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*Communities within Community:  
Social and Religious Solidarities in European Modern Societies*

Edited by  
Daniel Dumitran

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2019

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## CONTENTS

Argument	5
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## STUDIES

RALUCA MARIA FRÎNCU Die Nachbarschaft: Ein Muster gesellschaftlicher Organisation	9
--	---

ALESSANDRO SETTE Catherine II and the Socio-Economic Origins of the Jewish Question in Russia	47
---	----

YURYI STETSYK, VASYL ILNYTSKYI AND VLADISLAV BOYECHKO The Monks of Dobromyl Basilian Monastery of St. Onuphrius (1783): A Biographical Review	65
---	----

## DEBATE

VOLKER WOLLMANN Patrimoniul comunităților etnice. Despre vecinătățile sașilor ardeleni	95
---	----

## REVIEW

Laura Stanciu, ed., <i>Az erdélyi görökatolikus egyház története szinatoi tükrében (1782-1900). Dokumentumok. Istoria Bisericii Române Unite din Transilvania prin sinoadele sale (1782-1900). Ediție de documente</i> (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2017) (SILVIU-IULIAN SANA)	121
---	-----

ABSTRACTS	125
-----------	-----

LIST OF AUTHORS	129
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## ARGUMENT

The proposal for a volume devoted to the topic of solidarities established over time in communities is part of the last years' tendency of our journal to approach some subjects less debated in the Romanian historiography. This time, the topic of solidarity between communities or, to follow Peter Burke, the topic of social groups' opposing or concurrent identities,<sup>1</sup> took into account three chronological stages: the outlining of the various solidarities in the Middle Ages, the solidarities' evolution and transformation in pre-modernity and the dissolution and the new types of solidarities in the industrial societies. However, the contributions accepted further to the selection have only covered the second period, the editorial project proposed being thus achieved only in part.

The issue of Neighbourhoods from the Transylvanian Saxon communities, investigated in the '90s through sociological inquiries initiated by Vintilă Mihăilescu<sup>2</sup> is tackled here by Raluca Frîncu who has recently dedicated a valuable doctoral thesis to the issue<sup>3</sup> and by Volker Wollmann who has participated, also in the '90s, to the field research from Sibiu area with regard to the cultural heritage of the Transylvanian Saxons. Both contributions particularly reflect the richness and diversity of the Neighbourhoods' heritage.

Two other contributions approach case studies from the Polish-Lithuanian historical area. Alessandro Sette investigates the situation of the Jewish communities in the territories integrated in the Tsarist Empire after the separations of Poland, as well as the setting up of the Jews' residence area ("Pale of Settlement"), insisting on the social-economical incentives for the antisemitism genesis in Russia. Yuryi Stetsyk, Vasyl Ilnytskyi, and Vladislav Boyechko offer a biographic and prosopographic image on the Basilian monastic community in Dobromyl, together with a detailed documentary annex.

With these sequences, the present volume makes an invitation to a more thorough reflection on the past. The communities of yore, especially, but not exclusively, the rural ones, whose present destiny is dramatical, had a much richer history than the convenient model of classical monography allows us to infer. A reconstitution more attentive to details and nuance may yet save what was still preserved from this image.

DANIEL DUMITRAN

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (Malden: Polity Press, 2009), 57-60.

<sup>2</sup> Vintilă Mihăilescu, coord., *Vecini și Vecinătăți în Transilvania* [Neighbours and Neighbourhoods in Transylvania] (Bucharest: Paideia, 2003).

<sup>3</sup> Raluca Maria Frîncu, *Solidarități socio-economice, vecinătăți din sudul Transilvaniei* [Social-Economical Solidarities, Neighbourhoods from Southern Transylvania] (Sibiu: Brukenthal National Museum Publishing House, 2018).



## STUDIES





## DIE NACHBARSCHAFT: EIN MUSTER GESELLSCHAFTLICHER ORGANISATION

RALUCA MARIA FRÎNCU\*

Die Sachsen, auf wirtschaftlichem Gebiet bekannt für die Zünfte, taten sich gesellschaftlich durch die Ordnung der Nachbarschaften hervor. Diese umfassten alle Bewohner einer oder mehrerer Gassen, und alle Mitglieder waren verpflichtet, die Satzungen einzuhalten und mußten Straf- und Bußgeld zahlen, wenn sie die Vorschriften übertraten. In Hermannstadt sind die Nachbarschaften erst im 16. Jahrhundert durch ein Nachbarschaftsregister vom Großen und Kleinen Ring nachgewiesen, dessen Eintragungen mit dem Jahr 1534<sup>1</sup> beginnen, während die erste Nachbarschaftssatzung aus dem Jahr 1563 stammt und der Nachbarschaft Obere Wiesengasse gehört<sup>2</sup>. Obwohl die Nachbarschaften in Hermannstadt erst im 16. Jahrhundert nachgewiesen sind, gibt es in der Sammlung des Brukenthalmuseums eine Nachbarschaftsbüchse (Abb. 2) in der die Jahreszahl 1490 eingeritzt ist, was beweist, dass es sie schon im 15. Jahrhundert gegeben hat<sup>3</sup>. Erwähnt wird diese Form der gesellschaftlichen Organisation auch in anderen siebenbürgischen Ortschaften, wie etwa in Schäßburg im Jahr 1526<sup>4</sup>, während in Kronstadt ein Dokument aus dem Jahr 1533 deren Existenz verzeichnet<sup>5</sup>. Das relativ späte Auftreten der Nachbarschaften führt zu dem Schluß, dass ihnen zwei andere Modelle zugrunde liegen, die in Siebenbürgen schon im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert anzutreffen sind: die kirchlichen Vereine und die Zünfte<sup>6</sup>.

Wie ich bemerkte, gründet das Nachbarschaftswesen auf einer Satzung oder Vorschrift, durch welche die Rechte und Pflichten der Mitglieder festgelegt werden. Diese ist das Grunddokument, das in der Nachbarschaftslade aufbewahrt wurde und bei besonderen Anlässen, wie etwa der Aufnahme neuer Mitglieder, verlesen wurde, um sie mit den ihnen zukommenden Rechte und Pflichten

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<sup>1</sup> *Acte și registre 1577-1897*, Fond *Vecinătățile orașului Sibiu*, Register Nr. 44, fol. 1-43, Serviciul Județean Sibiu al Arhivelor Naționale (SJSAN).

<sup>2</sup> Franz Zimmermann, „Die Nachbarschaften in Hermannstadt”, *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, N. F. 20 (1885): 87.

<sup>3</sup> Ioan Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus Mittelalter und frühen Neuzeit* (Sibiu: Hora, 2002), 19.

<sup>4</sup> Gernot Nussbächer, „Vom alten Nachbarschaften”, *Neuer-Weg*, Schässburg, XXXI, Nr. 925, 25 März 1979, 25.

<sup>5</sup> Ebenda, 38.

<sup>6</sup> Ferenc Poszony, „Vecinătățile din Transilvania” [Die Nachbarschaften in Siebenbürgen], in *Vecini și vecinătăți în Transilvania* [Nachbarn und Nachbarschaften in Siebenbürgen], hg. von Vintilă Mihăilescu (București: Paideia, 2003), 17.

*Annales Universitatis Apulensis Series Historica* 23, II (2019): 9-45.

bekannt zu machen. Die älteste Hermannstädter Nachbarschaftssatzung ist die der Oberen Wiesengasse aus dem Jahr 1563. Das Original ist nicht mehr erhalten, aber das Dokument wurde von Gustav Seivert in seiner Schrift *Die Stadt Hermannstadt. Eine Historische Skizze*, veröffentlicht. Die Satzung enthält in 25 Artikeln die Pflichten der Nachbarschaftsmitglieder. Als erstes wird festgelegt, dass jener Nachbar, der an einer Beerdigung nicht teilnahm, mit 4 Dinar bestraft wurde<sup>7</sup>. Der Hof und der Platz vor dem Haus mußten sauber gehalten werden; wer das nicht einhielt, wurde mit 4 Dinar bestraft. Eine große Gefahr stellte in jener Zeit das Feuer dar und die durch Brand verursachten Schäden machten es nötig, das in den Satzungen zu thematisieren. Auch hier gab es eine Vorschrift, woraus wir erfahren, daß jener Bürger, der seinen Rauchfang nicht geputzt hatte, der Nachbarschaft einen Florin zahlen mußte<sup>8</sup>, was in jener Zeit viel Geld war. Der Nachbarvater hatte für den Erhalt des guten Einvernehmens zwischen den Nachbarn zu sorgen; jeder Streit mußte geschlichtet werden, und wer Zorn nachtrug, wurde mit 2 Dinar bestraft. Ein weiterer Zweck der Nachbarschaften war es, das Verhalten der Mitglieder zu überwachen, die Art, wie diese die sittlichen Normen beachteten. Aus dieser Satzung erfahren wir, dass jener Bürger, der mit der Faust auf den Tisch schlug oder Wetten abschloß, der Nachbarschaft 10 Dinar zu zahlen hatte. Wenn ein Nachbar mit den Strafen nicht einverstanden war und sie nicht in kürzester Zeit bezahlte, wurde er mit weiteren 2 Dinar bestraft<sup>9</sup>.

Der Stadtrat von Hermannstadt griff ein in die Organisation der Nachbarschaften, das ist offensichtlich beginnend mit der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts, als eine für alle Nachbarschaften gültige Vorschrift erarbeitet wurde. Das ist die Satzung vom 23. November 1651, bestehend aus 32 Artikeln betreffend die Rechte und Pflichten der Nachbarn. Die Pflichten des Nachbarvaters werden schon im ersten Artikel benannt: er mußte darauf achten, dass diejenigen, die Häuser in der Stadt kauften nicht anderer Nationalität oder Leibeigene waren<sup>10</sup>. Der zweite Artikel forderte von allen Nachbarschaftsmitgliedern Gehorsam dem Nachbarvater gegenüber, andernfalls hatten sie 16 Dinar zu zahlen, während der dritte Artikel die Verpflichtung in den Vordergrund stellte, dass alle in die Gemeinschaft Aufgenommenen deutschen Ursprungs sein mußten. Artikel 4-6 handeln von den Pflichten der Nachbarn, die Häuser verkauften, kauften oder erbten. Wer ein Haus kaufte oder verkaufte, mußte, selbst wenn er in Bedrängnis war, ein Essen und einen Eimer Wein spenden. Wer sich nicht an diese Vorschrift hielt, schuldete der Nachbarschaft 5 Florin<sup>11</sup>. Artikel 7 unterrichtet die Nachbarn über die Speisen, die bei den Treffen

<sup>7</sup> Gustav Seivert, *Die Stadt Hermannstadt, eine historische Skizze* (Sibiu: Steinhausen, 1859), 51.

<sup>8</sup> Ebenda.

<sup>9</sup> Ebenda.

<sup>10</sup> Zimmermann, „Die Nachbarschaften“, 113.

<sup>11</sup> Ebenda, 112.

das Jahr über aufzutischen waren; übertriebene Ausgaben waren verboten, es wurde nur ein Gang aufgetragen. Aus Artikel 8 erfahren wir, dass jegliche Feier mit dem letzten Tanz um 9 zu beenden war. Wer sich nicht daran hielt, mußte der Nachbarschaft einen Eimer Wein geben. Aus Artikel 14-17 erfahren wir die Pflichten und Strafen bei Nichtteilnahme an Begräbnissen. Wer am Leichenzug nicht teilnahm, obwohl er durch das Nachbarschaftszeichen verständigt worden war, wurde mit 16 Dinar bestraft. Vorbeugen und Löschen von Bränden werden in den Artikeln 26-30 geregelt<sup>12</sup>. Wer mit offenem Feuer sich Holz oder andern leicht brennbaren Materialien näherte, wurde mit 50 Dinar bestraft, desgleichen wer großes Feuer entfachte an Tagen mit starkem Wind auch mit 50 Dinar.

Eine andere Satzung für alle Nachbarschaften wurde vom Stadtrat am 14 Februar 1696 herausgegeben. Vom Konzept her war sie ähnlich jener von 1651, die meisten Vorschriften finden sich auch hier, der Unterschied besteht darin, dass sie 42 Artikel umfaßt. Die Satzung unterstreicht die Aufgabe des Nachbarväters, alle Hauskäufer zu überprüfen und den Behörden zu melden, damit kein Fremdnationaler oder Leibeigener sich in die Burg einschleiche<sup>13</sup>. Das Behalten des Nachbarschaftszeichens über Nacht oder die Nichtteilnahme am Begräbnis eines Nachbarn ohne eine stichhaltige Begründung wurden mit 16 Dinar bestraft. Es gab auch Artikel über die Nachtwache: darin wird die Verpflichtung aller Bürger zu dieser Dienstleistung festgesetzt. Befreit waren nur die Kranken und Sehschwachen, die aber einen Vertreter stellen mußten<sup>14</sup>. Wer an der Bewachung der Nachbarschaft nicht teilnahm, wurde mit 5 Dinar bestraft. Ein ähnlicher Artikel wie der aus der Satzung von 1563 ist der 41., welcher besagt, dass der Bürger, der seine Strafen nicht fristgerecht entrichtete und sich den Beschlüssen der Nachbarschaft widersetzte, auszuschließen sei oder die doppelte Strafe zu zahlen habe<sup>15</sup>. Die Satzung schließt mit einer Vorschrift betreffend die Nachbarväter, die jährlich Rechenschaft über die Geldgebarung ihrer Nachbarschaft ablegen mußten. Die Satzung wird durch zwei Vorschriften ergänzt, die eine betreffend Hochzeit mit 20 Punkten, die andere betreffend Beerdigung mit 12 Punkten. So wie die Überschrift lautet, beziehen sich die beiden auf das Verhalten der Nachbarn und ihren Beitrag zum guten Fortgang der Ereignisse. Die Satzung wurde in die Register der Hermannstädter Nachbarschaften des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts übernommen und diente als Vorbild für alle Nachbarschaften der Stadt in jener Zeit.

Während des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts waren die Satzungsvorschriften der Hermannstädter Nachbarschaften einander ähnlich; ihre Mitglieder hatten dieselben Rechte und Pflichten. Im 19. Jahrhundert entwarf der Stadtrat neue

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<sup>12</sup> Ebenda, 115.

<sup>13</sup> Ebenda, 121.

<sup>14</sup> Ebenda, 124.

<sup>15</sup> Ebenda.

Satzungen, die am 20. März 1857 und am 18. Mai 1885 herausgegeben wurden<sup>16</sup>. Die erste umfaßt 33 Artikel betreffend jene, die der Nachbarschaft beitraten und die anzuwendenden Strafen im Fall der Nichteinhaltung der Vorschriften<sup>17</sup>. In der zweiten, vom 18. Mai 1885, wird im 1. und 2. Artikel die Nachbarschaft definiert, ihre Zwecke und die Tatsache, dass dieser Organisation alle beitreten konnten, „die Grundstücke besaßen“<sup>18</sup>. Aus dem 3. Artikel erfahren wir die Ereignisse, die gelegentlich der Jahresfeste stattfanden. Es wurde der Nachbarschaftsvater und sein Stellvertreter gewählt, es wurde über das Vermögen der Nachbarschaft beschlossen, die Beiträge für das kommende Jahr festgelegt, und der Nachbarvater gab einen Bericht über die Ausgaben des abgeschlossenen Jahres. Wie auch in den vorigen Satzungen bemerken wir die Sorge für die Sauberkeit und Ordnung in der Stadt. Die Buchhaltung der Nachbarschaft wurde vom Nachbarvater geführt, der das Vermögen verwaltete, die Taxen und Beiträge einnahm, das Kassabuch mit den Einnahmen und Ausgaben führte und am Ende des Jahres den Nachbarn Rechenschaft ablegte. Eine weitere seiner Pflichten war es, den Dienst der Nachtwächter zu überprüfen, die er, zusammen mit dem Jungvater ernennen und entlassen konnte. Aus den untersuchten Satzungen geht hervor, dass sich in der Organisation der Nachbarschaften in Hermannstadt vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert sehr wenig geändert hatte. Die meisten Vorschriften wurden beibehalten und von allen Nachbarn genau befolgt. Von der obligaten Sauberkeit vor dem Tor bis zum Nachtwächterdienst und dem Feuerschutz finden sich alle Vorschriften in den untersuchten Satzungen wieder. Es gibt jedoch einige kleine Unterschiede: während in den Satzungen vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert nur Deutschstämmige in die Nachbarschaft zugelassen wurden, fehlt diese Einschränkung in der Satzung von 1885. Die anderen Artikel regelten das Verhalten der Nachbarn, die Aufrechterhaltung der Ordnung und Sauberkeit in der Nachbarschaft. Die Einhaltung der Maßnahmen zum Feuerschutz wurde von den Nachbarvätern genauestens überwacht. Sie waren direkt verantwortlich für die Bekanntmachung der Satzungsvorschriften und der Verordnungen des Magistrats.

Die Einrichtung der Nachbarschaft wurde von einem „Nachbarvater“ geleitet, der aus den ältesten Mitgliedern für eine gewisse Zeitspanne gewählt wurde. Er wurde in seiner Tätigkeit von einem „Jungvater“ und einem aus acht Mitgliedern der Nachbarschaft bestehenden Rat unterstützt. Ihre Aufgabe war es, die Verantwortlichen der Nachbarschaft zu beraten, die Ausgaben zu prüfen, mögliche Brandgefahrenherde zu begutachten, die Tätigkeit der jungen Nachbarn beim Ausheben und Reinigen der öffentlichen Brunnen zu

<sup>16</sup> *Acte*, Fond *Vecinătățile oraşului Sibiu*, Nr. 15, Packung 6, fol. 109, SJSAN.

<sup>17</sup> *Acte*, Fond *Colecția Brukenthal*, fol. 58-63, SJSAN.

<sup>18</sup> *Acte*, Fond *Vecinătățile oraşului Sibiu*, Nr. 15, Packung 6, fol. 109.

überwachen<sup>19</sup>. Für ihre Dienste zum Gemeinwohl wurden weder der „Altvater“ noch der „Jungvater“ entlohnt, sie besaßen aber hohe moralische Autorität und soziale Achtung in der Nachbarschaft. Der „Nachbarvater“ hatte ein Vorbild für alle zu sein, er mußte im Einklang mit den Vorschriften der Satzung leben<sup>20</sup>. Eine Übertretung der Regeln seinerseits hatte schwerwiegende Folgen, die Strafen für ihn waren viel höher als für die anderen Mitglieder. Im Falle eines Fehltrittes wurde er mit drei bis fünf Florin bestraft. Das Amt des „Nachbarvaters“ war äußerst wichtig. Um seine Bedeutung zu verstehen, zählen wir bloß einige seiner Befugnisse auf: Er berief die Mitgliederversammlung ein, verteilte die kirchlichen Aufgaben, schlichtete die Streitigkeiten zwischen Nachbarn und zwischen Familienmitgliedern, er überwachte die Einhaltung der Satzungsvorschriften. Über ihn lief die Kommunikation zwischen Nachbarschaft und den Behörden, er verständigte die Bürger über alle Beschlüsse der Lokalbehörden. Ein guter Nachbarvater achtete darauf, dass die Gassen und Höfe gepflegt waren, er überwachte die Reinigung der Brunnen und Rauchfänge. In Hermannstadt und der Umgebung wurden die Nachbarschaften am 28. Juli 1691 zu den Bürgermeistern gerufen und ihre Leiter wurden angehalten, alle möglichen Brandherde zu überwachen und die Nachlässigen zu bestrafen<sup>21</sup>. Ein wichtiger Zeitpunkt im Leben der Gemeinschaft war der Beginn der Passionszeit, wenn der Richttag kam: dann wurde Bilanz über die Tätigkeit der Nachbarschaft gezogen – es wurden die Einnahmen und Ausgaben vorgelegt, die Strafen für Übertretungen bezahlt und es wurden neue Mitglieder aufgenommen.

Bei der Untersuchung der Einrichtung der Nachbarschaft und ihres Inventars konnte ich feststellen, dass die Gebrauchsgegenstände identisch sind mit jenen der Zünfte, was ein weiterer Beweis dafür ist, dass die Nachbarschaften das Muster der Zünfte übernommen haben. Das materielle Vermögen bestand aus Lade, Zeichen, Fahne, Siegel – diese waren personalisiert, so dass sie von den Behörden anerkannt werden konnten. Eine besondere Bedeutung kommt der Nachbarschaftslade zu. In ihr wurden die Dokumente aufbewahrt – Satzungen, Register, Quittungen, Büchsen (Abb. 1-4) mit dem aus Beiträgen und Strafen eingenommenen Geld, nebst Siegel und Zeichen. Sie wurde gelegentlich der Mitgliederversammlung geöffnet, von ihr wurden die neuen Mitglieder aufgenommen<sup>22</sup>. Jede Lade (Abb. 5, 27-29) hatte innen ein Fach für Akten und ein oder mehrere Fächer von verschiedener Größe für allerlei Gegenstände. Besonders bemerkenswert sind die geschnitzten Muster auf den Laden, die Malereien und später Furnier und Intarsien. Auf einigen Laden (Abb. 27)

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<sup>19</sup> Wilhelm Schunn, *Die Nachbarschaften der Deutschen in Rumänien* (Sibiu: Krafft & Drotleff, 1936), 11.

<sup>20</sup> Ebenda, 17.

<sup>21</sup> Zimmermann, „Die Nachbarschaften“, 24.

<sup>22</sup> Doina Năgler, „Colecția de lăzi de breaslă a Muzeului Brukenthal“ [Die Sammlung von Zunftladen des Brukenthal Museum], *Studii și comunicări* 13 (1967): 214.

befinden sich Inschriften mit den Namen der Nachbarväter, den Bezeichnungen der Nachbarschaften, denen sie gehören oder dem Jahr der Anfertigung – lauter wichtige Merkmale für die nähere Bestimmung und Datierung. Die Nachbarschaftslade war mit zwei Schlüsseln abgesperrt, einer beim „Altvater“, der andere beim „Jungvater“. So konnte sie nur im Beisein beider geöffnet werden gelegentlich der periodischen Versammlungen, am Richttag und beim Umzug nach der Wahl des Nachbarvaters zur Feier des Tages<sup>23</sup>. Nach der Wahl des neuen Nachbarschaftsvaters wurde sie in einem Festzug in das Haus des neuen Vaters überführt.

Das Nachbarschaftszeichen ist ein äußerst wichtiger Gegenstand, mit Hilfe dessen die Nachrichten an die Gemeinschaft weitergegeben wurden. Es handelt sich um eine Tafel aus Zinn (Abb. 8-9) oder Holz (Abb. 10, 20, 21), graviert, bemalt oder mit Intarsien, die von Haus zu Haus zusammen mit der Botschaft des Nachbarvaters weitergegeben wurde. Beginnend mit dem 17. Jahrhundert tauchen auch die Leichenzeichen auf<sup>24</sup>, mit Hilfe derer der Trauerfall angezeigt wurde (Abb. 6, 7, 12, 13). Diese unterschieden sich durch Symbolik und Inschrift von den anderen Zeichen. Beginnend mit dem 18. und 19. Jahrhundert werden neben den Zeichen die sogenannten Kolumnen verwendet, das sind quadratische oder rechteckige Holztafeln mit einem geschnitzten oder pyrogravierten Griff (Abb. 18, 20) auf denen Namenslisten der Nachbarschaftsmitglieder befestigt waren, die als Zurkenntnisnahme der Botschaft unterschrieben wurden<sup>25</sup>.

Die Nachbarschaften übernahmen von den Zünften auch die Fahne (Abb. 14, 15, 22, 23, 25, 26), die bei Beerdigungen oder anderen wichtigen Anlässen, wie zum Beispiel die Wahl des „Nachbarvaters“, getragen wurde.

Die durch das Siegel beglaubigten Dokumente sind Zeugnis des Wirkens der Nachbarschaften, wobei das Siegel die Garantie für die Vertraulichkeit oder die Echtheit desselben war. Durch die darauf befindlichen Zeichen (Wappen, Text) war es ein Mittel, den Urheber in Zeit und Raum zu identifizieren, sei es eine Person oder eine Institution. Im Mittelalter drückte das Siegel die Autorität der Besitzers aus, seine Stellung in der Gesellschaft, aber auch die Bedeutung, die dem besiegelten Dokument oder Schriftstück beigemessen wurde. Ein Teil der Siegelplatten der städtischen Nachbarschaften befinden sich heute in Museumssammlungen; ein gutes Beispiel ist das Historische Museum – Haus Altemberger in Hermannstadt, das einige Stücke davon besitzt<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Poszony, „Vecinătățile”, 23.

<sup>24</sup> Raluca Maria Frîncu, Olga Beșliu, „Semne de înmormântare ale vecinătăților sibiene din colecția Muzeului Național Brukenthal” [Trauerzeichen der Nachbarschaften von Hermannstadt aus der Sammlung des Nationalmuseums Brukenthal], *Brukenthal Acta Musei* V.1 (2010): 179.

<sup>25</sup> Doina Năgler, „Tablele de breaslă ale Muzeului Brukenthal” [Die Zunfttafeln des Brukenthal Museum], *Acta Musei Napocensis* IV (1967): 196.

<sup>26</sup> Dănuț Nicușor Ivănuș, „Sigilii și ștampile de vecinătăți sibiene” [Siegel und Stempel der

Neben den Ritualobjekten – Lade, Zeichen, Fahne – und denen der Beglaubigung – Siegel – hatten die Register, die in den Laden aufbewahrt wurden, durch die Informationen, die sie enthielten und die von Generation zu Generation weitergegeben wurden, eine große Rolle bei der Gestaltung der Nachbarschaften. Sie sind wichtige Quellen der Auskunft über die Anzahl der Nachbarn, die Taxen, die diese bezahlten und die ausgeübten Berufe. Außer den Mitgliederlisten befinden sich in den Registern auch Verhandlungsberichte der jährlichen Versammlungen, welche wiederum wertvolle Informationen über die Probleme liefern, mit denen sich die Nachbarschaft auseinandersetzen hatte.

Neben den Identifikationsobjekten sind es die Register, die uns Auskunft geben darüber, was die Nachbarschaft im Lauf der Jahrhunderte darstellte. Es sind äußerst wichtige Dokumente, die neben Zeichen und Siegel in der Nachbarschaftslade aufbewahrt wurden.

Jede Nachbarschaft war verpflichtet, diese Dokument zu besitzen, mit den Angaben über das Wirken im Lauf der Zeit. Das Register beginnt üblich mit der in jener Zeit gültigen Satzung, dann folgt die Liste der Mitglieder, danach die Verhandlungsberichte der Versammlungen und die Einnahmen aus den verhängten Strafen. Das Register einer der bedeutendsten Nachbarschaften Hermannstadts – Burgertor, bietet auf den 87 Blätter Informationen angefangen von 1652 bis 1753. Es können die Mitgliederlisten eingesehen werden, die eingenommenen Strafen, aber auch die Probleme der Gemeinschaft jener Zeit<sup>27</sup>. Die Register einer anderen bedeutenden Nachbarschaft der Stadt werden im Nachbarschaftsfundus aufbewahrt – es handelt sich um die Nachbarschaft Großer und Kleiner Ring. Das erste, mit 1582 datiert, enthält eine Satzung mit 15 Artikeln betreffend die Organisation der Nachbarschaft<sup>28</sup>. Das zweite Register hat 34 Blätter und auf der ersten Seite befindet sich ein Verzeichnis der Häuser der Nachbarschaftsmitglieder aus dem Jahr 1534. Danach folgen Aufzeichnungen über Nachbarschaftsversammlungen in denen auch die Geldsummen angegeben sind, die von den Übertretern der Vorschriften eingenommen wurden. Der letzte Eintrag stammt aus dem Jahr 1636<sup>29</sup>. Eine andere Nachbarschaft aus dem Zentrum ist die der Fleischergasse, von der außer dem Register mit der Satzung der Hermannstädter Nachbarschaften von 1652 auch verschiedene Aufzeichnungen der Nachbarschaftsversammlungen erhalten sind<sup>30</sup>.

Das zweite erhaltene Register dieser Nachbarschaft enthält Listen mit den Hauseigentümern beginnend mit dem Jahr 1745<sup>31</sup>. Von derselben Nachbarschaft ist auch ein gedrucktes Register aus dem 18. Jahrhundert erhalten, dessen

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Nachbarschaften von Hermannstadt], *Sargetia* XXXIV (2006): 63.

<sup>27</sup> *Acte și registre 1577-1897*, Register Nr. 3, fol. 1-87.

<sup>28</sup> *Acte și registre 1577-1897*, Register Nr. 44, fol 1-43.

<sup>29</sup> Ebenda, fol. 43.

<sup>30</sup> *Acte și registre 1577-1897*, Register Nr. 35, fol. 1.

<sup>31</sup> *Acte și registre 1577-1897*, Register Nr. 37, fol. 1-7.

auszufüllende Rubriken sich auf die Nachbarn bezog, deren ausgeübter Beruf und Anzahl der Familienglieder<sup>32</sup>. Von der Nachbarschaft Heltauer Gasse sind zwei Register erhalten, eines davon aus der Zeit von 1604-1740 mit Satzungen und Mitgliederlisten. Das zweite enthält die Satzung der Nachbarschaft aus dem Jahr 1798<sup>33</sup> mit 42 Artikeln. Die Register der Saaggasse bietet Listen mit den Eigentümern aus der Zeit von 1675-1781<sup>34</sup>. Ein anderes Register aus der Zeit von 1652-1783, enthält außer den Satzungen auch Listen mit jährlicher Eintragung der Mitglieder<sup>35</sup>.

