

JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN THE KALISZ PROVINCE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19th CENTURY

The Kalisz Province was one of eight provinces of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, even though it was established, in 1807, as the Kalisz Department under Article 64 of the Constitution of the Duchy of Warsaw¹. The administrative division was adopted within the congress Kingdom's initial period, after the Duchy of Warsaw. By a decision of the Viceroy of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, on 16th January 1816, departments were replaced by provinces, the areas of which largely covered the departments which were replaced. Provinces (*województwa*) were divided into circuits (*obwody*) which were, in turn, divided into counties (*powiaty*)².

The Kalisz Province was divided into five circuits, each containing two counties (except for the Wieluński Circuit which consisted of three counties). The circuits were:

- Kaliski (counties: Kaliski and Warcki)
- Koniński (counties: Koniński and Pyzdrowski)
- Sieradzki (counties: Sieradzki and Szadkowski)
- Wieluński (counties: Ostrzeszowski, Wieluński and Częstochowski)
- Piotrkowski (counties: Piotrkowski and Radomszczański).

Each name derived from the city which served as the capital of the specific circuit³. The Kalisz Province also contained Pyzdry which, during the Duchy of Warsaw period, belonged to the Poznań Department. In 1815, the town was occupied by the Prussians, an act which triggered a border conflict⁴. This administrative division continued until 7th March (23rd February in the old style) 1837 when, by a decree (*ukase*) of Tsar Nicholas I, provinces were replaced by governates (the change was only one of nomenclature)⁵. This division into governates operated until 1918, being the end of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, during which the number of governates changed, as did the areas covered by them individually.

¹ *Ustawa Konstytucyjna Księstwa[Xięstwa] Warszawskiego dated 22nd July 1807*. (Dziennik Praw Księstwa Warszawskiego, Vol. 1, pp. II-XLVII), art. 64.

² *Postanowienie Namiestnika Królestwa Polskiego dated 16th January 1816. o podziale Królestwa Polskiego na Województwa, Obwody i Powiaty* (Dziennik Praw Królestwa Polskiego, Vol. 1 No. 2, pp. 115-120), art. 1, 5.

³ *Ibidem*, art. 5. *Warski*, a Radomszczański as *Radomski*. In the text of decree, the Warcki County is recorded as

⁴ J. Zdrada, *Historia Polski 1795 – 1914, (The History of Poland 1795-1914)* Warsaw 2015, p. 268.

⁵ *Ukaz Najwyższy z dnia 23 lutego / 7 marca 1837 r. zmieniający nazwanie dotychczasowych województw na gubernie* (Dziennik Praw Królestwa Polskiego, Vol. 20 No. 2, pp. 412-417), art. 1.

By 1845, the changes had already taken place. A decree by Nicholas I, dated 9/21 August 1844, reduced the number of governates from eight to five. The Kalisz Governate was abolished and its territory was incorporated into the Warsaw Governate⁶. In 1867, in accordance with an Act dated 19/31 December 1866, regarding the administration of the governates and the counties within the Congress Kingdom of Poland, the number of governates rose to ten. The governates were divided into counties (growing in number from 39 to 85), and the counties were divided into communities (*gminy*). The Kalisz Governate was restored, but with different borders. Some of the territory which had belonged to the Kalisz Governate before 1845 and which included, among others, Częstochowa, Łask, Piotrków Trybunalski and Radomsko, were included into the newly-created Piotrków Governate⁷.

Amongst the interests of the authorities established after 1807 was the issue of organising community life in a manner different to that prior to 1795, and in a way which would meet the demands of a modern state. To this end, they had to understand how a community functioned and what its constituent groups were. Such information would be obtained from general censuses. The first general census in Polish history was ordered by the Great Sejm (also known as the “Four Year Sejm”) on 22nd June 1789. The census contained relevant descriptions of the populations of villages, towns, and Jews⁸. During the period of the Duchy of Warsaw, three general censuses were undertaken - in 1808, 1810 and 1812. The first two were completed and the majority of their records have been preserved. The 1812 census was interrupted due to the war with Russia, and only a fraction of its results have been preserved⁹.

The following data shows that Jews constituted a significant part of the residents of the Duchy of Warsaw and the Congress Kingdom of Poland. In some locations, they even represented a majority of the residents. They formed dense clusters and lived within organised structures which sustained almost all of life’s aspects. From this, the state authorities also became interested in those structures, carrying out censuses, as well as registering, within

⁶ *Ukaz Najwyższy z dnia 9/21 sierpnia 1844 r. ustanawiający w miejsce dotychczasowych ośmiu guberni w Królestwie Polskim, pięć guberni* (Dziennik Praw Królestwa Polskiego, Vol. 34 No. 109, pp. 452-459), art. 1, 2.

⁷ *Ustawa z dnia 19/31 grudnia 1866 r. o zarządzie gubernialnym i powiatowym w guberniach Królestwa Polskiego* (Dziennik Praw Królestwa Polskiego, Vol. 66 No. 219, pp. 118-193), art. 1, 2, annex to art. 2; J. Zdrada, op. cit., p. 527.

⁸ H. Grossman, *Struktura społeczna i gospodarcza Księstwa Warszawskiego. Na podstawie spisów ludności 1808-1810*, Warsaw 1925, p. 3. The Central Statistical Office’s website mentions the 1789: “(...) druk pn. *Showing proportions amongst provinces, cities, villages, homes and taxes ...*, being a result of the census”; <http://stat.gov.pl/spisy-powszechne/narodowe-spisy-powszechne/historia-spisow/>, accessed 12/05/2017.

⁹ H. Grossman, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

their official documentation, existing communities. They also enacted legal provisions under which they could function.

The 1808 census had many shortcomings. Inasmuch as the population's division into Christians and Jews was taken into account, this only applied to cities and towns. When it came to villages, only the total number of residents is provided. At that time, the Duchy of Warsaw had a population of 2,099,512 individuals. Whilst 1,560,053 people lived in villages, 539,459 lived in cities and towns, among them being 138,115 Jews - thereby constituting one-quarter of the urban population. Also, at that time, the Kalisz Department had a population of 460,703. Of that number, 368,937 lived in villages, while 91,766 lived in cities and towns, amongst whom were 18,659 Jews – 20.33% of the urban population¹⁰.

The 1810 census divided the entire population according to religion, designating Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Greco-Catholics as well as Jews. By then, the Duchy of Warsaw had a population of 4,334,306, more than double that contained in the 1808 data. The entire state contained 300,285 Jews, being 6.93% of the total population. At the time, the Kalisz Department had 512,750 people, around 52,000 more than two years previously. According to that census, the number of Jews totalled 24,716. That was about 6,000 more than in the 1808 census but, this time, the residents of villages were taken into account, the result of which was that the proportion of Jews within the Department's population stood at around 4.82 %¹¹.

Following the coming into existence of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, the state authorities began collecting information on the state of the structures which organised the lives of its Jewish subjects. In *Wykazie Gmin Wyznania Mojżeszowego w Województwie Kaliskim (A List of Jewish Communities in the Kalisz Province)*, drawn up on 19th November 1816, nineteen Jewish communities were specified. However, the information contained in this document does not include which towns were included within a given community and the number of residents. The list provided the names of rabbis and community elders, their duties within their community, as well as the sources and extent of the income achieved through these individuals¹². Table 1 shows the towns in which there were Jewish communities in 1816.

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 20.

¹¹ Ibidem, p. 47.

¹² AGAD, CWW, Records relating to the establishment of synagogue supervision and the regulating of Jewish community contributions and payments. Overall, 1810-1817, Ref. 1429, pp. 233-251.

