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Dariusz Wojnarski

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0813-4874>

Academy of Zamość

email: dariusz.wojnarski@akademiazamojska.edu.pl

“Paradise Lost”: The Depopulation of the Jews of Narol in 1648

„Raj utracony”. Depopulacja Żydów narolskich w 1648 roku

Abstract

This article attempts to revise previous findings, largely speculative, regarding the extent and, above all, the composition of the demographic losses of the Jewish population during the Khmelnytsky Uprising. In general, it can be said that research difficulties are due to the lack of an adequate source base or to the use of an overly simplified method of calculation. The unique result of the archival research is a Hebrew manuscript recording the murder of the Jewish population of the town of Narol by Bohdan Khmelnytsky's army; a version, with translation, is given in the appendix. The demographic analysis of this center, based on a fairly well-preserved collection of documentary and narrative sources, gives an insight into its pre-war population potential, its ethnic structure, then the course of events in the tragic year of 1648 and their consequences in terms of personal

Abstrakt

W artykule podjęto próbę rewizji dotychczasowych ustaleń, w większości przypuszczeń odnośnie do wielkości, a przede wszystkim kompozycji strat demograficznych ludności żydowskiej w czasie powstania Chmielnickiego. Najogólniej powiedzieć można, że trudności badawcze wynikają z braku odpowiedniej bazy źródłowej albo też przyjęcia nazbyt uproszczonego sposobu kalkulacji. Wyjątkowym rezultatem kwerendy archiwalnej jest rękopis hebrajski rejestrujący zamordowaną ludność mojżeszową miasta Narola przez wojska Bohdana Chmielnickiego; jego edycję, opatrzoną przekładem, publikujemy w aneksie. Przeprowadzona analiza demograficzna wskazanego ośrodka, przy wykorzystaniu dość dobrze zachowanego zasobu źródeł aktowych i narracyjnych, daje wgląd w jego przedwojenny potencjał populacyjny, strukturę etniczną,

losses, with particular emphasis on the Jewish population. It also considers the issues of deportation into slavery (yasir) and, as a result of the threat of war, migration and emigration.

Keywords

Narol, population, Jews, Khmelnytsky Uprising

następnie przebieg zająć w tragicznym 1648 roku i ich następstwa w postaci strat osobowych ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem żywołu żydowskiego. Zwrócono przy tym uwagę na zagadnienia deportacji (jasyr) oraz – spowodowanych zagrożeniem wojennym – migracji i emigracji.

Słowa kluczowe

Narol, populacja, Żydzi, powstanie Chmielnickiego

Introduction

The outbreak of the Khmelnytsky Uprising is widely regarded as a turning point in the history of both the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Jewish people. The painful experiences of that time have left a permanent scar on the collective consciousness of Polish Jews. Until that time, their population in Poland had experienced almost uninterrupted rapid growth in Poland; by the end of the 16th century, they were the largest Jewish community in Europe. By the mid-17th century, Zygmunt Sułowski estimated that some 500,000 Jews lived in the Polish-Lithuanian state.¹ Maurycy Horn's findings show that on the eve of the largest Cossack uprising 54,000 Jews lived in Red Ruthenia, the majority in towns (45,000). In the Belz voivodeship alone there were about 10,000 Jews, 8,300 of whom lived in 30 of the total of 33 towns.² One of these was Florianów, a town on the Tanew River that at that time belonged to the Łaszcz family. The small town gained notoriety due to the tragic events that took place in the fall of 1648 at the hands of the Cossack and Tatar armies. From then on, the name Florianów was used interchangeably with Narol, which until then had only been identified with the half-century older neighboring village.

This article examines the fate of Narol's Jewish community from a demographic perspective. First, it will attempt to determine its pre-war ethnic composition and population potential, and then to describe the course of wartime events in the town. The main focus of the paper will be an in-depth analysis of the population losses, using the comparative, retrogressive method as well as direct and indirect inferences

¹ Zygmunt Sułowski, "Liczebność Żydów na ziemiach polskich," in *Naród – Kościół – kultura. Szkice z historii Polski*, ed. Adam Chruszczewski (Wydawnictwo Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1986), 239.

² Maurycy Horn, *Żydzi na Rusi Czerwonej w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII w. Działalność gospodarcza na tle rozwoju demograficznego* (PWN, 1975), 70, 75.

from the source material. The article will reveal the extent and structure of population changes in Narol after the attack of the Cossack and Tatar hordes in 1648, and will also serve as a stimulus to revise some of the existing historiographical views on the wartime consequences of the Khmelnytsky Uprising, both in terms of the extent of losses and their distribution in terms of those murdered, those taken into slavery, and those displaced.

The paper is based on a variety of archival records drawn from the Treasury. Of note are the registers for the hearth tax, well known to researchers. This tax, approved by the Sejm in 1629, also covered the Jewish population.³ The collection was based on tax declarations (abjurats), which have been preserved to the present day. They were drawn up in the commune and later confirmed by their representatives under oath before the municipal court in Belz or Grabowiec (juraments). Interesting statistical data is contained in the poll tax tariffs; the first one from 1662, which we used, is particularly reliable. We should not forget the narrative accounts provided by Jewish chroniclers, especially Nathan Hannover of Ostrog (*Abyss of Despair*, Venice, 1653) and Meir ben Samuel of Shcherbreshin (*Suffering of the Times*, Kraków, 1650). It must be remembered, of course, that their accounts also contain a literary and religious layer that heightens the martyrological dimension of the injustices suffered, while at the same time idealizing the Jews and portraying them almost exclusively as innocent victims.⁴

A Hebrew manuscript found in the collection of the National Library and previously unknown to researchers, a prayer of supplication with a list of Narol Jews murdered by Khmelnytsky's army, is of exceptional research value. It is an original document, written in ink on a single sheet of handmade paper; its actual content in Hebrew is on the recto (modern folio 48), while the verso is inscribed with annotations and later additions in Yiddish and a title in Polish, written in pencil: *Spis Żydów pomordowanych przez Kozaków w r. 1648 w Narolu* [List of Jews Murdered by the Cossacks in 1648 in Narol]. The Cymelium is part of a collection of copies and originals from the 17th to the 19th centuries compiled by the Lviv historian and archivist Aleksander Czołowski (1865–1944)—file 6958. They have been kept in the National Library since 1947, when they were purchased, together with many other manuscripts, from his daughter Stanisława Karczewska.⁵

³ Horn, *Żydzi*, 65.

⁴ For more on this topic, see, e.g., Adam Teller, “Jewish Literary Responses to the Events of 1648–1649 and the Creation of a Polish-Jewish Consciousness,” in *Culture Front Representing Jews in Eastern Europe*, ed. Benjamin Nathans and Gabriella Safran (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 31–32, 34.

⁵ Małgorzata Końska, “Dokumenty klasztorne w zbiorach kolekcjonerów lwowskich – Wiktora Baworowskiego i Aleksandra Czołowskiego,” *Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica* 27 (2020): 341.

Given the importance of this document, we present it in its original form, translated and photocopied, in the Appendix.

Despite repeated references in the academic literature to the topic of demographic losses of the Jewish population during the Khmelnytsky Uprising, the state of research on this issue is far from satisfactory.⁶ To date, we do not have any authoritative findings regarding Narol or other towns in the Belz voivodeship.⁷ It should be noted that, as a rule, the aspect of the wartime structure of population losses, taking into account the different categories of people, i.e., killed, captured and temporarily or permanently transferred to other centers, including abroad, was ignored. Shaul Stampfer attempted to determine these proportions and estimated that the number of Jews murdered in the territories of the Crown (excluding Red Ruthenia and the Lublin and Podlasie voivodeships) at the time of the Khmelnytsky Uprising was at least 18,000, while the number of Jews taken prisoner was 3,000, i.e., a total of half the local population. According to him, about 8,000 Jews survived by fleeing.⁸ While not disputing Stampfer's calculations, Adam Teller estimated that during the series of wars in the mid-17th century, the Tatars abducted a total of about 6,000 Jewish prisoners from the territory of the Commonwealth, while the number of those internally displaced amounted to about 15,000. A further number fled abroad, mostly to the German Empire (10,000).⁹

⁶ Best able to explore this issue was a monograph on Pinsk, based on a considerable number of various types of sources. See Mordechai Nadav, *The Jews of Pinsk, 1506 to 1880*, ed. Mark Mirksy and Moshe Rosman (Stanford University Press, 2008), 59–192.

⁷ In the case of Narol, most has been written about the Jewish community by Henryk Gmiterek: "Narol w okresie Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej (1585–1772)," *Rocznik Lubaczowski* 5 (1994): 17–36; Henryk Gmiterek, "Żydzi narolscy w dobie przedrozbiorowej," *Prace Historyczno-Archiwalne* 30 (2018): 15–26; Henryk Gmiterek and Zygmunt Kubrak, *Narol przez wieki. Dzieje miasta i okolic* (VEGA Studio Adv. Tomasz Müller, 2021), while we learn a little more about the incidents in the city during the first period of the Cossack uprising from the work of Eugeniusz Janas, "Narol na mapie polskich dziejów wojskowych XVII wieku," *Rocznik Lubaczowski* 5 (1994): 37–45; and Dariusz Wojnarski, "Łosy miast ziemi lubaczowskiej na trasie pochodu wojsk Bohdana Chmielnickiego w roku 1648," *Rocznik Lubaczowski* 6 (1996): 32–41.