Andere Nachbarschaften, deren Register im Sonderfundus aufbewahrt werden, sind die der Salzgasse, Pempflingergasse, Quergasse. Im Register der Salzgasse aus der Zeit von 1696-1780 finden wir außer der vom Magistrat erlassenen Satzung auch die Verordnungen betreffend Hochzeiten und Beerdigungen<sup>36</sup>. Im Register der Pempflingergasse haben wir auf den ersten Blättern die Satzung aus dem Jahr 1637 gefolgt von Einnahmen aus der Zeit von 1637-1856<sup>37</sup>. Aus einem anderen Register der Nachbarschaft aus der Zeit von 1655-1855 erfahren wir die Einnahmen und Ausgaben<sup>38</sup>. Über die Mitglieder der Quergasse erfahren wir aus einem Register aus der Zeit von 1652-1768; auf die Satzung folgen Eintragungen der neuen Mitglieder und Aufzeichnungen der jährlichen Versammlungen<sup>39</sup>. In einem Register derselben Nachbarschaft aus der Zeit von 1780-1849 befinden sich die Namenslisten der Familien und wieviel sie bei ihrer Aufnahme gezahlt haben<sup>40</sup>.

Wir haben vorhin die Ritual- und Identifikationsobjekte der Nachbarschaften aufgezählt, doch dürfen wir nicht vergessen, dass sie auch Objekte zum täglichen Gebrauch hatten, wie Tische, Bänke, Stühle, Geschirr, die bei den jährlichen Festen sowie bei Trauungen und Beerdigungen verwendet wurden. Desgleichen hatten sie diverse Geräte und Werkzeuge, die bei Beerdigungen und Feldarbeiten zum Einsatz kamen (Siebe, Maßgefäße, Gewichte, Brandzeichen, diverse Gerätschaften, Tiere), aber auch beim Löschen von Bränden<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> *Acte și registre 1577-1897*, Register Nr. 39, fol. 15.

<sup>33</sup> *Acte și registre 1577-1897*, Register Nr. 54, fol. 1-8.

<sup>34</sup> *Acte și registre 1577-1897*, Register Nr. 116, fol. 1-6.

<sup>35</sup> *Acte și registre 1577-1897*, Register Nr. 115, fol. 1-21.

<sup>36</sup> *Acte și registre 1577-1897*, Register Nr. 129a, fol. 1-15.

<sup>37</sup> *Acte și registre 1577-1897*, Register Nr. 92, fol. 1.

<sup>38</sup> *Acte și registre 1577-1897*, Register Nr. 93, fol. 1-26.

<sup>39</sup> *Acte și registre 1577-1897*, Register Nr. 102, fol. 1-25.

<sup>40</sup> *Acte și registre 1577-1897*, Register Nr. 106, fol. 1-6.

<sup>41</sup> Annemie Schenk, „Die Nachbarschaft bei den Siebenbürger Sachsen. Zum Inhalt von Nachbarschaftsladen“, in András Krupa, Ernő Eperjessy und Gábor Barna, hg., *Kultúrák találkozása-kultúrák konfliktusai. Az V nemzetközi néprajzi nemztiségtudató konferencia eloadásai Békéscsaba, 1993. október 7-9*[Begegnungen der Kulturen - Konflikte der Kulturen. Tagungsband der 5. Internationalen Konferenz zur Ethnographischen Ethnizitätsforschung Békéscsaba, 1993. október 7-9] (Budapest: Magyar Néprajzi Társaság, 1995), 182.



Wir haben die Satzungen und die Struktur der Nachbarschaft untersucht, ihre Identifikationsobjekte, aber zu bedenken ist auch ihre Funktion, so wie sie aus den Satzungen hervorgeht. Die wichtigste Funktion war wohl die gegenseitige Hilfeleistung bei wichtigen Ereignissen im Leben der Mitglieder: Taufe, Hochzeit, Beerdigung, Krankheit, Katastrophen. Bei solchen Gelegenheiten war die Gemeinschaft verpflichtet, aktiv teilzunehmen. Sowohl die freudigen als auch die traurigen Ereignisse verliefen nach Regeln, die von allen beachtet wurden. Jedes Mitglied brachte seinen Beitrag, ohne auf ein Entgelt zu warten: die Frauen bereiteten die Speisen, die jungen Männer halfen beim Hausbau und Renovierungen und im Falle eines Brandes leistete man materielle Hilfe<sup>42</sup>.

Äußerst wichtig für die Gemeinschaft war auch die Sicherheit der Bürger, der Schutz ihrer Güter und Gesundheit. Sowohl in den Satzungen als auch in den Aufzeichnungen wird darauf besonderer Wert gelegt: Es gab Vorschriften für die Sicherung der Nachtwache, das Hüten der Felder und Häuser, für die Brandmeldung. Schon von der Gründung der Nachbarschaften an wurde dies mit großem Ernst betrieben. Die Wache wurde reihum von allen dazu fähigen Nachbarn übernommen, es gab keine Ausnahmen, und Übertretungen wurden hart bestraft. In der Satzung der Oberen Wiesengasse aus 1563 wird auch die Stunde angegeben, in welcher der Nachtdienst beginnt: „Der Nachbar, der an der Reihe ist, muß vor 9 Uhr auf der Straße sein und wenn er verspätet auf die Straße kommt, wird er mit 10 Dinar bestraft.“<sup>43</sup>. Je kleiner die Nachbarschaft war, desto häufiger kam es zum Nachtdienst; aus diesem Grund vereinigten sich im Jahr 1619 drei Nachbarschaften in Hermannstadt<sup>44</sup>. Um Brände zu verhindern, wurde sehr darauf geachtet, die Rauchfänge zu fegen, und jeder Bürger hatte diese Pflicht. Wer darin nachlässig war, wurde vom Nachbarvater bestraft. Vom 18. Jahrhundert an wurden die Rauchfänge von einem hierfür ausgebildeten Mann kontrolliert. Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts gab es Rauchfangkehrer, die gegen Bezahlung die Arbeit verrichteten<sup>45</sup>. Es war verboten, an öffentlichen Orten, in Scheunen und Ställen zu rauchen. Es war Pflicht der Nachbarn, für den Notfall Fässer oder Zisternen mit Wasser zu besitzen. Jede Nachbarschaft hatte eigene Geräte (Eimer, Leitern, Haken, Laternen, Wagen mit Fässern). Oft wurden diese von den neuen Mitgliedern gespendet, oder wenn ein Haus verkauft wurde. So schenkte Friedrich Wolf der Grossbach Nachbarschaft eine Pumpe auf vier

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<sup>42</sup> Raluca Maria Frîncu, *Solidarități socio-economice, vecinătăți din sudul Transilvaniei* [Sozioökonomische Solidaritäten, Nachbarschaften im Süden Siebenbürgens] (Sibiu: Editura Muzeului Național Brukenthal, 2018), 71.

<sup>43</sup> Maria Pakucs-Willcocks, *Sibiul veacului al XVI-lea. Rânduirea unui oraș transilvănean* [Herrmannstadt des 16. Jahrhunderts. Die Regulierung einer siebenbürgischen Stadt] (București: Humanitas, 2018), 161.

<sup>44</sup> Zimmermann, „Die Nachbarschaften“, 50.

<sup>45</sup> Frîncu, *Solidarități*, 74.

Rädern<sup>46</sup>.

Die große Zahl der Vorschriften und Verordnungen diesbezüglich zeigt an, dass allen bewußt war, welche große Gefahr ein Brand für die Nachbarschaft war<sup>47</sup>. Die Gesundheit war äußerst wichtig, großer Wert wurde auf die Reinhaltung der Brunnen und Quellen gelegt, auf die Instandhaltung der Brücken, der Wege und Deiche, wo Überschwemmungsgefahr war. Die Gesundheit hing eng zusammen mit der Qualität des Wassers, und so war jeder verpflichtet, an der Reinigung der Brunnen teilzunehmen, andernfalls wurde er bestraft. In Epidemiezeiten wurden die Fremden aufmerksam geprüft, ob sie aus verseuchten Gegenden kamen. Ihnen wurde die Übernachtung im Ort untersagt. Die Reinhaltung der Höfe, Gärten, der Gassen und Bachufer war eine Pflicht der Nachbarn, denn so wurde die Gesundheit der Bevölkerung gewahrt. All diese Dienstleistungen wurden Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts von den Behörden der Städte und Dörfer übernommen und in der Folge erscheinen sie nicht mehr in den neueren Satzungen.

Die Einhaltung der moralischen Grundsätze und ein gutes Einvernehmen war eine weitere Funktion der Nachbarschaften; im Wertesystem der sächsischen Nation waren Ehrbarkeit, Aufrichtigkeit und Glaubwürdigkeit sehr wichtig. Der Alkoholkonsum wurde von den Nachbarvätern überwacht, es gab diesbezüglich Vorschriften über den Ausschank von Getränken. So konnte zum Beispiel eine Familie, die Wein herstellte, diesen nur an acht Tagen im Jahr verkaufen und auch das nur, wenn sie an der Reihe war; wenn der Nachbar alten Wein hatte, so war an seinem Tor ein Stecken mit einem Strohreif angebracht und wenn er neuen hatte, befand sich auf dem Stecken ein Kohlkopf. Eine solche Vorschrift für den Verkauf von Wein wurde für die Nachbarn auf dem Hundsrücken im Jahr 1685 erlassen. Sie enthielt Angaben betreffend Qualität und Preis des Weines und die Strafen bei Nichtbeachtung<sup>48</sup>. Es war verboten, am Sonntag während der Gottesdienstzeit und an Feiertagen Alkohol zu verkaufen und zu trinken. Das Trinken während der Feste war kontrolliert, die Mitglieder mußten sich an Grenzen halten oder sie wurden bestraft<sup>49</sup>. Streit und Schlägerei waren verboten, jemandem auf der Straße nachzuschreien war eine Beleidigung; wer das tat, zahlte einen Gulden. Lärm bei Nacht wurde hart bestraft. Gemeinsam mit den Wächtern brachten die Nachbarväter einen solchen Menschen in den Arrest und er hatte drei Gulden für die Ruhestörung zu zahlen<sup>50</sup>. Die Unterhaltungen endeten um neun Uhr am Abend und die Teilnehmer gingen zur Ruhe. Es gab wenige Ausnahmen, zum Beispiel in den Spinnstuben konnten die Frauen bis zehn Uhr bleiben. Zuwiderhandelnde wurden bestraft. Die Nachbarn

<sup>46</sup> Zimmermann, „Die Nachbarschaften“, 65.

<sup>47</sup> *Acte*, Fond *Vecinătățile oraşului Sibiu*, Packung 5, ohne Signatur.

<sup>48</sup> Zimmermann, „Die Nachbarschaften“, 119.

<sup>49</sup> Frîncu, *Solidarităţi*, 76.

<sup>50</sup> Ebenda, 77.

durften einander nicht beleidigen, miteinander streiten oder Groll nachtragen; das wurde alles vor den Nachbarvater gebracht, der zu schlichten hatte, damit in der Nachbarschaft gutes Einvernehmen herrschte. Schlechtes Betragen der Kinder gegenüber den Eltern und Streit mit ihnen wurden nicht geduldet. Es wurde alles versucht, diese Spannungen in der Nachbarschaft zu lösen, damit sie nicht vor den Ältestenrat kamen<sup>51</sup>. Das schlimmste Vergehen in sächsischen Gemeinschaften war der Diebstahl. Die Ehrenhaftigkeit des Einzelnen wurde dadurch geprüft, dass innerhalb der Nachbarschaft die gemeinsamen Güter reihum verwaltet wurden; wer das nicht korrekt tat, wurde streng bestraft oder sogar ausgeschlossen. Die Satzungen sahen Strafen und Bußen für alle Übertreter vor.

Obwohl die Nachbarschaften drei Jahrhunderte lang wirkten und eine große Rolle bei der Erziehung des Volkes spielten, ist im Lauf des 19. Jahrhunderts ein merklicher Verfall dieser Einrichtungen festzustellen. Daran Schuld ist zum Teil die Übernahme von immer mehr Befugnissen der Nachbarväter betreffend die öffentliche Ordnung durch den Magistrat. Schon 1691 versucht in Hermannstadt der Magistrat die städtischen Brunner von jenen der Nachbarschaft abzusondern und 1757 wurden Nachtwächter angestellt, obwohl die Bewohner sich widersetzten<sup>52</sup>. Ein Wendepunkt im Leben der Nachbarschaften kam am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts, als in Hermannstadt und in anderen siebenbürgischen Städten die Auflösung der Nachbarschaften beschlossen wurde. So wie aus einem Artikel in der deutschen Zeitung *Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tageblatt* aus dem Jahr 1892 hervorgeht, wurden mit der Auflösung die Identifikationsobjekte der Nachbarschaften dem Brukenthal Museum zur Aufbewahrung übergeben. So finden sich hier etwa 300 ehemalige Nachbarschaftsobjekte. Es handelt sich um Laden – die älteste stammt von 1624, Nachbarzeichen, Leichenzeichen (das älteste aus 1655), Fahnen, Siegelplatten. Neben diesen Identifikationsobjekten ist da noch die besondere Kategorie der vergoldeten Silbergeräte und Zinngeräte, die von den Handwerkern den Nachbarschaften geschenkt wurden. Die unveröffentlichten Dokumente, die es im Nationalarchiv in Hermannstadt gibt, liefern Informationen zur Vervollständigung der Bildes der Hermannstädter Nachbarschaften. Es handelt sich um Satzungen, Namenslisten der Mitglieder, Eintragungen ihrer Vergehen, die bezahlten Stafen und die vom Stadtrat erlassenen Verordnungen betreffend die Belange der Gemeinschaft.

Die Anwesenheit der sächsischen Siedler in Hermannstadt und Umgebung hatte einen positiven Einfluß auf die Entwicklung der Region; neben den Zünften haben beginnend mit dem 16. Jahrhundert die Nachbarschaften zum guten Fortgang des gesellschaftlichen Lebens beigetragen. Anhand der

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<sup>51</sup> Poszony, „Vecinătățile”, 27.

<sup>52</sup> Zimmermann, „Die Nachbarschaften”, 53.

erhaltenen Dokumente und Objekte dürfen wir behaupten, dass die Hermannstädter Nachbarschaften ein Vorbild der Organisierung für die ganze Region darstellten. Als eine Schlußfolgerung dieser Studie, die ein Abbild der Einrichtung der Nachbarschaft zeichnen will, können wir sagen, dass sie soziale Mikroorganismen waren, deren Hauptzweck die Einigung der Bewohner einer oder mehrerer Gassen war und die Einhaltung von Bräuchen, die von Generation zu Generation weitergegeben wurden. Die gegenseitige Hilfeleistung, die Sicherheit des Bürgers, die Einhaltung der moralischen Prinzipien und das gute Einvernehmen sind nur einige der Werte, welche alle Mitglieder dieser Einrichtungen befolgen mußten. Obwohl sie Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts aufgelöst wurden, nahmen sie ihre Tätigkeit Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts wieder auf und wurden als Instrumente der politischen Propaganda gebraucht. Zeugen dafür sind Dokumente und Objekte, die in Museen und privaten Sammlungen aufbewahrt werden. Somit haben sich die Nachbarschaften dem Machtwechsel angepaßt und sich den jeweiligen Behörden gefügt; nach dem ersten Weltkrieg haben sie, obwohl ihr Wirken eingeengt war, eine bedeutende Rolle für die Wahrung und Festigung der sächsischen Identität gehabt. Das Ende des zweiten Weltkrieges hat große demographische, kulturelle und soziale Verschiebungen in den siebenbürgischen Ortschaften gebracht. Auch in dieser veränderten Welt, die voller Gefahren und Bedrohungen war (Enteignung, Deportation), haben die Sachsen die Nachbarschaften beibehalten. Obwohl sie eine empfindlich geringere Rolle in der Gesellschaft hatten, haben die Nachbarschaften das wichtigste beibehalten – die gegenseitige Hilfe. Mit weniger Befugnisse wurden sie zu Einrichtungen der Kirche, die im Leben ihrer Mitglieder auch über die jährlichen Festveranstaltungen hinaus eine tragende Funktion hatten.

Ich habe es für nötig erachtet, diesen Katalog mit einigen der in der Sammlung unseres Museums befindlichen Objekte beizufügen, da er das Bild der Hermannstädter Nachbarschaften vervollständigt.

## KATALOG

### 1. Nachbarschaftsbüchse (Abb. 2)

Siebenbürgische Werkstatt;

Material: Holz, Eisen;

Datierung: 1490;

Maße: H: 8,1 cm; D: 7,5 cm;

Herkunft: Nachbarschaft Quergasse (Tribunei), Hermannstadt;

Nationalmuseum Brukenthal, Historisches Museum - *Haus Altemberger*,

Inv. Nr.: M 4217;

Beschreibung: Die Büchse ist aus gedrechseltem Holz, zylindrisch, mit einem Deckel an einem Scharnierband. Auf der oberen Hälfte des Deckels sind die Jahreszahlen 15\_60 und 16\_60 aufgeschrieben und auf der unteren Hälfte die

Jahreszahl 1490. Diese Aufschriften sind leicht ins Holz eingeschnitzt, fast eingekratzt. Auf dem Deckelboden sind leicht eingeschnitzt die folgenden Jahreszahlen: 1544 auf dem unteren Teil, 1531 Mitte links 15 X 31, rechts 1545. Im Inneren der Büchse gibt es keine Inschrift. Die Schachtel ist mit einem Metallband gefaßt, am Deckel mit sechs Nieten befestigt, hinten vier und vorne zwei. Ein Verschlusssystem mit rechteckigem Schloß.

Bibliographie: Ioan Albu, *Inschriften der Stadt Hermannstadt aus dem Mittelalter und Frühneuzeit* (Sibiu: Hora, 2002), 19.

### 2. Nachbarschaftsbüchse (Abb. 3)

Siebenbürgische Werkstatt;

Material: Holz, Eisen;

Datierung: 1581;

Maße: H: 11,5cm; D: 7,1 cm;

Herkunft: Hermannstadt;

Nationalmuseum Brukenthal, Historisches Museum - *Haus Altemberger*,  
Inv. Nr.: M 4126;

Beschreibung: Die Büchse ist ein Holzzylinder mit zwei Metallringen gefaßt, der Deckel ist aus Holz mit einem Eisenring mit zwei Nieten gefaßt und das Metallband am Deckel mit zehn Nieten befestigt. Die beiden Metallringe am unteren Teil der Büchse sind mit je drei Nieten befestigt und das Verschlusssystem mit zwei Nieten. Auch das Schloß ist vorhanden aber der Schlüssel fehlt. Auf der Büchse steht die Jahreszahl 1581 geschrieben, möglich das Jahr der Anfertigung, auf dem Boden ist das Meisterzeichen eingeschnitzt; im Inneren gibt es keine Inschrift. Die Besitzer sind nicht bekannt, aber nach Form und Größe zu urteilen, hat sie auch einer Hermannstädter Nachbarschaft gehört.

Bibliographie: Raluca Maria Frîncu, „Puşculițe medievale din lemn ale unor vecinătăți sibiene” [Mittelalterliche hölzerne Büchse einiger Nachbarschaften von Hermannstadt], in Sabin Adrian Luca, Claudiu Munteanu, hg., *Monedă și comerț în sud-estul Europei* [Münze und Handel in Südosteuropa], I (Sibiu: Editura Muzeului Național Brukenthal, 2007), 255-265.

### 3. Nachbarschaftsbüchse (Abb. 4)

Siebenbürgische Werkstatt;

Material: Holz, Eisen;

Datierung: 1617;

Maße: H: 8,2 cm; D: 6,2 cm;

Herkunft: Nachbarschaft Unterwiessengasse (Livezii de sus)  
Hermannstadt;

Nationalmuseum Brukenthal, Historisches Museum - *Haus Altemberger*,  
Inv. Nr.: M 4125;

Beschreibung: Holzbüchse, am unteren Teil ist der Zylinder in drei

Streifen geteilt, mit geometrischen Motiven verziert. Der Deckelrand ist mit denselben Motiven verziert, der obere Teil hat im Relief geschnitzte geometrische Motive. Auf dem Deckelboden, oben, steht mit schwarzer Farbe die Jahreszahl 1617 geschrieben und unten *S·S·D·W·S*. Die Büchse ist mit einem Metallband gefaßt, am Deckel mit zwei Nieten befestigt, auf der Rückseite ebenfalls zwei Nieten, eine Niete auf dem Boden und vorne drei Nieten. Das Schloß ist nicht erhalten. Die Büchse ist aus Weichholz geschnitzt und lackiert. Sie hat der Nachbarschaft Unterwiesengasse gehört und wurde gemäß des alten Registers im Jahr 1885 von Professor Arz dem Museum geschenkt.

Bibliographie: Frîncu, „Puşculițe medievale”, 255-265.

#### 4. Nachbarschaftslade (Abb. 5)

Siebenbürgische Werkstatt;

Material: Holz, Eisen;

Datierung: 1673;

Maße: H: 33 cm; L: 66 cm; B: 36,5 cm;

Herkunft: Nachbarschaft Wiessnergasse (Livezii) Hermannstadt;

Nationalmuseum Brukenthal, Historisches Museum - *Haus Altemberger*,

Inv. Nr.: M 5044/14.272;

Beschreibung: Nachbarschaftslade aus Weichholz, parallelepipedisch, der Deckel in drei Felder unterteilt, mit Profilleisten am Boden. Die Seitenteile mit je einer großen Blume dekoriert, in braun und weiß gemalt. Auf der Vorderseite die Aufschrift: *H. Johannes Herbert verehret diese Lade der Ehrlicher oberster Wießner Nachbarschaft 1673*, das Innere der Lade blau ausgemalt bis zur Hälfte, mit einer schwarzen Wellenlinie abgeschlossen. Links eine Kasette mit verschiebbarem Zwischenboden. Das Verschlusssystem der Lade, die Griffe und die Scharniere sind aus Schmiedeeisen.

Bibliographie: Raluca Maria Frîncu, *Meşteşug și culoare. Obiecte din lemn pictat în colecția Muzeului Național Brukenthal* [Handwerk und Farbe. Bemalte Holzobjekte in der Sammlung des Brukenthal National Museum] (Sibiu: Altip, 2011), 20.

#### 5. Leichenzeichen (Abb. 6, 7)

Siebenbürgische Werkstatt;

Material: Holz, Eisen;

Datierung: 1694;

Maße: L: 21,8 cm; B: 13,1 cm;

Herkunft: Nachbarschaft Johannis Reeggasse, Hermannstadt;

Nationalmuseum Brukenthal, Historisches Museum - *Haus Altemberger*,

Inv. Nr.: M 4054/6507;

Beschreibung: Leichenzeichen aus geschnitztem Holz. Auf der einen Seite ist eine Sanduhr dargestellt, umrahmt von einer Hacke, einer Schaufel und

der Inschrift: *IOHANES / REE / GER / NACHBAR / SCHAFT*, und unten ein Totenschädel über zwei gekreuzten Knochen. Auf der anderen Seite ein geschnitztes Herz, durchbohrt von zwei Schwertern und darüber eine Krone. Links und rechts der Krone die Initialien *A. / D.* Das Herz ist umrahmt von der Datierung: 16/94; auf dem unteren Teil die Initialien *MB / S.* Am Rand ist das Zeichen beidseitig mit Pflanzenvoluten umrahmt. Oben ist ein Metallband mit Ring befestigt.

Bibliographie: Raluca Maria Frîncu, Olga Beşliu, „Semne de înmormântare ale vecinătăţilor sibiene din colecţia Muzeului Naţional Brukenthal” [Trauerzeichen der Nachbarschaften von Hermannstadt aus der Sammlung des Nationalmuseums Brukenthal], *Brukenthal Acta Musei* V.1 (2010): 179-190.

#### 6. Nachbarschaftszeichen (Abb. 8, 9)

Siebenbürgische Werkstatt;

Material: Zinn, Eisen;

Datierung: 1723;

Maße: H: 13,5cm; B: 14cm;

Herkunft: Nachbarschaft Sporergasse (Pintenului), Hermannstadt;

Nationalmuseum Brukenthal, Historisches Museum - *Haus Altemberger*,

Inv. Nr.: M 4383/14193;

Beschreibung: Nachbarschaftszeichen in Form eines barocken Wappenschildes. Eine der Seiten ist mit einem elliptischen Rahmen dekoriert in dem verschiedene Wirtschaftsgeräte abgebildet sind: Reibeisen, Löffel, Sieb, Hackbeil und ein Topf. Auf dem unteren Teil befindet sich die Inschrift: *SPOREER GASZ*, und um den Rahmen herum eine andere Inschrift: *VEREHRET CATHARINA DIETRICH(I)N AO 1723*. Außerhalb des Rahmens, am Rande des Schildes befinden sich Blumenmotive: Blätter und Voluten mit Sträußen und unten eine Maske eingraviert. Am oberen Teil befindet sich eine kugelförmige Muffe durch die ein eiserner Ring geht.

Bibliographie: Anamaria Haldner, *Colecţia de cositoare. Catalog* [Die Sammlung der Zinnobjekten] (Sibiu: Editura Poligrafică, 1972), 91-92.

#### 7. Nachbarschaftszeichen (Abb. 10)

Siebenbürgische Werkstatt;

Material: Holz;

Datierung: 1750;

Maße: H: 14 cm; B: 11,5 cm;

Herkunft: Nachbarschaft Burger (Ocnei), Hermannstadt;

Nationalmuseum Brukenthal, Historisches Museum - *Haus Altemberger*,

Inv. Nr.: M 7760;

Beschreibung: Nachbarschaftszeichen aus weichem Holz in Herzform;

auf der einen Seite sind die Jahreszahl 1750 und Blumenmotive aufgemalt, auf der anderen Seite die Inschrift: *UNTER BURGAESER NACHGASEN HUT*. Lederschlaufe oben.

Bibliographie: Raluca Maria Frîncu, Olga Beșliu, „Pieșe ale vecinătăților străzii și porții Ocnei (Burgergasse, Burgertor) din Sibiu aflate în colecția Muzeului Național Brukenthal” [Stücke der Straße- und Häfenachbarschaften von Ocna (Burgergasse, Burgertor) in Sibiu in der Sammlung des Brukenthal National Museum], *Brukenthal Acta Musei* IV.1 (2009): 243-256.

8. Teller (Abb. 11)

Hermannstädter Werkstatt;

Material: Zinn;

Datierung: 1790;

Maße: Dg: 21 cm; Db: 14 cm;

Herkunft: Nachbarschaft Lederergasse (Pielarilor), Hermannstadt;

Nationalmuseum Brukenthal, Historisches Museum - *Haus Altemberger*,

Inv. Nr. : M 266/9716;

Beschreibung: Der Teller ist flach, rund. Der Rand leicht konkav. Der Körper des Gefäßes ist konkav und geneigt, der Boden flach und eben. Am Rand ist die Inschrift graviert: *LEDER: GASS: NACHBARSCHAFT; 1790*.

9. Leichenzeichen (Abb. 12, 13)

Siebenbürgische Werkstatt;

Autor: Stephan Wachsman;

Material: Messing;

Datierung: 1791;

Maße: L: 17,5 cm; B: 9,5 cm;

Herkunft: Nachbarschaft Heltauer Gasse (Bălcescu) - Hermannstadt;

Nationalmuseum Brukenthal - Historisches Museum *Haus Altemberger*,

Inv. Nr.: M 4192/14194;

Beschreibung: Leichenzeichen aus Messing in Form eines Wappenschildes, mit Gravuren verziert. Auf der einen Seite ist das Heltauer Tor abgebildet mit dem Wappen Hermannstadts im oberen Teil. Über dem Turm die Inschrift: *Signum Vicinor: in Platea Heltauer inferior / ordo est ani:ma rerum*. Auf der anderen Seite ist ein Brunnen mit drei Spunden und dem Hermannstädter Wappen. Auf dem Brunnen befinden sich zwei Tassen und daneben Gefäße zum Wasser holen: Eimer, Bottiche und Kannen. Die Inschrift auf dem oberen Teil *der unter Heltner Gaßen Nachbahrschaft / HORA FUGIT* umrahmt eine Sanduhr mit ausgebreiteten Flügeln. Unter dem Brunnen ist der Name des Meisters eingraviert: *fecit Steph: Wachsman[n]*. Der Rand des Zeichens ist gedoppelt von einer stilisierten Pflanzengirlande. Die Datierung 17/91 erscheint auf beiden Seiten. Im oberen Teil des Zeichens, auf beiden Seiten



ist eine Schleife dargestellt, an der ein Ring befestigt ist.

Bibliographie: Frîncu, Beşliu, „Semne de înmormântare”, 179-190.

10. Nachbarschaftsfahne (Abb. 14, 15)

Siebenbürgische Werkstatt;

Material: Seide;

Datierung: 1790;

Maße: L: 203 cm, B: 160 cm; Lhampa: 394 cm;

Herkunft: Nachbarschaft Saager Tor (Turnului), Hermannstadt;

Nationalmuseum Brukenthal, Historisches Museum - *Haus Altemberger*,

Inv. Nr.: M 5231/10.057;

Beschreibung: Die Fahne ist aus grüner Seide gefertigt, auf der einen Seite ist mit Gelb die Inschrift aufgemalt: ....*DEUS PRO NOBIS QUI CONTRA NOS/ IN PRIVILEGIS SECURITAS A 1790. D 10 MAJI*. Auf der anderen Seite die Bezeichnung der Nachbarschaft: SAG THOR/1714. Der Erhaltungszustand ist relativ gut.

