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**COMMUNITIES AND THEIR TEMPLES:
ORTHODOX, JEWISH, PROTESTANT, AND CATHOLIC:
RELIGIOUS DELIMITATIONS
IN THE HISTORICAL TOPOGRAPHY OF SŁUCK**

Abstract

The article analyses the religious topography of Słuck (today, Sluck in Belarus). Słuck was an important hub of Orthodoxy and Protestantism in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; moreover, 38 per cent of its population was Jewish. Detailed analysis of legal documents and urban inventories showed that there were areas within the town bounds which were reserved for the Christian communities active there. The spatial balance was upset in the former half of the eighteenth century, with Catholic orders brought into the town. The Jews were the only group that was legally barred from choosing a place to reside. The municipal authorities endeavoured to restrict the Jewish settlement to one street. Members of Jewish financial elite were the only ones to succeed in crossing the legal boundaries and settle down at the 'Christian' streets of Słuck.

Keywords: urban space, religious and confessional diversity, Jews, Grand Duchy of Lithuania

"Złucz, one of the largest Cities in this Country, but nevertheless is all of Wood, except only the Cathedral and Ducal Palace", Bernard O'Connor, a doctor of Irish descent, remarked in the second half of the seventeenth century.¹ In the early modern age Słuck (Sluck) was one of the largest private towns in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century the town was

¹ Bernard O'Connor, *The history of Poland, in several letters to persons of quality: giving an account of the antient and present state of that kingdom*, ii (London, 1698), letter VI, 333; Polish translation: Bernard O'Connor, *Historia Polski*, ed. by Paweł Hanczewski, trans. by Wiesława Duży *et al.* (Warszawa, 2012), 312.

owned by the Radziwiłłs of Birża, and in the middle of the subsequent century was taken over by the Catholic line of the family. Słuck was a significant trade and crafts centre. The local garrison played an important part in the defence system of the Grand Duchy. The town turned into a representative magnate residence in the latter half of the eighteenth century, with a theatre and a ballet school functioning under the proprietor's patronage.²

The wooden buildings described by O'Connor was typical of a majority of Lithuanian urban hubs. A perceptive observer would have paid attention to a detail that made the town different from its peers (which escaped the Irish physician's attention). The cathedral he mentions was an Orthodox church dedicated to the Holy Trinity. In the early modern time, Słuck was one of the major centres of Orthodoxy in the Grand Duchy. A Reformed Evangelical church (Pol.: *zbór*) and the local Jewish religious community played an important role locally as well.

My design is to demonstrate how the city space of Słuck was distributed among the religious communities. My point is, were there any separate areas functioning in the town which were reserved for any of the religious groups? In what way(s) were the borders set between the individual communities, and were they crossable? Given these contexts, I am particularly interested in defining the position of the Jews.

Situated at the confluence of the River Sluč (Słucz) and a rivulet called Byček (Byczek), Słuck was divided into two areas: the Old Town and the New Town. Behind its ramparts, the suburbs of Trojczany

² In spite of the importance Słuck enjoyed as part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, no scholarly monograph of the city has ever been written. A popular-science book on Słuck penned by Anatol' Hryckevič was published in mid-1980s (*idem, Drevnii Gorod na Sluč'i* [Minsk, 1985]). Another monographic study on the city's history is a master thesis by Tomasz Gromelski, written under tutelage of Andrzej Wyrobisz at the Institute of History, University of Warsaw (Tomasz Gromelski, *Struktura zawodowa i socjotopografia Słucka w drugiej połowie XVII i w XVIII w.* [unpubl.]). Rafał Degiel discusses the history of Słuck in an indirect way (*idem, Protestanci i prawosławni. Patronat wyznaniowy Radziwiłłów birżańskich nad Cerkwią prawosławną w księstwie słuckim w XVII w.* [Warszawa, 2000]). The local archives have been used by historians specialising in towns and cities of the Grand Duchy. A number of dispersed pieces of information on the town are moreover available in studies on the economy and administration of the Radziwiłł estate, military history, and the history of Jewry.

and Ostrów were located.³ The topography of the city was informed by its strongly military character; the spatial development and emergence of new buildings (including religious) was subjected to military purposes. In the 1630 the town was surrounded by a system of fortifications; as a result, the natural paths of the city's spatial development were obstructed. The defensive system caused that the topographic layout of the city remained almost unchanged until the end of the eighteenth century.⁴

Typically for a Ruthenian urban area, the Old Town proliferated around the centrally situated castle complex, which included the Upper Castle and the Lower Castle, as well as the castle market situated west of the castle hill.⁵ The network of streets in the Old Town was rather irregular; small lanes and *cul-de-sacs* alleys were particularly characteristic of the western section. The Old Town was the residence of the authorities, with municipal officials residing there beside the Radziwiłłs' intendants.⁶

The first mentions of settlement in the New Town area date to the early sixteenth century. Situated on the left bank of the Sluč and connected with the Old Town by one bridge, the quarter is referred to in the earliest records as *Zarzecze* ['(a place) behind the river']. Initially a poorly developed and populated suburban area, the New Town grew to the size of half its 'Old' counterpart during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The network of streets, longer and wider than in the Old Town, was better regulated in this area. The Market Square was its central point. The New Town was of a clearly military character, and featured the city fortress, grounds for the municipal militia to exercise and display their abilities and for shooting contests, storehouses and garrison stables. On top of all this, barracks for

³ My further considerations primarily focus on the Old Town and New Town areas. The suburbs of Sluck were rather homogeneous areas inhabited in overwhelming majority by Orthodox people, no Jews.

⁴ Anatol Hryckiewicz, 'Warowne miasta magnackie na Litwie i Białorusi', *Przegląd Historyczny*, lxi, 3 (1970), 432–4. Mikola Volkau, 'Sluckaja cytaidel' v XVII – XVIII ct.', *Belaruski Gistaryčny Aglad*, xix, 1–2 (2012), 31–66, here: 36–7.

⁵ Waldemar Mikulski, Jarosław Zawadzki, *Opisy zamków białoruskich z inwentarzy dóbr przechowywanych w archiwum Radziwiłłów w Archiwum Głównym Akt Dawnych* (Warszawa, 1999), 57–71.

⁶ Warsaw, Central Archives of Historical Records (*Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych* [hereinafter: AGAD]), Radziwiłł Archive (*Archiwum Radziwiłłów* [hereinafter: AR]), XXV, 3835/1.

grand musketeers and grenadiers were built in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁷

The confessional differences had no impact on the legal status of the Christian burghers. Members of all the communities inhabiting the town enjoyed full municipal rights. Formally, none of the Christian churches in Słuck was privileged over the others.

Słuck had the Magdeburg Law granted twice. Its first (attempted) incorporation as a town, carried out in the fifteenth century by the ducal family Olelkiewicz, ended up in a failure. In 1652, a socio-political system was introduced modelled after the Magdeburg system: all the Christian residents, regardless of denomination, received the city rights. In the context of my considerations, of primary importance is the fact that the Christians of Słuck had the right to settle, build churches and develop religious institutions across the town's area.⁸ The position of the local Jews was somewhat different. With municipal citizenship granted, they exclusively enjoyed economic rights.⁹

The surviving records regrettably do not allow for a detailed analysis of the city's religious topography, since most of the sources available tell us nothing about the denomination of the dwellers whose names they mention. Religious identification is certain with respect to the local Jews only. The major worship sites can be identified for the individual denominations within the city's topography, though. For the smaller communities – primarily, Protestants and Catholics – large portions of the faithful tended to settle very close to their respective churches or chapels. Similarly, so-called *jurydykas* – areas excluded from the municipality's jurisdiction – were formed around the town's largest Orthodox churches. Such areas, it can be assumed, were religiously homogeneous – that is, populated by Orthodox believers only.¹⁰

⁷ Anatol Hryckiewicz, 'Milicje miast magnackich na Białorusi i Litwie w XVI–XVIII wieku', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, lxxvii, 1 (1970), 47–61.