⁸ Shaul Stampfer, "What Actually Happened to the Jews of Ukraine in 1648?," *Jewish History* 17, no. 2 (2003): 217–18, 221. See also Shaul Stampfer, "Jewish Population Losses in the Course of the Khmelnytsky Uprising," *Judaica Ukrainica* 4 (2015): 36–52.

⁹ Adam Teller, *Rescue the Surviving Souls: The Great Jewish Refugee Crisis of the 17th Century* (Princeton University Press, 2020), 8–12, 17, 38–39, 96, 98, 110–11, 307–08. We know from Adam Teller's research that Jews captured by the Tatars were mainly taken to the slave market in Istanbul. Thanks to the organization of a large international fundraising campaign by the Jewish community, it was possible to buy back most of the captives (but only, we should emphasize, those who reached the Ottoman Empire). Jews had experience in these matters, as the problem of *yasir* (the basis of the Crimean Khanate's material existence) had long affected Eastern European territories, although during the wars of the mid-17th century the scale of the phenomenon was unprecedented. In the meantime, the Jews living in Crimea since the 11th century had been engaged in the lucrative business of trading in "live goods."

The Jewish chroniclers of the past gave very different figures, completely unrealistic and exaggerated, with a clear emotional, even martyrdom-like, slant. Despite the hyperbole, their accounts contain a wealth of information that allows us to trace the fate of the Jewish population at that time.¹⁰

At this point, it is worth mentioning the reasons for the Zaporizhians' aversion, or sometimes outright hostility, toward the Jews. First of all, following the Union of Lublin, in the southeastern territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, aristocratic estates were established, largely served by the Jewish population (as factories, landlords, and collectors), which the local peasants perceived as an immigrant factor, equally responsible with the nobility for feudal oppression and impoverishment. These feelings were reinforced by the religious aspect; the culturally different population of the Jewish faith was often treated with contempt and abhorred by local parishioners and the Orthodox and Ruthenian Uniate clergy.¹¹ The latter, along with the Roman Catholic clergy and their followers, including the Polonized nobility, did not enjoy the sympathy of the majority of Orthodox clergy and their Ruthenian faithful, who opposed the Union of Brest. This public sentiment was brilliantly exploited by the once indifferent Cossacks, who from the 1620s acted as guardians of the Orthodox Church, and on their insurgent banners added the defense of the “ancient Greek religion” to the slogans of higher military conscription or expanding Zaporizhia's autonomy.

At the outbreak of the Cossack uprising, the Polish Jews living in the southeastern voivodeships (Braclaw, Chernihiv, and Kyiv) were the first to be exposed. Under the terms of Khmelnytsky's military alliance with Khan Īslām III Giray, concluded in March 1648, the territories from Zaporizhia to Bila Tzerkva were considered Cossack territory, where the Cossacks were not supposed to engage in plundering.¹² However, in the rest of the territory, as Nathan Hannover noted, there was a spoils-sharing clause that gave the Tatars people and cattle, while the Cossacks kept all the valuables.¹³ After the first joint victories over the Polish army

¹⁰ E.g., Nathan Hannover, Meir ben Samuel and Shabattai HaKohen. See Saul Borovoy, ed., *Evrejskie hroniki XVII stoletia. Epoha „hmel'ničiny”* [Саул Боровой, ред. Еврейские хроники XVII столетия. Эпоха „хмельничины”] (Gesharim, 1997).

¹¹ Tomasz Ciesielski, “The Jews in Times of War and the Social and Political Riots in the Southeast of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 17th and 18th Centuries,” *Biuletyn Polskiej Myśli Historycznej* 9 (2004), 270–71. According to Stampfer, “What Actually Happened,” 215, Ukrainian voivodeships along with Podolia and Volhynia were inhabited by some 40,000 Jews.

¹² Leszek Podhorodecki, *Chanał Krymski i jego stosunki z Polską w XV–XVIII w.* (Książka i Wiedza, 1987), 168.

¹³ Nathan Hannover, “Jawein Mecula tj. Bagno Głębokie,” in *Sprawy i rzeczy ukraińskie. Materiały do dziejów Kozaczyzny i Hajdamaczyzny*, pub. F. Rawita-Gawroński (Drukarnia Jakubowskiego i Sp., 1914), 21. In accordance with these agreements, in June 1648, after the capture of Tulchin, the Cossacks handed over the captive Jews to Khan Īslām III Giray. See Hadży Mehmed Senai

in the spring of 1648, it was agreed that the Tatars could only take Jews and Poles into slavery in the territory of the Crown, while prisoners captured in Lithuania would be given to the Cossacks.¹⁴

The above guidelines were not fully respected, including by the undisciplined Black Cossacks recruited from among the local peasantry. They regarded Khmelnytsky's rebellion as an excellent opportunity to take revenge on the nobility (regardless of their origin) and the Jews, whom they blamed for their impoverishment. The latter, in the sparsely urbanized Zadnieper, usually functioned as part of at most two-family communities in rural areas, where they rented inns from nobles. In fear of their lives, many Jews and local aristocrats took refuge in towns west of the Dnieper River at the very beginning of the Cossack uprising.¹⁵ Soon, as the Uprising progressed, it became clear that right-bank Ukraine was not safe either, and Nemyriv and Tulchyn, captured by the insurgents in the early summer of 1648, became symbols of massacres of the Jewish population. The refugee crisis worsened as Jews, terrified by the cruelty of the Black Cossacks, fled in panic, sometimes abandoning all their belongings.¹⁶ The Jewish documentarian Nathan Hannover, a native of in Volhynia, is perhaps the most accurate in recounting the exodus of his fellow Jews prior to the approaching military onslaught. He recounts that they went "to fortified places, to the holy communes of Bar, Kamianets-Podilskyi, to Brody, to the capital city of Lviv, to Buchach, to Yazlovet, to Zhovkva, Narol, Przemyśl, Belz, the Sokal monastery and Zamość. Some fled to Wallachia, and very many took refuge as far as towns located beyond the Vistula River."¹⁷

z Krymu, *Historia chana Islam Gereja III*, ed., comp., transl. Zygmunt Abrahamowicz (PWN, 1971), 109, 174; Teller, *Rescue*, 101.

¹⁴ Pantelejmon Petrovič Gudzenko et al., *Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiej. Dokumenty i materialy v treh tomah*, vol. 2, *1648–1651 gody* [Пантелеймон Петрович Гудзенко и др., Воссоединение Украины с Россией. Документы и материалы в трех томах, т. 2, *1648–1651 gody*] (USSR Academy of Sciences, 1953), 24.

¹⁵ Teller, *Rescue*, 27–28, 31–32. In fact, the Cossack Hetman approved of the activities of the Black Cossacks, because thanks to them the uprising was gaining strength, although he did not officially admit it. See Przemysław Kozłowski, *Działalność polityczno-dyplomatyczna Bohdana Chmielnickiego* (PhD diss., Adam Mickiewicz University, 2014), 279.

¹⁶ Teller, 33–34.

¹⁷ Hannover, "Jawein," 46. There were two main directions of Jewish refugee migration within the Commonwealth: to the West (Lesser Poland, Greater Poland) and to the North (Grand Duchy of Lithuania). The southern direction mentioned by Hannover was officially forbidden by the Volhynian Hospodar in early October 1648. See Teller, *Rescue*, 40, 111.

The Pre-war Demographic Potential of the Town

From Henryk Gmiterek’s research we learn that the first mentions of Jews in Narol come from the period of the town’s foundation. Its establishment under the Magdeburg Law was laid down by Sigismund III Vasa’s charter of October 2, 1592. On January 1, 1596, at the request of the town’s delegates, chosen from “both Christians and Jews,” the founder of the city, Florian Łaszcz, issued a charter exempting from taxation some Jewish property (a synagogue, a hospital and 6 houses) already in operation or planned for construction.¹⁸ There may have been a wooden synagogue at that time, but the brick structure was built by the Jews of Narol and the nearby town of Lipsko, founded in 1613. On April 30, 1616, Jerzy Łaszcz gave his consent to this investment and to the joint use of the synagogue by the Jews of both towns.¹⁹ We also know that at that time the Jewish population of the town of Narol had a Kahal self-government. Its community grew dynamically and by 1630 it occupied 40 houses (out of a total of 238 listed in the tax register), the most of any town in the Belz voivodeship.²⁰ Using the conversion rate of 12 persons per Jewish home and 6 persons per family, we calculate, following Maurice Horn,²¹ that there were 480 Jews living in Narol at that time, representing 28% of the total population of the town, estimated at 1,736 people (including the 66 of the landowners’ enclave and the *jurydyka*—an autonomous private enclave within the town).²² This was a high rate in comparison with the median

¹⁸ Henryk Gmiterek (comp.), *Przywileje lokacyjne Florianowa (Narola) z lat 1592–1596* (Urząd Miasta i Gminy Narol, 2021), 5, 13, 15. The “schoolmaster” mentioned in the founding document may be identified as the Shamash, or usher at the synagogue, referred to here as the “school.” See Alina Cała, Hanna Węgrzynek, and Gabriela Zalewska, *Historia i kultura Żydów polskich. Słownik* (Wydawnictwo Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 2000), 330.

¹⁹ Gmiterek, “Żydzi,” 21.