11. Teller (Abb. 16)

Hermannstädter Werkstatt;

Autor: G. W.;

Material: Zinn;

Datierung: 1807;

Markierung: 2 Meistermarken, 1 Marke Hermannstadt;

Maße: H: 2 cm; Dg: 21,3 cm; Db: 14 cm;

Herkunft: Nachbarschaft Burgergasse (Ocnei), Hermannstadt;

Nationalmuseum Brukenthal, Historisches Museum - *Haus Altemberger*,

Inv. Nr.: M 296/2288;

Beschreibung: Der Teller ist flach, rund. Der Rand ist leicht konkav, gerippt. Der Körper ist konkav, leicht geneigt, der Boden flach, eben. Am Rand sind zwei Zweige mit Blättern, ährenförmig, dazwischen die Initialien und die Datierung: *P. W. / 1807*. Dann, mit linkschen Lettern nachträglich hinzugefügt die Inschrift: *J. Eitel*.

12. Teller (Abb. 17)

Hermannstädter Werkstatt;

Material: Zinn;

Datierung: 1818;

Maße; Dg: 22 cm; Db: 14 cm;

Herkunft: Nachbarschaft Burgergasse (Ocnei), Hermannstadt;

Nationalmuseum Brukenthal, Historisches Museum - *Haus Altemberger*,

Inv. Nr.: M 256/14.257;

Beschreibung: Der Teller ist flach, rund. Auf dem leicht konkaven Rand

befindet sich die Inschrift: *ADAM HAMBUCHINGER DER JÜNGERE. 1818. IOHANN WIMMER. ALTER NACHBARHAN.* Der Körper des Gefäßes ist konkav und geneigt, der Boden flach und eben, mit Pflanzenmotiven verziert.

13. Kolumne (Abb. 18)

Siebenbürgische Werkstatt;

Material: Holz;

Datierung: 19. Jahrhundert;

Maße: L: 55,1cm; B: 15cm;

Herkunft: Nachbarschaft Fleisnergasse (Măcelariilor), Hermannstadt;

Nationalmuseum Brukenthal, Historisches Museum - *Haus Altemberger*,

Inv. Nr.: M 5383/14.254;

Beschreibung: Kolumne aus Weichholz, rechteckig, mit einem abgerundeten Griff. Auf beiden Seiten mit je einer Furche in der Mitte und an den Seiten. Auf beiden Seiten mit Papier beklebt. Auf der einen Seite die Namen der Nachbarn auf der anderen die Inschrift: *Fleischer Gasse Nachbarschaft.*

14. Kolumne (Abb. 19)

Siebenbürgische Werkstatt;

Material: Holz, Messing;

Datierung: 1857;

Maße: H: 31,5cm; B: 23 cm;

Herkunft: Nachbarschaft Fleisnergasse (Mitropoliei) Hermannstadt;

Nationalmuseum Brukenthal, Historisches Museum - *Haus Altemberger*,

Inv. Nr.: M 5393/14.251;

Beschreibung: Nachbarschaftszeichen aus Hartholz, hellbraun, rechteckig, mit der Aufschrift: *FLEISCHER-GASSEN NACHBARSCHAFT/1857.* Im Inneren ein Blumenornament, an einem Ende ein Griff.

15. Nachbarzeichen (Abb. 20)

Siebenbürgische Werkstatt;

Material: Holz;

Datierung: 1857;

Maße: H: 20 cm; B: 15 cm;

Herkunft: Nachbarschaft Fleisnergasse (Mitropoliei), Hermannstadt;

Nationalmuseum Brukenthal, Historisches Museum - *Haus Altemberger*,

Inv. Nr.: M 4084/14.235;

Beschreibung: Das Zeichen ist aus Hartholz, hat die Form eines Wappens, ist ringsum mit ausgesägten Pflanzenmotiven verziert, in der Mitte die Inschrift: *Fleischer- Gassen/ Nachbarschaft/ 1857*, mit einem Messingring versehen.

16. Nachbarschaftszeichen (Abb. 21)

Siebenbürgische Werkstatt;  
Material: Holz;  
Datierung: 19. Jahrhundert;  
Maße: H: 17 cm; B: 14, 5 cm;  
Herkunft: Nachbarschaft Obere Wiesengasse (Livezii de sus),  
Hermannstadt;  
Nationalmuseum Brukenthal, Historisches Museum - *Haus Altemberger*,  
Inv. Nr.: M 4082/14.231;  
Beschreibung: Nachbarschaftszeichen aus Weichholz, rötlich braun,  
Kartuschenform, Auf einer Seite die Aufschrift: *OBERE WIESEN GASSEN  
NACHBARSCHAFT*.

17. Nachbarschaftsfahne (Abb. 22, 23)  
Siebenbürgische Werkstatt;  
Maße: L: 129 cm, B: 83cm;  
Material: Fahne: Baumwolle; Fransen, Quasten: Metallfaden; Stickerei:  
Seidenfaden, Baumwolle und Metallfaden;  
Datierung: 1925;  
Herkunft: Nachbarschaft Saaggasse (Turnului) Hermannstadt.  
Nationalmuseum Brukenthal, Historisches Museum - *Haus Altemberger*,  
Inv. Nr.: M 1989/15471;  
Beschreibung: Die Fahne ist rechteckig, mit Fransen umrahmt, an den  
Ecken Quasten. Die Vorderseite ist rot, in der Mitte das Wappen Hermannstadts  
auf weißem Hintergrund gestickt, oben und unten die Aufschrift und Datierung:  
*Wir wollen bleiben / fest und hart. / Treu unsrer deutschen / Eigenart / 1925*;  
Rückseite: *Jugend der Saggässer / Nachbarschaft*. Auf der blauen Rückseite ist  
eine Mandoline mit mehreren Bändern aufgestickt, davon eines mit  
Blumendekoration, ein zweites mit den Aufschriften: 1: *Lebe Liebe Lache*, 2: *O  
Wonnevolle Jugendzeit*. Der Schaft fehlt.  
Bibliographie: Raluca Maria Frîncu, Olga Beşliu, „Pieșe ale vecinătății Sag  
aflate în colecția Muzeului Național Brukenthal – Muzeul de istorie Casa  
Altemberger” [Stücke der Nachbarschaft von Sag in der Sammlung des  
Brukenthal National Museum – Altemberger Haus Geschichtsmuseum],  
*Brukenthal Acta Musei* III. 1 (2008): 319-324.

18. Nachbarschaftsfahne (Abb. 24, 25)  
Siebenbürgische Werkstatt;  
Material: Fahne: Satin aus roter und blauer Baumwolle; Stickerei: Gelbe  
und grüne Seide, Goldfaden, Metallringe;  
Datierung: 1929;  
Maße: L: 131 cm; B: 104 cm;  
Herkunft: Spende der Nachbarschaft Burgertor, Hermannstadt;

Beschreibung: Die Fahne ist rechteckig, mit Fransen auf drei Seiten, 9 Befestigungsringen und 7 Bändern. Auf der roten Seite zwei Karutschen in Schildform aufgetragen, mit dem Wappen Hermannstadts und Siebenbürgens darauf; darüber die Aufschriften – *Bruder und Schwesterschaft / Burgertor* – und darunter – *Hermannstadt 1929*. Auf der blauen Seite, in eine Eichenblattkrone mit Eicheln die Aufschrift: *Des Volkes Zukunft / ist die / Jugend*.

Nationalmuseum Brukenthal, Historisches Museum – *Haus Altemberger*,  
Inv. Nr.: M 1988/14751;

Bibliographie: Frîncu, Beşliu, „Pieşele ale vecinătăţilor străzii şi porţii Ocnei”: 243-256.

19. Nachbarschaftslade (Abb. 26)

Siebenbürgische Werkstatt;

Material: Holz, Eisen;

Datierung: 1936;

Maße: H: 47 cm; L: 65 cm; B: 39,5 cm;

Herkunft: Nachbarschaft Ziegelgraben (Țigłari) Hermannstadt;

Nationalmuseum Brukenthal, Historisches Museum – *Haus Altemberger*,  
Inv. Nr.: M 5006/15.516;

Beschreibung: Die Lade der Nachbarschaft „beyden Ziegelgraben” (Țigłari) aus Hermannstadt, aus Eichenholz gefertigt stellt einen Ziegelofen dar, außen mauerförmig, seitlich zwei, vorne drei Heizlöcher. Vorne die Inschrift: *Nr. 25 Nachbarschaft bei dem Ziegelgraben, 1936*. Auf dem Deckel eingelegt ein Emblem, das auch auf den Griffen erscheint. Die Griffen, die Scharniere und das Verschlusssystem sind aus Schmiedeeisen.

20. Nachbarschaftslade (Abb. 27, 28)

Siebenbürgische Werkstatt;

Material: Holz, Eisen;

Datierung: 1937;

Maße: H: 41 cm; L: 65,5 cm; B: 45 cm;

Herkunft: Nachbarschaft Nr. 2 In der Burg (În oraş) Hermannstadt;

Nationalmuseum Brukenthal, Historisches Museum – *Haus Altemberger*,  
Inv. Nr.: M 5016/15.517;

Beschreibung: Es ist die Lade der Nachbarschaft Nr. 2 In der Burg, die die Bewohner des Kleinen Rings und des Huetplatzes umfaßte. Aus Holz gefertigt in modernem Stil. Vorne außen ein vertieftes Feld mit geripptem Hintergrund, die obere Breite leicht geschwungen zeigt einen verzierten Spitzbogen. Im Inneren des Bogens eine Teilansicht des Hermannstädter Zentrums. Am Verschlusssystem, das aufgebrochen wurde, fehlt das Schloß. Im Inneren befindet sich ein Regal für die Register und auf dem Deckelinneren das Emblem der Nachbarschaft mit vier Zeichen für jede Straße.



Abb. 1. Nachbarschaftsbüchsen, 15.-16. Jahrhundert.



Abb. 2. Nachbarschaftsbüchse, 1490.



Abb. 3. Nachbarschaftsbüchse, 1581.



Abb. 4. Nachbarschaftsbüchse, 1617.



Abb. 5. Nachbarschaftslade, 1673.



Abb. 6-7. Leichenzeichen, 1694.



Abb. 8-9. Nachbarzeichen, 1723.





Abb. 10. Nachbarzeichen, 1750.



Abb. 11. Teller, 1790.



Abb. 12-13. Leichenzeichen, 1791.



Abb. 14-15. Nachbarschaftsfahne, 1790.



Abb. 16. Teller, 1807.



Abb. 17. Teller, 1818.

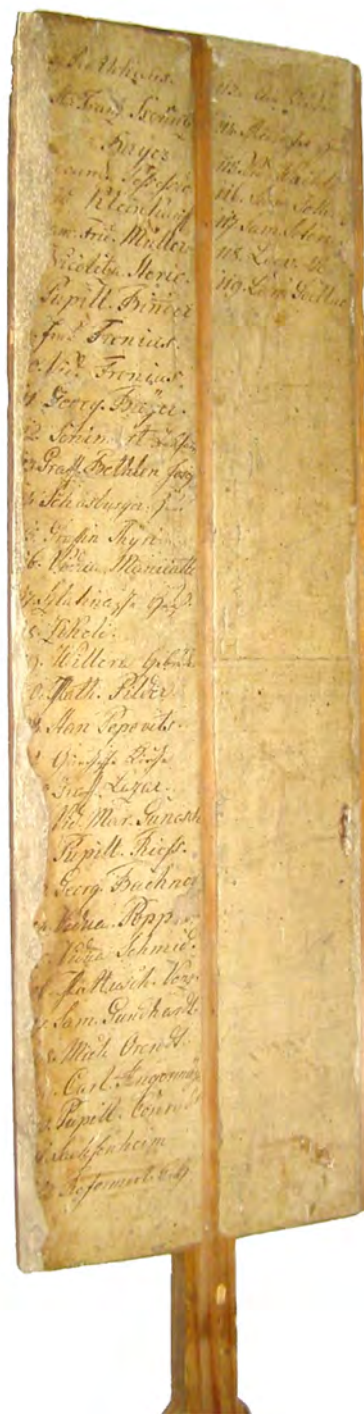


Abb. 18. Kolumne, 19. Jahrhundert.



Abb. 19. Kolumne, 1857.



Abb. 20. Nachbarzeichen, 1857.



Abb. 21. Nachbarzeichen, 19. Jahrhundert.



Abb. 22. Nachbarschaftsfahne, 1925.





Abb. 23. Nachbarschaftsfahne, 1925.



Abb. 24. Nachbarschaftsfahne, 1929.



Abb. 25. Nachbarschaftsfahne, 1929.



Abb. 26. Nachbarschaftslade, 1936.



Abb. 27. Nachbarschaftslade, 1937.



Abb. 28. Offene Nachbarschaftslade, 1937.



## CATHERINE II AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORIGINS OF THE JEWISH QUESTION IN RUSSIA

ALESSANDRO SETTE\*

### 1. *The attitude of Russian Tsars towards the Jews before the Polish partitions: a brief survey*

In the late eighteenth century, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth<sup>1</sup> was partitioned by Russia, Prussia and Austria-Hungary in three stages: 1772, 1793, and 1795. Although both Berlin and Vienna gained substantial territories, the Tsarist Empire took the lion's share of the land that belonged to the Republic of the Two Nations, as the Commonwealth was then generally known. The erasure of Poland-Lithuania from the political map of Europe gave Russia control of a large region measuring approximately 462,000 square kilometres and inhabited by more than 5.5 million people. Such an impressive territorial aggrandisement successfully completed the Romanovs' long-standing project of westward expansion and established Russian hegemonic influence across Eastern Europe.<sup>2</sup>

The Polish partitions produced another remarkable, though unexpected, result: the transformation of the largest Jewish population globally into subjects of the Romanovs.<sup>3</sup> As a consequence, vast numbers of descendants of the "God killers"<sup>4</sup> found themselves not only compelled to live under the rule of the Tsars, inflexible Protectors of the Orthodox Faith who lacked tolerance for the Jews, but also gathered in a nation from which they had already been barred or

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<sup>1</sup> The merging of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania under the same sovereign began in 1386 with the Act of Krowo, namely the document that ratified the arranged marriage between Lithuania's Grand Duke Jogaila (the later Władysław Jagiełło) to Jadvyga of Anjou, the heiress to the throne of Poland. The personal union became a full union in 1568, when the two nations were formally merged in a single, yet federated state with the Act of Lublin.

<sup>2</sup> On the three partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth see Jerzy Lukowski, *The Partitions of Poland 1772, 1793, 1795* (London & New York: Longman, 1999).

<sup>3</sup> As few source materials exist, it is quite difficult to accurately estimate the Jewish population in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the eighteenth century. The most reliable figure appears to be that based on Mahler's analysis of the 1764-1765 Polish-Lithuanian government's fiscal census. Mahler concludes that at that time, there were approximately 750,000 Jews within the borders of the Commonwealth. See Rafael Mahler *Yidn in Amoylikn Poilin in Likht fon Zifern* (Warsaw, 1958), 32-42. According to Hundert, by the end of the eighteenth century, Polish-Jews numbered about one million people, representing approximately 80% of the world's Jewry. See Gershon D. Hundert, *Jews in Poland-Lithuania in the Eighteenth Century: A Genealogy of Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 22.

<sup>4</sup> Israel Bartal, *The Jews of Eastern Europe, 1772-1881* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 34.

*Annales Universitatis Apulensis Series Historica* 23, II (2019): 47-63.

expelled on several occasions. In fact, this was not the first time Tsarist Russia encountered the Chosen People.

Regarded as unwelcome intruders, Jews had been forbidden entry into the Russian state from the reign of Ivan IV the Terrible in the sixteenth century up to the reign of Peter I the Great in the early eighteenth century. Nonetheless, in the mid-seventeenth century a small, yet well-established Jewish community could be found in the Tsardom – and more precisely in Little Russia (today's Ukraine) – as a result of the Russo-Polish War (1654-1667).<sup>5</sup> In 1727, however, Catherine I, the second wife and successor to Peter the Great, acted in deference to the bitter complaints from the Orthodox clergy regarding the spreading influence of Judaism. She decreed that all Jews “who have settled in Ukraine and in other Russian cities be deported immediately from Russia beyond the border, and in no circumstances be admitted into Russia”.<sup>6</sup>

Because of their commercial usefulness, the Empress Anna Ivanovna re-admitted the Jews to her Empire in 1734, allowing the latter to temporarily visit Little Russia for business purposes.<sup>7</sup> However, these economic considerations were soon replaced by religious intolerance. In 1742, the fervently Orthodox daughter of Peter the Great, Elizabeth Petrovna, ascertained that “some Jews in our Empire continue to live there under all kinds of pretence, being engaged in business or in keeping inns and taverns, from which circumstance no benefit of any kind, but [...] only extreme injury, can accrue to our faithful subjects”. Refusing to count among her subjects and guests “these haters of the name of our Savior Christ”, the Empress thus decided to expel, once again, all Jews from the Tsars' domains. More precisely, the edict (in Russian, *ukase*) issued by the Empress reads as follows:

“From our whole Empire, both from the Great Russian and Little Russian cities, villages, and hamlets, all Jews of the male and female sex, of whatever calling and dignity they may be, shall, at the publication of this our *ukase*, be immediately deported with all their property abroad, and shall henceforward, under no pretext, be admitted into our Empire for any purpose; unless they shall be willing to accept the Christian religion of the Greek persuasion. Such [Jews], having been baptized, shall be allowed to live in our Empire, but they shall not be permitted to go outside the country.”<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The Russo-Polish War, also known as the “Thirteen Years' War”, ended in 1667 with the Armistice of Andrusovo. It secured Russia's possession of Kiev and Smolensk alongside all the Ukrainian territories on the Left bank of the Dnieper river, the latter of which was home to a quite large Jewish population.

<sup>6</sup> Catherine I's full edict is quoted in Simon Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland, from the Earliest Times Until the Present Day* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1916), 3 vols., I, 250.

<sup>7</sup> John Klier, *Russia Gathers Her Jews: The Origins of the “Jewish Question” in Russia, 1772-1825* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986), 28.

<sup>8</sup> The full text of Elizabeth's *ukase* can be found in Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, 255.



Elizabeth's categorical order, however, did not produce the results she expected, and the Jews resisted her attempts to convert them. Further to this, Christian merchants from Livonia and Little Russia appealed to Russian policymakers and asked them to grant the Jews free, temporary admission to the Empire for the purpose of business. Without the Jews, the merchants were indeed concerned that the commercial systems within these regions would collapse entirely. However, when the Senate, alarmed by such a prospect, asked the Empress to reconsider her decision, Elizabeth angrily replied that she desired "from the enemies of Christ [...] neither gain nor profit". In 1744, the Tsarina issued another *ukase*, urging the detection and immediate expulsion of all Jews still residing in her domains. "Henceforward", the decree states,

"the above Jews shall not by any means, under any conditions, and for any purpose whatsoever, be admitted into Russia, though it be for the fairs or for a short time only; nor shall any representations concerning their admission be further addressed to the Senate, and the Senate shall be duly informed when all the above [Jews] shall have been expelled."<sup>9</sup>

From that point onward, no Jew could legally enter or reside in the Tsarist Empire. Consequently, the moment of the first Polish partition raised two major questions. The first one was directly related to Elisabeth's ban on Jews, namely: should the Russian government expel the huge Jewish population inherited from the Polish-Lithuanian state? The second question, by contrast, was strictly connected with the Jews' role and position in Polish-Lithuanian society. Thus, before continuing, it is worth addressing the condition of the Jews in Poland-Lithuania prior to 1772 in order to understand their status upon entering the Tsarist Empire.

## 2. *Jews' economic role and socio-political status in the pre-partition Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*

Following centuries of religiously-inspired persecution and expulsion in Western Europe, a large number of Jews – mainly from Germany, Bohemia, Austria and Italy – found a new homeland in the liberal, multi-ethnic and multi-religious Poland-Lithuania by the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>10</sup> Here, the Polish-Lithuanian kings and nobles enacted protective legislation for the benefit of the Jewish population, who were also granted economic privileges. The rulers' primary interest in Jewish immigrants was economic; their entrepreneurial vitality bolstered the state coffers, while the Jewish population were given the opportunity to flourish freely in turn. During the sixteenth

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 257.

<sup>10</sup> In many respects, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth represented an exception among the states of Europe. It was a constitutional monarchy with a sovereign elected by the local aristocracy. The latter was represented in a parliament (in Polish, *Sejm*), which had the primary task of preventing the king from exercising absolute power. It was also the most tolerant state within Europe more generally, to the point that it was given the Latin name of *Asylum Haereticorum* in the Middle Ages.

century, the Jews progressively improved their socio-economic status and became well-represented within the country's upper-middle class. Traditionally devoted to finance and trade, many Jews took on the roles of bankers, moneylenders, stockbrokers, merchants, import-export agents, wholesale and retail dealers, craftsmen, pawn-brokers and liquor purveyors, vigorously contributing to the economic well-being of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In addition, they possessed the ability to furnish services that were not provided by local cadres. As Friedlander explains, "they were capitalists, that is, they were the only ones who, in a country handicapped by the lack of executive ability among its inhabitants, knew how to apply capital".<sup>11</sup> These financial management skills allowed the Jews to develop close relations with the Polish-Lithuanian aristocracy. They acted as nobles' estate leaseholders, administrators, tax collectors, agents and intermediaries in the trade of agricultural products, establishing themselves as a *trait d'union* between enslaved peasants and wealthy landlords, and between town and countryside.<sup>12</sup> Conditions among the Polish-Jewry were so prosperous, that in 1565, a papal legate, Cardinal Giovanni F. Commendone, reported:

There are in those provinces a great numbers of Jews who are not as despised as in elsewhere the case. They do not live in a state of degradation, and they are not restricted to despised professions. They own land, are engaged in commerce, and apply themselves to sciences [...]. They may acquire considerable wealth; and are not only considered to be respectable people, but often wield authority over them. [...]. In short, they enjoy all the rights of other citizens.<sup>13</sup>

Between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries, the Jews saw the apogee of their economic success. During this period, they moved from Polish cities in increasing numbers – where intense economic tensions with the Catholic bourgeoisie had developed – to the large nobility-owned estates located in the south-eastern rural areas of the Commonwealth. In these regions the Jews, shielded by Polish landlords, established small, isolated, all-Jewish market-towns known as *shtetls*,<sup>14</sup> which soon became the most important

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<sup>11</sup> Israel Friedlander, *The Jews of Russia and Poland: a bird's-eye view of their history and culture* (New York & London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915), 43.

<sup>12</sup> On the relationship between Jews and magnates in Poland-Lithuania see Murray J. Rosman, *The Lords' Jews: Magnate-Jewish Relations in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century* (Cambridge: Center for Jewish Studies and the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University Press, 1990).

<sup>13</sup> See *La Vie du Cardinal Jean François Commendon écrite en latine par Antoine Maria Gratiani, Evesque d'Amelia. Et traduite en François par monsieur Fléchier, Abbé de S. Severin* (Paris, 1680), 270.

<sup>14</sup> On the *shtetl* see Ben-Cion Pinchuk, "The Shtetl: An Ethnic Town in the Russian Empire", in *Cahiers du monde russe* 41 (2000): 495-504; John Klier, "What exactly was a Shtetl?", in Gennady Estraiikh and Mikhail Krutikov, eds., *The Shtetl: Image and Reality* (Oxford: Legenda, published by The European Humanities Research Centre, 2000), 23-35; Israel Bartal, "Imagined Geography.

commercial crossroads and hubs of the Polish-Lithuanian state. At the same time, the rapidly expanding rural economy further strengthened their ties with magnate patrons, “so much so that the terms *arendarz* (leaseholder) and ‘Jew’ became synonymous”.<sup>15</sup> Due to their talent in trade and capacity for service activities, the Jews reached so dominant a role in the early eighteenth-century Polish-Lithuanian capital market and trade intermediation that, as Rogger states, they played “a part in nearly every transaction that peasant and lord had with the outside world and with one another”.<sup>16</sup>

Besides the above-mentioned economic privileges, Polish-Lithuanian rulers also granted the Jews a significant degree of religious and cultural freedom, alongside legal equality.<sup>17</sup> In Poland, as Klier affirms, “to be a ‘Jew’ meant not only to be a member of a specific religious community, but also a member of a distinct legal corporation, with recognized rights and prerogatives”.<sup>18</sup> More importantly, the Polish-Lithuanian Jewry enjoyed an unprecedented level of political autonomy. Jewish self-government was based on a three-level structure: 1) the communal council (in Hebrew, *kahal*), formed by elders and rabbis elected yearly by members of the local community (in Hebrew, *kehilla*); 2) the provincial council (in Hebrew, *medinoth*), comprising representatives from *kahals* of a specific province; 3) the “Council of the Four Lands”, also known as the “Jewish Parliament” (in Hebrew, *Va’ad Arba Aratzot*), that served as the supreme legislative, administrative, judicial and spiritual body, as well as the tax collector and protector of collective interests. In other words, their privileged socioeconomic status and decentralised system of governance allowed Poland-Lithuania’s Jews to create a well-integrated, yet autonomous nation within the nation built on Talmudic Judaism.<sup>19</sup> Between the

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The Shtetl, Myth and Reality”, in Steven Katz, ed., *The Shtetl: New Evaluations* (New York & London: New York University Press, 2007), 179-193.

<sup>15</sup> Hundert, *Jews in Poland-Lithuania in the Eighteenth Century*, 15.

<sup>16</sup> Hans Rogger, “Government, Jews, peasants, and land in post-emancipation Russia [The pre-emancipation background; stirrings and limits of reform]”, in *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 17, 1 (1976): 7. On the matter see also Hundert, *Jews in Poland-Lithuania in the Eighteenth Century*, 34.

<sup>17</sup> In 1573, complete freedom of religion was guaranteed to the Jews by the Warsaw Confederation Act. Further to this, legal status, freedom of movement, autonomy in trade and exemption from slavery and serfdom were secured for the Jewish community by general and local privileges. For further information on this matter, see Jacob Goldberg, “The Privileges granted to Jewish Communities of the Polish Commonwealth as a Stabilizing Factor in Jewish Support”, in Chimen Abramsky, Maciej Jachimczyk and Antony Polonsky, eds., *The Jews in Poland* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 31-54. For a collection of such privileges see *Jewish Privileges in the Polish Commonwealth: Charters of Rights Granted to Jewish Communities in Poland-Lithuania in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, Jacob Goldberg, ed., 3 vols. (Jerusalem: 1985).

<sup>18</sup> John Klier, “The Ambiguous Legal Status of Russian Jewry in the Reign of Catherine II”, in *Slavic Review*, 3 (1976): 506.

<sup>19</sup> On Polish-Lithuanian Jews’ structure of self-government see Friedlander, *The Jews of Russia and Poland*, 161-170; Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, 103-113; Jacob

late-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries, internal schisms, financial problems, social conflicts, outbreaks of anti-Semitic violence and a long series of wars led to the gradual decline of the Polish-Jewry's autonomous institutions. In 1764, the king Stanislaw Poniatowski, eager to reform the Polish political and fiscal system, eventually suppressed both the Jewish provincial councils and the "Council of the Four Lands", while allowing the communal councils to remain. As a result, the *shtetl*, administered by the *kahal* and governed by a rabbinical court (in Hebrew, *Beth-Din*) according to Talmudic law, became the focal point of Jewish life.

At the time of the first Polish partition, the Polish-Jewry was thus characterised by three distinctive features: the leading role in the economic life; the century-long experience of self-government; and the separate legal status. Naturally, the main social, economic and political traits of the Jews from Poland-Lithuania were totally unfamiliar to the semi-feudal, regressive, autocratic and centralised Russian state. This raised the second issue only touched upon in the previous paragraph, namely: had the Russian government decided not to expel the Jews from the Empire, how could a country totally unprepared in dealing with Jewish customs and status best assimilate them? The burden of answering all questions fell inevitably on the shoulders of the major instigator of the Polish partitions: Catherine II the Great.

### 3. *Russia's first encounter with the Jews: Catherine II's Jewish policy after the first Polish partition*

In the era of enlightened despotism and the "Westernization" of the Russian state, Elizabeth's ban on Jews appeared to be too punitive a measure to the reform-minded Tsarina Catherine II. Raised as a Lutheran in Germany, she adopted the Orthodox faith following her marriage to Peter III, the heir to the Russian throne. As a result, while her native Russian subjects, and the members of her entourage in particular – the latter mostly formed by Muscovite magnates and Russian-Orthodox clergymen – were influenced by intense anti-Jewish feelings, the Empress had conversely no religious or ethnic prejudices against the Jews. Moreover, as Miller explains, Catherine II believed that the Jews' supposed "bad qualities were the product of bad conditions rather their innate nature",<sup>20</sup> and was thus convinced that with the proper legislation, they could become well-integrated, valuable and economically useful members of Russian society. Following the first Polish partition, the Empress refused to apply Elizabeth's 1742 *ukase* regarding Jewish settlement to her new Jewish subjects. Additionally, in the 1772 imperial proclamation announcing the

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Goldberg, "The Jewish Sejm: Its Origins and Functions", in Anthony Polonsky, Jakub Batista and Andrej Link-Lenczowski, eds., *The Jews in Old Poland 1000-1795* (London: I.B. Tauris and Co., 1993), 147-165.