⁸ AGAD, AR, XXIII, 132, 1, 44–47 (King John II Casimir confirming the Magdeburg Law). For more on the Magdeburg Laws in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, see Juliusz Bardach, 'Miasta na prawie magdeburskim w W. Ks. Litewskim', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, lvii, 1 (1980), 21–51.

⁹ Maria Cieśla, 'The other Townsfolk. The legal status and social position of the Jews in Cities of Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 17th and 18th Century', in Yvonne Kleinmann, Stephan Stach and Tracie L. Wilson (eds.), *Religion in the Mirror of Law Eastern European Perspectives from the Early Modern Period to 1939* (Frankfurt, 2016), 307–28.

¹⁰ Anatol' Hryckevič, *Častnovadel'českie goroda Belorussii v XVI–XVIII v.* (Minsk, 1975), 55.

Owing to the great number of the Orthodox people, it was their churches that towered above the town. In the seventeenth century Słuck was the central hub of Orthodoxy in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, with an estimated 50–70 per cent of its residents professing the faith. The town was an unofficial residence of the Byelorussian bishop, whereas the archimandrites of Słuck held the office of the metropolitan bishop's deputy for the Grand Duchy. The so-called Fraternity of Saint Spas, one of the most economically resilient Orthodox organisations in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, was based in Słuck.¹¹ Although the importance of Orthodoxy somewhat diminished in the course of the eighteenth century, the Orthodox remained one of the largest groups in the city until the century's end, in both ethnic and religious terms. Their estimated proportion at that time came down to 50–60 per cent of Słuck's population. Strong Orthodox structures and a deliberate policy pursued by the town's owners caused that Słuck never became home to Uniate believers: attempts made in the former half of the seventeenth century to introduce a union were cut short by the Radziwiłłs.¹²

There were as many as fourteen Orthodox parishes functioning in Słuck, some of them running their affiliated hospitals and schools.¹³ There are two major areas in the town's topography where most of the Orthodox churches were located. The western part of the town, with the Castle and the Ileńska Gate at its opposite extreme points, with a road leading to the Trojczany suburb set through it, was the most important area. Near the Castle was the Uspienski (Dormition of the Most Holy Virgin Mary) Orthodox church. Right nearby was the residence of the Protopope of Słuck.¹⁴ In the second half of the sixteenth century, the poor from the so-called Kaleczy Kał

¹¹ Rafał Degiel, *Protestanci i prawosławni. Patronat wyznaniowy Radziwiłłów birańskich nad Cerkwią prawosławną w księstwie słuckim w XVII w.* (Warszawa, 2000), 79–84.

¹² *Ibidem*, 36–8; Boris N. Floria, 'Konflikt między zwolennikami unii a prawosławia w Rzeczypospolitej (w świetle źródeł rosyjskich)', *Barok. Historia – Literatura – Sztuka*, iii, 2 (6) (1996), 23–51.

¹³ The Orthodox churches functioning in Słuck had different legal statuses: some were ruled by protopopes, other were dependent on the local archimandrite. These differences, not affecting the town's sacred topography, are described in detail in Degiel, *Protestanci i prawosławni*, 54–93.

¹⁴ AGAD, AR, XXV, 3835/1, 70.

were lodged right near the church. A 1689 record mentions eighteenth hovels governed under the *jurydyka* law, inhabited by the indigent and by Orthodox bell-ringers, whose tasks included doing service to the church and tolling the bells on all Sundays and feast days.¹⁵ The years of greatest splendour of the Uspieski church, whose services were used by the owners of Słuck who resided at the Castle, came to an end as the Radziwiłłs of Birża took the town over in the early years of the seventeenth century. Although no more under special custody of the town's proprietors, the church continued to play an important part in the everyday life of Słuck in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁶

Another important site in the Orthodox map of Słuck was the area surrounding the market and the streets directly stretching from it. A St. Nicholas church was located in Kopylska Street, south of the Market Square. There was an Orthodox hospital situated in the same street, on the northern side.¹⁷ It however seems that the most important street in the Orthodox map of Słuck was the one that stretched west of the city's market and led toward the suburban area of Trojczany; the municipal inventories from the middle of the seventeenth century refer to it as 'Ileńska' or 'Spaska' Street – so named after the Orthodox churches situated on its two opposite edges. When going "from the market, to the left-hand side" one spotted the 'Transfiguration of the Lord' Orthodox church and monastery, subject to the Fraternity of St. Spas. A 'St. Spas' hospital and school were located right nearby.¹⁸ At the opposite edge of the street in question

¹⁵ The *jurydyka* called 'Kaleczy Kąt' is attested to have existed in the Ostrowskie (Ostrów) suburb before 1607. After the destruction of the town's suburbs during the warfare of the mid-seventeenth century, the *jurydyka* infrastructure was removed, together with the other Orthodox institutions, inside the city ramparts; cf. Degiel, *Protestanci i prawosławni*, 121–3. The *jurydyka* continued to function in the same site until mid-eighteenth century; cf. Minsk, National Historical Archives of Belarus (Національний історический архів Беларусі [hereinafter: NIAB]), f. 694, op. 7, no. 699, 344–5.

¹⁶ Degiel, *Prawosławni i protestanci*, 111; Henryk Lulewicz, 'Walka Radziwiłłów z Chodkiewiczami o dziedzictwo słuckie', *Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica*, iii (1989), 201–17.

¹⁷ AGAD, AR, XXV, 3835/1.

¹⁸ AGAD, AR, XXV; for more on the Fraternity, cf. Rafał Degiel, 'Opieka społeczna prawosławnych w Słucku w XVII w.', *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, xlii (1998), 145–52.

the 'Ileński' Monastery was situated¹⁹; belonging to the Archimandry of Słuck, the temple functioned as a *jurydyka*.²⁰ A total of twenty-four houses were recorded for this particular, probably religiously homogeneous, area. Its Orthodox dwellers were craftsmen for the most part. There was a hospital and a belfry adjacent to the monastery.²¹ The religious topography of this section also featured a Holy Trinity Orthodox church situated behind the Ileńska Gate, in the Trojczany suburb. Apart from the main Trinity church, the complex included a St. Dmitri chapel and a chapel of Saints Gleb and Boris, a St. Niceta church and a so-called warm church. This area was the most important spot on the Orthodox map of Słuck. O'Connor described the Trinity church as a 'cathedral'. Its rank is testified by the fact that the church, being the main residence of the Słuck Archimandrite, was the city's only trick temple in the seventeenth century. The same suburb area was home to a St. Stephen's Orthodox church and hospital. Almost the whole area of Trojczany was in the seventeenth century a *jurydyka* reporting to the Słuck Archimandry; thus, a well-informed guess can be made that the area was populated (almost exclusively) by Orthodox people.²² The extant records tell us moreover that a local Archimandry-owned tavern was run by a Jewish lessee, especially in the latter half of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth century.²³

The Orthodox churches situated between the Castle and the Ileńska Gate ranked among the most affluent ones. Their location, right near by the residences of the town's owners and authorities, excellently reflected their significance and position in the politics – not limited to the municipality's policies. Connected with those churches were the most eminent Lithuanian Orthodox clergymen, whereas the faithful community mostly consisted of the local patricians.²⁴ The space was important for the Orthodox community for other reasons too. In the main streets situated in the western part of the town lived many

¹⁹ The church's dedication, rather untypical for a nunnery, was given in result of conflict over the introduction of the Uniates in Słuck. To get rid of those supporting the Union, the owners dissolved the male monastery that had functioned at the same church. Cf. Degiel, *Protestanci i prawosławni*, 37.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, 54.