²⁰ Horn, *Żydzi*, 60, 69; Maurycy Horn, *Powinności wojenne Żydów w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI i XVII wieku* (PWN, 1978), 84; Центральний Державний Історичний Архів України, Львів [Central’nij Deržavnij Istoričnij Arhiv Ukraïni, L’viv] (hereafter: CDIAUL), *Księgi grodzkie bełskie* (hereafter: KgBeł), *Relacje*, vol. 215, p. 639; vol. 595, p. 1129, 1229.

²¹ Horn, *Żydzi*, 70.

²² In determining the number of houses, a ratio of 6 inhabitants per Christian house was used, which is reasonable for relatively small towns with wooden buildings. See Piotr Guzowski and Radosław Poniak, “Przeliczniki demograficzne w szacunkach zaludnienia miast w Królestwie Polskim w drugiej połowie XVI wieku,” *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski – Poland’s Demographic Past* 37, no. 2 (2015): 90. Compare Gmiterek and Kubrak, *Narol*, 55, found (assuming a conversion rate of 6 people per Christian house and 9 per Jewish house with a 10% reestimate for the non-tax-paying population) a comparable number of city residents (1,703 people). In turn, Maurycy Horn, “Zaludnienie województwa bełskiego w 1630 roku,” *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych* 21 (1959), 90, estimated the town’s population at 1,820, including 632 Jews living in 19 large and 21 small houses). At that time there were probably at least two noble manors in the town, because after the death of Florian Łaszcz (d. 1609) his sons, Florian and Jerzy, acted as co-owners of Florianów for several years. Jerzy became the sole owner in 1630. See Gmiterek and Kubrak, *Narol*, 36–38.

of all the towns in the Belz voivodeship at that time, which stood at 14.6%.²³ Only a few years later, in 1635, the Jewish population of Narol had surged to about 43% of the town's population. At that time, 120 Jewish families were concentrated in 60 houses (720 people), while the Christian community was smaller than before, with 150 households or about 900 people (plus the allodial and jurydyka area, with about 66 people).²⁴ According to a later inventory (1664), in which all the owners or co-owners of landed property and bailiffs were listed by name, the town was inhabited almost exclusively by Catholics, in addition to Jews. Ruthenians lived in the outskirts of the town together with Poles.²⁵ Material evidence of their presence were churches—within the town there is a Roman Catholic affiliated church and a Ruthenian Uniate church functioning within urban and rural parish structures.²⁶

The increase in the Jewish population observed in the 1630s was mainly the result of immigration, while the decrease in the Christian population was partly the result of the economic expansion of the Jews and partly a consequence of recent events, for, as town officials testified at the Grabowiec court in 1635, “due to the disagreeable air, as well as the great hardship caused by the soldiers, eight and twenty houses were deserted.”²⁷ In the following years the demographic potential of the Jewish community stabilized and prospered. The same could not be said for their property, as in 1641 soldiers stationed in the town for a short time by

As established by Andrzej Wyczański, *Wieś polskiego Odrodzenia* (Książka i Wiedza, 1969), 94, the staff of a manor house consisted of 7 people on average. Narol's census of 1662 (see note 71), reporting on 5 manors in the town, defines a similar ratio (7.6 people). On the other hand, the average number of nobles residing in a manor was 2.8 people. Taking into account children and seniors we can deduce, similarly to Cezary Kukło's finding, that there were on average about 13 people living in one manor house and its buildings, or a total of 26 people in 1630. See Cezary Kukło, “Wielkość i struktura gospodarstwa domowego w Polsce wczesnonowoczesnej. Próba charakterystyki,” in *Cała historia to dzieje ludzi... Studia z historii społecznej ofiarowane profesorowi Andrzejowi Wyczańskiemu w 80-tą rocznicę urodzin i 55-lecie pracy naukowej*, ed. Cezary Kukło (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2004), 169. Another 40 people populated the clerical jurisdictions (see note 26).

²³ Horn, *Żydzi*, 74.

²⁴ Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie (hereafter: APL), Księgi grodzkie grabowieckie (hereafter: KgGr), Relacje, vol. 129, p. 81.

²⁵ Henryk Gmiterek, “Inwentarz dóbr narolskich z 1664 roku,” *Rocznik Lubaczowski* 6 (1996): 53–55. At the time, only one person of Ruthenian descent (Matvi Rusin) resided in the city as a bailiff.

²⁶ The Roman Catholic parish in Florianów was founded by Jerzy Łaszcz in 1617, while the first mention of a Uniate church dates from 1619. See Gmiterek, Kubrak, *Narol*, 36, 39, 57. The church was served by a vicar, probably also a lay reader (or presbyter), and several assistants with domestic servants (vitricus [church warden], cantor, cook); Several people (perhaps even as many as in a Roman Catholic temple) functioned within the church premises administered by a parish priest. Roughly, globally assuming that each person in the church service had a family, about 40 people.

²⁷ APL, KgGr, Relacje, vol. 81, p. 1031; Relacje, vol. 129, p. 81.

the Sandomierz ensign Adam Hieronim Kazanowski broke the windows of Jewish houses.²⁸ The sworn testimony of the mayor Sebastian Poniat and the alderman Wojciech Sokolowski before the court in Belz in 1643 states that “there are no more than sixty Jewish houses in the town of Florianów.”²⁹ At that time, of the towns in Belz voivodeship, only Tomaszów (60 houses) and Dubienka (64 houses) still had a similarly large Jewish population.³⁰

The Course of the War

The year 1648 marked the beginning of a series of wars that severely strained the foundations of the Republic and disrupted the relatively stable condition of many urban centers where the Jewish population was concentrated. Bohdan Khmelnytsky’s forces, having won a number of victories (Zhovte Vody, May 16, Korsun, May 26, Pyliavtsi, September 23) over the Polish army, headed primarily toward Lviv. After unsuccessfully besieging the city and holding it for ransom, the 100,000-strong Cossack and Tatar army headed north, in the direction of Zamość. The main route passed through Kulykiv, Zhovkva, Maheriv, Potelych and Rava, which was the last urban settlement the Cossacks and Tatars invaded before entering Florianów.³¹ Located on the Tanew River, the town was not equipped with modern fortifications, although access to it was extremely difficult. It was surrounded by earthen ramparts reinforced with wooden fencing and a moat connected to a lake that flanked the city from the south.³² Even before the invaders reached the Florianów area, a large number of refugees, mainly nobles and Jews, had arrived. The Jewish chronicler Nathan Hannover exaggerated the number to tens of thousands, while Meir ben Samuel of Shcherbreshin, in his chronicle *Suffering of the Times*, similarly exaggerated the number to 10,000 Jews.³³

Hearing that a powerful army was approaching Florianów, the Jews wanted to flee, but “the head of the town did not allow it, saying: ‘We will stand against the enemy and fight them, as other fortresses have done.’”³⁴ Certainly, the head’s appeal was addressed primarily to the local Jews, since they were under his jurisdiction,

²⁸ CDIAUL, KgBeł, Relacje, vol. 227, fol. 492v–93.

²⁹ CDIAUL, KgBeł, Relacje, vol. 229, pp. 531–32. Similarly it can also be assumed, that in 1643 the number of Christian houses had not changed compared to 1635.

³⁰ Horn, *Żydzi*, 69.

³¹ Wojnarski, “Losy,” 33–34.

³² Janusz Bogdanowski, “Fortyfikacje ziemne na terenie powiatu lubaczowskiego,” *Rocznik Ziemi Lubaczowskiej* 2 (1971), 20.

³³ Hannover, “Jawein,” 51; Borovoy, *Evrejskie hroniki*, 170.

³⁴ Hannover, “Jawein,” 51–52.

while some of the refugees, including some from Narol and even Jerzy Łaszcz's wife and children, had fled before the arrival of the enemy troops.³⁵ It should be mentioned, as Maurice Horn noted, that the Jewish population of the towns was obliged to take an active part in their defense, even having their own weapons and ammunition for the occasion.³⁶

The first regular Cossack and Tatar troops reached Florianów in the last week of October. They were joined by local peasant groups numbering about two thousand men.³⁷ According to the *Suffering of the Times* chronicle, the city was surrounded and the outskirts torched at the very start. Despite significant material losses, this operation cleared the advance fire field and actually helped the defenders successfully repel the initial attacks.³⁸

The main Cossack and Tatar forces arrived on October 31, 1648, and began a full-scale siege.³⁹ German traveler Ulrich Werdum reported that the city was surrounded by an encircling ring: from the north, Cossacks, and from the south, Tatars.⁴⁰ On the first day of the siege, the main thrust of the attack focused on cannon fire. Jerzy Łaszcz and a group of defenders barricaded themselves in a wooden arsenal on a small island in the lake. In the evening, when the artillery fire ceased, the Cossacks attacked the narrow embankment that was the only passage to the town between the reservoir and the marshes. A fierce battle ensued, as we learn from Ludwik Zieliński's account, based on oral tradition: "Łaszcz watched every move of the enemy, stood on the embankment and bravely repulsed the attackers. Several hundred Cossacks and a dozen noblemen were killed here: the battle was murderous, the Cossacks won a hundred to one; Łaszcz's defenses held out; finally, the dark night put an end to further bloodshed."⁴¹

Discouraged by their failure, the troops retreated from the ramparts and set up camp on the hill where the Łosiów Palace stands today.⁴² The next morning, Khmelnytsky sent a messenger to the town with an offer to pay a ransom in exchange for lifting the siege. However, Łaszcz, ignoring the pleas of the Jews and townspeople, rejected the ultimatum.⁴³ In fact, he probably took the ataman's offer as a sign of his

³⁵ Ludwik Zieliński, "Narol – Lubycza – Rawa – Żółkiew," *Lwowianin* 2 (1842), 48.