<sup>20</sup> Alexei Miller, *The Romanov Empire and Nationalism: Essays in the Methodology of Historical Research* (Budapest & New York: CEU Press, 2008), 95.

annexation of White Russia (today's Belarus), she granted the religious and civil rights of her existing subjects to the Jews, assuring them that they would

“retain and preserve those freedoms that they now enjoy by law [...] because the humaneness of Her Imperial Majesty will not permit anyone to be excluded from Her all-encompassing generosity and from the welfare to come under her benevolent protection, as long as they for their part, with the appropriate compliance of loyal subjects, live and pursue their present trades and business according to their calling.”<sup>21</sup>

Having granted the Jews full rights as citizens of the Tsarist Empire, Catherine II turned her attention to the incorporation of their unique legal status and socio-political autonomy within the state-centric Russian system. This, however, proved to be a difficult issue to resolve. As previously mentioned, Russian lawmakers did not understand the nature of Jewish customs or the elaborate structure of Jewish self-government and were thus unable to appreciate the socio-economic privileges that Jews had enjoyed under the Polish-Lithuanian rule. Russian regulatory tradition also failed to come to their aid, since no provision, act, norm or statute regulating the life of such an atypical ethnic minority existed in Russian codes of law.

Primarily concerned with internal stability, the social cohesion of the Jewish community and the collection of taxes within the newly-conquered provinces, Catherine II thus decided to simply incorporate into Russian jurisprudence the body of laws concerning the Jews that she had inherited from the Polish-Lithuanian legislation. An *ukase* issued in 1776 confirmed the authority of the *kahals* and their rabbinical tribunals and also classified the Jews as both a separate tax-unit and a self-ruled collective body defined by religion.<sup>22</sup> It goes without saying that Jewish people welcomed Catherine II's decision enthusiastically, as it legally acknowledged the socio-political mechanism that had preserved Judaism across the centuries. In exchange, they gave the Empress exactly what she expected from her new subjects, namely docility and loyalty to the Russian crown.

However, Catherine II's unbiased Jewish policy did not change the Orthodox-Russian perception of Jewish people, who were regarded as a separate social body and a potential threat to racial homogeneity, national cohesion and religious integrity. There were numerous factors influencing the Russian suspicion and mistrust of the Jews, many of which resulted from the latter's lifestyle, customs and religion. Firstly, the overwhelming majority of East-European Jews were eager to preserve the self-identity that stemmed from their faith and thus lived separately to the surrounding non-Jewish populations, forming, as Pogonowsky emphasises, a “deliberately isolated culture”.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Catherine II's proclamation is quoted in Bartal, *The Jews of Eastern Europe, 1772-1881*, 58.

<sup>22</sup> On the 1776 edict see Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, 309.

<sup>23</sup> Iwo Cyprian Pogonowsky, *Jews in Poland. A Documentary History* (New York: Hippocrene,

Secondly, the Jews used the Hebrew alphabet, spoke Yiddish,<sup>24</sup> attended their own schools, had their own dress-code and dietary laws, and, for religious observance and daily life, followed their own soli-lunar calendar. Finally, the Jews did not belong to either the Orthodox Church or, in a broader sense, to the Christian faith. Since the concepts of nation, faith, and tradition were closely entwined within the Tsarist Empire, the Jews' isolation, individualism and socio-cultural religious particularism resulted in the perception that they were not "true" Russians and could never possibly become such. To complicate matters further, Orthodox-Russians continued to believe medieval anti-Semitic superstitions, including the myth of a Jewish plan to convert the Christian population to Judaism. They were therefore convinced that the Jews intended to demolish the Christian foundations on which the Russian state had been built.<sup>25</sup>

However, socio-cultural considerations such as these were not the primary cause of the Russians' hatred of the Jews. More significantly, Catherine II's Orthodox-Russian subjects were concerned with the issue of Jewish economic culture. According to the Russians, Jewish people "disdained physical labour" and felt that "it should be performed by the 'inferior' peasant".<sup>26</sup> This led them to believe that the Jews achieved their livelihood by committing themselves to "unproductive", "fraudulent" and "parasitical" activities based on speculation and exploitation.

Economic anti-Semitism became a prominent issue when the Russians first began to manage Polish land. A high percentage of Jewish people worked as businessmen, moneylenders, leaseholders, merchants and middlemen,<sup>27</sup> while also occupying a leading role in finance, trade, and the rural economies of the two Belorussian governorates of Mogilev and Polotsk.<sup>28</sup> This immediately drew the attention of the Russian governors and administrators, and, alarmed by such a situation, many of them denounced this socio-economic "aberration" and its "harmful" influence on Christian peasants to the Empress. In particular, Russian

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1998), 71.

<sup>24</sup> Yiddish was the language of the Ashkenazim, namely the Jews from Central and Eastern Europe. It was a German-based vernacular mixed with Hebrew and Aramaic idioms.

<sup>25</sup> For exhaustive accounts on Medieval myths and beliefs regarding the Jews and their connection with Judaeophobia see Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and its Relation to Modern Antisemitism* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1943); Robert Chazan, *Medieval Stereotypes and Modern Anti-Semitism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

<sup>26</sup> See Anthony Polonsky, *The Jews in Poland and Russia* (Portland: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2010), 328.

<sup>27</sup> According to the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, between 1772 and 1881 about 60% of Jewish population worked in moneylending, trade, brokerage and inn-keeping, 15% in craft and only 1% in agriculture. See *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 1971 ed., "Russia".

<sup>28</sup> A governorate (in Russian, *guberniya*) was the principal administrative division of the Russian Empire and corresponded, in the Western system, to a province.

officials accused the Jews of profiting from their “deceitful” business by exploiting benighted peasants. Since Jewish moneylenders controlled rural credit, and thus a great proportion of peasant mortgages, Russian officials accused the moneylenders of subduing peasants by setting exorbitant interest rates. Furthermore, Russian administrators complained that Jewish tradesmen deceived the peasants by lowering the purchase price of farm products, which cast the latter into poverty. Finally, Russian officials believed that Jewish innkeepers were the main cause of peasant drunkenness, corruption and ruination.<sup>29</sup> However, Russian bureaucrats did not simply diagnose the “Jewish disease”, they also proposed a therapeutic response to the Empress. In their view, the well-being of the Christian peasants could be secured by “reforming” Jewish entrepreneurial culture. To accomplish this goal, they argued that the rural leaseholds and liquor trade should be removed from Jewish control by means of new, strong measures designed to turn them into productive subjects.

Catherine II did not share her officials’ negative opinion of Jewish entrepreneurial culture. On the contrary, she had “a healthy respect for Jewish commercial abilities and wished to avail herself of them”.<sup>30</sup> However, as Kalik explains,

“one of the ideological justifications of the annexation of the eastern part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by Russia was the protection of the Orthodox “Russian” (i.e., Ukrainian and Belarusian) population of these regions against their oppression by Polish Catholics and their “Jewish agents”.<sup>31</sup>

Consequently, the Empress could not disregard her officials’ anti-Jewish stance or their concerns regarding Jewish usury and the exploitation of Christian peasants. A re-evaluation of Jewish-peasant relations was therefore necessary.

#### 4. From the “*Charter for the Towns*” to the *Pale of Jewish Settlement*

Catherine II had a strong distaste for policies based on religious prejudice. Furthermore, she preferred to gain acceptance of her governmental decisions through the use of persuasion and tactful political measures rather than coercion. Thus, the Empress used what appeared to be a very rational approach when dealing with the problem of Jewish economic culture and vitality.

Catherine II had three primary goals: 1) to form a well-structured social order; 2) to revive the economy in major White Russian cities; 3) to stimulate Jewish integration into Russian life. Hence, she decided to re-organize the

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<sup>29</sup> On the Jews’ involvement in alcohol production and distribution (in Russian, *Propinacja*) see Hillel Levine, “Between Polish Autarky and Russian Autocracy: the Jews, the *Propinacja*, and the Rhetoric of Reform”, in *International Review of Social History*, 27, 1 (1982): 66-84.

<sup>30</sup> Richard Pipes, “Catherine II and the Jews: The Origins of the Pale of Settlement”, in *Soviet Jewish Affairs* 5 (1975): 5.

<sup>31</sup> Judith Kalik, *Movable Inn: The Rural Jewish Population of Minsk Guberniya in 1793-1914* (Warsaw: De Gruyter, 2018), 36.

socio-economic landscape of Russia's new western borderland by gradually transforming the rural Jewish population into city-dwellers. In her opinion, this relocation would not only contribute to the economic growth of urban centres but also force the Jews to abandon their self-isolation and "fraudulent" activities – including money-lending, lease-holding and trading intermediation – in favour of less "harmful" professions.

In 1780, Catherine II permitted the Jewish population to enrol in one of the two Russian urban estates, namely, the merchants and the burghers (in Russian, *kupechestvo* and *meshchanstvo*). In doing so, she wished to encourage rural Jews to leave the countryside, and in 1781, she offered them a further incentive by exempting all Jews registered as city-dwellers from the soul tax.

However, what at first appeared to be a major watershed in Russia's Jewish policy soon clashed with social reality, which led to its ultimate failure. Catherine II's programme was based on a mixture of pragmatism, mercantilism and liberal doctrines rather than realistic calculations, and did not account for the unique nature of Jewish socio-economic life. With the exception of wealthy merchants and businessmen – who immediately made use of the 1780 *ukase* to enter the Russian market – Jewish *shtetl* dwellers, in fact, pursued occupations that did not fit into the Russian categories of *kupechestvo* and *meshchanstvo*, and were inseparable from the economy and society of rural areas. More importantly, the 1780 *ukase* did not regard the Jews as a self-ruled community, but as private individuals whose lives and interests should be subjected to the political authority of local officials. Since they were not permitted to hold any position within Russian public offices and representative institutions, relocation into the cities meant that Jews should trade, as Klier explains, "the security of the *kahal*, with its familiar court proceedings" for "the uncertainties of a world" in which political and judicial power was exercised exclusively by "hostile Christian competitors".<sup>32</sup> Given these considerations, it is not surprising that rural Jews, including the vast majority of those who enrolled in urban estates, preferred to live in their *shtetls* and enjoy the provisions of the 1776 *ukase*, which was still in force.

The Empress adopted two very different measures in an effort to reverse the situation and remove the ambiguities and contradictions surrounding the legal status of the Jews. On the one hand, she ordered the eviction of all merchants and townsmen who, despite being registered in urban corporations, lived and worked in the countryside. On the other hand, the Empress issued the so-called "Charter for the Towns" (1785), which not only confirmed the rights granted to the Jews in 1780 but also gave them the privilege to participate, both as voters and as candidates, in local government and magistrates. This was an achievement that was, as Nathans points out, "unprecedented in contemporary

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<sup>32</sup> Klier, "The Ambiguous Legal Status of Russian Jewry in the Reign of Catherine II", 509.



Europe”.<sup>33</sup> However, neither of these resolutions produced the expected results, because they did not affect the anti-Jewish attitude of the Russian officials who were entrusted to implement them locally. Indeed, the Governor-General of White-Russia, Piotr Passek, interpreted the Empress’ order regarding the eviction of city-dwellers from rural areas as authorising the indiscriminate mass expulsion of Jews.<sup>34</sup> At the same time, although large numbers of Jews had enrolled in the ranks of urban estates, they remained socially ostracised by the Russian authorities and Christian townspeople who prevented them from exercising the electoral and civil rights granted to them by the “Charter for the Towns”.

Abuses, discrimination and the unequal application of the law prompted the Jewish leaders from White Russia to petition the Empress for a redress of their grievances. The Jews’ complaints were examined in 1786 by the Senate, and in response, it issued the “Charter concerning the Protection of the Rights of Jews in Russia in respect to their legal responsibility, trade and industry”, which provided the first accurate portrayal of the legal status and rights of Russian Jews. Among the other things, it confirmed Jewish socio-political equality with Christian members of urban estates, secured the illegality of discrimination resulting from their religion and allowed them to reside in rural areas even when registered as city-dwellers.

The 1786 “Charter”, however, did not put an end to Catholic-Poles, Orthodox-Ukrainians and Russian officials’ stiff opposition to the Jews. More importantly, it did not solve the problem regarding Jewish rights within the Tsarist Empire, and this issue again became politically prominent some years later. At the turn of the 1790s, a number of Jewish merchants from White Russia requested permission to settle in cities located in central Russia, while others wished to visit the cities of Smolensk and Moscow in order to carry out trade. Russian-Orthodox merchants from Moscow – who feared the loss of their own markets – asked that local authorities forbid their Jewish rivals from travelling or engaging in business in inner Russia, accusing the latter of selling goods below the standard price, evasion of the law, bribery and frauds. Repeated complaints regarding these alleged abuses eventually reached the political circles in St. Petersburg via a series of formal petitions. Not surprisingly, the Empress abandoned her favourable attitude towards Jewish integration to satisfy the demands coming from the pillar of her Empire.

Finding that the petitioners’ grievances were well-grounded, the Senate promulgated a *ukase* in 1791 that was immediately countersigned by Catherine

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<sup>33</sup> See Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: the Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 26.

<sup>34</sup> To justify his actions, Passek claimed that since all Jews had been instructed to register themselves on the census book of the nearest municipality in 1776, they should be regarded as city-dwellers.

II and was specifically designed to restrict Jewish life and economic activities. Indeed, it denied them the right to reside within the inner regions of the Empire, such as Muscovy. In addition, the *ukase* ruled that the governorates of Vitebsk, Mogilev, Yekaterinoslav, Kherson and Taurida were the only areas in which the Jews were allowed to reside and engage in trading.<sup>35</sup>

In 1794, the Empress enlarged the zone of Jewish residence by applying the earlier decree to the provinces that had been acquired with the second Polish partition. These provinces included Minsk, Volhynia, Podolia, as well as the governorates of Chernigov and Poltava. In 1795, following the third partition of Poland, the law was also extended to incorporate the provinces of Vilna and Grodno. Together, these provinces laid the foundation for an area that would officially be renamed in 1835 as the Pale of Jewish Settlement (in Russian, *Čerta Postojannoĵ Osedlosti*). Its establishment represented a major turning point in Russian-Jewish relations since it marked the official beginning of the *Evrejskij vopros*, or the “Jewish question”, which was an issue that would affect Russian politics and Jewish life for more than a century.

##### 5. *Catherine II's Jewish policy: concluding remarks*

The preceding paragraphs suggest a number of key conclusions about both Jewish-Christian relations in Imperial Russia, and Catherine II's Jewish policy.

First, it can be established that much of the anti-Semitism among East-European Christians – both Orthodox and Catholic – stemmed from economic antagonism rather than religious prejudice.

Second, the Empress was not affected by anti-Jewish prejudice, and during her reign, anti-Semitism did not play any particular role in her process of policymaking. Unlike her predecessors, and in defiance of the prejudices that existed in Russian society at the time, Catherine II allowed the Jews to remain in her Empire and granted them the same rights as other Christian citizens. In addition, she never forced the Jews to renounce Judaism.

Third, with the exception of the years 1772-1780, during which the Empress enacted the Polish-Lithuanian legislation, her policy towards the Jews was characterised by a mixture of Enlightenment-inspired egalitarianism and economic pragmatism. On the one hand, she “would have had every right to claim the honour of being the first sovereign in Europe to extend to the Jews equality with her Christian subjects”.<sup>36</sup> On the other hand, the Empress perceived the Jews as a means to gain an economic advantage. For this reason, each of Catherine II's edicts had two goals: to integrate the Jewish population into the Russian socio-political system while simultaneously organising their

<sup>35</sup> The provinces of Yekaterinoslav, Kherson and Taurida, all situated on the northern shores of the Black Sea, had become part of the Tsarist Empire after the Russo-Turkish wars of 1787 and 1792.

<sup>36</sup> Pipes, “Catherine II and the Jews: The Origins of the Pale of Settlement”, 5.

economic activity “so that it would be of benefit to the state and at the same time not harm the economic interests of other groups in the population”.<sup>37</sup> This was also evident within the Pale of Jewish Settlement. In opposition to some historians’ claims,<sup>38</sup> it can be established that Catherine II’s 1791, 1794 and 1795 *ukase* did not have discriminatory aims and that the Pale of Settlement was not, at first, intended to function as a large-scale ghetto. Catherine II’s edicts conformed with the legislation concerning freedom of movement and residence that was enacted in the Russian state,<sup>39</sup> and in several European countries.<sup>40</sup> By depriving the Jews the right to travel and reside freely within the provinces of inner Russia, Catherine II did not seek to confine them within arbitrary borders, but to prevent a socially and economically dangerous competition between Jewish and Russian merchants from occurring. Finally, the establishment of the Pale of Settlement – which covered an area of more than 1,200,000 square kilometres from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea – did not entail any compulsory relocation of the Jewish population; the majority of the settlement was composed of the same Jewish-inhabited regions that existed within the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Moreover, by permitting the Jews to reside in the newly acquired regions on the northern shores of the Black Sea, Catherine II gave the Jewish population the opportunity to direct their entrepreneurial vitality towards economically promising regions that had been identified as areas of growth by the Russian authorities.

Therefore, the question remains: Why is Catherine II usually considered to be the catalyst of Russia’s anti-Jewish legislation? Her unprecedented pro-Jewish measures – such as the 1785 “Charter for the Towns” and the 1786 “Charter concerning the Protection of the Rights of Jews in Russia” – remained

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<sup>37</sup> Bartal, *The Jews of Eastern Europe, 1772-1881*, 59.

<sup>38</sup> See for example Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, 316.

<sup>39</sup> The great majority of Russians proper lacked the right to free circulation and residence, alongside freedom in their occupational activities, except in their own towns or villages. As Rogger points out, the exclusion from certain regions, as well as from certain corporations, “was unusual neither in the Russian nor the European context. [...] Russian law did not recognize a right of free movement until 1785, and then only for nobles. The enrolment of any merchant or townsman in the corresponding corporation or guild of another city required administrative approval and usually the agreement of the guilds. Their opposition and that of local officials could prevail over the laws [...]” Hans Rogger, *Jewish Policies and Right Wing Politics in Imperial Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 7. Limitations concerning residential and occupational freedoms were adopted for economic reasons also within Jewish communities. Indeed, as Weinryb affirms, “the Jews in most of Europe [...] had an elaborate system of trade protection [...] called the *herem hayshuv* [...] a prohibition against strangers taking up residence in an established community without formal permission [...]” Bernard Dov Weinryb, *The Jews of Poland; A Social and Economic History of the Jewish Community in Poland from 1100 to 1800* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1973), 157 et seq.

<sup>40</sup> In that same period, restrictions on Jews’ rights to residence, professional practice and the ownership or leasing of land also existed, for example, in Prussia and Austria-Hungary.

almost completely unenforced due to the resistance of the Christian population who were affected by them. Thus, her most prominent and tangible legacy was the Pale of Settlement, which would not only define the pattern of Jewish residence until the February Revolution of 1917 but also serve as the cornerstone for all future legal disadvantages imposed on Jews.



Fig. 1. The Partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Partitions-of-Poland#/media/1/466910/396>, accessed 01/10/2019).



Fig. 2. The Pale of Jewish Settlement. Map from Raymond P. Scheindlin, *A Short History of the Jewish People: From Legendary Times to Modern Statehood* (New York: Macmillan, 1998), 177.



Fig. 3. Market day at a shtetl in Poland. Chaya Mindel Way, *What is a Shtetl? The Jewish Town*, [https://www.chabad.org/library/article\\_cdo/aid/3025072/jewish/What-Is-a-Shtetl-The-Jewish-Town.htm](https://www.chabad.org/library/article_cdo/aid/3025072/jewish/What-Is-a-Shtetl-The-Jewish-Town.htm), accessed 02/02/2019.



Fig. 4. A shtetl market. *"The shtetl was a Jewish Atlantis," says Johanan Petrovsky-Shtern*, <https://ukrainianjewishencounter.org/en/the-shtetl-was-a-jewish-atlantis-says-yohanan-petrovsky-shtern/>, accessed 02/02/2019.



Fig. 5. Council of the four lands. Adam Teller, *Councils*. YIVO - Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe, <https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Councils>, accessed 02/02/2019.



Fig. 6. Jan Feliks Piwarski (1794-1859), *Jewish merchants in XIX century Warsaw*, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Jewish\\_merchants\\_in\\_XIX\\_century\\_Warsaw.PNG&oldid=288098137](https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Jewish_merchants_in_XIX_century_Warsaw.PNG&oldid=288098137), accessed 30/10/2019.





## THE MONKS OF DOBROMYL BASILIAN MONASTERY OF ST. ONUPHRIUS (1783): A BIOGRAPHICAL REVIEW

YURYI STETSYK, VASYL ILNYTSKYI AND VLADISLAV BOYECHKO\*

Monasticism, as one of the institutions of the clerical state of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during early modern times, remains poorly researched. Thus, in church historiography, considerable attention is paid to the study of the biographies of the hierarchs of the Church and prominent clerical figures of the Baroque and Enlightenment periods. Meanwhile, monks, who made considerable efforts in their life's journey to attain ecclesiastical status, remain poorly visible.

Dobromyl Basilian Monastery has been the object of research in both local and regional studies. In particular, local historians exploring the history of the town of Dobromyl and its environs have revealed the main milestones of the monastery's operations.<sup>1</sup> Another group of studies is represented by works in two areas: the first is focused on the study of sacred architecture and art,<sup>2</sup> while the second covers general works on the history of the Church and the Basilian Order.<sup>3</sup> Although the study of the Dobromyl monastery is represented by

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<sup>1</sup> Oksana Behei, Oksana Anisimovych-Shevchuk and Mykhailo Hachan, *Monastyri Starosambirshchyny: istoriia ta perspektyvy vykorystannia u turyzmi: Monohrafiia* [The Monasteries of Staryi Sambir Region: History and Prospects of Use in Tourism: Monograph] (Lviv: LIET, 2014), 332; Mykhailo Kril, *Starosambirshchyna: istoriia i kultura* [Staryi Sambir Region: History and Culture] (Lviv: Piramida, 2009), 600; I. Lazoryk, *Dobromyl ta okolytsi* [Dobromyl and the Outskirts] (Colomyia, 1998), 240; Venedykt Ploshchanskyi, "Dobromyl, monastyr ChSVV y neskolklo slov ob otnosheniach horoda" [Dobromyl, OSBV Monastery and Several Words about the City's Relations], *Naukovyi Sbornyk Halytsko-Ruskoj Matytsi* (1867): 211-254.

<sup>2</sup> Mykhailo Kril and Yurii Stetsyk, "Vasyliianskyi monastyr Sv. Onufriia yak pamiatka istorii ta arkhitektury" [St. Onuphrius Basilian Monastery as a Monument of History and Architecture], *Pamiatky Ukrainy: istoriia ta kultura* 3, 201 (2014): 48-53; Vasyli Slobodian, *Cerkvy Ukrainy. Peremyska ieparchiia* [Churches of Ukraine. Diocese of Peremyska] (Lviv, 1998), 760; Lesia Chen, "Typy rozplanuvannia vasyliianskykh monastyriiv" [Types of Planning of Basilian Monasteries], *Visnyk Nacionalnoho universytetu "Lvivska politekhnika". Arkhitektura* 632 (2008): 82-91.

<sup>3</sup> Mykhailo Vavryk, *Po vasyliianskykh monastyriakh* [Over Basilian Monasteries] (Toronto: Basilian Press, 1958), 286; Mykhailo Vavryk, *Narys rozvytku i stanu Vasyliianskoho Chynu XVII-XX st. Topohrafichno-statystychna rozvidka* [An Essay on the Development and Condition of the *Annales Universitatis Apulensis Series Historica* 23, II (2019): 65-92.

different thematic areas, biographical information about the inhabitants of this monastery during the second half of the eighteenth century has not yet been fully explored.

Due to the preservation of a considerable amount of monastic documentation up to the present, we have been able to establish basic biographical information about individual monks, about whom fragmentary information is scattered across different types of sources. In particular, catalogues of the monasteries and monks of the Order of St. Basil the Great Rank of Svyatopokrovsk Province (hereafter abbreviated OSBM) from 1739, 1754, 1772, 1773/1774, 1775/1776, 1778/1779 and 1780 were used.<sup>4</sup> Excerpts from the protocols of the visits to Dobromyl Monastery (1746, 1747, 1750) provide the basis of our biographical information and general characteristics of the behaviour of individual monks. The research is based on *Catalogus Alphabeticus Patrum et Fratrum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni in Provincia Polona Tituli Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae [...]*. This record was compiled by Anastasius Piotrowski, a secretary of the provincial administration, beginning in 1766 in an attempt to collect and summarize the biographies of the monks of the OSBM.<sup>5</sup> These biographies are supplemented by personal information about the monks submitted by Fr. Polycarp Volyanskyi, Abbot of Dobromyl Monastery, in his 1783 report for the Bishop of Przemyśl.<sup>6</sup> To determine the time and place of death of the monks, published obituaries of the deceased monks of the OSBM (from the second half of the eighteenth century) and a memoir of Dobromyl Monastery

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Basilian Order of the 17<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Topographic and Statistical Research], *Analecta OSBM*, Series II, Sectio I, Opera, Vol. XL (Romae: PP. Basiliani, 1979), 180; *Dobromylska reforma i vidrodzhennia ukrainskoi cerkvy. Dopovidi ta materialy uchasnykiv Mizhnarodnoi naukovoï konferentsii, prysviachenoï 120-litnii richnytsi pochatku Dobromylskoi reformy Vasylianskoho Chynu Sv. Yosafata i 100-litnii richnytsi perenesennia vasyliianskoho novitsiatu z Dobromylia u Krekhiv* [Dobromyl Reform and the Revival of the Ukrainian Church. Reports and Materials of Participants of the International Scientific Conference on the 120-Year Anniversary of the Beginning of Dobromyl Reforms of the Basilian Order of St. Josaphat and 100-Year Anniversary of the Transfer of the Basilian Novitiate from Dobromyl to Krekhiv] (Lviv, 2003), 304; Isydor Patrylo, "Narys rozvytku Vasyliian 1743-1889 rr." [An Essay on Basilian Development 1743-1889], *Analecta OSBM*, Series II, Sectio I, Opera, Vol. 48 (Romae: PP. Basiliani, 1992): 160-210; Yurii Stetsyk, *Vasylianski monastyri Peremyshl'skoi ieparkhii (kinets XVII-XVIII st.): monohrafiia* [Basilian Monasteries of the Diocese of Przemyśl (The End of 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Centuries): Monograph] (Drohobych: Publishing department of Ivan Franko Drohobych State Pedagogical University, 2014), 388.

<sup>4</sup> *Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1773 a Mense Septembri ad Septembrem 1774 Anni* (Typis S.R.M. Monaste Poczajovien: O.S.B.M. Anno Domini, 1773); *Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1775 in Annum 1776* (Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: O.S.B.M. Anno Domini, 1775).

<sup>5</sup> Department of Manuscripts, fund. 3, case. 435, 436, 614, Lviv National Scientific Library named after V. Stefanyk (hereafter abbreviated DM LNSL).

<sup>6</sup> Fund. 142, case. 222, fol. 11-13, State Archives in Przemyśl (hereafter abbreviated SAP).

were used.<sup>7</sup>

Although the monastery in Dobromyl was officially founded in 1613, there is only a single mention of individual monks who lived in this monastery before 1739. With the advent of the monastery into a new territorial-administrative unit – the Svyatopokrovsk province of the OSBM (1739-1780) – the cataloguing of the monks who lived in Dobromyl during the period under consideration began. We can trace the following dynamics of the number of monks based on the development of these catalogues: 1739 – 34 monks (4 novice brothers, 4 professed brothers, 5 deacon brothers, 21 fathers), 1746 – 32 monks (5 novice brothers, 9 professed brothers, 18 fathers), 1747 – 36 monks (16 brothers, 20 fathers), 1750 – 17 monks (10 brothers, 7 fathers), 1754 – 37 monks (11 novice brothers, 13 professed brothers, 13 fathers), 1770 – 26 monks (10 brothers, 16 fathers), 1772 – 14 monks (7 brothers, 7 fathers), 1773/74 – 19 monks (5 brothers, 14 fathers), 1775/76 – 26 monks (12 brothers, 14 fathers), 1778/79 – 17 monks (5 brothers, 12 fathers), 1780 – 17 monks (brothers and novices together) and 1783 – 20 monks (7 brothers, 13 fathers).<sup>8</sup>

The instability of the number of monks in Dobromyl Monastery was due to its functions as a school of novitiates and monastic studies in philosophy and theology. There was a constant flux of novice and professed brothers who, after completing their studies, were directed to continue their studies in other monasteries. The novitiate school at Dobromyl Monastery was started after the transition of the Diocese of Przemyśl to the Kiev Uniate Metropolitan Church (1691), on the territory of which the monastery was situated. The joining to the Uniate Church was accompanied by the introduction of innovations in the organization of the monastic way of life. In particular, the resolutions of Przemyśl Cathedral (1693) and Zamość Synod (1720) regulated the peculiarities of individual monasteries and instead recognized unified ideas and promoted their spread. In particular, the most radical innovation concerned the admission of candidates to monasticism. Abbots were deprived of the right to accept those who wished to be monks and were instead obliged to send such persons to the specially created novitiate schools, where the candidates passed monastic tests and received ecclesiastical instruction in the ascetic way of life for a year under the guidance of a master. There were two such novitiate schools in the Diocese of Przemyśl before 1739: Dobromyl and Scheplot. After the monasteries were removed from the jurisdiction of the bishops and entered into a separate administrative unit – Svyatopokrovsk province, where the jurisdiction of the

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<sup>7</sup> Vадentyna Los and Nataliia Sinkevych, "Cathalogus partum et fratrum defunctorum Chyn sv. Vasylia Velykoho u fondakh instytutu rukopysiv NBUV (seredyna XVIII-pochatok XIX st.)" [Cathalogus partum et fratrum defunctorum the Order of St. Basil the Great in the Fonds of the Institute of Manuscripts of the NBUU (Mid-18<sup>th</sup> - Early-19<sup>th</sup> Centuries)], *Henealohichni zapysky* 12 (new series 6) (2014): 77-101.