²¹ AGAD, AR, XXV, 3835/1, 24–6.

²² Degiel, *Protestanci i prawosławni*, 55.

²³ NIAB, f. 1739, op. 1, no. 4, 445.

²⁴ Degiel, *Protestanci i prawosławni*, 117.

an Orthodox priest – most of them in the street adjacent to the Market Square and leading to the Lutheran *zbór*.²⁵ This area was used by the Orthodox community as the site to celebrate their major feast days. On the Orthodox Holy Trinity Day, the “clergymen ... making their way with the procession toward the Trinity [church]” crossed the city’s Market and then walked along Ileńska/Spaska Street, ending their route in Trojczany.²⁶ The ‘Flower Sunday’ procession marched a similar route, from the Castle Orthodox church to the Ileński Monastery.²⁷ The features of the place at which the Castle moat disgorged into the Sluč River was used on the Jordan celebration (Epiphany) day, when “the clergymen ... would go as a whole town to attend the consecration of water.”²⁸

The Orthodox churches in the eastern part of the town, primarily those in Ostrowska Street, were of a completely different character. There were five Orthodox parishes situated there in the second half of the seventeenth century (dedicated, respectively, to St. Barbara, Michael the Archangel, Nativity, Resurrection, and Saints Kuźma [i.e. Cosmas] and Damian²⁹). There were two Orthodox schools active within the area, affiliated to the Barbara and the Resurrection churches, and a parish cemetery (adjacent to the former). The concentration of Orthodox churches in this part of the city occurred resulting from the destruction of the Ostrowskie suburb during the siege of Słuck by Muscovite troops. 1661 saw Prince Bogusław Radziwiłł allow three Orthodox parishes of Ostrów move to Miśliwczy

²⁵ AGAD, AR, XXV, 3835/1, 16–18.

²⁶ AGAD, AR, XXIII, 132, 1, 20–1: ‘Petita do Xcia JM Pana Naszego Miłościwego aby miastu naszemu nadać i potwierdzić raczył, o które już niejednokroć prosiliśmy i teraz unieżenie prosimy’ [A Petition to P(rin)ce Our RH Gracious Lord that he deigned to bestow unto our town and corroborate, which we have already many a time requested and now do reverentially request again].

²⁷ Degiel, *Protestanci i prawosławni*, 118. The custom of conducting these processions was introduced in the first half of the seventeenth century, in lieu of the services held in the Castle chapel. This change caused a loss of a portion of the emolument, disputes over which lasted throughout the century; see *ibidem*. Cf. also Warsaw, National Library (*Biblioteka Narodowa* [hereinafter: BN]), Library of the Zamoyski Entail (*Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamoyskich* [hereinafter: BOZ]), 911, Stanisław Niezabitowski, *Dzienniki* [Diary], 17 March 1685: “I have referred the case of Castle popes against the municipal pope to the Archimandrite”.

²⁸ AGAD, AR, XXIII, 154, 5, 124: ‘Protokół sesji miejskiej’, 4 June 1681.

²⁹ Degiel, *Protestanci i prawosławni*, 38.

Square in the Old Słuck area, in Ostrowska Street.³⁰ To meet the needs voiced by the parishioners, the city's owners permitted in the latter half of the seventeenth century that a new Orthodox church be built in Ostrów. Thus, a filial church dedicated to Saints Constantine and Helene was erected there in the 1680s.³¹

The Orthodox churches functioning in this part of the town were much less affluent than those located by the most important, representative streets. All of them wooden, they were much less endowed or sponsored than their counterparts in the western part of Słuck. Most of their parishioners were rather indigent locals inhabiting the western section of the town and the Ostrowskie suburb. Similarly as Trojczany, Ostrów was rather homogeneous denominationally, as most of its residents were Orthodox.

In the early years of the eighteenth century, when Słuck was taken over by the Radziwiłł line of Birża, it became an important Protestant hub. There are no surviving records, though, which would allow to estimate the Protestant fraction of the local population. The Reformed Protestant parish was one of the Grand Duchy's largest, with as many as four active clergymen in place. Apart from burghers, the parishioners included officials of the Radziwiłł administration and some local noblemen. Słuck was the seat of the Nowogródek district's seniors.³²

All the major Protestant (Calvinist) institutions were located in the New Town area. Close to the bridge, on both sides of the most representative street, the high street in the area, two *zbórs* were situated: a church and a shrine, along with a secondary school (*gimnazjum*), a hospital, and a presbytery. The complex also featured a '(gimnazjum) rector's building' (since the latter half of the seventeenth century).³³

³⁰ *Ibidem*, 38.

³¹ *Ibidem*, 113–4.

³² Józef Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów wyznania helweckiego w Litwie*, ii (Poznań 1842), 75–7; Degiel, *Protestanci i prawosławni*, 34. Barbara Pendzich, 'Civil Resilience and Cohesion in the Face of Muscovite Occupation', in *eadem* and Karin Friedrich (eds.), *Citizenship and Identity in a Multinational Commonwealth. Poland-Lithuania in Context, 1550–1771* (Leiden and Boston, 2009), 110.

³³ AGAD, AR, VIII, 543, 20–1; cf. NIAB, f. 694, op. 2, no. 7383, 170–7: 'Rozchody na różne budynki i poprawki z arendy słuckiej czynione 1676' [Expenditure upon various buildings and corrections made from the lease-hold of Słuck, 1676]; Wojciech Boberski, "'Projekt' zboru kalwińskiego w Słucku: Z warsztatu XVII-wiecznego cieśli', in Jerzy Lileyko (ed.), *Sztuka ziem wschodnich Rzeczypospolitej XVI–XVII w.* (Lublin, 2000), 253–66.

The former half of the seventeenth century was when the New Town underwent the most significant development among the quarters within the urban area of Słuck. Having taken over the town, the Birża-based Radziwiłłs took efforts to ensure a spectacular development of the area. The location chosen for the Protestant shrine was apparently pretty obvious in this context. It was typical also for the other hubs that the youngest religious communities were situated in places remote from their very central area.³⁴

The town's Catholic community remained fairly small and not-quite-significant until the late seventeenth century, for a change. Słuck saw its first Catholic parish founded in the fifteenth century; the parish church, together with a St. Anne's hospital, was located near by the Castle and was mainly used by Catholics associated with the town's owners. Another Catholic institution functioning in the town's old area was the hospital, founded in the 1660s as a private foundation of the Kłokocki family,³⁵ who had it established in one of the Market-Square tenement houses. This location can be interpreted as an early mark of increased importance of the Catholic community in the town. In 1661, Samuel Oskierko bestowed to the Bernardine Friars his manor situated in the eastern part of the city, in Uścinowska Street, not far from the Castle. It was not until the 1730s that the Bernardines had a temple or cloister built in Słuck.³⁶ The Catholics had their position significantly reinforced locally in the subsequent century. 1698 saw the settlement of the Jesuit Order in Słuck; a Bernardine church and monastery was erected in 1734.

