

Chapter Three, “Genealogical Sources,” of Włodzimierz Dworzaczek’s *Genealogia*

Translated by William F. Hoffman

My translation of this chapter was originally published in the following issues of the Polish Genealogical Society Newsletter: Fall 1985, Spring 1986, Fall 1986, Spring 1987, Fall 1987. I have reviewed my translation from nearly 20 years ago and modified it slightly, whenever knowledge I have acquired over that time suggested an improvement. When I thought it was appropriate I have added comments that might clarify certain points. Wherever you see an asterisk in the text, refer to pages 57-58. to read the associated comments. (The endnotes beginning on page 47 are from the original text.)

*The book *Genealogia* [Genealogy] was written by Professor Włodzimierz Dworzaczek, a highly-regarded Polish historian, and was published in 1959 by Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe in Warsaw. This is a translation of Chapter III, “Genealogical Sources,” which focuses on sources and material relevant to Polish research, as opposed to genealogical research in general. *Genealogia* has been recognized as the first serious work in Polish on its subject, and much of what Dworzaczek wrote is still of great value to beginners today.*

*The years that have elapsed since its publication must, of course, have made some of its material out-of-date. But the work still seems well worth presenting in English, and subsequent works have updated or will update whatever is obsolete in *Genealogia*.*

Professor Dworzaczek’s lucid, learned style translates quite well, fortunately, and I have varied from the original as little as possible. These pages probably appear more than half printed in italics, but that’s because I have included the original Polish, Russian, German, or Latin titles of all works cited, as well as a number of terms, both Polish and non-Polish, that have no precise equivalents in English. Dworzaczek documents his sources, and I have given these titles in their original language—Polish, Latin, German, Russian, and so on—and then given a translation of those titles in brackets. Russian titles presented a challenge, because Dworzaczek gave these titles, not in their original Cyrillic forms, but in Roman-alphabet transliterations reflecting Polish phonetic and orthographic values. I have recreated the Cyrillic versions (using pre-revolutionary spellings wherever appropriate); but since I was unable to consult the actual works in question, I must warn the reader that some inaccuracies are possible. I have also included transcriptions by English phonetic values and translations in brackets; but anyone bold enough to tackle researching the titles would do well to use the Russian Cyrillic versions as much as possible, as they are the most accurate forms.

Dworzaczek uses in his references a number of terms and abbreviations, both Polish and foreign, that may not be familiar to all readers. A list of these begins on page 45.

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Finally, I wish to thank Edward A. Peckwas, Gerald Ortell, Jonathan D. Shea, and Włodzimierz Gorjaczkowski for their invaluable help in preparing this transaction. Any errors are of my doing, and they would have been far more numerous if these gentlemen had not helped so graciously.

William F. Hoffman

CHAPTER III. GENEALOGICAL SOURCES

We can divide genealogical sources—that is to say, all materials that directly or indirectly provide us with genealogical data—into three groups: 1) materials handed down by word of mouth, 2) materials handed down in writing, and 3) monuments.

1. Materials Handed Down By Word of Mouth

As regards the first group, **materials handed down by word of mouth**, in no field of history does the value of verbal traditions count for less, and demand more caution, than in genealogy. So many factors have always contributed to their falsification or alteration—sometimes unintentional—that in all, we can take note of them only when contemporary written sources are completely lacking and when such traditions, either retold or recorded, provide the only available way of tracing the interrelationships of a family's descent or kinship. The outward sign of this descent was the *herb* (coat of arms).*

It would be an error, however, to think that the coat of arms was handed down from generation to generation of Polish relatives, that in the 19th century it was the same as in the 15th or 16th. It is a certainty that over the course of the centuries many a noble Polish family lost the tradition of its real descent and assumed the emblem of someone else entirely. This happened when someone else's armorial emblem was enveloped in a nimbus of greater splendor and antiquity than one's own, or when it gave the newcomer from other regions the appearance of being a native by associating him heraldically with namesakes influential in his new environs. Thus the fairly widespread phenomenon of several identically-named nests scattered throughout the various territories of the Commonwealth gave rise to a number of families with the same surname but clearly without any blood relation to each other—families that nonetheless merged over the centuries into a heraldic unit with the same coat of arms.

Heraldic literature played no small role in this process: Paprocki, Okolski, and Niesiecki could, obviously, deal only with part of the *szlachta* [*nobility, nobles*]. Families not listed in their works that succeeded in finding mention by those authors of namesakes with a different coat of arms promptly insinuated their way into the clan without standing on ceremony. The law was concerned only with whether a family did or did not belong to the privileged class. Who used what seal was the private affair of the nobility, and the impermanence of oral tradition manifested itself quite clearly in this regard. In every region one can easily point to a considerable number of families, some of them quite well-known, that from the 16th through the 18th centuries began to use arms other than those used by their ancestors in the Middle Ages.⁴⁵

In this regard relations within the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were characteristic. In the second half of the 18th century a large portion of the minor nobility there probably had no established armorial traditions. When the Tsarist government ordered them to prove their membership in the nobility, they freely appropriated various emblems.⁴⁶

A similar process occurred with the traditions of many knightly families' origins. Those preserved in Długosz's *Clenodia* deserve attention; but in the vast majority of cases, those appearing in the works of heraldists of the 16th–19th centuries are the product of a particular sort of snobbery. We must remember that having roots in a country with an older and richer culture could and in many cases undoubtedly did pass for a sign of distinction. An exaggerated cult of “foreignism” has very old traditions in Poland. The tracing of one's ancestors from abroad—a custom marked by freely adopting famed western European surnames as by-names—was a common practice in the 18th century, and was quite stylish in the 19th century as well.⁴⁷

Let us remember, too, that the average man, with no special interest in genealogy or history, knows only the names of his own parents, and perhaps the most important dates of their lives. Often he can't even list all four of his grandparents correctly; and of the significant dates in their lives, he probably knows only those that are somehow connected with his own memories. As for his great-grandparents, he's doing well if he can give the name of his paternal great-grandfather, and even that doesn't happen too often.⁴⁸

The general traditions of family lineage handed down from generation to generation demonstrate a fairly constant tendency to embellish the hazy origins of one's line. Thus arose the very widespread and, in the overwhelming majority of cases, false traditions telling how a grandfather or great-grandfather, after this or that uprising, changed his “better” surname for one more commonplace that was supposed to protect him from the persecutions of the partitioning governments by helping him not stand out in the crowd.

In a word, if we are dealing with oral tradition, it is impossible to proceed with too much caution, even when dealing with times not that long past. One can set as a boundary the third generation, beyond which it is inadvisable to go farther into the past with only this kind of source for support.

2. Private Genealogical Sources

Moving on to **materials handed down in writing**, we will begin with the first group, **private genealogical records**, the source for which was often oral tradition. We include in this group every kind of genealogical list compiled by private individuals, whatever their reasons or purposes. In some cases, when their authors had special historical or genealogical interests, such lists were drawn up wholly or partially on the basis of documented material. But inasmuch as they often did not conform to the usage of citing their sources of information, we usually don't know to what extent the information comes from oral traditions, and to what extent from documents.⁴⁹ A glaring example of a source based almost exclusively on oral traditions is the famous *Liber chamorum*, of which the manuscript is still extant.⁵⁰

Notes with genealogical content were sometimes drawn up for strictly practical purposes, e. g., for use in court cases; but most often they were made for the memories of children and grandchildren. Such notes, occasionally even whole genealogies, were written down, sometimes separately, sometimes in the margins or on empty pages of the family's most treasured books, prayer-books, Bibles, etc. King Zygmunt the Old's prayer-book, preserved in the British Museum, is a valuable source for filling in the dates of Jagiellonian genealogy. Sometimes such records were the work of only one person, but sometimes they were carried on through several generations.⁵¹ The late bibliologist Kazimierz Piekarski compiled a truly considerable store of genealogical inscriptions written in the pages of printed materials from the 16th and 17th centuries.⁵²

The value of notes of this sort is the same as that of oral traditions. Where they concern their author, his children, grandchildren, parents, sometimes even grandparents, they inspire considerable confidence. But when they go back further they must be checked against other sources, or if such are not available, they must be cited only with all kinds of qualifications. A typical example of a genealogical work written for descendants' benefit and based on family tradition, but not going too far back in time, is the *Annales domus Orzelsciae* [*Annals of the House of Orzelski*], written around 1612 by Rogoźno castellan Jan Orzelski.⁵³ Of a similar nature is the *Terminata krótko spisana Bnińskiego domu* [*A Brief Terminata of the House of Bniński*],⁵⁴ as well as the historico-genealogical commentary on the famed collection of miniatures representing members of the Szydłowiecki family (1532).⁵⁵

Memoirs and letters of every kind have great value for genealogical research. Only in them can we find information on illegitimate descent, a subject to which genealogical sources of a documentary nature never refer directly. But one must be particularly careful with such versions, since they were almost always founded on gossip, which has never been in short supply anywhere. Some memoirs have a decidedly gossipy character and provide a genealogical chronicle replete with scandals.⁵⁶ Memoir entries, and to an even greater extent journals and letters, are priceless sources, particularly of chronological information. We also draw information on chronology from the **periodical publications** of the 18th and 19th centuries. The Polish press of the Saxon era, of Stanisław August Poniatowski's time, and of a good portion of the 19th century, is full of news about nominations to and assumptions of offices; about baptisms, weddings, and funerals of representatives of the magnates' elite; and sometimes even of the middle gentry and the urban patriciate. As for the 18th century, we should mention first of all the *Kurier Polski*, published in Warsaw 1729–1760; the *Wiadomości Warszawskie*, 1761–1773; and finally the *Gazeta Warszawska*, from 1774). Daily newspapers serving the interests of the major landowners (e.g., Kraków's *Czas*) continued to give this information throughout the 19th and into the beginning of the 20th centuries.

Beginning around the middle of the 18th century there began to appear annually in Poland **political calendars** published by private individuals and under the editorship of different people. They provided, in addition to other news, current lists of senators and dignitaries, of court, castle, and district officials, as well as lists of Sejm representatives and delegates to tribunals from all over the country. These calendars are a first-rate source for compiling complete lists of officials during this period.

We must also number among this group of private genealogical records a source occasionally of great value, but one that must be expertly extracted from its valueless shell. We are referring to **printed panegyrics** published on the occasion of weddings, funerals, installments in office, and so forth. Their purpose was to flatter the vanity of the powerful, and to do so in a manner greatly exaggerated and often positively distasteful. It was by no means rare to trace the ancestry of the person to whom the panegyric was devoted back to the Romans and even to mythological heroes. But the authors naturally had to have accurate information (perhaps thorough as well) to deal with familiar relationships involving generations still living. If therefore the list includes the closest relatives mourning the departed, we can be certain that the degree of relationship will not be wrong. Panegyrics also provide valuable chronological information that we sometimes would be unable to find anywhere else. Estreicher's *Bibliografia* is an invaluable source of information in its section devoted to pre-partition printed works, especially since it points out panegyrics distinguished by particularly rich genealogical content.

In the 19th century the form of the panegyric underwent a change. Individual leaflets dedicated to the deceased still appeared at times, but the **newspaper obituary** became the most common form. It did not always avoid the excesses of the panegyrics of an earlier day; but like them, too, it provided valuable genealogical material, especially dates. Death notices announced in the newspapers,⁵⁷ obituaries posted on church walls,⁵⁸ announcements of weddings, births, and deaths sent around to acquaintances, all those are private genealogical records that serve as sources.

Yet another group of sources deserves mention, namely **chronicles**. Of these the ones most valuable for genealogical research will be those dealing with events contemporary to the author and resembling memoirs. The information given in them was derived to a significantly greater extent from what the author saw or heard himself from eyewitnesses than from what he took from written sources. **Janko of Czarnków** gives some genealogical details, and **Długosz** provides a great many of them in that part of his *Historia* that deals with the 15th century.⁵⁹ But perhaps the most are in the *Kronika polska* (published 1597) of Joachim **Bielski**⁶⁰ who, with an obvious predilection for such things, gave information about coats of arms and familial relationships whenever possible. His reports were diligently utilized in the genealogical literature of later years.

3. Documents

Documents comprise the second group of written sources. Genealogical ties are directly detailed in the secular and religious **civil registry documents**, which state the facts of baptisms, weddings and deaths. Their value is first-class. Another kind of genealogical document is the **ancestral pedigree** compiled for identification purposes on the occasion of confirming nobility, assuming religious offices that required noble rank, entering knightly Orders open only to nobles, and finally on assuming certain court offices. The value of these pedigrees is highly dubious. They demand verification at almost every step, and are in no way superior to the notorious verifications of nobility under the partitioners' regimes (see below). **Certifications of ennoblement and indygenaty** [*ennoblement of foreigners*] often provide genealogical information, but if they go back to relations antedating the ennoblement their contents must be treated with

all caution. Sejm charters granting ennoblement and *indygenaty* were, as a rule, concisely worded, and did not detail family ties; but they are nonetheless valuable sources because they irrefutably confirm the authenticity of the ennoblements.

Among documents tracing descent there are others of immeasurably greater value as sources; in principle they are only indirectly of significance to genealogy, but in fact they provide abundant genealogical material and are most reliable. They are: royal or princely *przywileje* [charters, grants] concerning the rights of offices inherited or held; **premarital contracts; the setting of dowries and marriage-portions; life annuities; receipts** from paternal or maternal estates; **wills; purchases, sales, liens and leases** of real estate—in a word, everything that was entered in and comprised the contents of **entries** in the *Metryka Koronna* [Crown Register] or court records (whether of district or castle or any other kind of court) or that, in the form of **excerpts, extracts, or regesta** [summaries, abstracts],^{60a} compiled at various times, became the heart of almost every family archive. The destruction of many sets of castle and district court records in 1944 increased immeasurably the value of family archives of this kind. In the years preceding the last war family archives were widely scattered all over Poland. Preserved largely in rural manors, they were difficult to examine, if only because of their dispersal. Only a small portion had long since trickled into large private library collections open to researchers;⁶¹ some were accessible and became separate archival units organized in a modern manner.⁶² But the vast majority remained either wholly inaccessible⁶³ or were hard to use because they were so widely scattered. That has changed radically today, as manorial archives still extant are now kept in government archives.

It should be added that princely and royal charters dating from the time when books of entries had not yet been set up, i. e., from before the 15th century, had already long since been concentrated primarily in state archives and public libraries. The majority of documents of this sort that have been preserved to our times dealt with clerical recipients, especially monks, because monasteries most effectively assured preservation due to their occupying the same site for centuries. After the cassation of religious orders the contents of the monastic archives either passed into government hands or were put up for sale. If, by good fortune, they were purchased by a magnate bibliophile, the documents could in time become public property, along with the rest of his collection; but if a small-scale collector bought them, then they were usually lost for good. Documents of the kind granted laymen⁶⁴ were preserved only here and there, in private archives that received contributions from magnates' families whose standing was rooted in the far distant past. As we said earlier, these, as well as other private papers, came into state archives or collections of a more or less public nature.

Mention should also be made of a special kind of document encountered in great numbers in government archives: wills that were transferred there by the courts after having lost relevancy for all parties.⁶⁵

The last war decimated private archives' collections horribly. Almost everything was lost that had been sent to Warsaw from all over the country for safekeeping. In Wielkopolska [Great Poland] only fragments of manorial archives were preserved. In all other parts of Poland as well the losses of this sort were enormous. In the western territories, where there had been a great many such private collections, the majority were destroyed. Fortunately several of the largest collections of magnates' archives in Silesia

were saved.⁶⁶ After reforms had been carried out, the manorial archives that had survived the horrors of war were accepted by the state archives, and, in spite of all the destruction, there was a significant number of them. The largest collection is held by Warsaw's Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [*Central Archive of Historical Records*]. The second-largest is that of the Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe [*Provincial State Archive*] in Kraków. Bulletins published periodically by individual libraries give general information on manorial archives.

We will mention here only the most important collections of documents, beginning with those that cover the whole country: *Codex diplomaticus Regni Poloniae et Lithuaniae* [*Codex of Official Documents of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania*], M. Dogiel, vols. I, IV, V, Vilnae 1758–1764. — *Codex diplomaticus Poloniae*, vols. I, II, L. Rzysszczewski and A. Muczkowski, Wars. 1847–1852; vol. III, J. Bartoszewicz, Warsaw, 1858; vol. IV (Silesia), M. Boniecki, Warsaw, 1867. — *Codex epistolaris saec. XV* [*Epistolary Codex of the 15th Century*], A. Sokołowski, J. Szujski, A. Lewicki, 3 vol., Kraków 1882–1897. — *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi* [*Codex to the Letters of Vitold*], A. Prochaska, Kraków 1882. — *Index actorum saeculi XV* [*Index of Records of the 15th Century*], A. Lewicki, Kraków 1888. — *Acta Alexandri regis Poloniae 1501–1506*, F. Papée, Kraków 1927. — *Volumina legum* [*Volumes of Laws*], vol. I–VIII, J. Ohryzko, Petersb. 1859; vol. IX, A[kademia] U[miejętności], Kraków 1889; vol. X, Z. Kaczmarczyk, Poznań 1952. — *Corpus iuris Polonici* [*The Corpus of Polish Law*], vol. III (1506–1522); vol. IV, part 1 (1523–1526), O. Balcer, Kraków 1906–1910.