<sup>8</sup> Stetsyk, *Vasyl'ianski monastyri*, 347-350.

proto-igumen extended – there were two houses for the training of newcomers: Dobromyl and Pochaiv. Comparing the two novitiate schools, Pochaiv prevailed in quantity. There were isolated cases in which candidates for admission to the monastic profession declared a preference for Dobromyl, as they were originally from Przemysl land, but were nevertheless directed to study in Pochaiv Novitiate. This decision was evidently due to the limited financial resources of Dobromyl Monastery. If we compare the number of monks of Dobromyl Monastery with other monastic centres of the Diocese of Przemysl, the monasteries in Lavriv and Spas were similar in size while the other monastic residences barely numbered from 5 to 8 monks. Such a significant disproportion can be attributed to the tasks that were entrusted to a particular monastery and its financial and economic activities.<sup>9</sup>

Dobromyl monastery was a large monastic centre with an average of 26 monks. The presence of a large number of inhabitants was enabled by the operation of various monastic studies within the monastery.

Therefore, let us consider the prosopographic characteristics of the inhabitants of Dobromyl monastery in 1783. As to their territorial origins, the natives (12 monks) dominated and came from the regional administrative-territorial units of Przemysl land and the Przemysl unified diocese. Natives of neighbouring lands of Rus' Voivodeship also passed through Dobromyl Monastery, coming from Lviv (4 monks) and Sianky (1 monk). An insignificant number of candidates came to Dobromyl from remote regions of the Commonwealth, including the Volyn and Podilsk voivodeships and unspecified voivodeships of Małopolska (1 person). This allows us to confirm the fact that the monastery was chiefly comprised of local people. Accordingly, most of them joined Dobromyl Novitiate (12 people) and only a few passed the ascetic tests in Pochaiv (6 people), Zagariv and Sataniv (one person each). In terms of place of birth, residents from rural areas (16 people) prevailed over those from urban settlements (4 people). After all, entering monasticism enabled the villagers to receive an ecclesiastical education and achieve some career advancement. They could hope to at least become a hieromonk or, if they were fortunate, to attain an administrative post in a monastery (a provincial, an abbot, a vicar, a procurator or a keeper) or church (a bishop, a metropolitan, an official, a dean or a promoter of fraternity). In contrast, townspeople had more educational opportunities during this period, as different types of schools operated in the cities: parish, fraternal or monastic colleges; gymnasiums; secular institutions, etc. Therefore, there were only two burgher candidates among the inhabitants of the monastery. At that time there were 11 persons total, coming from both peasant and noble families (the Volyanskyis, Vysotskyis, Vysochanskyis, Lozynskyis, Tarnavskyis, Gutkovskyis and Piotrovskyis).

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 36, 48.

Based on the processed biograms, the age of entry into monasticism ranged from 17 to 37 years. Following the Seim Constitution of 1768, the age of 24 was set for the admission of a candidate to the novitiate. Up to that time, it was common practice to enrol youth of 14 to 20 years. During the Enlightenment, the secular authorities of the Commonwealth and the Austrian Empire tried to increase the monks' age qualification in order to reduce their number. Therefore, after the region joined the Austrian Empire, novices made the monastic vows of profession at the age of 24. Accordingly, the novice Joseph Borgilevich was in the novitiate much longer than usual (1 year in Dobromyl, 2 years in Sataniv) in order to satisfy the established age requirement. However, the case in question was isolated.

In spite of the age restrictions placed by secular law, the Catholic Church's monastic assembly administration continued to accept younger candidates (17-23 years). Among the inhabitants of the monastery, 8 monks entered the novitiate earlier than was legislated. At that time, it was thought that the younger the candidate, the better the natural opportunities for his ascetic-ecclesiastic formation as a monk. After all, he received more time and opportunities to complete monastic studies in rhetoric, philosophy and theology. Adolescence was seen as more favourable for the reception of educational material. In contrast, there were some cases of admission both in mid-adulthood (31-37 years) and at much older ages (57, 71 years). There were also isolated cases of elderly people coming to the monastery, including widowers from secular clergy who sought refuge in the monasteries for their old age.

The rector of Dobromyl Monastery was the oldest (71 years old) and the most experienced (45 years in the Order) among the inhabitants of the monastery. This hieromonk, Polycarp Volyanskyi, held administrative positions in various monasteries in Svyatopokrovsk province. This suggests that the elder members took the lead in managing the monastery. After all, well-known elderly fathers were able to teach the younger generation many ecclesiastical and ascetic practices that had been put to the test during their monastic lives.

The experience of an ascetic lifestyle was gained not only during novitiate training but also during the execution of various duties in the Basilian Order. Novice brothers were typically in the congregation for a period of 3 to 5 years and in some cases more than 20 years. The brothers constantly moved throughout the monasteries to perform auxiliary functions, such as assistant procurator, keeper, cook, tailor, etc. Most lived in an individual monastery for 1 to 2 years and mainly performed household duties. Fathers, with 10 to 50 years in the Order, had already gained considerable ascetic experience over a much longer time.

The personal composition of the monastic fraternity in 1783 was represented by a similar number of members from the younger (8 persons under 40 years) and older (7 persons from 60 to 80 years) generations of monasticism.

This allowed the proper transfer of acquired ascetic-ecclesiastic practices. The intermediate link between the younger and older generations is less well represented, with only 5 monks aged from 40 to 50 years. Among the monks, mortality peaked around the age of 60-70. However, there were individual old-timers who lived up to the age of 86, as well as some cases in which monks died at the young age of 36 or 56 years old.

Thus, the monastic community was represented by diverse age groups, which in their numbers were almost even. In such circumstances, there was a renewal in the activity of the monastery. New candidates for monasticism constantly arrived, while the older generation cared for the candidates' clerical growth and uplifted their strength in accomplishing monastic deeds.

The monks were assigned certain responsibilities with regard to their abilities, education and monastic rank (whether they were a brother, father, professed or non-professed). In most cases, these responsibilities were performed for some time, sometimes throughout ascetic life. Among the monastic duties, we can distinguish the following categories: church functions (preachers, confessors, missionaries, treasurers, parish priests, choir prefects and exorcists), administrative duties (officials, delegates of visitation committees, archimandrites, abbots, vicars and consultants), household duties (procurators, keepers, cashiers, resident in farmstead, chelaries, cooks, tailors and beekeepers) and educational roles (rectors, vice-rectors, professors of rhetoric, poets, moral theologians, prefects of boarding school, masters of novices and catechists).

After completing the novitiate school in Dobromyl (one year of study), candidates who had received a proper education in philosophy or theology before joining the monastery received their ordinations without passing traditional internal monastic studies in rhetoric, philosophy or theology. Obviously, these educational studies in secular life must be re-credited to the monks, especially in the field of clerical education. In secular life, candidates completed studies in rhetoric, syntax, philosophy and poetry at Lviv and Yaroslavl Jesuit colleges and at local elementary parish schools. Some of them mastered the ability to read and write in Russian and Polish. Among the criteria for the selection of candidates for the novitiate were natural mental ability and intellectual level of development. Morality and science were two factors that further shaped the ecclesiastical profile of Basilian monasticism. Most candidates received elementary education and at least completed a class on rhetoric or poetry. Only some of them completed secondary education, having completed monastic colleges.

The introductory tests of a candidate were the first stage of clerical formation and determined the basic direction of the novice's development. Upon selection, a candidate was enrolled in a novitiate school, where the training lasted one year. Being in the novitiate made it possible for a candidate to become more familiar with the rules and constitutions of the Order, ascetic customs, and

ecclesiastical practices. Study in the novitiate began with the rite of '*oblechyny*', in which a novice who made revelations and confessions received monastic clothing from the master and renounced his secular name, instead adopting a new monastic name. This rite symbolized the reincarnation of the newcomer into a new person who died for the world and was reborn for an ascetic life.

In the novitiate, the candidates had to work on self-improvement. They were encouraged to know themselves, show their own weaknesses and ask God for the strength to overcome their shortcomings. The novice had to reflect on his behaviour and adhere to the motto, 'All for the spread and exaltation of the glory of God'. They became acquainted with church rites and liturgical ceremonies, mastered church singing and regularly read liturgical and ascetic literature. Counter-Reformation-Baroque pedagogy required the observance of established rules and punishment for their violation. The novice's life had to be regulated in detail. Impeccable obedience was demanded, as well as the ability to disregard their own interests and obey strict precepts that they may have found unfavourable. Study in the novitiate ended with the drawing up of the monastic vows of profession (purity, poverty and obedience). Before taking these vows, the novice had to pass an exam testing his knowledge of monastic rules, catechism and prayers. He also had to settle financial and property affairs with his secular relatives. He held collections, made confessions and took the oath on a special book of professors in the presence of hieromonk witnesses.

At the end of the novitiate and the pledging of vows, the novice succeeded to the degree of brother. If in secular life he did not pass all the levels of education necessary to receive the sacred ordinations, he was directed to monastic studies in rhetoric, philosophy and theology. Educational studies for monks operated at various monasteries in Svyatopokrovsk Province: rhetoric was available in Milchen, Sataniv, Hoshcha and Zamosty; philosophy in Lavriv and Sataniv; and theology in Dobromyl, Lavriv, Spas, Zamosty and Scheplot. Only one of the inhabitants of the monastery studied theology at the pontifical seminary in Brownsberg. During this training, the brothers received various types of ecclesiastical consecrations, including sub-deacons, deacons, and priests.

The monastic studies were aimed at providing ecclesiastical education, which was the basis for receiving priestly ordinations. After all, the Basilian Order in the eighteenth century was considered a chaplain-based monastic congregation of the Eastern Catholic Church, dominated by hieromonks. Brethren who did not exhibit certain intellectual capacities performed predominantly auxiliary church and household duties throughout their monastic lives.

During the reconstruction of the biographies and the compilation of the prosopographic characteristics of the monks, it was possible to determine the territorial and social bases of recruitment for monasticism. The inhabitants of the monastery consisted of inhabitants of Przemyśl lands, mostly from peasant and

small-noble families. It was possible to determine age-related details, such as the age of entry, the length of stay in the Order and the current age, up to 1783. However, it was not possible in all cases to determine the date of the monk's departure into eternity, which could be a task for further research. The educational level of the monks was determined, taking into account the studies they had acquired before their entry into the novitiate and their intellectual and ecclesiastic-ascetic development while in the Order. The monastic duties (ecclesiastical, administrative, economic and educational) entrusted to the inhabitants with regard to their education, clerical consecration and degree of asceticism (candidate, novice, brother or father) were outlined.

## ANNEX I

To confirm the authenticity of the data in the completed report on the monks, it was certified by the seal of the monastery and signed by his own hand.

Given at Dobromyl Monastery (OSBM) in the Year of God, 1783 on August 1. Polycarp Volyanskyi (OSBM), Abbot of the Local (no originals of signature and seal).

## ANNEX II

*The biographies of the monks who lived  
in Dobromyl monastery in 1783*

*Yosyph Borgylevych*

Yosyph Borgylevych's worldly name was Illia and his parents were Ivan and Maryana. He was born on 20/07/1751 in the city of Radymno in Przemysl land. He was educated in Yaroslavl. He entered the monastic state in Dobromyl on 04/01/1774 (a), where after a year of trials in the novitiate, he made temporary monastic vows on January 8, 1775. Later, when he turned 24 in July 1775, he made a life-long profession (b). He was then sent to Sataniv Monastery to study rhetoric and then went to Lavriv to continue his studies (c). In August 1776 he moved to Holy Spas Monastery, where he continued his studies (d). Subsequently, he was sent to St. Ivan's Monastery in Lviv, where he was appointed an abbot of the monastery and elected a provincial prosecutor to hear court cases. He received the priestly ordinations on 22/04/1778 (e). Subsequently, he was sent as a hieromonk to Zhovkva in January 1779, being a treasurer and a parish priest (f) from that time. On February 10, 1781, he moved to Unev, where he was also a treasurer. In 1783, he was a hieromonk of Dobromyl Monastery. Beginning in 1784, he was vicar and economist in Holy Spas Monastery (g).

*(Cathalogus Alphabeticus Patrum et Fratrum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni in Provinces Polona Tituli Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae [...])*



(hereafter abbreviated *Catalogus Alphanumeric Patrum et Fratrum OSBM*), t. II (01/07/1766, Ovruciae), fund. 3, case. 435, fol. 656, DM LNSL).

(a) Other sources submit 02/01/1773 as the time of entry into monasticism (see: Annex 3).

(b) This was on July 6, 1775, in the Sataniv Monastery (see: Annex 3).

(c) From 1775 to 1776 he studied at the Lavriv Monastery (*Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni Provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in is Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1775 in Annum 1776*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1775).

(d) Was a student of moral theology (see: Annex 3).

(e) Other sources give consecration dates of April 22, 1777, as a priest and April 15, 1777, as a sub-deacon and deacon (see: Annex 3).

(f) In 1778-1779, he was a treasurer and parish priest of Zhovkva monastery, to which the monastic residence of Besides was attached (*Catalogus Professorum Ordinis SB Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae juxta Ordinem Alphanumeric in Monasteriorum ex Anno 1778 in Annum 1779, OSBM. Anno Domini, 1778*).

(g) Fr. Josyph Borgylevych died on 05/08/1807. An ecclesiast and pastor at various monasteries, he spent the last years of monastic life in Gorodok near Zamostya (access mode: [http://old.bazylianie.pl/index/pl\\_index.php?plik=news.php&news=231](http://old.bazylianie.pl/index/pl_index.php?plik=news.php&news=231)).

#### *Flor Vysochanskyi*

Flor Vysochanskyi's worldly name was Theodore. He was a son of Stephan and Maria, born in 1722 in the village of Vysotsko, Przemysl land. He joined the monastery on 14/06/1743 at Dobromyl (a). After a year of novitiate, he made a vow of profession. On 07/01/1745 he was consecrated as a deacon by Onufryi Shumlyanskyi, a bishop of Przemysl in the Holy Spas Monastery (b). At the same monastery, he served as a keeper for four years. After that, he was a keeper at Lavriv (c). He received the priestly ordinations on February 2, 1748, from a bishop of Przemysl in Strashevychi. Subsequently, he was sent to St. George's monastery of Lviv, being a keeper for one year. He was then: a procurator of Dobryanskyi Monastery (1 year 3 months), Lviv St. Onuphrius Monastery (1 year) and Krekhiv Monastery (7 months); a vicar in Besidy (5 months); a chaplain in Krekhov (3 months); a keeper in Lavrov (2 years); a prosecutor in Lishnia (1 year 6 months); a prosecutor in Derezychi (2 years), Dobromyl (5 months) and Lishnia (2 years); a chaplain in Vitsyna (1 year); a keeper in Lavriv (1 year); a chaplain in Czarnyliav (1 year), Warsaw (9 months) and Lublin (3 months); a chaplain in Verchrat (3 years); a vicar in Dobriany (6 months) and Lavriv (1 month); a vicar in Krasnopusha (1773) (d) and Unev

(1774); a confessor in St. Onuphrius's Lviv monastery (1776) (e), Zolochiv, Buchin and Krehiv (f); and a vicar of Bilyna (1781). In 1783 he was sent to Dobromyl, where he died (g).

(*Catalogus Alphabeticus Patrum et Fratrum OSBM*, t. I (01/07/1766, Ovruciae), fund. 3, case. 614, fol. 337, DM LNSL).

(a) Other sources submit June 17, 1742, as his time of entry into monasticism (see: Annex 3).

(b) This happened on August 12, 1744 (see: Annex 3).

(c) In 1746-1747, he was a brother and deacon of Dobromyl Monastery. According to a description by a visitor, he was able to write and read in 'Russian' and Polish and sang well (fund. Ławra Poczajowska, case. 2, fol. 210, Archives of the Polish Dominican Province in Krakow – hereafter abbreviated APDPK).

(d) This fact was confirmed by another source (*Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1773 in Annum 1774*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1773).

(e) In 1775-1776, he was a treasurer and confessor in Lviv monastery of St. Onuphrius (*Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1775 in Annum 1776*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1775).

(f) In 1778-1779 he was a missionary, chorister and confessor of Krehiv Monastery (*Catalogus Professorum Ordinis SB Magni Provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae juxta Ordinem Alphabetici in Monasteriorum ex Anno 1778 in Annum 1779*, Typis SRM Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1778).

(g) He was a treasurer. He lived permanently in Galicia for 42 years (see: Annex 3).

#### *Yosaphat Vysotskyi*

Yosaphat Vysotskyi's worldly name was Yakub. His parents were Ivan Sas and Maria. He was born on January 23, 1709, in the village of Svyate of Przemysl land. He completed his philosophical studies at Yaroslavl Jesuit Fathers School. He entered monasticism on 23/09/1733 in Dobromyl (a). After a short time of monastic trials, he made the monastic vows of profession on 14/11/1733 (b) and received the priestly consecration on June 24, 1734 (c) from a bishop of Przemysl, Jeronim Ustrytskyi, at Przemysl Cathedral and returned back to Dobromyl Monastery. After a year of preaching, he was appointed an abbot of the cathedral in Przemysl, where he also served as a preacher (2 years) and later became an official (3 years). In August 1740 he was sent to Lviv, where he was

an abbot of the monastery at Stavropyhian Church. On 01/05/1741, he was appointed by Metropolitan Atanasiy Sheptytskyi to the post of Kyiv official and was sent to the monastery of Biten, where for 3 years he was an abbot of the monastery. He was authorized to visit the monasteries of Svyatopokrovsk Province. Subsequently, he was sent to Kryloskyi Monastery to perform the duties of a Galician official, and after a year started visiting the monasteries of Right-Bank Ukraine. In August 1744 he was sent to Zhovkva, where he was an abbot of the monastery for 2 years (d). From 1746, he was an abbot of Krekhiv monastery, where he ruled for 8 years (e). The solemn nomination for the position of an abbot was held on 17/01/1747 by Fr. Hieronym Ozinkiewicz, a socius of Svyatopokrovsk Province. At the second *Brest Capitulia* (1751), he was elected a consultant to Svyatipokrovsk Province. He combined the duties of a consultant and an abbot at Zhovkva Monastery, and later (1754) was granted the privilege of the post of Zhovkva Archimandrite. He was nominated for archimandrite by a coadjutor of Kyiv Metropolitanate and Holmsk, Bishop Felician Volodkovych, in Bilostok. In 1763, he was elected a Vicar of Provincial (*Proto-Igumen*) at the *Bilostok Capitulia* and a consultant for the monasteries of Przemysl Diocese. He lived in Zhovkva Monastery until 1775, being an archimandrite, and then moved to Dobromyl (f).

(*Catalogus Alphanumericus Patrum et Fratrum OSBM*, t. II (01/07/1766, Ovrucia), fund. 3, case. 435, fol. 632, DM LNSL).

(a) According to other sources, on April 21, 1733, he became a monk (see: Annex 3).

(b) According to other data, on July 14, 1734, he made the monastic vows of profession (see: Annex 3).

(c) According to other sources, on June 24, 1735, he received priestly ordinations (see: Annex 3).

(d) Other sources provide conflicting information. In particular, according to the visit to Terebovlya Monastery (26/08/1746), he was an abbot of this monastery for the previous three years (fund. Ławra Poczajowska, case. 2, fol. 196, APDPK).

(e) During his visit to Krekhiv Monastery (09/09/1747) as an abbot of this monastery, he reported that the monks did not always observe the monastery charter. In particular, they often did not attend services and had poor obedience. For the next four years, he continued to remain an abbot of Krekhiv Monastery, as reported in the following visit to the monastery on May 22, 1750 (fund. Ławra Poczajowska, case. 2, fol. 40, 123, APDPK).

(f) Was relieved of his duties as an archimandrite due to declining health and moved to Dobromyl (see: Annex 3). However, he continued to retain the honorary title of an archimandrite (*Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum*

*residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1775 in Annum 1776*, Typis SRM Monaste: Poczajen:). His place of death was not established (ed.).

*Ignatius Vitoshinskyi*

Ignatius Vitoshinskyi's worldly name was Yakub and his parents were Theodore and Maria. He was born on 09/08/1727 in the village of Buskovychi of Przemysl land. He studied the 'Russian' language (a) and joined the monastery in Dobromyl on July 30, 1750. After a year of novitiate, he made the monastic vows of profession on 10/09/1751. Two years later, on 06/08/1753, he received sub-deacon and deacon consecrations, and on 15/08/1753 he received priestly consecrations from the bishop of Peremyshl, Onufryi Shumlyanskyi, in the village of Valyava. He was appointed a confessor and treasurer in Dobromyl. Subsequently, Fr. Josaphat Sedletsykyi, a proto-abbot of Svyatopokrovsk province, appointed Fr. Ignatyi a cashier of Dobromyl monastery. As of 12/06/1763 he served as a treasurer, from 1768 he was a keeper and from 1776 he was a vicar of Dobromyl monastery (b).

(*Catalogus Alphabeticus Patrum et Fratrum OSBM*, t. II (01/07/1766, Ovruciae), fund. 3, case. 435, fol. 526, DM LNSL).

(a) During his monastic studies, he learned Latin (see: Annex 3).

(b) In other sources he is mentioned to be a vicar of Dobromyl Monastery in 1773-1776 (*Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni Provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1773 in Annum 1774*, Typis SRM Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1773; *Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1775 in Annum 1776*, Typis SRM Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1775). In 1783, he continued to stay in Dobromyl, where he continued to be a vicar and treasurer in accordance with the monastic vocation (see: Annex 3). He died in 1788 (Beata Lorens, *Bazylianie prowincji koronnej w latach 1743-1780* [The Basilians in the Crown Province During the Years 1743-1780] (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 2014), 477).

*Polycarp Volyanskyi*

Polycarp Volyanskyi's worldly name was Petro. He was born in June 1712 to Myhailo and Maria in the village of Ugertsi of Lviv land. He graduated from the Lviv School of Rhetoric. He joined the monastery on 12/06/1738 (a) in Pochaiv. After a year of testing in the novitiate, on 29/06/1739 (b) he made the monastic vows of profession. In the same year, on August 6 (c), he received priestly ordinations from the hands of Lutsk Bishop Theodore Rudnitskyi in the village of Zhabche. He was sent to Lutsk Cathedral, where he became a preacher.

A year later, he went to Hoscha to teach rhetoric and became a vice-rector. In July 1742 he left for the monastery in Tumen, where he was an abbot. Two years later he moved to Kremenets, where he also became an abbot. Beginning in May 1745, he was a preacher and confessor in Univ. In January 1746 he moved to the monastery in Domashov, where he was appointed an abbot. From April 1747 he was an abbot of the monastery in Terebovlia (d) and starting in February 1760 he was an abbot of Chernyliava. Later he moved to the monastery in Dobromyl, where he was a resident of various folwarks. In July 1762 he was sent to Chetvertyns Monastery, where he was appointed an abbot. In April 1766 he was sent to Lavriv for the post of an abbot. On 14/07/1768 he was an abbot of Chernyliava Monastery. In 1772 he left Chernyliava for the monastery in Chortkiv. On 02/01/1774 he was an abbot of the monastery in Milchen. On 10/06/1776 he moved to Chernyliava (e). On February 24, 1780, he was an administrator of Dobromyl monastery, and beginning in 1783 he was an abbot of this monastery (f).

(*Catalogus Alphabeticus Patrum et Fratrum OSBM*, t. III (01/07/1766, Ovrucia), fund. 3, case. 436, fol. 946, DM LNSL).

(a) According to other sources, he entered the monastic life on July 24, 1737 (see: Annex 3).

(b) According to other data, on July 29, 1738, he made the monastic vows of profession (see: Annex 3).

(c) In other data, on 29/08/1738 he was a sub-deacon and deacon, and on 08/07/1738 he was a hieromonk. He received his theological education at Lviv Collegium of Jesuit Fathers (see: Annex 3).

(d) However, the description of a visit to Domashiv Monastery on September 22, 1747, mentions Fr. Polycarp Volianskyi (fund. Ławra Poczajowska, case. 2, fol. 315, APDPK).

(d) According to other sources, from 1773-1776 he was an abbot of the monastery in Mylchen (*Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1773 in Annum 1774*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1773; *Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1775 in Annum 1776*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1775).

(e) From 1776-1778 he was an abbot of the monastery in Chernyliava (*Catalogus Professorum Ordinis S. B. Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae juxta Ordinem Alphabetici in Monasteriorum ex Anno 1778 in Annum 1779*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1778).

(f) He died in 1784 (Lorens, *Bazylianie prowincji koronnej*, 477).

*Gerasym Gutkovskiy*

Gerasym Gutkovskiy's worldly name was Georgyi and his parents were Theodore and Anastasia. He was born on 15/03/1755 in Mykolayiv, Lviv district. He received his philosophical education at Lviv School. On 30/01/1780, he entered monasticism in Dobromyl (a). On 02/02/1781, he made the monastic vows of profession and was sent to Zamostya (b) to study rhetoric and theology. In August 1781, he was sent to Scheplot to study moral theology. At the end of the year, he studied dogmatic theology at Lavriv. On 16/07/1782, he returned to Lavriv for the continuation of his theological studies. In April 1783, he was sent to a monastery in Derevlyana Volya to fulfil the duties of a procurator. On 16/06/1783 he was sent to Dobromyl monastery to renew his vows of profession (c). On 17/03/1786 he moved from Terebovlya to Svarychiv for obedience (d).

(*Catalogus Alphanumericus Patrum et Fratrum OSBM*, t. II (01/07/1766, Ovruciae), fund. 3, case. 435, fol. 394, DM LNSL).

(a) According to other data, on January 30, 1977, he entered monasticism in Dobromyl (see: Annex 3).

(b) According to other data, on 02/02/1780 he made the monastic vows of profession (see: Annex 3).

(c) In 1783 he was in Dobromyl monastery. He continued to be a brother because he had not received any other consecrations (see: Annex 3).

(d) His time and place of death are not set (ed.).

*Sergey Dadzytskyi*

Sergey Dadzytskyi's worldly name was Stefan. He was born to Vasil and Anna on October 27, 1746, in the village of Negrybka of Przemysl land. He studied the 'Russian' language. He entered monasticism on 01/08/1772 in Dobromyl (a). After a year of trials in the novitiate, he made a monastic vow of profession on 06/08/1773 (b). For 6 years, he was a keeper. He later moved to Bilostok, where he received priestly ordinations on August 1, 1779 (c). In 1780 he returned to Dobromyl, being a cellar manager or a keeper. In 1784 he conducted beekeeping in Dobromyl. From 1791, he was a prosecutor in Dobromyl (d).

(*Catalogus Alphanumericus Patrum et Fratrum OSBM*, t. III (01/07/1766, Ovruciae), fund. 3, case. 436, fol. 1017, DM LNSL).

(a) According to other data, on July 26, 1773, he joined the monastery in Dobromyl (see: Annex 3).

(b) According to other sources, he made the monastic vows of profession on 07/08/1774 in Dobromyl (see: Annex 3). From 1773-1776, he was a brother and novice in Dobromyl Monastery (*Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni Provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum*

*residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1773 in Annum 1774*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1773; *Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni Provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1775 in Annum 1776*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1775).

(c) Sub-deacon and deacon consecrations were held on 14/01/1779 before the priestly ordinations (see: Annex 3). From 1778 to 1779 he lived in Bilostok Monastery (*Catalogus Professorum Ordinis S. B. Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae juxta Ordinem Alphabetici in Monasteriorum ex Anno 1778 in Annum 1779*, Typis S. R. M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1778).

(d) His time and place of death are not set (ed.).

#### *Irynarch Zhukevych*

Irynarch Zhukevych was born in 1718 in the village of Topilnytsia (a). He entered monasticism in 1755 in Dobromyl (b). Until 1784 he was an assistant of a prosecutor of Dobromyl Monastery (c). On 09/07/1786 he moved from Lisk Yavorivskyi to Dobromyl (d).

(*Catalogus Alphabeticus Patrum et Fratrum OSBM*, t. II (01/07/1766, Ovrucia), fund. 3, case. 435, fol. 686, DM LNSL).

(a) According to other sources, he was born in the village of Chyshiv (Galicia) (see: Annex 3).

(b) According to other data, on August 14, 1751, he joined the monastery in Dobromyl, and on August 26, 1752, he made the monastic vows of profession. In 1783, he was a brother and had not yet received priestly ordinations. He was proficient in the Slavic language (see: Annex 3).

(c) In 1760 he permanently resided in Dobromyl Monastery, performing various duties at his residences. From 1773-1774 he was a socius in Zhuravyn (*Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni Provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1773 in Annum 1774*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1773). 1775-1776 – a procurator at Mlynky (*Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni Provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1775 in Annum 1776*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1775).

(d) His time and place of death are not set (ed.).

*Eustachyi Komanetskyi*

Eustachyi Komanetskyi's worldly name was Ivan. He was born to Theodore and Eudocia in March 1733 in the village of Yaskova Volya of Sianky land. He studied the 'Russian' language. He was a chorister and a novice. He joined the monastery on 19/08/1754 in Dobromyl. After a year of monastic trials in the novitiate, he made the monastic vows of profession on 06/10/1755. He was first a refectory manager, a keeper, and later a hieromonk in Dobromyl and a prosecutor in Zhuravyn (a). Two years later he moved to the monastery in Scheplot, where he was a keeper of the monastery. He later moved to the monastery in Dobromyl, where in 1783 he performed the duties of a cellar manager, including the delivery of wine from Hungary to Dobromyl (b).

(*Catalogus Alphanumeric Patrum et Fratrum OSBM*, t. I (01/07/1766, Ovruciae), fund. 3, case. 614, fol. 310, DM LNSL).