The Jesuit church was erected in Ostrowska Street, in the vicinity of the Castle. The Bernardine church and monastery were built in the same part of the town, on the bank of the Sluč River. Such coincidence seems not to have been incidental. In most of the Grand Duchy's towns both the Bernardines and the Jesuits built their temples close to the market or castle – that is, the seats or residences of local

³⁴ Bogumił Szady, 'Wspólnoty wyznaniowe w Chełmie do końca XVIII w.', in Małgorzata Karwatowska (ed.), *Chełm nieznanany. Ludzie – Miejsca – Wydarzenia* (Chełm, 2009), 291.

³⁵ For more on the Kłokocki family, see Paulina Buchwald-Pelcowa, 'Kazimierz Krzysztof Kłokocki i drukarnia w Słucku', *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, xii (1967), 135–71.

³⁶ Boberski, "Projekt", *passim*. An 1689 inventory mentions a "Dwór IchM Ojców Bernardynów" ['Manor of Hon. Bernardine Friars'], AGAD, AR, XXV, 3835, 83.

authorities.³⁷ In Słuck, the area surrounding the Market Square were reserved for the Orthodox faithful; the local Orthodox burghers were strong enough to prevent the construction of any Catholic church at the market until as late as the second half of the seventeenth century. Hence, the newcomer convents were located closer to the Castle. The latter was the residence of the private proprietors of the town who in the former half of the eighteenth century were ardent Catholics. The churches of the Jesuits and the Bernardines were erected within the area that had seemed to be reserved for the Orthodox, and their situation symbolically emphasise the missionary trait of both orders.

The Jesuit college, which began operating in the former half of the eighteenth century, was situated in the New Town. The school was founded by Jan-Hieronim Kłokocki, who offered his house to arrange the school inside it.³⁸ The building was adjacent to the Reformed Evangelical church's presbytery.³⁹

The religious topography of Słuck featured Lutheran items as well. The local community centred around the church founded in the 1660s by Bogusław Radziwiłł was rather small. The existing research has assumed that its members primarily included military-men and Radziwiłł officials.⁴⁰ The Lutheran church, together with the presbytery and cemetery, a school and a cottage "where the bell-ringer dwelleth" and "the other cottage where paucity dwelleth" were situated in the western part of the town, at the back of the Market Square, in the street named in the inventories as "to the Saxon church". Judiciary sources show that many members of the community dwelled in its vicinity. Interestingly, no temple of any other Christian denomination was ever built in the north-eastern region of the city.⁴¹

³⁷ Andrzej J. Baranowski, 'Rola zakonów w rozwoju oblicza miast i regionów dawnego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego', *Litvano-Slavica Posnaniensia. Studia Historiae Artium*, v (1991), 87.

³⁸ Wojciech Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy i litewscy w epoce saskiej* (Warszawa, 1996), 201. For more on the Jesuit college in Słuck, cf. Andrea Mariani, 'Personaleinsatz und -mobilität in der litauischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu im 18. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropaforschung*, lxiii, 2 (2014), 14; Justyna Żukowska, 'Życie i działalność jezuita Jana Paszkowskiego w świetle jego korespondencji i rękopisów', *Słupskie Studia Historyczne*, xix (2013), 90.

³⁹ Łukaszewicz, *Dzieje kościołów wyznania helweckiego*, 312; Kriegseisen, *Ewangelicy polscy*, 201.

⁴⁰ Gromelski, *Struktura zawodowa i socjotopografia Słucka*, 45.

⁴¹ AGAD, AR, XXV, 3835/1, 16–19.

Analysis of the Christian sacred topography of Słuck leads to the conclusion that areas functioned within the city which were reserved for each of the communities. These areas emerged spontaneously, without being regulated by a law. It however seems that a sort of invisible boundaries functioned in the town which delimited the worship sites of the denominations. In the seventeenth century, the churches of the various denominations were clearly spatially separated from one another. All newly appearing communities had their temples erected in areas where no other church or shrine had functioned before. These 'limits' were infringed in the first half of the eighteenth century, with the importation of the Catholic convents.

The topographic divisions between the Christian communities corresponded with the power relations in the Słuck. The Orthodox, who wielded power in the municipal council and enjoyed favouritism from the town's proprietors, occupied the most representative and most important regions in the city. The altered denomination of the proprietors and strong reinforcement of the Catholic Church, locally and countrywide, were reflected in the urban topography. Catholic institutions were present in the eighteenth century in the Market Square as well as in the area surrounding the Castle.

The question remains open whether such boundaries functioned also for burghers of different Christian denominations. Extant sources would not enable us to describe the residential-and-religious topography in detail. As it seems, there were no areas in Słuck that would have been reserved for members of individual Christian communities – save for the few Orthodox *jurydykas*. The place of residence was prevalently determined by the individual's social and financial status.⁴² The abode was strictly determined for the Jewish people only. The extant records allow for describing the Jewish religious space as well as the dwelling areas.

The local Jewish religious community ranked among the largest and most important in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The first Jewish settlers arrived in Słuck in the end of the sixteenth century.

⁴² These factors informed, moreover, the way the space was divided in other Grand Duchy towns, cf. David Frick, *Kith, Kin and Neighbors. Communities in Seventeenth Century Wilno* (Ithaca and London, 2013); Stefan Rohdewald, 'Vom Polocker Venedig'. *Kollektives Handeln sozialer Gruppen einer Stadt zwischen Ost und Mitteleuropa (Mittelalter, Frühe Neuzeit, 19 Jh. bis 1914)* (Stuttgart, 2005).

The first known privilege for the local Jews was issued in 1601 by Janusz Radziwiłł, granting them the right to settle down, have a synagogue built and a cemetery established. The Jews were also allowed to pursue trading activity and perform craftsmanship professions.⁴³ This convenient privilege and the situation of the town at the intersection of several trade routes contributed to the community's development. The community was rather small the first half of the seventeenth century. As of 1620, thirteen Jewish householders were recorded for Słuck; the number grew to eighteen in 1642.⁴⁴ The wars of the middle of the seventeenth century were crucial as a large number of Jews sought refuge in the town then. By 1661, the attested number of Jewish households grew to 105.⁴⁵ The latter half of the seventeenth century marked a strong demographic increase in the local Jewish population; as many as 150 Jewish landlords were recorded for Słuck in 1689.⁴⁶ The number of Jews continued to grow in the following century, with some 160 Jewish householders recorded as of 1712, and 230 as of 1750.⁴⁷ In the second half of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth century the Jews amounted to 38 per cent of the population of Słuck, thus forming the town's second largest ethnic and religious group.

The Jews were the only group of the town's people whose rights to settle down and purchase new real properties was determined in strict terms. In his 1601 foundation charter granted to the Jewish religious community, Janusz Radziwiłł determined that "in this town of ours, the one of Słuck, by my grace, free settlements ... to all and any Jews of Słuck, whoever are there and, thereafter, to all and any of those whoever might be willing to reside there, by means of this letter of mine I hereby doe state [i.e. confirm] their estate-properties and their houses being [situated] in the town of Słuck at all the places, with all the belongings thereto, and doe allow that they be freely managed, by means of this same law being stated by me."⁴⁸ By means of the same document, the Jews were released from all their obligations

⁴³ Jakub Goldberg (ed.), *Jewish Privileges in the Polish Commonwealth. Charters of Rights Granted to Jewish Communities in Poland-Lithuania in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Jerusalem, 1985) [hereinafter: Goldberg JPP], i, no. 47.

⁴⁴ NIAB, f. 146, op. 3, no. 24, Inventory of the city of Słuck, 1620 and 1642.

⁴⁵ AGAD, AR, XXV, 3831.

⁴⁶ AGAD, AR, XXV, 3835/1.