Codex diplomaticus Maioris Poloniae [... of Great Poland], 1136–1513, E. Raczyński, Poznań 1840. — *Codex diplomaticus Maioris Poloniae*, vol. I–IV, I. Zakrzewski, Poznań 1877–1881; vol. V, F. Piekosiński, Poznań 1908. — *Codex diplomaticus Poloniae Minoris* [... of Little Poland], F. Piekosiński, 4 vol., Kr. 1876–1905. — “Dokumenty kujawskie i mazowieckie przeważnie z XIII w.” [Kujavian and Mazovian Documents, Primarily from the 13th Century], B. Ulanowski, *Arch. Kom. Hist.*, 1888 IV. — *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Księstwa Mazowieckiego* [... of the Duchy of Mazovia], T. J. Lubomirski, Warsaw 1863. — *Codex diplomaticus et commemorationum Masoviae generalis* [*Codex of official documents and commemorations of Mazovia in general*], J. K. Kochanowski, vol. I, Wars. 1919. — *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej z archiwum tzw. Bernardyńskiego we Lwowie* [*Castle and District Records from the Times of the Commonwealth, from the so-called Bernardyński Archive in Lwów*] (records of the province of Ruthenia), vol. I–IX, K. Liske, Lwów 1868–1883. — *Codex diplomaticus Lithuaniae (1255–1433)*, E. Raczyński, Wrocław 1845. — *Zbiór dyplomatów rządowych i aktów prywatnych do dziejów Litwy (1387–1710)* [*A Collection of Official Documents and Private Records for the History of Lithuania, 1387–1710*], M. Krupowicz, Wilno 1858. — *Skarbiec dyplomatów znajdujących się w Bibliotece Muzeum Wileńskiego* [*A Treasury of Official Documents in the Library of the Wilno Museum*], 2 volumes, I. Daniłowicz and J. Sidorowicz, Wilno 1860–1862. — *Akta Unii Polski z Litwą* [*Records of the Union of Poland and Lithuania*], 1385–1791, S. Kutrzeba and W. Semkowicz, Kraków 1932.

Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa 1257–1506 [*Codex of Official Documents of the City of Kraków, 1257–1506*], F. Piekosiński, 2 vol., Kraków 1879–1882. — *Prawa, przywileje, statuta miasta Krakowa (1507–1696)* [*Laws, Charters, and Statutes of the City of Kraków*], F. Piekosiński and S. Krzyżanowski, 2 vol. (4 parts), Kraków 1885–1892. — *Przywileje królewskie miasta St. Warszawy 1376–1772* [*Royal*

Charters of the City of Old Warsaw], T. Wierzbowski, Warsaw 1913. — *Codex diplomaticus Vielicensis [Wieliczka]*, Lwów 1871.

Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry krakowskiej św. Wacława [Codex of Documents of Kraków's St. Waclaw Cathedral], F. Piekosiński, 2 vol., Kraków 1874–1883. — *Triginta documenta ecclesiae cathedralis Plocensis [Thirty Documents of the Plock Cathedral] 1230–1317*, W. Kętrzyński, Lwów 1888. — *Monumenta historica dioecesis Vladislaviensis, [Historical Monuments of the Diocese of Włocławek]*, 24 vol., Włocławek, 1881–1910. — *Urkundenbuch d. Bisthums Culm [Source-book for the Diocese of Culm]*, C. P. Woelky, 2 vol., Danzig 1884–1887. — *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry i diecezji wileńskiej [Codex of Documents of the Cathedral and Diocese of Wilno]*, Rev. J. Fijałek and W. Semkowicz, vol. 1, Kraków 1939. — “Materiały do dziejów kollegiaty pułtuskiej” [Materials for the Annals of the Pułtusk Collegiate Church], B. Ulanowski and S. Zachorowski, *Arch. Kom. Hist.* 1916 V. — S. Szczygielski, *Tinecia seu historia monasterii Tinecensis [Tinecia, or history of the Tynec monastery]*, Cracoviae 1668. — *Kodeks dyplomatyczny klasztoru Tynieckiego [Codex of Documents of the Tynec Monastery]*, W. Kętrzyński and S. Smolka, Lwów 1875. — S. Nakielski, *Miechovia sive promptuarium antiquitatum monasterii Miechoviensis [Miechovia, or A Storehouse of Antiquities of the Miechów Monastery]*, Cracoviae 1634. — *Diplomata monasterii Clarae Tumbae [Records of the Jasna Mogiła Monastery]*, F. Janota and F. Piekosiński, Kraków 1865. — *Codex diplomaticus Universitatis Studii Generalis Cracoviensis 1365–1548 [Codex of Documents of Kraków's University of General Studies]*, Żegota Pauli, 4 vol., Kraków 1870–1884.

Archiwum książąt Lubartowiczów Sanguszków w Sławucie [Archives of the Princes Lubartowicz Sanguszko in Sławuta], Z. L. Radziwiński, P. Skobielski, B. Gorczak, 7 vol., Lw. 1887–1910. — *Zbiór dokumentów w Bibliotece hr. Przeździeckich w Warszawie [A Collection of Documents in the Library of the Counts Przeździecki in Warsaw]*, A. Chmiel, Kr. 1890.

Publications dealing with the western districts of Poland: *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*, Ver. f. Gesch. u. Alt. Schlesiens, 35 vol., Breslau 1857–1930. In this set *Regesten zur schlesischen Geschichte [Regesta for Silesian History]*, (v. 7, 16, 18, 22, 29, 30), K. Grünhagen, C. Wutke, et al., is particularly valuable for genealogy. — *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Śląska [Codex of Documents of Silesia]*, vol. I (971–1204), K. Maleczyński, Wrocław. 1956. — *Lehns- u. Besitzurkunden Schlesiens [Sources on Silesian Fiefs and Estates]*, K. Grünhagen, 2 vol., Leipzig 1881–1883. — *Urkundensammlung zur Geschichte des Ursprungs der Städte in Schlesien und Ober-Lausitz 1188–1553 [A Collection of Sources on the History of the Origins of the Cities in Silesia and Upper Lausitz, 1188–1553]*, G. A. Stencel and G. A. Tzschope, Hamburg 1832. — *Breslauer Urkundenbuch [Breslau Source-book] 1214–1377*, H. Korn, Breslau 1870. — *Urkundensammlung zur Geschichte des Fürstenthums Oels (1149–1493) [A Collection of Sources on the History of the Principality of Oels]*, W. Häusler, Breslau 1883. — *Urkunden u. Regesten zur Geschichte d. Grafschaft Glatz [Sources and Regesta on the History of the County of Glatz]*, F. Volkmer and W. Hohaus, Habelschwerdt 1883. — *Urkundenbuch d. Stadt Liegnitz (up to 1455)*, F. W. Schirmmacher, Liegnitz 1868.

Codex diplomaticus Prussicus (1148–1405) [Codex of Official Documents of Prussia, 1148–1405], J. Voigt, 6 vol., Königsberg 1836–1861. — *Preußisches Urkundenbuch (1140–1257) [Prussian Source-book, 1140–1257]*, R. Philippi and C. P. Woelky, 2 vol., Königsberg 1882. — *Pommerelisches Urkundenbuch [Source Book for Pomerelia]*, M. Perlbach, 2 vol., Danzig 1881–1882. — *Pommersches Urkundenbuch [Pomeranian Source-book]*, R. Klempin and R. Pruemers, 6 vol., Stettin 1868–1881. —

Codex Pomeraniae diplomaticus (786–1252), K. F. W. Hasselbach and J. G. L. Kosegarten, Greifswald 1842–1862. — *Codex diplomaticus Warmienseis [Codex of Official Documents of Warmia]*, C. P. Woelky, M. Saage, et al., *Mon Hist. Varm.*, vol. I, II, V, IX, Braunsberg 1860–1906.

4. Records

The third category of written genealogical sources is that of **records**, i. e., entries recorded toward the close of the Middle Ages or during modern times in chancellery offices to document any legal action taken.

a. Registers of baptisms, marriages, and deaths

Unquestionably the most important records are the *metryki* or **registers of baptisms, marriages, and deaths** (*libri baptisatorum, copulatorum, mortuorum*) kept by the Church and later by the offices of the civil registry. Their name comes from the word *metrica*, which meant “list, register” in the Latin of the Middle Ages. In the latter centuries of the Roman Empire the Christians kept catalogs of baptisms, marriages, and deaths, called *diptycha*. That ended with the fall of the Empire, and it was not until the 14th century that lists of baptisms and weddings began to be kept again in Romance countries—the systematic keeping of such records was even mandated by church councils. This practice gradually spread, and by the beginning of the Reformation, Catholics and Protestants alike attended diligently to these registers as rolls of their faithful. For Catholics this matter was regulated, insofar as keeping baptismal and matrimonial records went, by a decree of the Council of Trent in 1563 and its supplementation by Paul V in the *Rituale Romanum* from 1614, which ordered the keeping of death registers as well. After the Council of Trent, especially during the 17th century, the keeping of registers spread throughout the world, both among Catholics and Protestants.

In Poland we find as early as 1459, in Krakow bishop Tomasz Strzępiński’s decrees, orders for priests in the diocese of Kraków to keep *regestrum seu metrica* books containing newlyweds’ surnames. In the parish of Wrociszew, near Warka, matrimonial records from 1510 were supposedly preserved into this century. The oldest extant *metrica copulatorum*, those of St. Mary’s in Kraków, come from 1548–1585. A parish in Bochnia has registry books from 1559; the collegiate church in Tarnów has books from 1576 on; and that of St. Mary Magdalene in Poznań from 1578 on. These are, however, exceptions, and the practice of systematically keeping registers—while spreading, to be sure, under the influence of the Council of Trent’s decree and of accompanying local synodic regulations—still did not proceed too quickly. Registers from the last years of the 16th century are still something of a rarity.⁶⁷ They became widespread only in the 17th century, and the systematic keeping of death records began relatively later. All entries were made in Latin. Pastoral letters and decrees of diocesan councils issued in the 17th and 18th centuries carried precise instructions for the rectories on how to keep their records. But the parish clergy generally took the orders lightly and kept the books in the most diverse and haphazard manner. Eventually the authorities of the partitioning powers

introduced regulations that were different for each partition and were followed precisely; the most reasonable were those in Galicia. One may add that the registers of Protestant congregations that have been preserved from the 17th and 18th centuries (today mostly in the possession of the State Archives) generally show greater accuracy and regularity in their keeping than the Catholic ones. From about the mid-17th century and up to about the mid-18th century, dissenters who had no congregation of their own nearby—and the congregations were scattered far and wide—used registers in Catholic parishes. This happened quite often.

In the 18th century, to preserve the contents of the registers from destruction, some dioceses ordered priests to send copies of their registers yearly to the bishops' chancelleries, and others required that the contents of the registers be entered annually in the castle's books. The latter order was issued for the whole country in 1764 by a Crown general confederation. Unfortunately in practice the observance of the rules regarding duplicates and copying was neither universal nor lasting. In the post-partition era the clergy was entrusted with keeping separate **civil registry** books for the Duchy of Warsaw in the years 1808-1815. After part of the Austrian partition was added to the Duchy of Warsaw in 1809, the same system was put into effect there. Within the boundaries of the Free City of Kraków the keeping of separate registry books lasted until 1852.

In 1825 in the Kingdom of Poland ecclesiastical registers were combined with the civil records to make one religious-civil record, and the keeper of the civil register for all Christian faiths was the clergyman in charge of each parish. Books were kept in Polish in duplicate; one of the copies remained on the spot, the other was sent to the appropriate court of the justice of the peace. In 1867 registry records involving Uniates were ordered kept in Russian. A year later this order was applied to all registry records. After 1825 the bishops required their priests to keep separate books for baptisms, marriages, and deaths in Latin. Shortly after 1868 these books, too, wherever they were kept, were ordered kept in Russian.

In the Austrian partition the church registers were both church and civil registry records, and they were kept in Latin until the end of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. They retained their religious and civil character even then, until the end of World War II. Only in the Prussian partition were these functions divided. The keeping of civil registry books was entrusted there to civil officials in 1874, and they made their entries in German. Church *metryki*, on the other hand, were kept in Latin till 1919. To finish the language question I should add that the church records of the Reformed Evangelical denomination were kept in Polish in the period before the partitions and even later, till 1868, while those of the Augsburg denomination (i.e., Lutheran) were kept in German.

The registers from the 16th, 17th, and often the early 18th centuries were in the form of so-called *dutki*, i.e., of a format of 30 x 9 cm; more rarely were they in the form of a folio, even more rarely of a larger or smaller octavo [*sheet folded into eight leaves*]. From the middle of the 18th century on the folio became the standard format.

In principle these registers—primarily those of baptisms and marriages, and secondarily those of deaths—are the main genealogical materials that establish the fundamental facts in this field. In some western European countries the registers allow one to compile noble, middle-class, and peasant genealogies, beginning with the 16th or 17th centuries, and to trace all but the slenderest branches. In Poland things are

otherwise, for the registry books, judged by the amount of information they afford us, take second place to intermediate sources, i.e., records from castle and district (and other) courts. It would be a fruitless undertaking to attempt to compile complete Polish genealogies from the 17th or 18th centuries using nothing but registry records. They can only provide valuable supplementation, especially of chronology, for genealogies constructed on other bases. This is so because a considerable number of parishes possess registers going back only to the 18th century. Despite the decrees of councils and inspectors' reviews of the books, great sloppiness is evident in the making of entries. Sometimes several years are missing, but the sequence of entries proves that there are no books missing. It is therefore clear that, despite the prohibitions of the church authorities, clergymen took down notes on the spot on loose papers with the intention of someday entering them in the books. Often they never got past intending to do so.⁶⁸

Comparatively speaking, it is easiest to put together genealogies of noble families on the basis of the registers. By the end of the 16th century the nobles' surnames had been firmly established, i. e., they no longer underwent alteration in the course of generations. But here, too, matters are complicated by the nobles' mobility, the ease with which they moved from place to place, depending on the buying or selling of estates and the taking of liens and leases. It's worse with the middle class. It's true, in some cases their surnames (especially the patricians') were established significantly earlier than those of the *szlachta* (sometimes as early as the 14th century), and the middle class moved around less; but on the other hand, they often appeared only with nicknames that were not always handed down from generation to generation. This applies primarily to the populace of the cities and towns. As for peasants, that's the toughest of all; only rarely can their genealogy be traced back further than the beginning of the 19th century on the basis of registry records. The uninterrupted handing down of peasant surnames from one generation to the next is a phenomenon that did not appear until the 19th century. The nicknames that had prevailed earlier were not always passed on through even a few generations in a row, and they changed according to changes in circumstances which dictated them to those around. Most frequent were entries with first names only, in some cases with a description of occupation; this leaves no chance of establishing any connections firmly.^{68a}

I mentioned the wealth of data in the registry sources for genealogies of the *szlachta*, but anyone who tried to compile genealogies of magnates' families on the basis of ecclesiastical registers would run into more than a few difficulties. The higher a family's social position, the rarer the traces of it in church books.^{68b} The reason is simple: court chaplains, or friends or relatives who were church authorities, baptized children and performed weddings in their castle or palace chapels, and the local pastor rarely noted these events down in his books. Dead magnates and the wealthier members of the *szlachta* were most often buried in monasteries, and, again, the pastor did not always take the time to note down the fact of the death. And, as we will see later, only limited numbers of monastic obituaries have survived to our days.

In the 16th and especially the 17th centuries the maiden name of the mother of a newly-baptized child was seldom given, nor were the names of the parents of people entering matrimony. Providing all this information became common only in the 18th

century. Sometimes there was a helpful description of the relationship of the godparents or of witnesses to the wedding.

Serious problems arise from the custom of christening children with several names, of which the first did not always become the main one later. Let us take an example: Jozef Mikołaj Piotr, with three names, and Mikołaj Paweł, with two names, were christened as sons of Dominik N. Some decades later, in the records of the same parish, Mikołaj N. appears as the lord of the village belonging formerly to Dominik. We would be inclined to identify him with Mikołaj Paweł; but experience teaches that it might just as easily have been his older brother Józef Mikołaj Piotr; and, if we do not have any other data, we can not settle the question.