Table 1. Jewish Communities and Rabbis in the Kalisz Province in 1816

COUNTY	JEWISH COMMUNITY	RABBI	RABBI'S NAME
Kaliszki	Kalisz	Assistant Rabbi	Izrael Markus Weingodt
	Iwanowice	Assistant Rabbi	Hirsz Gulberk
Warcki	Warta	Rabbi	Szymon Wolf Paczanowski
	Błaszki	Rabbi	Jozef Zaydel
	Dobra	Podrabin	Rafał (no surname listed)
	Uniejów	<i>Shammes</i>	Aaron Łęczycki
Koniński	Konin	Rabbi	Sendor Wolff Joppe
	Koło	Rabbi	Efraim Beor
	Kleczew and Kazimierz Biskupi	Rabbi	Leyzer Hersz
	Golina	Rabbi	Markus Salomin
	Władysławów	None	-
	Śleszyn	None	-
Sieradzki	Skulsk	None	-
	Sieradz	None	-
	Widawa	None	-
Szadkowski	Złoczew	Rabbi	Mosiek Berkowicz
	Lutomiersk	Podrabin	Chananol (no surname listed)
Wieluński	Łask	Rabbi	Majer Cylich
	Działoszyn	Assistant Rabbi	Jozef Moyzesz
Częstochowski	Praszka	Rabbi	Jochym (no surname listed)
	Mstów andi Częstochowa	None	-
Ostrzeszowski	Nowe Krzepice	Under-Rabbi	Herszlik Abraham
	Wieruszów	None	-
Piotrkowski	Bolesławiec	None	-
	Piotrków Trybunalski	Rabbi	Izrael Leyzer Pacanowski
	Tuszyn	Rabbi	Lewin Harkel Rozenblut
	Bełchatów	None	-
Radomszczański	Rozprza	Rabbi	Illut Pinkus
	Konieczpol	Rabbi	Lewek Kachnita

Source: AGAD, CWW, Records relating to the establishment of synagogue supervision and the regulating of Jewish community contributions and payments. Overall, 1810-1817, Ref. 1429, pp. 233-251.

Based upon the above list, certain issues regarding these towns and their Jewish populations should be noted. The community of Koło includes Brudzew (Brudzewo), where “the few families who live there cannot be called a congregation (*kehilla*)”. Also included within the Koło community was the Władysławów (Władysławowo) *kehilla*. The document lists it separately but, at the same time, within the Koło community. In the table, under the section of *kehilla* officials, is the annotation, “The Władysławów Congregation belongs here, even though no congregation officials exist”¹³. There was no rabbi in Skulsk as the town had only twelve Jewish homes, whose occupants could not support one¹⁴. Also, the Bełchatów *kehilla* was unable to support a rabbi since it did not constitute a separate “parish”¹⁵. So, it can

¹³ Ibidem, pp. 238-239.

¹⁴ Ibidem, pp. 240-241.

¹⁵ Ibidem, s. 248-249.

be supposed that Bełchatów could only have the status of a “sub-*kehilla*”, but that is not explicitly stated in the source. There are certainly those places, where Jewish congregations or large groupings of Jews had existed earlier, which aspired to such a status. However, as the result of demographic changes, they had become too small in order to maintain that position. In response to that situation, the state authorities had to react. This is confirmed by further documentation.

In 1816, nine of the above-mentioned communities had no rabbi. Seven communities had other individuals – three had an assistant rabbi, another three had an under-rabbi, while one had a Jewish scholar. The remaining thirteen communities had officially appointed rabbis. In each community which had a rabbi or a replacement for a rabbi, certain funds were allocated for that person’s support. In some places, it was a specific amount. This income was usually derived from the community’s residents’ contributions, from taxes on kosher meat, as well as from payments for religious ceremonies (e.g. marriages). In many communities, payments were set according to past customs¹⁶.

The 1816 list of Jewish communities did not take into account their size. However, what is provided is the number of congregation (*kahal*) officials within a given county (*gmina*), which varied from county to county. So, it is possible to suppose that that diversity related directly to the size of the communities. Amongst the bigger communities, there were those which had four (Lutomiersk, Mstów and Częstochowa, Piotrków Trybunalski, Warta), five (Łask) or six officials (Kalisz). However, the vast majority of Jewish communities within the Kalisz Province had two (Bełchatów, Bolesławiec, Iwanowice, Koniecpol, Konin, Praszka, Ślesin, Tuszyn, Uniejów, Widawa, Wieruszów, Władysławów) or three officials (Błaszki, Dobra, Działoszyn, Golina, Kleczew and Kazimierz Biskupi, Nowe Krzepice, Rozprza, Sieradz, Złoczew). Skulsk was the only congregation which just had one individual (who was, at the same time, the kosher butcher). However, Koło appointed no congregation official. The most developed, in the spirit of Jewish tradition, was the provincial “capital” of Kalisz. That community had six older synagogues, as well as six congregations, served by officials who acted as, among others, *chazans*, teachers and kosher butchers¹⁷.

In almost all the communities within the Kalisz Province, congregation officials did not take payments for performing their functions. They usually supported themselves through other activities and performed their duties as volunteers. It was broadly understood that their

¹⁶ Ibidem, pp. 233-251.

¹⁷ Ibidem. See. A. Michałowska, *Gminy żydowskie w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej. Wybór tekstów źródłowych (Jewish Communities in the Past Republic - a Selection of Source Texts)*, Warsaw, 2003.

duties included maintaining order within the community, as well as representing the community in contacts with state authorities at various levels. With regard to payment for their services, two communities within the Kalisz Province stand out as exceptions. The first was Kalisz itself, where congregation officials received a determined annual income which varied according to the person (from 34 to 180 old Polish złotych). Unlike the *kahals*, the elders of the Kalisz synagogues took no payment. The other exception was Bolesławiec. There, congregation officials also received remuneration for their service, which was derived from two sources. The first was from payment for ritual slaughter (17 zł), while the second was a voluntary contribution (27 zł). However, apart from mentioning the level of payments, the listing does not state the periods of time to which they applied¹⁸.

In the 1820's, changes took place to the structure of Jewish communities within the Congress Kingdom of Poland. As already mentioned, in 1821, the existing *kahals* were replaced by synagogue supervision. The 27th January 1824 is provided as the date of the *Projekt zaokrąglenia Parafii Żydowskich w Województwie Kaliskim (A Plan for the Rationalisation of Jewish Parishes in the Kalisz Province)*, prepared by the Kalisz Provincial Commission. This plan contains detailed data relating to the area included within each community and the number of residents they comprised. In comparison to 1816, new communities appear, however some have been amalgamated with their neighbour. However, their overall number rose from 29 to 37. New communities arose in Koźminek, Stawiszyn, Pyzdry, Przyrów, Wieluń, Kamieńsk, Widawa (Radomszczański County)¹⁹, Radomsk, Pławno, Nowa Brzeźnica, Pajęczno and Sulmierzyce. Stand-alone communities ceased to exist in Iwanowice (amalgamated with the Błaszki community), Władysławów (amalgamated with the Koniń community), as well as Ślesin and Skulsk (both amalgamated with the community in Kleczew)²⁰. Information regarding the number of communities in this plan allows for a comparison with data, from 1827, collected and published by Franciszek Rodecki in *Obrazie jeograficzno-statystycznym Królestwa Polskiego (A Geographical-Statistical Picture of the Congress Kingdom of Poland)*. That comparison is shown in Table 2.

¹⁸ AGAD, CWW, Records relating to the establishment of synagogue supervision and the regulating of Jewish community contributions and payments. Main, 1810-1817, Ref. 1429, pp. 233-251.

¹⁹ The issue of identifying the town of Widawa remains problematic, since a town by that name did not exist in the Radomsko District. However, a town by the name of "Widawka" exists which belonged to the community in Radomsko. However, the document singles out the community in Widawa and the name "Widawa Miasto" is included in the list of towns. AGD, CWW, Records concerning organised Jewish communities. Main, 1821-1829, Ref. 1438, pp. 328-333.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 159-350.