³⁶ Horn, *Powinności wojenne*, 59, 81.

³⁷ Janas, "Narol," 39–40.

³⁸ Borovoy, *Evrejskie hroniki*, 171.

³⁹ Information from the chronicle leads to this conclusion "Bagno Głębokie". See Hannover, "Jawein," 52, gave the exact date of the capture of the city, stating that the siege lasted 3 days.

⁴⁰ Ulryk Werdum, *Dziennik podróży 1670–1672. Dziennik wyprawy polowej 1671*, comp. Dariusz Milewski (Muzeum Pałac w Wilanowie, 2012), 90. Meir ben Samuel described the situation similarly—compare Borovoy, *Evrejskie hroniki*, 171.

⁴¹ Zieliński, "Narol," 48–49.

⁴² Janas, "Narol," 39.

⁴³ Hannover, "Jawein," 52; Zieliński, "Narol," 48; Werdum, *Dziennik podróży*, 90.

weakness, for in response he rushed out of the castle, "drove the Cossacks from the hilltop, slaughtered a fair number of them, picked up a few flags, and promptly took refuge in his wooden arsenal."⁴⁴ The fruitless negotiations and audacious raids by the then-head of Narol only strengthened the resolve of the besiegers, and reinforcements were brought to the town.⁴⁵ Ludwik Zieliński reported that the Cossacks were aided in their conquest by the treachery of the local miller, Michał. Bribed by Khmelnytsky on the night of November 1–2, "after getting the Polish sentry at the mill drunk, he raised the sluice gate and let the water out."⁴⁶ This allowed the army to infiltrate the city under cover of darkness and attack the arsenal team on the island.⁴⁷ According to the aforementioned Ulric Verdum, who lived in Narol in the 1770s, the town was captured in an attack by the Tatars, who crossed the lake at night and invaded the town.⁴⁸ This almost fantastical version is perhaps the most likely, given that the Tatars were well versed in the art of crossing water, and their horses were very good swimmers.⁴⁹ Zieliński vividly describes these events: "Łaszcz roused himself from sleep, put on his armor, quickly prepared the assembled guards, fought against the overwhelming force in the middle of the night, lost several hundred brave men, and by daylight escaped through blood-stained chambers to the tower, from where, after being shot several times from a falconet, covered in wounds and drenched in blood, he fell half dead into the hands of Khmelnytsky."⁵⁰ He was then tortured, as Hannover also reported, stating that the aggressors "murdered the head of the town, who was called Łaszcz, skinned him alive and put him through the most horrific ordeal."⁵¹ Meanwhile, the arsenal was blown up under mysterious circumstances, killing several hundred Cossacks.⁵² Khmelnytsky probably saw this as a diversionary tactic that added fuel to the proverbial fire. Of the two Jewish chroniclers cited who were alive at the time, Meir of Szczeshin gave the most detailed description of the events. From his account we learn that some Jews took refuge in the synagogue, but its doors were broken down by the invaders, who then slaughtered the people gathered in the central area (the bima), which was used for reading liturgical texts, and finally set fire to the building.

⁴⁴ Zieliński, "Narol," 49.

⁴⁵ Zieliński, "Narol," 48; Hannover, "Jawein," 52.

⁴⁶ Zieliński, "Narol," 49. The date given is consistent with the account of the "Bagno Głębokie," chronicle which reported the occupation of the city on November 2, 1648. See Hannover, "Jawein," 52.

⁴⁷ Zieliński, "Narol," 49.

⁴⁸ Verdum, *Dziennik podróży*, 90.

⁴⁹ Leszek Podhorodecki, *Tatarzy* (Książka i Wiedza, 1971), 268; Podhorodecki, *Chanat Krymski*, 57.

⁵⁰ Zieliński, "Narol," 49.

⁵¹ Hannover, "Jawein," 52.

⁵² Zieliński, "Narol," 49.

Other Jews generally tried in vain to hide in the bushes by the river, and many drowned or died of hypothermia. The Tatars took boys, girls, and young women into slavery.⁵³ A preserved record of an episcopal visitation from 1649 reports that the local church, filled to the brim with refugees, was ransacked and stained with the blood of the murdered.⁵⁴

Particularly noteworthy is an excerpt from Hannover's account, which he himself singled out, of the story of one of the surviving women, "who managed to stay alive by lying down among the corpses; in this way several hundred women and children and some men were saved."⁵⁵ The condition of the survivors was dire, and many could not afford to bury their loved ones. As the two Jewish chroniclers and the bishop visitor quoted above unanimously note, for some time the sight of human bodies lying in the streets in the autumn mud, torn apart by animals and birds, was striking.⁵⁶

The Post-war Demographic Condition of the Town

On November 2, 1648, after the departure of Khmelnytsky's army, the city was in a state of disaster. On June 28, 1649, the representatives of the town, Tobiasz Wilanowski and Stanisław Nieciecki, appealed to the court in Belz: "Our town of Florianów has been devastated by the enemy of the Crown; thirty-seven houses have been burned to the ground, and the remaining people have been hacked to pieces, while others have been taken captive; a few have died, and there are only three of us householders left."⁵⁷ It should be emphasized that the jurament—to which we have no objection, as to the subsequent ones of 1650—only records the male owners of the houses, while it omits the other tenants, and we know from Hannover (but also indirectly from the Hebrew document in the appendix) that women and children predominated among the survivors. The court testimony of 1649 was supplemented in early 1650 by two affidavits of townspeople, in which they described the condition of the houses after the return of some of the inhabitants. At the Belz court session on February 23, Stanisław Partecky, a representative of Narol, testified that only 26 houses were inhabited in the town, including two estates

⁵³ Borovoy, *Evrejskie hroniki*, 171. These incidents are described in a similar, if vaguer, manner, by Hannover: "Jawein," 52.

⁵⁴ Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk—Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie (hereafter: BPAU-PANKr), ms. 8470, pp. 274–75.

⁵⁵ Hannover, "Jawein," 52.

⁵⁶ Hannover, "Jawein," 52; Borovoy, *Evrejskie hroniki*, 171; BPAU-PANKr, ms. 8470, p. 275.

⁵⁷ CDIAUL, KGBel, Relacje, vol. 596, p. 18. Compare Gmiterek and Kubrak, *Narol*, 49, 55, who erroneously reported that as a result of the Cossack and Tatar attack on the city in 1648, only 37 houses survived (in fact, that is how many houses were burned down!).

of the nobility (the estate of Catherine of Jaszczowski, widow of Jerzy Łaszcz, was not included).⁵⁸ Two days later, the same Partecki, who later became the mayor of the town, reported that of the above number of resettled houses, most were located along the streets, while nine were in the market square, and of these three properties belonged to Jews and six to the Christian population. At the same time he added that after the attack of the Cossacks “the number of resettled people is gradually increasing.”⁵⁹ They were mostly Poles, predominantly refugees, since Christian captives from middle-class or rural backgrounds—as we know from scattered source information on the Tatar invasions—were generally not ransomed and did not return to their homes. Jews, in particular, were not eager to return to the city, as the collected tax records attest. They were the most mobile ethnic group, so it is not surprising that under the conditions of the continuing turmoil of the war, they usually made the decision to resettle in other, sometimes very distant urban centers.

Adam Teller found that most of the Jews captured during the wars of the mid-17th century and who ended up in the Istanbul slave market were ransomed (4,000-6,000). On the other hand, he notes that the total number of abductees is unknown because some died in transit, as is the unknown number of those who did not return because they converted to Islam.⁶⁰ Prisoners of war from Narol took more than a month to travel the approximately 1,100 kilometers to Crimea. They traveled about 25 to 30 kilometers a day with other prisoners, pulling carts filled with plunder and driving stolen cattle and horses. Restrained by ropes, they generally followed on foot, and all of this took place in conditions of late autumn cold and rain.⁶¹

A number of them, most likely the impoverished residents whose homes were burned down, decided to leave Narol permanently and relocate to safer places, mainly within the Republic, but also abroad. The most famous war refugee from Narol was Rabbi Moshe Kohen,⁶² who wrote in his work, *Bakasha* (Pleading):

⁵⁸ CDIAUL, KgBeł, Relacje, vol. 595, pp. 1441–42. It can be assumed that a total of about 15 people lived in three noble houses.

⁵⁹ CDIAUL, KgBeł, Relacje, vol. 596, p. 32.

⁶⁰ Teller, *Rescue*, 190, 308.

⁶¹ The remarks of Andrzej Gliwa and Karol Łopatecki lead to such conclusions (Andrzej Gliwa, “Niewola brańców tatarskich z ziem południowo-wschodnich Rzeczypospolitej w XVII wieku: doświadczenie przemowy i jego konsekwencje w postaci stresu pourazowego,” in *W niewoli. Doświadczenie jenieckie i jego konteksty na przestrzeni dziejów*, ed. Marcin Jarząbek, Michał Stachura and Piotr Szlanta (Towarzystwo Wydawnicze Historia Jagellonica, 2019), 145; Karol Łopatecki, “Jednostki odległości i szybkość podróżowania w drugiej połowie XVI stulecia w świetle traktatu Blaisea de Vigenère,” *Przegląd Historyczny* 112, no. 3 [2021]: 547).