In this case any error would pertain only to chronology, for we are dealing with sons of the same parents; here is a second example proving that it is easy to err in determining filiation as well. Let us imagine that several lines of a single family lived within one and the same parish. An entry records the baptism of a child with three names, Paweł Jan Kazimierz, and several years later that of a child Kazimierz, the son of different parents with the same surname. Some thirty years later a Kazimierz christened his child in turn, and twenty years after that we come upon the death of a Kazimierz. Our first impulse would be to identify the Kazimierz who christened his child and the Kazimierz who died with the one baptized second. If we have only the church registers available, we would make this identification final; but a genealogical listing established in this way would be thoroughly wrong. For, checking the records of the courts of law, we find that it was actually Paweł Jan Kazimierz, who went by his third name only, that baptized his child after thirty years. The burial notice, on the other hand, refers to Kazimierz of the one name, a fact we determine by comparing the date of death with the data taken from the court records. Sometimes a notation in the baptismal register of the parents' place of residence can save us from such errors; but making that notation became standard only during the 18th century. The use of the second given name, or the third, or even some other name, was a fairly common practice.

An enormous number of children died in infancy. The registers don't always inform us of their deaths, as the *libri mortuorum* often date from later than the *libri baptisatorum*. One should note also that the dates of baptisms or births, as well as dates of weddings, are usually certain because they were written down by the priest who performed the sacrament directly afterwards; it is sometimes a different matter with dates of death. When dealing with a person who died in the parish itself or was buried there, the local priest had to have precise information on the date of death. But it sometimes happened—especially if powerful people owning several or even a score of widely-scattered estates were involved—that they died and were buried in far-off locales, while the pastors noted down the dates of death of collators, on the basis of whatever information they had heard. This accounts for the frequently encountered differences in dates of death of one and the same person. Establishing the place of birth or death also causes serious problems. The locality given in registers with death notices was often not the only residence of the deceased or, if it was a child that died, of its parents. In the case of weddings we can have doubts as to whether the wedding took place in the parish church or in the manor mentioned in the entry.

Rural parish priests were not usually members of the *szlachta*, and so they often did not know very well the genealogical relationships among their noble parishioners, and thus got their surnames and offices held wrong. They could not distinguish those who belonged to the privileged class by law from those who were insinuating their way into it via social climbing. Thus terms such as *magnificus*, *generosus* and *nobilis*, which in law offices had their own precisely-defined meanings, were used in the rectories rather as titles showing secular authority, just as an owner, leaseholder, or even an influential steward had used them in front of the curate.

In the 16th and 17th centuries records usually gave only dates of baptism, expressly marked as such. Dates of birth began to appear in the 18th century. It is harder to establish dates of death because sometimes the date given is that of the funeral and sometimes it's the date of death, and which one the given date represents is not always explained; so very often it turns out that we have no way of knowing whether we're dealing with one or the other. Only in exceptional cases was the cause of death given, when an element of sensationalism for the area was involved, e.g., an accident, crime, sudden death while engaged in some sort of activity, etc. In the 18th century it became commonplace to mention the illness that was regarded as the direct cause of death. At first the list of illnesses to choose from was not very long. First came *phthisis*, consumption; next was *hidropis*, dropsy; then *paraliż*, paralysis; *pytocie*, i.e., pustules (scarlet fever, smallpox, or the like); finally *plica polonica*, plica. Mention of the illnesses became standard in the 19th century, but for a long time the entries continued to be so vague and broad that one can hardly speak of their doing any good for the research of hereditary disease. It will suffice to mention that throughout the 18th and much of the 19th centuries the cause of death for people over sixty was usually given simply as *senectus* (old age).

Giving the age of the deceased was a rarity in the 17th century, became more common during the 18th, but became standard only after the partitions. These data are for the most part not precise—they can be off by as much as ten years—and therefore the supposed dates of birth, which were based on them, should be treated with great caution.

The names of godparents or witnesses noted in entries of baptisms and weddings often provide valuable genealogical information, for the priests did not often mistake their degrees of kinship to the child or the newlyweds. We can sometimes establish a three-generation genealogical table on the basis of a single baptismal register. In the 19th century detailed descriptions of the godparents' or the witnesses' relationship came to be more or less the rule.

It is not uncommon to find dispensations sewed or inserted into marriage registers, particularly during the 18th or 19th centuries. These notices interest us when they involved marriage between relatives. Dispensations sent to pastors, however, contained only confirmation that such-and-such a degree of relationship did exist between the engaged pair. One must seek detailed description of that relationship in the records of dispensations preserved in the appropriate diocesan *curiae* or in the diocesan archives (see below).

Records of baptisms, marriages, and deaths allow the researcher of Polish genealogy to draw up very fragmentary charts. We do not find many falsifications, and if we find some, they are usually not difficult to check. Especially easy to catch is the

scratching out of descriptions of social status, such as *famatus*, *honestus* or *providus*, and replacing them with those of nobility: *generosus* or *nobilis*. Sometimes we have a completely falsified entry written in on a blank page or pasted in. The counterfeit is betrayed by the character of the writing or sometimes by the naive content (see section I).

The state of preservation of registers in Poland is not impressive, though the significant improvement in this regard over the last few decades should be mentioned. A comparison of the sets of registers from the mid-19th century with those in 1939 looks pretty bad.⁶⁹

During the period between wars the ecclesiastical authorities did begin, here and there, to pay more attention to preserving registers and making them available for research. Some dioceses assembled the older books in their archives (the cut-off point was usually 1800); others were just beginning to gather them.⁷⁰ The last war interrupted them and decimated the store of registers. In the post-war years the project of assembling these valuable material in diocesan archives was begun anew, but unfortunately not everywhere. Besides, even where it was done in principle, it was not conducted rigorously, and a fair number of old books remained scattered among the parishes.⁷¹

In Poland some had already begun to appreciate the research value of church registers in the first years of the 20th century,⁷² but instead of placing emphasis on drawing up an inventory, as was being done on a broad scale in France, England, and Germany at the same time, they published in a planless, haphazard manner registry records of the nobles of some parishes, in all over 70. Since there are several thousand parishes in Poland, this has no great practical significance, even for the genealogy of the nobility. The compiling of inventories of Catholic parishes in Poland has been extremely fragmentary.⁷³ Only Silesia and the western fragments of the former province of Poznań possess exhaustive German inventory publications.⁷⁴ Protestant parishes from the territory of Poland also have them.⁷⁵

Lists of *szlachta* registers: W. Budka, "Najstarsze metryki kościoła parafialnego w Szreniawie" [The Oldest Registers of the Parish Church in Szreniawa], *Miesięcznik Heraldyczny* 1934 XIII. — Rev. F. Czyżewski, "Metryki chrztu z Ostroga [Baptismal Registers of Ostrog] 1599-1666", *MH* 1938 XVII. — Same author, "Metryki chrztu z Ostroga 1650-1697 i Międzyrzecza Ostrogskiego 1685-1725," *MH* 1932 XI. — J. Dunikowski, "Metryki parafii Limanowa [Registers of Limanowa Parish] 1640-1850," *MH* 1909 II. — Same author, "Metryki parafii Wojakowa. Metryki chrztu św., ślubów i zejścia 1612-1777" [Registers of Wojakowa Parish. Registers of Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths, 1612-1777], *MH* 1910 III. — Same author, "Notatki genealogiczne z akt parafii w Łososinie Górnej" [Genealogical Notes from the Records of the Parish in Łososina Górna], *MH* 1931 X. — Rev. A. Jełowicki, "Metryki kościoła paraf. św. Jana Chrzciciela w Warszawie 1583-1797" [Registers of St. John the Baptist Parish church in Warsaw, 1583-1797], *MH* 1914 VII. — Z. Belina Prażmowski, "Metryki ślubne parafii św. Krzyża w Warszawie 1763-1807" [Marriage Registers of Holy Cross Parish in Warsaw, 1763-1807], *MH* 1933 XII. — Rev. J. Sygański, "Z dawnych metryk katedry na Wawelu w Krakowie" [From the Old Registers of the Cathedral on Wawel in Kraków], *MH* 1912 V. — Same author, "Z dawnych metryk kościoła Mariackiego [St. Mary's] w Krakowie. Metryki ślubów [... of Marriages] 1586-1782," *MH* 1910 III, 1911 IV. — M. Dunin Wąsowicz, "Parafia Besko. Metryki chrztu [Besko Parish. Baptism Registers] 1754-1780," *MH* 1908 I. — Same author, "Parafia Janów Trembowelski 1699-1783,"

MH 1909 II. — Same author, “Parafia Lubcza. Metryki chrztu św., ślubów, i zejścia [Registers of Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths] 1655–1836,” MH 1908 I. — M. Siekiel-Zdzienicki, *Rejestry metryk szlacheckich powiatu grójeckiego [Lists of Szlachta Registers of Grójec County]*, 10 installments, Kalisz 1937–1939. — The registers of 52 Evangelical Reformed parishes (up to circa 1820) were published by Sz. Konarski: *Szlachta kalwińska w Polsce [Calvinist Nobles in Poland]*, Warsaw 1936. Its classification by family makes it look like an armorial, but it is strictly a book of source material, and on that rests its great value. The last volumes of monographs on churches from the pen of Rev. J. Wiśniewski, and particularly the volume covering the diocese of Częstochowa, provide a great mass of *szlachta* registers, especially of deaths.

b. Monastic Obituaries, Books of Brotherhoods, and Burial Registers

Next we should consider all types of **monastic obituaries**, i.e., the so-called “**books of the dead**” (*libri, calendarii mortuorum*). They were compiled for commemorative purposes, so that every day the monks would know of the anniversaries of brothers’ or benefactors’ deaths falling on that day. The books were, by their very nature, set up as calendars, and were most concerned with the right day of the month. The year of death was only occasionally written in, as an afterthought. Since the year was often added quite a bit later, it must be regarded with all manner of precautions. Even the month and especially the day are not all that certain, particularly when benefactors are involved. The news of their deaths often reached the monasteries by word of mouth from more or less distant places. Thus there are significant variations in the dates of death given of one and the same person in various obituaries.

Monasteries of a common order depending on mutual prayers for the souls of their confrères exchanged so-called *suffragia*, lists of deceased members. These *suffragia* were usually entered into their own obituaries. Besides keeping books of the dead that enumerated brothers no longer living, the monks kept **books of the brotherhood** (*libri fraternitatis, album*), i. e., lists of living brothers, which in due time became, obviously, lists of dead ones, and thus became partially or wholly obituaries. When a large number of dead monks were entered from a preserved book of brotherhood into newly-written obituary books, the dates of death entered were often incorrect and unfounded. All that mattered was the day devoted to the memory of the deceased. When these reconstructed and compiled works were intended to include benefactors from long before, the compilers took the names from documents preserved in the monastery’s archives and entered them under the dates given in those documents. Thus one concludes that, to evaluate the worth of the obituaries’ dates, we must confirm whether we are dealing with an original with contemporaneous entries or with a compilation made at a later date. In the latter case we must use the source only with great care. Original obituaries still extant from the Middle Ages are exceptional. We usually find ourselves dealing with more recent copies in which the entries have been recopied, most often as late as the 19th century. The years of death given in continuations from the 17th and 18th centuries can be accepted with some confidence. A considerable number of the obituaries found in church and state archives and in libraries are still awaiting publication. Only a few of them have appeared in print.

W. Kętrzyński, in Volume V of *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* [*Historical Monuments of Poland*], published *libri mortuorum* of the Cistercians in Łąd and Oliwa, Dominicans in Lwów, Benedictines in Lublin, Norbertines in St. Vincent monastery and in Strzelno, Cistercians in Jędrzejów, *suffragia* of Benedictines in Mogilno, and excerpts from books of dead Cistercians in Mogiła*. F. Papée published books of the Benedictines in Lublin as well.

The monasteries were not the final resting-place of monks only. Benefactors and the most powerful members of the local nobility were also buried there, in exchange for leaving the monasteries liberal bequests in their wills. Thus books of the dead came to be kept for more than just commemoration, and took on more or less the same character as those kept in the parishes, i.e., *libri sepulchrorum* [*books of burials*] listed in chronological order of the burials' occurrence. They include all those buried in the chapel's vaults, monks and local landowners alike. It was more or less standard to enter news heard about the deaths of their confrères from other monasteries, perhaps on the basis of the *suffragia* as well. The dates of benefactors' deaths were also entered when they were buried elsewhere. Finally, the books also included dates of death of the monks' closest relatives. The days and months of the dates can be regarded as reliable only when the deceased was buried on the spot. Dates of deaths and burials of persons who died and were buried elsewhere were often inaccurate. Besides, the date of burial was usually included in the monastery's books of burials, but the date of death seldom accompanied it. A number of these books have survived to our time, but only a few of them have appeared in print. An important store of burial records kept in Bernardine monasteries throughout Poland is today located in the central archive of the Polish provincial of the Bernardines in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska.

The following can be cited as examples of these burial books: “Liber mortuorum monasterii Coronoviensis ordinis Cisterciensis” [Book of the Deceased of the Cistercian Order Monastery of Koronowo], Rev. A. Mańkowski (*Fontes Tow. Nauk. w Tor.* 1931 XXV). — “Kronika Bernardynów Bydgoskich” [Chronicle of the Bernardines of Bydgoszcz], K. Kantak (*Rocz. Tow. Przyj. Nauk Pozn.* 1906 XXXIII), containing: “Tabula benefactorum mortuorum et ab eisdem oblata, donata, legata ac pro funere data” [A Table of Deceased Benefactors and of Goods Bestowed, Donated, Bequeathed or Given for Funeral Services], as well as “Catalogus mortuorum benefactorum et aliorum sepulchrorum ... ab anno 1764” [Catalog of Deceased Benefactors and of Other Burials ... from 1764).

c. University Registers

One can count as belonging to the same group of sources as church registers the so-called “**university registers**,” i.e., lists of matriculant students; as a rule the lists contained the students' given names and the offices held by their fathers. At first the locality the students came from was given; then around the beginning of the 16th century the diocese began to be given alongside the locality. From about the mid-16th century on the locality was no longer given, just the diocese. Besides universities in Poland, the registers of Italian and German universities, which young Poles often attended, are important, especially for the 16th century.

Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis [Records of Students at the University of Kraków] 1400–1642, 1720–1780, B. Ulanowski, A. Chmiel, G. Zathey, 5 vol., Kr., Wrocł., 1887–1956. — For Poles studying abroad check the following: “Metrica nec non liber nationis Polonicae Univ. Lipsiensis 1409–1600” [Register and Book of the Polish Nation of the University of Leipzig, 1409–1600], S. Tomkowicz, *Arch. do Dziejow Lit. i Ośw. w Polsce*, 1882 II. — S. Windakiewicz, *Księga nacji polskiej w Padwie [Book of the Polish Nation in Padua]*, same publication, 1890 VI. — M. Bersohn, *Studenci Polscy na uniwersytecie bolońskim w XVI i XVII w. [Polish Students at the University of Bologna in the 16th and 17th Centuries]*, Kr. 1890. — K. Kallenbach, “Polacy w Bazylei w XVI w.” [Poles in Basel in the 16th Century], *Arch. do Dziejow Lit. i Ośw. w Polsce*, 1890 VI. — Same author, “Polacy w Kolonii. Z metryk uniwersytetu kolońskiego 1388–1628” [Poles in Cologne. From the registers of the University of Cologne, 1388–1628], same publication. — Rev. P. Czaplewski, *Polacy na studiach w Inglostacie [Poles Studying at Ingolstadt]*, Pozn. 1914. — J. Karłowicz, “Polacy na wszechnicy heidelberskiej w w. XV – XVII” [Poles at Heidelberg University in the 15th–17th Centuries], *Rocz. Tow. Przyj. Nauk Pozn.*, 1887 XV. — M. Wehrman, “Studenci Polacy w pedagogium szczecińskim 1576–1665” [Polish Students in the Szczecin Pedagogium, 1576–1665],” *Kw. Hist.* 1906 VI.

Publications of registers of foreign universities attended by Poles: *Acta Nationis Germanicae Bononiensis Universitatis 1289–1543 [University of Bonn Records of the German Nation, 1289–1543]*, E. Friedländer and C. Malagola, Berlin 1887. — *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg 1386–1867 [Registers of the University of Heidelberg, 1386–1867]*, 6 vol., G. Töpke, Heidelberg 1884–1916. — *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln [Cologne] 1389–1559*, H. Keussen, 2 vol., Bonn 1919–1929. — *Die Matrikel der Universität Leipzig 1409–1809*, G. Erler, 6 vol., Leipzig 1897–1909. — *Die Matrikel der Universität Rostock 1419–1831*, A. Hofmeister, 7 vol., Schwerin 1889–1922. — *Ältere Universitätsmatrikeln I. Universität Greifswald 1456–1700 [Older University Registers I. University of Greifswald]*, E. Friedländer, 2 vol., Leipzig 1893–1894. — *Ältere Universitätsmatrikeln I. Universität Frankfurt a. O. 1506–1811*, same author, 3 vol., Leipzig 1887–1891. — *Album Academiae Vitebergensis 1502–1602*, K. E. Förstemann, 3 vol., Lipsiae [Leipzig] 1841, Halis 1895, 1905. — *Die Matrikel der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Ingolstadt-Landshut-München 1472–1750*, G. w. Pölnitz, München 1937–1941. — *Die Matrikel der Universität Tübingen 1477–1600*, H. Hermelink, Stuttgart 1906. — *Die Matrikel der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg 1544–1829*, G. Erler, 3 vol., Leipzig 1908–1917.