Table 2. The number of residents in Jewish communities in the Kalisz Province.
Comparative view between 1824 and 1827 - Part 1: Communities according to size.

CIRCUIT	JEWISH COMMUNITY	POPULATION		CIRCUIT	JEWISH COMMUNITY	POPULATION	
		<i>Data in 1924 Plan</i>	<i>Per Franciszek Rodecki</i>			<i>Data in 1924 Plan</i>	<i>Per Franciszek Rodecki</i>
Kaliszki	1. Błaszki	940	1,041 ²¹	Wieluński	1. Bolesławiec	465	157
	2. Dobra	1,111	1,058		2. Krzepice	1,242	816
	3. Kalisz	3,461	3,465 ²²		3. Częstochowa	1,440	1,251 ²³
	4. Koźminek	192	147		4. Praszka	650	541
	5. Stawiszyn	356	297 ²⁴		5. Przyrów	537	552
	6. Uniejów	539	363 ²⁵		6. Wieruszów	433	519
	7. Warta	991	928		7. Działoszyn	2,094	2,054 ²⁶
	T o t a l s :	7,590	7,299		8. Wieluń	467	335
Koniński	1. Konin	992	1,253 ²⁷	R a z e m	7,328	6,225	
	2. Koło	1,087	1,215 ²⁸	1. Bełchatów	432	323 ²⁹	
	3. Kleczew	1,143	1,359 ³⁰	2. Tuszyn	486	370 ³¹	
	4. Golina	421	481 ³²	3. Piotrków Trybunalski	2,349	2,600 ³³	
	5. Pyzdry	1,216	1,187 ³⁴	4. Rozprza	601	213	
	T o t a l s :	4,859	5,495	5. Kamieńsk	312	268	
Sieradzki	1. Sieradz	688	1,063 ³⁵	Piotrkowski	6. Widawa	388	-
	2. Lutomiersk	1,558	1,310 ³⁶		7. Radomsko	483	369
	3. Łask	1,275	1,360 ³⁷		8. Pławno	487	273
	4. Widawa	937	818 ³⁸		9. Koniecpol	582	444
	5. Złoczew	529	130 ³⁹		10. Brzeźnica	318	172
	T o t a l s :	4,987	4,681		11. Pajęczno	341	173
				12. Sulmierzyce	366	-	
				T o t a l s :	7,145	5,205	

²¹ The community of Błaszki included the towns of Iwanowice and Staw.

²² The community of Częstochowa included the town of Mstów.

²³ The community of Kalisz included the town of Opatówek.

²⁴ The community of Stawiszyn included the town of Chocz.

²⁵ The community of Uniejów included the town of Turek.

²⁶ The community of Działoszyn included the town of Kłobuck.

²⁷ The community of Koniń included the towns of Rychwał, Tuliszków and Władysławów.

²⁸ The community of Koło included the town of Brudzew.

²⁹ The community of Bełchatów included the town of Grocholice.

³⁰ The community of Kleczew included the towns of Kazimierz Biskupi, Skulsk, Ślesin and Wilczyn.

³¹ The community of Tuszyn included the town of Rzgów.

³² The community of Golina included the town of Łądek.

³³ The community of Piotrków Trybunalski included the towns of Wolbórz and Sulejów.

³⁴ The community of Pyzdry included the towns of Zagórów and Słupca.

³⁵ The community of Sieradz included the town of Zduńska Wola.

³⁶ The community of Lutomiersk included the town of Szadek.

³⁷ The community of Łask included the town of Pabianice.

³⁸ The community of Widawa included the town of Szczerców.

³⁹ The community of Złoczew included the town of Burzenin. The number given only takes in the population of Burzenina, because F. Rodecki did not include Złoczew in his calculation.

Table 2. The number of residents in Jewish communities in the Kalisz Province.

Comparative view between 1824 and 1827 - Part 2: Circuit totals.

CIRCUIT	POPULATION	
	<i>According to the 1824 plan</i>	<i>According to F. Rodecki</i>
1. Kaliski	7,590	7,299
2. Koniński	4,859	5,495
3. Sieradzki	4,987	4,681
4. Wieluński	7,328	6,225
5. Piotrkowski	7,145	5,205
Totals:	31,909	28,905

Source: author's own work based on: AGAD, CWW, Records concerning the organisation of Jewish communities Main, 1821-1829, Ref. 1438, pp. 159-350; F. Rodecki, *Obraz jeograficzno-statystyczny Królestwa Polskiego (A Geographical-Statistical Picture of the Congress Kingdom of Poland)*, Antoni Gałęzowski & Co. Printworks, Warsaw 1830, p. 6.

As can be seen, both lists show certain differences and reflect the changes in the communities over consecutive years. Some towns' communities grew, while others diminished. Apart from that, F. Rodecki's list included only towns within the Congress Kingdom of Poland, while the 1824 plan included all towns belonging to a given Jewish community, along with the number of their residents.

There appears to be a significant discrepancy in the case of the community in Sieradz. According to the 1824 plan, it included Zduńska Wola, a town where no Jews lived. However, F. Rodecki states that, in 1827, 468 Jews lived there⁴⁰. There is a similar situation with regard to Złoczew (Sieradzki Circuit). The town was totally not taken into account in F. Rodecki's list while, according to the 1824 plan, 477 Jews lived there. Burzenin belonged to the Złoczew community and, in 1824, had no Jews. However, in 1827, according to F. Rodecki, 130 Jews lived there⁴¹.

In the Wieluński Circuit, considerable differences appear in the cases of Bolesławiec and Krzepice. F. Rodecki states that the number of Jews in Bolesławiec was 157 and that was the only town which he took into account with respect to that community. However, the 1824 plan also lists Lututów (157 Jews) and Ulica Podzamcza (125 Jews), as well as a few other towns which held small number of Jews, These totalled 465 individuals⁴². Next, the 1824 plan lists Krzepice, where 234 Jews lived, Nowokrzepice with 666 Jews and Starokrzepice with 22 Jews. Also the village of Truskolas should not be forgotten with its 159 Jews. (The remaining

⁴⁰ AGAD, CWW, Records regarding the organisation of Jewish communities. Main, 1821-1829, Ref. 1438, pp. 243-250; F. Rodecki, *Obraz jeograficzno-statystyczny Królestwa Polskiego (A Geographical-Statistical Picture of the Congress Kingdom of Poland)*, Warszawa 1830, p. 6.

⁴¹ AGAD, CWW, Records regarding the organisation of Jewish communities. Main, 1821-1829, Ref. 1438, pp. 275-278; F. Rodecki, op. cit., p. 6.

⁴² AGAD, CWW, Records regarding the organisation of Jewish communities. Main, 1821-1829, Ref. 1438, pp. 279-282; F. Rodecki, op. cit., p. 6.

villages, belonging to the Krzepice community, had significantly smaller numbers of Jews.) F. Rodecki includes only Krzepice, inhabited by 816 Jews, which would certainly have included those living in Starokrzepie and Nowokrzepice⁴³.

The situation of the Działoszyn community is also worth noting as the difference in the numbers provided is minimal. In the data F. Rodecki provides relating to this town, Działoszyn has 1,799 Jews, while Kłobuck has 255. The 1924 plan states that 1,125 Jews were Działoszyn and 209 in Kłobuck. The plan also includes villages amongst which two belonged to the Działoszyn community and were inhabited by more than 200 Jews (Osjaków and Kamyk). However, the remaining villages only had a few, or a dozen or so, Jews⁴⁴.

In communities within the Piotrkowski Circuit, the differences result from the fact that F. Rodecki only took towns into account, while the majority of that community was comprised of only one town, being the seat of the community plus its surrounding villages. However, the difference here is not as great as in the case of the other parts of the Kalisz Province. It should also be noted that F. Rodecki does not provide a count of residents of any towns which were included within the Widawa and Sulmierzyce communities. This results from the fact that they were wholly comprised of villages. However, the town of Widawa, listed in the 1984 plan caused some problems associated with its identification and location⁴⁵.