(a) On 10/09/1761, he received sub-deacon and deacon consecrations (see: Annex 3).

(b) On 08/10/1805, he died in Dobromyl (excerpt from the "Monument to the Order of St. Basil the Great – month of October," (accessed 30.10.2019, [http://www.bazylianie.pl/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=404:lr-15&catid=16&Itemid=3](http://www.bazylianie.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=404:lr-15&catid=16&Itemid=3)).

*Augustine Kratsevskyi*

Augustine Kratsevskyi's worldly name was Andryi. His parents were Myhailo and Marianna and he was born on September 30, 1750, in the village of Brusca, Przemysl land. He joined the monastery in Dobromyl on 01/08/1778 (a). After a year of novitiate, on 15/08/1779 he made a monastic vow of profession (b). Subsequently, on January 8, 1781, he was sent to Drohobych, and two years later in August 1782 to Lavriv, and from there in 1783 to Dobromyl. In all these monasteries he performed the duties of a tailor (c).

(*Catalogus Alphanumeric Patrum et Fratrum OSBM*, t. I (01/07/1766, Ovruciae), fund. 3, case. 614, fol. 113, DM LNSL).

(a) According to other data, this occurred in 1775 (see: Annex 3).

(b) According to other data, this occurred in 1775 (see: Annex 3).

(c) His time and place of death are not set (ed.).

*Seraphym Levkovskyi*

Seraphym Levkovskyi's worldly name was Stefan. He was born on 26/10/1728 to Kindrat and Theodora on the territory of Brest land. He entered monasticism on 14/07/1764 (a) in Pochaiv. After a year of trials in the novitiate, he made a life-long vow of profession (b). In 1768 he received deacon consecrations from the hands of Lutsk Bishop Sylvester Rudnytskyi. He was sent



to Lavriv in 1769, where he was a prefect of the choir, and on August 15 of the same year received priestly ordinations from a bishop of Peremyshl, Atanasii Sheptytskyi (c). For four years he was a prefect of the choir in Dobromyl and later moved to Pochaiv, where he performed the same duties (d).

(*Catalogus Alphabeticus Patrum et Fratrum OSBM*, t. III (01/07/1766, Ovruciae), fund. 3, case. 436, fol. 1010, DM LNSL).

(a) According to other sources, his entry to monasticism took place on July 16, 1765 (see: Annex 3).

(b) He made the life-long vows of profession on August 6, 1766, in Pochaiv (see: Annex 3).

(c) Before, on January 8, 1768, he was ordained as a sub-deacon and deacon (see: Annex 3).

(d) He lived in Dobromyl for a long time, from 1772 to 1778, being a prefect of the choir (*Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1773 in Annum 1774*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1773; *Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1775 in Annum 1776*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1775; *Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis S. Basilii Magni provinciae protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex dispositione Religiosissimi Patris Domini Josephi Morgulec in capitulo Unioviae celebrato electi superioris provincialis confestus ex Anno 1776 in Annum 1777*, *Analecta OSBM*, Series II, Sectio I, Vol. XL (Rome, 1979), 159; *Catalogus Professorum Ordinis S. B. Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae juxta Ordinem Alphabetici in Monasteriorum ex Anno 1778 in Annum 1779*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1778). He was fluent in Church Slavonic. In 1783 he was in Dobromyl (see: Annex 3). He died in 1792 at Zimnenskyi Monastery (Vadentyna Los and Nataliia Sinkevych, "Catalogus patrum et fratrum defunctorum Chyn sv. Vasyliia Velykoho u fondakh instytutu rukopysiv NBUV (seredyna XVIII – pochatok XIX st.)" [Catalogus patrum et fratrum defunctorum the Order of St. Basil the Great in the Fonds of the Institute of Manuscripts of the NBUU (Mid-18<sup>th</sup> - Early 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries)], *Henealohichni zapysky* 12, new series 6 (2014): 88).

#### *Sadoty Lozynskyi*

Sadoty Lozynskyi's worldly name was Stefan. His parents were Myhailo and Xenia and he was born in 1725 on the territory of Przemyśl land (a). He graduated from the poetry class in Przemyśl. He entered into monasticism in Dobromyl on June 20, 1747 (b). After his time of trials in the novitiate, he made

the monastic vows of profession on 25/07/1748 (c). He was then sent to Hoscha to study rhetoric. After one year of study, he left the township to be a prosecutor (d), and from there he returned to Hoscha again to continue his studies. Upon the completion of his studies on January 1, 1752, he received priestly consecration from the hands of the Bishop of Khomskiy, Feliciano Volodkovych (e). After this, he continued to stay in Hoscha for a while. In July 1754, he was a prosecutor in Mokryany, residing in Lavriv Monastery (5 years) (f). Beginning in February 1759 he was a prosecutor in Zhuravyn, residing in Dobromyl Monastery. Starting in August 1760 he was a prosecutor in Lishnia (7 years). He spent the last years of his life in Dobromyl (g) as a prosecutor (h).

(*Catalogus Alphabeticus Patrum et Fratrum OSBM*, t. III (01/07/1766, Ovruciae), fund. 3, case. 436, fol. 981, DM LNSL).

(a) Was born in the village Negrybka of Przemysl land (see: Annex 3).

(b) According to other data, this occurred on 23/07/1748 (see: Annex 3).

(c) In other data, this occurred on 25/07/1749 (see: Annex 3).

(d) In 1750 he was a brother of the monastery in Horodyshche (fund. Ławra Poczajowska, case. 2, fol. 108, APDPK).

(e) In other data, this occurred on 07/01/1754 (see: Annex 3).

(f) In 1754, Sadotiy is mentioned as a member of a monastery fraternity of Lavriv Monastery (*Catalogus monasteriorum et personarum provinciae protectionis B. V. Mariae Ordinis S. Basilii Magni Anni 1754, Analecta OSBM*, Series II, Sectio I, T. XL (Rome, 1979): 109).

(g) In 1769-1770, he was a student of theological studies in Dobromyl (F. 364, Op. 1, Spr. 20, Ark. 162, Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine, Lviv). From 1768-1778 he was a procurator of Dobromyl monastery (Yuri Stetsyk, *Basilian Monasteries of the Przemysl Eparchy (Diocese of Przemysl) End of 17<sup>th</sup> - 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries: Monograph* (Drohobych: DSPU Publishing Department, 2014), 349; *Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex 1773 Anno in Annum 1774*, Typis SRM Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1773; *Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni Provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1775 in Annum 1776*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1775; *Catalogus Professorum Ordinis S. B. Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae juxta Ordinem Alphabetici in Monasteriorum ex Anno 1778 in Annum 1779*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1778). In 1783 he was a keeper in Dobromyl (see: Annex 3).

(h) He died in 1785 in Dobromyl (Los and Sinkevych, "Catalogus patrum et fratrum defunctorum," 87).

*Juvenilyi Osharkovskiy*

Juvenilyi Osharkovskiy's worldly name was Jacob. He was born to Kindrat and Agatha on September 27, 1744, in Leshniv. He joined the monastery on 03/02/1761 in Pochaiv. After a year of monastic trials, on February 10, 1762, he made the vows of profession in Pochaiv. On 01/02/1768 he received the deacon's consecration from the hands of Lutsk Bishop Sylvester Rudnitskyi (a). He worked at the printing house of Pochaiv Monastery. He received the priestly consecration on 02/02/1771 in Lviv from the hands of Kyiv Metropolitan Lev Sheptytskyi. He performed various works in different monasteries in Svyatopokrovsk province. In 1773, he was a treasurer of the monastery in Pogony (b). In 1776, he was sent to Sviatospask Monastery, also as a treasurer. On 25/04/1778 he moved to Dobromyl, where he was a missionary and chorister (c). In the same monastery, on 01/01/1779 he was appointed an abbot. In 1784 he was a treasurer at Scheploty (d).

(*Catalogus Alphabeticus Patrum et Fratrum OSBM*, t. II (01/07/1766, Ovrucia), fund. 3, case. 435, fol. 736, DM LNSL).

(a) According to other data, on February 15, 1767, a sub-deacon and a deacon (see: Annex 3).

(b) From 1773-1776, he was a treasurer of the monastery in Pogon (*Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1773 in Annum 1774*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1773; *Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1775 in Annum 1776*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1775).

(c) In 1778-1779 he was a missionary and chorister of Dobromyl Monastery (*Catalogus Professorum Ordinis S. B. Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae juxta Ordinem Alphabetici in Monasteriorum ex Anno 1778 in Annum 1779*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1778).

(d) His time and place of death are not set (ed.).

*Pakhomyi Piotrovskiy*

Pakhomyi Piotrovskiy's worldly name was Petro. He was a son of a nobleman, Eustachyi Pyotrovskiy, and Eudokia of Sagatovskiy. His father was a parish priest in Susoliv. He was born on January 16, 1706, in the village Susoliv in Lviv land and the Diocese of Przemysl. It is not known where he received his ecclesiastical education. On January 11, 1732, he received sub-deacon and deacon consecrations and on February 2, 1732, he received priestly ordinations. He was a pastor in the village of Susoliv. He entered monasticism on May 15, 1777, in

Zagoriv monastery, where he passed ascetic tests, and he made the monastic vows of profession on May 20, 1778. On February 2, 1781, he was sent to Dobromyl, where he lived until the final days of his life. He died in 1791.

(*Catalogus Alphabeticus Patrum et Fratrum OSBM*, t. III (01/07/1766, Ovruciae), fund. 3, case. 436, fol. 904, DM LNSL).

*Moses Radziyevskiy*

Moses Radziyevskiy's worldly name was Martin. He was born in 1739 to Mykola and Iryna. He entered monasticism on 06/10/1761 in Pochaiv. After a year of trials in the novitiate, he made the monastic vows of profession on 12/10/1762. After 4 years he was sent to Zolochiv to the village of Buchyna to found a monastery. In March 1772 he moved to Zhovkva, being a keeper of the monastery. In August of that year, he was sent to the monastery in Vicyn to fulfil his duties as a keeper (a). In July 1781 he moved to St. Onuphrius's monastery in Lviv, where he was also a keeper. In September 1782 he was sent to Dobromyl (b).

(*Catalogus Alphabeticus Patrum et Fratrum OSBM*, t. III (01/07/1766, Ovruciae), fund. 3, case. 436, fol. 848, DM LNSL).

(a) From 1773 to 1776, he was a brother of Vicyn Monastery (*Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1773 in Annum 1774*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1773; *Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1775 in Annum 1776*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1775).

(b) In 1783, he was a brother in Dobromyl Monastery, acting as a keeper. At the time, he passed no educational studies. He could only read in the Slavic language (see: Annex 3). His time and place of death are not set (ed.).

*Isydore Rylskiy*

Isydore Rylskiy's worldly name was Ivan. He was born on 29/08/1753 to Ivan and Katherina in the village of Tarnava, near Dobromyl. He studied Russian and Polish. He was a chorister and a novice. He entered monasticism on August 12, 1780, in Dobromyl. After a year of trials in the novitiate, he made the monastic vows of profession on 18/08/1781. He remained at Dobromyl to perform the duties of an assistant in gardening. On January 23, 1782, he received sub-deacon consecrations from the hands of Bishop Maximilian Ryllo in Strashevichy (a). He died in 1789 in Krystynopol.

(*Catalogus Alphabeticus Patrum et Fratrum OSBM*, t. II (01/07/1766, Ovruciae), fund. 3, case. 435, fol. 713, DM LNSL).

(a) according to other data, he received sub-deacon consecrations on 10/02/1781. As of 1783, he was a brother of Dobromyl Monastery, where he was a treasurer and a procurator (see: Annex 3).

*Gervasyi Tarnavskyyi*

Gervasyi Tarnavskyyi was born in 1705 in Kanchuz, Przemysl land. In 1762 he joined Dobromyl Monastery (a), but in 1765 he made his profession in Pochaiv (b). After that, he was directed to various monasteries of the province: Bilyna (1774) (c), Drohobych (1774-1776) (d) and Scheplot (1777) (e).

(*Catalogus Alphabeticus Patrum et Fratrum OSBM*, t. II (01/07/1766, Ovrucia), fund. 3, case. 435, fol. 419, DM LNSL).

(a) According to other data, he became a monk on March 25, 1761 (see: Annex 3).

(b) According to other data, he made a monastic vow on July 22, 1763, in Pochaiv (see: Annex 3).

(c) In 1773-1774, he was a brother-novice of the monastery in Bilyna (*Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1773 in Annum 1774*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1773).

(d) In 1775-1776, he was a socius in Derezychi as a resident of Drohobych monastery (*Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1775 in Annum 1776*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1775).

(e) He was in Scheplot monastery in 1772 (fund. 142, case. 222, fol. 137, SAP). In 1783 he was in Dobromyl. He did not pass any studies and remained a layman throughout his monastic life (see: Annex 3). He died in 1791 in Galician territory (place of death not established) (Los and Sinkevych, "Catalogus patrum et fratrum defunctorum," 87). According to other data, he died in 1784 (Lorens, *Bazylianie prowincji koronnej*, 474).

*Sebastian Frysynskyyi*

Sebastian Frysynskyyi's worldly name was Stefan. He was a son of Georgyi and Anna and was born on 28/10/1751 in the village Popeliof, Przemysl land. He joined Dobromyl Monastery on October 26, 1771, where after a year of novitiate, on January 30, 1773, he made the monastic vows of profession. After that, he was sent to Mylchen's rhetoric studio. After 9 months of study, he went on to continue his studies, first at Sataniv (a) and then at Zamostia, where he studied theology (b). He spent some time in Ostroh for mission work (c). In 1781, he

arrived in Goshiv and six months later was sent to Lviv to study speculative theology, where he received deacon consecrations shortly after on 30/08/1781. On 15/02/1782, he was ordained by the Bishop of Lviv. After completing his studies in 1783, he was sent to Dobromyl to fulfil his duties as a preacher (d).

(*Catalogus Alphabeticus Patrum et Fratrum OSBM*, t. I (01/07/1766, Ovruciae), fund. 3, case. 436, fol. 1006, DM LNSL).

(a) In 1773-1774, he studied rhetoric at Sataniv Monastery (*Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni Provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1773 in Annum 1774*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1773).

(b) In 1775-1776, he studied philosophy at Zamostia Monastery (*Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni Provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1775 in Annum 1776*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1778).

(c) In 1778-1779, he was a brother-preacher of the monastery in Zbarazh (*Catalogus Professorum Ordinis SB Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae juxta Ordinem Alphabetici in Monasteriorum ex Anno 1778 in Annum 1779*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1778).

(d) On May 1, 1821, Fr. Sebastian Frysynskyi, a preacher and pastor in Dobromyl, Goshiv, Lviv, Krekhiv (taken from the "Memorium of the Order of St. Basil the Great – month of May," (accessed 30.10.2019, [http://www.bazylianie.pl/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=278:lr-8&catid=16:historiazakon&Itemid=3](http://www.bazylianie.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=278:lr-8&catid=16:historiazakon&Itemid=3)).

#### *Bonifacyi Khomikovskiyi*

Bonifacyi Khomikovskiyi's worldly name was Vasylyi. He was born to Andryi and Catherina in 1732 in the village of Masovtsi in Podilia. He graduated from a class on rhetoric. He entered monasticism in Pochaiv on 16/07/1763. After a year of trials, on July 18, 1764, he made the monastic vows of profession. He was sent to Lavriv's philosophical studios, and after that he went to study theology in Brownsberg. After three years of study, he returned to the territory of Svyatokoprovsk province and was appointed to Piddubtsy to fulfil his duties as a preacher, where he was also a treasurer of the monastery for two years. On 19/10/1764, sub-deacon and deacon consecrations were given to him in Strashevychy. On January 6, 1770, he received priestly ordinations. He then moved to the monastery in Lubar, initially as a professor of rhetoric and poetry, and two years later was appointed preacher and convict leader (a). Later he was a missionary in Kremenets. A year later he was a preacher in Pochaiv (b) and beginning in 1778 he was a preacher in Ostroh. From August 1779 he was an

abbot of the monastery in Zbarazh, which he governed well (c). In April 1781, he was appointed an abbot of Pidhirtsy. He was released from these duties in August 1781 in connection with the relocation of St. Onuphrius Monastery in Lviv to fulfil the duties of a confessor and preacher, as well as a promoter of the St. Onuphrius Brotherhood. From there, in August 1782 he was sent to Dobromyl as a master of novices and professor of moral theology (d).

(*Catalogus Alphabeticus Patrum et Fratrum OSBM*, t. I (01/07/1766, Ovruciae), fund. 3, case. 614, fol. 213, DM LNSL).

(a) In 1773 to 1774 he was a prefect of the boarding school and preacher of the monastery in Lubar (*Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1773 in Annum 1774*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1773).

(b) In 1775-1776 he was a confessor and preacher on Sundays (*Catalogus monasteriorum Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae cum residentibus in iis Religiosis Patribus et Fratribus ex Anno 1775 in Annum 1776*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1775).

(c) In 1778-1779 he was an abbot of the monastery in Zbarazh (*Catalogus Professorum Ordinis S. B. Magni provinciae Protectionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae juxta Ordinem Alphabetici in Monasteriorum ex Anno 1778 in Annum 1779*, Typis S.R.M. Monaste: Poczajovien: OSBM. Anno Domini, 1778).

(d) For some time, he was a teacher at Hoscha. He was also a professor of Latin and Polish. In 1783, he performed the duties of a confessor in Dobromyl (see: Annex 3). His time and place of death are not set (ed.).

#### *Inocentyi Shablewskyi*

Inocentyi Shablewskyi's worldly name was Ivan, and his parents were Vasyl and Theodora. He was born on 15/09/1753 in the village of Oleshiv in Brody province near Zolochiv. He studied rhetoric and Polish. He entered monasticism on 17/07/1781 in Dobromyl. After a year of trials in the novitiate, on 03/07/1782 he made the monastic vows of profession. He passed the studies in moral theology at the same monastery (a). In 1784 he stayed in Yazenytsia (b).

(*Catalogus Alphabeticus Patrum et Fratrum OSBM*, t. I (01/07/1766, Ovruciae), fund. 3, case. 435, fol. 584, DM LNSL).

(a) In 1783 he was a keeper and cook in Dobromyl monastery. He remained a brother because he did not receive any consecrations (see: Annex 3).

(b) His time and place of death are not set (ed.).

ANNEX 3.

*Report on the personal data of the monks of the Dobromyl Monastery of the Diocese of Przemyśl concluded 1783*

First name and surname of the monk	Birthplace	Time and place of entry to monasticism	The time and place of making monastic vows	Consecrations	Studies	Monastic duties	Church responsibilities	Age	Notes
Polycarp Volyanskyi, an abbot	Galician born in Ugertsy	24/07/1737 Pochaiv	27/07/1738 Pochaiv	29/08/1738 sub-deacon 07/08/1738 deacon hieromonk	theology in the Lviv Jesuit Fathers College	professor of rhetoric in Hoscha (3 years), a priest in Lutsk cathedral church, an abbot in Lutsk	Executes obligations according to his calling.	73	Lived continuously in Galicia.
Yosaphat Vysotskyi, from Zhovkva Archimandry	Galician born in Sviate	21/04/1733 Dobromyl	14/07/1734 Dobromyl	24/06/1735 hieromonk	Before entering monasticism, philosophy and moral theology in Yaroslavl Jesuit Fathers College.	a preacher (1 year), an abbot in different monasteries, an official of Kyiv, Archimandrite of Zhovkva	Due to poor health, relieved of his duties as Archimandrite.	74	Lived in Galicia for a long time.



The Monks of Dobromyl Basilian Monastery of St. Onuphrius

Ignatius Vitoshynskyyi	Galician from the village Bushkovychy	30/07/1750 Dobromyl	10/09/1751 Dobromyl	06/08/1753 sub-deacon 15/08/1753 hieromonk	Studied Latin and the Slavic language.	a treasurer, a vicar in Dobromyl	Executes obligations according to his calling.	55	Lived continuously in Galicia.
Bonifacyi Khomikovskyyi	Polish born on 3/22/1732 in the village Masovtci Podillia	16/07/1763 Pochaiv	18/07/1764 Pochaiv	19/09/1764 sub-deacon 01/06/1770 hieromonk	philosophy in Lavriv, theology at Pontifical Seminary in Brownsberg	a preacher, a missionary of Latin and Polish, a teacher in Goscha	a confessor	51	Lived in Galicia for 5 years.
Sebastian Frysynskyyi	Galician village of Popely	16/10/1771 Dobromyl	29/01/1772 Dobromyl	08/10/1781 sub-deacon 15/09/1781 hieromonk	philosophy, theology	a preacher in different monasteries	a preacher	32	Lived in Galicia for 5 years.
Yosyph Borgylevych	Galician Radymno	02/01/1773 Dobromyl	06/07/1775 Sataniv	14/05/1777 sub-deacon 22/04/1777 hieromonk	rhetoric, moral theology	a priest of Zhovkva, a treasurer, a brotherhood promoter	a priest, a treasurer, a catechist	33	Lived in Galicia for 8 years.
Juvenilyi Osharkovskyyi	Galician Leshniv	02/03/1761 Pochaiv	02/10/1762 Pochaiv	15/02/1767 sub-deacon 02/02/1771 hieromonk	the Slavic language	an employee of Pochaiv printing house (12 years), a treasurer in different monasteries	Executes obligations according to his calling.	39	Lived in Galicia for 13 years.

YURI STETSYK, VASYL ILNYTSKYI AND VLADISLAV BOYETCHKO

Eustachyi Komanetskyi	Galician Yaslytska Volyal	19/08/ 1754 Dobromyl	10/06/ 1755 Dobromyl	10/09/1761 sub-deacon 15/03/1762 hieromonk	the Slavic language	a cook, a keeper, a procurator	Performs the same duties.	49	Lived in Galicia for 27 years.
Pakhomyi Piotrovskyi	Galician Susoliv	15/05/ 1777 Zagoriv	20/05/ 1778 Zagoriv	01/11/1732 sub-deacon 02/02/1732 priest	the Slavic language	A priest in the village Susoliv since 1732, became a monk in 1777, an exorcist in Dobromyl.	Performs the same duties.	77	Lived in Galicia for 3 years.
Flor Vysochanskyi	Galician Vysotskyi	17/06/ 1742 Dobromyl	12/08/ 1744 Dobromyl	07/01/1745 sub-deacon 02/02/1748 hieromonk	the Slavic language	a cook, a keeper, a procurator, a treasurer	a treasurer	61	Lived in Galicia for 42 years.
Seraphym Levkovskyi	Polish	16/07/ 1765 Pochaiv	06/08/ 1766 Pochaiv	01/08/1768 sub-deacon 15/08/1769 hieromonk	the Slavic language	a choir prefect	Performs the same duties.	55	Lived in Galicia for 7 years.
Sergey Dadzytskyi	Galician Negrybka	26/07/ 1773 Dobromyl	07/08/ 1774 Dobromyl	14/01/1779 sub-deacon 08/01/1779 hieromonk	the Slavic language	a keeper	Performs the same duties.	38	Lived in Galicia for 4 years.

The Monks of Dobromyl Basilian Monastery of St. Onuphrius

Sadoty Lozynskyy	Galician Negrybka	23/07/1748 Dobromyl	25/07/1749 Dobromyl	07/01/1754 sub-deacon deacon hieromonk	rhetoric	a keeper and procurator of different monasteries	Performs the same duties.	58	Lived in Galicia for 13 years.
Isydore Rylskyy	Galician Tarnava	08/12/1780 Dobromyl	18/08/1781 Dobromyl	02/10/1781 sub-deacon	the Slavic language	a treasurer, a procurator	Performs the same duties.	29	Lived in Galicia for 2 years.
Irynarch Zhukevych	Galician Chyshiv	14/08/1751 Dobromyl	26/08/1752 Dobromyl	laic	the Slavic language	a procurator of different monasteries	Performs the same duties.	70	Lived in Galicia for 30 years.
Gervasyi Tarnavskyy	Galician Kanchuga	25/03/1761 Dobromyl	22/07/1763 Pochaiv	laic	no studios	a cook, a prosecutor	Does not perform due to illness.	77	Lived in Galicia for 12 years.
Gerasyim Gutkovskyy	Galician Mykolaiv	30/01/1779 Dobromyl	02/02/1780 Dobromyl	cleric, no consecrations	rhetoric, philosophy (secular), philosophy, theology (in monasticism)	a procurator of the monastery of Volia Derevlhana	Performs the same duties.	27	Lived in Galicia for 3 years.
Moses Radziyevskyy	Polish Beregye	10/06/1761 Pochaiv	12/10/1762 Pochaiv	laic	No studies, can read in the Slavic language.	a keeper	Executes obligations according to his calling.	42	Lived in Galicia for 16 years.

YURI STETSYK, VASYL ILNYTSKYI AND VLADISLAV BOYECHKO

Augustine Kratsevskyyi	Galician	1775 Dobromyl	1776 Dobromyl	laic	Partially knows the Slavic language.	a keeper, a cook	Executes obligations according to his calling.	33	Lived in Galicia for 6 years.
Inocentyi Shablewskyyi	Galician Olshiv	17/07/ 1781 Dobromyl	03/07/ 1782 Dobromyl	cleric, no consecrations	the Slavic language	a keeper, a cook	Executes obligations according to his calling.	29	Lived in Galicia for 2 years.

Fund. 142, case. 222, fol. 11-13, SAP.

# DEBATE



PATRIMONIUL COMUNITĂȚILOR ETNICE.  
DESPRE VECINĂTĂȚILE SAȘILOR ARDELENI\*

VOLKER WOLLMANN\*\*

Parteneriatul încheiat între Muzeul Transilvănean din Gundelsheim și Muzeul Etnografic Brașov în 4 octombrie 1993<sup>1</sup> și acordul de cooperare cu Muzeul de Etnografie Săsească „Emil Sigerus” (care aparține de Complexul Muzeal „Astra” din Sibiu) din 18 decembrie 1999<sup>2</sup> au avut ca obiect o colaborare strânsă în cadrul evidenței, cercetării, conservării, valorificării și păstrării moștenirii culturale, în special a sașilor transilvăneni din România. S-a preconizat transpunerea în practică a unor programe și manifestări comune de activitate muzeistică (planificări de expoziții, întocmire de documentații pentru colecții, măsuri de conservare și restaurare, publicații), efectuarea unor cercetări de teren comune în regiunea locuită de sașii transilvăneni, schimburi de informații și rezultate științifice, mijlocirea de contacte științifice între reprezentanții acestor instituții, publicarea rezultatelor obținute, înlesnirea de împrumuturi pe termen lung între parteneri atunci când colecțiile muzeale ofereau această posibilitate; sprijinirea schimburilor culturale. Cercetările de teren urmau să fie întreprinse în special în zonele depopulate în urma emigrării masive a populației din satele săsești și a transformărilor demografice ulterioare evenimentelor politice de la finele anului 1989.

Investigațiile inițiate trebuiau să furnizeze date istorice despre localitatea rurală respectivă, arhitectura tradițională, munca la câmp, meșteșugurile țărănești, interiorul țărănesc (mobila), costumul, viața comunitară în decursul anului (obiceiuri) și despre formele de organizare a vieții sociale care au stat la baza comunității rurale.

Astfel, colectivul de cercetători ai Muzeului Etnografic din Brașov îndrumat de doamna dr. Ligia Fulga a elaborat un program complex pentru documentarea la fața locului a bunurilor de cultură materială din mediul rural și a diferitelor aspecte din viața satului. Cercetările de teren s-au extins în anii 1990-1992 asupra a 24 de sate, în special din partea de nord a județului, în zona etnografică Rupea, extinse apoi după anul 1993 într-o serie de sate săsești de pe Târnave, pentru ca după 1998 colectivul de cercetători ai Muzeului Etnografic din Brașov să întreprindă cercetări complexe în marile comune colonizate de

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\* Textul reprezintă o pară a conferinței susținute de autor la Universitatea „1 Decembrie 1918” din Alba Iulia, în 29 mai 2018.

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<sup>1</sup> *Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung*, 7 octombrie 1993; *Karpatenrundschau*, 4 octombrie 1993; *Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim. Nachrichten des Freundeskreises* 14, 3-4 (1993): 16-17.

<sup>2</sup> *Tribuna*, 18 decembrie 1999; *Siebenbürgische Zeitung*, 15 ianuarie 2000.

sași din Țara Bârsei. Începând cu acest an, Muzeul Transilvănean din Gundelsheim a întreprins cercetări de teren și în colaborare cu Muzeul de Etnografie Săsească „Emil Sigerus” în mai multe sate săsești din împrejurimile Sibiului (precum Cisnădioara, Șura Mare, Daia, Noua și Roșia), ținându-se cont totodată și de construcții și amenajări publice (cimitire, mori, fântâni, poduri, sistem de canalizare, remize de pompieri etc.), de arhitectura caselor, decorul fațadelor sau de inventarul bisericilor evanghelice și al Vecinătăților<sup>3</sup>.

Abandonarea gospodăriilor unor sate întregi a avut ca urmare dispariția destul de rapidă a culturii materiale cotidiene tradiționale din casă și din curte, inclusiv a unor bunuri de cultură materială aparținând comunității săsești. Însă, în general, *averea materială a Vecinătăților* n-a fost afectată de plecarea membrilor ei, fiind pusă în siguranță de regulă în casele parohiale sau chiar în biserica localității respective. Chiar dacă numărul Vecinătăților a scăzut drastic, în unele comune mari de la 18 la două, de exemplu la Apoldul de Sus (jud. Sibiu), sau de la 12 la una, la Gârbova (jud. Alba), dar de regulă de la șase sau patru la una singură, ele mai funcționau în continuare – nu cu aceeași intensitate – funcțiile cele mai importante rămânând: ajutorul reciproc, păstrarea și transmiterea tradițiilor săsești, îndrumarea proceselor de socializare și controlul relației cu biserica. Însă, și datorită lipsei de preoți evanghelici, astfel de funcții au început să-și piardă în importanță.