A similar kind of source is any sort of **list of students of secondary educational institutions**. For the second half of the 19th and 20th centuries these are the annual reports of *gimnazja**, published in great numbers in the former Austrian partition. For the end of the 18th century valuable material of this sort is contained in the elementary and pre-elementary school reports of the Education Commission from 1778 to 1790.

The works under the general title of *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej [National Education Commission]*, T. Wierzbowski, Wars. 1901–1915, give reports from schools in Warsaw, Łęczycza, Płock, Pułtusk, Wągrowiec, Rawa, Poznań, Kalisz, and Wschowa.

d. Other Lists of Individuals

We should include among this group of sources all kinds of lists compiled for any reason. First of all, one should consider **censuses**, or rather the detailed materials

collected to compile them. In Poland the first attempts at taking a census of inhabitants were made at the end of the 18th century, but they only affected part of the country.⁷⁶ The first general census taken under governmental authority was conducted in the years 1808–1810 in the Duchy of Warsaw. The raw data of this census was destroyed during the last war. Censuses were first taken systematically throughout the whole territory of the former Commonwealth by the partitioning powers.⁷⁷

Immensely valuable are the **tax rolls**, which give abundant information on the properties owned by noble families, and **tax receipts** [*rekognicjarze*], which 16th-century nobles sealed with their signet rings as evidence of receipt for duly-paid taxes.⁷⁸ Mention should also be made of **lists of electors**, i. e., of individuals voting for the Polish kings; **lists of persons accepting city law*** and therefore entered in the city books (the so-called *album civile*); **lists of vassals**, i.e., of persons swearing the oath of fealty; **ranqlisty** [*lists of rank*], i.e., of officers; **lists of knights of Orders**; and finally the **membership rolls of societies and brotherhoods** of all kinds.⁷⁹

A basic framework of tax rolls that have appeared in print (the original books are in the Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [*Central Archive of Historical Records*] in Warsaw) is: *Polska XVI w. pod względem geograficznym, statystycznym i historycznym* [*16th-Century Poland from a Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Point of View*], 11 vol., A. Pawiński, A. Jabłonowski, I. Baranowski and J. Jakubowski, Wars. 1883–1915. Unfortunately, checking this publication against the originals shows important omissions and numerous misreadings. — F. Piekosiński, “Polska XVI w. pod względem rozszedlenia się szlachty” [16-Century Poland in Regard to the Dispersion of the Nobility], *Herold Polski* 1906, pp. 1-275 (list of lords’, stewards’, and administrators’ tax statements from Kraków province from 1564). — *Regestr poborowy wojew. krakowskiego z r. 1629* [*Tax Rolls of Kraków Province from 1629*], S. Ingot, W. Domin, J. Kolasa, E. Trzyma, S. Żyga, Wrocław. 1956. — *Rejestr poborowy wojew. kaliskiego* [*Kalisz*], 1618–1620, A. J. Parczewski, Wars. 1879. — “Rekognicjarz poborowy wojew. podlaskiego z r. 1581” [Register of Tax Receipts for the Province of Podlasie from 1581], F. Piekosiński, *Rocznik Heraldyczny* 1910 II. — “Rekognicjarz poborowy pow. tucholskiego [... County of Tuchola],” S. Dziadulewicz, *RH* 1928 VIII. — “Rekognicjarz poborowy ziemi warszawskiej [... of the district of Warsaw] z r. 1563,” same author, *MH* 1930 IX. — “Rekognicjarz poborowy z księgi nr 46 [Book No. 46],” same author, *MH* 1932 XI.

Military conscription records for the whole country, for a province, or a district also provide valuable material. Foremost here are: “Переписи войска литовскаго. Литовская Метрика, Книги публичныхъ дѣлъ” [*Perepisi voiska litovskago. Litovskaya Metrika, Knigi publichnykh del—Census of the Lithuanian Army. Lithuanian Register, Books of Public Affairs*], S. Ptaszycki, *Russ. Istor. Bibl.* XXIII, Petersb. 1915. — “Spis rycerstwa pow. wiskiego i wososkiego, które uczestniczyło w wyprawie wołoskiej 1497” [List of Knights of Wizna and Wąsosz Counties Who Took Part in the Wallachia Campaign, 1497], I. T. Baranowski, *Collectanea Bibl. Ord. hr. Kras.* 4, Wars. 1913. — “Rejestr popisowy wojew. połockiego z dn. 30 września 1765 [Conscription Register of Polatsk Province from 30 September 1765],” R. Mienicki, *Aten. Wil.* 1936 XI. — “Szlachta ziemi wieluńskiej biorąca udział w pospolitym ruszeniu pod Lwowem 1621 [Nobles of Wieluń District Who Took Part in the Levy in Mass at Lwów, 1621],” Z. Wdowiszewski, *MH* 1930 IX. — J. Pieniążek, *Rycerstwo polskie w wyprawie wiedeńskiej 1683* [*Polish Knighthood in the 1683 Vienna Campaign*], Wars. 1933.

Elektorów poczet [List of Electors], O. Pietruski, Lwów 1845. — “Elektorowie królów Władysława IV, Michała Korybuta, Stanisława Leszczyńskiego i spis stronników Augusta III” [Electors of Kings Władysław IV, Michał Korybut, and Stanisław Leszczyński, and a List of August III’s Supporters], J. D. Borkowski and M. D. Wąsowicz, *RH* 1910 I.

Libri iuris civilis Cracoviensis [Books of Kraków Civil Law] 1392–1506, K. Kaczmarczyk, Kr. 1913. — “Szlachta przyjęta do prawa miejskiego Starej Warszawy [Nobles Admitted to the City Law of Old Warsaw] 1506–1718,” *Z. Wdowiszewski, MH* 1932 XI. — S. Semrau, “Die Bürgerlisten der Stadt Thorn aus dem XVII Jahrh. II. Die ausländischen Bürger [The Lists of Burghers of the City of Toruń from the 17th Century. II. Foreign Burghers],” *Mittl. d. Copp. Ver.* 28.

E. Szeliga-Żernicki, *Geschichte des polnischen Adels. Anhang: Vasallen-Liste des im Jahre 1772 Preußen huldigenden polnischen Adels in Westpreußen [History of the Polish Nobility. Appendix: List of Vassals, Polish Nobles in West Prussia Whose Allegiance Was to Prussia in 1772]*, Hamburg 1905. — M. Bär, *Der Adel u. der adlige Grundbesitz in Polnisch-Preußen zur Zeit der preußischen Besitzergreifung (Die Vasallenliste des Kreises Marienburg 1774, Stargard 1774–1775, Konitz 1774–1776, Dirschau 1774–1775, Kulm 1789, Michelau 1790) [The Nobility and Their Landed Property in Polish Prussia at the Time of the Prussian Occupation (List of Vassals of the Districts of Marienburg...)]*, Leipzig 1911. — Dr. Dambrowski, “Ermlands Erbhuldigung im Jahre 1772” [Ermland Hereditary Allegiance in 1772], *Ztschr. Erml.* 1916 XIX. — M. Bär, G. Lühr, “Die Vasallenlisten über den Jahren 1774–1776” [Lists of Vassals, 1774–1776], *ibid.*, 1916 XIX. — J. Gallandi, “Vasallenfamilien des Ermlands und ihre Wappen” [Vassal Families of Ermland and their Arms], *Ztschr. Erml.* 1916 XIX. — B. König, “Die Lehenvasallen der Fürstbischöfe v. Breslau (in Oesterr. Schlesien)” [The Vassals of the Prince Bishops of Breslau (in Austrian Silesia)], *Ztschr. f. Gesch. u. Kulturgesch. Schles.*, Troppau 1919 XIX/XX.

S. Łoza, *Historia orderu Orła Białego [History of the Order of the White Eagle]*, Wars. 1922 (contains a list of the knights of the Order from 1705 to 1831). — Same author, *Kawalerowie orderu św. Stanisława [Knights of the Order of St. Stanislaus] (1765–1813)*, Wars. 1925. — Same author, “Kawalerowie orderu św. Stanisława (1815–1830),” *MH* 1930 IX, 1931 X, 1932 XI. Suppl. S. Taczanowski, *MH* 1933. XII. — S. Łoza, *Legia honorowa w Polsce [Legion of Honor in Poland] 1803–1923*, Zamość 1923.

S. Małachowski-Łempicki, “Wykaz polskich łóż wolnomularskich oraz ich członków 1738–1821” [A List of Polish Freemason Lodges and Their Members, 1738–1821], *Arch. Kom. Hist.* 1930, p. II, vol. II.

So far genealogical research has made little use of **civil-service personnel records**, kept from the end of the 18th century and immeasurably valuable for genealogy. The Records of the Pension Committee of the Kingdom of Poland, a genuine mine of first-hand genealogical information, burned during the fire at the Archiwum Skarbowe in Warsaw in 1939.

e. Records of Castle and District Courts of Law

Let us proceed with discussion of the records of **courts of law**, the most important group among that category of genealogical sources composed of records.⁸⁰ The role of court records for genealogical study in Poland is far more important than that of registry books, even though, unlike the latter, court records are only an intermediate source.

Registry records allow the drawing up of a genealogy including even those who died in infancy, but it is a fragmented genealogy that can be joined into one greater lineage only in rare cases. Records of courts of law, on the other hand, while listing primarily only adults competent in legal actions, nonetheless allow us to unite them genealogically, to unite them closely and securely, through a whole series of generations and encompassing even the broadest expansions.⁸¹ The restriction to adults, although usually true, is not a hard and fast rule, as we will see later. In the majority of cases every human adult belonging to the privileged class and owning property left some trace of his life in the court records, and, if the relevant records have been preserved, is through them perceptible to us.

Among the various categories of court records there are two basic types of judiciary that stand foremost as priceless sources for genealogy involving the nobility: those of the *ziemski [district]* and the *grodzki [castle]* courts*. For the 15th century both kinds of books are equally important to us, albeit with a slight tilt of the scales toward the district courts because, generally older, they sometimes date back to the end of the 14th century.⁸² In the 16th century the significance of the castle courts grows gradually. The castles acquired powers initially reserved for the districts⁸³ and, generally speaking, began to gain the upper hand during the 16th century. As for the next two centuries, anyone interested in genealogical pursuits can boldly limit himself almost exclusively to the castle courts.

With the passage of time and the development of the chancelleries' activity the court books became more and more differentiated. They developed various types devoted to different kinds of entries. The basic section, dating from the second half of the 16th century and characteristic of most Polish legal chancelleries, consisted of the **books of *inskrypcje [inscriptions]* and *relacje [relations]*** (*libri inscriptionum* and *libri relationum*). The former dealt with testimony in undisputed matters, and thus in all kinds of registrations of real estate (sales, donations, divisions), mortgages, leases, receipts, establishment of care for the underage, etc. The latter was devoted primarily to the testimony of bailiffs on the execution of court activities, i. e., writs delivered and inspections of the scenes of crimes carried out; to the protests and testimony of the parties involved in contested cases; and finally to all kinds of entries of documents of public import (Sejm charters, announcements and instructions from regional councils, the king, military commander, treasurers, etc.) or private financial matters (contracts, inventories). So basically the books of this group as well contained primarily uncontested cases, although portions of their contents could be devoted strictly to disputed affairs. Dedicated exclusively to the latter were the **books of decrees** (*libri decretorum*), kept separately from the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century (in Kraków as early as 1574). Since these books often were not limited to the entry of the verdict alone, but in more than one case gave the whole course of the suit, we can find in them very valuable genealogical information, especially when the trial concerned matters of inheritance.⁸⁴

In Great Poland proper (Poznań and Kalisz provinces), from the fourth decade of the 15th century to the end of the 17th, separate records were kept, so-called books of resignations (*libri resignationum*), that included testimony before the *starosta* general for Great Poland or his deputy on the execution of real-estate sales, redemptions of estates, setting of dowries and marriage-portions, and matrimonial annuities.⁸⁵

The *inskrypcje* are of greater value for genealogical research than the *relacje* because one more often comes across information on kinship in the former. The *relacje*, while providing less of this data, nonetheless from time to time contain entries establishing at one stroke a broad range of familial ties, sometimes going back a long way. This sort of entry was demanded in cases concerning real estate or sums of money passing by bequest of distant relatives or of persons long since dead. Beginning in the 17th century one also finds in the *relacje* genealogical entries drawn up either in descriptive or in tabular form and providing clarification in inheritance cases. As a rule these tables were compiled on both the spear and distaff sides. Most often such genealogies were accompanied by abstracts of documents on which the filiation was based. We will speak below of noble lineages entered in the books of *relacje*.

Castle and district officials were usually well informed on the relationships of the nobility in their county, and that to some extent guarantees the reliability of the genealogical data included in such entries. With the exception of obvious clerical errors, e. g., in given names, we seldom find filiations from one entry that disagree with those in another. Intentional falsehoods in lines of descent would have been too easily recognized. Usurpation and decking oneself out in borrowed plumage were by no means rare, but they were accomplished another way, by social climbing. Entries in court records were only the recognition of a state of affairs that the neighbors had already begun to accept.

As for actual working technique, one should not be scared off by the abundance of material and the lack of indexes for a considerable number of sets.⁸⁶ Poznań county, for instance, has more than 1,500 district and castle books of all categories. And these are not books of just any size. In the castle records of *inskrypcje* and *relacje* alone there are some 400 volumes. Looking through them, one after another, would not always be to the point, for there would be much data listed that only confirmed again and again the same facts of genealogy or inheritance. One would attain a complete picture, but the research benefits would not be commensurate with the work involved. Therefore in cases where there is too much material, one should use only a part of it. The principles for selecting which part to use were discussed at length in the section dedicated to the methodology of research.

Another matter should be brought up here. Castle and district records can not only be divided according to content (discussed above), but can also be classified, strictly by considerations of form, into one of two groups: rough copy, called *protokoły [protocols]*, and fair copies or *indukty*. In the 15th century entries were simply taken down originally without rewriting them later; the two kinds of books of entries began to be kept only in the 16th century. The protocol was an abbreviated version of the proceedings, omitting a number of stereotypical legal formulas. From the 17th century on it usually contained the signatures of the parties involved as well. It is often quite unclear, however, due to hasty, careless handwriting and the lack of titles for individual entries. We often encounter crossed out entries (especially before the 18th century), sometimes one item, sometimes dozens and hundreds of pages. This was how entries were marked that had already been transferred to fair copies or that had been invalidated; the latter is the rarer case, as a marginal notation of invalidation was preferred (e. g., *non valet*). In principle all entries contained in the *protokół* were rewritten in *indukty* (with the obvious exception of non-valid ones), but not always in one and the same *indukta*. Thus, for instance, the 16th-and

17th-century protocols of Poznań *inskrypcje* are rough copies for *inskrypcje* and for *rezygnacje* as well.⁸⁷ In this example we see that the protocol of the *inskrypcje* is sometimes richer in content than the corresponding fair copy. Protocols were usually not saved after they had been rewritten, and in any event pains were never taken to preserve them. For this reason there are few cities today that possess a series of protocols corresponding to *indukty*. In the fair copies all legal formulas were given in full and entries were carefully supplied with large, easily-read, calligraphic titles; the titles contain the surnames of the parties and the kind of case involved. This certainly facilitates skimming through dozens, sometimes even hundreds of volumes.

In the second half of the 17th century the previously uninterrupted series of fair copies begin to show greater and greater gaps, filled in only by protocols, which by the end of the century became the only form found in some court offices. The steadily growing quantity of entries did not permit clerks the arduous task of rewriting the protocols in good, calligraphic form. *Indukty* did not die out everywhere, however, the way they did in Great Poland (by the end of the 17th century); and even there the practice of compiling fair copies still appeared now and again during the first decades of the 18th century. In Kraków province fair copies were kept throughout almost the whole 18th century (and for some kinds of books even after the partitions).

I have already mentioned the clarity of the books of fair copies, which are easier to use. But the researcher should not let himself be discouraged by the problems presented by the protocols' format, for they are the more valuable source. The original signatures (abundant in protocols of the 17th century) sometimes allow us to correct false versions of the surname in the contents of the entry, and let us confirm the identity or separateness of individuals with the same name by allowing us to compare handwriting. Nor are the signet seals that frequently accompany the signature to be scorned. In many cases, thanks to the seal, it is possible to give the family's coat of arms a different description from that in the armorials and even in the latest tradition of a given family. And finally, as I've already said, the content of the protocols is the richer. One should not underestimate even the entries that have been invalidated or left unfinished, which were not transferred to the fair copies. They were usually invalidated because the transaction was not completed, but the genealogical details in them are still of value.