The above difference between both sets of data caused discrepancies in the overall count of the Jewish population in the individual circuits and in the Kalisz Province as a whole. The 1824 plan provides a count of 31,909 Jews in the Province, while F. Rodecki's list from 1827 totals 28,905. And so the difference is a little over 3,000 individuals. Despite that, with regard to the whole Kalisz Province, the data sets are comparable, fluctuating as they do, around a count of 30,000.

The plan, produced by the Kalisz Province Commission, was approved on 13th March 1827 by the Governmental Commission of Religious Affairs and Public Enlightenment. The document, confirming the plan, again listed the towns in which the centres of each community were located. The Governmental Commission pointed out that, in Kłobuck and Szczerców, there were no plans to create official communities, despite the fact that, earlier, both had had synagogue supervisors. Also, the Governmental Commission withheld any decision and gave the Province Commission a free hand regarding the creation of an official community

⁴³ AGAD, CWW, Records regarding the organisation of Jewish communities. Main, 1821-1829, Ref. 1438, pp. 281-286; F. Rodecki, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁴⁴ AGAD, CWW, Records regarding the organisation of Jewish communities. Main, 1821-1829, Ref. 1438, pp. 295-300; F. Rodecki, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁴⁵ AGAD, CWW, Records regarding the organisation of Jewish communities. Main, 1821-1829, Ref. 1438, pp. 305-349; F. Rodecki, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

Zduńska Wola, where “the wish of the new Squire is to establish a rabbinate”⁴⁶. Once again, an issue arises with respect to the number of Jews in Zduńska Wola. The Province Commission’s plan states that no Jews lived there. However, the list drawn up three years later by F. Rodecki, shows a totally different situation. It is possible that the aforementioned “Squire”, namely the feudal owner, had decided to reactivate the town and rapidly drew Jews into Zduńska Wola. The town received its city charter in 1825⁴⁷.

In 1827, the Kalisz Province Commission also drew up a *Lista imienną rabinów i zastępców znajdujących się w Województwie Kaliskim (A List of Rabbis and Assistant Rabbis in the Kalisz Province)*. The names of the rabbis are listed in Table 3 which enables us to compare these rabbis with those rabbis listed in 1816.

Table 3. Rabbis in Jewish Communities in the Kalisz Province in 1816 and 1827.

Part 1 – Circuits: Kaliski, Koniński, Sieradzki.

CIRCUIT	JEWISH COMMUNITY	RABBIS	
		1816	1827
Kaliski	Błaszki	Jozef Zaydel	Jozef Seydel
	Dobra	Assistant Rabbi Rafał (no surname)	Icek Urbach
	Kalisz	Deputy Rabbi Izrael Markus Weingodt	Efraim Jakubowicz
	Koźminek	No community	No rabbi
	Stawiszyn	No community	No rabbi
	Uniejów	<i>Shammes</i> Aaron Łęczycki	Salomon Goldhammer
	Warta	Szymon Wolf Paczanowski	Szymon Wołow Pacanowski
	Iwanowice	Deputy Rabbi Hirsz Gulberk	No community
Koniński	Konin	Sendor Wolff Joppe	Hersz Nachmann
	Koło	Efraim Beor	Efraim Bär
	Kleczew	Leyzer Hersz	Deputy Rabbi Jozef Lissner
	Golina	Markus Salomon	Markus Zückermann
	Pyzdry	No community	Rafał Działdowski
	Rychwał	No community	Markus Buke
Sieradzki	Sieradz	No rabbi	Aron Mozes Lewin
	Lutomiersk	Assistant Chananol (no surname)	Natan Mozes Baryer
	Łask	Majer Cylich	No rabbi
	Widawa	No rabbi	Deputy Rabbi Jankel Sikier
	Złoczew	Mosiek Berkowicz	No rabbi

⁴⁶ AGAD, CWW, Records regarding the organisation of Jewish communities. Main, 1821-1829, Ref. 1438, pp. 128-129.

⁴⁷ *Encyklopedia Powszechna, Vol. 8, Kraków 2002, p. 391.*

Table 3. Rabbis in Jewish Communities in the Kalisz Province in 1816 and 1827.

Parts 2 – Circuits: Wieluński, Piotrkowski.

CIRCUIT	JEWISH COMMUNITY	RABBIS	
		1816	1827
Wieluński	Bolesławiec	No rabbi	No rabbi
	Krzepice	Assistant Rabbi Herszlik Abraham	Deputy Rabbi Icyk Kempner
	Częstochowa	No rabbi	No rabbi
	Praszka	Jochym (surname)	No rabbi
	Przyrów	No community	Deputy Rabbi Josek Ruchter
	Wieruszów	No rabbi	Deputy Rabbi Fabisz Abraham
	Działoszyn	Deputy Rabbi Jozef Moyzesz	Deputy Rabbi Nochem Abram
	Wieluń	No community	No rabbi
Piotrkowski	Bełchatów	No rabbi	Deputy Rabbi Jakub Abramowicz Lieberman
	Tuszyn	Lewin Harkel Rozenblat	Lewek Rosenblatt
	Piotrków Trybunalski	Izrael Leyzer Pacanowski	Deputy Rabbi Dawid Bucher
	Rozprza	Illut Pinkus	Deputy Rabbi Michał Łęczycki
	Kamieńsk	No community	Heim Stern
	Widawa	No community	No rabbi
	Radomsko	No community	Deputy Rabbi Joachim Herszlikowicz Klugermann
	Pławno	No community	Deputy Rabbi Samuel Gutermann
	Konieczpol	Lewek Kachnita	Deputy Rabbi Samuel Staal
	Brzeźnica	No community	No rabbi
	Pajęczno	No community	No rabbi
	Sulmierzyce	No community	No rabbi

Source: the author's own work based on: AGAD, CWW, Records concerning the establishment of synagogue supervision and the regulation of contributions and payments in Jewish communities. Main, 1810-1817, Ref. 1429, pp. 234-251; AGAD, CWW, Records concerning the appointment of rabbis and rabbinic schools. Main, 1823-1853, Ref. 1444, pp. 48-54.

In 1827, only four communities had the same rabbis as in 1816, even though the spelling of their names differs between the two lists. These were the communities in Błaszki, Warta, Koło and Tuszyn. In 1827, there was no rabbi in Iwanowice due to the linking of that community with that in Błaszki. The 1827 list of rabbis names a rabbi in Rychwał, whereas the earlier document states that there was no community in that town. According to the 1824 list, Rychwał was included within the Konin community, having earlier belonged to the Kalisz synagogue.

Another issue concerns the rabbis in Uniejów, Konin, Lutomiersk and Piotrków Trybunalski. Both lists provide contradictory information. In each of those places where

different rabbis are listed in 1827 from those listed in 1816, their periods of employment overlap. Also, there is the situation in Golina. The documents show only both first names of the rabbi are the same. It is possible that this rabbi changed his surname. Then there is the issue of juxtaposition. The 1816 document states that Markus Salomon had already been the rabbi for eleven years. However, according to the 1827 list, he was only appointed to that position on 16th August 1806, which is less than eleven years.

A similar issue arises in Radomsko where, according to official documents, it had no stand-alone community in 1816. However, the 1827 list of rabbis contains information that the Deputy Rabbi took up his position in 1811. This probably indicates a common custom in a community where there were several individuals with rabbinic qualifications from amongst whom one was employed as the community's rabbi. However, in some communities, there were disputes as to who should be appointed rabbi. An excellent example of this is Częstochowa where, according to the above documents, there was no rabbi in either 1816 or in 1827. But, according to *Listy Duchownych Starozakonnych wykonywających te obowiązki w Okręgach Bóżniczych Powiatu Wieluńskiego* (original spelling) (*A List of Orthodox Jewish Clergy Performing Duties in Circuit Synagogues in the Wieluń District*), Rabbi Zachariasz Weingott (Wajngott) occupied that position from 1822⁴⁸. Twelve communities had no rabbi, although some did have one in 1816. The following twelve communities, instead of a rabbi, appointed a deputy (or substitute)⁴⁹.