⁴⁷ AGAD, AR, XXV, 3836.

⁴⁸ Goldberg JPP, i, no. 47.

to the benefit of the municipality: it was determined that based on the house and land allotment, they were obligated to pay the rent to the proprietor. In parallel, the Jews were transferred to the exclusive jurisdiction of the town's owner.⁴⁹

The reach of the Jewish settlement in the town incited the longest-lasting conflict between the municipality and the Jewish community. Viewed from the perspective of the former, every instance of purchase of a land allotment or house by a Jew meant a loss of a portion of the income. Such financial losses were particularly severe whenever contributions were imposed on the town related to state obligations. In symbolical terms, expansion of the Jewish *jurydyka* implied loss in power and authority; hence the endeavours to inhibit its progress. Supplications submitted to the town's owner with complaints over the increasing number of Jews and the expansion of the lands occupied by them inside the town rank among the most typical documents preserved at the local archive. Characteristically, the burghers tend to avoid putting forth religious or economic arguments; the charges they highlight are of fiscal nature. Specifically, the burghers demanded that the Jews who purchased new houses and pieces of land quit their special legal and fiscal status and admitted being charged with the same levies as their Christian neighbours. Only in some special cases is the religious rhetoric employed.⁵⁰

The latter half of the seventeenth century and the next century was when the Jews' right to acquire houses/land allotments in the city was systematically restricted. Although supporting Jewish settlement was beneficial to the proprietor.⁵¹ The municipal authorities proved strong enough to exert efficient influence on the Radziwiłłs and, minding their own interest, limit the settlement rights of Jews. Compared to the other private-owned towns in Poland-Lithuania was rather untypical.⁵²

⁴⁹ For more on Jewish jurisdiction-related dependence in private towns, see Adam Kaźmierczyk, *Żydzi w dobrach prywatnych w świetle sądowniczej i administracyjnej praktyki w wiekach XVI–XVIII* (Kraków, 2002).

⁵⁰ Arguments of this sort are typical also for the other hubs of Poland-Lithuania; cf. Andrzej Janeczek, 'Segregacja wyznaniowa i podziały przestrzeni w miastach Rusi koronnej (XIV–XVI w.)', *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, lxiii, 2 (2015), 271–2.

⁵¹ Adam Teller, *Money, Power and Influence in 18th Century-Lithuania. The Jews on Radziwiłł Estates* (Stanford, 2016), 43–61.

⁵² Gershon D. Hundert, 'Jewish Urban Residence in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Early Modern Period', *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, xxvi (1984), 28;

Let us recapitulate the major legal documents that regulated the reach of Jewish settlement in Słuck. A general charter granted to the Jewish community in 1601 offered the Jews the right to reside anywhere across the town. Twenty-two years after the community was founded, in 1623, Krzysztof Radziwiłł issued a privilege for five Jews, offering them for use six land plots at the Old Town Market Square. Open booths or stalls were meant to be built on those plots, where the Jews could unlimitedly pursue their trading operations.⁵³ In 1634, however, Krzysztof Radziwiłł consented to the requests of Christian burghers and withdrew the 1623 privilege, barring Jews from settling in the Market area.⁵⁴ It was this document that grew to become crucial for the further development of the conflict for the reach of the Jewish settlement. In the later years, the municipal authorities most frequently referred to this particular privilege but interpreted it in a way convenient for themselves – maintaining, namely, that in time of yore Jews could only settle along one street (implying that Żydowska [whose name means ‘Jewish’] Street was the allotted settlement zone).

Since the 1630s/1640s all Jews who intended to buy a real property in Słuck had to obtain a relevant permit from the owner or his intendants. Such documents were issued rather often; none of the sources known to me testify to any difficulty in obtaining them whatsoever. Purchase of plots located in the city’s main streets was frequently allowed, thus encouraging Jewish developments “to the embellishment and profit of the city of stalls”.⁵⁵

The settlement of Jews and purchasing new realties by them became problematic in the late 1650s/early 1660s – the period in which intensified Jewish migration into the town occurred. Jewish migrants coming from the lands flooded by Xmelnicky’s uprising

Moshe Rosman, *The Lord’s Jews: Magnate Jewish Relation in the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA 1990), 42–8. For more on research on royal towns, see David Frick, ‘Jews in Public Places: Further Chapters in the Jewish-Christian Encounter in Seventeenth-Century Vilna’, *Polin*, xxii: Magda Teter, Antony Polonsky, and Adam Teller (eds.), *Social and Cultural Boundaries in Pre-Modern Poland*, 215–18.

⁵³ AGAD, AR, XXIII, 137, 4, 408–9.

⁵⁴ AGAD, AR, XXIII, 132, 1, 11.

⁵⁵ AGAD, AR, XXIII, 132, 1, 87 ff.: Confirmation of the right to purchase the houses for: Juda Szymonowicz; Mojżesz Szymonowicz; Moszka and Eli Michajłowicz.

and affected by warfare sought refuge in Słuck – the fortress town.⁵⁶ The town's location and its resulting trade contacts with Ukrainian lands, dating longer ago, caused many a Jew to flee just there. As described above, the scale of this (im)migration was considerable. In parallel, the position of Christian middle class got relatively strengthened. In the course of the war against Muscovy, Bogusław Radziwiłł, not certain about the loyalty of his Orthodox subjects, re-established the town under the Magdeburg Law. The town council held sessions, making decisions regarding the town, on a regular basis since 1654.⁵⁷ As the importance of Christian burghers grew, the position of Jews was weakening. Conflicts became more frequent, and the Christians did their best to even more consistently enforce the rights related to all and any obligations or levies.

In 1656, burghers of Słuck complained that “Jews were not allowed before then to purchase more houses, and take from the Christians with the arrangement, than those which they had in the [allotted] number; they have only settled the Streets of Kopylska, Spaska.”⁵⁸ In December 1658, Kazimierz Kłokocki and Władysław Huryn, the local Radziwiłł commissioners, issued an ordinance banning Jews from transacting on real property based on the ‘Jewish ledgers’ and instructing that any sale or purchase of plots of land be registered with the Castle office. This new regulation was intended to restrict the trading of Jews in realties.⁵⁹ A year later, in 1659, these same commissioners ordained that “the vogt's office shall supervise that Jews purchase more houses not.”⁶⁰ In 1661, the proprietor waived his right to issue consensuses for acquisition of real estate to the benefit of the municipality. Consequently, from the 1660s onwards, any Jew who was willing to buy a house, a land allotment, or a booth or stall within the city bounds was obligated to appear at a ‘municipal session’ and request consent for the transaction. It sometimes happened that a Christian resident requested that the ban on selling to Jews be lifted. The town authorities granted such consensuses much less willingly than the Radziwiłł

⁵⁶ Pendzich, ‘Civil Resilience and Cohesion’, 103–27.

⁵⁷ Kossarzecki, ‘Forteca słucka w okresie wojen połowy XVII w.’, *Zamojsko-Wołyńskie Zeszyty Muzealne*, ii (2004), 28.

⁵⁸ AGAD, AR, XXIII, 134, 2, 49.

⁵⁹ AGAD, AR, XXIII, 134, 2, 123.