Volumes of fair copies consist of a series of sections bound together. Sometimes one hand wrote all the entries throughout a volume; sometimes each section is written in the hand of a different clerk from among those working in the offices. In the practice of a number of offices each section constituted a closed unit, and entries were not begun in it that were too long to be finished on the last page. Thus on the last leaf or page there were gaps, the presence of which could facilitate the forgeries so threatening to the nobles' material interests. In the protocols the problem was solved by crossing out the empty spaces. In the fair copies, on the other hand, during the 17th century the spaces were filled in with fictitious entries that could harm no one. If the author distinguished himself by his ingenuity, the names of persons and places he made up betrayed the fiction at first glance, and were sometimes quite witty. There are cases in which the contracting parties were figures from classical mythology and even residents of Olympus. But if the clerk was lacking in fantasy or erudition, his entry could have every appearance of authenticity and could easily contribute to the increase in the number of ancient noble

surnames. So one must be especially critical when dealing with entries made at the end of individual sections, especially when names appear there that are quite plausible in form but have not been mentioned on any of the other pages of that book.^{87a}

The partitions did not produce an immediate end to castle and district records everywhere. In the Prussian partition the practice did end immediately, as the new authorities, directly after taking power, reorganized the judiciary thoroughly after the Prussian model. In the part of the country joined to Austria in 1773, entries in castle and district records were accepted for another year, after which the so-called Tabula Lwowska (see below) took over their role. Within the boundaries of the Austrian partition, books of *inskrypcje*, now also called *ingrossacje*, were kept from 1795 on; they were books of *relacje* and *oblaty* [entries]. That ended two years after the annexation of so-called Western Galicia to the Duchy of Warsaw in 1811. Castle and district records were kept the longest in the territories claimed by Russia, because the organization of *szlachta* lower courts modeled on the Polish system was preserved, along with self-rule of the *szlachta*, until after 1840.

Castle and district records were kept in Latin in almost all the Crown's territories. The only entries in Polish were the testimony of the parties and all the data given for entries, as well as documents compiled in Polish that were as much of a public as of a private nature. Until the mid-16th century Czech filled the same role in the records of Oświęcim and Zator that Latin filled elsewhere. In Lithuania the language of record for legal affairs was Belarusian; it was gradually replaced in practice by Polish, but remained official until 1696. In Crown territories Polish was introduced as the official language for castle and district records only under Stanisław August Poniatowski.

In Silesia the records of the National Superior Court in Wrocław and of the lower courts in the counties were what corresponded, more or less, to the castle and district court records. Those records contain: wills, adoptions, divisions, purchases, sales of knights' property, in a word everything that enables one to draw up a genealogy even when church registers are lacking. In the Provincial Archives in Wrocław there are 43 sets of court books (among them over 2,000 books of testimony alone) going back to the first half of the 16th century. We also have several of these sets, going back to the 17th century, in the Katowice Archives.

After the catastrophe of the war in 1939–1944, and particularly after the burning of the Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [*Central Archive of Historical Records*] in Warsaw,⁸⁸ the sets of castle and district books preserved there are as follows: a fragment of the castle of Warsaw's records to 1600, with a few books from later times; castle and district records: from Płock (with a few gaps), Ciechanów, Przasnysz, Nur, Różan, Maków, Sieluń, Pułtusk, Wyszogród, Zakroczym, some from Ostrołęka (about one third), and scraps of later records from Gostynin. So much for the records from Mazovia. From the eastern part of Great Poland and Kujavia: Sieradz, Szadek, Wieluń, Ostrzeszów, Łęczyca, Orłowo, Brzeziny, Brześć, Przedecz, Kowal, Radziejów, Bobrowniki, and Kruszwica.⁸⁹

In the Provincial Archives in Kraków are the following records from the former province of Kraków: Kraków and Biecz castle and district records; castle records from Sączę; district records from Czchów; and scraps of Zator district and Oświęcim castle records.⁹⁰ In addition there are, from Sandomierz province, district books from Pilzno,

and some castle records from that county from the second half of the 18th century.⁹¹ Located in the Provincial Archives in Lublin are: castle and district records from Lublin, Chełm, Krasnystaw, and Horodło; district records from Urzędów and Parczew (the latter beginning only in 1794), and castle records from Grabowiec and Szczepieszyn. Of these books, those from Lublin, Chełm, Urzędów, and Horodło go back in parts more or less to the 16th century. The main stock of 15th- and 16th-century books was lost, however, during World War I. Today the entirety of the material in this area dates back only to the 17th and 18th centuries. There remain from Austrian times over fifty district books from Lublin, Chełm, Parczew, and Krasnystaw, for the years 1795–1811.

The Provincial Archives in Poznań have castle and district records from the former provinces of Poznań, Kalisz, and Inowrocław. From Poznań province: district and castle records from Poznań and Kościan, and castle records from Wschowa and Wałcz. From Kalisz province: castle and district records from Kalisz, Gniezno, and Pyzdry, as well as castle records from Konin, Kcynia, and Nakło. From Inowrocław: castle and district records for Inowrocław, and castle records for Bydgoszcz. The last war made only minor gaps among these records.⁹² Inowrocław books from before 1655 were destroyed by the Swedes for the most part, and only fragments remain from the period before their invasion. During the Confederation of Bar almost all the Pyzdry books from 1700-1768 were burned.⁹³

The overwhelming majority of castle and district records in the Prussian partition were destroyed at the start of Prussian rule. Today the Provincial Archive in Gdańsk has 55 volumes of Kiszpork (Dzierżgoń) records from 1633–1772, eight of district records from Sztum for 1621–1768, and several Malbork *starosta* records from 1627–1720. The missing records are at least partially replaced, for some Prussian cities, by extant *księgi lawnicze [jurors' records]* (see below [page 35]).

In the U.S.S.R. there are sets of castle and district records from the provinces of Ruthenia, Bełz, and part of Podolia in Lwów;⁹⁴ Kiev, Volhynia, Bratslav, and the rest of Podolia, in Kiev; Vilnius, Trakai, Minsk, Navahrudak, Brest, Vitsebsk, Polatsk, Mstsislaŭ, and the duchy of Samogitia* in Vilnius and Hrodna.⁹⁵ The oldest sets of castle and district records from the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania remained in the U.S.S.R. after World War I and are presently in Vilnius. Also kept there are the books of the Chief Tribunal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.*

The methods of publishing various portions of the court records discussed have been: printing all the entries at full length, listing them, or presenting a selection of them chosen according to various criteria. Here are the most important publications:

“Antiquissimi libri iudicales terrae Cracoviensis 1374–1400” [The Oldest Court Records of Kraków District, 1374–1400], B. Ulanowski, *Star. prawa pol. pomn.*, VIII, parts 1 and 2, Kr. 1884–1886. — “Wybór zapisek z ksiąg ziemskich i grodzkich krakowskich z l. 1394–1506” [A Selection of Entries from Kraków Castle and District Records, 1394–1506], Z. A. Helcel, *ibid.*, Kr. 1870. — *Soudni knihi osvétimské a zátorské z r. 1440–1562 [Court Books of Oświęcim and Zator (in Czech)]*, R. Rauscher, Prague 1931. — “Zapiski sądowe województwa sandomierskiego 1395–1444” [Court Notes, Sandomierz Province, 1395–1444], F. Piekosiński and S. Kutrzeba, *Arch. Kom. Prawn.* VIII, part I, Kr. 1907. — *Lubelska księga podkomorska XV w. [Lublin Chamberlain Books of the 15th Century]*, L. Białkowski, Lublin 1934. — *Akta grodzkie i*

ziemskie z Archiwum Bernardyńskiego we Lwowie [*Castle and District Records from the Bernardyński Archive in Lwów*], vol. X–XIX, K. Liske and A. Prochaska, Lw. 1884–1906 (this work contains the records of all counties of the province of Ruthenia up to 1500, as well as Bełz castle and district records for the same period. Volume X contains entries of documents made in Lwów’s castle books up to the partitions. The documents are in the form of abstracts, and they are a particularly valuable source in view of the lack of printed material of this type for the 16th–17th centuries for Crown territories). — *Księga ziemi czerskiej [Czersk] 1404–1425*, T. J. Lubomirski, Wars. 1879. — *Najdawniejsze księgi sądowe mazowieckie [The Oldest Mazovian Court Books]*, Wars. 1920; vol. I, *Księga ziemna płońska [Płońsk] 1400–1417*, M. Handelsman; vol. II, part 1, *Księga ziemna zakroczymska pierwsza [District Book of Zakroczym, Book One] 1423–1427*, A. Rybarski; vol. III, *Księga ziemna zakroczymska druga [... Book Two] 1434–1437*, K. Tymieniecki. — *Księgi sądowe brzesko-kujawskie [Brześć Kujawski Court Books] 1418–1424*, J. K. Kochanowski, *Teki A. Pawińskiego VII*, Wars. 1905. — *Księgi Łęczyckie [Łęczyca] 1385–1419*, A. Pawiński, 3 vol., *Teki A. Pawińskiego III–V*, Wars. 1897. — *Die ältesten großpolnischen Grodbücher [The Oldest Great Poland Castle Books]*, J. Lekszycki, 2 vol., Leipzig 1887–1889. — *Wybór zapisek sądowych grodzkich i ziemskich wielkopolskich z XV w. [A Selection of Entries in Castle and District Court Books of Great Poland from the 15th Century]*, F. Piekosiński, Vol. I, no. 1, Kr. 1902. — “Wybór zapisek sądowych kaliskich [Kalisz] z l. 1409–1416,” B. Ulanowski, *Arch. Kom. Histor.* 1886 III. — “Acta expeditionum bellicarum palatinatus Calissiensis et Posnaniensis in Valachos et in Turchos a. 1497–1498” [Records of the Military Expeditions of the Kalisz and Poznań Palatinates Against the Wallachians and Turks in 1497–1498], M. Bobrzyński, *Star. pr. pol. pomn.* VI, Kr. 1882.

The southeastern provinces of the old Commonwealth are dealt with in the following publications, which contain, by and large, excerpts from the district and castle records of that area: *Памятники издаваемые Комиссею для разбора древних актовъ при кievскомъ ген. губ. [Pamyatniki izdavayemiye Komissyeyu dlya razbora drevnikh aktov pri kiyevskom gen. geb.—Memorials Published by the Commission for the Study of Ancient Records for the Kiev General Province]*, 4 vol., Kiev 1846–1859. — The preceding is continued in *Архивъ Юго-Западной Россii [Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii—Archive of Southwestern Russia]*, Kiev 1859–1911. — *Акты относящiеся къ исторiи Южной и Западной Россii [Aktы odnosyashchiesya k istorii Yuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii—Records Relating to the History of Southern and Western Russia]*, 15 vol., Petersb. 1863–1892. — *Описи актовыхъ книгъ Киевскаго Центральнаго Архива [Opisi aktovykh knig Kiyevskago Tsentral'nago Arkhiva—Inventories of the Record Books of the Kiev Central Archive]*, E. P. Diakowski, Kiev 1908 (Lutsk book of castle entries from 1577). — *Акты о происхожденiи шляхецкихъ родовъ Юго-западной Россii [Aktы o proiskhozhdenii shlyakhetskikh rodov Yugo-zapadnoi Rossii—Records of the Descent of Noble Families in Southwestern Russia]*, M. Józefowicz, Kiev 1867.

For territories within the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania: *Акты издаваемые Виленскою Археографическою Комиссею [Aktы izdavayemiye Vilenskojy Arkeograficheskojy Komissyeyu—Records Published by the Vil'na Archeographic Commission]*, 38 vol., Vil'na 1865–1914 (contains a selection of entries from castle and district books of Hrodna, Brest, Vilnius, Chełm, Slonim, Minsk, Upita [*Upytė*], Wiłkomierz [*Ukmergė*], Hrodna chamberlain records, records of Trokai [*Trakai*], as well as of the tribunal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania). — *Историко-Юридическіе матеріалы извлечѣнные изъ актовыхъ книгъ губерніи Витебской и Могилевской [Istoriko-yuridicheskiye materialy izvlechyonnye iz aktovykh knig gubernii Vitebskoi i*

Mogilevskoi—Historico-Juridical Materials Extracted from the Record Books of the Provinces of Vitebsk and Mogilev), 32 vol., Vitebsk 1871–1906 (there is a selection here of entries from the castle and district books of Vitsebsk, Polatsk, Orsha, and Mstsislaŭ). — *Опись документов Виленскаго Центрального Архива древних актовых книг* [*Opis' dokumentov Vilenskogo Tsentral'nogo Arkhizia drevnikh aktovykh knig—Inventory of the Documents of the Vil'na Central Archive of Old Record Books*], I. J. Sprogis, 10 vol., Vil'na 1901–1913 (lists abstracts of the contents of Rosienie [*Raseiniai*] district books, 1576–1606, and chamberlain books, 1595–1655; the Wilkomierz [*Ukmergė*] castle books, 1595–1624; Upita [*Upytė*] district books, 1585–1587, and castle books, 1584–1615; and Brest castle books, 1575–1715). — *Акты относящиеся къ исторіи Западной Россіи* [*Akty odnosyashchiesya k istorii Zapadnoi Rossii—Documents Relating to the History of Western Russia*], 5 vol., Petersb. 1846–1853. — *Археографическій сборникъ документовъ относящихся къ исторіи сѣверо-западной Руси* [*Arkheograficheskiy sbornik dokumentov odnosyashchikhsya k istorii severo-zapadnoi Rusi—Archeographic Collection of Documents Relating to the History of Northwestern Ruthenia*], 14 vol., Vil'na 1867–1904. — *Менскія акты* [*Menskiya акты—Minsk Records*], no. 1 (15th to 18th centuries), Z. Daŭhyala, Bielaruskii Arkhiŭ III, Minsk 1930.

f. The Crown, Mazovian, and Lithuanian Registers

Individuals who were often in the capital and maintained relationships with the royal court could give their private transactions the force of law by having them entered in the books of the *Metryka Koronna*, the **Crown Register**, preserved from 1447 and kept until 1794. For that reason, these books — beyond their basic significance, i. e., that records from the royal chancellery were entered in them — also played to some extent the same role as castle and district court records. They became an inexhaustible treasury of genealogical information, especially information involving the families of magnates close to the court by virtue of the offices they held. For many of those families it is possible to compile a complete lineage based solely on the *Metryka Koronna*. Also found in this *Metryka* are appointments to senatorial offices, crown dignitaries, and district officials, although unfortunately not all such appointments were entered. That attests to the less than orderly workings of both royal chancelleries, both the greater and the lesser; the papers on all such appointments were supposed to be inserted in all cases, but making the appropriate entry was sometimes simply neglected. From the beginning of the 17th century on the private entries, previously far less numerous than those of an official nature, began to take up so much space in the *Metryka* that it began to resemble a sort of centrally-kept castle record for the whole country. Around the mid-point of that century separate sections of the *Metryka* began to be distinguished. Previously it had only been divided into “chancellor” and “subchancellor” books, a division in no way predicated on any difference in contents. The sorts of documents entered in one or the other were identical; what decided was simply the happenstance of whether a given record had been sealed by the chancellor or the subchancellor. But now separate books of so-called *sigillaty metryczne* [**metrical seals**] began to be kept; they held short summaries of conferments and charters issued by the chancelleries. The overwhelming majority of appointments of all kinds were found there. By the 16th century orders given ambassadors abroad were entered as well in separate books called *libri legationum*. They,

too, became part of the *Metryka Koronna*, but they do not interest us because they contain no genealogical information.

In Mazovia, during the period prior to its joining the territories of the Crown, books of inscriptions known today as the *Metryka Mazowiecka*, the **Mazovian Register**, were kept in the ducal chancellery. They differed from the Crown Register in that they were filled almost exclusively with land transactions carried out in the presence of the prince or his officials, and in this the *Metryka Mazowiecka* is very like castle and district records. The oldest extant books of the Mazovian Register date from 1414. Like the *Metryka Koronna*, this register has been preserved to this day in its entirety.⁹⁶

In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, from the end of the 15th century on, records issued from the Grand Duke's chancellery were entered in books that later came to be called the *Metryka Litewska*, the **Lithuanian Register**, by analogy with their counterparts in the Kingdom of Poland. During the rule of Zygmunt I the books of the Register were divided into four parts: legations, court cases, Sejm decrees, and current letters. The original books of the Register are in Moscow.⁹⁷ Only the oldest part, from the 15th and 16th centuries (up to midway through the latter), is preserved in the Archiwum Główne in Warsaw in the form of copies made in the 18th century on the recommendation of the Permanent Council. A comprehensive summary of the *Metryka Litewska*, also compiled in the 18th century, is there as well, and includes the second half of the 16th century.

Only a few fragments of the *Metryka Koronna* have been published at full length; most of the parts we have of it are in the form of summaries.

Summaries from the records of the Crown Register from 1447–1548 and partially from 1548–1572 are given in *Matricularum Regni Poloniae Summaria [Summary of the Registers of the Kingdom of Poland]*, T. Wierzbowski, 5 volumes (8 *woluminy*), Wars. 1905–1919. — The first book of the Crown Register was printed at full length under the title *Книги польской коронной метрики XV столетия [Knigi pol'skoi koronnoi metriki XV stoletia—Books of the Polish Crown Register, 15th Century]*, T. Wierzbowski, Wars. 1915. — “Akta Metryki Koronnej co ważniejsze z czasów Stefana Batorego 1576–1586” [Records of the Crown Register, and Especially from the Time of Stefan Batory, 1576–1586], A. Pawiński, *Źródła Dziejowe XI*, Wars. 1882. — *Metryka Księstwa Mazowieckiego z XV–XVI w. (1417–1433) [The Register of the Duchy of Mazovia from the 15th–16th Centuries]*, 2 vol., A. Włodarski, Wars. 1918–1930.