⁶² Teller, *Rescue*, 8–9, 215–16.

<i>Polsko, Ty, która byłaś rajem,</i>	<i>Poland, you who were a paradise,</i>
<i>Pierwszą byłaś dla nauki i wiedzy,</i>	<i>You were first in learning and knowledge,</i>
<i>Od dni, w których odpadł od Judy</i>	<i>From the days when Ephraim went astray</i>
<i>Efraim,</i>	<i>from Judah,</i>
<i>Ty, któraś słynęła wiedzą</i>	<i>You, who were known for your expert</i>
<i>umiejętną,</i>	<i>knowledge,</i>
<i>Teraz jesteś wygnaną i samotną wdową,</i>	<i>Now you are an exiled and lonely widow,</i>
<i>Opuszczoną jesteś przez swe własne</i>	<i>Abandoned by your own sons.</i>
<i>syny.</i> ⁶³	

Hearth tax registers compiled in 1654 and 1661 record a total of only 28 occupied houses.⁶⁴ Two juraments drawn up between 1660 and 1661, although we have reasonable doubts about their completeness, shed light on the national and religious structure of the city, indicating 20 occupied houses belonging to Christians and only five to the Jewish community.⁶⁵ Using the method of demographic estimation adopted earlier, namely the multipliers for the conversion of property, one could conclude that—excluding the clergy, nobility and their servants—only 180 people lived in Narol at that time, 60 of them Jews. In the reality of the wartime decade of the 1650s, such mechanical calculations should be treated with considerable suspicion, as many families were scattered and taxes were often not collected from such families. It should also be noted that under the conditions of wartime poverty, the practice of underestimating the tax base in the juraments submitted for the collection of tolls repeatedly intensified. It seems that this rule did not apply to the Jewish population due to the growth of anti-Semitic sentiment on a wave of accusations of so-called ritual murders and collaboration with the Swedes; for this reason, efforts were made to enforce state taxes from them in a restrictive way.⁶⁶ Finally, an important aspect, as indicated by the conclusions of our demographic study of Krasnystaw, may have been the growth of allodial lands

⁶³ Henryk Markiewicz (comp.), *Żydzi w Polsce. Antologia literacka* (Universitas, 1997), 201.

⁶⁴ CDIAUL, KgBeł, Relacje, vol. 249, p. 259; Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie (hereafter: AGAD), Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego (hereafter: ASK), vol. 65, fol. 740.

⁶⁵ CDIAUL, KgBeł, Relacje, vol. 249, p. 1060; vol. 595, p. 1693. When considered with the earlier hearth tax list of 1653 (which was probably compiled on the basis of the juraments filed since 1652 but not preserved) and the later hearth tax list of 1662, we indirectly conclude that Jews occupied about 5 town properties in 1652–1662. See notes 64, 71.

⁶⁶ These were mostly unauthorized accusations, although there were reports of the collaboration of some Jews, among others by Karol Koscielniak, “Wpływ wojen północnych XVII i XVIII w. na postawy i relacje mieszkańców Poznania różnych wyznań,” *Studia Historyczne* 62/1 (2019), 56; Zenon Guldon, “Straty ludności żydowskiej w Koronie w latach potopu,” in *Rzeczpospolita w latach potopu*, ed. Jadwiga Muszyńska and Jacek Wijaczka (WSP im. Jana Kochanowskiego, 1996), 299–300. The issue of so-called ritual murders was covered in detail by Zenon Guldon and Jacek Wijaczka in *Procesy o mordy rytualne w Polsce w XVI–XVIII w.* (DCF, 1995).

(which were not subject to the hearth tax) observed at the time, followed by an increase in their population by the impoverished Christian population.⁶⁷ In the case of Narol it should be noted that after the tragic death of Jerzy Łaszcz there was an expansion of the allodium by his successors. However, the sacral property shrank; the Ruthenian Uniate Church, burned down during the November firestorm of 1648, was not rebuilt.⁶⁸

An important source of verification, which indirectly points to the inaccuracy of the calculations based on the hearth tax of that time and the juraments filed in connection with it, is the protest filed with the court in Belz on October 16, 1653, with a sworn list of damages from the troop stations of the royal rittmaster, Sebastian Kochanowski. The troops under his command—as testified by the local councilors led by the mayor Błażej Taborowicz—had been stationed three times in the previous year (January 6, June 29, September 23–24) in the town of Narol and the adjacent village, causing considerable material damage, estimated by the Christian population at 500 zlotys. An entry in the book lists a total of 36 Christian owners of property in the town who were affected (Poles and one Rusyn, 6 of them women). Unfortunately, the Jews were not included, although in a separate register of October 6, 1653, they listed their lost property (food, objects, money), estimated at 61 zloty 25 grosz.⁶⁹ First of all, the great disproportion between the amount of material damage suffered by the Christian population (although the town and village of Narol are included) and the Jewish population is striking. At the same time, it is worth noting the significantly higher number of Christian properties (by 15) in relation to the hearth tax and the juraments submitted for its collection. The number of Christian householders indicated by name (using the conversion rate of 6 people per house, and 5 people per house in cases of households without a male owner) gives a total of 210 people, while taking into account the noble lands in the city (3 manor complexes—39 people) and the clerical jurydyka (church complex—20 people) we calculate 269 people.

The general poll tax of 1662 proved to be an effective monitoring tool for verifying the demographic profile of Jews. Passed the previous year by the Warsaw Sejm, it covered all social classes (and thus all residents of the jurisdiction) and was notable for its reliability. According to the tax ordinance, the elderly,

⁶⁷ Dariusz Wojnarski, “Rzemiosło i handel w Krasnymstawie. Między prosperity a kryzysem (połowa XVI–XVII w.),” *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych* 82 (2021), 63.

⁶⁸ Gmiterek and Kubrak, *Narol*, 57. A *jurament* dated February 25, 1650, attests to the lack of a priest in the town (CDIAUL, KgBeł, Relacje, vol. 596, p. 32). The bishop’s visit in 1649 shows that Roman Catholic church in Narol was devastated and required renovation. Although its parish priest had returned, he conducted church service alone—due to staff shortages—and also in the nearby church in Lipsko (BPAU-PANKr, ms. 8470, p. 275).

⁶⁹ CDIAUL, KgBeł, Relacje, vol. 242, fol. 296–98.

small children, and the poor, up to 40–50% of the total population, were excluded.⁷⁰ The census of Narol records 222 Christians and 31 Jews, and lists the names of 14 people of noble descent living in five manors, as well as 34 rural journeymen employed in them.⁷¹ Thus, the conclusion is that the total number of inhabitants (after adding the approximately 20 inhabitants of the omitted church complex) was 589 people, among whom there were approximately 62 Jews, who made up about 11% of the town's population.⁷² Most likely (despite the objections raised to the use of house counts), the Jewish population occupied only 5 dwellings. The latter figure, which corresponds to the hearth tax, suggests that the tax register of the 1650s was reliable with regard to the collection of this tax for the Jewish population, as already mentioned. On the other hand, the large discrepancy in the case of the Christian population, as already shown by the 1653 census of the Christians concerned, can be explained by the deliberate underestimation of the number of inhabited properties, as well as by the territorial and demographic expansion of residential areas in manorial enclaves, which were excluded from the tax levy. At the same time, we note that between 1653 and 1662 there was a significant increase in the Christian population of Narol. Soon this demographic trend was reversed, as the number of Christian inhabitants did not increase, while the number of Jews, who arrived in large numbers in the 1660s, increased. The Narol estate inventory of 1664 listed 42 Jewish families (i.e., 252 people in 21 houses) and 70 Catholic families (i.e., 420 people in 70 houses) living in the town⁷³ (plus 85 people from the Church and nobility). Summarized demographic data for the town of Narol in 1630–1664 is shown below (Table 1).

Table 1. Population of Florianów-Narol, 1630–1664

Year	Number of inhabited houses				Number of inhabitants			
	Christian	Jewish	Allods	Total	Christian	Jewish	Allods	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1630	198	40	12	250	1,188	480	66	1,734
1635	150	60	12	222	900	720	66	1,686
1643	150	60	12	222	900	720	66	1,686

⁷⁰ Cezary Kukło, *Demografia Rzeczypospolitej przedrozbiorowej* (Wydawnictwo DiG, 2009), 87–88, 360–61.

⁷¹ AGAD, ASK, vol. 72, fol. 203v–204, 232v. In total, 65 people lived in the nobility *jurydyka*, according to the adopted ratio of 13 people per court.

⁷² Compare Gmiterek and Kubrak, *Narol*, 55, who determined the total population to be only 278, a consequence of taking into account an overestimation that was too low (10%) in relation to the generally accepted rules of calculation used for the poll tax.

⁷³ Gmiterek, “Inwentarz,” 53–54.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1648/49	45	18	3	66	270	212	15	497
1650	21	3	3	27	126	36	15	177
1652/53	36	5	10	51	210*	62	59	331
1662	74	5	14	93	444	62	85	589
1664	70	21	14	105	420	252	85	755

*5 people per house in cases of households without a male owner (6 households).

