son, Ferdynand, in order to reunite the Radziwiłł family possessions in Belarus, but Ferdynand died in 1827. In 1828 the Dowager Empress arranged Stefania's marriage with Ludwig von Wittgenstein, who had been involved in 1825 in the Decembrist conspiracy, but thanks to the Empress's protection was not only pardoned, but received the richest bride in Europe in marriage. Two lists of the Jewish subjects of von Wittgenstein in district of Slutsk from 1848 and 1852 have survived.[206] Wittgenstein's estates were inherited by Ludwig and Stefania's son Peter, who died in 1887 without issue, and his possessions passed to his sister Maria, who married Prince Chlodwig zu Hohenloe in 1847, Governor of Alsace-Lorraine and future Chancellor of the German Empire (1894-1900). However, in 1887 Czar Alexander III passed an edict forbidding foreign citizens from inheriting lands in the Russian Empire, and so Princess Maria was forced to sell her estates piecemeal to Russian nationals. This was the end of Dominik Radziwiłł's possessions in Minsk Guberniya.

Antoni Radziwiłł controlled in 1808 only twelve Jews in three villages in district of Pinsk, since his main estates were located in Volhynia in the *ordynacja* of Ołyka. In 1813 he became the 12th Prince-Ordynat of Nesvizh. The *ordynacja* of Nesvizh continued to exist until 1939. Antoni Radziwiłł settled in Prussia in 1796, where he served as the Governor of Grand Duchy of Poznań from 1815 to 1831. After his death in 1832 his son, the Prussian general Wilhelm inherited the *ordynacja* of Nesvizh. In 1870 Wilhelm's son Antoni became the 14th Prince-Ordynat of Nesvizh and in 1874 he also inherited the *ordynacja* of Kletsk.

The 9th Prince-Ordynat of Kletsk Józef Radziwiłł controlled 169 Jews in 56 villages in 1808, mostly in the *ordynacja* of Kletsk, but also in the district of Mozyr'. Since his only son, Antoni died 1810 without issue, the *ordynacja* of Kletsk passed after his death in 1813 to his brother Michał, who controlled 288 Jews in 47 villages in the district of Borisov in 1808. Michał died in 1831 and the *ordynacja* of Kletsk passed to his grandson Leon, who died childless in 1874. The primogeniture holding was therefore inherited by Antoni, the Prince-Ordynat of Niesvizh, and thus both *ordynacjas* were united until their dissolution in 1939.

An unnamed Princess Radziwiłłowa was another member of Radziwiłł clan mentioned in the eviction lists of 1808, a landlady of just four Jews in two villages in district of Minsk. This was probably Julia, the unmarried daughter of Dominik Radziwiłł from the so-called Annopol branch of the Radziwiłł family, who later married Andzej Prószyński. All in all five members of the Radziwiłł family controlled 1159 Jews in 276 villages in 1808, or 41% of all Jews controlled by Polish-Lithuanian magnates.

206 NIAB F 694 op. 3 d. 659 pp. 71-72, 82.

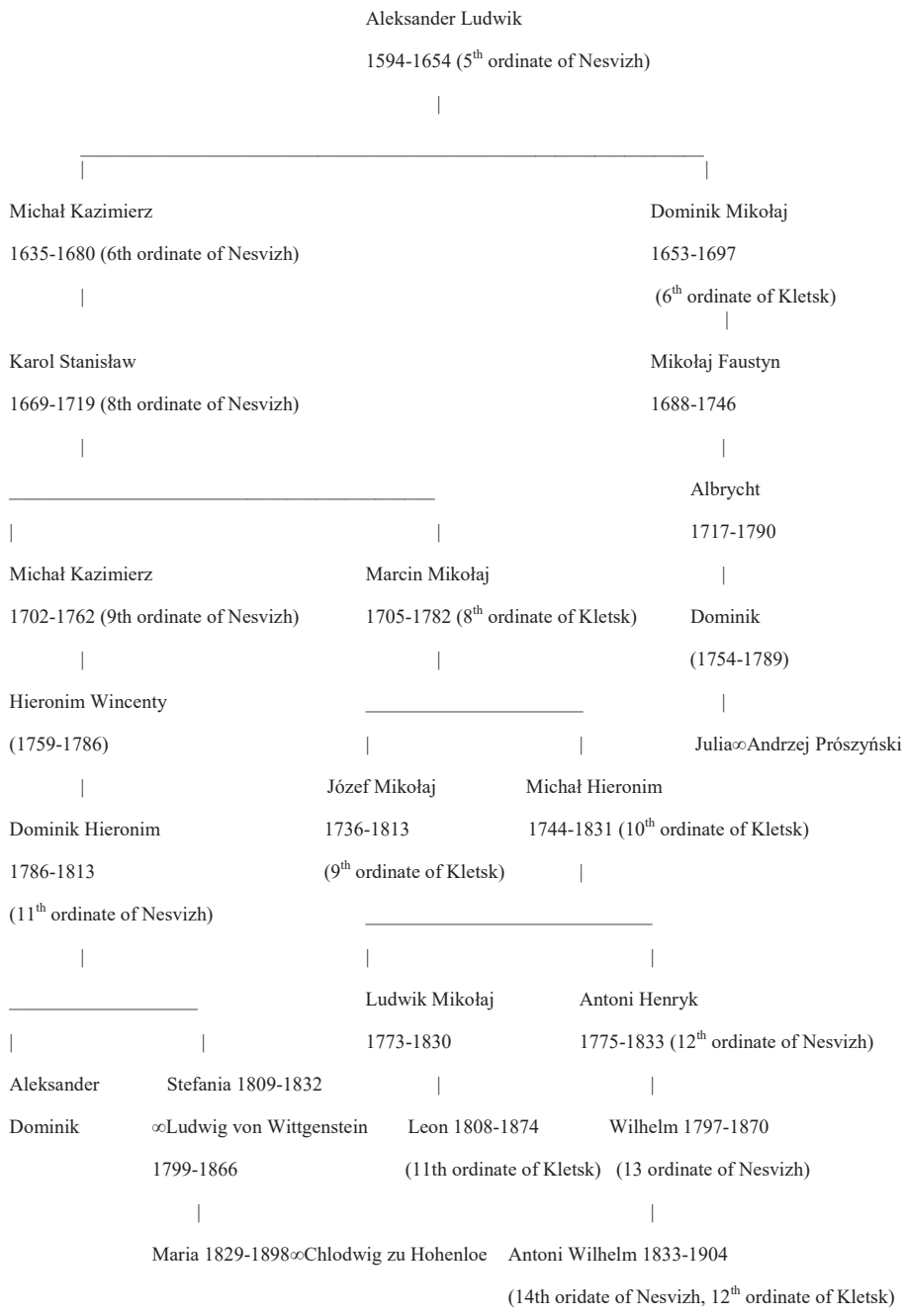

Figure 4.1 The Radziwiłł family in Minsk Guberniya.

The genealogical information of the Radziwiłł family who were attested as lords and masters of Jews in Minsk Guberniya in the 19th century is summarized in the figure 4.1.

The landlords of the second largest number of rural Jews in 1808 were two members of the Tyszkiewicz, a family of Ruthenian (Ukrainian) origin. Counts Pius Tyszkiewicz and his brother Dominik controlled between them 159 Jews in 31 villages in the districts of Borisov and Minsk. Both of them served as district Marshals of Borisov: Dominik in 1807-1811, and Pius in 1814-1820. Tyszkiewicz family owned *shtetls* Logoisk, Pleshchenitsy in the district of Borisov and Ostroshitski Gorodok in district of Minsk.

Ignacy Kurzeniecki and his mother Helena (widow of Józef Kurzeniecki) had between them 122 Jews in 29 villages in district of Pinsk. Count Ludwik Rokicki, who served from 1811 to 1814 as the Marshal of Minsk Guberniya controlled 119 Jews in 31 villages, mainly in the community of Bragin in district of Rechitsa. Bragin itself and its agricultural periphery belonged to the Rokicki family until 1873, when it was bought by a Russian merchant named Konoplin. Prince Karol Józef Drucki-Lubecki and Count Potocki were lords of 109 rural Jews apiece. Prince Drucki-Lubecki was the owner of Logishin and Pogost-Zagorodski in the district of Pinsk and dominated their rural periphery. Prince Karol-Józef served as the district Marshal of Pinsk from 1802 to 1811. In 1874, Logishin was granted to the Governor of Minsk, Vladimir Nikolayevich Tokarev. The Potocki family dominated the rural periphery of Gorval' in the district of Rechitsa.

The Ruthenian Count Joachim Chreptowicz had 77 Jews in 17 villages in the district of Borisov, where the Chreptowicz family owned the *shtetls* of Zembin and Kholopenichi and the village of Krasnoluki, which served as the center of the Jewish community. Zembin was sold in 1811 to the Lichodziejewski family, and in 1834 they sold most its rural periphery to a Jewish landowner Aharon Taina. Kholopenichi was sold in 1867 to a German, Rudolf Wilken. Another Ruthenian magnate, Aleksander Franciszek Chodkiewicz, was the lord of 76 Jews in the district of Mozyr', where his family owned the *shtetl* of Petrikov, but their power base was located farther south in Chernobyl'.

Two members of the Wołłowicz family, of Belarusian origin, Eustachy Wołłowicz and Marianna, widow of the Royal Chamberlain Michał Wołłowicz, controlled 63 Jews, mostly in the district of Rechitsa, where they owned the *shtetl* of Kholmech, which later in the 19th century passed to the Rokicki family. Karol Prozor, of Riurik ancestry owned the *shtetl* of Khoiniki in the district of Rechitsa and was a lord of 62 Jews in Khoiniki's rural periphery. Count Jan Michał Sołłohub (grandfather of the Russian poet Vladimir Aleksandrovich Sołłohub) was lord of 60 Jews in the rural periphery of Turov in district of Mozyr'. Although the Sołłohub family lost control of Turov in 1793, the change of ownership of this private town did not affect the affiliation of the Jewish leaseholders to their landlords in the surrounding villages.

Former Standard-bearer (*chorąży*) Franciszek Władysław Czarnecki, who was of Mazovian origin, controlled 58 rural Jews in nine villages in the periphery of Liubeshov in the district of Pinsk.

Three members of the local Belarusian noble family Paweł, Rafał Michał and Maria Oskierko had between them 56 rural Jews in districts of Borisov, Minsk, Mozyr' and Rechitsa, mostly near the *shtetls* of Skrygalov (in the district of Mozyr') and Narovlia (in the district of Rechitsa), which they owned. The father of Rafał Michał, Jan Mikołaj Oskierko, was an active participant of the Kościuszko rebellion. In August 1793 he participated together with his son Rafał Michał and with Karol Prozor in an underground gathering of Polish nobility in Khoiniki, which proclaimed an uprising to reverse the Second Partition of Poland. Oskierko was arrested in April 1794 and exiled to Siberia. His estates in Narovlia region were confiscated and granted to the Russian ambassador to Poland, Count Jacob von Sievers. Skrygalov passed in 1847 to the Tyszkiewicz family.

The former Royal Chamberlain Count Karol Hutten-Czapski, who was of Pomeranian origin, served as district Marshal of Minsk in 1808 and 1816, had 56 rural Jews in 15 villages in the district of Minsk. His descendants continued to own his estates in district of Minsk until 1920.

Three members of Jeleński family, Major Marcin Jeleński, Marshal Feliks Jeleński and Józef Jeleński, were lords of 51 Jews in 10 villages in the districts of Mozyr' and Rechitsa, mainly near Kopatkevichi, which belonged to the Jeleński family until 1863, when it was confiscated and granted in 1868 to General Nikolai Ivanovich Tsylov.

Other famous Polish magnates, such as Prince Adam Czartoryski, Wincenty Krasiński, Count Poniatowski and Prince Zamoyski controlled only a few rural Jews in Minsk Guberniya, since their family power bases were located in other parts of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Ogińskis were a very powerful magnate family in the district of Pinsk, where Hetman Michał Kazimierz Ogiński had, from 1767 to 1783, constructed his channel connecting the Dnieper and Neman river-systems. However, after the Russian takeover, his estates were confiscated, and his brother, the famous Polish composer Michał Kleofas Ogiński, had to sell most of his estates in the region to the local *szlachta*. Thus, only a few Jews remained leaseholders of "heirs of Hetman Ogiński" in 1808. Old magnate families were, generally speaking, in decline in the post-partition age, when many of them were cut off from their estates by the new political borders. Many estates were mortgaged or leased. These events are attested by the eviction lists of 1808. Several Dominik Radziwiłł's villages with Jewish leaseholders in community of Lakhva in district of Mozyr' were said to be "in possession of Keniewicz, Sosnowski, Stankowicz, Symonowicz".

4.2 The Local *Szlachta*

Most of the middle and lower nobles, who had rural Jewish leaseholders in Minsk Guberniya were members of the local Belarusian *szlachta*, though some of them were of Lithuanian descent (Wizgierd, Wojdzbun), and one of them was even of Flemish origin (de Fourment). Some of these local nobles were no less prominent landlords of Jewish rural leaseholders than the magnates. Thus, former Chamberlain Adam Skirmunt had 102 rural Jews in 19 villages in the district of Pinsk in 1808. Skirmunts were upstarts, whose fortunes were obtained when Szymon Skirmunt married the rich heiress Elżbieta Orzeszko and invested her dowry in the purchase of the estates of Michał Kleofas Ogiński, including the *shtetl* of Stolin.

Two members of another powerful family of Ślizień of Transylvanian origin, the former district Marshal of Borisov Józef Ślizień and the former State Prosecutor of Lithuania Rafał Ślizień between them were lords of 70 rural Jews in 15 villages, mainly in the district of Borisov.

Five members of the Wańkowicz family, the former Marshal of Minsk Guberniya (1802-1806) Stanisław Wańkowicz, the *starosta* of Bobruisk, Adam Wańkowicz, ambassador to the Polish Diet Teodor Wańkowicz, Józef Wańkowicz, and, Wańkowiczowa, controlled between them 43 rural Jews in 11 villages in the districts of Bobruisk, Borisov and Minsk.

However, 50% of local middle nobles had one Jewish leaseholder in one village. Lower nobles are even mentioned in the eviction lists collectively as "local *szlachta*" without indication of their names in six villages in the Minsk, Pinsk and Rechitsa districts.

4.3 Russian Dignitaries

Russian dignitaries were newcomers in the region. In fact, we witness here the beginning of the process of the penetration of Russian landlords into former Polish-Lithuanian lands. In 1808 they controlled just 6.4% of rural Jews. Most of them received their estates from the Russian government as a reward for their service. Sometimes this meant service in the provincial administration in Belarus. For instance, Senator Ivan Nikolayevich Nepliuyev served as a first Governor of Minsk Guberniya from 1793 to 1796, and Piotr Nikolayevich Malafeyev as the Deputy Governor from 1823 to 1831. General Semion Semionovich Zhegulin served from 1797 to 1798 as the Governor of Belarusian Guberniya (in 1802 it was divided into Vitebsk and Mogilev Guberniyas). Others received their estates in Minsk Guberniya as a reward for their active participation in the partitions of Poland. Thus, Count Jacob von Sievers, who was of Danish origin, served as Russian ambassador in Poland during the critical years of 1789 to 1794, and he was granted the confiscated estates of Jan Mikołaj Oskierko in district of Mozyr' as a reward for his efforts in the implementation of the Second

Partition of Poland. Baron Yegor Ivanovich von Asch, who was of German origin, inherited his estates in 1807 from his father Ivan Fedorovich, a Russian Resident of Warsaw from 1766 to 1793. He was arrested in 1794 by Kościuszko rebels and after his release from captivity he received estates as reward for his service. Varvara Alekseyevna Karavayeva received her estates as a posthumous reward on behalf of her husband, the Colonel Dmitri Petrovich Kuz'min-Karavayev, who was killed in action in 1794 fighting the Kościuszko rebels.

The service of many others Russian landlords, however, was connected to neither Belarus nor to Poland. Privy Councilor Sergei Lazarevich Lashkarev was a Russian diplomat of Georgian origin, who received the *shtetl* Ozarichi with its rural periphery for successfully persuading of the last Khan of Crimea, Şahin Geray, to abdicate in 1783, and in so doing removing the last obstacle to the Russian annexation of Crimea. The *shtetl* of Parichi was granted in 1797 to Admiral Piotr Ivanovich Pushchin on occasion of the coronation of Czar Paul and soon after an appointment of Pushchin as Commander-in-chief of the Baltic fleet of Russian Navy. Count Nikolai Ivanovich Saltykov was the tutor of grandsons of Catherine the Great, Grand Dukes Alexander (the future Czar Alexander I) and Constantine (the future Viceroy of Poland). Saltykov received his estates in Belarus in 1790 on the occasion of the Treaty of Värälä with Sweden. Artillery General Nikolai Vasilyevich Vereshchagin received his estates as a reward for his lecture on mechanics to Catherine the Great in 1793. Ivan Ivanovich Lamb, who was of Scottish origin, inherited his estates in 1801 from his father, the Russian General Ivan Varfalomeyevich Lamb, who has served as Governor of several Russian Guberniyas (Perm', Ufa, Irkutsk, Kostroma). After his death his estates were inherited in 1816 by his sister's son Ivan Ivanovich Vas'kov, who obtained a permission to change his family name to Vas'kov-Lamb.

The presence of Russian landowners in Minsk Guberniya greatly increased over the course of the 19th century at the expense of the Polish nobility, especially after 1863, when the policy of "Russification" of the western provinces of the Russian Empire became an official policy. By 1895 Russian landowners controlled 55% of all private lands in Minsk Guberniya[207].

4.4 Non-Noble Gentry (Merchants)

The appearance of a landowning non-noble gentry was also a feature, which would have been unthinkable in the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, given the nobles' monopoly on the land ownership. Only three appear in the eviction lists of 1808. They appear in the capacity of landlords of rural Jewish leaseholders: one English, one

207 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1897 г.*, составил А. П. Смородский, Приложение: Статистические сведения, Минск, 1896, с. 24.

Jewish, and one Belarusian merchant. One of them, the English merchant Edward Forster, appeared in Belarus immediately after the Second Partition of Poland in 1793, when the British Prime Minister, Pitt the Younger, acquired a concession from Hetman Michał Kazimierz Ogiński for the exploitation of wood resources in the Pripiat' river valley on behalf of the British Russia Company. The British Navy relied upon on a steady supply of high quality timber, mainly from Scandinavia and North America, and with the loss of New England's resources after the American Revolution, the British government began to explore alternative sources of timber. The Russia Company decided to explore woodlands in the Pripiat' valley in southern Belarus. The president of the Company, Edward Forster, bought the *shtetl* Turov and woodlands in its region from a local landlord, Count Jan Michał Sołłohub, for 800,000 rubles, and from another local landowner, General Seliabin, for 56,000 rubles. Under rule of Czar Paul I, Russian-British relations deteriorated and the Russian government bought back the former lands of Sołłohub from the British and obliged them to sell the former lands of Seliabin to local landlords[208]. However, our sources show that Edward Forster continued to lease two inns in his possession to local Jews.

Movhsa (Moses) Shimonovich was the first Jewish landowner in Minsk Guberniya mentioned in our sources. Their number gradually increased during the 19th century reaching 159 landowners in 1900.[209] This process was a part of a general transition of landed property from noble landowners to non-noble gentry, and which had accelerated after the emancipation of serfs in 1861. In 1896 non-noble landowners (not including peasants) possessed 10% of all lands in Minsk Guberniya.[210]

4.5 Ecclesiastic Institutions

The three churches active in Minsk Guberniya, Roman Catholic, Orthodox (Greek-Russian), and Uniate (Greek-Catholic) controlled only 4.4% of rural Jews in the region. In light of the fact that the leasing of ecclesiastic property to Jews was strictly prohibited, as had been promulgated by the synodal legislation of all three churches[211], even this scant business involvement with Jews can be seen as relatively high. 66% of the Jews in question were controlled by the Roman Catholic Church,

208 Сехович, Вадим, «Когда в Беларусь инвестировали Ротшильды, Schering и Shell». Часть 3, http://ej.by/news/sociaty/2014/05/07/kogda_v_belarus_investirovali_rotshil_dy_schering_i_shell_chast_3.html

209 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1900 г.*, составил П. П. Иванов, III Статистические сведения, Минск, 1899, с. 106.

210 *Цифровые данные о поземельной собственности в Европейской России*, Министерство финансов, 1896, с. 13.

211 On this subject see Kalik, Judith, "Jews in Catholic Ecclesiastic Legislation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth", *Jewish History Quarterly* 209, 2004, pp. 26-39.

which was a direct continuation of the dominant role of this mainly Polish church in the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The negligible role of the Uniate Church in our sources was the result of the fact that this church had been deprived of most of its property in favor of the Greek-Orthodox Church in 1805. Orthodox, Catholic and Uniate monasteries and nunneries controlled nearly half (49%) of all rural Jewish ecclesiastic leaseholders, Orthodox, Catholic and Uniate clergymen were lords of 29% and the Orthodox and Catholic parish churches controlled 22% of them in 1808.

Amongst the monastic orders, the Dominicans were the most active in employing rural Jews. Four Dominican monasteries in Minsk Guberniya controlled 38 Jewish leaseholders and tenants in eight villages. The Orthodox Spaso-Preobrazhenski monastery in Diatlovichi controlled all rural Jews of the community of Lakhva dwelling in the territory of the district of Pinsk, including the village of Luninets, which later in the 19th century became an important railway junction attracting a large number of Jews.

The Orthodox Archbishops of Belarus also traditionally served as Archimandrites (superior abbots) of the Holy Trinity monastery in Slutsk, and therefore the Archbishop Iov Potiomkin was in 1808 the lord of several rural Jews in both of his capacities, as the Archbishop of the district of Minsk and as the Archimandrite of the district of Slutsk. The Catholic bishop Mikołaj Bykowski was bishop *in partibus* of Troad, and he controlled 26 rural Jews in nine villages.

The Catholic Church lost its dominant position under Russian rule, and the Uniate (Greek-Catholic) Church was subjected to the Orthodox Holy Synod in 1837 and was finally dissolved in 1839. All its property was given to the Russian Orthodox Church, whose position and influence greatly increased during the 19th century. In 1878, the relative proportion of lands owned by the Catholic and the Orthodox Churches became reversed in comparison to the situation in the beginning of the century: 0.6% of all lands in Minsk Guberniya belonged to the Orthodox Church, while only 0.02% of land remained in possession of the Catholic Church[212].

4.6 Public Institutions (Imperial Estates, Treasury Lands and Municipal Lands)

Under Russian rule the former Polish and Lithuanian royal estates (*starostwo*) became the property of the Russian Imperial family (*udel'nyye zemli*), while the confiscated estates of some rebellious Polish nobles became lands of the Treasury (*kazionnyye zemli*). This distinction between Imperial estates and lands of the Treasury was a

212 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии 1875 года*, часть 1, отдел III: Географически-статистическое описание Минской губернии, Минск, 1878, с. 4.

feature of the post-partition period. Administrators of both kinds of these public estates employed Jews, as did some municipalities. All three, Imperial estates, Treasury and municipal lands controlled 6.6% of the rural Jews, and 91% of them lived on Imperial estates. The *Starostwo* of Rechitsa was especially active in leasing its property to Jews. In 1808 it practically controlled all the rural periphery of the Jewish community of Rechitsa. Only two municipalities in Minsk Guberniya, Mozyr' and Nobel', had rural Jewish leaseholders and tenants. Since the Jewish community of Mozyr' had no rural periphery of its own in 1808, rural Jews dependent on this municipality belonged to the communities of Karolin (Yel'sk) and Skrygalov. Nobel' itself was classified as a village in the eviction list and its Jews were subjected to the eviction order. Formally, however, it was a *shtetl*, and one Jewish tenant farmer from the Jewish community of Liubeshov rented land from this municipality. In 1811 Nobel' was already a center of the Jewish community. In 1863, Imperial estates in Minsk Guberniya were sold to peasants and ceased to exist as administrative units. In 1896 Treasury lands occupied 10.8% and municipal lands – occupied 0.3% of all arable land in Minsk Guberniya.[213]

In terms of relationships between rural Jews and their lords, there were two kinds of Jewish communities: those totally controlled by one single lord and those divided between numerous lords and masters. Thus, the rural peripheries of the Jewish communities of Urechye, Smolevichi, Lakhva, Slutsk, Nesvizh and Starobin were controlled by Dominik Radziwiłł, the communities of David-Gorodok and Kletsk, by Józef Radziwiłł, the communities of Lel'chitsy and Narovlia by Count Sievers, the community of Ozarichi by General Lashkarev, the community of Parichi by Admiral Pushchin, the community of Kholopenichi, by Count Chreptowicz, the community of Beloruchye by Tomasz Oborski, the community of Petrikov by Count Chodkiewicz, the community of Turov by Count Sołłohub, the community of Pogost-Zagorodski by Prince Drucki-Lubecki, the community of Bragin by Count Rokicki, and the community of Gorval' by Count Potocki.

Especially interesting is the case of the Jewish community of Liubonichi in the district of Bobruisk: its rural periphery was located in two separate clusters of villages without territorial connection between them, one group of villages near Liubonichi itself, and another one, in the valley of river Ola. Both clusters were connected only the common lord, one Major Niemczynowicz.

Many villages were shared by two or more lords. Thus, in the village Zagalye in district of Bobruisk one Jewish inn-keeper worked for a standard-bearer (*chorąży*) Bykowski, another one for Mrs. Kozłowska, and yet another Jew rented a house from Court Councilor (*nadvornyi sovetnik*) Wincenty Krasiński. There were four leaseholders of a very large inn in the village of Chernitsa in the district of Borisov. Two of them worked for Mr. Święcicki, another one for Mr. Kowierski, and the fourth for Mr. Dyszliewicz.

213 *Цифровые данные о поземельной собственности в Европейской России*, Министерство финансов, 1896, с. 8.

The shift of landed property from Lithuanian magnates to the local *szlachta*, to Russian dignitaries and to the non-noble gentry, from the Catholic and Uniate Churches to the Orthodox Church, from the Imperial estates to the peasants, only marginally affected the dependence of rural Jews on their lords and masters, since most of the new landowners (barring the peasants) continued to lease their propination rights to Jews. The dependence of landlords to treat their Jewish leaseholders as a major source of income, however, diminished considerably during the 19th century, because of the disintegration of the propination system, caused in turn by the railway construction and increase in the grain export. This process, which is discussed in following chapters, caused a radical change in the relations between rural Jews and their lords.

Appendix 2: Tables to Chapter 4

Table 4.1 Polish-Lithuanian magnates (1808).