Either summaries or extracts of varying lengths from the *Metryka Litewska* were printed in the following works: *Акты Литовской Метрики [Akty Litovskoi Metriki—Documents of the Lithuanian Register]*, vol. I, parts 1 and 2, T. I. Leontowicz, Wars. 1896–1897. — *Литовская Метрика, отдѣлъ первый [Litovskaya Metrika, otdyel pervyi—Lithuanian Register, Section 1]*, *Russkaya Istoricheskaya Biblioteka*, vol. XX, XXVII, XXX, XXXIII. Petersb. 1903–1915. (This work includes books of entries, but not all the material given here belongs among them. The first book of the hospodars' court, 1506–1523, and the first part of the second book of the marshal's court, 1510–1522, are included). — *Описание документовъ и бумагъ хранящихся въ Московскомъ Архивѣ Министерства Юстиціи [Opisanie dokumentov i bumag khranyashchikhsya v Moskovskom Arkhivie Ministerstva Yustitsii—A Description of Documents and Papers Preserved in the Moscow Archive of the Ministry of Justice]*, vol. XXI, Moscow 1915 (summaries from books 5–12 of entries of the *Metryka Litewska*, from 1492–1529). — *Документы Московскаго Архива Министерства Юстиціи [Dokumenty Moskovskago*

Arkhiva Ministerstva Yustitsii—Documents of the Moscow Archives of the Ministry of Justice, vol. 1, M. Downar Zapolski, Moscow 1897. — *Сборникъ матеріаловъ относящихся къ исторіи панов рады [Sbornik materialov odnosyashchikhsya k istorii panov rady—A Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Lords of the Council]*, J. Malinowski, Tomsk 1901.

g. Verifications of Nobility

In the castle and district court records we often come across entries of a special heraldic-genealogical nature. They are the so-called *nagany* [*charges, accusations*] and *oczyszczenia* [*exculpations, exonerations*] practiced in the 15th and 16th centuries, sometimes in the 17th and even 18th as well. They are genealogies, and lists of corroborative documents, of castle officials proving their membership in the *szlachta*. Finally, at the end of the 18th century, in the Russian partition, there are a great many pedigrees incorporated into the records as nobles' identification papers. Let us first take up the *nagana* and *oczyszczenie*.⁹⁸

Nagana, or the challenging of one's nobility, was born in the time when one's belonging or not belonging to the privileged class could still be doubted. The one whose nobility was disputed attained *oczyszczenie* [*"cleansing, exculpation"*] through the oaths of witnesses related to him. In Little Poland six such witnesses were originally required from the father's line, while in Great Poland, and later in Little Poland as well, two were required from each of three lines: the father's, the mother's and the paternal grandmother's. The witnesses' sworn testimony was often supported by submitting documents that confirmed the genealogy. In Great Poland the *nagany* were most common at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries. In Little Poland they continued to occur frequently some what longer; they were markedly rarer by the end of the 15th century, but had by no means disappeared, occurring sporadically through the 18th century. The proper place for producing evidence of nobility with the help of witnesses, and later by submitting documents proving filiation, was the county *sejmik* [*regional council*]. Beginning at the end of the 16th century matters of this sort were submitted at deputies' *sejmiki*. From then on the exculpations were in the form of a *laudum* [*judgment, resolution*] of the regional council, and began with the characteristic formula "We, the crown councillors, officials, and knights of the province of . . ." From the end of the 16th century nobility could also be established before the Crown tribunals in Lublin and Piotrków. The books of tribunal decisions, which were burned up in 1944,⁹⁹ were a gold mine of very interesting *szlachta* identifications, of which only that part remains that was entered into the records of individual towns. We find numerous entries regarding *nagany* and *oczyszczenia* in town and district records from the beginning of their existence. Those from the first half of the 15th century are of prime linguistic value because they contain the Polish text of the witnesses' oaths.

On looking through a large number of these charges and exculpations, one gets the impression that many of them were instigated by the very individuals whose nobility was being called into question. In this way they gained the right to conduct a more or less official verification of their own identity, and to confirm rights that either had been usurped or were rightfully theirs but had been called into doubt in some way.¹⁰⁰

Thus through these *nagany* many non-noble families legalized their positions. After all, a man who had come up in the world financially, to the point that his standard of living equalled that of the nobility, would have little trouble procuring the testimony of alleged relatives. For this reason genealogical information contained in the *oczyszczenia*, and especially those from the 16th and 17th centuries, which are more abundant in genealogical details, must be treated with the same caution as all later proofs of nobility.

A recapitulation of the so-called *inscriptiones clenodiales* [heraldic inscriptions/entries] is given in: H. Polaczkówna, “Materiały do heraldyki polskiej” [Materials for Polish Heraldry], *Arch. Kom. Hist.* 1913 XI, and K. Piekarski, “Przegląd wydawnictw średniowiecznych zapisek i rot przysięg sądowych z ksiąg grodzkich i ziemskich” [A Survey of Medieval Publications of Entries and Oaths in Court, From Castle and Court Records], *Prace Kom. Język.*, no. 4, Kr. 1919.

“Inscriptiones clenodiales ex libris iudicialibus palat. Cracoviensis” [Heraldic inscriptions from the Legal Books of the Palatinate of Kraków], B. Ulanowski, *Star. pr. pol. pomn.* VII, no. 3. Kr. 1885. — “Materiały do historii prawa i heraldyki polskiej. Zapiski z ksiąg kapitulnych poznańskich 1499–1601” [Materials for the History of Polish Law and Heraldry. Notes from Poznań Chapter Records, 1499–1601], same author, *Arch. Kom. Hist.* 1886 III. — “Zapiski herbowe z dawnych ksiąg ziemskich przechowywanych w archiwum radomskim i warszawskim” [Armorial Entries from Old District Records Preserved in the Radom and Warsaw Archives], K. Potkański, *Arch. Kom. Hist.* 1886 III. — “Nieznane zapiski heraldyczne średniowieczne polskie, głównie sieradzkie” [Unknown Notes on Polish Heraldry of the Middle Ages, Primarily from Sieradz], S. Łaguna and F. Piekosiński, *Arch. Kom. Hist.* 1898 VIII. — “Nieznane zapiski heraldyczne z ksiąg wiślickich” [Unknown Heraldic Entries from the Records of Wiślica], F. Piekosiński, *Studia Rozpr. i Mat. z Hist. Pol. i Prawa Pol.* VII, Kr. 1907. — “Najdawniejsze zapiski herbowe chełmskie” [The Oldest Chełm Entries on Coats of Arms], Rev. Z. D. Kozicki, *MH* 1909 II. — “Najdawniejszy wywód szlachectwa lubelski z r. 1348” [The Oldest Lublin Pedigree of Nobility, from 1348], same author, *ibid.* — “Zapiska gnieźnieńska z l. 1440–1448” [Gniezno Entry from the years 1440–1448], same author, *ibid.* — “Receptiones seu installationes ad episcopatum, praelaturas et canonicatus ecclesiae cathedralis Posnaniensis 1532–1800” [Receptions or Installations of Bishops, Prelates, or Canons at the Cathedral of Poznań, 1532–1800], R. Weimann, *Rocz. Tow. Przyj. Nauk Pozn.* 1909 XXX. — “Wywody szlachectwa w Polsce XIV–XVII w.” [Pedigrees of Nobles in Poland, 14th–17th Centuries], W. Semkowicz, *RH* 1913 III. — “Nieznane zapiski heraldyczne” [Unknown Heraldic Entries], Rev. S. Kozierowski, *Rocz. Tow. Przyj. Nauk Pozn.* 1915 XLIII. — “Nieznane zapiski heraldyczne” [Unknown Heraldic Entries], part II, same author, *RH* 1923 VI. — “Pokłosie heraldyczne” [Heraldic Selections], collectively written, *ibid.* — “Nieznane zapiski heraldyczne” [Unknown Heraldic Entries], Z. Wdowiszewski, *RH* 1926 VII. — “Nieznane zapiski heraldyczne. Zapiski mazowieckie z XV i XVI w.” [Unknown Heraldic Entries. Mazovian Entries from the 15th and 16th Centuries], same author, *RH* 1928 VIII. — Same author, “Z zagadnień prawa szlachectwa w dawnej Polsce” [On Issues of the Laws of Nobility in Ancient Poland] (here is given, with commentary, an unidentified *nagana* in 1506 in the Wieluń records), *MH* 1931 X. — “Inscriptiones clenodiales. Zapiski heraldyczne krakowskie z XIV i XV w.” [Heraldic Inscriptions. Kraków Heraldic Entries from the 14th and 15th Centuries], A. Kamiński, *MH* 1932 XI. — “Średniowieczne zapiski heraldyczne łęczyckie” [Medieval Heraldic Entries from Łęczyca], Z. Wdowiszewski, *MH* 1935 XIV. — “Mazowieckie zapiski herbowe z XV i XVI w.” [Mazovian Entries on

Coats of Arms from the 15th and 16th Centuries], A. Wolff, Kr. 1937. — “Fragmenty zapisek heraldycznych piotrkowskich i radomskich wojew. sieradzkiego XIV i XV w.” [Fragments of Heraldic Entries from Piotrków and Radom in Sieradz Province for the 14th and 15th Centuries], A. Gieysztor, *Przeegl. Hist.* 1948 XXXVII.

Publications of the *lauda* [resolutions] of *sejmiki* [regional councils] are important not only for the verifications of nobility appearing in them here and there, but also for establishing the dates offices were held, especially district offices. “Lauda ziemi dobrzyńskiej” [Resolutions of District of Dobrzyń], F. Kulczycki, *Acta Hist.* X, Kr. 1887. — A. Pawiński, *Dzieje ziemi kujawskiej 1572–1795* [Annals of Kujavia District, 1572–1795], vol. II–V (the Radziejów *lauda* are here), Wars. 1888. — *Lauda wiszeńskie 1572–1772*, A. Prochaska, 4 vol. (*Akta Grodz. i Ziem.*, vol. XX–XXIII), Lwów 1909–1928. — *Lauda halickie [Halicz] 1575–1772*, W. Hejnosz, 2 vol. (*ibid.*, vol. XXIV–XXV), Lwów 1931–1935. — *Akta sejmikowe województwa krakowskiego* [Sejmik Records of Kraków Province], vol. I, 1572–1620, S. Kutrzeba, Kr. 1932; vol. II, 1621–1660, A. Przyboś, Kr. 1955. — *Akta sejmikowe województw poznańskiego i kaliskiego* [Sejmik Records of Poznań and Kalisz Provinces], vol I, part 1, 1572–1616, W. Dworzaczek, Pozn. 1957. — *Архивъ Юго-Западной Россіи* [Архивъ Юго-Западной Россіи—Archives of Southwestern Russia], part II, vol. 1-3 (the *lauda* of the Ukrainian provinces from 1569–1726), Kiev 1861–1901. — Instructions and *lauda* from the Duchy of Lithuania are scattered through the publication *Акты выдаваемые Виленскою Археографическою Комиссіею* [Akty wydawayemye Vilenskojy Arkheograficheskoyu Komisseju—Records Published by the Vil'na Archeographic Commission].

I have already mentioned the genealogies entered in the castle and district records in the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania after the partitions and due to the Tsarist government's order to **verify nobility**. These lists, drawn up before district courts as early as in 1773–1775, appear in the corresponding books up through the fourth decade of the 19th century.¹⁰¹ Catherine II's “Charter to the Nobility” of 1785 bestowed broad privileges on the noble class, distinguishing it from the rest of society. In each *gubernia* [province of the Russian Empire] books of the nobility began to be kept for entering those who had proved their nobility before pedigree deputations, composed of the marshal of the *szlachta* and a group of deputies, one from each *powiat* [county]. These books are divided into six parts. The first contained the descendants of persons ennobled by the ruling Russian or other monarchs, as well as families whose proofs of nobility did not date back more than a hundred years. In the second book were found persons or descendants of persons granted hereditary nobility by virtue of possessing Russian military rank. The third book included families ennobled by virtue of possessing civil rank. The fourth contained noble families from abroad who swore allegiance to Russia. Princes, counts, and barons comprised the fifth book. The sixth was filled with nobles who possessed proofs of their privileged standing going back more than a hundred years.

The “Charter” allowed application of fairly liberal methods to the verification of nobles' identity. It was enough if the applicant showed, with the help of testimony from twelve witnesses of unquestioned noble descent, that his father and grandfather “led the life of nobility and remained in noble standing” or held noble offices. The descent deputations examined the proofs, after which they either unanimously or by a two-thirds majority entered the “legitimized” party in the appropriate section of the genealogical

book, drawing up papers and genealogies illustrated with coats of arms. If refused, the applicant could appeal the deputation's verdict to the Herald's office in St. Petersburg.

Under Paul I the heraldry deputations were relieved of the right to give out identity papers. The right was returned to the deputations under Alexander I, but the identification procedure was made much stricter. Under Nicholas I, after the uprising in 1831, a series of far-reaching measures made proving one's nobility far more difficult, the point being to place the enormous throng of minor nobles who lived in small, walled settlements or paid rent outside the sphere of *dvoryanstvo* [*"nobility" (Russian)*]. Thus before 1836, for instance, acceptable proofs of nobility were ennoblements from monarchs or Sejm charters of ennoblement, as well as documents showing that the direct ancestors of the applicant had owned entire villages before 1795. After 1836 the only acceptable proofs were: *szlachta* records and papers, certificates of officer's rank or civil office, Tsarist rescripts, papers showing membership in Russian chapters of orders, and finally decrees of the Tsar bestowing nobility.¹⁰² All matters concerning verification of nobility from the whole of the so-called "western provinces" of the Tsar's empire were centralized in the highest instance in the Department of the Herald of the Russian Senate, the archives of which became a mine of invaluable information for the history of local noble families.

From the pedigrees presented before district courts have come, among others, two provincial armorials: "Herbarz szlachty witebskiej" [Armorial of the Vitsebsk Nobility], F. Piekosiński, *Herold Polski*, Cr. 1899. — "Оршанский Гербовник" [*Orshanski gerbovnik—Orsha Armorial*], W. Dowgiałło. *Историко-юридические материалы* [*Istoriko-yuridicheskiye materialy—Historico-juridical Materials*], vol. XXVIII, Vitebsk 1910.¹⁰³

The councils of *gubernia* deputations in the former Lithuanian and Ruthenian provinces published lists of the *szlachta* they recognized as authentic, and the lists have become valuable genealogical sources: *Списокъ дворянъ внесённыхъ въ дворянскую родословную книгу Подольской губернии* [*Spisok dvoryan vneshonnykh v dvoryanskiuyu rodoslovnyuyu knigu Podol'skoi gubernii—List of Nobles Entered into the Genealogical Register of Podolia Province*], Kamenets Podolskiy, 1897. — *Списокъ дворянъ Кіевской губернии* [*Spisok dvoryan Kiyevskoi gubernii—List of Nobles of Kiev Province*], Kiev 1903. — *Списокъ дворянъ Волынской губернии* [*Spisok dvoryan Volynskoi gubernii—List of Nobles of Volhynia Province*], Zhitomir 1905. — *Списокъ Черниговскихъ дворянъ 1783 года* [*Spisok Chernigovskikh dvoryan 1783 goda—List of Chernigov Nobles, 1783*], Chernigov 1890.¹⁰⁴ Unfortunately these lists are very terse: they do not give arms, they say nothing about the state of possessions, they include neither wives nor, in the overwhelming majority of cases, daughters.

In the Kingdom of Poland before 1830 the Senate passed only legitimations of hereditary titles and their confirmations. A number of the titles recognized at that time were acquired on extremely dubious legal grounds.¹⁰⁵ Verifications of nobility began only with Nicholas I's *ukase* of 1836. That was when the institution of the *Heroldia* [*Herald*] of the Kingdom of Poland was established, the task of which was to register local noble families and draw up their arms. In 1861 the *Heroldia* was dissolved and its powers transferred to the Council of State of the Kingdom of Poland. In 1870 matters concerning the identity of Polish nobility were transferred to the Department of the

Herald of the Russian Senate. The whole archive of the Polish *Heroldia* were transferred there in 1893–1895. They were returned to Poland after 1921, only to burn in Warsaw in 1944, along with all the stores of the Archiwum Akt Dawnych on Jezuicka street.¹⁰⁶

The officials of the *Heroldia* were not, of course, historical specialists, but bureaucrats of various kinds. Thus their unreasonable demands regarding form were often accompanied by boundless ignorance of facts and lack of even the most elementary critical faculty toward the evidence submitted. The applicant only rarely had all the papers necessary to prove that before the country's fall his fathers, grandfathers, or great-grandfathers had inherited whole villages or held offices open only to the nobility. In the majority of cases these proofs could be acquired only with the help of various kinds of lawyers and amateur researchers.¹⁰⁷ There arose an entire profitable trade based on seeking out evidence of nobility and, when necessary, supplementing it with forgeries.