Source: own work based on Gmiterek, “Inwentarz,” 53–54; BN, ms. 6958, fol. 48; CDIAUL, KgBeł, Relacje, vol. 215, p. 639; vol. 229, pp. 531–32; vol. 242, pp. 296–98; vol. 249, p. 1060; vol. 595, pp. 1129, 1229, 1441–42, 1693; vol. 596, p. 18, 32; APL, KgGr, Relacje, vol. 81, p. 1031; vol. 129, p. 81; AGAD, ASK, vol. 65, fol. 740; vol. 72, fol. 203v–204, 232v.

The analysis shows that in the tragic events of the fall of 1648, 1,355 people lost their lives or were abducted into slavery (and some did not return, especially Poles), moved to other places (both at home and abroad, especially Jews), but also over time (up to 1652) died of wounds and epidemic diseases common at the time—more almost half of whom were Jews (658 people—an estimate, as with the other calculations).

Many more were murdered in Narol, as the local population and refugees sought refuge there. According to Meir ben Samuel, 10,000 Jews were killed, and according to Nathan Hannover, as many as 12,000 Jews were killed.⁷⁴ The surviving record of the bishop’s visitation in 1649, on the other hand, shows that a total of 18,000 people lost their lives. Among them were five Catholic priests and a monk, while the pastor of the local parish escaped death by fleeing.⁷⁵ The scale of this massacre must have been enormous; admittedly, the town of Narol was sprawling and could accommodate many visitors, but the numbers given are undoubtedly deliberately exaggerated.

However, we have no similar objections to the Hebrew document commemorating the murdered Jews of Narol in 1648. This manuscript, probably written shortly after the tragic events, contains a list of the names and surnames of the victims, so that its reliability and completeness are not in doubt.⁷⁶ It resembles another equally valuable document, namely a prayer in honor of the Sandomierz Jews who

⁷⁴ Hannover, “Jawein,” 52; Borovoy, *Evrejskie hroniki*, 171.

⁷⁵ BPAU-PANKr, ms. 8470, p. 275.

⁷⁶ Biblioteka Narodowa [National Library] (hereafter: BN), ms. 6958, fol. 48–48v. While the Hebrew document does not list women killed, it certainly does not omit them. This is indirectly attested to by an analogous prayer message from 1655, which records the total number of Sandomierz Jews murdered, including women and girls. See note 77.

were murdered in 1655.⁷⁷ As Anna Michałowska notes, the creation of such written artifacts was an expression of the survivors' reverence for their fallen relatives and community members. In this way, their deaths were understood as sacrifices that brought the coming of the Messiah closer.⁷⁸

The source text in question lists 85 murdered Jews of Narol, or about 12% of the pre-war population, according to our calculations. They are all men, presumably heads of families. The document bears the signature of Esther, daughter of Magid Mordechai HaLewi; we also have a later addition in the form of the autograph of Yehuda, son of Nachman.⁷⁹ This would confirm that at the time of its compilation, presumably shortly after the bloody events, there were no Jewish men in the town of Narol. The absence of women and children from the list of those killed in the massacre suggests a preconceived procedure that the Cossacks sometimes used in other conquered places. In Nemyriv, according to the testimony of a surviving Jewish woman, Buda, first to be murdered were about 150 Jewish villagers; they were ordered to dig a deep ditch, and then massacred.⁸⁰ Some people, especially women, were saved in exchange for renouncing their faith and converting to Orthodoxy. Adam Teller believes that the extent of this practice was indeed widespread.⁸¹ Indirectly, we can conclude that the situation was also similar in Narol.

It is most likely that immediately after the departure of the Cossack and Tatar troops almost 500 inhabitants of Narol remained in the town, and here again we can refer to Hannover's account, as he cites several hundred survivors, mostly women and small children (and in this case we cannot accuse him of exaggeration), referring, as already noted, to the account of the surviving Narol townswoman. If we assume that the Cossacks—as in Nemyriv—exterminated all the married men, we can conclude that at the turn of October/November 1648 there were

⁷⁷ Dawid Kandel, "Rzeź Żydów sandomierskich w r. 1655," *Kwartalnik poświęcony badaniu przeszłości Żydów w Polsce* 1, no. 2 (1912/1913): 111–17.

⁷⁸ Anna Michałowska, "Elegie żydowskie upamiętniające wydarzenia połowy XVII wieku," *Napis* 7 (2001): 261–62.

⁷⁹ BN, ms. 6958, fol. 48.

⁸⁰ Teller, *Rescue*, 36, 101, 103; Gliwa, "Niewola brańców," 144. Although elderly people and small children were of no great material value to the Tatars, they were sometimes treated very cruelly. For example, in Zhyvotiv, which was taken on June 6, after prisoners had been taken the remaining population, including Ruthenians, was murdered.

⁸¹ Teller, *Rescue*, 37–38, 57. Some of the Nemyriv Jews escaped death by agreeing to convert to Orthodoxy and take an oath of allegiance to the Cossacks. See Moshe Rosman, *Categorically Jewish, Distinctly Polish: Polish Jewish History Reflected and Refracted* (Liverpool University Press, 2022), 152. The high degree of religious conversion is confirmed by observations of the Jewish community in Pinsk. See Nadav, *Jews of Pinsk*, 151–52. Compare Stampfer, "What Actually Happened," 218, who, in turn, estimated that this was not a common practice and put the number of Jewish converts in Ukraine at about 1,000 people.

85 Jewish families in Narol, i.e., 510 people. This in turn means that the rest of the 35 Jewish families (remember that before the war there were 120), or 210 people, fled from Narol, probably not later than shortly after the Battle of Pyliavtsi. As we know, wealthy people were the first to flee, as they had the most to lose. At the same time, they could afford to pay for the costly forced relocation along with their belongings loaded on carts and, in the case of merchants, also goods for sale.⁸² The Christian population, often a mixture of artisans and farmers, had to shoulder the additional burden of transporting their livestock. As with the Jews, it was primarily the wealthiest who fled, for they had the means to survive away from home.

Nathan Hannover was not untruthful when he wrote about the taking of girls, young women and boys into Tatar slavery. In fact, this was typical behavior, confirmed by various source accounts for other cities captured by Khmelnytsky's army.⁸³ In order to get at least an approximate answer to the number of people abducted, it is necessary to refer to the average age structure of the towns at the time. The results of Irena Gieysztorowa's research suggest that half of Narol's estimated pre-war population were older children, adolescents, and young adults.⁸⁴ We conclude that most likely 140 Jews (after deducting young married Jews who were killed, refugees, and people in their prime, seniors, and small children who were not taken into yasir) were captured by the Tatars. Thus, after the departure of Khmelnytsky's army, there may have been 212 surviving female Narol Jews—widows and orphans—in the town. If one were to assume a proportional structure of attrition for Poles (available sources indicate that the margin of error for such comparative identification is not large), there would have been 285 of them left in the town (including allodial properties). All of them traumatized and bereaved, and at the same time robbed, deprived of their livelihood, malnourished and sick, they commonly died, as the above-mentioned *jurament* of June 1649 reported. The extent of the misery was striking, as Hannover mentions that hungry people cannibalized the victims.⁸⁵

Some of the rescued and lucky survivors of the pogrom moved permanently to other places in Poland and even abroad, such as the aforementioned Rabbi Moshe of Narol. Indirectly, we can conclude that Jewish widows and orphans left Narol

⁸² Examples of such behavior are described in e.g., Nadav, *Jews of Pinsk*, 33, 152, 172.

⁸³ Such a course of action applied, e.g., to the town of Konstantinov, as described in Zenon Guldon and Jacek Wijaczka, “Żydzi a chrześcijanie na Wołyniu w XVI–XVIII wieku,” *Nasza Przyszłość* 80 (1993): 231. See also Andrzej Gliwa, “Niewola brańców,” 144–45. In 1667, during an attack on a group of refugees near Trembowa, Tatars took 80 people, among them 27 women, 12 men and 41 children, into yasir.

⁸⁴ Irena Gieysztorowa, *Wstęp do demografii staropolskiej* (PWN, 1976), 131.

⁸⁵ Hannover, “Jawein,” 52.

soon after the tragic events and ended up as internally displaced persons, mainly in the community of Przemyśl. Przemyśl was the most supportive community for the affected Narol Jews. Information from Hannover's report on the arrival of Jews from Przemyśl to Narol to bury their fellow Jews⁸⁶ leads to this conclusion. The influx of Jewish refugees into the city must have been considerable, since Przemyśl Council, in a resolution dated July 26, 1649, instructed City Hall as follows: "Jews and other transients should not be admitted to the city."⁸⁷

In the 1650s, Narol was fortunate enough to escape another devastating attack by foreign armies and began to slowly recover from its decline. However, due to the constant threat of war, it was not until the 1660s that the Jewish population began to resettle in the town. The long-standing thesis of historians about the rapid reconstitution of the Jewish demographic potential in the territories occupied by the Cossack and Tatar cavalry refers primarily to the towns, from which a larger part of the Jewish population fled in an organized manner, taking their possessions with them or hiding them well. They remembered the time of turmoil of the earlier Cossack uprisings. As a result, as Mordechai Nadav's detailed study of the Jews of Pinsk most clearly confirms, the population and infrastructure loss of the local Jews was small (15 people, 18 houses). These were mainly the city's remaining poor, who could not afford to quickly arrange costly transportation. In the significantly depopulated city, occupied by Cossacks on the march at the end of October 1648, most of those who remained were fellow Ruthenians.⁸⁸

On the other hand, in those places where the material and especially human losses were very high, a quick return to the pre-war state was impossible. It should be emphasized that in the spring and summer there was a chaotic flight from the spreading insurrection in the eastern part of the Crown territory. Along the way, with reports of Khmelnytsky's approaching troops, in an effort to speed up the flight, even the most valuable possessions were abandoned. During this forced migration, the exhausted refugees sought shelter in better-fortified towns.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Hannover, "Jawein," 52. Solidarity and humanitarian aid among Jews shown to refugees and victims was common at the time. See Teller, *Rescue*, 2, 4, 12.