Landlord	Jews					
	District	Community	No. of villages	Occupation	m	f
Bogusz	Mozyr'	Kopatkevichi	1	1 inn-keeper	2	6
Borowski	Borisov	Dokshitskaya Sloboda	1		1	4
Brochocki	Minsk	Kaidanovo	3		5	3
Quartermaster	Bobruisk	Bobruisk	1		3	4
Kazimierz Chalecki	Rechitsa	Gorval'	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
total			2	1 inn-keeper	4	5
Chalecka (widow of chamberlain Józef Chalecki)	Rechitsa	Gorval'	1		1	1
Marshal Hipolit Chmara	Minsk	Rakov	3		3	5
Marianna Chmara (widow of voivode of Minsk Adam Chmara)	Minsk	Minsk	3		7	7
Count Aleksander Franciszek Chodkiewicz	Mozyr'	Petrikov	19	13 inn-keepers 1 miller	32	44
Count Joachim Chreptowicz	Borisov	Kholopenichi	10	5 inn-keepers	19	35
		Krasnoluki	7	6 inn-keepers	9	14
total			17	11 inn-keepers	28	49
Czaplic	Pinsk	Pinsk	1	1 inn-keeper	2	2
Count Karol Hutten-Czapski	Minsk	Kaidanovo	13		23	22
		Samokhvalovichi	2		3	8
total			15		26	30
Standard-bearer Franciszek Władysław Czarnecki	Pinsk	Liubeshov	9	11 inn-keepers	24	34
Prince Adam Czartoryski	Minsk	Stolbtsy	3		7	6
Deputy Master of the Pantry Józef Daszkiewicz	Bobruisk	Glusk	2	1 inn-keeper 1 tenant	3	2
Prince Karol Józef Drucki-Lubecki	Pinsk	Logishin	11	10 inn-keepers	19	20
		Pogost	2	2 inn-keeper	6	3
		Pinsk	2	1 inn-keeper	4	4
		Karolin	2	2 inn-keepers	4	5
		Pogost-Zagorodski	9	9 inn-keepers	13	13
		Gorodno	2	2 inn-keepers	9	9
total			28	26 inn-keepers	55	54
Górski	Mozyr'	Karolin	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
Gruszczyński	Minsk	Samokhvalovichi	1		1	2
Antoni Jankowski	Borisov	Logoisk	1	1 inn-keeper	1	3

Continued Table 4.1

Landlord	Jews					
	District	Community	No. of villages	Occupation	m	f
Major Marcin Jeleński	Mozyr'	Skrygalov	1	1 inn-keeper	3	5
		Turov	3	1 inn-keeper	4	4
total			4	2 inn-keepers	7	9
Marshal Feliks Jeleński	Mozyr'	Kopatkevichi	2	1 inn-keeper	5	6
	Rechitsa	Yurovichi	1	1 inn-keeper	2	3
		Kalinkovichi	2	2 inn-keepers	6	6
total			5	4 inn-keepers	13	15
Józef Jeleński	Mozyr'	Kopatkevichi	1	1 inn-keeper 1 house-owner	2	5
Colonel Ludwik Jelski	Minsk	Samokhvalovichi	3		3	8
Count Stanisław Judycki	Bobruisk	Glusk	5	4 inn-keepers 1 tenant	7	8
Major Henryk Ignacy Kamieński	Bobruisk	Glusk	1	1 miller	1	1
Judge Kaziemierski	Borisov	Pleshchenitsy	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
Marshal Jan	Bobruisk	Bobruisk	6		11	13
Antony Kiełczewski		Liubonichi	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
total			7	1 inn-keeper	12	15
Kobyliński	Slutsk	Liakhovichi	2		5	7
heirs of Castellan Korecki	Pinsk	Liubeshov	1	1 inn-keeper	2	4
Standard-bearer	Borisov	Pleshchenitsy	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
Apolinary Korsak		Dokshitsy	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
		Dokshitskaya Sloboda	2	1 inn-keeper 1 barber	4	5
	Rechitsa	Kalinkovichi	1	1 inn-keeper	2	1
total			5	5 inn-keepers 1 barber	8	9
Korsakowa	Rechitsa	Kalinkovichi	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
Kozłowska	Bobruisk	Glusk	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
Krasicki	Pinsk	Pinsk	2	2 inn-keepers	3	4
Court Councilor Wincenty Krasiński	Bobruisk	Glusk	4	1 inn-keeper 3 tenants	4	4
Ignacy Kurzeniecki	Pinsk	Pogost	3	3 inn-keepers	8	4
		Stolin	13	9 inn-keepers	22	26
		Pinsk	8	10 inn-keepers	20	17
		Karolin	3	3 inn-keepers	7	
		Gorodno	1	1 inn-keeper	8	7
total			28	26 inn-keepers	65	54
Helena Kurzeniecka	Pinsk	Pinsk	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
Michałowski	Mozyr'	Skrygalov	1		2	2
	Pinsk	Pinsk	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
		Gorodno	1		1	1
total			3	1 inn-keeper	4	5

Continued Table 4.1

Landlord	Jews					
	District	Community	No. of villages	Occupation	m	f
Count Karl	Minsk	Samokhvalovichi	1		1	2
Morawski	Slutsk	Nesvizh	1		3	4
total			2		5	6
Tomasz Oborski	Minsk	Beloruchye	5		14	17
Filip Obuchowicz	Mozyr’	Kopatkevichi	1	1 inn-keeper	2	1
	Rechitsa	Yurovichi	1		1	1
total			2	1 inn-keeper	3	2
Ksawery Obuchowicz	Slutsk	Kletsk	1		1	2
Obuchowiczowa	Slutsk	Kletsk	1		2	2
heirs of Hetman Michał Kazimierz Ogiński	Pinsk	Logishin	3	3 inn-keepers	7	7
Olędzki	Minsk	Samokhvalovichi	1		2	4
Orda	Pinsk	Liubeshov	2	4 inn-keepers	4	9
		Pogost	3	3 inn-keepers	5	5
		Stolin	1	2 inn-keepers	1	3
		Gorodno	1		2	2
total			7	9 inn-keepers	12	19
Paweł Oskierko	Rechitsa	Yurovichi	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
Guard Rafał Michał	Borisov	Dokshitskaya Sloboda	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
Oskierko	Minsk	Stolbtsy	2		4	2
	Rechitsa	Rechitsa	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
		Yurovichi	5	5 inn-keepers	7	12
		Kalinkovichi	4	2 inn-keepers	5	7
total			13	9 inn-keepers	18	25
Maria Oskierko	Mozyr’	Skrygalov	3	3 inn-keepers 1 tenant	5	5
Oziembłowski	Minsk	Rakov	1		1	1
Count	Pinsk	Pogost	1	1 inn-keeper	2	1
Poniatowski		Karolin	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
total			2	2 inn-keepers	3	3
Count Potocki	Minsk	Rakov	1		1	1
	Mozyr’	Turov	2	1 inn-keeper	5	4
	Rechitsa	Rechitsa	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
		Gorval’	24	23 inn-keepers 2 tavern-keepers	48	48
total			28	25 inn-keepers 2 tavern-keepers	55	54

Continued Table 4.1

Landlord	Jews					
	District	Community	No. of villages	Occupation	m	f
Karol Prozor	Rechitsa	Bragin	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
		Khoiniki	11	8 inn-keepers	24	28
		Yurovichi	2	2 inn-keepers	4	4
total			14	11 inn-keepers	29	33
Andryej Prószyński	Minsk	Samokhvalovichi	2		3	5
Karol Przezdziecki	Minsk	Rakov	1		1	1
		Zaslavl'	1		4	2
total			2		5	3
Prince Andrzej Puzyna	Minsk	Samokhvalovichi	1		2	5
Radziejowski	Mozyr'	Petrikov	6	3 inn-keepers	6	9
		Skrygalov	1	1 inn-keeper	1	3
total			7	4 inn-keepers	7	12
Antoni Radziwiłł	Pinsk	Stolin	3	3 inn-keepers	6	6
Prince Dominik Radziwiłł	Bobruisk	Glusk	11	1 inn-keeper 2 millers 8 tenants	14	17
		Urechye	38	12 inn-keepers 1 ferryman	84	73
	Borisov	Smolevichi	11	16 inn-keepers 1 agricultural manager	27	39
	Minsk	Minsk	3		12	15
		Kaidanovo	24		38	32
		Rakov	1		1	2
		Samokhvalovichi	1		1	1
		Ostroshitski Gorodok	1		2	
	Mozyr'	Kopatkevichi	4	1 inn-keeper	9	17
		Lakhva	27	13 inn-keepers	42	74
		David-Gorodok	1	1 inn-keeper	4	4
	Slutsk	Slutsk	19	3 inn-keepers	30	34
		Nesvizh	16		23	38
		Starobin	11		20	33
total			168	34 inn-keepers 8 tenants 2 millers 1 ferryman 1 agricultural manager	307	379

Continued Table 4.1

Landlord	Jews					
	District	Community	No. of villages	Occupation	m	f
Prince Józef Radziwiłł	Mozyr'	David-Gorodok	10	7 inn-keepers	26	38
	Slutsk	Kletsk	46	1 courtier	51	54
total			56	7 inn-keepers 1 courtier	77	92
Prince Michał Radziwiłł	Borisov	Borisov	45	27 inn-keepers 2 managers 1 hired worker 1 *bobyl'*	132	148
		Zembin	1	1 inn-keeper	2	3
		Krasnoluki	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
total			47	29 inn-keepers 2 managers 1 hired w*orker* 1 bobyl'	135	153
Princess Radziwiłłowa	Minsk	Samokhvalovichi	2		2	2
Count Ludwik Rokicki	Mozyr'	Karolin	1	1 inn-keeper	2	2
	Rechitsa	Bragin	29	27 inn-keepers	49	61
		Khoiniki	1	1 inn-keeper	2	3
total			31	29 inn-keepers	53	66
Colonel Rudnicki	Bobruisk	Glusk	1	1 tenant	1	1
Rylski	Minsk	Minsk	1		2	2
Seweryn	Minsk	Kaidanovo	3		6	6
Rzewuski		Rakov	2		4	5
total			5		10	11
Sielicki	Rechitsa	Rechitsa	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
Count Jan Michał Sołłohub	Mozyr'	Turov	18	7 inn-keepers	25	25
Cup-bearer	Bobruisk	Urechze	1		2	1
Wincenty	Rechitsa	Rechitsa	2		2	2
Sołtan		Gorval'	1	1 inn-keeper	2	2
	Slutsk	Slutsk	1		2	2
total			5	1 inn-keeper	8	7
Sołtan family	Rechitsa	Rechitsa	1	1 inn-keeper	3	3
Standard-bearer	Mozyr'	Karolin	2	2 inn-keepers	4	3
Bernard Stecki	Rechitsa	Yurovichi	2	2 inn-keepers	3	4
total			4	4 inn-keepers	7	7
Strawiński	Pinsk	Karolin	2	2 inn-keepers	2	4
Święcicki	Borisov	Borisov	1	1 inn-keeper	3	4
		Zembin	2	2 inn-keepers	4	6
total			3	3 inn-keepers	7	10

Continued Table 4.1

Landlord	Jews					
	District	Community	No. of villages	Occupation	m	f
Świrski	Borisov	Pleshchenitsy	1	1 inn-keeper	1	3
Count Dominik	Borisov	Pleshchenitsy	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
Tyszkiewicz	Minsk	Minsk	1		5	5
		Beloruchye	1		2	2
		Rakov	1		1	2
total			4	1 inn-keeper	9	11
Count Pius Tyszkiewicz	Borisov	Borisov	2	1 inn-keeper 1 master glassmaker	6	5
		Logoisk	9	3 inn-keepers 2 tavern-keepers 1 teacher 1 foundry leaseholder	14	24
		Pleshchenitsy	4	4 inn-keepers 1 tavern-keeper	10	17
		Smolevichi	1	1 inn-keeper	1	4
	Minsk	Ostroshitski Gorodok	11		25	33
total			27	9 inn-keepers 3 tavern-keepers 1 master glassmaker 1 foundry leaseholder 1 teacher	56	83
Unichowski	Minsk	Kaidanovo	1		1	1
Deputy Judge Bazyli Walicki	Borisov	Pleshchenitsy	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
Eustachy Wołłowicz	Borisov	Pleshchenitsy	3	1 inn-keeper 1 tenant	4	7
	Minsk	Minsk	1		1	1
		Samokhvalovichi	1		1	1
total			5	1 inn-keeper 1 tenant	6	9
Marianna Wołłowiczowa (widow of Chamberlain Michał Wołłowicz)	Rechitsa	Kholmech	8	8 inn-keepers	18	30
General Szymon Zabiełło	Rechitsa	Bragin	2	2 inn-keepers	4	4

Continued Table 4.1

Landlord	Jews					
	District	Community	No. of villages	Occupation	m	f
Zabiełłowa	Bobruisk	Bobruisk	1		2	2
(widow of General Józef Zabiełło)		Svisloch	2	2 inn-keeper	4	5
total			3	2 inn-keepers	6	7
Zamoyski	Mozyr'	Lakhva	1	1 inn-keeper	1	3
Cecylia Żaba	Borisov	Krasnoluki	4	3 inn-keepers 1 barber	3	7
total 82			690	335 inn-keepers 16 tenants 5 tavern-keepers 4 millers 3 agricultural managers 2 barbers 1 ferryman 1 courtier 1 hired worker 1 *bobyl'* 1 master glassmaker 1 foundry leaseholder 1 teacher 1 house owner	1268	1540

Table 4.2 Local *szlachta* (1808).

Landlord	Jews					
	District	Community	No. of villages	Occupation	m	f
Andrzejkowicz	Pinsk	Liubeshov	1	1 inn-keeper	4	4
Baczyżmalski	Borisov	Dokshitsy	1	1 inn-keeper	2	5
Active State Councilor Michał Bernowicz	Slutsk	Grozovo	1		1	1
Bielokowicz	Borisov	Borisov	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
Bogdanowicz	Borisov	Krasnoluki	1	1 inn-keeper		3
Boguszewski	Borisov	Zembin	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
Borsuk	Minsk	Samokhvalovichi	1		1	3
Chamberlain Bułhak	Bobruisk	Bobruisk	2		3	5
Bułharynowa	Bobruisk	Glusk	1	1 tenant	1	1
Burzyński	Minsk	Ostroshitski Gorodok	1		1	1

Continued Table 4.2

Landlord	Jews					
	District	Community	No. of villages	Occupation	m	f
Mateusz Butrymowicz	Pinsk	Pogost	3	3 inn-keepers	7	3
		Pinsk	1	2 inn-keepers	2	2
		Karolin	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
total			5	5 inn-keepers	10	7
Standard-bearer Bykowski	Bobruisk	Bobruisk	1		1	1
Bylewski	Pinsk	Pinsk	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
		Karolin	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
total			2	2 inn-keepers	2	2
Chojecki	Borisov	Dokshitskaya Sloboda	1	1 tavern-keeper	1	1
Chrzanowski	Pinsk	Pogost	1	1 inn-keeper	4	1
Ciudziewicki	Borisov	Borisov	1	1 inn-keeper	3	2
Czechowski	Minsk	Rakov	1		1	1
Dmochowski	Pinsk	Pinsk	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
Regent Iwan Dobrowolski	Bobruisk	Urechye	6	4 inn-keepers	8	8
Hipolit Domeyko	Borisov	Dokshitsy	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
Dyszliewicz	Borisov	Zembin	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
Dzikowiecki	Pinsk	Pinsk	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
Fedorowicz	Borisov	Dokshitsy	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
de Fourment	Minsk	Kaidanovo	1		1	1
Godziewski	Minsk	Kaidanovo	2		3	2
Gutowski	Pinsk	Pinsk	1		3	5
Judge Ignacy Horwatt	Rechitsa	Kalinkovichi	3	3 inn-keepers 8 house-owners	23	23
Barbara Hrebnicka	Borisov	Dokshitsy	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
Standard-bearer	Bobruisk	Bobruisk	3	2 inn-keepers	5	10
Józef Hryniewicz		Liubonichi	2		2	4
total			5		7	14
Hutorowicz	Borisov	Dokshitsy	2	3 inn-keepers	3	4
Iwanowska (widow of Chamberlain Iwanowski)	Minsk	Kaidanovo	4		4	4
Jesipowicz	Borisov	Dokshitskaya Sloboda	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
Karnicki	Minsk	Rakov	4	1 miller	6	6
Judge Antoni	Mozyr'	Petrikov	7	3 inn-keepers	10	15
Kieniewicz		David-Gorodok	1	1 inn-keeper	4	4
total			8	4 inn-keepers	14	19
Kiersnowski	Slutsk	Liakhovichi	1		1	2
Kodż	Borisov	Logoisk	1	1 inn-keeper	2	3
Kołbowa	Borisov	Krasnoluki	3	2 inn-keepers	3	4

Continued Table 4.2

Landlord	Jews					
	District	Community	No. of villages	Occupation	m	f
Korkozowicz	Borisov	Dokshitsy	2	4 inn-keepers	4	6
Romuald	Minsk	Minsk	1		2	5
Kostrowicki		Kaidanovo	3		7	5
total			4		9	10
Kowierski	Borisov	Zembin	4	4 inn-keepers	6	12
Kozieł	Borisov	Dokshitskaya Sloboda	1	1 tavern-keeper	1	2
Krysowski	Minsk	Kaidanovo	1		1	1
Kukiewicz	Borisov	Borisov	5	4 inn-keepers 1 tailor	16	14
	Minsk	Kaidanovo	1		1	1
total			6	4 inn-keepers 1 tailor	17	15
Standard-bearer Adam Lenkiewicz	Mozyr'	Karolin	5	3 inn-keepers 1 tenant 1 tenant farmer	10	14
Chamberlain	Mozyr'	Karolin	2	2 inn-keepers	2	6
Andrzej Lenkiewicz	Rechitsa	Kalinkovichi	3	2 inn-keepers 1 house-owner	4	5
total			5	4 inn-keepers 1 house-owner	6	11
Aleksander Leński	Minsk	Kaidanovo	2		3	4
Lichodziejewski	Borisov	Borisov	1	1 inn-keeper	2	1
		Zembin	4	4 inn-keepers	12	14
	Minsk	Minsk	1		3	1
		Kaidanovo	5		6	7
total			11	5 inn-keepers	23	23
Lubański	Pinsk	Pinsk	1	2 inn-keepers	4	4
Lieutenant Łappa	Bobruisk	Glusk	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
Łopatto	Minsk	Kaidanovo	1		1	1
Mackiewicz	Borisov	Dokshickaya Sloboda	1		1	2
Teofil Malinowski	Bobruisk	Glusk	2	1 inn-keeper 1 miller	3	4
Marcinkiewicz	Pinsk	Logishin	8	7 inn-keepers 1 tenant	17	18
		Pogost	2	2 inn-keepers	5	3
		Pinsk	2	2 inn-keepers	5	5
		Karolin	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
total			13	12 inn-keepers 1 tenant	28	28

Continued Table 4.2

Landlord	Jews					
	District	Community	No. of villages	Occupation	m	f
Markiewicz	Rechitsa	Rechitsa	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
		Gorval'	1		1	1
total			2	1 inn-keeper	2	2
Meysztowicz	Borisov	Pleshchenitsy	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
Mohylnicki	Slutsk	Kletsk	1		1	1
Judge Moniuszko	Borisov	Smolevichi	1	1 inn-keeper	1	3
Mościński	Borisov	Borisov	1	1 inn-keeper	2	3
Tadeusz Muraszko	Bobruisk	Liubonichi	1		1	1
Nielubowicz	Pinsk	Pogost	3	3 inn-keepers	9	6
		Pinsk	2	2 inn-keepers	8	6
total			5	5 inn-keepers	17	12
Major Niemczynowicz	Bobruisk	Liubonichi	6		14	12
Niemorszański	Minsk	Minsk	1		3	4
Niesłuchowski	Pinsk	Pinsk	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
Michał Nowakowicz	Slutsk	Kletsk	1		1	1
Nowakowski	Rechitsa	Kalinkovichi	3	3 inn-keepers	6	8
Olesza	Pinsk	Stolin	2	2 inn-keepers	2	3
Omulska	Borisov	Kholopenichi	1	1 inn-keeper	2	2
		Krasnoluki	1	1 inn-keeper	1	3
total			2	2 inn-keepers	3	5
Ambassador to the Diet Osiecimski	Borisov	Pleshchenitsy	2		3	8
Standard-bearer Pawlikowski	Bobruisk	Svisloch	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
	Borisov	Logoisk	2	2 inn-keepers	4	6
		Dokshitskaya Sloboda	1	1 farmer	2	3
total			4	3 inn-keepers 1 farmer	7	10
Piszczałło	Minsk	Samokhvalovichi	2		2	3
Płotnicki	Pinsk	Pogost	1	1 inn-keeper	2	2
Późniak	Borisov	Pleshchenitsy	1	1 inn-keeper	2	3
Marshal Kasper Pruszanowski	Bobruisk	Bobruisk	5		8	12
		Parichi	2		2	3
total			7		10	15
Chamberlain	Mozyr'	Karolin	1	1 inn-keeper	2	3
Przybora	Rechitsa	Kholmech	2	2 inn-keepers	6	12
total			3	3 inn-keepers	8	15
Puchalski	Pinsk	Pinsk	1	1 rent payer	1	
Pusłowski	Pinsk	Pinsk	7	4 inn-keepers	16	24
Cavalry Captain Radkiewicz	Minsk	Minsk	1		2	4

Continued Table 4.2

Landlord	Jews					
	District	Community	No. of villages	Occupation	m	f
Radzewicz	Pinsk	Liubeshov	1	1 inn-keeper	2	5
		Pogost	1	1 inn-keeper	4	3
		Stolin	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
total			3	3 inn-keepers	7	10
Carver Radzewski	Pinsk	Liubeshov	2	2 inn-keepers	3	3
		Pogost	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
		Pinsk	1	1 inn-keeper	1	3
		Karolin	1	2 inn-keepers	3	3
	Rechitsa	Kalinkovichi	1	1 inn-keeper	1	3
total			6	7 inn-keepers	9	13
Forester Ratyński	Bobruisk	Glusk	2	1 inn-keeper 1 tenant	3	2
	Minsk	Rakov	1		1	1
total			3	1 inn-keeper 1 tenant	4	3
Reutt	Borisov	Krasnoluki	3	3 inn-keepers	3	4
Rodziewicz	Borisov	Zembin	3	3 inn-keepers	4	8
		Pleshchenitsy	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
total			4	4 inn-keepers	5	10
Rostocki	Pinsk	Stolin	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
Rychwalski	Mozyr'	Karolin	1	1 inn-keeper	4	5
Dominik Rymsza	Rechitsa	Rechitsa	1	1 inn-keeper	2	3
Rzeczycki	Slutsk	Nesvizh	1		2	2
Ambassador to the Diet Sachnowicz	Borisov	Borisov	1	1 inn-keeper	2	2
Sielawa	Borisov	Dokshitskaya Sloboda	1	1 tavern-keeper	2	2
	Minsk	Kaidanovo	1		1	1
total			2	1 tavern-keeper	3	3
szlachcic Siemaszko	Borisov	Pleshchenitsy	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
Chamberlain Adam	Pinsk	Pogost	12	15 inn-keepers 1 tenant	32	21
Skirmunt		Stolin	1	1 inn-keeper	3	4
		Pinsk	4	2 inn-keepers	8	10
		Karolin	1	4 inn-keepers	6	10
		Gorodno	1	2 inn-keepers	4	4
total			19	24 inn-keepers 1 tenant	53	49
Skokowski	Slutsk	Liakhovichi	1		1	1
Skorino	Bobruisk	Liubonichi	1		1	2

Continued Table 4.2

Landlord	Jews					
	District	Community	No. of villages	Occupation	m	f
Marshal	Minsk	Rakov	1		1	3
Kazimierz	Mozyr'	Karolin	1	1 inn-keepers	2	4
Sulistrowski			2	1 inn-keeper	3	7
total			4	2 inn-keepers	6	14
Sulistrowska	Mozyr'	Karolin	4	4 inn-keepers	6	12
		Kopatkevichi	4	1 inn-keeper	7	11
total			8	5 inn-keepers	13	23
Szyrma	Pinsk	Pogost	2	1 inn-keeper	5	3
		Pinsk	1	1 inn-keeper	3	3
		Pogost-Zagorodski	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
total			4	3 inn-keepers	9	7
Szyryn	Borisov	Dokshitskaya Sloboda	1		1	4
Klotylda Szyryn	Pinsk	Pogost	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
		Karolin	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
total			2	2 inn-keepers	2	2
Judge Szyszko	Rechitsa	Rechitsa	1		1	3
Szyszkowa	Rechitsa	Rechitsa	2	2 inn-keepers 1 house-owner	7	7
		Kholmech	2	1 inn-keeper 1 tenant	4	4
total			4	3 inn-keepers 1 tenant 1 house-owner	11	11
State Prosecutor	Borisov	Borisov	1		2	3
Rafał Ślizień		Zembin	8	5 inn-keepers	12	19
		Pleshchenitsy	1	1 barber	1	2
		Dokshitsy	2	2 inn-keepers	3	3
	Minsk	Kaidanovo	1		2	1
total			13	7 inn-keepers 1 barber	20	28
former Marshal Józef Ślizień	Borisov	Zembin	2	1 inn-keeper 1 master tailor 1 wine brewer 1 barber *1 b*obyl'	8	24
Marshal Michał Świeżyński	Slutsk	Liakhovichi	1		1	2
Świętorzęcki	Minsk	Rakov	3		4	4
Stefan Świda	Borisov	Borisov	5	4 inn-keepers	16	16
	Minsk	Rakov	1		1	1
total			6	4 inn-keepers	17	17

Continued Table 4.2

Landlord	Jews					
	District	Community	No. of villages	Occupation	m	f
Terlecki	Pinsk	Liubeshov	2	2 inn-keepers	4	6
		Pogost	2	3 inn-keepers	5	3
		Pinsk	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
total			5	6 inn-keepers	10	10
Tołwiński	Borisov	Dokshitskaya Sloboda	2	1 inn-keeper 1 tailor	2	3
Felicja Trzeciak	Mozyr'	Karolin	1	1 inn-keeper	3	6
Turczyński	Minsk	Samokhvalovichi	1		1	2
Lieutenant Uzłowski	Bobruisk	Glusk	1	1 inn-keeper	1	3
Starosta Adam Wańkowicz	Bobruisk	Glusk	1	1 inn-keeper	2	2
former Marshal	Borisov	Borisov	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
Stanisław Wańkowicz		Zembin	2	2 inn-keepers	3	4
total			3	3 inn-keepers	4	6
Ambassador to the Diet Teodor Wańkowicz	Borisov	Borisov	1	1 inn-keeper	5	5
Józef Wańkowicz	Minsk	Minsk	2		3	5
		Kaidanovo	3		4	5
total			5		7	10
Wańkowiczowa	Minsk	Kaidanovo	1		1	1
Waśkiewicz	Borisov	Dokshitsy	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
Węcesławowicz	Bobruisk	Bobruisk	1		1	2
	Rechitsa	Kalinkovichi	1	1 inn-keeper	2	1
total			2	1 inn-keeper	3	3
Węcesławowiczowa (widow of Chamberlain Węcesławowicz)	Rechitsa	Kholmech	1		2	3
General Józef Wiszczyński	Bobruisk	Glusk	5	2 inn-keepers 3 tenants	8	9
Wizgierd	Borisov	Dokshitsy	2	6 inn-keepers	6	11
	Slutsk	Liakhovichi	1		1	1
total			3	6 inn-keepers	7	12
Court Councilor Wojdzbun	Bobruisk	Bobruisk	1		1	2
Wojniłowicz	Slutsk	Kletsk	1		1	1
Wolbek	Bobruisk	Ozarichi	2	1 tenant	3	5
Wolbekowa	Rechitsa	Kalinkovichi	1		1	2
Wolszscyn	Pinsk	Pogost	1		3	1
		Karolin	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
total			2	1 inn-keeper	4	2

Continued Table 4.2

Landlord	Jews					
	District	Community	No. of villages	Occupation	m	f
Marshal Wołk	Bobruisk	Bobruisk	2		3	3
		Glusk	2	1 miller 1 tenant	4	3
		Liubonichi	1		1	1
total			5		8	7
Wołkowicz	Borisov	Pleshchenitsy	4	3 inn-keepers 1 barber 1 tenant 1 houseowner	12	15
Wicenty Wołodkowicz	Minsk	Samokhvalovichi	1		1	1
Hipolit Wołodźko	Bobruisk	Glusk	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
	Borisov	Dokshitskaya Sloboda	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
total			2	2 inn-keepers	2	2
Elżbeta Zarębska (widow of Ignacy Zarębski)	Minsk	Rakov	1		1	1
Żyżniewska	Borisov	Pleshchenitsy	1	1 inn-keeper 1 tenant farmer	2	4
local *szlachta*	Minsk	Ostroshitski Gorodok	1		1	1
	Pinsk	Gorodno	1	1 inn-keeper	6	7
	Rechitsa	Gorval’	1		1	1
total			3	1 inn-keeper	8	9
total 133			341	214 inn-keepers 9 tenants 11 house-owners 4 tavern-keepers 5 millers 3 barbers 3 tailors 2 tenant farmers 1 farmer 1 rent payer 1 wine brewer	646	814

Table 4.3 Russian dignitaries (1808).