Blank pages of castle and district or registry records provided fertile ground for counterfeit entries, of which the form, often naive and full of anachronisms, doesn't deceive the modern researcher for a moment. The Poznań archivist Zdanowski, who lived in the middle of the 19th century, falsified several hundred such entries for the benefit of clients who came primarily from the Kingdom of Poland. The Poznań books of *inskrypeje [inscriptions]* are especially full of his forgeries. "Authentic copies" made after the forgeries covered up their technical shortcomings; and their contents, however ineptly done, did not strike the clerks of the *Heroldia*. Other methods often practiced by those seeking verification of their nobility was to seek out people who were not their ancestors but who had identical or very close-sounding surnames; to assume freely any arms whatever; and all the while to abuse in every way the authority of Niesiecki, whom the *Heroldia* regarded as a credible source.¹⁰⁸

The identifications by the *Heroldia* contained so many forgeries and were so chaotic in regard to authenticity that using publications based on this kind of source demands special caution.¹⁰⁹

Of an official nature is the *Spis szlachty Królestwa Polskiego z dodaniem krótkiej informacji o dowodach szlachectwa [List of Nobles of the Kingdom of Poland, with Additional Brief Information on the Proofs of Nobility]*, Wars. 1851–1854. It provides a list of those whose nobility was verified (always with the fathers' given names included).

A list of ennoblements granted in the Russian partition is given in V. Lukomskiy and S. Troinitskiy's *Списки лицам пожалованным ... на дворянское достоинство Всероссийской Империи и Царства Польскаго [Spiski litsam pozhalovannym ... na dvoryanskoe dostoinstvo Vserossiyskoi Imperii i Tsarstva Pol'skago—Lists of Personages Granted ... the Rank of Noble of the All-Russian Empire and the Kingdom of Poland]*, S. Petersburg. 1911. — K. Marcinkowski, *Rodziny zaszczycone szlachectwem w Królestwie Polskim 1815–1836 [Families Conferred with Nobility in the Kingdom of Poland, 1815–1836]*, Wars. 1937.

In the Austrian partition all nobles wishing to verify their nobility or sit in the legislature were ordered in 1782 to submit to the government color illustrations of their appurtenant arms and a description, as well as proof of their right to use those arms. These proofs had to be: original documents, extracts from castle and district records, testimony of magnates appointed to examine proofs of nobility, or, if such were lacking, excerpts from Paprocki, Okolski, and Niesiecki,* considered authorities equal in weight

to those sources. Then the National Department in Lwów took over these matters from the State Department, and that's where the *szlachta* registers were kept and the certificates of nobility issued for those descending in the second degree, at most, from persons whose nobility was confirmed. In cases involving more distant relatives the permission of the Minister of Interior Affairs was necessary.

An official list of those recognized as noble in Galicia is *Poczet szlachty galicyjskiej i bukowińskiej [Rolls of Galician and Bukovinian Nobles]*, Lw. 1857. — A list of Austrian ennoblements is given in S. K. Kruczkowski's *Poczet Polaków wyniesonych do godności szlacheckiej przez monarchów austriackich w czasie od 1773 do 1918 [Rolls of Poles Conferred with Nobility by Austrian Monarchs, 1773–1918]*, Lw. 1935.

In the Prussian partition there was no provincial administrative authority concerned with confirming nobility. These affairs were centralized in Berlin, till 1848 in the ministry of the royal house, then jointly in the ministries of justice and internal affairs, from 1854 again in the ministry of the royal house, and finally from 1855 till 1918 in Berlin's Royal Prussian *Heroldsamt [Office of the Herald]*, specially created for this purpose, which became a department of the latter ministry. Certifications of filiation issued by that office during the 19th and 20th centuries, despite the widespread traditions of their great precision and reliability, do not say much for the criticalness of its workers.¹¹⁰

h. Municipal Court Records

Municipal court records have the same significance for the history of middle-class families as castle and district court records have for research into nobles' genealogies. There were several kinds of them, depending on the municipal authorities that kept them. It is difficult, however, to define their contents precisely, for, as we will see presently, one and the same kind of matters could be witnessed at various times and places before either the city council or before the *lawa**.

The *acta scabinalia* or **księgi lawnicze [assessors' books]**, preserved in Kraków from 1300 on (their origins there go back to the times of the hereditary *wójt*s) and in Poznań from 1430, contain entries on uncontested cases coming before the assessors' court, primarily real-estate and credit transactions. Around the end of the 16th century in some places **testamentary books** began to be kept separately from the assessors' records, and they are particularly valuable for us. Contested matters settled in the assessors' court and minor affairs coming before the court of the *wójt* himself were entered into separate records, the *libri advocatialis* or **books of the wójt**. The material contained in them is primarily concerned with contested cases, but inasmuch as in some cities testimony in uncontested cases began to be entered in these books as well, a separate series of *acta criminalia* or **criminal records** began to be kept. In Poznań the *libri maleficorum et captivorum iudicii criminalis [books of malefactors and prisoners of the criminal judiciary]* were kept by the assessors' court from 1502 on.

In other places it was done in other ways. In Kraków, for instance, *acta criminalia* became one of a series of "council books." The material contained in the *wójt* records

have great value for genealogical research; we find there extremely valuable testimony that in some instances sheds light on the descent of middle-class families. It happened, for instance, that after the death of a certain wealthy townsman a peasant would come forward with claims on the estate; with the help of witnesses he'd try to prove that the father or grandfather of the deceased had moved to the city from the village and that the deceased was related to him in such-and-such a degree. We also get valuable information sometimes from nobles who, having become resident and settled in, did not hesitate to admit to urban descent in order to assume bequests left them by middle-class relatives. How much interesting material we get from cases over patronage of chapels of collegiate churches! The lists of descent from the churches' founders submitted on those occasions by the parties involved acquaint us with broad genealogical branchings.

Assessors' court records from Prussian cities have a special character, for in them also the *szlachta* testified at length about their transactions. In view of the destruction of the vast majority of castle and district court records from this region, the significance of their assessor court records becomes even greater. Unfortunately, their numbers, too, were badly depleted.¹¹¹

Acta consularia or **council records** arose later in most cities than those of the assessor courts. In Kraków they survive from 1392; Poznań is an exception, however, because there the council records are the older, dating from 1398. In smaller cities they were often called simply *księgi burmistrzowskie* [*mayor's books*]. In really small towns they were not always differentiated from assessor and *wójt* records; only one book was kept for all kinds of entries. Municipal jurisdictions did not have council records. The contents of these books were far more diverse than those of the assessors' books, and they are valuable for genealogy, especially in some sections. Besides the judiciary and legislative records of the city council, its administrative activity is reflected as well, e. g., records of the **acceptance of city law***. In the larger towns separate books were dedicated to those entries, called *libri iuris civilis* [*books of civil law*] or *album civium* [*album of citizens*]. The oldest Kraków book dates from 1392, that of Poznań from 1575. In Gdańsk a collection of so-called citizens' books and ancestral letters dates back to 1536. As a rule the records of acceptance of city law mention the location from which the newcomer hailed, and therefore give valuable indications of the origins of individual middle-class families. But the books give relatively little toward an overview of a very interesting process—the infiltration of the city by the *szlachta* element. For we find in them not only those *szlachta* members that settled in the cities for good and had interests typical of burghers, but also those who bought urban real estate but continued to live as landed rural gentry. To distinguish one from the other, one must go back to other sources. As the cities weakened economically, the strictness of their regulations weakened. During the 17th century the *szlachta* members that had bought buildings or lots in the city dispensed more and more frequently with accepting the city's law.

Amid the uncontested cases that came before the councils there were also entries of wills, which, as we have seen above, belonged also to the domain of the *lawa*. In Kraków, within the council records, there is a separate section of testamentary books preserved from 1427. Cases of custody over minors and of inheritance are also important sources of genealogical information. In some places material relevant to these matters was kept separately from the council books, as *acta pupillaria et successionalia* [*records*

regarding orphans and heirs] (in Kraków from 1533, in Poznań only from 1730), but entries of this sort were densely scattered throughout the above-mentioned *wójt* books as well.

Larger cities' records, like those of castles and districts, were initially kept in *protokoły*, rough draft form, as well as in the form of *indukty*, fair copies. In time the municipal chancelleries, after the example of the law offices of the *szlachta* judiciaries, began to neglect keeping double books, sticking only with the rough drafts. This generally happened, however, later than with castle courts, and we still have diligently-kept *indukty* the 18th century to work with in a number of cities.

Worthy of particularly detailed attention are the Gdańsk *Erbbücher* or **inheritance books**, so much like the later Prussian land-registers; they became an immeasurably rich source for the history of middle-class families.

In many cities there existed separate city archives, in some cases with magnificent holdings, as for instance Kraków's Archiwum Akt Dawnych [*Archive of Old Records*] or the Archive of the City of Gdańsk, which became the core of the State Archive in Gdańsk. During the 19th and 20th centuries, smaller cities without their own archives contributed their older sets of records in the form of deposits to the national archives or to those of larger cities, e.g., Kraków. In 1952 the city archives of Kraków, Warsaw, Poznań, Toruń, Lublin, Wrocław, and smaller cities were added to the state archives. The destruction caused by the last war considerably lessened the stores of these valuable sources.¹¹²

The following have appeared in print: *Najstarsze księgi i rachunki miasta Krakowa 1300–1400* [*The oldest Books and Accounts of the City of Kraków, 1300–1400*], F. Piekosiński, J. Szujski, Kr. 1878. — “Najstarsze księgi sądu najwyższego prawa niemieckiego na zamku krakowskim” [The Oldest Books of the Supreme Court of German Law at Kraków Castle], A Kłodziński, *Arch. Kom. Prawn.*, X, Kr. 1936. — *Księgi ławnicze krakowskie 1365–1376, 1390–1397* [*Kraków Assessors' Books...*], S. Krzyżanowski, Kr. 1904 — *Księgi przyjęć do prawa miejskiego w Krakowie 1392–1506* [*Books of Admission to City Law in Kraków*], K. Kaczmarczyk, Kr. 1913. — *Cracovia artificium 1300–1500*, J. Ptaśnik, Kr. 1917; 1501–1550, compiled by J. Ptaśnik, published by M. Friedberg, Kr. 1936, 1937, 1948. — *Księgi radzieckie kazimierskie* [*Council Books of Kazimierz*] 1369–1381, 1385–1402, A. Chmiel, Kr. 1932. — “Najdawniejsza księga sądowa miasta Biecz” [The Oldest Court Book of the City of Biecz], B. Ulanowski, *Arch. kom. Prawn.*, V, Kr. 189 — *Akta radzieckie rzeszowskie 1591–1632* [*Council Records of Rzeszów, 1591–162*], A. Przyboś, Wrocł.–Kr. 1957. — *Akta sądu leńskiego wyższego w Gródku Goleskim 1405–1546* [*Records of the Supreme Feudal Court in Gródek Goleski, 1405–1546*], F. Piekosiński, Kr. 1889. — *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa z Archiwum miasta* [*Historical Memorials of Lwów from the City Archive*], A. Czołowski, 4 vol., Lw. 1892–1921. — *Księga ławnicza Przemyśla* [*Assessors' Book of Przemyśl*] 1445–1452, J. Smółka and Z. Tymiński, Przemyśl 1936. — *Księga radziecka miasta Drohobycza* [*Council Book of the City of Drohobych*] 1542–1563, H. Polackówna, Lw. 1936. — *Das Stadtbuch von Posen* [*Poznań's City Records*], A. Warschauer, Posen 1892. — *Akta radzieckie poznańskie* [*Poznań Council Records*] 1434–1501, K. Kaczmarczyk, 3 vol., Pozn. 1925–1948. — *Städtebuch des Landes Posen* [*Records of Cities of Posen District*], H. Wuttke, Leipzig 1864. — *Liber scabinorum Veteris Civitatis Thorunensis* [*Assessors' Book of the Old City of Toruń*] 1363–1428, K. Kaczmarczyk (*Fontes* 29), Toruń 1936. — *Księgi ławnicze miasta Starej Warszawy z XV*

w. [*Assessors' Books of the Old City of Warsaw from the 15th Century*], vol. 1, 1427–1453, S. Ehrenkreutz and T. Wierzbowski, Wars. 1916. — “Wyjątki iz najdawniejszej księgi miejskiej lubelskiej” [Excerpts from Lublin’s Oldest City Records], B. Ulanowski (*Pisarze Dziejów Pol.* IX), Kr. 1886. — *Lauda miejskie lubelskie XVII w.* [*Oldest Lublin City Resolutions*], J. Riabinin, Lublin 1935.

From the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania several municipal court records (from Mahileŭ, Polatsk, and Ushachy) are found in *Историко-юридические материалы извлечённых изъ актовыхъ книгъ витебской и могилевской* [*Istoriko-yuridicheskiye materialy izvlechonnykh iz aktovykh knig vitebskoi i mogilevskoi—Historico-Juridical Materials Extracted from the Record Books of Vitebsk and Mogilev Provinces*] (vols. V, VI, XXVII, XXX, XXXII).

i. Village Court Records

Besides the church registers, **village court records** are sources for the genealogy of peasant families. We find entries relevant to peasant affairs on virtually every page of the castle and district court records, but they appear sporadically, and usually on the initiative of the *szlachta*, and lack the precision that would allow tracing filiation from generation to generation.¹¹³

The village court records were the product of the activity of either the patrimonial court, conducted by the lord who owned the village or his deputy, or a village court consisting of the *sołtys* [*village administrator*] or *wójt* [*local administrative executive*] and jurors. The oldest records of village courts that have been preserved date from the 15th century, but unfortunately very few of those have survived to our times. They were kept in villages founded under terms of German law in the 15th century, and later in all villages that had their own self-government. They were originally written in Latin, but in the 16th century changed over gradually to Polish, which had become standard by the end of that century. There are relatively few contested cases in the older records. They deal mainly with resignations of property, witnessing of debts, receipts, wills, dowries, etc. Entries relevant to criminal cases predominate in the newer records. Entries were made in chronological order, with no regard for contents of the testimony, and the same book sometimes served for several centuries. Only very rarely were separate books kept for different kinds of affairs. Village records cannot be considered a rich source of genealogical information, in view of their relatively scarce numbers and the paucity of entries in them. It is much easier to base on them genealogies of *sołtys* or *wójt* families, but that can only be done for a few small branches and a few generations. The relatively small number of unvarying surnames handed down over long series of generations makes the task even harder.

Księgi sądowe wiejskie [*Village Court Books*], B. Ulanowski, 2 vol. (*Star. pr. pol. pomn. XI, XII*), Kr. 1921.— *Najstarsza księga sądowa wsi Trześniowa* [*Oldest Court Record of the Village of Trześniów*] 1419–1609, H. Polackówna, Lw. 1923. — *Das Schöffnenbuch der Dorfgemeinde Krzemienica* [*The Court Record of the Village of Krzemienica*] 1451–1482, F. A. Doubek and H. F. Schmidt (*Quellen zur Gesch. d. Reception 2*), Leipzig 1931. — *Księga sądowa Uszwi dla wsi Zawady 1619–1788* [*Court Record of Uszew for the Village of Zawada, 1619-1788*], A. Vetulani, Wrocław. 1957 (this

volume begins a series of village court records prepared through the efforts of the Komitet Nauk Prawnych PAN). — *Urkunden Schles. Dörfer zur Gesch. d. Ländl. Verhältnisse u. d. Flurenteilung insbesondere [Silesian Village Sources for the History of Rural Conditions and the Division of Common Land in Particular] (Codex Dipl. Silesiae IV)*, Breslau 1863.

j. Books and Records of Land Registries

For research into Polish genealogy the 19th century, although not very distant, is incomparably more difficult than the 18th, 17th, or even the 16th century. The reason is simple: for the post-partition era there is a lack of capital sources such as the castle and district court records were for earlier times. The successors of these records, at least in some respects, were the *księgi hipoteczne* or **land registers**, kept today in Poland at *powiat [county]* court seats. They are invaluable sources, not only for *szlachta* families that settled in villages, but also for peasants and for owners of urban real estate.¹¹⁴

In the former Kingdom of Poland, after the temporary dominance of the Prussian land registry (from the third partition) and the French (from 1808 and 1810 respectively) a *hipoteka [land registry]* was established in 1818 that continued in force for more than a hundred years. It differed from the French in that it kept separate books for individual properties and estates. But it dealt only with manorial areas, or the large landed properties and estates in nine provincial capitals. A law of 1825 allowed the establishment of land records for other kinds of district and city property as well; but entries were not required, and were instead made only at the desire of an interested party. Books covering larger properties were formed on the basis of an 1818 law and comprised the so-called *hipoteka gubernalia* or *województwa [provincial land registry]*, while books covering smaller properties were established after 1825 and constituted the *hipoteka powiatowa [county registry] (okręgowa [district registry])*.