⁸⁷ Antoni Prochaska (comp.), *Lauda wiszeńskie 1648–1673. Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z archiwum tak zwanego bernardyńskiego we Lwowie*, vol. 21 (Księgarnia Seyfartha i Czajkowskiego, 1911), 57.

⁸⁸ Rosman, *Categorically Jewish*, 153–154; Nadav, *Jews of Pinsk*, 148, 150–56, 160–62. By December 1648 some Jews had returned to Pinsk, and in just 18 months, 18 burned Jewish houses had been rebuilt (the synagogue and 78 houses remained intact) and trade had resumed. The case of Dubno (also occupied by Cossacks in October 1648) is less well documented, although it also indicates a planned flight of Jews followed by a fairly rapid recovery of economic potential. For further details see Rosman, *Categorically Jewish*, 155–66.

⁸⁹ Teller, *Rescue*, 33–34.

When they succumbed to the onslaught of the insurgents, they were either killed or taken prisoner like the locals.

It seems that as late as the fall of 1648, despite the fact that Khmelnytsky's army was advancing rapidly westward, many inhabitants of the Tanev River region lived in the belief that the Cossacks would not reach the Belz voivodeship, as they had in previous armed uprisings. It is true that Cossacks occasionally ventured into the area, but they mainly attacked towns that they could conquer on the march, while Narol was not an easy target and had never been occupied by foreign troops until 1648.⁹⁰ Of course, not everyone shared this optimism, and those who had more foresight (such as Rabbi Moshe or the priest of the local Roman Catholic parish)—apparently with enough time to spare—moved to areas farther from the scene of hostilities. As the onslaught of the Cossacks and Tatars approached and more and more refugees arrived in the city, while Jerzy Łaszcz remained in his position to defend it, the situation became a stalemate and escape became impossible.

The foregoing analysis calls into question the previous findings and, even more so, the assumptions of researchers, Shaul Stampfer in particular, which suggested that in the structure of the demographic loss of the Jews, the largest part was accounted for by those who were murdered. In the course of our research, we were able to determine that the largest group consisted of those who were taken into yasir, and refugees, a significant number of whom did not return (were resettled elsewhere, died during their forced march to Crimea, or stayed there as Islamic converts, or, but this was mainly true of Christians, were not bought out of yasir). To a certain extent, they correspond to the position of Natalya Yakovenko, who believes that the Cossacks' aversion to Jews did not translate into an exceptional number of murdered, since comparable losses were also recorded among other ethnic groups.⁹¹ However, this is an oversimplification, since during the Khmelnytsky Uprising such behavior took place mainly during independent raids by Tatars or Black Cossacks. In the operations of the regular, combined Cossack and Tatar armies, it was mainly Poles and Jews who were killed and taken into slavery, while the Russian population sympathized with the insurgents to the greatest extent and not infrequently went over to their side. This was the case, for example, in nearby Tomaszów, which Khmelnytsky entered after taking Narol.⁹² Admittedly,

⁹⁰ As late as October 27, military approaches sent from below Zamość provided reassuring information that only local peasant bands were active in the Belz voivodeship, when in fact regular Tatar and Cossack forces were already there. See Janas, “Narol,” 40.

⁹¹ Natalia Yakovenko, “The Events of 1648–1649: Contemporary Reports and the Problem of Verification,” *Jewish History* 17 (2003): 167.

⁹² Russian merchants from Putyvl, who were mentioned by name, upon their return from Konstantinovsk, reported—as mentioned by the local voivode on June 9, 1648—that the Cossack hetman had given orders to murder Poles and Jews after seizing urban and rural settlements. See Gudzenko, *Vossoedinenie*, 37–39. For more on the occupation of Tomaszów, see Dariusz Wojnarski,

in Ukraine some poorer Jews found their way into the ranks of the insurgents, but this was a relatively small group of financially disposed converts.⁹³ Most of the Jews, as in Narol, united to defend the attacked towns.

An analysis of the demographic losses of the Narol center during the Khmelnytsky Uprising showed that the large depopulation of Jews observed in some of the occupied towns translated into a long-term regression of that community, which in the case of Narol lasted more than a decade. This is consistent with Stampfer's findings, although his assertion that there were relatively few such urban settlements in Red Ruthenia requires further study. Undoubtedly, this was the norm in Ukraine, where Jewish communities did not have time to evacuate as planned and therefore suffered the most.⁹⁴ The case of Narol has shown that meticulous archival research, including access to unique sources, supported by an analysis of the academic literature, provides an opportunity for an in-depth analysis of the issue of demographic losses in towns that were captured after a battle and in which the local Jewish population remained in the vast majority at the time of their enemy's occupation. The case of Narol has made it possible to shed light on the national structure of demographic losses and, more importantly, to bring closer the relationship between the number of Jews murdered, those taken into slavery and those who were displaced.

"Straty materialno-demograficzne miast Ordynacji Zamojskiej w następstwie napadu wojsk Bohdana Chmielnickiego w 1648 r.," *Roczniki Wydziału Nauk Prawnych i Ekonomicznych KUL* 4, no. 2 (2008): 120.

⁹³ Horn, *Powinności wojenne*, 88–90.

⁹⁴ Stampfer, "Jewish Population," 37–39.

Appendix

Prayer in remembrance of the murdered Jews in Narol in 1648



אל מלא רחמים שוכן במרומים המצא מנוחה נכונה על כנפי השכינה במעלות גדולים וטהורים כזוהר הרקיע

מזהירים את נשמתם: את מ"ר דן ב"ר מאיר הכהן ובנו מ"ר מרדכי ומ"ר ישראל איסר הכהן, ואת מ"ר זאב בינמין ב"ר שמריל הכהן, ואת החבר ר' יוסף בן ר' מרדכי הכהן, ואת מ"ר יעקב בן ר' ישראל הכהן, ואת מ"ר יעקב ב"ר אהרן הכהן ובנו מ"ר מאיר הכהן, ואת מ"ר שמואל ב"מ ר' ארון הכהן, ואת מ"ר זאב ב"מ יעקב הכהן, ואת מ"ר מרדכי ב"מ ארון הכהן, ואת החבר ר' אברהם הכהן, ואת החבור ר' מאיר בן החבר ר' ברוך הכהן, ואת מ"ר אליהו ב"מ ר' חיים הכהן, ואת מ"ר ראובן ב"ר אלכסאנד הלוי ובנו מ"ר משה הלוי, ואת מ"ר יוסף ב"מ ר' ארון הלוי, ואת מ"ר שלומה בן החבר ר' פלטיאל הלוי, ואת מ"ר יעקב במ"ר אשר הלוי ובנו מ"ר צבי ואת מ"ר דוד הלוי, ואת החבר ר' ישראל אליעזר ב"ר יוסף הלוי ובנו החבר ר' יהודא הלוי, ואת מ"ר חיים במ"ר דוד הלוי, ואת החבר מ"ר מאיר ב"מ ר' יהודה הלוי, ואת החבר ר' זאב ב"מ ר' יעקב הלוי, ואת מ"ר דוד יהודה ב"ר יוסף הלוי, ואת מ"ר מאיר במ"ר יעקב הלוי, ואת מ"ר אליעזר במ"ר אברהם ובנו מ"ר יוסף, ואת החבר ר' יצחק בן החבור ר' עזרא ובנו החבר ר' ישראל, ואת מ"ר ניסן ב"מ ר' יקתיאל ובנו מ"ר אהרן, ואת מ"ר יוסף יוזפ במ"ר לוי, ואת מ"ר שמרין במ"ר יהודא, ואת מ"ר יוסף במ"ר יעקב גבריאל ובנו החבר ר' בנימין, ואת מ"ר אשר ענדל ב"מ ר' יואל, ואת מ"ר יוסף בן החבר ר' בנימין, ואת מ"ר אליקים בן החבר ר' דוד, ואת מ"ר דוד במ"ר מרדכי, ואת מ"ר מנחם בן מ"מ ר' ארון ובנו מ"ר אשר, ואת מ"ר שלומה בן מ"ר אלכסנדר, ואת מ"ר אברהם צבי במ"ר ארון וחותן מ"ר קלונמס במ"ר צבי, ואת מ"ר צבי בן החבר ר' ישראל ובנו מ"ר קלונמס והחבר ר' דוד, ואת מ"ר זאב ב"מ ר' מנחם ובנו מ"ר מאיר, ואת מ"ר אירע במ"ר מאיר, ואת החבר ישראל בן ירוחם, ואת מ"ר אברהם עביר במ"ר צבי, ואת מ"ר יקתיאל [... ..], ואת מ"ר אהרן במ"ר אליהו, ואת מ"ר משה שלומה ב"מ שאול, ואת מ"ר גד במ"ר שמואל, ואת מ"ר זאב בן החבר ר' שמואל, ואת מ"ר אברהם בן ר' קלונמס, ואת מ"ר מרדכי במ"ר דוד, ואת מ"ר אביגדר בן החבר ר' ארון, ואת מ"ר יוסף במ"ר אליעזר, ואת החבר ר' ישראל בן ר' יוסף, ואת מ"ר יואל במ"ר מנחם, ואת מ"ר מנחם במ"ר יואל, ואת מ"ר זאב במ"ר יואל, ואת החבר ר' ארון בן ר' אברהם, ואת החבר שמואל בן החבר ר' דוד, ואת החבר ר' ישראל דוב בן ר' יצחק, ואת החבר ר' אברהם ב"מ זאב, ואת מ"ר אברהם ב"מ אביגדר, ואת מ"ר בנימין זאב בן מ"ר יהודא, ואת מ"ר ישכר במ"ר אליעזר, ואת מ"ר שלם במ"ר שמואל, ואת מ"ר יעקב חיים במ"ר בנימין זאב, ואת מ"ר ארון ב"ר אשר, ואת החבר ר' אהרן ב"ר שמואל, ואת מ"ר יוסף אביגדר במ"ר שלם, ואת מ"ר אליעזר במ"ר שמואל, ואת מ"ר אברהם יצחק במ"ר משה, ואת מ"ר אפרים במ"ר בנימין זאב, ואת מ"ר צבי במ"ר יהודא, ואת מ"ר יואל במ"ר זאב שהלכה לעלמים. אסתר בת מ"מ מרדכי הלוי. [נ"ב] ואת מ"ר יהודה ב"ר נחמן.