⁶⁰ AGAD, AR, XXIII, 154, 5, 160–2: ‘Memoriał akt secesjonalnych miasta Słuckiego’.

officials, even if to members of the top Christian elite who served as members of the municipal authorities. In most of the cases, requests for purchase of a house were referred to a subsequent session; a Christian purchaser was sought or waited for, even if it took months, or consent was simply refused.⁶¹

In spite of the severe restrictions imposed in the 1660s, Christian burghers continued in the subsequent decade to remind the authorities that the number of Jewish households in the town was growing. As they put it in a 1671 address to the Radziwiłł commissioners, “of Christian houses, the number lessened by several hundred, whilst of the Jewish, fifty and a few were added to the number”.⁶² Fifteen years later, quoting a burgher’s supplication, Ludwika Karolina Radziwiłł wrote, “they had one street assigned to them before then, and now have the Jews settled all around the market, so a mere few Christian houses may be found thereat ... and such a numerical force of the Jews have pushed their way through into the town that it will in no time turn into a Jewish town.”⁶³

The Market Square had a prominent place in the dispute over the reach of the Jewish settlement. The burghers’ supplications and the documents issued by the proprietors’ chancellery repeatedly stated that Jews had no right to dwell in the area. The ban on buying new realties at the Market Square was written down in a ‘municipal instruction’ issued by Anna Radziwiłł, née Sanguszko, in the first half of the eighteenth century. The relevant passage reads: “since the so-many dispositions of the Princes, our antecessors, have described that Jews acquire houses in the market of the city of Słuck not; now, therefore, with preservation of all these Jews who have hitherto had their houses built-up at the market, [the undersigned] is willing to have, and ordaineth, that they henceforth buy no other house at the market, what so ever.”⁶⁴ Not only the fiscal considerations

⁶¹ Cases related to purchase of real properties by Jews reappeared quite often at the ‘municipal sessions’; cf. records of the session held on 11 March 1669 (NIAB, f. 1825, op. 1, sect. 14, 48v); 24 Oct. 1680; 4 June 1681; 10 June 1681; 15 June 1682; 22 June 1682 (AGAD, AR, XXIII, 154, 5, 94 ff.).

⁶² AGAD, AR, XXIII, 134, 2, 362–3.

⁶³ AGAD, AR, XXIII: ‘Kopia listu księżnej Margrabiny do podczaszego kaliskiego’, 18 Sept. 1686.

⁶⁴ AGAD, AR, XXIII, 133, 1, 252–8: ‘Instrukcja miejska Anny z Sanguszków Radziwiłłowej’.

but also a symbolic aspect lay at the root of this restriction. The Market Square was perceived as a space designed, primarily, for the municipal authorities and members of the local Christian elite. The symbolical importance of this particular area is highlighted in statements of the municipal authorities. In 1680, a Jew named Szmojło Abrahamowicz attempted to buy a house located at the market, which was previously owned by Winkler, the former mayor. The municipal session resolutely opposed the prospective buyer's intent, as they councillors found the realty to be located "on a public place, and what is more, he house is the vogt's" – and this particular symbolic argument resulted in finally turning the deal down.⁶⁵

To sum up at this point, let us stress that the Jews were the only ethnic/religious group in Słuck with a limited possibility of choosing the place of residence for themselves. The limits for their settlement were defined with use of various legal documents issued either by the city's owner or the municipality. Such restrictions were rather typical, given what occurred in other urban hubs. Researchers have hitherto assumed that in most cases the restrictions were not put into practice, and Jews settled and lived among Christians anyway. Such a situation was typical especially with private-owned towns.⁶⁶

Analysis of municipal inventories has shown that legal restrictions imposed in Słuck were put into practice indeed. Two major areas can be identified on the map wherein the Jews settled. The first is the area of Żydowska Street in north-eastern part of the city, set between Zamkowa ['Castle'] Street and the embankment. The second consisted of the Market Square and the main streets stretching directly from it. In describing these two areas, certain significant differences between them need being noted.

In the former half of the seventeenth century, the settlement developing along Żydowska St. was mostly spontaneous. A municipal inventory compiled in 1661 refers to the street as "Zwierzchnowska"⁶⁷;

⁶⁵ AGAD, AR, XXIII, 154, 5, 111: Record of the municipal session held on 1 Oct. 1680.

⁶⁶ Gershon D. Hundert, *Jews in Poland Lithuania in the Eighteenth Century. A Genealogy of Modernity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2004), 30; Gershon D. Hundert, 'Jewish Urban Residence in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Early Modern Period', *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, xxvi (1984), 28; Rosman, *The Lord's Jews*. For the research on royal cities, see Frick, 'Jews in Public Places', 215–48.

⁶⁷ AGAD, AR, XXV, 3831.

it was renamed as 'Żydowska' in the second half of the seventeenth century. Jews willingly chose their abode close to the synagogue, and thus, their confreres – driven by the religious (*eruv*) as well as social aspects. The phenomenon was typical of a number of Jewish religious communities, both in Poland-Lithuania and in other European countries.⁶⁸

In the former half of the seventeenth century, the settlement in Żydowska St. area was not completely homogeneous. The last Christians still dwelled there; in specific, there were four Christian landlords in 1661 and one in 1683.⁶⁹ By 1689, Żydowska Street became entirely homogeneous, with Jewish real property owners and residents only. An exception to this rule was a certain "Christian with a wife, as they say, a Jewish alias school custodian, he", dwelling in a "singular hut" in the area called 'School Square'.⁷⁰

A separate group of Christians residing temporarily in Żydowska Street area were soldiers of the local garrison, to whom the Jews had to offer a 'station', as did all the other residents of Słuck. Yet, only few actually met the obligation. As of 1689 only sixteen landlords reported that they had had "soldiers dwelling" at their households over the recent sixteen years, but only a few of them produced an official attestation to this end. The others readily reported that "no soldiers dwelled" at their place, or "were incapable of reporting on the station[ing] of soldiers".⁷¹ The soldiers who stationed in Żydowska St. formed a very small group that could not religiously or ethnically affect the area.

Typical for the area in question was a pretty high population density, with as many as 249 self-reliant Jewish households recorded in 1689. In the same period, some 10 per cent of all the houses in the city stood in Żydowska St.,⁷² with a few houses, cottages or huts gathered on most of the land plots. For instance, the property of Mowsza Monasewicz included the main owner's house and three other houses, each being home to its landlord and 'sub-neighbours'; altogether, as many as nine

⁶⁸ Salo W. Baron, 'A Social and Religious History of the Jews', *Philadelphia*, xvi (1952), 76. For more on cities/towns in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, see Hanna Zaremska, 'Ulica Żydowska w Krakowie: XIV – pierwsza połowa XV wieku', *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, xlvii, 1–2 (1999), 113–14.

⁶⁹ AGAD, AR, XXV, 3831 (1661); AGAD, AR, XXV, 3834 (1683).

⁷⁰ AGAD, AR, XXV, 3835/1, 43.

⁷¹ AGAD, AR, XX, 3835/1, 44.

⁷² Gromelski, *Struktura zawodowa i socjotopografia Słucka*, 29.

separate households.⁷³ In most of the cases, the landlords' families were two-generational and sub-neighbours often consisted of empowered children with their families, who built their houses within the real estates of their parents. The progressing density of the population of Żydowska St. must have been caused by a variety of factors, the most important among them seemingly being the restrictions imposed by the municipality, resulting in inhibited natural spatial development of the Jewish community.