Landlord	Jews					
	District	Community	No. of villages	Occupation	m	f
Baron Yegor Ivanovich von Asch	Borisov	Dokshitskaya Sloboda	1	1 inn-keeper	2	2
General Semion L'vovich Bykovski	Minsk	Samokhvalovichi	2		4	3
Cherepakhova	Pinsk	Pogost	1	1 inn-keeper	2	1
Count Vasili Vasilyevich Orlov-Denisov	Minsk	Samokhvalovichi	1		1	2
Filatyeva	Pinsk	Pogost	2		9	5
Gorich	Minsk	Minsk	1		3	1
Varvara Alekseyevna Karavayeva (née Bezobrazova, widow of Colonel Dmitri Petrovich Kuz'min-Karavayev)	Borisov	Dokshitsy	2	2 inn-keepers	4	3
Kozlianinova	Pinsk	Logishin	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
Afanasi Ivanivich Krasovski	Borisov	Dokshitskaya Sloboda	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
	Minsk	Kaidanovo	1		1	1
Chamberlain Ivan Ivanovich Lamb	Bobruisk	Bobruisk	2		4	4
		Parichi	1		3	3
Privy Councilor Sergei Lazarevich Lashkarev	Bobruisk	Ozarichi	7	2 inn-keepers 1 miller 2 house-owners	8	12
State Councilor Piotr Nikolayevich Malafeyev	Borisov	Logoisk	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
Senator Ivan	Borisov	Logoisk	5	5 inn-keepers	11	14
Nikolayevich		Pleshchenitsy	4	4 inn-keepers	14	18
Nepliuyev	Minsk	Minsk	1		3	1
total			10	9 inn-keepers	28	33
Neumoino	Borisov	Zembin	1	1 inn-keeper	1	3
Petrozolin	Slutsk	Nesvizh	1		1	1
Admiral Piotr Ivanovich Pushchin	Bobruisk	Parichi	13		24	30
Count Nikolai Ivanovich Saltykov	Borisov	Borisov	1	1 inn-keeper	5	4
Schmidt	Pinsk	Gorodno	1	1 inn-keeper	3	4
Shemerny	Borisov	Dokshitskaya Sloboda	1	1 inn-keeper	2	2
Shmakov	Bobruisk	Glusk	1	tenant	1	1

Continued Table 4.3

Landlord	Jews					
	District	Community	No. of villages	Occupation	m	f
Count Jacob von Sievers	Mozyr'	Lel'chitsy	7	2 inn-keepers 1 barber 1 tenant	15	20
	Rechitsa	Yurovichi	1	1 inn-keeper	2	3
		Narovlia	8	8 inn-keepers	12	17
total			16	11 inn-keepers 1 tenant 1 barber	29	50
Terliakova	Borisov	Borisov	1		4	2
Count Pavel Ivanovich Tiesenhausen	Pinsk	Pogost-Zagorodski	1		2	
General Nikolai Vasilyevich Vereshchagin	Borisov	Dokshitskaya Sloboda	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
General Semion Semionovich Zhegulin	Bobruisk	Bobruisk	1		1	2
Zhizhelina	Minsk	Minsk	1		5	8
grand total 26			75	34 inn-keepers 2 tenants 2 house-owners 1 miller 1 barber	151	183

Table 4.4 Non-noble gentry (merchants), 1808.

Landlord	Jews					
	District	Community	No. of villages	Occupation	m	f
merchant Chatajewicki	Minsk	Ostroshitski Gorodok	1	1 tenant farmer	2	5
English merchant Edward Forster	Mozyr'	Turov	2	2 inn-keepers	2	4
merchant Movsha Shimonovich	Bobruisk	Bobruisk	2		4	6
total: 3			5	2 inn-keepers 1 tenant farmer	8	15

Table 4.5 Ecclesiastic institutions (1808).

Landlord	Jews					
	District	Community	No. of villages	Occupation	m	f
Orthodox (Greek-Russian)						
parish church of Ivenets	Minsk	Rakov	2		2	2
parish church of Logoisk	Borisov	Logoisk	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
parish church of Prilepy	Minsk	Ostroshitski Gorodok	1		1	1
Archbishop Iov	Minsk	Minsk	4		15	13
Potiomkin	Slutsk	Slutsk	1		4	3
Petropavlovski monastery of Minsk	Minsk	Samokhvalovichi	1		2	1
Spaso-Preobrazhenski	Mozyr'	Lakhva	1	1 inn-keeper	2	2
monastery of Diatlovichi	Pinsk	unaffiliated	2	2 inn-keepers	6	
Holy Trinity monastery of	Bobruisk	Urechye	1		2	1
Slutsk	Mozyr'	Petrikov	1	1 inn-keeper	2	1
Uspenski monastery of Moroch	Mozyr'	Lakhva	2	1 inn-keeper	5	5
total: 8			17	6 inn-keepers	42	31
Roman Catholic						
Roman Catholic parish	Borisov	Borisov	4	5 inn-keepers	10	9
of Borisov		Kholopenichi	1	1 inn-keeper	3	3
		Krasnoluki	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
		Pleshchenitsy	1	1 inn-keeper	3	2
total			7	8 inn-keepers	17	15
Catholic parish of Mozyr'	Rechitsa	Kalinkovichi	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
Catholic parish of Glukhovichi	Rechitsa	Khoiniki	2	1 inn-keeper	4	5
Bishop Mikołaj	Bobruisk	Bobruisk	3		5	6
Bykowski		Urechye	5	2 inn-keepers	6	5
		Parichi	1		2	2
total			9		13	13
Catholic priest Cydzin	Borisov	Logoisk	1	1 foundry worker	1	3
Benedictine nuns of Minsk	Minsk	Ostroshitski Gorodok	1		1	2
Benedictine nuns of	Minsk	Kaidanovo	1		2	1
Nesvizh	Slutsk	Nesvizh	1		2	3
Carmelites of Glubokoye	Borisov	Dokshitsy	3	3 inn-keepers 1 barber	4	5
		Dokshitskaya Sloboda	1	2 inn-keepers	4	2
Dominican monastery of Khatayevichi	Borisov	Pleshchenitsy	1	1 inn-keeper 1 *bobyl'* 1 tenant	8	3

Continued Table 4.5

Landlord	Jews					
	District	Community	No. of villages	Occupation	m	f
Dominican monastery of Kholopenichi	Borisov	Kholopenichi	1	1 inn-keeper	3	3
		Krasnoluki	2	2 inn-keepers	2	3
Dominican monastery of Pinsk	Pinsk	Liubeshov	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
Dominican monastery of Rechitsa	Rechitsa	Rechitsa	2		2	5
		Kholmech	1	1 inn-keeper	1	5
Franciscans	Pinsk	Pinsk	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
Piarist priests	Borisov	Dokshitsy	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
Piarist monastery of Liubeshov	Pinsk	Liubeshov	1	1 inn-keeper	3	3
Visitation nuns of Vileika	Borisov	Dokshitsy	1	1 inn-keeper	2	2
total: 16			39	27 inn-keepers 1 tenant 1 foundry worker 1 barber *1 bo*byl’	73	79
Uniate (Greek-Catholic)						
Basilian priest Rakowski	Minsk	Rakov	1		1	1
Basilian monastery	Pinsk	Pinsk	1	1 inn-keeper	2	3
total: 2			2	1 inn-keeper	3	4
grand total: 26			58	34 inn-keepers 1 tenant 1 foundry worker 1 barber *1 bo*byl’	117	114

Table 4.6 Imperial estates (*starostwo*), state lands (Treasury), and municipalities (1808).

Landlord	Jews					
	District	Community	No. of villages	Occupation	m	f
starostwo Brody	Bobruisk	Bobruisk	8	1 inn-keeper	11	14
		Glusk	1	1 tenant	2	2
starostwo Grabyo		Ozarichi	1	1 farmer	3	2
starostwo Nestanovichi		Ozarichi	1		1	2
starostwo Liubonichi		Liubonichi	9	1 tenant	25	34
total: 4			20	1 inn-keepers 2 tenants 1 farmer	42	54
starostwo Smorki	Borisov	Borisov	2	2 inn-keepers	7	7
starostwo Es'mon		Borisov	1	1 tailor	5	6
starostwo Veliatichi		Borisov	3	3 inn-keepers	17	13
starostwo Sviridovka		Borisov	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
starostwo Gaina		Logoisk	1	1 inn-keeper	2	3
		Dokshitskaya Sloboda	2		4	3
starostwo Staiki		Dokshitskaya Sloboda	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
starostwo Kurilovichi		Dokshitskaya Sloboda	1		1	3
total: 7			12	8 inn-keepers 1 tailor	38	38
starostwo Bagrimovichi	Mozyr'	Skrygalov	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
starostwo Fastov		Kopatkevichi	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
starostwo Kalinkovichi			2	1 inn-keeper	3	4
total: 3			4	3 inn-keepers	5	7
starostwo Lemnitsa	Pinsk	Liubeshov	2	1 inn-keeper 1 tenant	3	6
starostwo Svalovichi			1	1 inn-keeper	1	3
starostwo Molodel'chitsy		Pinsk	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
starostwo Bereztsy		Karolin	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
starostwo Morozovichi			1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
total: 5			6	5 inn-keepers 1 tenant	7	13
starostwo Rechitsa	Rachitsa	Rechitsa	18	11 inn-keepers	37	47
starostwo Zagalye		Rechitsa	1	1 inn-keeper	1	3
		Khoiniki	4	4 inn-keepers	5	6
starostwo Sukhovichi		Kalinkovichi	2	2 inn-keepers	5	7
total: 3			25	18 inn-keepers	48	63

Continued Table 4.6

Landlord	Jews					
	District	Community	No. of villages	Occupation	m	f
grand total: 22			67	35 inn-keepers 3 tenants 1 farmer 1 tailor	140	175
Treasury	Minsk	Rakov	1		1	1
	Mozyr’	Karolin	2	3 inn-keepers	7	5
		Skrygalov	1	1 brewer	2	1
	Rechitsa	Narovlia	1	1 inn-keeper	1	4
total: 3			5	4 inn-keepers 1 brewer	11	11
town of Mozyr’	Mozyr’	Karolin	1	1 inn-keeper	1	2
town of Nobel’		Skrygalov	1	1 inn-keeper	1	1
total: 2	Pinsk	Liubeshov	1	1 tenant farmer	1	2
			3	2 inn-keepers 1 tenant farmer	3	5
great grand total: 27			75	41 inn-keepers 3 tenants 1 tenant farmer 1 farmer 1 brewer 1 tailor	154	191

5 Occupational Structure

The absolute predominance of leaseholders of various kinds distinguished rural Jews from urban ones. For example, in 1795, in the *shtetl* of Pukhovichi in the district of Igumen there were 4 leaseholders, 11 tavern-keepers, 3 tailors, 5 coachmen (*furman*), 1 peddler, 1 candle-maker (*voskoboinik*), 3 butchers, 1 textile-painter (*kraselnik*), 1 shoemaker, 2 confectioners (*sladovnik*), 1 teacher, 1 Rabbi's assistant (*podrabinek*), 1 cantor, 3 synagogue attendants (*shkol'nik*), 1 glassmaker, 1 barber, and 1 "poor woman at the inn" (*pri karchme*), while in the villages which belonged to this community there were 10 tavern-keepers, 6 inn-keepers and 2 leaseholders[214]. As we can see from this example, three kinds of leaseholders are distinguished in the sources: leaseholders proper (*arendar'*), inn-keepers (*karchmar'*), and tavern-keepers (*shinkar'*). Moshe Rosman[215] and Glenn Dynner[216] use different set of English translations for these latter two occupations: 'tavern-keeper' for *karchmar'* and 'barman' for *shinkar'*. This terminology is appropriate only for the unban context, but it is hardly suitable when applied to the rural countryside. There were obviously no "bars" in villages, and the rural *karchma* usually included a guest-house beside the tavern (*shinok* or *shenk* in Yiddish).

The word *arendar'* (leaseholder) was the general term for leaseholder of any kind, and was applied also for inn- and tavern-keepers. The urban leaseholders were probably in fact inn-keepers, since there was at least one inn at Pukhovichi, where the abovementioned "poor woman" lived, but no inn-keepers are mentioned in the census. Rural leaseholders, however, are terminologically distinguished from either inn- or tavern-keepers in the same text. A similar situation also prevailed in a restricted region of the pre-partition Crown Poland, which I have in my previous work called the "leaseholders' belt", a strip of land stretching from Podlasie in the North to the Carpathian Mountains in the South[217]. Noble landowners leased their villages to numerous rural Jewish leaseholders in this region. Leasing villages to the Jews was probably also widespread practice father east of Podlasie, in the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania (see table 5.1).

214 NIAB, F 333, op 9, d 31, pp. 101-114.

215 Rosman, Moshe, *Lords' Jews: Magnate-Jewish Relations in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1990.

216 Dynner, Glenn, *Yankel's Tavern: Jews, Liquor, and Life in the Kingdom of Poland*, Oxford, 2014.

217 Kalik, Judith, "Jewish Leaseholders (*Arendarze*) in 18th Century Crown Poland", *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 54, 2006, pp. 229-240.

Table 5.1 Occupational structure. District of Igumen 1795.[218]

Occupation	Community	No.
tavern-keepers	Smolevichi	12
	Smilovichi	11
	Pukhovichi	10
	Bogushevichi	3
	Shatsk	5
total		41
leaseholders	Smolevichi	8
	Smilovichi	8
	Pukhovichi	2
	Bogushevichi	3
total		21
inn-keepers	Smilovichi	4
	Pukhovichi	6
total		10
barbers	Smilovichi	1
potash workers	Bogushevichi	1
farmers	Bogushevichi	1
total		75

However, leasing villages to the Jews was forbidden in the Russian Empire, and by 1808 the occupational structure of the Jewish rural population had changed: 87% of them had become inn-keepers, only 0.8% were tavern-keepers, and unqualified leaseholders disappeared altogether. The comparison between the census list of 1795 and the eviction list of 1808 is possible in the case of the Smolevichi community, which belonged in 1795 to the district of Igumen, but in 1808 it belonged to the district of Borisov. It shows that all tavern-keepers and leaseholders of 1795 had become inn-keepers in 1808 (see appendix 1, table 3.13).

The rural inn (*karchma*) consisted of a guest-house with one or more rooms for hosting occasional carriage travelers, a tavern called *shinok*, where alcoholic drinks (mostly vodka) and some food were served, and sometimes also stables. There were two types of inn with stables in 19th century Belarus: the drive-through inn and the T-shaped inn. In the drive-through inn the stables where located in the central section of the building, with the *shinok* on the one side of this section, and with the living quarters of the guests and of the inn-keeper's family, kitchen and shop on the other side (see figure 5.1). In the T-shaped inn the stables with the living quarters of inn-keeper's family where attached to the main building consisted of two equal compounds. One compound comprised of guest-house was on the one side and the other compound with *shinok* and a kitchen was on the other side (see figure 5.2).[219]

218 NIAB, F 333, od. 9, d. 31.

219 Сергачев, Сергей, "Архитектура корчмы в Белоруссии", *Архитектурное наследство* 33, 1985, с. 148-156; Сергачев, Сергей, *Белорусское народное зодчество*, Минск, 1992, с. 159-167.

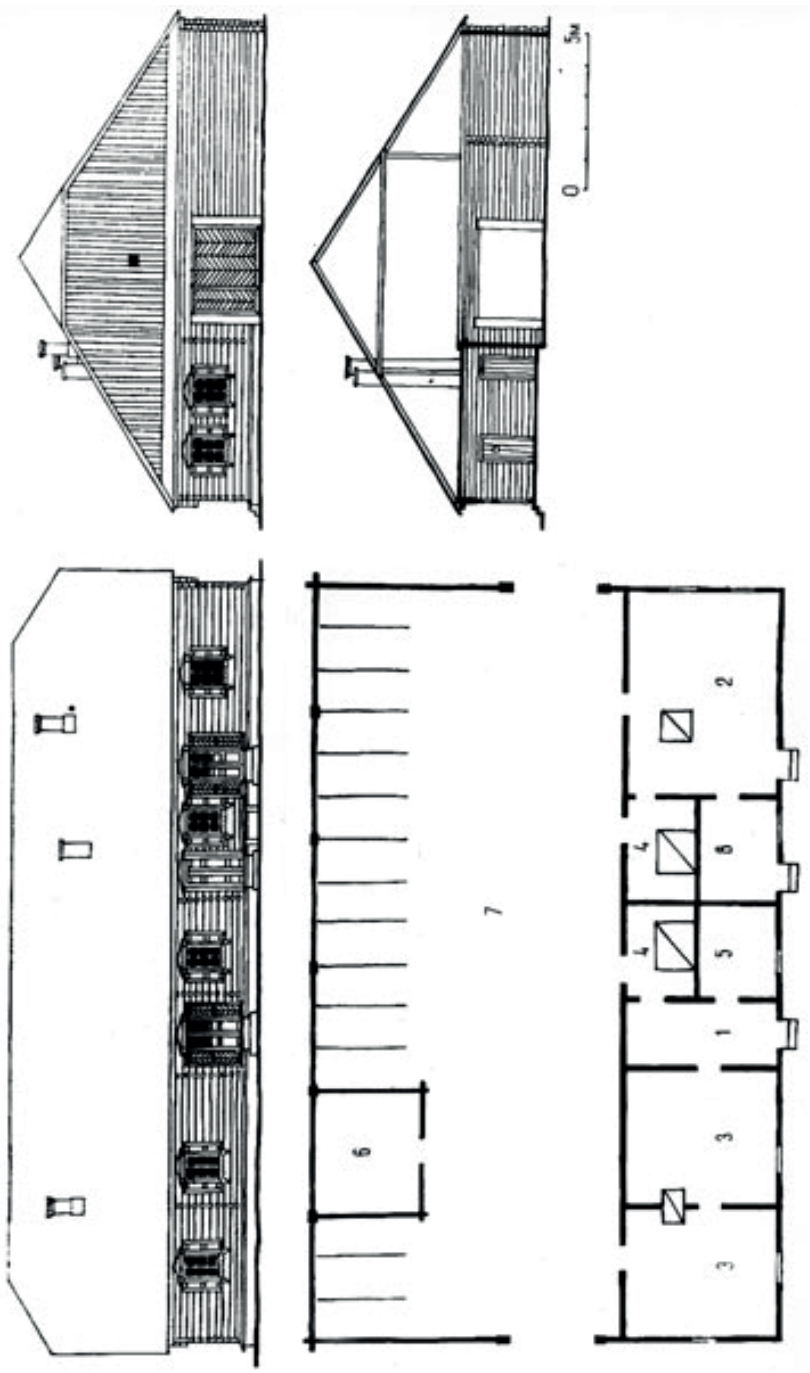

Figure 5.1. Inn in Oshmiany (1880s). Сергачев, Сергей, «Заезжая корчма в Беларуси», https://ais.by/story/701. 1. porch, 2. inn-keeper's room, 3. guest-house, 4. kitchen, 5. shop, 6. dining room (*shinok*), 7. stables.

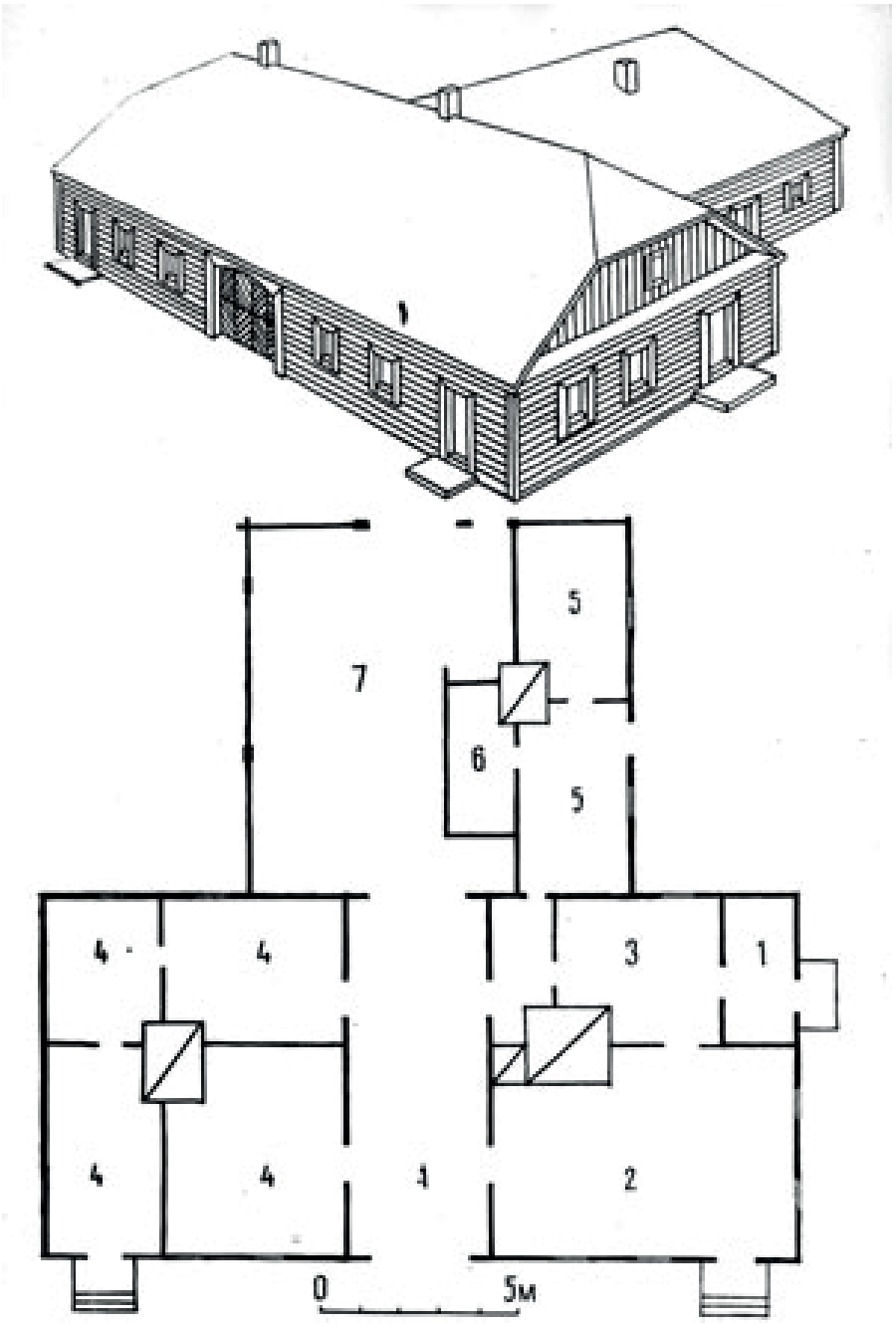

Figure 5.2. Rural inn in village Nacha (second half of the 19th century). Сергачев, Сергей, «Заезжая корчма в Беларуси», https://ais.by/story/701. 1. porch, 2. dining room (*shinok*), 3. kitchen, 4. guest-house, 5. inn-keeper's rooms, 6. storeroom, 7. stables.

Most sales in rural *shinok* were in credit, and payments were often in kind, usually in grain. Therefore, rural inn-keepers were also involved in a grain trade. Yuli Yanson describes their role in his book on Pinsk district:

> "The Jewish inn- or tavern-keeper stands below the middleman (*makler*) in his rank and field of activity in the grain trade. Poor and rugged Jewish tavern-keeper had an enormous significance in trade, especially in bread trade. Anywhere he settled in the usury and buying of bread for money or more often for vodka begins. Every corner of the Jewish dwelling is becoming filled with peasants' property; the grain collected piecemeal is pouring into Jew's cellar or storehouse. Little by little a rugged Jew becomes the owner of all peasants' stacks and he begins the profiteering, which transformed many paupers into bankers"[220].

In the pre-partition age and in the early 19th century alcohol was usually distilled locally at the tavern itself, and its production was an integral part of the leasehold.