Translation

God full of mercy, who dwells on high, grant these souls undisturbed rest under the wings of Your Presence, on levels of holiness and purity, shining like the splendor of the vault of heaven: Dan, son of Meir HaKohen and his sons Mordechai and Israel Iser HaKohen, Zeew Binyamin, son of Shimril HaKohen, chaber Yosef, son of Mordechai HaKohen, Yaakov, son of Israel HaKohen, Yaakov, son of Aharon HaKohen and his son, Meir HaKohen, Shmuel, son of Aron HaKohen, Zeev, son of Yaakov HaKohen, Mordechai, son of Aron HaKohen, chaber Aron, son of chaber Avraham HaKohen, chaber Meir, son of chaber Baruch HaKohen, Eliahu, son of Chaim HaKohen, Reuwen, son of Alexander HaLevi and his son, Moshe HaLevi, Yosef, son of Aron HaLevi, Shlomo, son of chaber Paltiel HaLevi, Yaakov, son of Asher HaLevi and his sons Tzvi and David HaLevi, chaber Israel Eliezer, son of Yosef HaLevi, and his son, chaber Yehuda HaLevi, Chaim, son of Davida HaLewi, chaber Meir, son of Yehuda HeLevi, chaber Zeev, son of Yaakov HaLevi, David Yehuda, son of Yosef HaLevi, Meir, son of Yaakov HaLevi, Eliezer, son of Avraham and his son Yosef, chaber Yitzhak, son of chaber Ezra and his son, chaber Israel, Nisan, son of Yekutiel and his son Aharon, Yosef Jozep, son of Levi, Shimrin, son of Yehuda, Yosef, son of Yaakov Gavriel and his son, chaber Binyamin, Asher Endel, son of Joel, Yosef, son of chaber Binyamin, Eliakim, son of chaber David, David, son of Mordechai, Menachem, son of Aron the magician and his son Asher, Shlomo, son of Alexander, Avraham Tzvi, son of Aron and his son-in-law Calonimus, son of Tzvi, Tzvi, son of Israel and his sons Calonimus and chaber David, Zeev, son of Menachem and his son Meir, Ira, son of Meir, chaber Israel, son of Jerucham, Avraham Abir, son of Tzvi, Yekutiel [...], Aharon, son of Eliah, Moshe Shlomo, son of Shaul, Gad, son of Shmuel, Zeev, son of chaber Shmuel, Avraham, son of Calonimus, Mordecai, son of David, Avigdor, son of chaber Aron, Yosef, son of Eliezer, chaber Israel, son of Yosef, Joel son of Menachem, Menachem son of Joel, Zeev son of Joel, Hawer Aron son of Avraham, chaber Shmuel, son of chaber David, chaber Israel Dow, son of Yitzhak, chaber Avraham, son of Zeev, chaber Avraham, son of Avigdor, Binyamin Zeev, son of Yehuda, Issachar, son of Eliezer, Shalom, son of Shmuel, Yaakov Chaim, son of Binyamin Zeev, Aron, son of Asher, chaber Aharon, son of Shmuel, Yosef Avigdor, son of Shalom, Eliezer, son of Shmuel, Avraham Yitzhak, son of Moshe, Ephram, son of Binyamin Zeev, Tsvi, son of Jehuda, Joel son of Zeev, who have gone into eternity.

Esther, daughter of the magician Mordechai HaLevi

[Addendum] Yehuda, son of Nachman

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“Paradise Lost”: The Depopulation of the Jews of Narol in 1648

Summary

The aim of the article was to estimate the demographic losses of the Jewish community of Narol in 1648 and, at the same time, to verify popular opinions regarding the extent of the depopulation of this ethnic group during the Bohdan Khmelnytsky Uprising. The urban centers of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which administratively belonged to the Belz Voivodeship and were founded in the early modern period, developed dynamically until the middle of the 17th century. Narol became one of the largest Jewish communities. It gained notoriety as a result of the tragic war events of the mid-17th century. Jewish chroniclers of the time, with their customary exaggeration - although they also took into account the refugees who came to Narol—reported the extent of the pogrom against their people. Researchers, on the other hand, although rightly questioning these exaggerated figures, often used statistics in a very arbitrary way. The analysis of various sources, including a Hebrew document unknown in previous historical writings, allowed us to determine the course of the tragic events in the town and their demographic consequences. At the same time, the generally accepted structure of wartime population losses, which puts the dead in the foreground, was questioned. It was found that of the more than 1,680 inhabitants of Narol (including 720 Jews—43%), almost 500 people remained, including 212 Jews, most of whom were women and children. 85 Jews died directly at the hands of the Cossacks, 140 were taken into slavery (*yasir*), while some of them regained their freedom. A group of 210 people were Jewish refugees, most of whom, like the prisoners bought from the Tatars, chose to be resettled in other locations in the country or even abroad. In the following years, unlike a part of the Christian population, they did not want to return to the town, mainly because of the continuing threat of war. On the contrary, the Jewish widows and orphans who remained in the town most likely moved to Przemyśl, although many of them also died as a result of diseases and epidemics. As a result, the Jewish population shrank to 62 individuals in 1652, which was 19% of the total population of Narol (331). It was not until the 1660s, when the wartime atmosphere had subsided, that many Jews began to arrive in the town.

„Raj utracony”. Depopulacja Żydów narolskich w 1648 roku

Streszczenie

Założeniem artykułu było oszacowanie strat demograficznych społeczności żydowskiej Narola w roku 1648, a przy tym weryfikacja obiegowych opinii co do zakresu depopulacji tej grupy etnicznej w czasie powstania Bohdana Chmielnickiego. Ośrodki miejskie Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów, administracyjnie należące do województwa bełskiego, a powstałe w okresie wczesnonowożytnym, do połowy XVII w. dynamicznie się rozwijały. Narol stał się wówczas jednym z największych skupisk żydowskich. Zyskał ponurą sławę w rezultacie tragicznych wydarzeń wojennych połowy XVII w. Ówczesni kronikarze żydowscy z charakterystyczną dla siebie przesadą – choć uwzględniali także przybyłych do Narola uchodźców – informowali o skali pogromu swoich pobratymców. Z kolei badacze, choć słusznie podważali te przesadzone wartości liczbowe, nierzadko jednak w sposób bardzo dowolny szermowali statystyką. Analiza różnorodnych przekazów źródłowych, w tym nieznanego w dotychczasowej historiografii dokumentu hebrajskiego, pozwoliła ustalić przebieg tragicznych zająć w mieście oraz ich demograficzne konsekwencje. Podważono przy tym przyjmowaną powszechnie strukturę wojennych ubytków populacyjnych, wysuwającą na pierwszy plan osoby zabite. Ustalono, że z ponad 1680 mieszkańców Narola (z tego 720 Żydów – 43%) pozostało prawie 500 osób, z tego 212 Żydów. W większości były to kobiety i dzieci. Bezpośrednio z rąk kozackich zginęło 85 Żydów, 140 uprowadzono w jasyr, z których jakaś część odzyskała wolność. Grupę 210 osób stanowili uciekinierzy żydowscy, przeważnie decydujący się – podobnie jak wykupieni z niewoli tatarskiej jeńcy – przesiedlić do innych ośrodków w kraju, a nawet za granicą. W najbliższych latach – w przeciwieństwie do części ludności chrześcijańskiej – nie chcieli wracać do miasta, głównie z powodu utrzymującego się stanu zagrożenia wojennego. Wręcz przeciwnie, najprawdopodobniej pozostające w mieście ocalałe wdowy i sieroty żydowskie w większości przeniosły się do Przemyśla, choć sporo ich też zmarło wskutek chorób i panującej epidemii. W rezultacie populacja Żydów skurczyła się do 62 osób w 1652 r., stanowiąc 19% globalnej liczby mieszkańców Narola, obliczanej na 331 osób. Dopiero w latach 60. XVII w., wraz z uspokojeniem nastrojów wojennych, zaczęło przybywać do miasta wielu Żydów.

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