Żydowska Street was the religious focal point of the local Jewish community. In this context, the Synagogue Square (Plac Szkolny) was central. Composed of several densely concentrated plots within the square delineated by the streets Mylnicka and Żydowska, this site of worship was released from any obligations, based on the charters issued by the town's proprietors – the privilege enjoyed by temples of all the other religions. The square was the location of “a Jewish *shul*, also a small synagogue whereat the Jewish butchers officiate their worships, a house whereat the Jewish court-sessions are held”.⁷⁴ Very close to the synagogues, a Jewish hospital was located. There moreover were butchers' benches installed, and some less easy identifiable stalls, at which trade took place on weekdays as well as, some local Christians noted, on Sundays. A total of twenty households were recorded for the Synagogue Square area in 1689, with most of the dwellers working at the local *kahal*: the cantors, the *shamash* (synagogue/*kahal* servant), and *shkolniks* (i.e. synagogue sextons/members of *kahal* administration).⁷⁵ In the seventeenth century, the

⁷³ “The house of Mowsza Monasowicz, [where] his widow and an unmarried son live by them selves. Therein, too, a second house, of Mowsza, the tinsmith. Therein, too, a third house, of Morduchowa, Aron's widow. Therein, too, a fourth house, at that same yard, of Jowel the taylor. Thereat also, at Monasowiczowa's [i.e. Mowsza Monasowicz's widow's place], Juda Pejsachowicz the merchant dwelleth. Therein, too, Melech Awramowicz, the taylor, and his wife. Therein, too, the widow daughter of Markowa Awramowiczowa. Thereat as well, at Mowsza's, the tinsmith, a son, unmarried though adult, dealeth with trading. Therein, at Jowel the taylor's, Hersz the bachelor”; AGAD, AR, XXV, 3835/1, 36.

⁷⁴ AGAD, AR, XXV, 3835/1, 34. For more on the *kahal* in Słuck, cf. Anna Michałowska-Mycielska, ‘Władza dominalna a konflikty gminne. Wybory władz gminnych i rabina w Słucku 1709–1711’, in *eadem* and Marcin Wodziński (eds.), *Małżeństwo z rozsądku? Żydzi w społeczeństwie dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (Wrocław, 2007), 59–73.

⁷⁵ An inventory mentions 2 cantors, 4 bachelors, 2 *shkolniks* and a *shamash*; AGAD, AR, XXV, 3835/1, 33.

only religious institution functioning outside Źydowska street was the cemetery. It was located in the suburb of Trojczany, on the bank of the Sluř opposite to the Trojacki monastery.⁷⁶

The Jewish sacred topography developed, as it seems, somewhat differently in the eighteenth century. The inventories compiled after the detention of Szmojło Ickowicz, one of the most affluent and influential agents to the Radziwiłłs,⁷⁷ tell us that synagogue furnishings were kept at his house: apparently, a trace of a private prayer house,⁷⁸ apparently the only such site (if municipal records are to be trusted). Even if there were any other, functioning in houses inhabited by Jews, they remained invisible to Christians; in any case, there are no extant Jewish sources to possibly confirm their existence.

Trade-related jobs prevailed in the professional mix of Źydowska St. dwellers: merchants, vendors, peddlers, and sales agents (referred to in the records as *boryszniks*). Craftsmen formed another important occupational class – among them butchers, tailors, and bakers (described with the Ruthenian term *prepieczajs*). Publicans were the least significant among the occupations represented in Źydowska St.: as of 1683, three Jews, and four in 1689, are reported to have run a taproom. Members of the *kahal* staff, notably bachelors and *shamash*, completed the picture.⁷⁹

The rhythm of the life in Źydowska Street, consisting of work and celebrations, was framed by the Jewish calendar. The language spoken in this area of the town was Yiddish, intertwined to a degree by Hebrew; there were virtually no Christians living in this space. A clear, legally sanctioned borderline separated Źydowska St. from the Christian part of the city.

As it seems, the area of Źydowska St. remained virtually unknown and, to an extent, alien to Christian burghers. The aspect of foreignness

⁷⁶ NIAB, f. 1739, op. 1, no. 6, ‘Protestacja starszych kahału sluckiego na monastyr trojacki’, 17 Dec. 1704.

⁷⁷ For more on Ickowicz, cf. Teller, *Money, Power and Influence*, 73–106.

⁷⁸ NIAB, f. 694, op. 1, no. 51: ‘Specyfikacja rzeczy z dworu Kasjera do zamku tak srebra i materii rŹnych towarŹw niżej wyrażonych’ [Specification of things from the manor of the Cashier to the castle, silver and various matters of the below-expressed commodities].

⁷⁹ A 1689 inventory recorded 56 merchants, 24 bachelors, 14 butchers, 14 bakers, 12 *boryszniks* (middlemen), 8 tailors, 6 stall-holders, 5 *shkolniks*, 4 publicans, 1 tin-smith, 1 sub-*shkolnik*, 1 *solennik* (salt merchant), 1 *shamash*, 1 musician, 1 singer, 1 hosier, 1 comb-maker; AGAD, AR, XXV, 3835/1.

reappears in supplications submitted by the latter: they emphasised that the number of Jews living there was unknown and they were unaware of what was happening there. Analysis of the occupational structure of the street's residents and of the topographic features of Słuck shows that the Christians did not have much reason to visit the place. Neither did Żydowska stretch from the market, nor was it an important transport route. It led from Zamkowa Street to the ramparts, with no institutions functioning in its surroundings which would have been regularly frequented by Christians. That very few Christians had a good reason indeed to visit the street under discussion is also attested by the occupational structure of its residents. Most of the merchants, stall-keepers or vendors worked at or close to the town's main fairgrounds – in the Market Square or on the bridge over the Sluč. Those Jewish craftsmen who sold their products directly from the workshops supplied their confreres in the first place, and rarely sold to Christians. Żydowska Street was not a place where Christian dwellers would have spent their leisure time: the few inns functioning there were mostly used by Jewish customers. Also, court records indirectly testify that Christians did not reach Żydowska in their itineraries: the records I have analysed bear virtually no trace of brawls, rows or thefts in the area between Jews and Christians. While such incidents often occurred in taverns or inns, those situated in Żydowska St. saw them extremely rarely. Most of the street's residents remain anonymous to historians. They are basically known from the inventory, and do not appear in any other context. Thus, their contacts with their Christian neighbours must have been faint.

Jews moreover settled down along Słuck's major arteries. Yet, Jewish dwellers of Christian streets accounted for a minor part of all the Jews residing in the town. Analysis of the occupational structure and social position of the Jews inhabiting such areas shows that people living there were unlike their confreres dwelling in Żydowska St. as far as their jobs and contacts with Christians were concerned.

Most of the Jewish landlords lived at the Market Square. Such concentration of Jewish residents around a town's central square was typical not only of Słuck. Earlier studies associated the Jewish settlement in such areas with commercial activities practiced by Jews.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Teller, *Money, Power and Influence*, 149–50.

Locally, the settlement trends appearing in Sluck were related to the 1623 privilege. As per the binding regulations, the number of Jewish allotments remained fixed since the middle of the seventeenth century. In 1661 as well as in 1683 and 1689. The Jews possessed twenty-three of the thirty-two parcels at/around the Market Square.⁸¹ As of 1689, 108 Jewish households were recorded for the area. As was the case with Źydowska Street, most of the land plots in the Market area were densely developed, with sub-neighbours dwelling in almost each of them. The houses around the town market were much larger and less densely populated than those in Źydowska St., though.

Jews settled also in the streets Ileńska and Kopylska. The otherwise fixed number of Jewish houses located along these streets diminished between 1683 and 1689 – with thirteenth houses in Ileńska and fifteen in Kopylska as of 1683,⁸² and eleven in each as for 1689.⁸³ A 1689 inventory has thirty-four autonomous Jewish households in Ileńska St. and forty-six in Kopylska St.⁸⁴ A lesser number of Jews appeared in the streets Zamkowa, Wałowa [‘Embankment St.’], and Mylnicka; the other streets have single Jewish households recorded. In the streets more remote from the town’s centre, Jewish houses were arranged in a way so that each had at least one Jewish neighbour. The south-western area of the city was generally not populated by Jews. Jewish settlers in the New Town only concentrated around the high street set from the Old Town area and in the New Town market.