With the introduction of potato cultivation into the Russian Empire in the 1840s most of vodka began to be produced from this cheaper raw material, and simultaneously its production shifted to industrial distilleries, which belonged to local landlords as a part of their propination rights. By 1876 there were 131 distilleries in Minsk Guberniya, which used for production of alcohol 95,110 *poods* (3,804,400 pounds) of rye and 1,890,152 *poods* (75,606,080 pounds) of potato[221].

Four men and six women in three villages are identified in the eviction lists as *bobyl'* the Russian word used to mean a single, landless peasant. These Jews, however, were all married, and since one of them lived in an inn, they probably were hired workers of an inn-keeper.

Rural Jews leased not only inns and taverns, but also mills, forests, iron ore foundries, and potash pits. Eleven millers, two foundry workers (one of them leaseholder), and one forester are mentioned in the eviction lists, and one potash worker appears in a census of 1795 in the district of Igumen. Surprisingly, no Jewish fishermen are mentioned in this group of documents, though it is known from other sources that fisheries, especially in the district of Mozyr', were also leased to Jews. Lake Kniaz' ("Prince") in this region was even popularly known as Zhid ("Jew"), since Jewish leaseholders dominated the fishing in this lake.[222] An alternative explanation of the double name of this lake also exists: according to legend Prince Radziwiłł had built in the middle of the lake a house for his Jewish mistress, whom he planned to hide there from her relatives, but a flood destroyed the construction.[223] In any case,

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220 Янсон, Юлий, *Пинск и его район*, С-Петербург, 1869, с. 5.

221 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии 1878 года*, часть 1, отдел III: Географически-статистическое описание Минской губернии, Минск, 1878, с. 31.

222 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии 1878 года*, часть 2, отдел IV: Описание уездов, городов и замечательных местностей, Минск, 1878, с. 87.

223 Ibid., pp. 87-88.

the absence of Jewish fishermen in the eviction lists probably shows that, at least at the beginning of the 19th century, leaseholders of fisheries in Minsk Guberniya were urban Jews.

Already by 1795 one of the rural Jews in district of Igumen was a farmer, and in 1808 several rural Jews were involved in the agriculture, long before the establishment of the first Jewish agricultural colonies. There were three agricultural managers, six tenant farmers, and one hired agricultural worker. The agricultural managers supervised the corvée work of magnates' serfs, and an agricultural hired worker worked under supervision of one of such Jewish managers of Prince Michał Radziwiłł. Jewish tenant farmers rented their plots from three local nobles, one merchant, one Dominican monastery and one municipality.

Occasionally, such occupations as barbers (they served also as paramedics), tailors, one master in glass-factory, a ferryman, a teacher, a butcher and even one court Jew appear in villages. The latter served in the palace of Józef Radziwiłł at Radzivillimonty (now Krasnoye Znamia), which was a residence of Ordynats of Kletsk. One of the barbers is also described as a "court barber", who served Count Sievers at Lel'chitsy in the district of Mozyr'. Jews with "urban" professions were often concentrated in settlements, which were classified as villages in the eviction lists, but, in fact, had the socio-economic characteristics of *shtetls*. These included Mstizh and Es'mon in the district of Borisov, or Lel'chitsy in the district of Mozyr'. Some of these urban Jews were itinerant artisans, who served their rural clients. Thus, a rural teacher in the community of Logoisk in the district of Borisov was a resident of the *shtetl* of Ostroshitski Gorodok in the district of Minsk, and a butcher of the community of Pleshchenitsy also in district of Borisov was from the *shtetl* of Sittsy in the district of Vileika.

Many rural Jews were said to live "in his own house", "in a rented house", "in a peasant hut" (*v krestyanskoi izbe*) without indication of their occupation. In the village of Koreni in the community of Kalinkovichi in the district of Rechitsa, Jews living in their own houses were exceptionally numerous, 16 men and 23 women in total. This village was located on a tract connecting Rogachev with Ovruch in Volhynia. There was a state postal station for changing horses in Koreni, and it is possible that the Jewish residents of this village worked there.

Disabled people (two men and one woman) are also mentioned in the eviction lists in district of Rechitsa. No rabbis or other occupations connected to the synagogue service are mentioned, since there were no rural synagogues in the region.

All information found in the eviction lists of 1808 concerning the occupations of the rural Jews is summarized in table 5.2. This information does not cover all the districts of Minsk Guberniya: the district of Igumen is missing, and in the districts of Minsk and Slutsk Jewish occupations are not indicated in the eviction lists (with few exceptions).

Table 5.2 Occupational structure, 1808.

Occupation	District	Community	No.
inn-keepers	Bobruisk	Bobruisk	3
		Glusk	10
		Urechye	18
		Ozarichi	2
		Svisloch	3
		Libonichi	5
	total		41
	Borisov	Borisov	58
		Zembin	27
		Kholopenichi	9
		Krasnoluki	20
		Logoisk	16
		Pleshchenitsy	29
		Dokshitsy	31
		Dokshitskaya Sloboda	15
		Smolevichi	18
	total		223
	Mozyr’	Karolin	21
		Petrikov	20
		Lel’chitsy	2
		Skrygalov	7
		Kopatkevichi	8
		Turov	11
		Lakhva	16
		David-Gorodok	10
	total		95
	Pinsk	Logishin	22
		Liubeshov	29
		Pogost	47
		Stolin	39
		Pinsk	40
		Karolin	26
		Pogost-Zagorodski	10
		Gorodno	7
		unaffiliated	2
	total		222
	Rechitsa	Rechitsa	21
		Bragin	29
		Kholmech	12
		Khoiniki	14
		Gorval’	25
		Yurovichi	12
		Kalinkovichi	22
		Narovlia	9
	total		144
	Slutsk	Slutsk	3
total			728

Continued Table 5.2

Occupation	District	Community	No.
tenants	Bobruisk	Glusk	22
		Ozarichi	2
	Borisov	Pleshchenitsy	2
	Mozyr’	Karolin	1
		Lel’chitsy	1
		Skrygalov	1
	Pinsk	Logishin	1
		Liubeshov	1
		Pogost	1
	Rechitsa	Kholmech	1
total			40
house-owners	Bobruisk	Ozarichi	2
	Borisov	Pleshchenitsy	1
	Mozyr’	Kopatkevichi	1
	Rechitsa	Rechitsa	1
		Kalinkovichi	9
total			14
millers	Bobruisk	Glusk	7
		Ozarichi	1
	Borisov	Dokshitsy	1
	Minsk	Rakov	1
	Mozyr’	Petrikov	1
total			11
tavern-keepers	Borisov	Logoisk	3
		Pleshchenitsy	1
		Dokshitskaya Sloboda	1
	Rechitsa	Gorval’	2
total			7
barbers	Borisov	Zembin	1
		Kholopenichi	1
		Pleshchenitsy	2
		Dokshitsy	1
		Dokshitskaya Sloboda	1
	Mozyr’	Lel’chitsy	1
total			7
tenant farmers	Borisov	Pleshchenitsy	2
		Dokshitskaya Sloboda	1
	Minsk	Ostroshitski Gorodok	1
	Mozyr’	Karolin	1
total	Pinsk	Liubeshov	1
			6
tailors	Borisov	Borisov	2
		Zembin	1
		Dokshitskaya Sloboda	1
total			4
bobyl’s	Borisov	Borisov	1
		Zembin	1
		Pleshchenitsy	1
total			3

Continued Table 5.2

Occupation	District	Community	No.
agricultural managers	Borisov	Borisov	2
		Smolevichi	1
total			3
disabled	Rechitsa	Gorval'	3
wine brewers	Borisov	Zembin	1
	Mozyr'	Skrygalov	1
total			2
foundry workers	Borisov	Logoisk	2
rent payers	Pinsk	Pinsk	1
ferrymen	Bobruisk	Urechye	1
foresters	Bobruisk	Svisloch	1
glassmakers	Borisov	Borisov	1
hired agricultural workers	Borisov	Borisov	1
teachers	Borisov	Logoisk	1
butchers	Borisov	Pleshchenitsy	1
courtiers	Slutsk	Kletsk	1
grand total			835

Kiselev's policy of "sorting" the Jews brought the first serious change in the occupational structure of rural Jews. As we have seen in chapter 2, rural Jews were required in 1846 to be registered into one of the professional groups of merchants, burghers, artisans, and farmers by the deadline of 1850. Since the leaseholders of propination rights, the vast majority of the rural Jews, did not fit into any of these groups, they had either to move to *shtetls* or to declare a change of their occupation. We know from the list of rural Jews of the community of Slutsk from 1852 that this policy bore fruit. Only 13.6% of these Jews remained inn-keepers, while more than half (68%) declared that they were "tenants". All the rest became merchants, servants or millers (see table 5.3).

Table 5.3 Occupational structure. Slutsk district, Slutsk community, 1852.[224]

Occupation	No.
tenants	15
inn-keepers	3
merchants	2
servants	1
millers	1
total	22

224 NIAB F 694 op. 3 d. 659, pp. 71-72.

It is difficult to say how many Jews returned to their traditional occupations after the official discontinuation of the "sorting" policy in 1859. The Emancipation of Serfs, which occurred soon after, in 1861, radically changed the situation in rural Russia once again. Although landlords continued to enjoy the monopoly on propination rights, and peasants continued to be "temporarily obliged" for certain payments and services in favor of the landlord in return for their plots, but most of the noble lords had no experience with this new kind of contract relations with their former serfs. It happened that rural Jews appeared to be the only persons intimately familiar with both landlords and peasants, whom both sides trusted. We have seen that already in traditional rural society some Jews served as agricultural managers for the magnates, and so-called "court Jews" also fulfilled the functions of middlemen responsible for supplying various goods and services to the magnate's court. Simple rural leaseholders too had rich experience in mediation between landlord and peasants on the one hand, and between peasants and urban merchants dealing with grain and timber trade on the other. The combination of all these factors caused the accelerated transition of rural Jews in post-reformed Russia from their traditional occupation in leaseholding into a position of middlemen[225].

Ḥayim Chemerinski vividly describes in his memoirs this new position of rural Jews in Belarusian Polesye in the second half of the 19th century:

> "... When Christmas is near, little grain 'of his own' is almost gone in the house of the uncircumcised, and the time is ripe to get from Jew some money to buy bread or grain. Then they set the wage. Without competition there is no reason to raise or to lower the rate, and indeed they were not used to giving less than eight *złoty* and more than ten per week. Nonetheless, the uncircumcised were gathered in teams, every village separately and deliberated and negotiated the wage rate. The subject of negotiations is: rule one: the bread is expensive, the labor is cheap; rule two: the snow is heavy and the cold is strong, the wage rises. However, it is not the way of the uncircumcised to investigate and to deliberate too much, he has only what his eyes see. And they see no more and no less than the full row of bottles of vodka, which are ready for 'libations' at the end of the deal. The foam of the uncircumcised drops on their beards and their eyes shine with expectation, the rebels among them receive some presents in secret, and the sides agree in lucky hour...
>
> Meanwhile the merchant begins to feel pressure, he has already invested in the deal all his capital and the capital of those from whom he borrowed, the time is ready to deliver his uncircumcised to the employer. He waits impatiently for coming of the great merchants who are hiring the uncircumcised. Some of those are real Ashkenazi, and mostly – the Jewish elders of Volhynia and leaders of Lithuania. However, the great merchants themselves don't care about little things, their job is done through the 'commissioners'. The commissioner is a special type, and particularly the one from Volhynia: the learned and wellborn Jew, snouted and shaped,

225 For parallel developments in Austrian Galicia see Stauter-Halstead, Keely, "Jews as Middleman Minorities in Rural Poland: Understanding the Galician Pogroms of 1898", *Anti-Semitism and its Opponents in Modern Poland*, ed. R. Blobaum, Ithaca (NY), 2001, pp. 39-59.

> portly, greedy and proud. But even he is personally not involved in the details of the deal, and all his job is done by the inn-keeper from Pinsk. He is the central pillar of entire deal: he helps to supply the uncircumcised in appropriate number, to prepare their food and all the instruments they need, he keeps the proper amount of cash and so on and so forth. And in return he gets a lavish brokerage fee for every profession. Every inn-keeper in Pinsk favors his own Jew from whom he hires the number of uncircumcised he needs, and sends them to his dispatchers and gets full price up to three rubles per head"[226].

We can see from this passage that, as in the case of the grain trade, the rural inn-keeper was the lowest rung in the ladder of Jewish middlemen providing rural manpower for various purposes.

Several other changes in the Russian countryside, which affected the occupational structure of the rural Jews, occurred in the second half of the 19th century. The suppression of the Polish rebellion of 1863 and the anti-Polish measures of the Russian government caused a shift in landed property in the Western Provinces from Poles to Russians and opened the way for the appearance of the Jewish estate owners and leaseholders who brought with them to the countryside their numerous Jewish associates and servants. The anti-Jewish Temporary Rules ("May Laws") of 1882 tried to stop the influx of the Jews into rural areas. A state monopoly for the production and sale of alcohol was introduced into the Western Provinces in 1897.

However, the most significant single factor which caused the total restructure of the Jewish rural society, was the construction of the railway network, which began in Minsk Guberniya in 1870. Already by 1878 the annual statistical handbook of Minsk Guberniya remarked: "Production of alcohol drops because of rise of revenues from bread export via railways on conditions more profitable for grain producers".[227] Because of the great importance of this development it is discussed in a separate chapter. Let us observe here some of its results, which directly affected the occupational structure of the rural Jews in Minsk Guberniya.

First of all, the number of distilleries diminished drastically between 1863 and 1876, dropping from 390 to 131. It began to grow again after the introduction of the state monopoly, since the Treasury was interested in increasing its direct revenue from the sale of alcohol, regardless of the relative profitability of grain trade, which was in private hands (see table 5.4).

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226 Chemerinsky, Ḥayim, *'Ayarati Motele*, mavo David Asaf, Jerusalem, 2002, pp. 40-42.

227 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии 1878 года*, часть 1, отдел III: Географически-статистическое описание Минской губернии, Минск, 1878, с. 31.

Table 5.4 Number of distilleries in Minsk Guberniya in 1858-1913.[228]

Year	No. of distilleries
1858	464
1863	390
1876	131
1887	129
1888	113
1889	115
1890	119
1891	124
1892	138
1893	142
1894	143
1895	147
1896	118
1907	203
1908	215
1909	220
1910	219
1911	224
1912	223
1913	224

228 *Памятная книжка для Минской губернии на 1860 г.* Статистическое обозрение Минской губернии, Минск, 1860, с. 85 (1858); *Памятная книжка для Минской губернии на 1865 г.*, Дополнение: Статистические сведения о Минской губернии за 1863 год. Составил, на основании официальных источников, секр. ком. И. И. Зданович, 1864, с. 43 (1863); *Памятная книжка Минской губернии 1878 года*, часть 1, отдел III: Географически-статистическое описание Минской губернии, Минск, 1878, с. 31 (1876); *Памятная книжка и календарь Минской губернии на 1888 високосный год. Царствования императора Александра III год восьмой*, III Статистические сведения, Минск, 1887, с. 127 (1887); *Памятная книжка и календарь Минской губернии на 1890 год. Царствования императора Александра III год десятый*, V Приложение: О положении акцизного дела в Минской губернии за прошлый год и период, Минск, 1889, с. 2 (1888); *Памятная книжка для Минской губернии на 1891 г.*, IV Статистические сведения, Минск, 1890, с. 224 (1889); *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1892 високосный год. Царствования императора Александра III год двенадцатый*, IV Приложение: Статистические сведения, Минск, 1891, с. 32 (1890); Смородский, А. П. *Столетие Минской губернии*, Минск, 1892, с. 89 (1891); *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1894 г.*, составил А. П. Смородский, Приложение: Статистические сведения, Минск, 1893, с. 32 (1892); *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1895 г.*, составил А. П. Смородский, Приложение: Статистические сведения, Минск, 1894, с. 34 (1893); *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1896 г.*, составил А. П. Смородский, Приложение: Статистические сведения, Минск, 1895, с. 48 (1894); *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1897 г.*, составил А. П. Смородский, Приложение: Статистические сведения, Минск, 1896, с. 20 (1895); *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1898 г.*, составил А. П. Смородский, Приложение: Статистические сведения, Минск, 1898, с. 30 (1896); *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1909 г.*, III Статистические сведения, Минск, 1908, с. 98 (1907); *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1910 г.*, III Статистические сведения, Минск, 1909, с. 87 (1908); *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1911 г.*, III Статистические сведения, Минск, 1910, с. 63 (1909); *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1912 г.*, III Статистические сведения, Минск, 1911, с. 84 (1910); *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1913 г.*, IV Статистические сведения, Минск, 1912, с. 93 (1911); *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1914 г.*, IV Статистические сведения, Минск, 1913, с. 101 (1912); *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1915 г.*, IV Статистические сведения, Минск, 1914, с. 76 (1913).

As result the centuries old propination system began to decline, and its official abolition in 1897 was only a final blow. Secondly, the replacement of carriage travel with passenger-carrying railways made the network of rural inns obsolete. According to the national census of 1897, taken just five months prior to the introduction of the state monopoly, only 1.66% of the Jews in North-Western Provinces were involved in liquor trade. This number includes both urban and rural Jews.[229] However 78.4% of all those engaged in this occupation in the same region were still Jews[230]. It is possible that the occupational statistics of the census do not reflect the real number of rural Jews still involved illegally in the liquor trade, as there was a case in the Kingdom of Poland after the overall prohibition of Jewish tavern-keeping in the countryside in 1844,[231] but inn- and tavern-keepers obviously became reduced to a minority among rural Jews. Unlike mid-19th century Kingdom of Poland where legislation could not overcome the existing economic conditions, the decline of the profitability of the liquor trade as result of the railway construction in late 19th century Belarus caused a change in the economic priorities of rural Jews themselves. The census of 1897 for the occupational structure of the population generally does not distinguish rural Jews as a separate population group. However, the absolute majority of those designated in the census as "farmers" lived in the countryside, and 20,208, that is, more than a quarter (26.9%) of all rural Jews in Minsk Guberniya were engaged in agriculture according to the census.[232] Only 5762 of them lived in Jewish agricultural colonies[233], while the remainder were a part of the traditional rural Jewish population living in Belarusian villages. Thus, 17.6% of rural Jews became farmers by the end of the 19th century and, in so doing, abandoned their former positions as rural leaseholders. No reliable statistics for the occupational structure for the remainder of the rural Jewish population are available. Many rural Jews were probably engaged in the grain trade, since 90.3% of all those engaged in this occupation in the Pale of Settlement were Jews,[234] and, as we have seen, already the traditional Jewish inn-keepers were actively involved in the grain trade as a secondary occupation. In other words, it seems that with the growth of the profitability of the grain trade most Jewish rural inn-keepers in turn made the production and the trading of grain their main occupations, as the profitability of the liquor trade and inn-keeping continued to decline.

229 Бруцкус, Бер, *Профессиональный состав еврейского населения России. По материалам первой всеобщей переписи населения, произведенной 28 января 1897 года*, С-Петербург, 1908, с. 51.

230 Ibid. p. 61.

231 Dynner, Glenn, *Yankel's Tavern: Jews, Liquor, and Life in the Kingdom of Poland*, Oxford, 2014, pp. 73-78.

232 Ibid. p. 43.

233 Ibid. p. 45.

234 Ibid. p. 60.

The remainder of rural Jews most probably continued as middlemen in service of local landlords, wholesale grain and timber merchants, and exercised various crafts. List of Jewish occupations exempted from the restrictions of the Temporary Rules of 1882 by an amendment of 1905 provide us with some glimpse of the changing occupational structure of rural Jews at the beginning of the 20th century. This list includes: chemist assistances, dentists, paramedics, obstetricians, craftsmen, masons, stonecutters, carpenters, plasterers, gardeners, bridge-builders and diggers.[235]

In spite of all these changes, the rural Jewish population remained basically the same traditional population of former rural leaseholders, who simply adjusted to the economic changes of the second half of the 19th century caused by various factors, but mainly by the railway construction. This traditional nature of the rural Jews even accelerated with the restrictive Temporary Rules of 1882, which stopped the population exchange between *shtetl* and village, and made the existing rural Jewish population permanent residents of their villages.

235 *Систематический сборник действующих законов о евреях: по Своду законов, продолжениями 1906, 1908, 1909 и 1910 гг. и Собранию узаконений 1911, 1912 и 1913 гг. (по 1 июня): с постатейными разъяснениями, извлеченными из решений Правительствующего Сената, циркуляров и отношений Министерств и с указ. постатейным, хронологическим и предметным*, сост. Л.М. Роговин С-Петербург, 1913, с. 4.

6 Family Structure

The family structure of the rural Jewish population of Minsk Guberniya, as reflected in the eviction lists of 1808, has little in common with the stereotypical view of the traditional Jewish family of the pre-industrial age in Eastern Europe. Such a Jewish family is typical supposed to be large, with many children, characterized by early marriages (*nisuei boser*)[236] and the so-called *kest* marriage, uxorilocal residence with the bridegroom living in the family of the bride[237]. One of the largest families consisted of 18 persons represents one of the rare examples of such a family. Stefan Świda leased an inn to this family in the village of Ukholoda in the district of Borisov. Yuda Davidivich of 50 years old, was a head of the family. He had two sons and two daughters, all of them married and living together. One of his daughters, Roḥa, had already been married by the age of 10 to a boy of her age. Yuda Davidovich's eldest daughter, Driza who was 30 years old, had one son and three daughters, and his two sons: Ḥayim and Nota, 25 and 21 years old respectivley, had two children each (see the genealogical figure 6.1).

Shaul Stampfer has observed that early marriages and *kest* marriages characterized upper class Jewish families rather than the majority of the Jewish population of the 18th-19th centuries.[238] The typical rural Jewish family was very different. Families were small – 3.2 people in average, and children were few – 0.77 in average per family, and half of the families were childless. By way of comparison, the average rural Jewish family near Piotrków Trybunalski in central Poland consisted of 4.7 people in 1826,[239] and number of children in this region was 4.9 per Jewish family in 1808-1850.[240] It cannot be claimed that the small sizes of families and the low number of children

236 See Stampfer, Shaul, "HaMashma'ut HaḤevratit shel Nisuei-Bosre BeMizraḥ-Eiropah BaMeah Ha-19", *Kovets Meḥkarim 'al Yehudei Polin: Sefer LeZikhro shel Paul Glikson,* ed. E. Mendelsohn and Ḥ. Shmeruk, Jerusalem, 1987, pp. 65-78.

237 On the Jewish family in 17th-18th century Poland see Salmon-Mack, Tamar, *Tan-Du. ,Al Nisuin UM-ashbereihem BeYahadut Polin-Lita, 1650-1800*, Tel Aviv, 2012, for 18th century Poland see Goldberg, Jacob, „Die Ehe bei den Juden Polens im 18. Jahrhundert", *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 31, 1983, pp. 481-515; „Jewish Marriage in Eighteenth Century Poland", *Polin* 10, 1997, pp. 3-39; „'Al HaNi-suin shel Yehudei Polin BaMeah Ha-18", in J. Goldberg, *HaḤevra HaYehudit BeMamlekhet Polin-Lita*, Jerusalem, 1999, pp.171-216; in 19th century Russia see Freeze, ChaeRan , *Jewish Marriage and Divorce in Imperial Russia*, Hannover – London, 2002; Freeze, ChaeRan, „HaMishpaḥa HaYehudit BeRusiya", *Toldot Yehudei Rusiya,* chief editor I. Bartal, vol. 2: *MiḤalukot Polin ,ad Nefilat HaKeisarut HaRusit, 1772-1917*, ed. I. Lurie, Jerusalem, 2012, pp. 181-196.

238 Stampfer, Shaul, „HaMashma'ut HaḤevratit shel Nisuei-Bosre BeMizraḥ-Eiropah BaMeah Ha-19", *Kovets Meḥkarim ,al Yehudei Polin: Sefer LeZikhro shel Paul Glikson,* ed. E. Mendelsohn and Ḥ. Shmeruk, Jerusalem, 1987, p. 71.

239 Jankowski, Tomasz, *Ludność żydowska Piotrkowa Trybunalskiego, 1808-1870*, Unisersity of Warsaw dissertation, 2014, p. 62.

240 Ibid. p. 142.

recorded in the eviction lists can be explained by the hiding of children because of fears of taxation or military conscription, since eviction lists were not fiscal censuses, and they were composed before an introduction of the military conscription for the Russian Jews in 1827.

Large families were usually multigenerational extended families, which included elderly parents living together with their married children, or married siblings leasing one inn in partnership. *Kest* marriages were very rare, the residence in most cases was virilocal, when married sons lived with the parents of the husband. Particularly interesting is the case of the Slutski brothers who lived in the village of Zagreblia in district of Minsk along with their four much younger sisters[241]. This means that they came from a large family, but they themselves had no children at the ages of 40 and 36. Single parent families almost always were headed by a widower, reflecting the high mortality rate among women, especially through the child birth. The average age for men was 31.9, and for women 26.2, mode age was 30 for both sexes.

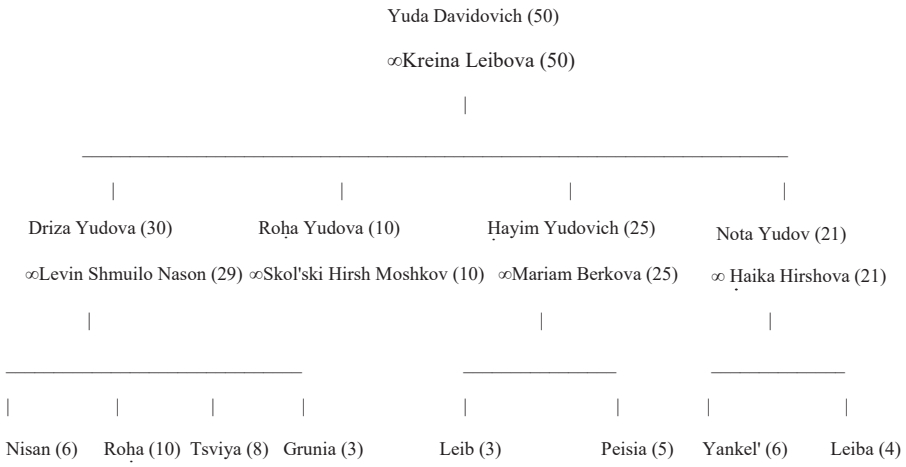

Figure 6.1 Levin family, 1808 (ages are indicated in parentheses).[242]

The most striking difference between rural Jews and the general Jewish population of Minsk Guberniya can be observed in the statistical distribution of population according to age. The general Jewish population was characterized by a "reversed pyramid" structure –a descending number of persons with the advance of age. Among the rural Jews the working age persons of 20-50 years old constituted 61.4%, children

241 NIAB, F 138 op. 1 d. 5, p. 16.
242 NIAB, F 138 od. 1 d. 7, p. 74.

and youngsters under 20 – 28.9%, and the elderly above 50 – 11%. According to the census of 1897 the respective numbers for the general Jewish population of Minsk Guberiya are: 34.4%, 53.6% and 11.9%. It is hardly conceivable that the difference can be explained by the change in the structure of the population during the 19th century, since the "reversed pyramid" structure was characteristic of both Jewish and non-Jewish populations in the pre-industrial age. Let us compare the data of the eviction lists of 1808 and of the national census of 1897 with the age distribution of people of both sexes by age of the Jewish agricultural colonies from the census of 1858 (see table 6.1).