Table 4. Rabbis in Kalisz Province Jewish Communities in the 1820's.

Part 1 – Circuits: Kaliski, Koniński.

CIRCUIT	JEWISH COMMUNITIES		RABBIS			
	Town	No. Of Jews	Name & Surname	Age	Annual Salary	Knowledge of Languages
Kaliski	Kalisz	3,461	Efraim Jakubowicz	84	2,100 zł	Hebrew, Polish
	Błaszki	940	Jozef Seydel	51	1,500 zł	Speaks and writes in German, a little in Polish
	Dobra	1,111	Icek Urbach	46	900 zł	Hebrew, Yiddish
	Uniejów	539	Salomon Goldhammer	61	700 zł	Hebrew, Yiddish, a little Polish
	Warta	991	Szymon Wołow Pacanowski	85	600 zł	Hebrew, Yiddish

⁴⁸ AGAD, CWW, Records concerning the appointment of rabbis and rabbinic schools. Main, 1823-1853, Ref. 1444, pp. 331-331b. See J. Spyra, *Miejsce rabina w gminie żydowskiej w Królestwie Polskim w I połowie XIX wieku. Spór o Zachariasza Weingotta w Częstochowie*, w: *Studia Judaica (The Place of the Rabbi in Jewish Communities within in the Congress Kingdom of Poland in the First Half of the 19th Century. The Dispute About Zachariasz Weingott in Częstochowa in: Studia Judaica)* 19 (2016), No. 1 (37), pp. 157-186.

⁴⁹ AGAD, CWW, Records concerning synagogue supervision and the setting of contributions and payments in Jewish communities. Main, 1810-1817, Ref. 1429, pp. 234-251; AGAD, CWW, Records concerning the appointment of rabbis and rabbinic schools. Main, 1823-1853, Ref. 1444, pp. 48-54.

Koniński	Konin ⁵⁰	863	Hersz Nachmann	52	1,600 zł	Hebrew, Yiddish, German
	Pyzdry	1,216	Rafał Działdowski	66	1,430 zł	Hebrew, Yiddish, German, Polish
	Koło	1,087	Efraim Bär	69	1,584 zł	Hebrew, Yiddish
	Kleczew	1 143	Jozef Lissner, Deputy	49	300 zł	Hebrew, Yiddish
	Rychwał ⁵¹	129	Markus Buke	44	450 zł	Hebrew, Yiddish, German, Polish
	Golina	421	Markus Zücker mann	60	600 zł	Hebrew, Yiddish

Table 4. Rabbis in Kalisz Province Jewish Communities in the 1820's.

Part 2 – Circuits: Piotrkowski, Sieradzki, Wieluński

CIRCUIT	JEWISH COMMUNITIES		RABBIS			
	Town	No. of Jews	Name & Surname	Age	Annual Salary	Knowledge of Languages
Piotrkowski	Bełchatów	432	Jakub Abramowicz Lieberman, Deputy	48	140 zł	Yiddish
	Piotrków Trybunalski	2,349	Dawid Bucher	52	600 zł	Hebrew, Yiddish, Polish
	Pławno	487	Samuel Gutermann	47	300 zł	Hebrew, Yiddish, Polish
	Kamieńsk	312	Heim Stern	40	300 zł	Yiddish
	Konieczpol	582	Samuel Staal, Deputy	48	300 zł	Hebrew, Yiddish
	Radomsko	483	Joachim Herszlikowicz Klugermann, Deputy	55	300 zł	Hebrew, Yiddish
	Rozprza	601	Michał Łęczycki, Deputy	44	400 zł	Hebrew, Yiddish, German, Polish
	Tuszyn	486	Lewek Rosenblatt	60	400 zł	Hebrew, Yiddish
Sieradzki	Sieradz	688	Aron Mozes Lewin	47	1,800 zł	Hebrew, Yiddish, German
	Widawa	937	Jankel Sikier, Deputy	46	600 zł	Hebrew, Yiddish
	Lutomiersk	1,558	Natan Mozes Baryer	54	800 zł	Hebrew, Yiddish, German, Polish
Wieluński	Działoszyn	2,094	Nochem Abram, Deputy	60	1,000 zł	Hebrew, Yiddish
	Krzepice	1,242	Icyk Kempner, Deputy	38	672 zł	Hebrew, Yiddish
	Przyrów	537	Josek Ruchter, Deputy	b.d.	482 zł	Hebrew, Yiddish, a little Polish
	Wieruszów	433	Fabisz Abraham, Deputy	28	336 zł	Hebrew, Yiddish, Polish – reading and writing

Source: the author's own work based on: AGAD, CWW, Records concerning the organisation of Jewish communities. Main, 1821-1829, Ref. 1438, pp. 159-350; AGAD, CWW, Records concerning the appointment of rabbis and rabbinic schools. Main, 1823-1853, Ref. 1444, pp. 48-54⁵².

The majority of the rabbis listed in Table 4 did not have a concession from the authorities, meaning that their appointment had not been approved. Such approval had been given only for the rabbis in Kalisz, Golina and Rozprza. The vast majority of the rabbis were between 40 and 69 years old (21 rabbis). One was 38 years old (in Krzepice), while the youngest was 28 years old (Wieruszów). Two rabbis were over the age of 80 – in Kalisz (84)

⁵⁰ Rychwał belonged to the Koniń Jewish community. The total number of Jew in the community was 992.

⁵¹ Rychwał belonged to the Koniń Jewish community.

⁵² Data concerning Jewish population numbers of individual communities is from 1924, whereas information about rabbis is from 1827.

and in Warta (85 – the oldest). The age of the rabbi in Przyrów is not provided. The average age of the remaining twenty five rabbis is 53.36 years⁵³.

Each community granted its rabbi an annual salary. However, the amount paid was quite diverse. The least, 140 złotych of the time was paid to the rabbi in Bełchatów, while the Kalisz rabbi received the most – 2,100 złotych. It is necessary, however, to take note of the size of the population in individual communities where the rabbi would obtain his salary from the contributions of community members. The Bełchatów community was comprised of only 432 Jews, while Kalisz had 3,461 – a difference of over 3,000 people. As can be seen from the above table, the highest salaries were paid to rabbis in communities comprised of a thousand or more Jews. This would amount to a thousand złotych or more. However, this was not rule because, in the large community in Kleczew, with its 1,143 Jews, the rabbi received barely 300 złotych annually. On the other hand, the Sieradz community numbered only 688 Jews, while the rabbi received 1,800 złotych annually. By comparison, in Bełchatów, a salary paid of 1,660 złotych from a community of just 256 more people, represents a huge difference.

This data allows us to conclude that the amount paid to a rabbi relied not only on the size of the community, but also upon the affluence of its residents. It is also possible that a rabbi received only a small remuneration for the reason that he earned his living mainly from his own business activity or that the community provided him with a livelihood. The average annual salary for a rabbi in the entire Kalisz Province amounted to 776.69 złotych. Seventeen communities paid their rabbi below that average. Within seven communities, the rabbi earned 1,000 złotych or more (Kalisz, Błaszki, Konin, Pzdry, Koło, Sieradz and Działoszyn) and, in two, the salary was only slightly more than average (Lutomiersk and Dobra)⁵⁴.