Municipal inventories show that it never happened that Jews settled in the direct vicinity of Christian churches. All the parcels adjacent to a *cerkiew*, *zbór* or *kościół* belonged to Christian owners. This might have been due to the fact that the area surrounding the temple was perceived as a part of the Christian sacred space, from which the Jews would have thus been excluded, as a matter of course. Similarly, no Jews ought to have to stay in any place assigned for Christian religious practices – as testified by the case of Hirsz Cemachowicz, an affluent Jew and agent to the Radziwiłł estate. In 1681, he endeavoured to obtain a permit from the city authorities for purchase of a ground close to the bank of the Sluč. His request was

⁸¹ AGAD, AR, XXV, 3831; XXV 3834/1; XXV, 3835/1.

⁸² AGAD, AR, XXV, 3834.

⁸³ AGAD, AR, XXV, 3835/1.

⁸⁴ AGAD, AR, XXV, 3833; 3835/1.

turned down as water was consecrated during the Jordan Feast Day at that very place.⁸⁵

The Jews who resided in the main streets were affluent merchants, tavern-keepers and agents to the Radziwiłłs. Members of the most well-to-do and the most influential families had adequate capitals and connexions allowing them to leave the Żydowska Street area, obtain a permit and acquire a plot of land or a house in one of the city's high streets. The importance of the aforementioned conditions is best explained based on a supplication submitted by Hirsz Cemachowicz. As he was willing to buy a house in one of the central streets, he brought himself into conflict with the town vogt, and in effect was refused the indispensable consent. Hirsz, who earlier worked for Ludwika Karolina, tried to use her as an intermediary. In a supplication to his patroness, he persuaded her that the local vogt refused his consent, for the reason "that I bowed first to the same-one not, and gave dozens of thalers not, like the other Jews doe give."⁸⁶

Most of the Jews dwelling in the central streets of the town had at least one Christian neighbour. Thus, a common Jewish-Christian neighbour space emerged; backyard areas, wells, cubby-holes were used on a shared basis.⁸⁷ It was a rare thing in Słuck that a private space was divided: in rather unique cases a Jew would lease a room in a house inhabited by Christians, or a Christian would be a Jew's sub-neighbour. The city's inventory from 1689 mentions merely a few mixed households, inhabited by individuals described, in most cases, as infirm or indigent.

Of the Jews, merchants and publicans inhabited the houses at the Market Square. There were few goldsmiths and barbers, that is, those practicing the most prestigious crafts.⁸⁸ These merchants and tavern keepers offered their products and services on the spot, and their most important clients were Christians. The Jewish stalls and booths in the Market Square area offered fabrics, spices, and metal products. Jews and Christians spent their free time together in the Jewish

⁸⁵ AGAD, AR, XXIII, 154, 5, 124, 'Protokół sesji miejskiej', 4 June 1681.

⁸⁶ AGAD, AR, XXIII, 133, 1, 616, 'Suplika Hirsza Cemachowicza' [s.d.].

⁸⁷ NIAB, f. 1739, op. 1, no. 6 [s.p.], 'Protestacja Macieja Marksa' (7 May 1700); 'Protestacja Romana Samkowicza' (29 March 1700).

⁸⁸ In 1689, there were 28 merchants, 25 publicans, 4 *boryszniks*, 3 barbers, 3 haberdashers, 3 income leaseholders, 1 goldsmith, 1 stall-keeper, 1 bachelor, and 1 maltster residing in the Square Market area; cf. AGAD, AR, XXV, 3835/1, 3–8.

taprooms, most of them arranged in one of the rooms within private apartments.

Most of the Jews who settled down in the city's main streets represented the Jewish economic elite, having extensive contacts with Christian townsmen and the town's proprietors.⁸⁹ Their names are known not only from the municipal inventories but also from a number of other historical records. One excellent example is Hercyk Szlomowicz and his son-in-law Michał Ickowicz. The family inhabited one of the Market Square houses in the latter half of the seventeenth and in the early eighteenth century. Hercyk was a merchant and a tavern keeper who pursued extensive trading operations – his merchandise reached as far as Wrocław (Breslau) and Königsberg – and leased the municipal taxes. Also, he was a member of the *kahal*.⁹⁰ Michał was known as the trusted agent of the Radziwiłł family, who maintained close contacts with Stanisław Niezabitowski, who used him as a courier is his own contacts with Ludwika Karolina. Like his father-in-law, he was a *kahal* member, pursued commercial activity and, enjoying protection of the magnates, and leased taxes.⁹¹

People of various religions and denominations formed a common urban space in Słuck – a space that had its internal borders. Each of

⁸⁹ Characteristic of most of the towns in the Grand Duchy was that the most prestigious streets were inhabited by members of Christian and Jewish elites; cf. Stefan Rohdewald, 'Der Magistrat als (trans-)konfessioneller Akteur: Orthodoxe, Unierte, Katholiken, Juden und der Polacker Stadtrat im 17. Jahrhundert', in *idem*, David Frick and Stefan Wiederkehr (eds.), *Litauen und Ruthenien/Lithuania and Ruthenia. Studien zu einer transkulturellen Kommunikationsregion (15–18 Jahrhundert)* (Wiesbaden, 2007), 137–63.

⁹⁰ AGAD, AR, V, 17469: Krzysztof Winkler to Bogusław Radziwiłł, 16 Nov. 1669; AGAD, AR, XXI, A 114: 'Nakaz wypłaty dla Żyda kramarza', 18 June 1763; AGAD, Lithuanian Metrica (*Metryka Litewska*, ML), 375, No. 30: 'Kontumacyja sławetnej Eudokii Ihnatowiczowej burmistrzowej mohylewskiej na niewiernym Hercyku Szlomowiczu Żydzie słuckim', 1 Feb. 1683; AGAD, AR, XXIII, 136, 8, 80–9, 'Egzamen punktów od Hercyka Żyda na arendarzów mytnicy słuckiej podanych', 9 May 1682. Hercyk Szlomowicz was moreover entangled in a long-lasting dispute with Archimandrite Teodozy Wasilewicz who accused Hercyk of apostasy; cf. AGAD, AR, VII, 541.

⁹¹ AGAD, AR, XXIII, 137, 1, 4: 'Kontrakt na arendę prochowini z Michałem Ickowiczem'; AGAD, AR, XXIII, 159, 1, 252; AGAD, AR, XXIII, 136, 1, 35: 'Asekuracja starszych kahału'; NIAB, f. 1739, op. 1, no. 5: 'List w sprawie wyboru starszych kahalnych', *ibidem*, no. 43; 'Aktykacja pisma od całego kahału słuckiego'. Also, cf. BN, BOZ, 911, Niezabitowski, *Dzienniki*, entries of 6–7 Sept. 1689.

the Christian communities was situated in a different part of the town. The most important and prestigious areas were reserved for the Orthodox who wielded power in the city. Protestant communities were offered a place to reside further away from the major streets and squares, in places where no Orthodox church ever functioned. It was only in the eighteenth century, after the Catholic convents arrived in Słuck, that the spatial balance has been upset. Catholic temples were established in places earlier reserved for the Orthodox believers. The most important, and the only one legally sanctioned, borderline inside the city was the one separating the Christians and the Jews. Only very few representatives of the Jewish elite ever managed to cross it.

trans. Tristan Korecki

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