We can see from this comparison, that the age groups of children under 10 years old and age groups between 30 and 60 the population of the Jewish farmers in 1858 was similar to the general Jewish population in 1897. The age group of those in their twenties was similar to the rural Jews in 1808. The teenagers' age group hold the medial position between the earlier and the later data. The elderly above 60 were practically absent in Jewish agricultural colonies.

Table 6.1 Composition of the Jewish population of Minsk Guberniya 1808-1897 by age and sex (in %).

Age groups	1808 Rural Jews[243]			1858 Jewish farmers[244]			1897 General[245]		
	m	f	total	m	f	total	m	f	total
0-9	6.5	17.4	12.3	19.1	34.0	26.7	30.5	28.6	29.6
10-19	15.6	17.4	16.6	21.9	17.7	19.8	23.3	24.8	24.0
20-29	22.8	21.5	22.1	26.9	22.5	24.7	15.1	16.4	15.8
30-39	25.4	22.5	23.8	14.9	13.6	14.2	10.9	11.2	11.0
40-49	18.8	12.7	15.5	9.2	6.8	8.0	7.3	7.9	7.6
50-59	10.1	4.8	7.3	7.1	5.4	6.3	6.1	6.1	6.1
60+	4.4	3.2	3.7	0.7	0	0.3	6.7	4.9	5.8

The Jewish agricultural colonies of Minsk Guberniya were relatively new settlements, which explains the disproportional representation of people in their twenties and the absence of the elderly among colonists. However, the difference between the age groups of children and working age population among rural Jews in 1808, on the one hand, and Jewish farmers in 1858 and the general Jewish population in 1897, on the other hand, is striking. This difference shows most probably that the majority of the traditional rural Jews of Minsk Guberniya were temporary residents of the countryside.

243 NIAB, F 138 op. 1 d. 5.

244 NIAB F 333 op. 9 d. 271 pp. 20-23; ibid. d. 478 pp. 139-157; ibid. d. 659 pp. 109-111; ibid. d. 662 pp. 148-155; ibid. d. 733 pp. 301-308.

245 Шабад, Я.Б "Минская губерния", *Еврейская энциклопедия*, ред. А. Гаркави, Л. Каценельсон, С-Петербург, 1908-1913, том 11, с. 79.

This assumption can be possibly supported by the regional differences in the duration of the rural leaseholds in 18th century Crown Poland. In the territory of the Jewish autonomous major community of Węgrów, located in Mazovia and Podlasie Jewish rural leaseholds were very unstable, rarely lasting longer than two consecutive years, whereas leaseholds in the regional council of Przemyśl in Red Ruthenia survive much longer, sometimes for decade or more[246]. For example Wulf Siehiński appears in the Jewish poll-tax lists as a leaseholder of the royal estate of Medyka (*starostwo medyckie*) from 1741 to 1752.[247] We can assume that further east the situation was the same, meaning that in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (east of Podlasie) the policy of Jewish community in enforcement of the so-called *ḥazakah* ("tenure") had failed, while in Ukraine (east of Przemyśl) this policy had been successful. The *ḥazakah* was the Talmudic concept (Baba Batra, chapter 3), which corresponded to Roman *usucapio*. It ruled that after three years of physical possession of land by a person the legal owner of this land could no longer claim ownership. During the early modern age this rule was interpreted in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as applying to rural leaseholds, meaning that after the three years of renewal of an annual lease no other Jew could propose himself as a candidate for this leasehold to the noble landowner under the threat of excommunication. This rule was promulgated by the Council of Four Lands in 1596 for Crown Poland[248] and in 1623 by the Council of Lithuania for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in its very first session[249]. However, this was an internal Jewish legislation not binding for the civil authorities of the state, and its implementation met with only mixed success. The combined evidence of the 18th century Jewish poll-tax lists and of the eviction lists of 1808 shows probably that the implementation of the *ḥazakah* regulations failed in Mazovia, Podlasie and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and that rural leaseholds in these areas were usually short term contracts. It is difficult to tell what caused the difference in leaseholds' duration in these two regions. Most probably the leaseholds in grain-producing Ukraine were simply mush more profitable that in the marshlands of Podlasie, Belarus and Lithuania, which were less suitable for cereals' cultivation.

It seems that the family strategy of young Jewish couples in the *shtetls* and towns of Belarus was to invest their dowry money into a rural leasehold in order to accumulate some capital for opening their own business in a *shtetl*. Such a pattern of

246 Kalik, Judith, "Jewish Leaseholders (*Arendarze*) in 18th Century Crown Poland", *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 54, 2006, pp. 234-235; Kalik, Judith, *Scepter of Judah. Jewish Autonomy in the Eighteenth-Century Crown Poland* (Studia Judaeoslavica 2, ed. A. Kulik), Leiden-Boston, 2009, pp. 101, 103.

247 AGAG, ASW, dz. 84, syg. 31, 33, 34, 38, 39, 40, 43.

248 *Pinkas Va'ad Arba' Aratsot*, ed. Israel Halperin, Jerusalem, 1945 (a new edition revised and edited by Israel Bartal, Jerusalem, 1990), pp. 11-12.

249 *Pinkas HaMedina o Pinkas Va'ad HaKehilot HaRashiyot BeMedinat Lita*, ed. S. Dubnow, Berlin, 1925, No. 74 (1623).

behavior would explain the predominance of working age people amongst the rural population of Minsk Guberniya in 1808, as well as small number of children. The great predominance of girls over boys among the children of both traditional rural Jews in 1808 and the Jewish farmers in 1858 can be also explained by the efforts of their parents to secure a school education in the *shtetls* and towns for their male children. This constant exchange of population between *shtetls* and villages stopped in 1882, when the Temporary Rules ("May Laws") made new lease-holding contracts in rural areas illegal and effectively forced rural Jews to remain in their villages.

7 Communal Organization

The traditional Jewish community in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth consisted of an urban center and a rural periphery. The largest rural periphery in Minsk Guberniya in 1808 was comprised of 74 villages which belonged to community of Borisov, the smallest one was comprised of one village belonged in 1807 to community of Lapichi in district of Igumen. However, in the 18th century, villages of these rural peripheries were not permanently attached to any specific urban center. This periodical redistribution of villages between Jewish communities was connected to the Jewish poll tax considerations. Since the fixed amount of poll tax was determined in 1717 both for Crown Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and it was much lower than the actual Jewish population of the Commonwealth, the Jewish super-communal autonomous institutions had broad leeway in their tax assessment policies. Out of this leeway grew a rotation schedule for payment of the poll tax. Almost no Jewish community paid the poll tax annually, but every given year some communities were tax exempt and other communities were obliged to pay. Inside every community the tax was assessed "progressively", since many urban poor could not pay anything, and so rich Jews were obliged to pay on their behalf. Relatively prosperous rural leaseholders were an especially favored target for the taxation policy of the communal leadership: rural Jews rarely attended elections of the *kahal* (communal officials), which took place in the synagogue during Passover, and thus had little influence on the communal budget. However, rural leaseholders found a way to overcome the tendency of communal leaders to overtax them through the use of their connections with local magnates, their lords and masters, who often protected their Jewish leaseholders from Jewish communal regulations. The communities, however, found their own way to counterbalance this pressure: they arbitrarily detached villages with Jewish leaseholders from those communities whose tax burden was decreased according to the rotation schedule of Jewish regional councils, and attached them to those communities, whose taxation burden increased according to this schedule. Subsequently rural leaseholders had to pay their taxes annually regardless of the schedule.[250] Thus, for example, in 1732 the community of Orly, which had to pay 1350 *złoty* in the following year in poll tax, requested and received from the autonomous major community of Tykocin a reduction of 200 *złoty*, as compensation for the loss of income from a rural tavern (*shenk* in Yiddish), which was attached to another community.[251] According to the poll tax assessment lists, this

250 See Kalik, Judith, *Scepter of Judah. Jewish Autonomy in the Eighteenth-Century Crown Poland* (Studia Judaeoslavica 2, ed. A. Kulik), Leiden-Boston, 2009, pp. 86-87.

251 *Pinkas Kahal Tiktin 5301-5566, Haskamot, Haḥlatot VeTakanot Kfi SheHa'atikan Min HaPinkas HaMekori SheAvad BaShoah Israel Halperin*, ed. Mordechai Nadav, vol. 1, Jerusalem, 1996, No. 881, pp. 587-588.

reduction was implemented only in 1737, when the community of Orly paid 1050 *złoty* in poll tax.[252]

Rural Jewish leaseholders themselves aspired to gain independence from urban Jewish communities. The advantage of such independence was the option of taking part in the Jewish poll tax rotation schedule on equal terms with other urban Jewish communities. Magnates and members of the lower and middle nobility were guided by different motives in terms of their policy towards rural Jews. The magnates tried to prevent their rural leaseholders from being detached from their urban communities, but lower and middle nobles, who had no private towns of their own, were interested in gaining administrative independence for their rural leaseholders.[253] The conflicting interests of the magnates and the lesser nobility also stood in contrast with the policies of Jewish super-communal institutions, which favored attaching rural leaseholders to urban communities whose poll tax was due to increase in a given year.[254]

After the abolition of Jewish autonomy in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1764 and the adoption of the Russian system of periodical censuses of population as the basis for poll tax assessment, the situation changed. There was no fixed sum for Jewish poll tax any more, its level depending on the size of the population for every Jewish community according to the last census. However, the Jewish community remained collectively responsible for the delivery of its poll tax. Thus, although the rotation between the communities in poll tax payments had stopped, the communities continued to overtax the leaseholders of their rural peripheries on behalf of the urban poor. Therefore, the more villages were attached to the rural periphery of any given community, the more the community's was able to meet its tax obligations. Since the super-communal institutions on the level of major communities survived the dissolution of the Council of Four Lands and the Council of Lithuania and since they still had authority to transfer villages from one community to another, the competition for rural peripheries between communities continued.

The five major communities of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Brest, Grodno, Pinsk, Vilna and Slutsk) did not survive the partitions of Poland, since their boundaries were crisscrossed by the new borders of the First and the Second Partitions. However some of the subordinate regional councils (Zhmud', Belarus, Novogrudok, Minsk, Smorgon', and Polotsk) survived and even were recognized by the state. Thus, after the First Partition in 1772, the Russian authorities recognized the "synagogue of

252 Kalik, Judith, *Scepter of Judah. Jewish Autonomy in the Eighteenth-Century Crown Poland* (Studia Judaeoslavica 2, ed. A. Kulik), Leiden-Boston, 2009, table 3b, p. 165.

253 Goldberg, Jacob, „Gminy żydowskie (kahały) w systemie władztwa dominialnego w szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej", *Między historią a teorią"*, ed. M. Drozdowski, Warszawa-Poznań, 1988, pp. 152-171; „HaKehila BaMishtar HaḤevrati-HaMedini BeMamlekhet Polin-Lita", in J. Goldberg, *HaḤevra HaYehudit BeMamlekhet Polin-Lita*, Jerusalem, 1999, pp. 144-158.

254 Kalik, Judith, *Scepter of Judah. Jewish Autonomy in the Eighteenth-Century Crown Poland* (Studia Judaeoslavica 2, ed. A. Kulik), Leiden-Boston, 2009, p. 92.

Belarus" comprised of the territories of new Vitebsk and Mogilev Guberniyas .[255] After the Second and the Third partitions, the old Jewish autonomous units were reshuffled along the new administrative borders, and Guberniya and district councils were formed.[256]

Comparing the censuses of 1795 and 1807 for district of Igumen we find that the policy of periodical redistribution of villages between urban communities continued also under the Russian rule: the community of Smilovichi was stripped of its rural periphery completely in favor of the community of Pukhovichi, the community of Bogushevichi lost three villages in favor of the communities of Berezino and Pogost, and the community of Pukhovichi lost one village in favor of the community of Lapichi (see table 7.1).

The absence of any rural peripheries in the communities of Ivenets in the district of Minsk, Mozyr' and Lenin in the district of Mozyr', Kozhan-Gorodok in the district of Pinsk, Kopyl' and Timkovichi in the district of Slutsk, as attested in the eviction lists of 1808, was most probably a result of the attachment of their rural peripheries to other communities. Purely rural communities which were detached at some point of time from their urban centers are also attested to in eviction lists. These were the communities of Dokshitskaya Sloboda in the district of Borisov and Beloruchye in the district of Minsk. The territories of both communities circled around the rural peripheries of the urban communities of Dokshitsy and Ostroshitski Gorodok (see appendix 2, figures 13.3 and 13.5). Both of these communities did not survive for a long time as independent communities, disappearing by 1811 (see table 7.2).

However, several settlements, which were treated as villages in the eviction lists of 1808, appeared as Jewish urban centres later on: Liuban' in the district of Bobruisk, Es'mon, Gaina and Kamen' in the district of Borisov, Komarovka in the district of Minsk, Nobel' and Sviataya Volia in the district of Pinsk (see table 7.2).

The aforementioned Komarovka was, in fact, a suburb of Minsk, which gained administrative independence in 1811 after a prolonged struggle with the community of Minsk.[257] Another example of a suburban community with its own rural periphery was the community of Karolin (Karlin) in the district of Pinsk, which existed as an independent community already in 1749 or 1750, when it separated from the community of Pinsk. The existence of separate Jewish communities in large royal towns and their suburbs was a well-established pattern of organization in the

255 Марек, Петр, «Белорусская синагога и ее территория», *Восход* 1903, 5, с. 71-82.
256 Levitats, Isaac, *The Jewish community in Russia, 1772–1844*, New York, 1970, p. 88.
257 Levitats, Isaac, *The Jewish community in Russia, 1772–1844*, New York, 1970, p. 90.

Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, attested in Lublin, Lwów, and Przemyśl in Crown Poland,[258] and Vilna in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.[259]

Many villages were shared by two or more communities. This means that one of the leaseholders in a village belonged to one community, while another one belonged to another community. Thus, there were four leaseholders in a large inn at the village of Chernitsa in the district of Borisov, one of the leaseholders belonged to the community of Borisov, while the other three, to the community of Zembin.

Since the rural Jewish population in Minsk Guberniya was not permanent, many Jews dwelling in a particular village, which belonged to a particular Jewish community, were also members of another community, often a distant one. These Jews were most probably migrants, Jews from different *shtetls* within and without Minsk Guberniya, who obtained lease-holding contracts from the village's owner. Many other rural Jews left their villages and moved to *shtetls* and towns or villages in other communities. Such internal and external migrations are also indicated in the censuses (for the district of Igumen) and the eviction lists (see table 7.3).

In 1844 the Jewish *kahal* was abolished. The Jewish communities (*kehilah*) were not dissolved, and they continued to be collectively responsible for collecting the Jewish poll tax (until its abolition in 1863) and internal Jewish taxes called *korobka* ("box") and the candle levy (*svechnoi sbor*, the tax on Sabbath candles used to support the Jewish educational system). However elected Jewish communal officials were replaced by appointed tax-collectors (*raskladchiki nalogov*).[260] Jews continued to elect annually communal officials, but they lost any official recognition.[261] This reform was usually interpreted as an anti-Jewish measure,[262] but it was, in fact, beneficial for rural Jews, since the new elected communal leaders could not rely anymore on the support of law in cases of disobedience of rural leaseholders, who traditionally saw themselves "oppressed" by the arbitrary decisions of the urban community.[263]

An immediate effect of the 1844 reform was a drastic reduction of the number of Jewish communities, which fell in Minsk Guberniya from 86 in 1816/19 to 32 in 1847.

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258 See Kalik, Judith, "Suburban Story: Structure of Jewish Communities in Largest Royal Cities of 18th Century Crown Poland, *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 113, 2006, pp. 54-65; Kalik, Judith, *Scepter of Judah. Jewish Autonomy in the Eighteenth-Century Crown Poland* (Studia Judaeoslavica 2, ed. A. Kulik), Leiden-Boston, 2009, pp. 49-59.

259 Nadav, Mordekhai, "Toldot Kehilat Pinsk: 5266/1506-5640/1880", *Pinsk. Sefer 'Edut VeZikaron LeKehilat Pinsk-Karlin, Kerakh Histori. Toldot Kehilat Pinsk-Karlin 1506-1941,* ed. W. Z. Rabinowitsch, Tel Aviv-Haifa, 1973, p. 164.

260 See Марек, Петр, «Раскладчики налогов в Литовских кагалах», *Еврейская старина*, 1909, том 1, с. 161-174.

261 Shoḥat, 'Azriel, «HaHanhaga BeKehilot Rusiya 'im Bitul 'HaKahal'», *Zion* 42, 1977, pp. 143-233.

262 Levitats, Isaac, *The Jewish community in Russia, 1844–1917*, Jerusalem, 1981.

263 On the pre-partition period see Kalik, Judith, *Scepter of Judah. Jewish Autonomy in the Eighteenth-Century Crown Poland* (Studia Judaeoslavica 2, ed. A. Kulik), Leiden-Boston, 2009, p. 91.

These enlarged communities, however, soon fragmented again, and their number had stabilized at 84 by 1858 (see table 7.2).

The Jewish agricultural colonies which had established in Minsk Guberniya since 1835 were not a part of the rural peripheries of Jewish urban communities, but formed Jewish "rural societies" (*sel'skoye obshchestvo*) of their own.

Appendix 3: Tables to Chapter 7

Table 7.1 Transition of villages from one community to another. District of Igumen in 1795-1807.

Villages	1795[264]						1807[265]							
	Smilovichi		Bogushevichi		Pukhovichi		Pukhovichi		Berezino		Lapichi		Pogost	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Blon’	2	3					2	1						
Drachkovo	2	3					2	3						
Liady			3	1					1	2				
Maksimovichi			3	3									1	1
Petrovichi	1	2					2	2						
Slobodka	1	2					2	1						
Tsel’					2	2					3	3		
Turets	3	5					1	2						
Usha			1	2					(1)	(1)				
Zabolotye	1	2					2							

264 NIAB F 333 op 9 d 31.
265 NIAB F 333 op. 9 d. 35.

Table 7.2 Jewish Communities of Minsk Guberniya in 1795-1858.

1795[266]	1807/1808[267]	1811[268]	1816/19[269]	1847[270]	1858[271]
	Bobruisk	Bobruisk	Bobruisk	Bobruisk	Bobruisk
	Glusk	Glusk	Glusk	Glusk	Glusk
		Kazimirovo	Kazimirovo		Kazimirovo
			Liuban’		Liuban’
	Liubonichi	Liubonichi	Liubonichi		Liubonichi
	Ozarichi	Ozarichi	Ozarichi		Ozarichi
	Parichi	Parichi	Parichi	Parichi	Parichi
		Pobolovo	Pobolovo		Pobolovo
	Svisloch	Svisloch	Svisloch		Svisloch
	Urechye	Urechye	Urechye		Urechye
	Borisov	Borisov	Borisov	Borisov	Borisov
	Dokshitsy	Dokshitsy	Dokshitsy	Dokshitsy	Dokshitsy
	Dokshitskaya Sloboda				
		Es’mon	Es’mon		Es’mon
		Gaina	Gaina		Gaina
		Kamen’	Kamen’		
	Kholopenichi	Kholopenichi	Kholopenichi	Kholopenichi	Kholopenichi
	Krasnoluki	Krasnoluki	Krasnoluki		Krasnoluki
	Logoisk	Logoisk	Logoisk	Logoisk	Logoisk
	Pleshchenitsy	Pleshchenitsy	Pleshchenitsy		Pleshchenitsy
	Smolevichi	Smolevichi	Smolevichi		Smolevichi
	Zembin	Zembin	Zembin		Zembin

266 NIAB F 333 op 9 d 31.

267 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 2, 3, 5, 7; F 333 op. 9 d. 35.

268 Aleksandrov, Hillel, "Di yidishe bofelkerung in Minsker gubernie in anheib 19-tn yorhundert", *Tseitshrift* 1930, 4, pp. 67-88.

269 Ibid.

270 *Еврейская энциклопедия*, ред. А. Гаркави, Л. Каценельсон, С-Петербург, 1908-1913, том 4, с. 688, 828; том 8, с. 20; том 11, с. 87, 166, 757; том 12, с. 531; том 13, с. 756; том 14, с. 312-313.

271 Зеленский, Илларион, *Материалы для географии и статистики России, собранные офицерами генерального штаба. Минская губерния*, С-Петербург, 1864, том 1, табл. к стр. 667. Only number of communities is indicated for every district, their names are reconstructed on the basis of the data for 1819.

Continued Table 7.2

1795[266]	1807/1808[267]	1811[268]	1816/19[269]	1847[270]	1858[271]
		Igumen	Igumen	Igumen	Igumen
	Berezino	Berezino	Berezino	Berezino	Berezino
Bogushevichi	Bogushevichi	Bogushevichi	Bogushevichi		Bogushevichi
	Dukora	Dukora	Dukora		Dukora
		Kholui	Kholui		Kholui
	Klichev		Klichev		Klichev
	Lapichi	Lapichi	Lapichi		Lapichi
	Losha	Losha	Losha		Losha
	Mogilno	Mogil'no	Mogil'no		Mogilno
	Pogost	Pogost	Pogost		Pogost
Pukhovichi	Pukhovichi	Pukhovichi	Pukhovichi		Pukhovichi
Shatsk	Shatsk	Shatsk	Shatsk		Shatsk
Smilovichi		Smilovichi	Smilovichi	Smilovichi	Smilovichi
Smolevichi					
	Uzda	Uzda	Uzda	Uzda	Uzda
	Uzliany	Uzliany	Uzliany		Uzliany
	Minsk	Minsk	Minsk	Minsk	Minsk
	Beloruchye				
	Ostroshitski Gorodok	Gorodok	Gorodok		Gorodok
		Ivenets	Ivenets	Ivenets	Ivenets
	Kaidanovo	Koidanov	Koidanov	Koidanov	Koidanov
		Komarovka	Komarovka		Komarovka
	Rakov	Rakov	Rakov		Rakov
		Rubezhevichi	Rubezhevichi		Rubezhevichi
	Samokhvalovichi	Samokhvalovichi	Samokhvalovichi		Samokhvalovichi
	Stolbtsy	Stolbtsy	Stolbtsy	Stolbtsy	Stolbtsy
		Svezhen'	Svezhen'		Novyi Svezhen'
	Zaslavl'	Zaslavl'	Zaslavl'		Zaslavl'
		Mozyr'	Mozyr'	Mozyr'	Mozyr'
	David-Gorodok	David-Gorodok	David-Gorodok	David-Gorodok	David-Gorodok
	Karolin	Karolin	Karolin		Karolin
	Kopatkevichi	Kopatkevichi	Kopatkevichi		Kopatkevichi
	Lakhva	Lakhva	Lakhva		Lakhva
	Lel'chitsy		Lel'chitsy		Lel'chitsy
		Lenin	Lenin		Lenin
	Petrikov	Petrikov	Petrikov	Petrikov	Petrikov
	Skrygalov	Skrygalov	Skrygalov		Skrygalov
	Turov	Turov	Turov	Turov	Turov

Continued Table 7.2

1795[266]	1807/1808[267]	1811[268]	1816/19[269]	1847[270]	1858[271]
	Pinsk	Pinsk	Pinsk	Pinsk	Pinsk
	Gorodno				
	Karolin	Karolin	Karolin		Karolin
		Kozhan-Gorodok	Kozhan-Gorodok		Kozhan-Gorodok
	Liubeshov	Liubeshov	Liubeshov	Liubeshov	Liubeshov
	Logishin	Logishin	Logishin	Logishin	Logishin
		Nobel’	Nobel’		Nobel’
	Pogost				Pogost
	Pogost-Zagorodski				
	Stolin	Stolin	Stolin	Stolin	Stolin
		Sviataya Volia	Sviataya Volia		Sviataya Volia
	Rechitsa	Rechitsa	Rechitsa	Rechitsa	Rechitsa
	Bragin	Bragin	Bragin	Bragin	Bragin
	Gorval’	Gorval’	Gorval’		Gorval’
	Kalinkovichi	Kalinkovichi	Kalinkovichi		Kalinkovichi
	Khoiniki	Khoiniki	Khoiniki	Khoiniki	Khoiniki
	Kholmech	Kholmech	Kholmech		Kholmech
		Loyev	Loyev	Loyev	Loyev
	Narovlia	Narovlia	Narovlia		Narovlia
	Yurovichi	Yurovichi	Yurovichi		Yurovichi
	Slutsk	Slutsk	Slutsk	Slutsk	Slutsk
		Bobovnia	Bobovnia		
	Grozovo	Grozovo	Grozovo		Grozovo
	Kletsk	Kletsk	Kletsk	Kletsk	Kletsk
		Kopyl’	Kopyl’	Kopyl’	Kopyl’
	Liakhovichi	Liakhovichi	Liakhovichi	Liakhovichi	Liakhvichi
	Nesvizh	Nesvizh	Nesvizh	Nesvizh	Nesvizh
			Pogost		Pogost
		Romanovo	Romanovo		
	Starobin	Starobin	Starobin		Starobin
		Timkovichi	Timkovichi		Timkovichi
		Vyzna	Vyzna		Vyzna

Table 7.3 Jewish Migrants, 1795-1808.

District	Community	Origin	Destination	No.	
				m	f
Bobruisk[272]	Urechye	Slutsk		2	2
Borisov[273]	Borisov	Vileika		4	2
		Mogilev		5	4
		Igumen		2	3
	Krasnoluki	Senno		3	4
	Pleshchenitsy	Vileika		6	7
		Minsk		4	4
	Dokshitsy	Disna		1	1
		Vileika		9	15
	Dokshitskaya	Disna		1	4
	Sloboda	Vileika		13	17
		Lepel’		2	2
	Smolevichi	Minsk		9	9
		Minsk	Russia	1	3
		Igumen		3	7
Igumen[274]	Pukhovichi		unknown	10	
			Minsk	3	
			Smilovichi	1	1
	Klichev		Bobruisk	2	
			Mogilev	1	
	Dukora		Igumen	1	
			Smilovichi	1	
			Minsk	3	
			unknown	1	
	Berezino		Igumen	2	1
			Minsk	1	
			Bogushevichi	3	2
			Borisov	1	1
			unknown	2	3
	Pogost		Berezino	1	1
			unknown	9	
	Bogushevichi	Bobruisk		1	2
			Bobruisk	1	
			unknown	2	
	Mogilno		unknown	1	
	Uzda		unknown	5	

272 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 6.
273 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 7, pp. 60-127.
274 NIAB F 333 op 9 d 31, 35.