It is worth noting the languages known by rabbis in the Kalisz Province. Almost all used Hebrew and Yiddish. Twelve of those rabbis were fluent only in those two languages. Two rabbis were fluent only in Yiddish (in Bełchatów and Kamieński), while the rabbi in Błaszki spoke and wrote only in German or “a little in Polish”. As well as Hebrew and Yiddish, five rabbis (in Uniejów, Piotrków Trybunalski, Pławno, Przyrów and Wieruszów), knew the Polish language at varying degrees of fluency. Apart from Hebrew and Yiddish, the

⁵³AGAD, CWW, Records concerning the appointment of rabbis and rabbinic schools. Main, 1823-1853, Ref. 1444, pp. 48-54.

⁵⁴AGAD, CWW, records concerning the organisation of Jewish communities. Main, 1821-1829, Ref. 1438, pp. 159-350; AGAD, CWW, Records concerning the appointment of rabbis and rabbinic schools. Main, 1823-1853, Ref. 1444, pp. 48-54.

rabbis in Koniń and Sieradz also spoke German. However, four rabbis (in Pyzdr, Rychwał, Rozprza and Lutomiersk) knew four languages – Hebrew, Yiddish, German and Polish⁵⁵.

The 1827 list of rabbis contains a “Comments” column. Under that heading is the concept of *dążenia do cywilizacji* (*aspiration towards civilisation*), which should be clarified here. The idea of *civilising* began developing in the 18th century. *Cywilizować* is understood as to *develop* or to *level out*. The concept of *cywilizacji* was also understood as being associated with *culture* – even as a replacement for it. “Civilising” meant going from a primitive, barbaric culture to a higher, better and modern culture - this notion involved a hierarchy of *civilisation*. At the top of this hierarchy was the enlightened Western Europe, often described as *Christian civilisation* – and this was precisely the type of civilisation which was to be imitated. In the 19th century, *civilising* was not aimed exclusively at the Jews, but mainly at Poles. It was understood as “educating and raising the cultural, professional and social qualifications of the broad mass of the peasantry, especially the village populations”⁵⁶.

So the idea of civilising the Jews was part of the concept of civilising all the residents of the time who were on Polish territory. However, in the case of the Jews, the consequences were much more serious. Civilised Poles were intended to remain Poles as a part of the same Christian Europe, but at a higher cultural level. Jews, however, were to resemble Christians in community life (apart from the issue of religion). In addition, Jews found themselves outside the area of civilised Western Europe, while Poles were a part of it, despite their “civilised backwardness”.

At the same time, at the beginning of the 19th century, there were aspirations to reform the Jews, defined as determining the principles under which the population was to function, as well as what policy the state authorities were to formulate towards this numerous community. Debate on this issue took place even during the period of the Four Year Sejm. However, the idea of *civilisation*, with respect to the Jews as Marcin Wodziński writes, was most probably introduced by Stanisław Staszic and, after 1795, was further developed by many Polish reformers. Their main demands concerned “supplanting the Hebrew and Yiddish languages, a ban on the printing and distribution of books propagating traditional, rabbinic culture, supporting Polish language publications which promoted Polish culture, supporting secular education and propagating norms of behaviour characteristic of the Christian majority”. Among other measures towards this goal, the Congress Kingdom of Poland

⁵⁵ Ibidem.

⁵⁶ M. Wodziński, *Władze Królestwa Polskiego wobec chasydyzmu. Z dziejów stosunków politycznych*, Wrocław 2008, pp. 38-39.

authorities established the *Komitet Starozakonnych (Committee of Orthodox Jews)*, which operated from 1825 to 1837 and prepared the most comprehensive plan of reforms⁵⁷.

However, returning to the aforementioned list of rabbis, the Kalisz Provincial Commission determined which rabbis, in their view, “aspired to civilising the Jews” and which did not. As many as fourteen of the twenty six rabbis were considered as “not aspiring to civilisation”. Some were described as “superstitious” or as “lacking in learning”⁵⁸. According to that list, nine rabbis “aspired to civilisation”, with their conduct determined as bring moral. These rabbis were from Uniejów, Piotrków Trybunalski, Pławno, Rozprza, Tuszyn, Sieradz, Lutomiersk, Krzepice and Przyrów. A notation can be seen beside the name of the Golina rabbi which stated that he had long-acted according to old customs and that the Talmud was the basis for his learning. However, the Konięcpol rabbi “did not stand out from the others”, which probably meant that he stood out neither within the Jewish population as a whole nor from other rabbis. With regard to these two rabbis, there is no mention as to whether they had a desire to “civilise” the Jews or whether they lacked that desire⁵⁹.

The situation of the Radomsk rabbi (actually the Deputy Rabbi), Joachim Herszlikowicz Klugermann, deserves a separate explanation. Similarly to the fourteen other rabbis, he was also considered as “not aspiring to civilising” Jews but, at the same time, it was mentioned that he belonged to the *Kitajowcy*⁶⁰. This was another name for Hassidim and, at the beginning of the 19th century, was used by the Hassidim themselves as well as by the governing authorities. In 1818, Abraham Stern, of the *Komisja Rządowa Wyznań Religijnych (Government Commission on Religious Faiths)*, regarded the term as coming from the *kitaj* – the thin silk or cotton fabric which was used by Hassidim for their attire, but he provides no explanation as to why that name was adopted⁶¹. It turns out that there was a Hassidic group in Radomsk and, perhaps, this could be the explanation of the issue mentioned when comparing the 1816 list of rabbis with that of the 1827 listing. According to 1816 data, there was no Jewish community in Radomsk. However, Joachim Herszlikowicz Klugermann took up his post in 1811. It could be that the authorities did not recognise that group as a community. A

⁵⁷ Ibidem, pp. 39-41.

⁵⁸ These were the rabbis in the following places: Kalisz, Błaszki, Dobra, Warta, Konin, Pyzdry, Koło, Kleczew, Rychwał, Bełchatów, Kamięnsk, Widawa, Działoszyn and Wieruszów. It is surprising that a rabbi, Jozef Seydel of Błaszki, being fluent only in German and only knowing a little of the Polish language, could be expected to support reformist tendencies.

⁵⁹ AGAD, CWW, Records concerning the appointment of rabbis and rabbinic schools. Main, 1823-1853, Ref. 1444, pp. 48-54.

⁶⁰ Ibidem, pp. 51-52.

⁶¹ M. Wodziński, op. cit., p. 63.

confirmation of the presence of Hassidim in Radomsk is the conflict which took place regarding the place of worship. This took place in 1831 and is mentioned by M. Wodziński⁶².

That same date, which is described in the above list of rabbis, is provided in the *Lista imienna szkolników starozakonnych znajdujących się w Województwie Kaliskim* (*The List of Orthodox Scholars in the Kalisz Province*) also prepared by the Kalisz Provincial Commission (see: Annex). In addition, it should be noted that in some of the places named in Table 7, there was no Jewish community. Rychwał and Władysławów belonged to the community in Koniń, Zagórów belonged to the community in Pyzdracy, Ślesin and Wilczyn belonged to the community in Kleczew, while Szadek belonged to the Lutomiersk community. Some Jewish communities were not mentioned in that list, probably because there was no one learned employed there. There were communities in Tuszyn, Kamieńsk and in Widawa (the issue of the town location has already been mentioned) of the Piotrków Trybunalski Circuit, as well as Bolesławiec and Wieluń in the Wieluń Circuit⁶³.

In a decided majority, 21 out of 38 localities each employed a lone *shammes* (sexton), while 11 employed two. Three communities employed three (Widawa, Krzepice and Wieruszów), while in Częstochowa there were four. The most, twelve, were employed in Łask and in Kalisz, certainly because they were large communities. Two or three sextons were employed, mainly, in large communities although, for example in Sulmierzyce, there were also two even though the community comprised only 366 individuals. Wieruszów had three despite it being a community of 433. However, in Kleczew and Pyzdry, communities numbering over a thousand, each only had one sexton⁶⁴.