În măsura în care numărul locuitorilor satelor săsești a scăzut drastic, ca dovadă că ei au fost nevoiți să se grupeze în jurul unei singure Vecinătăți, funcția de întraajutorare se limitează în ultima vreme aproape exclusiv la ajutorul reciproc în caz de înmormântare. Astfel, ca obiecte specifice ale Vecinătății se mai folosesc în prezent numai cele utilizate pentru înmormântări.

#### *Obiectele specifice Vecinătății*

Averea materială a Vecinătății consta din *lada* în care erau păstrate documentele, *semnul* sau *tabla* – prin intermediul căreia erau anunțate diverse evenimente (întruniri, nunți, înmormântări). Alături de obiectele menționate, se găsesc și obiecte de uz comun folosite cu prilejul întâlnirilor Vecinătății (vase, bănci, mese etc.), în agricultură sau pentru siguranța cetățenilor. Stingerea incendiilor era una dintre atribuțiile vecinătăților. Așa cum reiese din inventarele Vecinătăților urbane, acestea mai aveau în posesie și *paharele din argint* oferite de membrii marcantți ai Vecinătății cu prilejul acceptării lor sau cu ocazia unor evenimente importante care aveau loc în comunitate (fig. 1)<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Volker Wollmann, „Forschungsvorhaben des Museums in Siebenbürgen”, *Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim, Nachrichten des Freundeskreises* 19, 3-4 (1998): 19-25.

<sup>4</sup> Julius Bielz, „Zunftaltertümer im Baron Brukenthalischen Museum”, *Mitteilungen aus dem Baron Brukenthalischen Museum* VI (1936-1937): 5-21, Abb. 21-24; Raluca Maria Frîncu, *Solidarități socio-economice, Vecinătăți din sudul Transilvaniei* (Sibiu: Editura Muzeului Național Brukenthal, 2018), 127, 134, 147-150, 152-153, 156-157, 160.



Unul dintre obiectele cele mai importante pentru Vecinătate era *lada*. Aceasta apare în documentele medievale sub denumirea *pixis* sau *Büchse*, ea având o funcționalitate similară lăzilor de breaslă. În ladă erau păstrate documentele – statutele, registrele, chitanțele –, banii încasați din contribuții și amenzi, precum și sigiliul, semnul (tabla) etc. Atât la bresle, cât și la Vecinătăți, aceasta era deschisă în timpul adunărilor generale, în fața ei se făcea primirea ucenicilor și erau consfințite titlurile de calfă – în cazul breslelor, ori primirea noilor membri, în cel al Vecinătăților. Sașii denumeau această ladă cu termenul *Trun*.

Lăzile erau lucrate din lemn de esență moale sau tare, aveau forma unui paralelipiped dreptunghic, dimensiunile și decorul fiind diferite, în funcție de epocă și de veniturile breslei sau Vecinătății respective. O atenție deosebită merită acordată decorului lăzilor, care erau sculptate, pictate, uneori și furniruite. În comunele săsești găsim mai rar lăzi sculptate. Ele erau confecționate în cele mai multe cazuri din lemn de esență moale, având pereții drepecți sau curbați, vopsiți într-o culoare mai închisă (fig. 2). Cele mai multe lăzi de Vecinătate sunt cele pictate cu motive geometrice sau florale, de multe ori pe un fond care imită furnirul. Această tehnică, numită *fladern*, a fost importată de „transmigranții” evanghelici (landlerii) colonizați în Transilvania în secolul al XVIII-lea, la Apoldul de Sus, Cristian și Turnișor.

Lada Vecinătății era închisă uneori cu două chei, una fiind ținută de *tatăl bătrân*, iar cealaltă de *tatăl tânăr*. Astfel, ea putea fi deschisă numai în prezența celor doi, cu ocazia adunărilor generale organizate periodic, în ziua judecății și la procesiunea care avea loc imediat după alegerea noului tată de Vecinătate, ceea ce demonstra gravitatea și solemnitatea momentului. După alegere, lada era transferată, de către un alai compus din membrii prezenți la întrunire, în casa noului *tată de Vecinătate*.

Un alt obiect preluat de la bresle este *tabla* sau *semnul* Vecinătății. Existența acestor semne este atestată abia din secolul al XV-lea. În statutul de la 1376, deși erau reglementate diverse probleme legate de modul de organizare al breslelor, semnele nu erau amintite. Cel mai vechi *semn* este datat în anul 1450 și aparținea breslei dulgherilor din Sibiu. Din secolul al XVI-lea, semnele sunt menționate în documente sub denumirea de *Zeichen* sau *Tafel*. Rolul lor era de a răspândi mesajul starostelui sau al *tatălui de Vecinătate* și de a-i informa pe membrii organizației asupra diverselor evenimente care aveau loc. Ea era fixată pe zidul localului Vecinătății, având diverse dimensiuni și forme: dreptunghiulară, în formă de scut etc. Se cunosc foarte puține semne din cositor și alamă, provenind doar din mediul urban, cele mai multe fiind confecționate din lemn.

Influența stilurilor artistice europene se observă atât în forma semnelor, cât și în modul lor de ornamentare; existau semne cu influențe începând de la goticul târziu și Renaștere, până la baroc și rococo. În privința decorului,

predominau motivele vegetale, frunza de acant fiind frecvent întâlnită, alături de basoreliefuri. Majoritatea semnelor sunt lucrate în stilul renascentist al secolelor XVI-XVII și baroc al secolului XVIII, grupându-se în două tipuri de bază: scutul simplu german și tipul oval, ornamentat. Una dintre tablele lucrate în acest stil este cea aparținând breslei năsturarilor sibieni, datată în anul 1709. Există și semne cu influențe baroce, precum cel al dogarilor sibieni din anul 1582, al croitorilor din anul 1695, al măcelarilor din anul 1703, al aurarilor și argintarilor, și nu în ultimul rând, cel al Vecinătății din strada Knöpf, datat în anul 1791. Stilul Biedermeier este și el prezent la semnele de breaslă; în acest curent se înscrie semnul tâmplarilor sibieni, datat în 1827. Așadar, atât semnele de breaslă, cât și cele de Vecinătate pot fi încadrate în diversele stiluri artistice caracteristice secolelor în care au funcționat breslele și Vecinătățile.

Chiar și la unele semne de Vecinătate din comunele săsești se observă asemenea influențe, dar în general apar cele prelucrate din lemn în formă de scut sau de frunză, decorate pe ambele fețe cu motive frecvent întâlnite și prevăzute cu numele sau inițialele tatălui de Vecinătate și cu anul realizării<sup>5</sup>.

Existau și semne (table) prevăzute cu o ușiță care se deschidea, înăuntru fiind o altă tăbliță mică, pe care erau scrise mesajele tatălui de Vecinătate. Un astfel de semn, datând din anul 1927, confecționat relativ târziu în comparație cu celelalte table de Vecinătate din satele săsești, se păstrează la parohia evanghelică din Biertan (jud. Sibiu) (fig. 3/a-b). O Vecinătate putea să aibă mai multe semne de Vecinătate, care se trimiteau simultan, cu mesajul tatălui. Această practică urmărea desigur ca mesajul să ajungă cât mai repede la toți membrii comunității. Dacă unul dintre vecini nu era acasă, semnul era transmis următorului, iar mesajul îi era comunicat.

Pe primul loc se situează semnele decorate cu unelte agricole, urmate de cele prevăzute cu motive florale, de exemplu semnul de Vecinătate provenind de la Pianu de Jos (jud. Alba) (fig. 4/a-b), soarele stilizat reprezentat pe semnul unei Vecinătăți din Cincșor, jud. Brașov) (fig. 5) sau capul de bovidu care apare ca ornament pe semnul altei Vecinătăți din Cincșor (fig. 6). Prin unelte agricole înțelegem în primul rând plugul cu brăzdar de fier, prevăzut cu așa zisul „cuțit”, și „fierul lung”, ambele reprezentate pe un semn de Vecinătate din comuna Copșa Mare (jud. Sibiu) (fig. 7). Brăzdarul de fier și secera, simbolizând cele mai importante munci agricole, semănatul și recolta, sunt înfățișate pe o tablă de Vecinătate din Bunești (jud. Brașov) (fig. 8/a-b). Pe un alt semn de Vecinătate din Bunești, datând din anul 1856, au fost încrustate pe un lemn de esență tare cele mai uzuale unelte agricole: grebla, furca, îmblăceiul și coasa (fig. 9/a-b).

Există semne (table) de Vecinătate cu o destinație specială, care nu serveau transmiterii unor „mesaje”. La Copșa Mare (jud. Sibiu) a circulat în anul

<sup>5</sup> Dorin I. Rus, „Steme și însemne de breaslă în Transilvania” (Teză de doctorat, Universitatea „Lucian Blaga”, Sibiu, 2004), 228-231; Frîncu, *Solidarități*, 63-64.

1819 o tablă pe care scrie *Straf Behelf Ordnung*, un termen format din cuvintele „pedeapsă”, „în ajutorul” și „ordonare/rânduire”, care la prima vedere nu dau nici un înțeles. Presupunem că era un fel de convocator pentru diverse procese de judecată, organizate de Vecinătate (fig. 10). Pentru un alt semn n-am reușit să deslușim semnificația inscripției. El provine din Râșnov (jud. Brașov), având înscrisul *Sonntagsbütte - 1891*, ceea ce ar putea însemna că a circulat în cadrul Vecinătății doar atunci când se ținea slujba de duminică (fig. 11).

Am avut prilejul să observăm fenomenul renunțării la transmiterea verbală a mesajului destinat unei Vecinătăți, fixându-se în schimb un bilețel scris cu mâna pe semnul de Vecinătate (fig. 12), uzanță întâlnită la Râșnov (jud. Brașov) sau, mai nou, unul dactilografiat. În acest caz, preotul comunei preluase atribuțiile tatălui de Vecinătate. Am documentat acest lucru și fotografic în comuna Zagăr (jud. Mureș) (fig. 13).

Inițial exista un singur semn prin care erau anunțate diferitele evenimente care aveau loc în cadrul Vecinătății. Începând din secolul al XVII-lea, apar și *semnele de înmormântare*, prin intermediul cărora era anunțat tristul eveniment. Acestea se diferențiau prin simbolistică și inscripție de celelalte. Materialul folosit era cu preponderență lemnul, iar forma era de scut heraldic. Dar s-au folosit și alte materiale și forme; de ex. cel de la Iacobeni (jud. Sibiu), în formă de stea, executat din aramă. Tot la Iacobeni s-au folosit inițial ca semn de înmormântare niște bastoane cu ornamente și înscrisuri încrustate (fig. 14).

Din secolele al XVIII-lea și al XIX-lea, alături de semne încep să fie utilizate *convocatoarele*. Cunoscute și sub numele de *columna*, acestea erau bucăți simple din lemn, pătrate sau dreptunghiulare, prevăzute cu un mâner de prindere ornamentat prin sculptare sau pirogravare. Rolul lor era de a-i convoca pe membrii Vecinătății la adunările generale sau trimestriale care aveau loc pe parcursul anului. Ele se diferențiau de semnele clasice, pentru că pe una din fețe era fixată o hârtie cu un tabel care cuprindea numele membrilor Vecinătății. Aceștia aveau obligația de a semna în dreptul numelui lor, fie printr-o gaură făcută cu un cui în dreptul numelui lor, fie incizând cu unghia pe stratul de ceară ce se găsea pe laturile înguste ale convocatorului (fig. 15). În mediul săsesc aceste convocatoare se numeau *Register Zeichen* sau *Plak*, termen preluat de la landleri, derivând de la cuvântul „Pleul”.

Întrucât aceste „registre” au fost de regulă și sculptate pe o parte cu motive florale și prevăzute uneori cu nume de persoane, materialul din care se confecționau era de regulă lemnul de tei sau carpen. Pe avers – o suprafață dreaptă, unori decorată, se prindea o fâșie de hârtie cu numele membrilor Vecinătății și numărul casei. Cele mai reprezentative *columnne* ca decor și relevante pentru că nu erau folosite de Vecinătate, ci de adunarea fraților (*Bruderschaft*) și a surorilor (*Schwesterschaft*), au fost identificate prin

investigațiile pe teren la Bruiu (jud. Sibiu), Bunești (jud. Brașov) și Apoldu de Sus<sup>6</sup>.

În concluzie, semnul era pentru Vecinătate un simbol al autorității, al organizării și funcțiilor îndeplinite atât în afara comunității, cât și față de membrii ei; transmise prin intermediul lui, mesajele aveau un caracter oficial.

Alături de obiectele rituale – *lada*, *semnul de Vecinătate* – și cele de autentificare (mai rar în mediul rural) – *sigiliul*, un rol deosebit de important în creionarea imaginii Vecinătăților l-au avut *registrele*, păstrate în lăzile de Vecinătate și transmise din generație în generație. Acestea sunt surse importante de informare asupra numărului de membri, a taxelor plătite, a meseriilor practicate.

Dacă până acum am enumerat obiectele rituale și de identificare ale Vecinătății, nu trebuie uitat că acestea dețineau și obiecte de uz comun, mese, scaune, bănci, veselă, tăvi și forme de făcut prăjituri, folosite cu ocazia întrunirilor, nunțurilor și înmormântărilor. Printre aceste obiecte și ustensile, găsim în inventarul Vecinătăților și prese (clești speciali) pentru făcut hostii.

De asemenea, Vecinătatea dispunea de diferite accesorii folosite la înmormântare: *bănci pe care se păstra sicriul* înainte de a fi dus la groapă. Aceste bănci, vopsite în negru, erau prevăzute cu simbolurile morții, de obicei un craniu și două oase încrucișate, cum se poate vedea pe banca folosită de o Vecinătate din comuna Șaeș, jud. Mureș (fig. 16/a-b). În curtea bisericii fortificate de la Cristian (jud. Sibiu) s-au păstrat până azi toate băncile celor 12 Vecinătăți. Din proprietatea fizică a unei Vecinătăți făceau parte și *curele* din piele sau *funii* pentru transportat sicriul la cimitir (fig. 17). Ca și în cazul băncilor, la emigrarea sașilor în Germania Vecinătățile din Movile (jud. Sibiu) au adunat aceste curele spre păstrare într-un anumit loc (fig. 18).

Vecinătățile dispuneau și de anumite *unelte* pentru munca câmpului (site pentru mazăre și cânepă, banițe și greutăți pentru măsurat sau lanțuri folosite pentru agromensură, pentru înfierat animalele cu semnul satului (*Viehbrandzeichen*) (fig. 19). Fiecare comună avea un semn aparte, de două dimensiuni: cel mic, care se aplica de regulă pe copite, și cel mare, pe coapsa vitelor. Aceste „semne” se aflau de regulă în grija fierarului („cāvaciului”) comunei. Vecinătățile puteau să dispună chiar și de utilaje agricole (de ex. pentru semănat trifoi – *Kleesamenstreuer*), dar și de *ustensile* folosite pentru stingerea incendiilor (scări, găleți, târnăcoape etc.). În inventarul multor lăzi de Vecinătate se afla și *trocarul*, un instrument ascuțit folosit pentru efectuarea punțiilor animalelor balonate la pășunat. În lada unei Vecinătăți din comuna Fișer (jud. Brașov) am descoperit un număr însemnat de zaruri din lemn

<sup>6</sup> Irmgard Sedler, „Register”-Zeichen und „Plak”. Zeugnisse früher Schriftkultur im siebenbürgischen Gemeinschaftsbrauchtum”, în *Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim, Nachrichtenheft für den Freundeskreis* 21, 1-2 (2000): 21-28.

prevăzute cu cifre. Acestea nu reprezentau altceva decât numărul caselor Vecinătății respective. În caz că unii sau alții refuzau să presteze anumite munci se trăgea la sorți numărul casei.

Cel care refuza să execute prestațiile impuse de tatăl Vecinătății sau nu transmitea semnul Vecinătății la timp, sau îl ținea peste noapte acasă, era supus unor amenzi. Banii se păstrau într-o pușculiță, care putea fi din ceramică sau metal, dar mai ales în pungi din pânză sau piele prelucrate artistic (fig. 20).

Pentru membrii Vecinătății cea mai importantă sărbătoare era cea de *Lăsata Secului* (cunoscută sub denumirea de *Sittag*, *Richttag*, *grosse Nachbartag* sau *Gerichttag*. Cu acest prilej, bărbații îmbrăcați în haine de sărbătoare se întruneau în casa *tatălui de Vecinătate* și, în fața lăzii deschise, mulțumeau divinității; era verificată situația materială a Vecinătății, iar la final avea loc judecata propriu-zisă. Tatăl tânăr trebuia să noteze pe tot parcursul anului greșelile membrilor Vecinătății pentru ca să fie discutate și amendate cu prilejul ședinței. *Richttag* sau *Ziua Judecății* se ținea înainte de prânz și era un eveniment festiv grav, la care participau doar bărbații. Prin deschiderea lăzii de Vecinătate așezată pe masă, întrunirea primea un pronunțat caracter ceremonial, deschiderea lăzii simbolizând împăcarea între vecini. În momentul în care tatăl de Vecinătate care stătea în picioare în fața lăzii bătea cu un anume obiect (de regulă un taler din lemn) pe masă se făcea liniște deplină (fig. 21). Apoi avea loc alegerea noului *tată de Vecinătate*; după alegere, se transferau lada și toate obiectele în casa lui; în cazul în care tatăl rămânea același, adunarea lua sfârșit printr-o simplă închidere a lăzii.

O imagine completă asupra acestei zile ne-o oferă preotul Ludwig Klaster din Gârbova (1898-1979). Acesta nu a fost numai un mare colecționar de artă populară săsească, ci a editat împreună cu Jeanette Hedrich și Maria Wollmann, în anul 1937, o lucrare importantă despre tehnici de broderie, a strâns și a studiat motivele ornamentale folosite la mobilierul săsesc pictat, lăsând și câteva manuscrise privind găteala de cap (*Bockelung*) a săsoaicelor căsătorite. El descrie etapele evenimentului într-una dintre cronicile sale din secolul al XIX-lea, intitulată „Ziua judecății într-un sat din Transilvania” (*Gerichttag in einem sächsischen Dorf des Unterwaldes*)<sup>7</sup>.

Sărbătoarea începea în cursul săptămânii, prima etapă desfășurându-se în casa *tatălui de Vecinătate*. Aici participau doar bărbații, aceștia discutau despre primirea noilor membri, care erau de obicei tinerii căsătoriți ai comunității; ei erau acceptați și le erau prezentate obligațiile la care trebuiau să se supună odată intrați în Vecinătate. Întrunirea continua cu problemele legate de amenzi ce trebuiau date celor ce întârziu la întruniri sau la înmormântări. După acest moment avea loc alegerea noului tată al Vecinătății, care – conform

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<sup>7</sup> Cronica este publicată în întregime în monografia comunei: Richard Mildt, *700 Jahre Urwegen* (Köln: Wort und Welt Verlag, 1991), 256-269; Frâncu, *Solidarități*, 71-73.

spuselor autorului – era cunoscut, pentru că funcția revenea pe rând fiecărui membru al Vecinătății. Aceeași metodă era folosită pentru alegerea *taților de Vecinătate* și în comuna Viscri, județul Brașov. Conform mărturiilor membrilor Vecinătății, era o onoare să primești funcția, și fiecare membru al Vecinătății ajungea conducător la un moment dat. Odată ales în funcție, *tatăl de Vecinătate* avea obligația de a-și lua un ajutor sau un tată tânăr. După ce toate problemele erau discutate, fiecare își rezolva treburile gospodărești, pentru că urma o a doua întrunire, la care erau acceptate și femeile. A doua zi, lada și obiectele Vecinătății erau mutate cu alai la noul tată, aici petrecerea continua, participanții fiind serviți cu „slănină, pâine și ceapă din belșug, nuci și vin”, iar seara petrecerea se încheia cu carnavalul. Membrii Vecinătății se deghizau pentru a alunga spiritele rele și în acest mod se încheiau evenimentele legate de sărbătoarea anuală a vecinilor<sup>8</sup>.

Nu numai de „Ziua judecății”, dar și la alte evenimente din viața Vecinătății se consuma vinul în cantități însemnate, acesta fiind servit din *căni* voluminoase executate după comenzi speciale la cei mai cunoscuți olari din zonă. Ca să rămânem în comuna Gârbova, cu tradiție viticolă, în care instituția Vecinătății mai trăiește, aici se cunosc mai multe căni de Vecinătate pentru vin. Două dintre ele i-au fost comandate olarului Samuel Roth din Sebeș (fig. 22/a-b), în anii 1872 și 1874. Aceste căni, glazurate de regulă cu verde, se caracterizează printr-un corp bombat, toarte late, gură bilobată și cioc de scurgere ascuțit. Suprafețele lor sunt decorate cu brâuri aplicate și rozete sau motive florale incizate. O particularitate trebuie scoasă în evidență – aici apare în locul tatălui de vecini bătrân și tânăr, *alt- und jung Nachbarschaftshann*, care s-ar traduce prin „judele bătrân și tânăr”. Unele dintre cănile celor 12 Vecinătăți care au existat la Gârbova s-au păstrat până astăzi (fig. 23/a-b), între care și cea aparținând singurei Vecinătăți care mai funcționează, cu rol simbolic (fig. 24). Prima cană menționată aici este deținută astăzi de Parohia evanghelică din Gârbova, a doua, din 1898, face parte din colecția muzeală din incinta fortificației, iar a treia, datată 1935, provine din casa curatorului care ține locul tatălui Vecinătății.

Documentele Vecinătăților din Sebeș se găsesc la Arhivele Naționale ale României, Serviciul Județean Alba, în fondurile: *Vecinătăți din Sebeș; Vecinătatea Jacoby – Sebeș; Vecinătatea din strada Rozelor*. De la *Vecinătatea străzii Jacoby* se păstrează o matricolă cu numele membrilor Vecinătății începând din anul 1673. Un document mai relevant este registrul *Vecinătății Jacoby*, care prezintă statutul Vecinătății, redactat în anul 1757. Statutul emis de Magistratul orașului și acceptat de *Sfatul Bătrânilor (Altschaft)* avea 21 de articole, la care au mai fost adăugate alte prevederi privind prepararea vinului și

<sup>8</sup> Ligia Fulga, ed., *Sașii despre ei înșiși / Die Siebenbürger Sachsen über sich selbst*, vol. I (Brașov: Transilvania Express, 2008), 89-98.

construirea caselor și anexelor gospodărești. Celelalte prevederi se referă la acordarea respectului tatălui Vecinătății și persoanelor în vârstă.

În majoritatea statutelor întâlnim obligativitatea vecinilor de a transmite semnul împreună cu mesajul tatălui tuturor membrilor, iar cel care neglija acest lucru plătea o amendă de 16 dinari. Absența fără un motiv bine întemeiat sau lipsa de punctualitate la întrunirile convocate de tatăl Vecinătății erau pedepsite cu 25 de dinari. Respectul față de zilele de duminică și cele de sărbătoare este arătat prin obligativitatea participării la slujbă și amendarea celor care prestau alte munci, cum ar fi tăiatul lemnelor în timpul predicii.

Iradieră acestui mod de organizare de la oraș la sat este demonstrată prin preluarea prevederilor statutare de către Vecinătățile din mediul rural. Acest lucru îl demonstrează Raluca M. Frîncu pe baza statutului datat 1620, aparținând comunității satului Bunești, localitate din apropierea Mediașului, a statutului Vecinătăților din Laslea, o altă localitate care făcea parte din scaunul Mediașului, datând din anul 1672, Șura Mare, lângă Sibiu, unde au existat cinci Vecinătăți pentru care s-a tipărit același statut, și Apoș, din Valea Hârtibaciului, unde s-a păstrat doar statutul din anul 1856. De regulă, nu se preluau toate prevederile, doar cele care se refereau la respectarea celor mai importante norme de conduită și la asigurarea întrajutorării. De fapt, am găsit statute numite și „legi” sau „articole” în foarte multe lăzi de Vecinătate depozitate la emigrarea sașilor în casele parohiale evanghelice, de exemplu în comunele Saschiz (fig. 25), unde articolele (*Nachbar Articul*) au fost scrise cu mâna în anul 1709, fiind unele dintre cele mai vechi cunoscute din comunele săsești, sau Fișer (unde în lada unei Vecinătăți se păstrează statutul Vecinătăților valabil pentru toate comunele scaunului Rupea (fig. 26/a-b).

Comunele săsești au mai preluat o formă de organizare care exista în cadrul breslelor, denumită *Bruderschaft* (Frăția), reprezentând uniunea calfelor unei anumite bresle, din care trebuiau să facă parte în mod obligatoriu cei ce doreau să devină meșteri. Termenul de *Bruderschaft* a fost preluat mai târziu și de organizații studentești ale universităților cu tradiție, urmărind cu totul alte scopuri decât cele de care ne vom ocupa în continuare (orgii, desfrâu, dueluri etc). Pe lângă întrunirile fraților au apărut, în secolul al XIX-lea, și cele ale surorilor (*Schwesterschaft*), ca o particularitate a comunității săsești, care la începutul secolului al XX-lea au devenit obligatorii.

Rolul acestora a fost evident ca tinerii să fie familiarizați cu obligațiile și îndatoririle care le reveneau mai târziu în cadrul Vecinătății. Ei intrau în rândul „Fraților” și „Surorilor” cu o ceremonie solemnă imediat după ce erau confirmați, adică după primirea formală în comunitatea bisericească. Noul lor statut le permitea băieților să poarte cojocul îmblănit, iar fetelor pe cap (până la nuntă) acel *Borten* cilindric din catifea neagră și costumul de sărbătoare<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> Annemie Schenk, *Deutsche in Siebenbürgen. Ihre Geschichte und Kultur* (München: Beck,

Ei aveau în fața un „purtător de cuvânt” în vârstă și unul tânăr, *Alt-und Jungknecht*, respectiv o purtătoare de cuvânt în vârstă (*Altmagd*). Lunar aveau loc întruniri numite *Zugänge*, în care erau sancționate abaterile de la statutul lor, care prevedea, printre altele: participarea regulată la slujba bisericească și primirea sfintei cuminecături, comportamentul cuviincios pe stradă, la șezătoare, la dans etc. În timp ce feciorii aveau de prestat anumite munci, cum ar fi curățirea fântânilor din hotarul comunei sau să dea ajutor în diferite alte situații, surorile trebuiau să împodobească altarul, să pregătească anumite serbări și să îngrijească lăuzele. Pentru hrănirea lăuzelor existau vase speciale, printre care și farfurii adânci de supă, prevăzute la mijloc cu un vâscior pentru smântână.

Ca și Vecinătățile, „frățiile” aveau lăzile lor pentru păstrarea statulelor, pușculițe pentru bani și nelipsita cană cuprinzătoare de vin prevăzută cu urări (de toast) *VIVAT* – Să trăiască Frăția! și cu numele (sau inițialele) purtătorului de cuvânt: cel în vârstă sau tânăr (fig. 27).

Această instituție cu o influență atât de puternică asupra tineretului, în care biserica juca un rol însemnat, n-a fost bine văzută de conducerea Grupului Etnic German, care urmărea alte interese, cu metode rafinate de îndoctrinare a tinerilor – printre altele în tabere de muncă. În urma presiunii exercitate de Grupul Etnic German asupra Bisericii, această instituție a fost desființată în anul 1942. Ea a reînviat în anul 1945, fiind din nou interzisă de stat în anul 1948, dar mai mult formal. Cele două „instituții” au funcționat încă un timp oarecare în câteva comune și după emigrarea masivă a sașilor ulterioară anului 1990.

Analiza statutelor de Vecinătate emise pe parcursul secolelor XVI-XIX conduce la concluzia că toate aveau la bază aceeași structură, urmăreau respectarea acelorași principii, chiar dacă numărul articolelor sau anumite prevederi erau diferite.

#### *Vecinătățile la români*

Faptul că Vecinătatea a fost o instituție caracteristică a sașilor este scos în evidență și de Nicolae Iorga<sup>10</sup>. Înființat de sași, sistemul organizării în Vecinătăți a fost preluat și de români. Acest model de organizare îl întâlnim și în satele românești. Un bun exemplu în acest sens este satul Drăguș din județul Brașov, analizat de Paul Henri Stahl<sup>11</sup>, iar din comuna Ighișu Nou se cunoaște un statut de Vecinătăți datând de la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea. Descoperitorul acestui document care se află la Biblioteca Centrală din Blaj

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1992), 159.

<sup>10</sup> Nicolae Iorga, *Ce sunt și ce vor sașii din Ardeal* (București, 1910), 59.

<sup>11</sup> Paul Henri Stahl, „La maisnie (gospodăria) du paysan roumain”, *Buletinul Bibliotecii Române VI (X) 1977-1978* (serie nouă, Freiburg, 1978): 91-158; Idem, „Satele devălmașe românești”, în Paul H. Stahl, ed., *Contribuții la studiul satelor devălmașe românești*, vol. I (București: Cartea Românească, 1998), 36, apud Frîncu, *Solidarități*, 80.



presupune că aceste reglementări de funcționare a Vecinătății la români sunt mai vechi, dar au fost consemnate numai la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea<sup>12</sup>.