Continued Table 7.3

District	Community	Origin	Destination	No.	
				m	f
Minsk[275]	Minsk	Borisov		8	6
		Vileika		3	1
		Igumen		2	2
	Kaidanovo	Igumen		2	3
	Rakov	Vileika		4	7
	Samokhvalovichi	Igumen		6	14
	Ostroshitski	Borisov		4	5
	Gorodok	Vileika		2	1
Mozyr'[276]	Lakhva	Rechitsa		2	2
Rechitsa[277]	Rechitsa		unknown	2	4
		Strokovichi		3	4
	Khoiniki		unknown	4	2
	Gorval'	Bobruisk		1	1
	Kalinkovichi	Bobruisk		2	3
Slutsk[278]	Slutsk	Igumen		1	1
	Nesvizh	Novogrudok		3	4
	Grozovo	Igumen		3	3
total: 7	28	13	10+	169	158

275 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 5.
276 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 7 pp. 128-158.
277 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 3.
278 NIAB F 138 op. 1 d. 2.

8 Cultural and Religious Life

The rural Jews of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had a reputation for being ignorant and culturally inferior. Their main problem was the lack of access to traditional Jewish education, since its primary (*ḥeder*) and secondary (*yeshivot*) institutions were located in towns and *shtetls*. The existence of itinerant teachers, such as the one from the *stetl* Ostroshitski Gorodok in the district of Minsk, who served the rural inhabitants of the Jewish community of Logoisk in the district of Borisov, as attested in the eviction lists of 1808,[279] could only marginally solve this problem.

Unlike in the *shtetls*, where the Jews were often an absolute majority of the population, rural Jews were always a small minority living among non-Jewish peasants. Their close contact and acquaintance between Jews and Christians led to mutual cultural influences. Rural Jews usually knew local Slavonic languages, and some of them even did not know Yiddish, as Solomon Maimon writes:

> " ... a Jew, who was named after his village of Schwersen (Świerzeń), and was known as the biggest scoundrel in the whole neighborhood, offered him [general leaseholder] a hand. This fellow was so ignorant, that did not even understand the Jewish language, and made use therefore of Russian".[280]

Rural Jews shared often with their Slavic co-villagers common beliefs and superstitions. Thus, Piotr Cziachowski wrote in 1624 that many Christian pregnant women went to some Jewish witches in order to obtain magic amulets from them. The author admits that: "this way one Jewish woman of Mychów cured one old man from fever".[281] This is incidentally the only reference to Jewish female witches. Slavic witches are of course well known, and some Jews also were among their customers. Thus, Rabbi Meir Margaliyot of Jazłowiec wrote in his responses from 1777-1782 that in several cases of *agunot* (married women whose husbands' whereabouts were unknown) that these Jewish women obtained information about their husbands' death from gentile female astrologers: "Has she talked to a *babke*, who is an old *goya* who looks at stars" (*Hat zi gizatt in babke das iz ain alti goi'(ya) vas zeht oif shtern,* part 1, question 32, response 4); "I have asked a young *goya*: 'Do you know how to look at stars?'" (*Ikh hab gifregt ain goi'(ya) ain yunge: 'Du bist akenndike tsu zehin el kokhavim?'* part 1, question 32, response 6).[282]

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279 NIAB F 138 op 1 d. 7 p. 97.

280 Maimon, Solomon, *An Autobiography*, translated by J. C. Murray, introduction by M. Shapiro, Urbana-Chicago, 2001, p. 39.

281 Cziachowski, Piotr, *O przypadkach białych głów brzemiennych*, Kraków, 1624.

282 Meir ben Tsvi Hirsh Margaliyot, *Meir Netivim*, Polonne, 1792. I am very grateful to Tamar Salmon-Mack for drawing my attention to this passage.

In 1921 the Jewish Historical Commission found an 18th century parchment manuscript with a spell against fever written in Belarusian in Hebrew characters in the *stetl* of Smilovichi in the district of Igumen. Another 18th century manuscript with a similar spell in Ukrainian language was also found in Kievan Vernadsky library.[283]

Such examples of Jewish-Slavic cultural interaction in the sphere of popular beliefs and superstitions can be easily continued into the 19th century. A story was recorded in late 19th century by a Jew called Zunger who travelled between Minsk and Mogilev Guberniyas.

> "When God expelled an angel from the heaven, he became a devil and for a long time he did not show up on earth. People lived then happily and without sin. Finally, he was bored having nothing to do and not being able to kill men. He came to God to beg him to let him back to the heaven. God became angry and expelled him. The devil did not come back for a long time, but he returned after some time and begged God again this time to allow him to live on earth inside the man. God expelled him again. After a while he begged to allow him to live in man's house and afterwards in a forest. But God did not permit even this, and finally prohibited him from appearing at all. Sometimes God sees that the devil gets out of the hell and he quietly approaches the men and makes them some damage. If God sees him on a road, he strikes him with a thunderbolt and breaks off his horns, which one can find now in the earth (Belarusians call them "devil's fingers"), and they bring much benefit to man."[284]

The "Devil's fingers" of the story are, of course, belemnite fossils which are often called in this way in Slavic countries.

Jewish and non-Jewish tavern-keepers in Belarus, Lithuania and Poland believed that the rope, which had been used in a suicide, thrown into barrel of vodka could make a drunkard of an occasional drinker. In one case attested in Polesye, fragments of a rope were actually found in a barrel of vodka belonging to a local Jewish leaseholder.[285]

In 1889, during an epidemic of smallpox in Mogilev Guberniya, Jewish women and Belarusian peasant women participated in a ritual which involved plowing around the village at night.[286] Jews of Polesye also believed in a demon with a Slavic name of *kapeliushnik* harming to horses and milking cows at night,[287] and Polish and

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283 Petrovsky-Shtern, Yohanan, "Magiya VeRefua 'Amamit", *Toldot Yehudei Rusiya,* chief editor I. Bartal, vol. 1: *MiYmei Kedem 'ad Ha'Et HaḤadasha HaMukdemet",* ed. A. Kulik, Jerusalem, 2010, pp. 349-365; «Славяно-еврейские контакты в области практической магии и народной медицины на рубеже XVII-XVIII вв.», *История еврейского народа в России,* общая ред. И. Барталь, том 1: *От Древности до раннего Нового Времени*, ред. А. Кулик, Иерусалим, 2010, с. 356.

284 Белова, Ольга и Петрухин, Владимир, *«Еврейский миф» в славянской культуре*, Москва-Иерусалим, 2008, с. 471-472.

285 Ibid., p. 513.

286 Ibid., p. 525.

287 Ibid., p. 470-471.

Belarusian peasants in Podlasie believed Jews possessed magic spells against snake bites.[288]

All these examples reflect the hybrid sharing of cultural elements taken from a common pool of popular beliefs and ideas, rather than the direct influence.[289] This cultural background served, to a large extent, as the social basis for the spread of the Hassidic movement in the late 18th century[290]. Rural Jews became the most receptive target audience of Hassidic preachers for several reasons. Firstly, Hassidism provided a new form of charismatic leadership at odds with traditional communal leadership, which was alienated from and often hostile to rural leaseholders. Secondly, the Hassidic emphasis on ecstatic prayer and personal devotion at odds with the traditional Jewish cult of learning restored the self-confidence of the uneducated and culturally inferior in the eyes of urban Jewish elites rural Jews. However, the Hassidic movement had only limited success in the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The only Hassidic court, which originated in Minsk Guberniya, so-called Karlin Hassidism, whose home was in the Pinsk suburb Karolin (Karlin in Yiddish),[291] was founded in the 1760s by Rabbi Aharon the Great. Later branches of Karlin Hassidism spread to Liakhovichi, Kaidanovo, Kobrin, Slonim, and Novominsk (Mińsk Mazowiecki), and the seat of Karlin Hassidic court itself moved to the nearby *shtetl* of Stolin in 1792-1798 and once again after 1867. The Liakhovichi branch in the district of Slutsk was established in 1792 by Rabbi Mordechai of Liakhovichi, a disciple of Rabbi Shlomo of Karlin, and the Kaidanovo Hassidic dynasty in the district of Minsk was founded by Rabbi Shlomo Ḥayim Perlow in 1833. The Kobrin and Slonim Hassidic courts in Grodno Guberniya were outlets of Liakhovichi Hassidism, founded, respectively, in 1833 by Rabbi Moshe Polier, a disciple of Rabbi Mordechai of Liakhovichi, and in 1858 by Rabbi Abraham I Weinberg, a disciple of Rabbi Moshe Polier. The Hassidic court of Mińsk Mazowiecki in Poland was an outlet of Kaidanovo dynasty, founded in 1872 by Rabbi Jacob Perlow, the grandson of Rabbi Shlomo Ḥayim.

288 Ibid. p. 504.

289 About the "hybrid" theory see Rosman, Moshe, "Foreword", *Holy Dissent. Jewish and Christian Mystics in Eastern Europe*, ed. Glen Dynner, Detroit, 2011, pp. VII-IX.

290 On Hassidism in general see Dubnov, Shimon, *Toldot HaḤasidut*, Tel Aviv, 1967; Assaf, David and Sagiv, Gadi, "Hasidism in Tsarist Russia: Historical and Social Aspects", *Jewish History* 27, 2013, pp. 241-268; id. "HaḤasidut BeRusiya HaTsarit: Hibetim Historiim VeḤevratiim", *Toldot Yehudei Rusiya,* chief editor I. Bartal, vol. 2: *MiḤalukot Polin 'ad Nefilat HaKeisarut HaRusit, 1772-1917*, ed. I. Lurie, Jerusalem, 2012, pp. 75-112. On Hassidism in Belarus see Rabinovich, Wolf Ze'ev, *Lithuanian Hasidism from Its Beginnings to the Present Day*, London, 1970; Stępniewska-Holzer, Barbara, "Ruch chasydzki na Białorusi w połowie XIX wieku", *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów* 3, 2003, pp. 511-522.

291 On Karlin Hassidism see Rabinovich, Wolf Ze'ev, "Tsu der geshikhte fun Karliner Ḥasidut", *Historishe Shriftn fun YIVO* 2, Vilna, 1937, pp. 152-179; "Karlin Hasidism", *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science* 5, 1950, pp. 123-151.

The Ḥabad Hassidic movement, founded in 1775 by Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Liady in Łoźna on the eastern border of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania[292] also penetrated Minsk Guberiya in the 19th century. In 1844 Menaḥem Mendel Schneersohn, the third *Admor* of Ḥabad bought 992 *desiatin* (367.4 acres) of land in the abandoned village of Shchedrin in the district of Bobruisk and founded there a Jewish agricultural colony, which later became a *shtetl*[293]. From 1880 to 1908 Rechitsa became a center of the Ḥabad Hassidic movement, when it served as the seat of Rabbi Shalom Dov Ber Shneersohn, the fifth *Admor* of the Ḥabad movement[294].

Both Hassidic movements, which originated in Belarus, emerged at the borders of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Karlin-Stolin Hassidism, originated in Polesye, socio-economically more connected with Volhynia than with the rest of Belarus, Ḥabad movement emerged on the border with Russia. All in all, Belarus and Lithuania remained the stronghold of the opponents of Hassidism, the so-called *mitnagdim* (or *misnagdim*), and the word *Litvak* ("Lithuanian" in Yiddish, that is a Jew from the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania) even became a term synonymous with *mitnagdim*.[295] Since the proportion of the rural Jews among the general Jewish population in the North-Western provinces of the Russian Empire (Belarus and Lithuania) was even higher than in the South-West (Ukraine), it is difficult to explain the success of the Hassidic movement in Ukraine and its failure in Belarus and Lithuania. Rural Jews constituted 19.9% in six North-Western Guberniyas (Vilna, Vitebsk, Grodno, Kovna, Minsk, Mogilev) and 17.6% in five South-Western Guberniyas (Volhynia, Kiev, Podolia, Poltava, Khar'kov).[296]

There are various explanations for this strange geography of Hassidism. The personal influence of the charismatic opponent of Hassidism, Rabbi Eliyahu (the Vilna Gaon), or German cultural influence in Lithuania[297] have been proposed to date. However, as Marcin Wodziński and Uriel Gellman rightly remark, "the cultural impact of the Vilna Gaon ... is certainly not sufficient to account for the Litvak resistance to

292 On the history of the Ḥabad movement see Ehrlich, Avrum M. *Leadership in the Habad Movement: a Critical Evaluation of Habad Leadership, History, and Succession*, New Jersey, 2000; Lurie, Ilya, *'Edah UMedinah. Ḥasidut Ḥabad BaImperiya HaRusit, 5586-5643*, Jerusalem, 2006.

293 See Ляховицкий М. "Сто лет существования еврейского местечка Щедрин", http://www.souz.co.il/clubs/read.html?article=3113&Club_ID=1.

294 See Каганович, Альберт, *Речица. История еврейского местечка Юго-Восточной Белоруссии*, Иерусалим, 2007, с. 172-173.

295 On their ideology see Nadler, Allan, *The Faith of the Mithnagdim: Rabbinic Responses to Hasidic Rapture*, Baltimore, 1997.

296 Аленицин, Владимир, *Еврейское население и землевладение в юго-западных губерниях европейской России, входящих в черту еврейской оседлости*, С-Петербург, 1884.

297 Zalkin, Mordechai, «'Mkomot SheLo Matsah 'Adayin HaḤasidut Ken Lah Klal?' Bein Ḥasidim LeMitnagdim BeLita BaMe'ah Ha-19», *BeMa'agelei Ḥasidim: Lovets LeZikhro Shel Profesor Mordekhai Vilenski*, ed. Immanuel Etkes, Jerusalem, 1999, pp. 21-50.

Hasidism, as it may well have been its product rather than its cause",[298] and they also hold that the much stronger German cultural influence in Austrian Galicia did not prevent the transformation of this province into the foremost Hassidic stronghold.[299]

Our observation that the rural Jews of Minsk Guberniya were temporary residents in villages made on the basis of the peculiar age structure of the Jewish rural population in 1808[300] can possibly solve this long-standing problem. Spending only a few years of their life in the countryside, the Jews of Belarus and Lithuania managed to keep abreast of traditional Jewish education. They were thus empathetic to the Vilna Gaon's teachings and made the Hassidic courts less attractive option for them. The disproportionate number of boys and girls of school age among the rural Jews is particularly instructive. There were 13.8% of boys and 19% of girls between the ages of three and fourteen among the rural Jews according to the eviction lists, showing, probably, that most of boys attended Jewish primary schools (*ḥeder*) in *shtetls*.

This pattern of behavior, this constant exchange of population between *shtetl* and village, came to an abrupt end with the Temporary Rules ("May Laws") of 1882. Only then did the cultural degradation of the rural Jews in North-Western provinces begin. This means that, contrary to the stereotypic view, the ignorant and uneducated *yishuvnik* was creature brought to life relatively late on by late 19th century restrictions on the residence of the new-coming urban Jews into rural areas.

298 Wodziński, Marcin and Gellman, Uriel, "Towards a New Geography of Hasidism", *Jewish History* 27, 2013, p. 184.
299 Ibid. p. 185.
300 See chapter 5.

9 Jewish Farmers

Agriculture as an occupation was not entirely foreign to the traditional Jewish society of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but there were few Jewish farmers. We find only one farmer registered in the census of 1795 in the district of Igumen[301] and six more tenant-farmers in the eviction lists of 1808 in the remaining districts of Minsk Guberniya.[302] All of them rented their plots of land from local landlords: from two standard-bearers (*chorąży*) named Lenkiewicz and Pawlikowski, from a landlady named Żyżniewska,[303] from a merchant named Chatajewicki,[304] from Imperial estate (*starostwo*) Grabyo, and from municipality of Nobel'.[305] Three more Jews were employed as agricultural managers supervising the corvée work of serfs, by Dominik and Michał Radziwiłłs in the district of Borisov , and one Jew was a hired agricultural worker of Prince Michał Radziwiłł also in the district of Borisov.[306]

Ideologically motivated projects to transform "unproductive" traditional rural Jews into "productive" farmers began in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the last stage of its existence.[307] In 1775 the Polish Diet legislated a tax reduction for those Jews who agreed to become farmers,[308] but we know of no Jewish response to this offer. Several projects to transform rural Jews into farmers were later submitted to the Four Years' Diet of 1788-1792. The most detailed projects concerning the establishment of Jewish agricultural colonies were proposed by the Polish poet Franciszek Karpiński in 1792,[309] and by the Jewish trade agent of the last Polish King Stanisław August, Abraham Hirszowicz, who proposed to settle poor Jews on uncultivated lands in Southern Ukraine.[310] All these ideas were inspired by French physiocratic economic theory, and although these projects were never implemented in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which ceased to exist only a few years later, these ideas were adopted by the Russian government in the course of the 19th

301 NIAB, F 333, od. 9, d. 31, p. 36.
302 See table 5.2.
303 See table 4.2.
304 See table 4.4.
305 See table 4.6.
306 See table 4.1.
307 On these projects see Goldberg, Jacob, „Rolnictwo wśród Żydów w ziemi wieluńskiej w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku", *Biuletyn ŻIH* 26, 1958, pp. 62-89; Ringelblum, Emanuel, „Projekty i próby przewarstwowienia Żydów w epoce stanisławowskiej", *Sprawy Narodowościowe* 1, 1934, pp. 3-9, 2-3, 1934, pp. 18-26; Wodziński, Marcin, „Wilkiem orać". Polskie projekty kolonizacji rolnej Żydów, 1775-1823", *Małżeństwo z rozsądku? Żydzi w społeczeństwie dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. M. Wodziński, A. Michałowska-Mycielska, Wrocław, 2007, pp. 105-130.
308 *Sejmy i sejmiki koronne wobec Żydów, wydór tekstów źródłowych*, ed. Anna Michałowska-Mycielska, Warszawa, 2006, No. CXLVI, p. 157.
309 *Materiały do dziejów Sejmu Czteroletniego*, tom 6, ed. A. Eisenbach, J. Michalski, E. Rostworowski, J. Woliński, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków, 1969, pp. 483-486.
310 Ibid. pp. 519-524.

century. In fact, the idea of transforming Jews into farmers became an especially long-standing project: its implementation continued in the inter-war Soviet Union[311] under the slogan to create a socialist nation with a "normal" class structure.[312] Indeed the Zionist agricultural colonization in Ottoman and British mandatory Palestine can be seen as yet another manifestation of the same idea.[313] As Israel Bartal has rightly observed: "The physiocratist thought sealed in practice the fate of the image, which shaped the Jewish economic activity in Eastern Europe for several generations."[314]

The first stipulation for the encouragement of Jewish agricultural colonization in the Russian Empire was incorporated into the Jewish Statute of 1804, whose articles 12 to 19 are dedicated to this matter. Jews were allowed to purchase uncultivated land for cultivation (article 13), in the Guberniyas of Minsk, Kiev, Volhynia, Podolia, Astrakhan', Caucasus, Yekaterinoslav (now Dnipro), Kherson, and Tauria (the Crimean peninsula and nearby Northern Pontic areas) and those who had not enough financial resources to buy land were entitled to treasury land for cultivation as allocated by the state (article 17). However, in practice the government directed Jewish agricultural colonization to depopulated areas in so-called Novorossia ("New Russia", now Southern Ukraine) in Yekaterinoslav, Kherson and Tauria Guberniyas.[315] This was an integral part of the general policy of the Russian government for the accelerated agricultural development of these fertile but uncultivated lands in the former Khanate of Crimea, which had been annexed in 1783. Jewish colonization in these areas was conducted in four phases, from 1806 to 1810, from 1819 to 1822, from 1838 to 1842, and from 1846 to 1851. Most settlers

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311 On Soviet Jewish agricultural colonies in Southern Ukraine see Dekel-Chen, Jonathan, *Farming the Red Land: Jewish Agricultural Colonization and Local Soviet Power*, New Haven, 2005; in Belarus - Smilovitsky, Leonid, "The Jewish Farmers in Belarus during the 1920s", *Jewish Political Studies Review* 9, 1997, pp. 59-71; Shmeruk, Ḥone, *HaKibbuts HaYehudi VeHaHityashvut HaḤaklait HaYehudit BeVelorusiya HaSovyetit (1918-1932)*, Jerusalem, 1961.

312 See Zeltser, Arkadi, "HaGishah HaSovyetit BeYaḥas LaOtonomiyah HaEtnit: HaMikre shel HaYehudim", *Toldot Yehudei Rusiya,* chief editor I. Bartal, vol. 3: *MiMahpekhot 1917 'ad Nefilat Brit HaMo'atsot*, ed. Michael Beizer, Jerusalem, 2015, p. 150; Zeltser, Arkadi, "Shinuim Demografii VeHaḤevratiim-Kalkaliim BeKerev HaYehudim MiTḥilat Milḥemet Ha'Olam HaRishonah Ve'Ad LeSof Shnot HaShloshim shel HaMeah Ha'Esrim", *Toldot Yehudei Rusiya,* chief editor I. Bartal, vol. 3: *MiMahpekhot 1917 'ad Nefilat Brit HaMo'atsot*, ed. Michael Beizer, Jerusalem, 2015, pp. Zeltser, Arkadi, "Shinuim Demografii VeHaḤevratiim-Kalkaliim BeKerev HaYehudim MiTḥilat Milḥemet Ha'Olam HaRishonah Ve'Ad LeSof Shnot HaShloshim shel HaMeah Ha'Esrim", *Toldot Yehudei Rusiya*, chief editor I. Bartal, vol. 3: *MiMahpekhot 1917 'ad Nefilat Brit HaMo'atsot*, ed. Michael Beizer, Jerusalem, 2015, pp. 95-96.

313 On the Jewish agricultural colonization outside Russia see Dekel-Chen, Jonathan and Bartal, Israel, "Jewish Agrarianization, 1804-1945", *Jewish History* 21, 2007, pp. 239-247.

314 Bartal, Israel, *LeTaken ,Am: Neorut VeLeumiyut BeMizraḥ Eiropa*, Jerusalem, 2013, p. 225.

315 See Боровой, Саул, *Еврейская земледельческая колонизация в старой России: политика - идеология - хозяйство - быт: по архивный материалам*, Москва, 1928; Никитин, В.Н., *Евреи земледельцы: историческое, законодательное, административное и бытовое положение колоний*, С-Петербург, 1887.

came, naturally from Mogilev and Vitebsk Guberniyas, where Jewish presence in rural countryside was prohibited until 1865. The Jews of Minsk Guberniya participated in this settlement movement only marginally: 102 families from this Guberniya joined settlers from the third phase of migration.[316]

The situation changed in 1835, when the new Jewish statute announced state support for Jewish agricultural colonization inside the Pale of Settlement, including Minsk Guberniya.[317] In fact, Jewish agricultural colonization in Minsk Guberiya began even before this legislation: 1746 Jewish farmers were reported as being present in the fiscal census of 1833, but none had been recorded in the previous census of 1817.[318] Jewish settlers of newly established agricultural colonies were not members of existing Jewish urban communities, but were organized into new Jewish agricultural societies (*yevreiskoye sel'skoye obshchestvo*). By 1864 there were six such societies in Minsk Guberniya: Gorki, Itel', Shchedrin in the district of Bobruisk, Nestanovichi in the district of Borisov, Nedvezhin in the district of Minsk, and Solomonovka in the district of Rechitsa.[319] The law of 1844 extended the privileges of the Jewish agricultural colonists: they were exempted from military recruitment, those who settled on the treasury lands were granted 100 rubles from the *korobka* tax per family, and those who settled on private lands were provided additionally with a loan of 85 rubles with a guarantee that a defaulted loan would be repaid from the landowner.[320] Some colonies were established through Jewish initiative alone. For example, in 1844 Menaḥem Mendel Schneersohn, the third *Admor* of the Ḥabad movement, bought 992 *desiatin* (367.4 acres) of land in an abandoned village Shchedrin in the district of Bobruisk and founded there a Jewish agricultural colony.[321] Kiselev's "sorting" of the Jews which began in 1846 significantly contributed to the growth of the Jewish agricultural population, since many rural Jewish leaseholders had to declare themselves as farmers in order to avoid eviction from rural areas. These Jews usually did not move to Jewish agricultural colonies, but rented or purchased plots of land in the villages in which they lived from local landlords. The number of the Jewish farmers in Minsk Guberniya in 1857 and 1876 is shown in table 9.1, listed by district. The data for 1857 includes the distribution of Jewish farmers according to the category

316 Боровой, Саул, *Еврейская земледельческая колонизация в старой России: политика - идеология - хозяйство - быт: по архивный материалам*, Москва, 1928, с. 137, 147-148.

317 On the Jewish agricultural colonies in Belarus see Никитин, В.Н., «Еврейские земледельческие колонии в западных губерниях», *Восход* 10/1, 1890, с. 94-104, 10/2, с. 112-123, 10/3, с. 41-52, 10/6, с. 82-96, 10/8, с. 93-111, 10/9, с. 45-63; 11/10, 1891, с. 162-176, 11/11, с. 171-181; 13/7, 1893, с. 118-133, 13/10, с. 79-110.

318 Зеленский, Илларион, *Материалы для географии и статистики России, собранные офицерами генерального штаба. Минская губерния,* С-Петербург, 1864, с. 613.

319 Ibid. p. 615.

320 Ibid. pp. 613-614.

321 See Ляховицкий М. «Сто лет существования еврейского местечка Щедрин», http://www.souz.co.il/clubs/read.html?article=3113&Club_ID=1.

of land on which they were settled (Treasury land, their own land, and private land of local landlords), and the data for 1876 includes information about the quantity of arable land in their possession.

As we can see from the table more than a half (53%) of Jewish farmers lived in 1857 on their own land, while 25% of them lived on Treasury land, while 21% lived on private land. In 1876 Jewish farmers possessed on average 0.85 acres of arable land per person (including women and children).

Since Jewish agricultural colonists were organized into separate communities, these were the only rural Jews who appear in the mid-19th century census lists separately. This makes it possible to trace their distribution in individual villages, as shown in table 9.2. The impact of Kiselev's "sorting" of the Jews is clearly seen in the district of Minsk, where, in 1850, Jewish farmers lived in 21 villages in small groups, ranging from one to five families. The agricultural colony of Nedvezhin, with 22 Jewish families, is exceptional. However, in 1858, after the abandonment of the policy of "sorting", only four families of Jewish farmers remained in three villages of this district. One of the landowners, who rented his land to Jewish tenant-farmers in Minsk district in 1850, was also Jewish, namely Mos'ka (Moses) Kudrin in the village of Kaneyevichi. The largest Jewish agricultural population is attested in the district of Bobruisk where several successful agricultural colonies were founded on two Treasury estates. By 1897 the number of Jewish farmers in this district reached 3500.