The age difference amongst the sextons was significantly greater than in the case of rabbis. The most, in twenty three instances, fell into the 40-49 category. The smallest number was aged between 50 and 59 (18 sextons). There were 14 sextons aged between 60 and 69 and 12 between 30 and 39 years of age. Another large number were aged between 70 and 79 – there were nine. Two sextons were aged under thirty - Simon Halisz in Golina (the youngest at 24) and Michał Hersz Max in Rychwał (26 years old). The two oldest sextons were Simsie Broda in Widawa (aged 80) and Mosiek Szmul in Praszka (aged 86). The average age was 52.2 years old. The longest serving sexton was 75-year-old Icik Kupfermann in Błaszki (1774 to 1827), while the shortest serving was 43-year-old Natan Schweriner in Stawiszyn

⁶² Ibidem, p. 61.

⁶³ AGAD, CWW, Records concerning the management of Jewish communities. Main, 1821-1829, Ref. 1438, pp. 159-350.

⁶⁴ AGAD, CWW, Records concerning the appointment of rabbis and rabbinic schools. Main, 1823-1853, Ref. 1444, pp. 55-63.

(one year, in 1826). None of the eighty sextons held a concession, namely a confirmation of their position from the state authorities⁶⁵.

There was a large difference, amongst the sextons, with respect to the salary each received. In fact, twenty three of them received no salary at all. The least amount was paid to Joachim Lewkowicz in Bełchatów and to Manele Pukacz in Łask, who received 20 złoty each. The highest amount was paid to Fiszel Boms in Kalisz – 1,144 złoty. He was the only one whose pay exceeded 1,000 złoty. The average salary paid to sextons throughout the Kalisz Province was 212.47 złoty, with the majority (38 sextons) earning less than that amount. However, 19 sextons earned more than the average amount. Fifteen sextons were paid less than 100 złoty. In the majority of cases, earnings ranged between 100 and 700 złoty. Abram Łaski in Złoczew (210 złoty) earned closest to the average. As in the case of the rabbis, the amount of the salary was dependent upon the size of the community, but not always⁶⁶.

All the sextons named in the list could speak Yiddish – for 43 of them, it was their only language. Apart from Yiddish, 25 sextons spoke another language – among them, 13 spoke Hebrew, 9 Polish (three of these could read and write in Polish) and 3 spoke German. 11 sextons had a third language. For 7 of them, apart from Yiddish, they had Hebrew and Polish. For 4, apart from Yiddish, it was German and Polish. Dawid Holewicz in Kleczew was the only one who spoke four languages – Yiddish, Hebrew, Polish and German. In total, 21 sextons spoke Hebrew, 8 German and 21 Polish⁶⁷.

In a manner comparable to that of the rabbis, the idea of “aspiring to civilisation” appears. 37 sextons were regarded as “not aspiring to civilisation” and as “not possessing an education”, while 12 were acknowledged as “superstitious”. It should be added here that, beside the names of Markus Sądowski and Berek Mędel of Warta, there was a note that, using the rabbi as their example, they were instilling superstitions into the Jews. In all, 49 sextons received a negative assessment from the Kalisz Province Commission. Next to Mortek Mittmann in Koźminek and Dawid Schmiedebricki in Uniejów, there appears a notation stating that “he neither aids nor hinders civilisation, because he himself knows nothing” - so that these two have also attracted a negative opinion. Four sextons in Częstochowa were described as not distinguishing themselves in any way, while with regard to the twelve in Kalisz, “the Municipal Office could say nothing special”. So, either they did not stand out in

⁶⁵ Ibidem.

⁶⁶ Ibidem.

⁶⁷ Ibidem.

any way from the rest of the Jewish community or the municipal authorities were unfamiliar with their activities. Only Jochym Rubin in Przyrów was regarded as moral and a suited to his vocation. Also, only Natan Schweriner of Stawiszyn was described as “as yet unknown”. This would certainly have been as the result of the fact that he had served as sexton for only a short time. No remarks were made against the names of the eleven sextons of Jewish communities within the Koniń Circuit, so that we cannot determine their attitude towards “civilising” the Jews⁶⁸.

Kończąc analizę listy szkolników z 1827 roku, warto jeszcze pochylić się nad niektórymi z nich. Przy nazwisku Lewka Lipczyzna z Koła dopisano słowo „kantor”, zapewne więc pełnił tę funkcję w gminie (choć mogło to być nazwiska przybrane od pełnionej funkcji). Podobna sytuacja dotyczy Łasku, w którym przy Manele (nie podano nazwiska) dopisano „pukacz”. W spisie gmin z 1816 roku, w tabelach dotyczących gminy w Kaliszu, wymienieni są szkolnicy Szabs Mansfeld oraz Izrael, przy którym nie podano nazwiska, ale możliwe, że był to Izrael Schwartz (pełnił funkcję od 1790 roku). Z kolei Berek Stein (również z Kalisza) w spisie z 1816 roku jest wymieniony jako rzezak (jego nazwisko zapisano tam „Sztain”). Z kolei w przypadku Krzepic istnieje prawdopodobieństwo, że szkolnik Icik Heynitz pełnił w 1816 roku funkcję kahalnego. W spisie z 1816 roku wśród krzepickich kahalnych jest wymieniony Icik Hanizel (nazwisko nie jest całkowicie czytelne), a analiza dokumentów źródłowych pokazała, że w danych z różnych lat nazwiska są zapisane w różnych formach. A zatem szkolnicy na różne sposoby udzielali się w gminach, pełniąc także wiele innych funkcji⁶⁹.

The next compilation of Jewish communities in the Kalisz Province was undertaken in 1834. It was entitled *Wykaz zakreślonych okręgów żydowskich, w których rabini lub ich zastępcy obrządki religijne wykonywać są obowiązani* (*A Listing of Highlighted Jewish Communities in Which Rabbis or Their Deputies Are Responsible for Performing Religious Rites*). The listing encompassed the Kalisz, Kraków, Mazowiecki and Podlaski Provinces. By comparison with the Province Commission’s 1824 listing, as well as that of 1827, this listing confirmed that, within the network of Jewish communities in the Kalisz Province, there were no changes and that the centres of the communities were all located in the same thirty seven localities as they had been ten years previously. The 1834 listing, however, does not list specific communities or their numbers of residents. What it does confirm is the fact that, for

⁶⁸ Ibidem.

⁶⁹ Ibidem; AGAD, CWW, Records concerning synagogue supervision and the setting of contributions and payments in Jewish communities. Main, 1810-1817, Ref.: 1429, pp. 234-235, 246-247.

some period of time, the number of Jewish communities in the Kalisz Province had stabilised⁷⁰.

An analysis of the documents drafted on the orders of the Congress Kingdom of Poland allows for confirmation of the fact that the structure of Jewish communities in the Kalisz Province, at the beginning of 19th century, underwent changes. The most significant change was the regulation of the network of communities in the 1820's – from the preparation, in 1824, of the Province Commission's project concerning the division of the Province into *gminy* (Jewish “parishes”), to confirmation of that project by the Government Commission of Religion and Public Enlightenment in 1827. By the end of the 1820's, the structure of the communities had stabilised. In that manner, the state authorities were able to gain information concerning the distribution of Jews who formed a considerable section of the Congress Kingdom of Poland's population.

⁷⁰ AGAD, CWW, Records concerning the management of Jewish communities. Main, 1821-1829, Ref. 1439, pp. 306-309.

ANNEX

Sextons in the Jewish Communities of the Kalisz Province in the 1820's.

Part 1 – Circuits: Kaliski, Koniński.