Analizând tipologic, existau sate românești împărțite pe un anume număr de neamuri, fiecare cu locuri de așezare proprii, spre deosebire de satele și orașele săsești, care cuprindeau grupuri de vecini fără a se ține seamă de rudenția dintre ei. Aici ar mai trebui specificat că, spre deosebire de oraș, unde existau cazuri de refuz, în satele săsești nu s-a întâmplat ca la vârsta de 24 de ani sau după căsătorie un membru al comunității să refuze Vecinătatea.

În ciuda faptului că autoritățile vieneze au dispus că orice proprietar de casă, indiferent de naționalitate, trebuie să aibă acces la Vecinătate, prevederea nu s-a impus în comunele săsești din Transilvania, unde populația românească avea cartierele proprii. Și în unele orașe, de exemplu la Sighișoara, au fost atestate Vecinătăți în suburbiile în care locuiau românii în anii 1768, 1777 și 1788, însă, după cum rezultă din documentul din anul 1777, ele nu se bucurau de aceleași drepturi ca Vecinătățile săsești ale acestor suburbii. După modelul săsesc, și sătenii români din Slimnic (jud. Sibiu) au înființat o Vecinătate, care funcționa deja în anul 1890 – după cum rezultă dintr-un semn de Vecinătate. Vecinătatea n-a fost doar „copiată” de români, ci și adaptată instituțiilor lor sociale și culturale formate în timp pe structuri etnice proprii.

Ne surprinde la Slimnic faptul că numărul Vecinătăților românești și săsești era la paritate (patru la patru), cu deosebirea că o Vecinătate cuprindea la români de la 30 până 60 familii, în timp ce la sași avea un număr mai redus.

Preluarea unor fenomene culturale din alt mediu n-a fost un proces mecanic nici în cazul Vecinătăților din Transilvania, după cum o demonstrează faptul că „Ziua Judecării” sau „Lăsata Secului” nu se ținea la români în perioada de carnaval, în „Miercurea cenușie”, ci în prima zi a anului nou<sup>13</sup>. Se constată anumite deosebiri și în ce privește averea materială a Vecinătăților, la români practicându-se forme diferențiate de întraajutorare, mai ales la înmormântare.

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<sup>12</sup> Ștefan Manciulea, „Articolulul Vecinătății din Ighișul Nou”, *Sociologie românească* IV, 7-12 (1942): 522-575.

<sup>13</sup> Annemie Schenk, „Interetnischer Austausch zwischen Siebenbürger Sachsen und Rumänen am Beispiel der Institution Nachbarschaft”, *Jahrbuch für ostdeutsche Volkskunde* 30 (1987): 162-175.



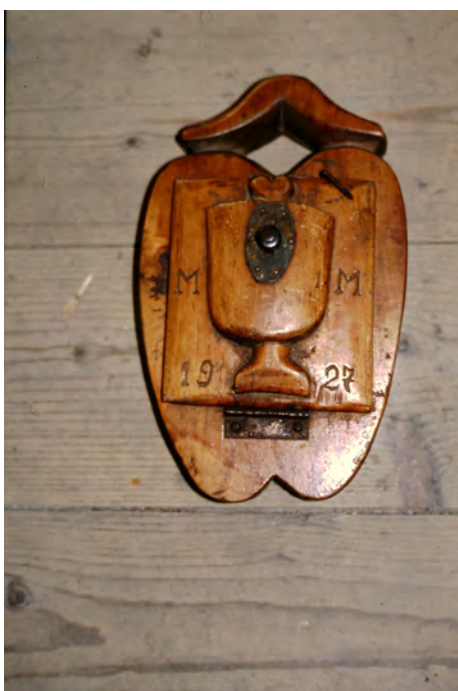
Fig. 1. Pahar cu soclu din argint aurit realizat în anul 1646 de Melchior Hermann din proprietatea Vecinătății *Rosenauer* (astăzi str. Târgu Peștilor) (Muzeul Național Brukenthal din Sibiu).



Fig. 2. Ladă a unei Vecinătăți din Apold (jud. Mureș), din anul 1879, și semnul de Vecinătate pirogravat cu emblema comunei (Parohia evanghelică Apold).



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Fig. 3. a-b. Semn de Vecinătate în care se putea ajunge la mesajul trimis în scris doar printr-o ușiță (Parohia evanghelică Biertan).



Fig. 4. a-b. Semn de Vecinătate din anul 1891 cu motive florale din Pianu de Jos (jud. Alba) (Muzeul Transilvănean din Gundelsheim).



Fig. 5. Semn de Vecinătate ornamentat cu un soare stilizat (Parohia Evanghelică Cincșor, jud. Brașov).



Fig. 6. Semn de Vecinătate din anul 1730 reprezentând un cap de animal cornut stilizat (Parohia Evanghelică Cincșor, jud. Brașov).



Fig. 7. Semnul unei Vecinătăți din Copșa Mare, din anul 1723, având reprezentat pe o parte un plug cu brăzdar de fier (Parohia Evanghelică Biertan, jud. Sibiu).



a

b

Fig. 8. a-b. Semn de Vecinătate din Bunești (jud. Brașov), din anul 1875, ornamentat cu unelte agricole stilizate (Muzeul Transilvănean din Gundelsheim).



a

b

Fig. 9. a-b. Alt semn de Vecinătate înfățișând unelte agricole, din anul 1856, din Bunești (jud. Brașov) (Muzeul Transilvănean din Gundelsheim).



Fig. 10. Tablă cu destinație specială din anul 1818, trimisă din casă în casă pentru aplanarea unor litigii în cadrul unei Vecinătăți din comuna Copșa Mare (jud. Sibiu) (Parohia Evanghelică Biertan, jud. Sibiu).



Fig. 11. Semn de Vecinătate din anul 1891, denumit *Sonntagsbütte*, prin care se făcea cunoscut că se ține slujba de duminică la Râșnov (Parohia Evanghelică Râșnov, jud. Brașov).

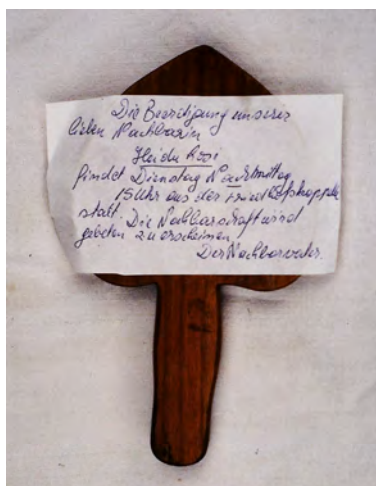


Fig. 12. Semn de Vecinătate din Râșnov, prin care starostele anunța în scris data și ora la care membrii ei sunt rugați să participe la o înmormântare (Parohia Evanghelică Râșnov, jud. Brașov).



Fig. 13. Semn de Vecinătate prin care preotul anunța în anul 1882 Vecinătățile din Zagăr (jud. Mureș) data și ora la care se ține Sfânta Liturghie (Parohia Evanghelică din Zagăr, jud. Mureș).



Fig. 14. Semne în forma unor bastoane încrustate și ornamentate, prin care Vecinătatea era informată despre ținerea unei înmormântări la Iacobeni (jud. Sibiu) (Muzeul Transilvănean din Gundelsheim).





Fig. 15. a-b. Convocatorul Vecinătății străzii Turnului (*Sporer Gasse Nachbarschaft*) din anul 1868 (Muzeul Național Brukenthal din Sibiu).



Fig. 16. a-b. Banca unei Vecinătăți pe care se ținea sicriul înaintea înmormântării (Biserica evanghelică din Șaeș, jud. Mureș).



Fig. 17. Curelele din piele ale unei Vecinătăți cu care se purta sicriul la cimitir (Parohia evanghelică Iacobeni, jud. Sibiu).



Fig. 18. Curelele mai multor Vecinătăți săsești ale comunei Movile (jud. Sibiu) strânse și puse la adăpost după desființarea lor.



Fig. 19. Ustensilă pentru înfierat animalele cu semnul satului Feldioara, jud. Brașov (Muzeul Transilvănean din Gundelsheim).



Fig. 20. Pușculiță din piele din inventarul unei lăzi de Vecinătate din Saschiz, jud. Mureș (Muzeul Transilvănean din Gundelsheim).



Fig. 21. Talere din lemn cu ajutorul cărora starostele Vecinătății asigura liniștea la întrunirea din *Ziua Judecării*, păstrate într-o ladă de Vecinătate din Iacobeni (Casa parohială din Iacobeni, jud. Sibiu).



Fig. 22. a-b. Căni de Vecinătate din Gârbova executate în 1872 și 1874 de olarul Samuel Roth din Sebeș (Colecție particulară).



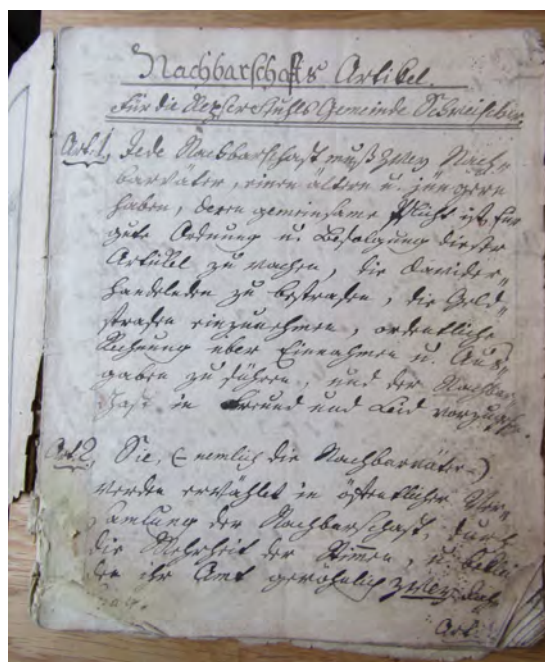
Fig. 23. a-b. Căni de vin ale Vecinătăților din Gârbova: a) Cană din anul 1892 păstrată la Parohia Evanghelică Gârbova; b) Cană din anul 1898 din colecția muzeală a Cetății fortificate din Gârbova (Foto: Volker Wollmann).



Fig. 24. Cana de vin a ultimei Vecinătăți din Gârbova, din anul 1935, păstrată în casa curatorului bisericii evanghelice (Foto: Volker Wollmann).



Fig. 25. Statutele unei Vecinătăți din Saschiz (jud. Mureș), din anul 1709 (Muzeul Transilvănean din Gundelsheim).



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Fig. 26. a-b. Statutele unei Vecinătăți din comuna Fișer (jud. Brașov),  
 conținând obligațiile membrilor ei (Muzeul Transilvănean din Gundelsheim).



Fig. 27. Cană de vin a unei „frății” (*Bruderschaft*) din Sebeș, din anul 1804 (Muzeul Municipal Sebeș; foto: Radu Totoianu).





## REVIEW

*Az erdélyi görökatonikus egyház története szinatai tükrében (1782-1900). Dokumentumok. Istoria Bisericii Române Unite din Transilvania prin sinoadele sale (1782-1900). Ediție de documente.* Selecție de documente, studiu introductiv, note și anexe Laura Stanciu (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2017), 823 pp. + CD.

În anul 2017, istoriografia românească și maghiară referitoare la istoria Bisericii Greco-Catolice românești s-a îmbogățit prin apariția unei ediții de documente, apărută în colecția „Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Diplomataria”, la prestigioasa Editură a Academiei de Științe Maghiare (MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet) din Budapesta. Lucrarea reprezintă o ediție bilingvă de documente privind legislația ecleziastică a Bisericii Române Unite din Transilvania.

Demersul este unul lăudabil și de primă importanță, căci puține sunt lucrările de istorie româno-maghiare, mai ales corpusuri de documente. Astfel, în acest volum, cele două istoriografii se unesc într-un efort comun, care „validează” documentele canonice ale Bisericii Greco-Catolice românești.

Prin cele două studii introductive, semnate de editorul român (Laura Stanciu) și de un prolific istoric maghiar (Gabor Adriányi), putem spune că volumul are la bază dictonul latin al lui Seneca: „*Audiatur et altera pars* / Să fie ascultată și cealaltă parte”.

Studiul semnat de Gabor Adriányi, intitulat „Date privind istoria Bisericii Române Unite din Transilvania (1692-1920)”, este o scurtă trecere în revistă a istoriei acestei Biserici. Deși unele date sunt inexacte (precum cele privind unirea din zona Bihorului), istoricul punctează că, prin Unirea românilor din Transilvania, „a început ridicarea socială, culturală, chiar și politică a românilor uniți, în ciuda faptului că, atât calvinii maghiari, cât și românii ortodocși ridicau mai multe obstacole în calea Unirii” (p. 31). El trece în revistă multiplele acțiuni și evenimente care au jalonat Biserica Unită din secolul al XVII-lea până în secolul al XX-lea, atât de ordin politic – asupra cărora insistă prea mult, având în această privință numeroase lucrări și chiar izvoare documentare – cât și de ordin teologic: „crearea Bisericii Române Unite” sub impulsul și influența lui Kollonich, revoluția din 1848-1849 și consecințele ei pe plan ecleziastic, anume ridicarea la rang de mitropolie ș.a. Autorul evidențiază pe scurt și detaliile privind sinoadele provinciale ale Bisericii Române Unite din secolul al XIX-lea, menționând faptul că românii greco-catolici au acuzat în mod greșit Biserica Romano-Catolică maghiară de faptul că aceasta, prin mișcarea de autonomie catolică, ar fi fost un instrument politic al guvernului maghiar contra românilor din Transilvania. Tot el concluzionează lapidar faptul că românii și-au dorit altceva decât Biserica Romano-Catolică

maghiară (care, prin Unire, ar fi dorit să-i ajute pe români în ridicarea religioasă, culturală, socială europeană). Anume că, Unirea cu Roma a ținut, după 1848, la „crearea statului național de sine stătător, nu doar autonomia lor în cadrul statului maghiar” (p. 47). Această concluzie este forțată, căci până la crearea statului național român, în anii 1918-1920, Biserica Română Unită a luptat pentru păstrarea și afirmarea identității naționale românești, liderii ei ecleziastici și laici neavând nici în secolele XVIII-XIX și nici chiar în secolul XX, ideea unificării teritoriale a țărilor locuite de români.

Studiul introductiv semnat de Laura Stanciu, intitulat „Consolidarea identității greco-catolice prin modernizare socială. Sinoadele Bisericii Române Unite din Transilvania (1782-1900)” este o sinteză a subiectului volumului, dedicat sinoadelor bisericești. Valențele și importanța Unirii cu Roma este foarte bine evidențiată de autoare: „[...] la momentul perfectării Unirii religioase, [...] Roma a perceput Unirea românilor, ca și pe cea a rutenilor, în parametrii Conciliului florentin, prin revenirea de la «greșelile schizmei la Sfânta Credință Catolică». Se făcea așadar distincția, în epocă, între problemele jurisdicționale și cele ce țineau de dogmă și rit, fiind decisă individualitatea canonică și disciplinară, care a caracterizat statutul Bisericii Române Unite din Transilvania. Această realitate a marcat evoluția instituțională a Bisericii și a reglat relația dintre Scaunul pontifical și Biserica Română Unită din Transilvania în epoca modernă” (p. 84).

Așadar, avem de-a face, așa cum bine afirmă Laura Stanciu, „cu poziția Romei care susținea în Transilvania o Biserică Unită autonomă față de Biserica latină și – așa cum a hotărât cardinalul Kollonich, încă din 1701, subordonată Curiei romane, prin Arhiepiscopia de Esztergom” (p. 84). Ea vorbește și de faptul că, grație episcopilor din secolul al XVIII-lea (Petru Pavel Aron și Grigorie Maior), Biserica Română Unită a reușit să-și conserve nealterată individualitatea în relația cu Scaunul Pontifical și cu cel primațial de la Esztergom (p. 85), în paralel cu dezideratele Romei și ale Esztergomului, al cărui scop „a fost întărirea identității confesionale catolice pe linia posttridentină” (p. 85).

Însă autonomia uniților, care s-a manifestat mai ales prin respectarea tradiției și a vechilor canoane, s-a intersectat cu viziunea post-tridentină a Romei și a fost influențată de evoluția politică a spațiului monarhiei habsburgice și apoi austro-ungare, ceea ce a condus ulterior la reglementări canonice noi, Biserica Unită trebuind să-și asume rolul de jucător într-o partidă ale cărei reguli nu-i conveneau întotdeauna și care erau stabilite, așa cum bine menționează autoarea, de către Scaunul Apostolic al Romei: „Jurisdicțional și canonic, Romei îi reveneau deciziile legate de organizarea Bisericii Unite” (p. 86). Instanțele de judecată, înființarea unor noi structuri ecleziastice (consistoriul episcopal, capitlul), confirmarea episcopilor după numirea lor de către Rege/Împărat, în urma desemnării acestora de către sinod, procesul

canonic al episcopilor, problema educației clerului, a școlilor confesionale, îmbunătățirea situației materiale a clerului, traducerea în limba națională a Sfintei Scripturi, necesitatea înființării a două noi episcopate românești (Lugoj și Baia Mare/Gherla), problema cărților liturgice etc., sunt doar câteva dintre problemele discutate în sinoadele Bisericii Unite, reglementate apoi după *placetul* Romei, adică după o analiză serioasă și riguroasă.

Cât privește subiectul sinodalității Bisericii Unite, care în fapt este și punctul central al lucrării, căci ea se focusează strict pe legislația canonică reunită sub titlul „Documente. Acte și decrete sinodale 1782-1900”, Laura Stanciu menționează că acesta i-a preocupat pe românii ardeleni, care „au reușit performanța publicării integrale a actelor sinoadelor provinciale”, ele fiind „o sincronizare cu istoriografia ecleziastică europeană” (p. 91).

Astfel, prin efortul de a aduce la lumină într-o formulă nouă și complexă actele sinodale ale Bisericii Unite, Laura Stanciu continuă demersul mai vechilor istorici ecleziastici și canoniști (Nicolaus Nilles, Ioan Micu Moldovan, Ioan Bălan, Charles de Clercq, J. D. Mansi) care „au contribuit la difuzarea documentelor sinodale ale Bisericii Române Unite la scara istoriografiei ecleziastice mondiale” (p. 91).

Cu referire la motivația scrierii acestui volum, Laura Stanciu explică rostul sinoadelor în istoria Bisericii Române Unite: „Privesc istoria Bisericii Române Unite din Transilvania din perspectiva istoriei sale instituționale așa cum poate fi ea urmărită și analizată prin actele sinoadelor bisericesti în intervalul cuprins între anul 1782, când a fost ales Ioan Bob – cel care la nivelul organizării interne a pregătit Biserica pentru epoca modernă – și terminând cu deciziile sinodului provincial de la 1900. În epoca investigată, actele sinodale au avut o dublă misiune: pe de o parte, ele exprimă viziunea de reformare instituțională a conducătorului Bisericii, la momentul respectiv. Pe de altă parte, deciziile sinodale au fost concepute sintetic și erau redactate cât se putea de accesibil, cu intenția de explica clerului și enoriașilor deopotrivă, voința elitei de modernizare” (p. 92).

Totodată, publicarea acestor documente ajută la înțelegerea poziției Bisericii față de Stat și anume la „lupta pentru păstrarea autonomiei și a tradiției”, așa cum a fost, de exemplu, dreptul deținut de cler de a-și alege episcopul. Chiar dacă în timp sinodul și-a pierdut rostul principal – acela de stabilire a politicii ecleziastice –, acest for de conducere al Bisericii „a reușit, în schimb păstrarea individualității Bisericii Române Unite tocmai prin conservarea sinodalității specific răsăritene a Bisericii” (p. 94), implicându-se în secolul al XVIII-lea în susținerea cauzei naționale și fiind, după afirmația autoarei, „singurul for legitim al românilor ardeleni” (p. 95).

În secolul al XIX-lea, când tendința Statului de a se amesteca în problemele Bisericii s-a accentuat, sinoadele au pus accentul mai ales pe chestiuni interne (îmbunătățirea stării materiale, culturale și morale a clerului,

educația teologilor etc.), aceste decizii arătând, cel puțin pentru prima jumătate a secolului, așa cum bine afirmă Laura Stanciu, „tendința centralizării puterii în Biserică prin întărirea autorității episcopale, în detrimentul conducerii colective” (p. 98). În a doua jumătate a veacului, hotărârile sinoadelor Bisericii Unite se adresau nu doar transilvănenilor, ci și românilor din teritoriile de Vest (Partium, Banat, Maramureș), noua provincie ecleziastică metropolitană organizând celebrele trei Concilii Provinciale (1872, 1882, 1900), lucrările acestora fiind aprobate, după analiza minuțioasă a Sf. Scaun Apostolic. Era o nouă etapă din evoluția Bisericii Române Unite, și anume cea care a fixat direcția viitoare a românilor greco-catolici în contextul catolicismului și a evoluției social-politice a Europei. Laura Stanciu definește aceste trei concilii provinciale ca cele care au „prezervat, în liniile sale esențiale, dreptul canonic tradițional al Bisericii Române Unite” (p. 107), atât în chestiuni interne cât și în raporturile cu ceilalți (Biserica Romano-Catolică din Ungaria, Sf. Scaun, „acatolicii” etc.).

Perioada de timp acoperită de acest volum de documente este de circa 120 de ani (1782-1900), timp în care Biserica Română Unită a avut 17 sinoade: 5 electorale (1782 – alegerea lui Ioan Bob, 1832 – alegerea lui Ioan Lemeni, 1850 – alegerea lui Alexandru Sterca Șuluțiu, 1868 – alegerea lui Ioan Vancea, 1893 – alegerea lui Victor Mihaly de Apșa); 9 diecezane și arhidiecezane (1791, 1792, 1821, 1833, 1838, 1869, 1889, 1896, 1899) și 3 provinciale (1872, 1882, 1900).

Volumul, impresionant atât prin densitatea materialului scris, cât mai ales prin bogăția istoriografică și teologică, are la bază munca acerbă a autoarei – și a colaboratorilor domniei sale – care s-au documentat în arhivele Sfântului Scaun și în România. Cartea are o bibliografie solidă: 5 izvoare arhivistice, 21 surse inedite, 15 titluri de bibliografie specială, 4 titluri de periodice din epocă și 91 de titluri din bibliografia generală a temei.

Demersul d-nei Laura Stanciu deschide astfel o nouă direcție de cercetare a trecutului, mai ales că ediția de față este una bilingvă (maghiară-română), volumul încadrându-se în seria instrumentelor de referință, util nu doar cercetătorilor, dar și celor pasionați de istorie și de adevăr. Afirmăția doamnei Laura Stanciu de la finalul cuvântului introductiv definește această lucrare cel mai bine: „Actele sinodale ale Bisericii Române Unite pot constitui un reper pentru investigații comparative între organizarea și funcționarea Bisericilor greco-catolice și a celei romano-catolice din această parte de lume, în secolele XVIII și XIX”.

SILVIU-IULIAN SANA

## ABSTRACTS

### RALUCA FRÎNCU, **The Neighbourhood: A Model of Social Organisation**

**Abstract:** Known as a model of social organisation, the neighbourhoods were attested, from the documentary point of view, in the sixteenth century Transylvania. The relative late beginning of this type of social organisation makes us presume that its “inspirational” source came from another two models found in the Transylvanian society starting with the twelfth - thirteenth centuries: religious organizations and guilds. Imitating them, the neighbourhoods created their own policies and adopted the same symbolic items (the sign, the trunk, the seal, the flag). As one can deduce reading the policies, neighbourhoods were extremely important in the community. One of the concerns of the members of the neighbourhoods was the mutual help offered during the important life moments of the community members – birth, marriage, and funeral. The neighbours’ safety was also very important. It was maintained by assuming the rules concerning fire extinction, night guards and cleaning the drinking fountains. Ethics and respect towards the church were also stipulated and followed by the neighbourhoods’ members. Those misbehaving were strictly punished. Therefore, the neighbourhoods played a special role both in the social life of each fellow and in the safety and order of the town. Although it was subordinated to higher forums – the magistrate and the *villicus* – the administrative and some of the juridical problems were solved inside the community by the neighbourhood’s fathers.

The activity and importance of this type of organisation in Sibiu are certificated both by the high number of documents preserved in the Public Archives and the specific neighbourhood objects – trunk, signs, flags, seals – preserved in the Brukenthal National Museum.

**Keywords:** neighbourhood, neighbourhood rules, Sibiu, documents, neighbourhood objects.

### ALESSANDRO SETTE, **Catherine II and the Socio-Economic Origins of the Jewish Question in Russia**

**Abstract:** In late-eighteenth century, the three-stage partition (1772, 1793, and 1795) of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth between Russia, Prussia and Austria not only gave the Tsarist Empire control over a great portion of Eastern Europe, it also transformed the largest Jewish community in the world into subjects of the Romanovs. Consequently, the Empress, Catherine II, found herself compelled to solve an unexpected problem, namely, how best to integrate hundreds of thousands of Jews in a nation, Russia, wherefrom the Jews had been expelled just some decades earlier. Taking as a point of departure works by leading historians, such as Simon Dubnow, John D. Klier, Richard Pipes, Michael Aronson, Benjamin Nathans and Hans Rogger, this paper hereby aims at analysing the Jewish policy put into practice by the Russian Government during the reign of Catherine II. More specifically, this work tries to shed new light on how and why the Jewish presence into the Tsarist Empire became a “question” for Russian policymakers. First of all, it explores the religious and social reasons that led Russians to perceive the Jews as an alien element, as well as Catherine II’s personal views on this issue. Further, the paper investigates the differences between Russian and Jewish economic cultures and how the

latter affected Catherine II's early Jewish policy. Thus, the essay concludes in an examination of the logic beyond the foundation of the Pale of Settlement, namely the area in which Jews were forced to reside and work.

**Keywords:** Catherine II, Polish partitions, Jewish question in Russia, economic anti-Semitism, Pale of Settlement.

YURYI STETSYK, VASYL ILNYTSKYI AND VLADISLAV BOYECHKO, **The Monks of Dobromyl Basilian Monastery of St. Onuphrius (1783): A Biographical Review**

**Abstract:** This study presents a historiographical review of the countrywide studies of Dobromyl Monastery, as well as more localised studies. The biographical sources sought in our study aiming to collect personal data about the inhabitants of the monastery include the monks' catalogues, the visitation records, the monk's reports, the monks' biographies and monastery obituaries, but also the dynamics of the monastic population from 1739 to 1783. The factors that influenced the changes in the composition of the monastic fraternity were identified as the operation of the novitiate school and monastic studios. The history of the founding of Dobromyl Novitiate is revealed. The monks' prosopographic characteristics considered are the following: origin (territorial and social), age indicators (age of entry, length of stay in the monastery and the Order and total life expectancy), responsibilities (administrative, economic, pedagogical or ecclesiastical), educational training, ecclesiastical stages (novice, candidate, brother or father) and priestly ordinations (sub-deacon, deacon or priest). A report by an abbot of the monastery was prepared for publication in 1783. Based on the personal data, the biographies of the Basilian monks are drafted according to unified indicators: time and place of birth, time and place of entry into monasticism, period and place of novitiate, time of drawing up of monastic vows of profession, educational studies, degrees of consecrations and transfers to other monasteries of Sviatopokrovsk in order to perform various duties.

**Keywords:** Basilians, biogram, monastic vows, profess, novitiate.

VOLKER WOLLMANN, **The Heritage of Ethnic Communities. On the Transylvanian Saxons' Neighbourhoods**

**Abstract:** The 1993 partnership between the Transylvanian Museum in Gundelsheim and the Ethnographic Museum of Braşov and the 1999 cooperation agreement with the Emil Sigerus Saxon Ethnography Museum had the object of a close collaboration aiming to record, research, conserve, capitalize and preserve of the Transylvanian Saxons' cultural heritage in Romania. It envisaged the transposition into practice of some common programs and manifestations of museum activity, carrying out field research in the region inhabited by the Transylvanian Saxons, exchanges of information and scientific results, mediation of scientific contacts between the representatives of these institutions, publication of the obtained results, long-term loan facilitation between partners, support of cultural exchanges. The field research was to be undertaken especially in the depopulated areas following the massive emigration of the population from the Saxon villages and the demographic transformations subsequent to the political events since the end of 1989. The initiated investigations had to provide historical data on the respective rural locality, the traditional architecture, the field work, the peasant crafts, the peasant

interior (furniture), the costume, the community life over the year (customs) and the social life forms of organization that were the basis of the rural community.

Thus, the team of researchers of the Enographic Museum in Braşov, led by Ligia Fulga, has developed a complex program for the on-site documentation of the material culture goods in the rural area and for the different aspects of the village life. The field research was extended in 1990-1992 to 24 villages, especially in the northern part of the county, in the Rupea ethnographic area, then expanded after 1993 in a series of Saxon villages on Târnavă Valley, so that after 1998, the team of researchers of the Ethnographic Museum in Braşov could undertake complex researches in the great communes colonized by Saxons from Țara Bârsei region. Starting this year, the Transylvanian Museum in Gundelsheim has also undertaken field research in collaboration with the Emil Sigerus Saxon Ethnography Museum in several Saxon villages from the areas surrounding Sibiu, in addition taking into account the public constructions and arrangements (cemeteries, mills, wells, bridges, sewerage system, fire stations, etc.), the architecture of the houses, the decoration of the facades or the inventory of the Evangelical churches and the Neighbourhoods.

The present text, which is part of the 2018 conference held by the author at the 1 December 1918 University in Alba Iulia, illustrates the results of these researches regarding the material heritage of the Saxon rural Neighbourhoods in Transylvania.

**Keywords:** rural Neighbourhoods, material heritage, Gundelsheim Transylvanian Museum, Emil Sigerus Saxon Ethnography Museum, Neighbourhood objects.





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