Table 9.1 Jewish Farmers 1857-1876.

Year	**1857**[322]				**1876**[323]	
District	**On Treasury land**	**On their own land**	**On private land**	**Total**	**Total**	**Seeding (in quarters = 1.35 acre)**
Bobruisk	598		968	1566	1690	599
Borisov	138	266	353	757	212	266
Igumen		456	89	545	139	180
Minsk	18	104	408	530	47	127
Mozyr'	257			257	139	83
Novogrudok		11		11		
Pinsk			12	12	32	64
Rechitsa			277	277	203	
Slutsk		7	11	18	265	400
total	1011	844	2118	3973	2727	1719

322 Зеленский, Илларион, *Материалы для географии и статистики России, собранные офицерами генерального штаба. Минская губерния*, С-Петербург, 1864, с. 615.

323 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии 1878 года*, часть 1, отдел III: Географически-статистическое описание Минской губернии, Минск, 1878, с. 69.

Table 9.2 Jewish Farmers 1850-1885.

District	Estate	Village	No. of Families			No. of Jews					
						m.		f.			
			1850[324]	1858[325]	1885[326]	1850	1858	1850	1858	1859[327]	1885
Bobruisk	Brozha	Brozha	1			6		5			
	(Treasury)	Domanovo	6		6	35		27			112
		Kovchitsy	23		24	141		109			448
		Kozlovichi	18		18	90		77			333
	Omelma (Treasury)	Dubrava		12	29		63		63		187
total		5	48	12	77	272	63	218	63		1080
Borisov	(own land)	Shamki								172	
	(Treasury)	Novyi Mkherin								102	
	Odyniec	Plitchenka								53	
total		3								327	
Igumen	(own land)	Vysokaya Starina		7			20		32		
	(own land)	Prasnishche		13			40		42		
	(own land)	Luchnoye		8			28		40		
	(own land)	Seliba								150	
total		4		28			88		114	150	
Minsk	Yurzhishki (Treasury)	Gantserovshchina	2	1		12	1	9	2		
		Zarechye	1			6		4			
	(own land)	Zayamechno	5			22		24			
	(own land)	Olshany	1			3		4			
	(own land)	Mikulichi	1	1		4	5	5	6		
	(own land)	Nedvezhin	2			8		10			
	Tadeusz Obrompolski	„ „	20			84		76			
	(own land)	Krzhimovka	1			3		4			
	(own land)	Kliapukha	2			7		6			
		Serebrianka	1			5		2			
		Butsevshchina	1			4		6			
		Zaborovaya	2			11		11			
		Borovliany	2			10		11			
		Kuntsevichi	3			11		13			
		Ostrovki	1			6		7			
		Liudvinovo	2			10		9			
		Zhukovka	1			6		3			

324 NIAB F 333 op. 9 d. 645 pp. 3-23 (Bobruisk); ibid. d. 602 pp. 4-48; ibid. d. 272 pp. 262-263 (Minsk).
325 NIAB F 333 op. 9 d. 733 pp. 301-308 (Bobruisk); ibid. d. 659 pp. 109-111; ibid. d. 662 pp. 148-155 (Igumen); ibid. d. 271 pp. 20-23 (Minsk); ibid. d. 478 pp. 139-157 (Mozyr').
326 *Волости и важнейшие селения европейской России. По данным обследования, произведенного статистическими учреждениями Министерства Внутренних Дел, по поручению Статистического Совета*. Выпуск V: Губернии Литовской и Белорусской областей, С-Петербург, 1886, с. 100-101 (Bobruisk); 111 (Pinsk).
327 RGIA F 1290 op. 4 d. 79 pp. 80 (Borisov), 173 (Igumen).

Continued Table 9.2

District	Estate	Village	No. of Families			No. of Jews					
						m.		f.			
			1850[324]	1858[325]	1885[326]	1850	1858	1850	1858	1859[327]	1885
		Dubrova	1			3		2			
		Osenniki	2			8		13			
		Barshchevniki	1			7		4			
	Mos'ka Kudrin	Kaneyevichi	1			4		3			
	(own land)	Shubniki		2			4		3		
total		21	53	4		234	10	226	11		
Mozyr'	(Treasury)	Cheremshina		5			25		42		
		Radovka		5			20		31		
		Retoka		9			43		59		
total		3		19			88		132		
Pinsk		Ivaniki[328]			8						91
grand total		33	101	63	85	506	249	444	320	477	1171

The agricultural colony Kovchitsy with 544 residents (528 of them Jewish) became one of the largest villages in the district, while Shchedrin lost its agricultural character and became a large *shtetl* with the population of 4234 (4022 of them Jewish).[329]

In 1860 the government stopped its program of supporting Jewish agricultural colonization in the Western provinces.[330] However the Jewish agricultural population in Minsk Guberniya continued to grow, reaching 20,208 by 1897.[331] However, only 5762 of them, that is 28.5% of them, lived in Jewish agricultural colonies,[332] while the remainder were rural Jews living in Belarusian villages, who preferred to participate in agriculture, abandoning their former position as rural leaseholders as a result of the growing profitability of grain production, which had been caused by the construction

328 On this agricultural colony see Nadav, Mordekhai, "Toldot Kehilat Pinsk: 5266/1506-5640/1880", *Pinsk. Sefer 'Edut VeZikaron LeKehilat Pinsk-Karlin, Kerakh Histori. Toldot Kehilat Pinsk-Karlin* 1506-1941, ed. W. Z. Rabinowitsch, Tel Aviv-Haifa, 1973, pp. 239-241; *The Jews of Pinsk*, 1506 to 1880, ed. Mark Jay Mirsky and Moshe Rosman, transl. Moshe Rosman and Faigie Tropper, Stanford, 2008, pp. 385-388.

329 *Еврейская энциклопедия*, ред. А. Гаркави, Л. Каценельсон, , С-Петербург, 1908-1913, том 4, с. 688.

330 Зеленский, Илларион, *Материалы для географии и статистики России, собранные офицерами генерального штаба. Минская губерния*, С-Петербург, 186, с. 618.

331 Бруцкус, Бер, *Профессиональный состав еврейского населения России. По материалам первой всеобщей переписи населения, произведенной 28 января 1897 года*, С-Петербург, 1908, с. 51.

332 Ibid. p. 45.

of the railway network in the second half of the 19th century. Generally speaking, this new kind of Jewish farmer did not till the soil himself, but instead used hired labor. Thus, the Memorial Book of Minsk Guberniya for 1878 complains that "they [the Jews] cause great harm to the landowners because they could pay between 60 and 80 *kopeiki* (0.6 and 0.8 ruble) per day, thus attracting workers, while landlords, with few exceptions, cannot provide such a salary without losses to themselves and to their estates".[333]

We may conclude that changing economic priorities played a far more important role in attracting Jews to agriculture than ideologically motivated bureaucratic projects.

333 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии 1878 года*, часть 1, отдел III: Географически-статистическое описание Минской губернии, Минск, 1878, с. 71.

10 The Construction of Railways and the Decline of the Propination System

The propination system came into being because of the logistical difficulties associated with the transportation of grain from Eastern Europe westwards. These difficulties were less acute in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth than in Russia, since it had open access to the Baltic Sea ports (Gdańsk, Königsberg, Riga), and to several large navigable rivers of the Baltic basin, namely the Vistula, the Neman, and the Daugava. However, the rivers of grain-producing Ukraine which flow to the Black Sea (the Dnieper, the Dniester, and the Southern Bug) were closed to Polish merchants, since its northern shore was controlled by the Ottoman Empire (through Crimean Khanate). This problem was solved only in 1783, after the First Partition of Poland, when two canals connected the river systems of the Baltic and the Black Sea basins. These were the Royal Canal (*Kanał Królewski*), constructed in from 1775 to 1783, which connected the Pina (a tributary of Pripiat', itself a tributary of Dnieper) with the Mukhavets (a tributary of the Western Bug, itself a tributary of Vistula), and the Ogiński Canal (*Kanał Ogińskiego*), constructed from 1767 to 1783, which connected the Yasel'da (a tributary of Pripiat') with river Shchara (tributary of Neman). Nevertheless, Poland remained the largest exporter of grain in Europe from the 16th to the 18th centuries, but the usual problems of river traffic in Eastern Europe, which included frozen rivers in winter, made it more profitable for noble landowners to sell grain locally in the form of alcohol.

In Russia, the logistical problems were much more serious. Muscovite Russia had only one sea port, Arkhangelsk, which had been founded after the discovery of the maritime route to the White Sea by the English explorer Richard Chancellor in 1553. However, Arkhangelsk was too far away from the grain producing regions of central and Southern Russia, and the Arctic maritime route was too dangerous to make grain export from Russia an attractive option for landowners. For this reason many Russian rulers of from the 16th to the 18th centuries strove to obtain access to either the Baltic or the Black Sea. The repeated attempts of Ivan the Terrible to conquer Livonia from 1558 to 1583 failed. As did those of Boris Godunov, Mikhail Romanov and Alexei Mikhailovich, who each attempted to conquer the Karelian Isthmus from 1590 to 1595, from 1613 to 1617 and from 1656 to 1658 respectively. Prince Vasily Golitsyn and Peter the Great fared no better in their attempts, from 1687 to 1689 and from 1695 to 1711 respectively, to gain access to the Black Sea. Russia reached the Baltic only after the conquest of Livonia and the Karelian Isthmus in 1710 in the Great Northern War. Only after the Treaty of Nystad in 1721, which ratified the territorial acquisitions of Peter the Great, was Russia a significant player in the European grain market. Even more important for the Russian grain trade was the opening of the Black Sea ports after the annexation of Crimean Khanate in 1783, during the reign of Catherine the Great, since the Russian part of Ukraine (Left-bank Ukraine) was connected to the sea through

rivers in the Black Sea basin. Thus, only with the foundation of new ports on the Northern shore of the Black Sea in the form of Kherson (1783), Nikolayev (1788) and Odessa (1794), did Russia began to compete seriously with Poland in European grain markets. However, the problems of the river navigation were as valid in Russia as they were in Poland. The enserfment of the Ukrainian peasants in 1783 and the annexation of the Right-bank Ukraine from 1793 to 1795 did not bring about any significant changes in the propination system in the first half of the 19th century.

The situation began to change only with construction of the railway networks in European Russia in the second half of the 19th century. Cheap, uninterrupted and swift transportation by rail made grain export for the first time more profitable for local landowners, than its use in the local production of alcoholic beverages.[334] The amount of Russian grain exported grew between 1860 and 1913, from 50 million *poods* to 350 million *poods*.[335] The correlation between the growth of Russian grain export and railway construction in the second half of the 19th century is shown in table 10.1, where the data for 1861 is taken as 100%. By the eve of World War I Russia had become the largest grain exporter in the world, producing from 1909 to 1913 25% of the world supply of wheat, 37% of rye, 71% of barley, and 43% of oats.[336] The exportation of grain also dominated its own foreign trade. The influx of the cheap Russian grain transported via rail into central and Western Europe also caused a drastic drop in grain export from the Kingdom of Poland in the 1880s.[337]

In Belarus the railway network was especially dense since its territory connected the political and economic centers of the Russian Empire (Moscow and St. Petersburg) with those of central Europe (Berlin and Vienna), and Russia's Baltic Sea ports (Libava and Riga) with Black Sea ports (Kherson, Nikolayev and Odessa). In Minsk Guberniya the railway age began with the construction of the Moscow-Warsaw railway in 1870. Initially, two alternative routes for this railway line were proposed: a southern one via Smolensk, Mogilev, Bobruisk, Pinsk and Brest, and a northern one via Smolensk, Orsha, Borisov, Minsk and Brest. After an examination of the terrain, the commission

334 The impact of the construction of the railways on Russian economy is examined in numerous studies: Блиох, Иван, *Влияние железных дорог на экономическое состояние России*, С-Петербург, 1878; Давыдов, Михаил, *Всероссийский рынок в конце XIX - начале XX вв. и железнодорожная статистика*. С-Петербург, 2010; Петров, Николай, *Экономическое значение русских железных дорог*, С-Петербург, 1910; Радциг, Александр, *Влияние железных дорог на сельское хозяйство, промышленность, торговлю*, С-Петербург, 1896; Соловьева, Анна, *Железнодорожный транспорт России во второй половине XIX в.*, Москва, 1975.

335 Falkus, Macolm E., "Russia and the International Wheat Trade, 1861-1914", *Economica* (New Series) 33, 1966, p. 417.

336 Goodwin, Barry K. and Grennes, Thomas J., "Tsarist Russia and the World Wheat Market", *Explorations in Economic History* 35, 1998, p. 406.

337 Dynner, Glenn, *Yankel's Tavern: Jews, Liquor, and Life in the Kingdom of Poland*, Oxford, 2014, p. 138.

chose the northern route in 1867, because of the possible construction problems in the Polesye marshes of the Pinsk region. This decision caused an economic crisis in the Pinsk district, where the grain production became unprofitable.[338]

Table 10.1 Grain Exportation and Railway Construction in Russia in 1861-1913.[339]

Years	Grain Exports	Railways (Length)
1861	100	100
1871	242	618
1881	359	1050
1891	504	1395
1896	647	1795
1901	740	2564
1906	725	2891
1913	783	3191

The second railway in Minsk Guberniya was the Libava (now Liepaja) – Romny line, which was constructed in 1873-1874. This railway connected the Baltic Sea port Libava with the center of the sugar production in Ukraine, Romny, passing via Vilna, Minsk, Bobruisk and Gomel'. Its construction transformed Minsk into the first city with a railway junction in the Guberniya.

Both these railway lines were commercial in nature, but in 1882 the first military railway in Polesye region was constructed, the Zhabinka (near Brest) -Pinsk line. In 1883 the Ministry of War decided to construct a strategic network of railways in the Polesye marshes, which posed a serious logistical problem for troops' deployment in western direction. This network was called "the Polesye railway system". It was constructed from 1884 to 1887, and connected Briansk with Brest, via Gomel', Luninets and Pinsk, Vilna with Sarny, via Lida, Baranovichi and Luninets, and Baranovichi with Belostok, via Slonim (see figure 13.10 in appendix 4). The villages of Luninets and Baranovichi additionally became two railway junctions as result of the construction of the Polesye railway system.

In 1896 the local line Osipovichi-Staryye Dorogi was constructed as an offshoot of the Libava-Romny line, transforming the village of Osipovichi into yet another railway junction. In 1907 this line was extended to Urechye at the expense of a local landlady named Permiakova. Finally, in 1911, an offshoot of the Briansk-Brest line

338 Nadav, Mordekhai, *The Jews of Pinsk, 1506 to 1880*, ed. Mark Jay Mirsky and Moshe Rosman, transl. Moshe Rosman and Faigie Tropper, Stanford, 2008, pp. 394-395.

339 Christian, David, *Imperial and Soviet Russia: Power, Privilege and the Challenge of Modernity*, Basingstoke, 1997.

between Vasilevichi and Khoiniki was constructed, making the village of Vasilevichi a railway junction too.

The most obvious impact of railway construction in Minsk Guberniya on its rural Jewish population was the rapid concentration of the Jews in those villages, which suddenly obtained railway stations. The most striking example is Baranovichi in the district of Novogrudok, a small village with 150 inhabitants in 1880.[340] It had become by 1897 one of the largest towns in the Guberniya with the population of 8718 (half of them Jews). It should be taken into account that the construction of the Polesye railway system coincided with the Temporary Rules ("May Laws") of 1882, which drastically restricted the mobility of the rural Jewish population. Many villages, which obtained railway stations, were closed to Jews and their presence there became illegal. Thus, in Baranovichi the Jewish presence was legal only in Old Baranovichi (Staryye Baranovichi, called officially Rozvadovo in 1884-1913), which became a *shtetl* in 1884. However Jews settled illegally mostly in settlement that grew up around railway station New Baranovichi (Novyye Baranovichi), which had been a village formerly.

Figure 10.1. The Coat of Arms of Baranovichi.

340 *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiegoi innych krajów słowiańskich*, ed. Filip Sulimierski, Bronisław Chlebowski, Władysław Walewski, tom I, Warszawa, 1880, p. 104.

In 1902 the Minister of the Interior, Dmitry Sipiagin, proposed opening villages, in which railway stations were built to Jewish settlement, and indeed 18 villages in Minsk Guberniya were exempted between 1903 and 1910 from restrictions which had been formally enacted in the "May Laws". Twelve of them had railway stations: Staryye Dorogi, Falichi, Daraganovo (on the Osipovichi-Urechye line), Liakhovichi (on the Luninets-Baranovichi line), Gorodeya (on the Minsk-Baranovichi line), Novyye Baranovichi, Luninets (railway junctions), Stakhovo (on the Luninets-Sarny line), and Ptich, Muliarovka, Zhitkovichi, Vasilevichi (on the Luninets-Gomel' line)[341].

In 1907 there were 49 Jews registered to vote in elections to the third Duma in Osipovichi, and 54 Jews registered to vote in Luninets. Both figures represent only a fraction of the Jewish population in these two villages, which became the location of railway junctions. A century earlier, in 1808, there had been just three Jews in Osipovichi and just two Jews in Luninets. Since Jews had been prohibited from living in these two villages by the Temporary Rules, there was no Jewish population there on May 3rd, 1882.

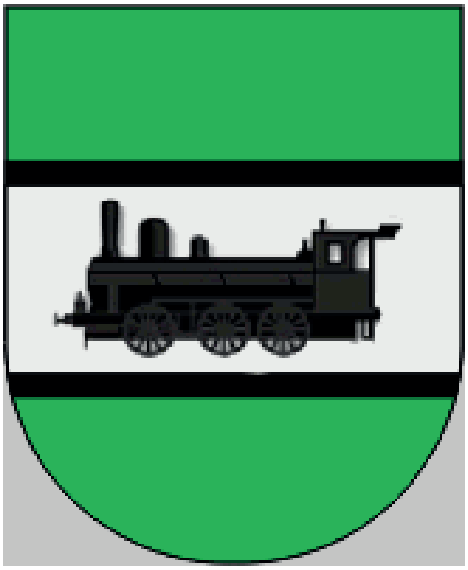

Figure 10.2. The Coat of Arms of Osipovichi.

341 *Систематический сборник действующих законов о евреях: по Своду законов, продолжениями 1906, 1908, 1909 и 1910 гг. и Собранию узаконений 1911, 1912 и 1913 гг. (по 1 июня): с постатейными разъяснениями, извлеченными из решений Правительствующего Сената, циркуляров и отношений Министерств и с указ. постатейным, хронологическим и предметным*, сост. Л.М. Роговин С-Петербург, 1913, с. 11.

It should be noted that industrialization in Minsk Guberniya before World War I was very slow. In 1913 there were 516 factories with 13,845 workers in Minsk Guberniya,[342] which could hardly absorb large numbers of rural Jews. Trade activity and various services in railway stations became a far more attractive option for them, especially since many of these stations were former villages.

However, an important repercussion of railway construction for rural Jews, far more so than their concentration in railway stations, was the collapse of the propination system. This process affected rural Jews far beyond their immediate proximity of their villages to the railway routes. The implications of the collapse of the propination system have already been discussed in connection with the occupational structure of rural Jews.[343] Rail transportation of passengers and goods completely changed the priorities of local landlords, as well as the priorities of the rural Jews themselves. Landlords found it more profitable to export agricultural products from their own rural estates, than to distill alcohol and to sell it to local peasants, while rural Jews abandoned their centuries-long predilection for inn-keeping in favor of agriculture and the grain trade. Rural inns themselves practically disappeared, just as horse-driven carriages disappeared and were replaced by the railway stations hotels. This process of transition of the rural Jews from inn-keeping to grain trade and agriculture preceded the introduction of the state monopoly for the production and selling of alcohol in 1897, and, in fact, it made possible the smooth introduction of the state monopoly, rather than vice versa.

342 *Памятная книжка Минской губернии на 1915 г.*, IV Статистические сведения, Минск, 1914, с. 76.

343 See chapter 5.

11 Genealogical Perspectives

As Gershon David Hundert has stated in his introduction to the *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, "the vast majority of Jews in the United States and the Former Soviet Union together with about half of the Jewish population of the State of Israel are descended from East European ancestors".[344] In 2013 the Belarusian Post Office issued a series of stamps entitled "National Leaders of Israel Born in Belarus" which included the portraits of two former Israeli presidents (Ezer Weizmann and Zalman Shazar), the portraits of two former prime-ministers (Menaḥem Begin and Yitsḥak Shamir) and one of Shimon Peres, who had held both offices. Peres had been born in the village of Vishniovaya in the district of Borisov of Minsk Guberniya. Thus, the great interest in genealogical studies involving material from the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is fully justified. As far as the rural Jews of Minsk Guberniya are concerned, the most valuable sources from the genealogical perspective are the eviction lists of 1808, which provide a pool of 5412 names of both sexes. This group of sources is more valuable for genealogical studies than the Polish-Lithuanian census lists of 1764, 1772, 1784, and 1791, since they provide surnames, which became obligatory for Jews of the Russian Empire by the article 31 of the Jewish Statute of 1804. Many descendants of these rural Jews can be traced through the fiscal censuses of 1811-1858, though these do not indicate exact dwelling places of Jews, only their community, and we do not know which of their descendants remained in villages, and which of them moved to *shtetls*.

Let us look at one family, the Rumanovich/Rumanovski family (their surname changed between 1834 and 1850) as an example. Three members of this family leased inns from Count Potocki in three villages in the Jewish community of Gorval' in the district of Rechitsa in 1808. These were Abram, the son of Rubin (Reuven) aged 48 in the village of Zadzerosvit(?), his brother Froim (Ephraim) aged 43 years in the village of Shelkovichi, and David son of Yevsei (Hoshea) aged 54 in the village of Beregovaya Sloboda. All three were married and had married sons living with them. Abram's wife was Genia, daughter of Noḥim (Naḥum), aged 43, and he had a son Noḥim, aged 28 and married to Sora (Sara) (29) daughter of Itsko (Itsḥak). Froim was married to Ita, 42, daughter of Hirsh, and his son Hirsh, aged 17, was married to Rivka, daughter of Wolf, aged 16. David's wife was Neḥama, daughter of Noḥim (probably the sister of Genia), aged 50, and his son Noḥim was married at the age of 15 to Roḥle (Raḥel), aged 14, daughter of Ovsei (Hoshea).[345] We may note that all male children were named after their maternal grandfathers.

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344 Hundert, Gershon David, "Preface", *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, vol. 1, New Haven & London, 2008, p. IX.

345 NIAB F 138 od. 1 d. 3, p. 15.

26 years later we find in the census list of the eighth revision for 1834 Abram Rumanovich, 57, son of Ruman, two of his sons, Noḥim aged 32 and Ruman aged 18, and three grandsons, Ḥayim aged five and a newborn, Wulf – who were sons of Noḥim, and a newborn Yosef – son of Ruman.[346] Unfortunately, the page with the names of the female members of the family is unreadable. In spite of the names of Abram and his son Noḥim in the record, these could not be the same people listed in 1808, because of the difference in patronymics and ages. Most probably, Ruman, father of Abram, was the third son of Rubin, who was either already dead by 1808, or lived in the *shtetl* of Gorval', and was, therefore, unaccounted in eviction list.

The descendants of Hirsh, the son of Froim, and of Noḥim, the son of Abram (himself the son of Rubin), appear 16 years later, in a census list of the ninth revision of 1850. Hirsh had died in 1847 at the age of 56, but his widow was Roḥla daughter of Abram, aged 56, not Rivka the daughter of Wulf, who presumably had died earlier. Hirsh left two sons, two grand-daughters and one grandson: his elder son Leizer (Eliezer), aged 29, was married to Tsipa (Tsipora), 27, daughter of Ruman, and Leizer had two daughters: Itka was 18 years old and Gnesia was 13 years old. Hirsh's younger son Kiva (Akiva), aged 23, had a wife called Itka, the daughter of Yankel, who was 21 years old and a two year old son Froim.[347] Noḥim had died in 1840 at the age of 60, his son Ḥayim died in the same year at the age of 37. Noḥim's second son Aron, aged 44, was married to Pesia, 45, the daughter of Abram, and Aron had one seven year-old daughter Esther, and three sons: Ruman, aged 28 years old, Hillel, aged 26, and Perets, who died in 1840 at the age of ten. Ruman was married to the twenty six year-old Roḥel, the daughter of Hirsh, Hillel's wife was Fruma, the twenty three year-old daughter of Movsha (Moshe).[348] Three members of the family, each of a different generation, died in 1840 either during the cholera epidemic, or through famine.[349] We should note the age of the deceased as indicated in the census is not their age at the moment of death, but their age at the moment of the previous revision.

From a supplementary census in 1854 we learn that Noḥim, the son of Hillel Rumanovski was born in 1851.[350] The census list of the tenth revision for 1858 contains information for three branches of the Rumanovski family: the descendants of Froim, the son of Rubin, the descendants of Aron, the son of Noḥim, and the descendants of Ruman Rumanovski, whose connection to this family is uncertain. It appears from this document that Froim had yet another son, Naḥman, who was 44 years old in 1858. Naḥman was married to Sheina, 40, the daughter of Zalman, and had a 16 year-old

346 NIAB F 333 od. 9 d. 346, p. 230.
347 NIAB F 333 od. 9 d. 697, p. 347.
348 NIAB F 333 od. 9 d. 697, p. 348.
349 Kaganovitch, Albert, *The Long Life and Swift Death of Jewish Rechitsa. A Community in Belarus 1625-2000*, Madison (Wisc.), 2013, p. 98.
350 NIAB F 333 od. 9 d. 719, p. 48.

son called Zalman (named, as was customary, after Zalman's maternal grandfather). Additionally, Naḥman's 16 year-old niece Ḥasia, the daughter of Yankel, also lived with his family.[351] We may therefore presume that Ḥasia's father Yankel was the third son of Froim, the son of Rubin, and Yankel was unaccounted for in either eviction lists or in previous censuses. The brothers Leizer and Kiva, sons of Hirsh reappear in 1858. On this occasion Kiva is noted as being married to Itka, 35 (b. 1823) the daughter of Noḥim. She cannot be identical with his wife in 1850 who was Itka daughter of Yankel 21 years old (b. 1829). Kiva's son Froim is known from the census of 1858 to have been absent since 1855. He had also a five year-old daughter Ḥaya. We learn also from the census of 1858 that his brother Leizer had, besides his two daughters, a son Abram, who died in 1856 at the age of four.[352]

Aron, the son of Noḥim, died in 1858 at the age of 52. His son Ruman was married in 1858 to Fruma, 33, the daughter of Ḥayim, which means that Ruman's previous wife Roḥel, the daughter of Hirsh, had died between 1850 and 1858. Ruman's son Abram also died in 1856 without having his age recorded in the census, meaning probably that he died soon after his birth.[353] It is possible that Abram's mother Roḥel died in childbirth. Genealogical information for the Rumanovich/Rumanovski family is presented in figure 11.1, where only securely established links are taken into account.