CIRCUIT	JEWISH COMMUNITY		SEXTON (<i>SHAMMES</i>)			
	Town	No. of Jews	Name and Surname	Age	Annual Salary	Knowledge of Languages
Kaliski	Kalisz	3,461	Lewi Kanter	44	684 zł	Yiddish, Hebrew
			Fizzel Boms ?	54	1,144 zł	Yiddish, Hebrew, Polish
			Izrael Schwartz	70	384 zł	Yiddish
			Szabs Mansfeld	72	342 zł	Yiddish, Hebrew
			Lewek Gutfreund	36	525 zł	Yiddish, Hebrew
			Natan Gabryel Klopfer	45	530 zł	Yiddish, Hebrew
			Berek Stein	53	175 zł	Yiddish, Hebrew
			Baruch Balcz ?	48	250 zł	Yiddish, Hebrew
			Syne Szlumper	68	50 zł	Yiddish
			Dawid Baruch	56	225 zł	Yiddish
			Markus Natt	54	75 zł	Yiddish
			Ester Baumwolle	61	110 zł	Yiddish
	Błaszki	940	Icik ? Kupfermann	75	300 zł	Yiddish, Hebrew, Polish
			Abram Schnurmann	65	-	Yiddish
	Dobra	1,111	Hersz Wollstein	60	600 zł	Yiddish, Hebrew, Polish
Michał Kubel			60	50 zł	Yiddish, Hebrew, Polish	
Koźminek	192	Mortke Mittmann	38	-	Yiddish, Hebrew	
Stawiszyn	356	Natan Schweriner	43	312 zł	Yiddish, Hebrew, Polish	
Uniejów	539	Dawid Schmiedebrick	36	312 zł	Yiddish, Hebrew, Polish	
Warta	991	Markus Sądowski ?	41	360 zł	Yiddish, Hebrew	
		Berek Mędel	70	200 zł	Yiddish, Hebrew	
Koniński	Konin ⁷¹	690	Leib Herrman	67	160 zł	Yiddish, Hebrew
	Pyzdry ⁷²	1,060	Izrael Jakob Lisner	65	364 zł	Yiddish, Hebrew
	Koło	1,087	Lewek Lipczyn ? kantor	49	60 zł	Yiddish, Hebrew
			Hersz Fordoński	61	300 zł ?	Yiddish, Hebrew
	Kleczew ⁷³	792	Dawid Holewicz	50	-	Yiddish, Hebrew, Polish, German
	Rychwał ⁷⁴	129	Michał Hersz Max	26	96 zł	Yiddish, a little Polish and German
	Zagórow ⁷⁵	156	Alexander Grünberg	33	100 zł	Yiddish, read and write Polish
	Władysławów ⁷⁶	173	Izaak Frölich	36	288 zł	Yiddish, German
	Ślesin ⁷⁷	198	Abram Rydz	42	200 zł	Yiddish
	Wilczyn ⁷⁸	153	Izaak Gotliebowicz	42	-	Yiddish, read and write Polish
Golina	421	Simon Halisz	24	200 zł	Yiddish, read and write Polish	

⁷¹ Rychwał and Władysławów belonged to the Koniń community. The total community population was 992.

⁷² Zagórow belonged to the Pyzdry community. The total community population was 1,216.

⁷³ Ślesin and Wilczyn belonged to the Kleczew community. The total community population was 1,143.

⁷⁴ Rychwał belonged to the Koniń community.

⁷⁵ Zagórow belonged to the Pyzdry community.

⁷⁶ Władysławów belonged to the Koniń community.

⁷⁷ Ślesin belonged to the Kleczew community.

⁷⁸ Wilczyn belonged to the Kleczew community.

Part 2 – Circuits: Piotrkowski, Sieradzki.

CIRCUIT	JEWISH COMMUNITY		SEXTON (SHAMMES)			
	Town	No. of Jews	Name and Surname	Age	Annual Salary	Knowledge of Languages
Piotrkowski	Bełchatów	432	Joachim Lewkowicz	59	20 zł	Yiddish
	Brzeźnica	318	Lewek Gottheiner	40	40 zł	Yiddish, Polish, German
	Piotrków Trybunalski	2,349	Kiwe Berkowicz	37	-	Yiddish
			Icik Laskowski	56	-	Yiddish
	Pławno	487	Hercyk ? Samuel	52	150 zł	Yiddish
			Mozes Magnetstein	72	72 zł	Yiddish
	Pajęczno	341	Michał Kluger	65	-	Yiddish, Polish, German
	Konieczpol	582	Berek Wruk	46	75 zł	Yiddish
	Radomsko	483	Leyzer Palmann	48	150 zł	Yiddish
	Rozprza	601	Bączen Wolrauch ?	55	50 zł	Yiddish
Sulmierzyce (wieś)	366	Feyrus Margrlis ?	48	-	Yiddish	
		Abram Szlamowicz	52	-	Yiddish	
Sieradzki	Sieradz	688	Nou Szafir	44	300 zł	Yiddish, German
			Samuel Wapersatz	36	100 zł	Yiddish, German
	Złoczew	539	Abram Łaski	42	210 zł	Yiddish
			Icik Lewkowicz	63	65 zł	Yiddish
	Widawa	937	Simsie ? Broda	80	30 zł	Yiddish
			Joachim Harlstein	43	200 zł	Yiddish
			Eliasz Friedemann	68	108 zł	Yiddish
	Szadek ⁷⁹	258	Fizel Grano ?	39	25 zł	Yiddish
	Łask	1,275	Aron Moskowicz	46	208 zł	Yiddish
			Aron Abram Weinrebe ?	73	-	Yiddish
			Leyzer Moskowicz Łęczycki	63	-	Yiddish
			Smul Cylich	34	-	Yiddish
			Nochem Zaydfel	36	-	Yiddish
			Izrael Rapaport ?	41	-	Yiddish
			Jakob Zaysel Kluk	52	-	Yiddish
			Icik Baruch	65	260 zł	Yiddish, Polish, German
			Efraim Spiren	70	208 zł	Yiddish
			Wołek Eyzik	53	260 zł	Yiddish
	Szyie Mozes Bauer	53	-	Yiddish		
Manele ? Pukacz	73	20 zł	Yiddish			
Lutomiersk ⁸⁰	1,300	Megir Bresler ?	56	100 zł	Yiddish	
		Szyie Szymkiewicz	66	100 zł	Yiddish	

⁷⁹ Szadek belonged to the Lutomiersk community.

⁸⁰ Szadek belonged to the Lutomiersk community. The total community population was 1,558.

Część 3 – Circuit Wieluński.

CIRCUIT	JEWISH COMMUNITY		SEXTON (<i>SHAMMES</i>)			
	Town	No. of Jews	Name and Surname	Age	Annual Salary	Knowledge of Languages
Wieluński	Częstochowa	1,440	Michał Hirschfeld	57	-	Yiddish
			Nathan Rutke	41	-	Yiddish
			Markus Schiff	52	-	Yiddish
			Szymon Lustberg	70	-	Yiddish
	Działoszyn	2,094	Icik Samsonowicz	47	200 zł	Yiddish, Polish
			Jozef Berkowicz	46	200 zł	Yiddish, Polish
	Krzepice	1,242	Icik Heynitz	58	100 zł	Yiddish, Polish
			Samuel Guttkin ?	49	100 zł	Yiddish, Polish
			Wolff Schipper	40	100 zł	Yiddish, Polish
	Praszka	650	Mosiek Szmul	86	194 zł	Yiddish
	Przyrów	537	Jochym Rubin	55	70 zł	Yiddish, Polish
	Wieruszów	433	Herszlik Fibel	32	-	Yiddish
			Kananie Szynsie ?	33	-	Yiddish
			Icik Elkan	40	-	Yiddish

Source: The author's own work based on: AGAD, CWW, Records concerning the management of Jewish communities. M, 1821-1829, Ref. 1438, pp. 159-350; AGAD, CWW, Records concerning the appointment of rabbis and rabbinic schools. Main, 1823-1853, Ref. 1444, pp. 55-63⁸¹.

⁸¹ Data concerning the population numbers of individual communities derives from 1824, while information about the sextons derives from 1827.

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List of Abbreviations

AGAD – Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie

CWW – Centralne Władze Wyznaniowe Królestwa Polskiego