Finally, we find in the same census Yosel, 38, the son of Ruman, married Neḥama, 36, the daughter of Yankel, his son Yankel, who died in 1854 at the age of 13, and his two daughters: Beima and Basia, whose ages are not indicated. This Yosel cannot be Yosef, the son of Ruman, who had been mentioned in a census of 1834 as a newborn, since he had been born in 1820. Presumably, there was yet another Ruman in the family, and he possibly belonged to the Beregovaya Sloboda branch, perhaps a son of David and brother of Noḥim. Since Noḥim was born when his mother Neḥama was 35 years old, this Ruman could be her elder son. The surname of the family probably originated from the personal name of Ruman, the father of Rubin and Yevsei. A hypothetical reconstruction of this branch of Rumanovich/Rumanovski family is shown in figure 11.2.

Several important observations can be made from this genealogical study. The average life expectancy among the male members of the family was 29. The age of death among women is nowhere indicated, but their life expectancy was probably lower, since at least three men in the family married twice, most probably after their spouse's death. The average age of women at the birth of the first child was 22.9. Two married couples in their teens are attested explicitly in 1808, and for four couples women gave birth before the age of 20. The average number of children per married couple stood at 1.8. No *kest* marriages are attested in any generation of the family.

351 NIAB F 333 od. 9 d. 1147, p. 371.
352 NIAB F 333 od. 9 d. 1147, p. 366.
353 NIAB F 333 od. 9 d. 1147, p. 367.

Finally, a seven year old boy Froim, the son of Kiva, who seems to be absent from his parents' house on the basis of the evidence in the census, was probably attending primary school (*ḥeder*) at Gorval' or Rechitsa, and lived there with Froim's relatives.

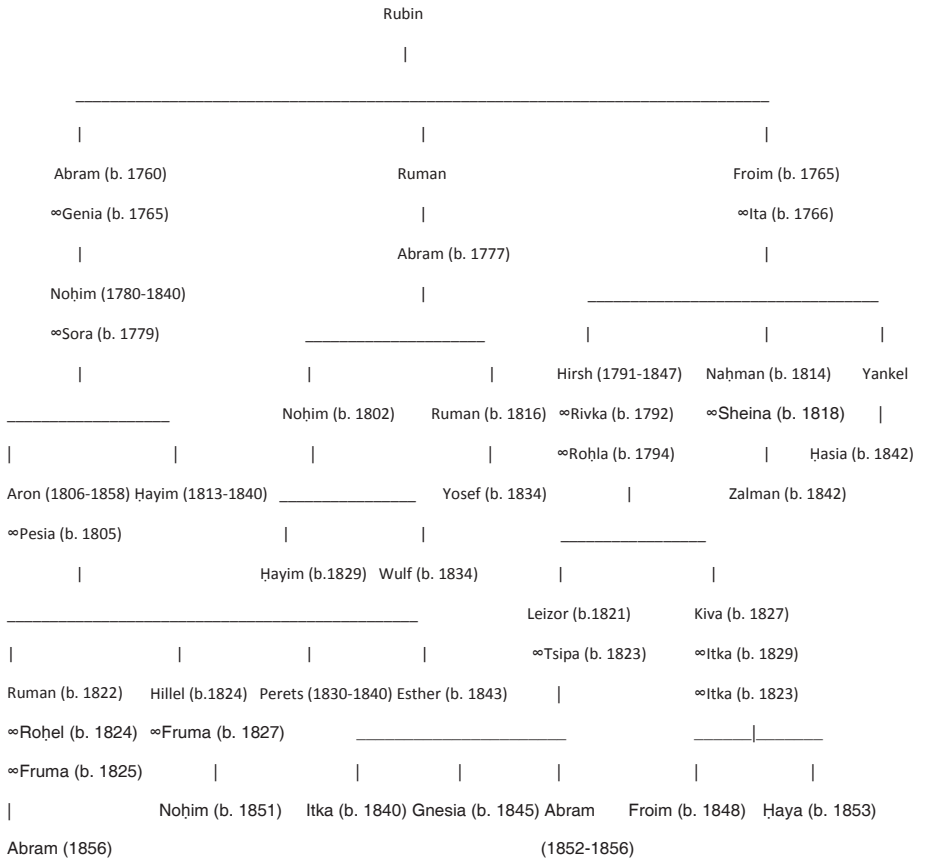


Figure 11.1 The Rumanovich/Rumanovski family (District of Rechitsa, Community of Gorval').

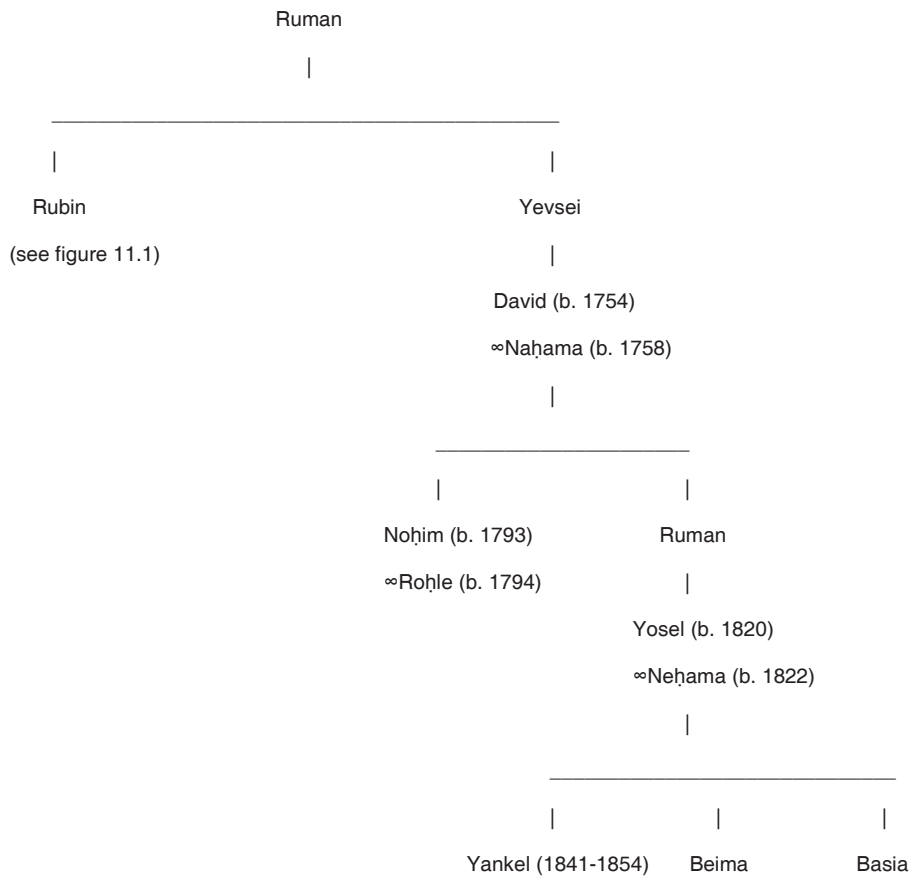


Figure 11.2 The Rumanovich/Rumanovski family (reconstruction).

12 Conclusions

As Israel Bartal remarks in his afterword to the three volume "The History of the Jews in Russia", the hidden agenda of Jewish historians of Jews in the Russian Empire is either the story of modernization, or the story of the transformation of an ethnic-religious corporation into a modern nation.[354] The story of rural Jews fits neither narrative: they remained a traditional population until the end of 1914 and their traditional character even accelerated after the restrictive "May Laws" of 1882, which stopped the exchange of population between village and *shtetl*. This does not mean that rural Jews did not change in the course of the 19th century. On the contrary, they changed beyond recognition, abandoning their former occupations of inn- and tavern-keeping. More than anything else their story exemplifies the idea that the forces of economic necessity were much stronger than bureaucratic zeal driven by ideological schemes. The century-long senseless attempts of the Russian authorities to evict harmless and loyal rural Jews from the countryside ended in total failure. The rural Jewish population continued to grow and its proportion among the general Jewish population remained constant. The total restructuring of rural Jewish society was caused by the changing of economic priorities of their noble lords and masters, when the grain trade became more profitable than leasing propination rights to the Jews. The only legislative act which seriously affected rural Jewish society, the Temporary Rules ("May Laws") of 1882, worked in a direction hardly envisaged by its authors, causing the cultural degradation of rural Jews, rather than stopping their numbers from growing.

Let us recapitulate the most important conclusions of this study.
1. Rural Jews were already associated with the forces of political reaction in the days of the Targowica Confederation. The confederates, maybe, ruined the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but saved the rural Jews from imminent eviction promoted by the liberal reformists of the Four Years' Diet with the support of enlightened Jewish circles. This hostility of enlightened liberals towards rural Jewish leaseholders was motivated by the ideology of redeeming society from "parasitic" and "unproductive" elements. However a lenient attitude towards them was fostered from conservative reactionaries and this continued to the end of the discussed period. The guiding spirit standing behind the Jewish Statute of 1804, which delegitimized the Jewish presence in the countryside, was liberal Mikhail Speransky, while conservative Illarion Vasil'chikov stood behind the Jewish Statute of 1835, which legalized the rural Jews' existence. The liberal Sergey Witte promoted in 1894 the state monopoly for the production

354 Bartal, Israel, "Sof Davar: Kets Ha'Eidan HaMizraḥ-Eiropi BeToldot, Am Israel?", *Toldot Yehudei Rusiya,* chief editor I. Bartal, vol. 3: *MiMahpekhot 1917, ad Nefilat Brit Hamo'atsot*, ed. Michael Beizer, Jerusalem, 2015, pp. 339-356.

and sale of alcohol by using viciously anti-Semitic arguments, while the "Haman" of the early 20th century, Viacheslav Plehve, opened 158 villages for Jewish settlement and exempted several categories of Jews from restrictions in the "May Laws". The only exception from this pattern of behavior was the age of the "Great Reforms" of Alexander II, which improved the conditions for rural Jews, and the subsequent age of reaction, which produced the restrictive "May Laws". However, even with these reforms, rural Jews benefited mostly not so much from the liberal reforms, but rather from punitive measures against Polish landlords in the aftermath of the Polish rebellion of 1863. Amazingly, enlightened Jews (*maskilim*) themselves shared the liberal hostility towards rural Jews. This can be traced to Abraham Hirszowicz in the period of the Four Years' Diet in the late Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and with Nota Notkin (Nathan Shklover) in the Russian Empire.

2. The peculiar age and sex composition of the rural Jewish population, namely, the small number of children and the concentration of the population from 20-50, testifies, most probably, to the temporary character of this population group. In other words, most of rural Jews spent only few years of their life in a given village, which explains their official definition as "unsettled burghers" (*neosedlyye meshchane*). Essentially, these were urban Jews who came from towns and *shtetls* to the countryside for a while and returned to urban areas afterwards. This constant exchange of population between town and village distinguished rural Jews of the former the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from their Ukrainian and most of their Polish counterparts, who were, most probably, the permanent rural dwellers. This distinction, in turn, possibly explains the sweeping success of the Hassidic movement in Ukraine and Poland, but its only marginal penetration into Belarus and Lithuania. The so-called Litvak Jews remained loyal to the teaching of Rabbi Eliyahu (the Vilna Gaon) based upon the traditional Jewish cult of leaning, since all of them, including rural leaseholders, could secure at least some basic education for their children, while the permanent rural population of Ukraine and Poland were cut off from urban centers of education, and so were rapidly enchanted by Hassidic alternative worship through personal devotion and ecstatic prayer. This distinction between the rural Jews of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania and former Crown Poland came to an end with the Temporary Rules of 1882, which effectively stopped the traditional exchange of population between town and village which had occurred in Belarus and Lithuania. The new law prohibited the signing the lease-holding contracts with the newcomers, and, subsequently, the existing rural leaseholders could not be replaced any more.

3. The decisive factor in the disintegration of the propination system, which in turn caused the transition of the majority of rural Jews from lease-holding to the grain trade and to grain production, was neither the restrictive legislation of 1882, nor the introduction of the state monopoly for the production and sale of alcohol in 1897, but rather the construction of the railways from 1870 to 1911. With the construction

of the railway network in the Pale of Settlement, the export of agricultural products became, for the first time, more profitable than their marketing locally in the form of alcohol. Therefore, with the diminishing profitability of rural leaseholds, both landlords and the rural Jews began to abandon this source of income, turning instead to the grain and timber trade. It is especially instructive to observe that great attempts to transform rural Jews into farmers, made with governmental support from 1835 to 1860 produced a rather unimpressive result. 5762 Jewish agricultural colonists lived in Minsk Guberniya in 1897, while 14,446, had become grain producer farmers voluntarily by the same year.

The traditional Jewish rural society of the Russian Empire collapsed in the flames of World War I and in the turmoil of the Russian Revolution of 1917. A large proportion of the Jewish population of Belarus perished during the Holocaust, and most of its remnants left Belarus after the disintegration of Soviet Union in 1990s. Nevertheless, the history of rural Jews remains an integral part in understanding the Belarusian countryside, and it is practically impossible to understand the socio-economic processes which affected Belarusian rural society without taking into account its Jewish component.

As far as Jewish history proper is concerned, the *shtetl* has usually been perceived as the focal point of traditional Jewish society in Eastern Europe. On the one hand, Jews formed a majority within the *shtetls* and so successfully preserved their national and cultural identity, but, on the other hand, *shtetl* Jews were strongly affected by the great ideological movements of the 19th century and underwent a rapid process of modernization. The rural element of Jewish society, which was very significant throughout the history of Eastern Europe, is usually ignored in this narrative. Yet, this element displayed precisely the opposite tendencies during the same period. On the one hand, rural Jews were much more acculturated with the popular culture of their Slavic co-villagers, while, on the other hand, they managed to preserve their traditional character, since the major political movements of the 19th century passed them by.

The history of rural Jews in Eastern Europe is dominated by the research on the Jewish tavern, with the stereotypical figure of the Jewish tavern-keeper standing in its center. This stereotype is perhaps justified, at least partly, for a period of time from the second half of the 17th century through to the first half of the 19th century. However, rural Jews existed in Eastern Europe much earlier and continued to exist later. Research on the history of rural Jews in Eastern Europe, beyond the tavern, is still lacking. This study shows, amongst other things, the process of transition for rural Jews from inn-keeping to other occupations. This study could be useful for future research on the history of the rural Jewish population in Eastern Europe from the early Middle Ages through to the Soviet Jewish *kolkhoz* on the eve of the World War II.

13 Appendix 4: Maps

Figure 13.1 Minsk Guberniya in 1793-1919.

Figure 13.2 District of Bobruisk in 1808-1907.

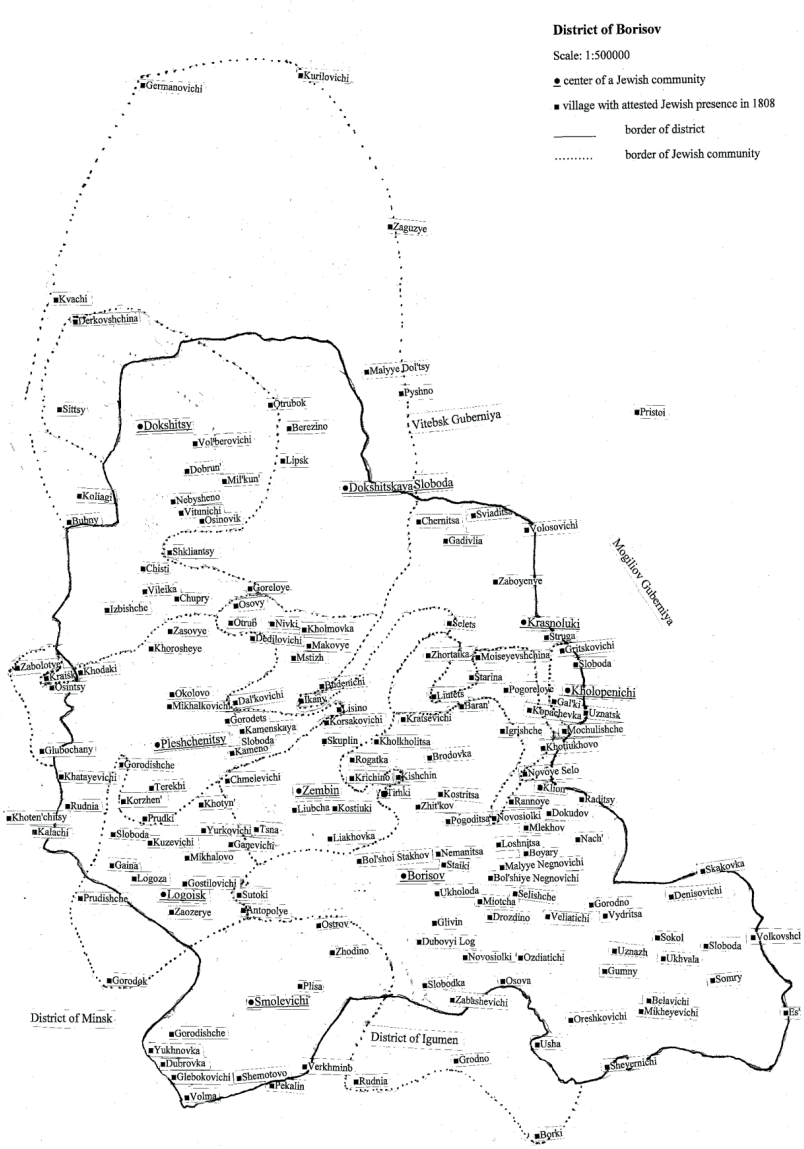


Figure 13.3 District of Borisov in 1808.

Figure 13.4 District of Igumen in 1795-1807.

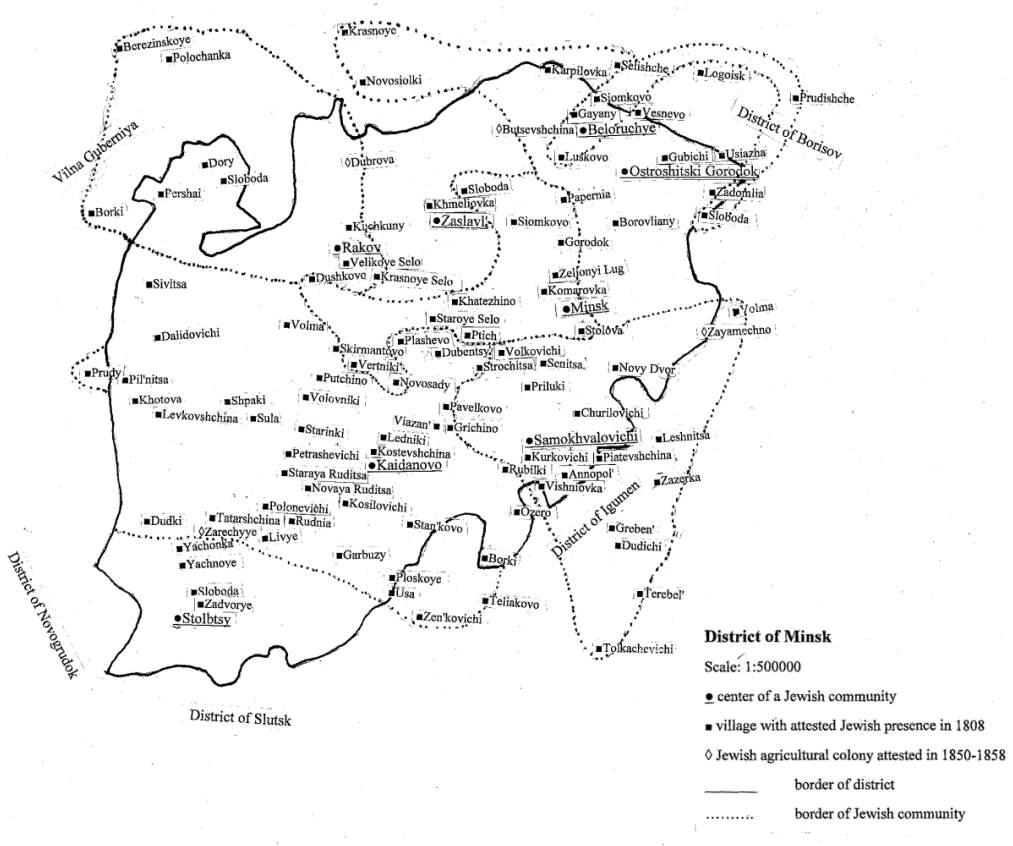
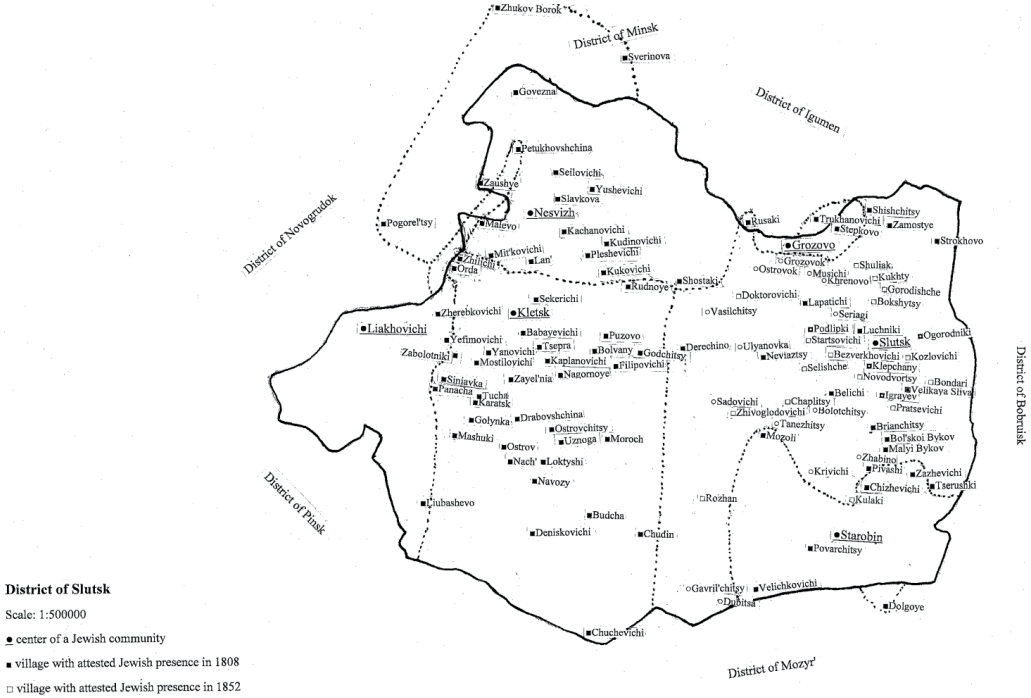


Figure 13.5 District of Minsk in 1808-1858.

Figure 13.6 District of Mozyr' in 1808.

Figure 13.7 District of Pinsk in 1808-1907.

Figure 13.8 District of Rechitsa in 1808.



District of Slutsk

Scale: 1:500000

● center of a Jewish community

■ village with attested Jewish presence in 1808

□ village with attested Jewish presence in 1852

◘ village with attested Jewish presence in 1808 and 1852

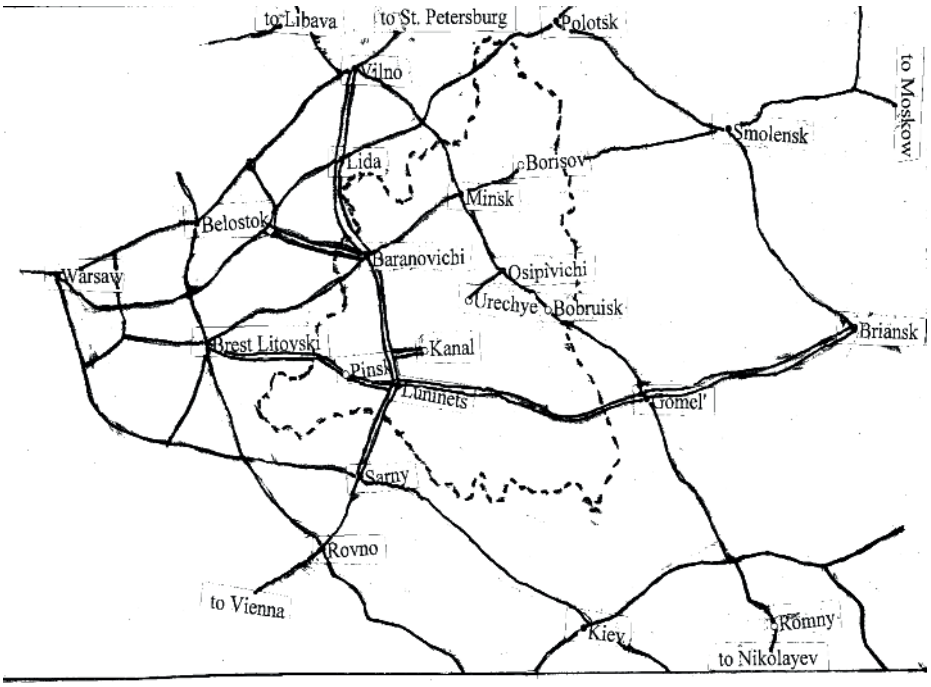
○ village, from which Jews were evicted by 1852

◙ village with attested Jewish presence in 1808, from which Jews were evicted by 1852

_____ border of district

..... border of Jewish community

Figure 13.9 District of Slutsk in 1808-1852.



Polesye railway system in 1910

Polesye railways

other railways

borders of Minsk Guberniya

railway junctions

other railway stations

Figure 13.10 Polesye railway system in 1910.

Abbreviations

AGAD	Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (Central Archives for Ancient Acts)
ASW	Archiwum Skarbu Wojskowego (Military Treasury Archives)
d.	дело (file)
dz.	dział (section)
F	Фонд (Stock)
MGV	Минские Губернские Ведомости (Minskiye Gubernskiye Vedomosti)
NIAB	Национальный Исторический Архив Беларуси (National Historical Archives of Belarus)
op.	опись (inventory)
RGIA	Российский Государственный Исторический Архив (Russian State Historical Archives)
sg.	sygnatura (file)
YIVO	Yidisher Visnshaftlikher Institut (Yiddish Scientific Institute)
ŻIH	Żydowski Instytut Historyczny (Jewish Historical Institute)

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