Hypothecary records consisted of three parts: 1. the land registry, containing the abbreviated contents of all acts recorded in the book; 2. contract books; and 3. collections of documents or plans compiled from records or proposals. The land registry was in turn divided into four sections. Section I designates the region under discussion and is of no interest for genealogical research. Section II contains the title of the property and is important because it lists all the property's owners, in turn, from the beginning of the 19th century, and sometimes from midway through the 18th; it is not uncommon to encounter here the owner's birthdate, wives' surnames, etc. Section III, which contains restrictions on the title, is less interesting for us. But Section IV, containing debts, may be the most interesting, because these debts and notations often throw light on familial interrelationships even of widely separated branches. Church endowments often go back to the 16th and even 15th centuries. Sections II and IV have their counterparts in the collections of documents where there are many extracts from the castle and district records. In view of the destruction of many sets of the latter during the last war, those extracts take on special value. In some regional courts, the places where hypothecary books were first kept, there was a practice of removing documents from the collection and sewing them together into fascicles. These fascicles remain somewhere, at least in part, in the regional court archives.

In the Austrian sector, after the partition of 1773, castle and district records were kept without changes until 1774, when they were put under the supervision of the National Tribunal. In 1775–1784 a single national register was established for all of Galicia, modeled after that of the Czechs, and it came to be called the Tabula Lwowska. This Tabula consisted of main books (*libri hereditatis* or *libri dominiorum*) and books of documents (*libri instrumentorum*). The main books, kept until 1872, contained three sections: 1. charges (*pondera*), 2. property rights (*hereditas*), and 3. erasures (*ekstablacje*). The books of documents contained the documentation of entries made in the main book.

The Tabula Lwowska dealt only with large *szlachta* properties. As for lesser properties, at the turning-point of the 18th and 19th centuries land books began to be kept; but all this was not standardized in Galicia until an 1872 law under which three kinds of books were to be kept from then on: tabular, urban, and rural. The first dealt with larger, so-called “tabular” estates that had long since had their own land books within the framework of the Tabula Lwowska mentioned earlier. The tabular books were kept at *kolegialne* [collective] courts. The urban books were to be kept only for towns having collective courts. The rural books, for the smaller landed properties, were to be kept at county courts. Every land book consisted of a main book (in German *Hauptbuch*), containing entries regarding property and all kinds of legal relationships, and a collection of documents (*Urkundensammlung*) containing duplicates of everything that substantiated the entries in the main book. In the latter for every individual unit that was the subject of an entry, or for every so-called “*ciało hipoteczne*” [hypothecary body], separate hypothecary lists were kept. This list consisted of three “leaves,” the first regarding the state of the estate, the second containing entries of property rights, and the third containing charges against the estate.

In the territory of the Republic of Kraków a land statute modeled on that of the Kingdom of Poland was in force from 1822. It introduced main land books which were later called “old” to distinguish them from the “new ones” set up in 1844. Besides the main books, so-called *ingrosacyjne* books were kept, into which documents were incorporated verbatim on which entries in the main books were based. From 1838 separate books of documents began to be kept, composed of authenticated copies provided by the parties in cases.

In the region occupied by Prussia, on the other hand, Polish judiciaries were suppressed by the Prussians immediately after the first partition, and in 1783 a hypothecary statute was established for all of the Kingdom of Prussia. In 1795 the effects of this statute were extended to so-called “Southern Prussia” as well. The land books and records established by this statute for knights’ properties and larger urban lands were already set up, in most cases, by the end of the 18th century. From then up to the 20th century only relatively minor changes were introduced into their keeping. These Prussian land registry books consisted of so-called *Grundbuchblätter* [land-book leaves], of which each actually consisted of some twenty leaves. A *Grundbuchblatt* held a general designation of the property’s location, an objective description of it, and finally three sections: 1. on the owners and their legal title to ownership (in Latin *titulus possessionis*, in German *Besitztitel*); 2. on charges, services, and restrictions of all kinds, such as rents, life annuities, etc. (*onera perpetua*); 3. on hypothecary and land debts. For each leaf the

original proofs were collected that comprised the *Grundakten* [land records]; in them is a table, a copy of entries made in the *Grundbuchblatt*. The land records from the area of the former Grand Duchy of Poznań, the counterpart of the contents of the “document collections” in the Congress Kingdom, were sent by the courts to the State Archive in Poznań after a certain number of years. In 1939 a collection was found there of the oldest land records of large estates from the beginning of the Prussian rule to midway through the 19th century. It burned, along with the archives, in 1945. The land books remaining in the county courts and more recent land records (in some places older ones, too) allow us to establish changes in property titles, but do not provide the kind of rich genealogical material that the destroyed records gave for the late 18th and early 19th centuries.¹¹⁵

There are very few publications of genealogical material contained in land registers. Mention should be made of M. Bähr, *Der Adel u. der adelige Grundbesitz in Polnisch-Preußen* [The Nobility and Their Landed Property in Polish Prussia], Leipz. 1911.

Besides the land registries, **trial records** from 19th- and 20th- century cases involving inheritance, divisions, custody, etc., provide very valuable material. This material is hard to use because there is so much of it, and it is scattered throughout the court archives. In old Galicia certain categories of affairs were distinguished by the state court as the so-called *Forum nobilium*; such records are valuable for *szlachta* genealogies.

k. Records of Ecclesiastical Institutions and Authorities¹¹⁶

A considerable portion of the records belonging to this group has already been discussed under the sections on church registers and monastic obituaries. Here we will consider large sets of records that, while providing only indirect information for genealogy, are still very valuable. They are *księgi biskupie* [**bishops’ records**] and *księgi kapitulne i kolegiackie* [**chapter and collegiate church records**].

The first of these, a product of the offices of episcopal chancelleries, contained records of church judicial proceedings involving clergy, and occasionally laymen as well. The bishops’ records bore the name *acta episcopalia* when they recorded matters judged by the bishops themselves, and the name *acta officialia* when officials judged in their place. While the oldest of the *episcopalia* go back to the middle of the 15th century,¹¹⁷ the *officialia* are preserved from the first years of that century¹¹⁸ and are generally more extensive than the *episcopalia*, in some cases several times as extensive. The officials’ chancelleries were called “consistories,” and if they were located in the same building as the bishops’ offices that term was applied to both diocesan offices (bishops’ chancelleries housed separately were called *kurii*). Thus both the episcopal records and especially the *acta officialia* often bore the name “books of the episcopal consistory.”¹¹⁹

Particularly valuable for us are the cases in these records concerning the annulment of marriages, the arranging of separations, and the obtaining of marital dispensations from barriers of kinship. As for uncontested cases, there were various kinds of recognizances and testaments. These uncontested cases eventually were separated and special books kept for them.

The contents of the bishops' records are richest during the Jagiellonian era, for at that time the ecclesiastical judiciary experienced its fullest development and widest field of activity. All that changed radically after 1563 and 1565, when the power to carry out sentences was taken away from the bishops' courts by the secular authorities.

Both the *acta episcopalia* and the *acta officialia* were written first in rough draft (in Latin *protocolla*), and later rewritten as fair copies (*inducta*). The protocols were often destroyed, just as in castle and district court offices.

Chapter records (*acta capitulorum*, *acta actorum capitali N.*) contained statutes of chapters as autonomous institutions, protocols of meetings and activities, resolutions in matters connected with the government, decisions of a personnel and management nature (matters connected with the life-style of the chapter's members), and finally—very important to us—the acceptance of new members. From the end of the 15th century on, proof of noble descent on both the spear and distaff sides was demanded of most candidates for canon (with the exception of the so-called doctoral candidates), and these pedigrees were incorporated into the chapter's records. At times they made up a separate section of these books (*libri installationes*). Such separate books were kept in Gniezno (from 1494), in Poznań (from 1532), in Włocławek (from 1578), and in Kraków (from 1582). Chapter records, like bishops' books, have been preserved in some places from the 15th century.¹²⁰

“Acta capitulorum Cracoviensis et Plocensis selecta [Selected Records of the Kraków and Płock Chapters] 1438–1523, 1438–1525,” B. Ulanowski, *Arch. Kom. Hist.* 1891 IV. — “Inscriptiones clenodiales” [Heraldic Entries], same author, *Star. pr. pol. pomn.* VII, Kr. 1885 (notes with heraldic content from the second book of the Kraków chapter from 1500 and 1523). — B. Ulanowski, “Praktyka w sprawach małżeńskich w sądach duchownych w końcu XV w.” [Practices in Matrimonial Cases in Clerical Courts at the End of the 15th Century], *Arch. Kom. Hist.* 1889 V (gives entries from Kraków and Płock consistory records on marital cases, 1410–1490). — *Acta capitulorum nec non iudicorum ecclesiasticorum selecta [Selected Records of Chapters as well as Ecclesiastical Courts]*, same author, 3 vol., *Mon. Medii Aevi Hist.*, XIII, XVI, XVIII, Kr. 1894–1918 (chapter records from Poznań, Gniezno, and Włocławek; consistory records from Gniezno, Wieluń, Łowicz, Poznań, Warsaw, and Kalisz). — “Akta kapituł z w. XVI wybrane 1519–1578” [Selected Records of Chapters from the 16th Century, 1519–1578], same author, *Acta Hist.* XIII, Kr. 1908 (Poznań and Włocławek). — “Materiały do historii prawa i heraldyki polskiej” [Materials for the History of Law and Heraldry in Poland], same author, *Arch. Kom. Hist.* 1886 IV (entries from Poznań chapter books with heraldico-genealogical content). — “Receptiones seu installationes ad episcopatum, praelaturas et canonicatus Ecclesiae Cathedralis Posnaniensis ab anno 1532 usque ad annum 1800” [Receptions or Installations of Bishops, Prelates, and Canons of the Poznań Cathedral Church from 1592 to 1800], R. Weimann, *Roczn. Tow. Przyj. Nauk Pozn.* 1908 XXXV. — Rev. J. Korytkowski, *Pralaci i kanonicy katedry metropolitalnej gnieźnieńskiej [Prelates and Canons of the Gniezno Metropolitan Cathedral]*, 4 vol., Gniezno 1882-1883 (with a significant number of entries from Gniezno chapter books, and vol. IV gives the oldest, from 1408 to 1409, in its entirety). — “Acta capituli Plocensis 1514–1577” [Records of the Płock Chapter, 1514–1577], B. Ulanowski, *Arch. Kom. Hist.* 1916 X. — *Monumenta historica episcopatus Vladislaviensis [Historical Monuments of the Włocławek Episcopate]*, vol. IV, Rev. Zenon Chodyński, Włocławek 1884 (some entries from the Płock chapter books). — “Materiały do dziejów kolegiaty

pułtuskiej” [Materials for the History of the Pułtusk Collegiate Church], B. Ulanowski and S. Zachorowski, *Archiwum Kom. Hist.* 1916 X. — “Analecta ad historiam iuris canonici dioecesi Premisliensis” [Analecta for the History of Canon Law of the Diocese of Przemyśl], B. Ulanowski, *Arch. Kom. Hist.* 1889 V (excerpts from the oldest Przemyśl records, 1452–1533). — “Acta ecclesiae collegiatae Varsoviensis 1517–1555 [Records of the Collegiate Church of Warsaw, 1517–1555], same author, *Arch. Kom. Prawn.* 1897 VI. — *Acta officii consistorialis Leopoliensis antiquissima [The Most Ancient Records of the Lwów Consistory]*, G. Rolny, 2 vol., Lw. 1927–1930. — Rev. J. Kurczewski, *Kościół zamkowy czyli katedra wileńska [The Castle Church, or the Vil'na Cathedral]*, vol. III, Vil'na 1916 (devoted to a list of abstracts from chapter books up to 1905).

It would not do to overlook yet another kind of book that, in terms of content, belongs among the episcopal records, although by the bishops' instruction it was usually kept by the chapter offices: the diocesan **book of ecclesiastical endowments** (*libri beneficiorum*). They were kept to establish the incomes of individual benefactors and provide a basis on which each one's contribution to the government's so-called *subsidium charitativum* could be fairly apportioned. For genealogical purposes not all these books are of equal value. Kraków's records are of exceptional value because they were not so much the product of an office of clerks as the fruit of the historical labors and devotion of their author, J. Długosz. Others also provide, to a greater or lesser degree, data which allow us to establish the lords of some villages.

J. Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis [Book of Benefices of the Diocese of Kraków]*, ed. A. Przeździecki, 3 vol. (*Opera Omnia* VII–IX), Kr. 1873–1874. — J. Łaski, *Liber beneficiorum archidioecesis Gnesnensis [Book of Benefices of the Archdiocese of Gniezno]*, Rev. J. Łukowski and Rev. J. Korytkowski, 2 vol., Gniezno 1880–1881. — *Księga uposażeń diecezji poznańskiej z r. 1510 [Book of Endowments of the Poznań Diocese from 1510]*, Rev. J. Nowacki, Pozn. 1950. — “Liber beneficiorum diecezji wrocławskiej z r. 1527” [Book of Benefices of the Diocese of Wrocław from 1527], *Mon. Hist. Dioec. Wladisl. VI*, Wrocław 1886. — *Liber foundationis episcopatus Vratislaviensis [Book of the Founding of the Breslau Episcopate]*, H. Markgraf and J. W. Schulte, *Codex Dipl. Sil.* XIV, Breslau 1889. — H. Ludat, *Bisthum Lebus [The Diocese of Lebus]*, Weimar 1942 (gives a portion of the book of endowments circa 1405). — A great deal of data is provided by these publications of Roman materials: *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae [Old Records of Poland and Lithuania]*, A. Theiner, 4 vol., Rome 1860–1864. — *Monumenta Poloniae-Vaticana*, vol. I–III, J. Ptaśnik, Kr. 1913–1914.

Also worth of attention are the so-called *libri professionum [books of professions]* in monastery archives; these books contain information about the descent and therefore the families of novices taking the habit.

I. Bookkeeping Records

Bookkeeping records of the most varied types often provide material of unexpected value, especially for determining the fundamental dates in individuals' lives; but sometimes we also find in them information of a specifically genealogical nature. In the accounts of treasurers (both royal and manorial) we come across numerous traces of

baptisms, marriages, deaths, and funerals of person belonging to the royal family or close to the court in one way or another. These events were accompanied by expenses, which were noted in the books. The importance of this kind of source is best illustrated by the fact that some of the birthdates of the children of Kazimierz Jagiellończyk — dates handed down to us by a man as close to the court as Długosz — show certain inaccuracies when compared with account records.

The remarks made on the value of the royal court's records will, of course, apply as well to all other kinds of books that reflect personal or family expenses. Manorial archives have a great many such records.

The fundamental difficulty with using materials of this sort is that the entries that can have some value for genealogical research are drowned in a flood of other entries of no use to us at all, and seeking out the useful ones is often a thankless task. In cases where we can not acquire certain data from any other source, however, or the data acquired elsewhere is dubious, the value of overcoming these difficulties is obvious.¹²¹

In this overview of source publications we will limit ourselves to giving as examples the most important ones. “Rationes curiae Vladislai Jagiellonis et Hedvigae, regum Poloniae” [Accounts of the Court of Władysław Jagiełło and Jadwiga, King and Queen of Poland], F. Piekosiński, *Mon. Medii Aevi XV*, Kr. 1896 — “Liber quitantiarum regis Casimiri ab a. 1484 ad 1488” [Book of Receipts of King Kazimierz, 1484–1488], A. Pawiński, *Teki Pawińskiego II*, Warsaw 1897. — “Liber quitantiarum Alexandri regis ab 1502 ad 1506” [Book of Receipts of King Aleksander, 1502–1506], same author, *Teki Pawińskiego I*, Wars. 1897. — “Rachunki generalne Seweryna Bonera 1545” [General Accounts of Seweryn Boner, 1545], O. Łaszczyńska, *Źródła do dziejów Wawelu [Sources on the History of Wawel]*, vol. II, Kr. 1955. — *Rachunki dochodów i wydatków Zygmunta Augusta 1544–1548 [Accounts of Income and Expenses of Zygmunt August, 1544–1548]*, A. Chmiel, Kr. 1911. — “Rachunki domowe Zygmunta Augusta z r. 1549” [Household Accounts of Zygmunt August from 1549], O. Balzer, *Przew. Nauk. Liter.* 13, Lw. 1885. — “Księgi podskarbińskie z czasów Batorego 1576–1586” [Treasurers' Books from the Time of Batory, 1576–1586], A. Pawiński, *Źródła Dziejowe IX*, Wars. 1882. — “Rationes curiae Stephani Bathory 1576–1586” [Accounts of Stefan Batory's Court, 1576–1586], A. Veress, *Fontes Rer. Hung.* III, Budapest 1918. — *Rachunki podskarbiego litewskiego 1648–1652 [Lithuanian Treasurer's Accounts]*, E. Tyszkiewicz, Wilno 1855.

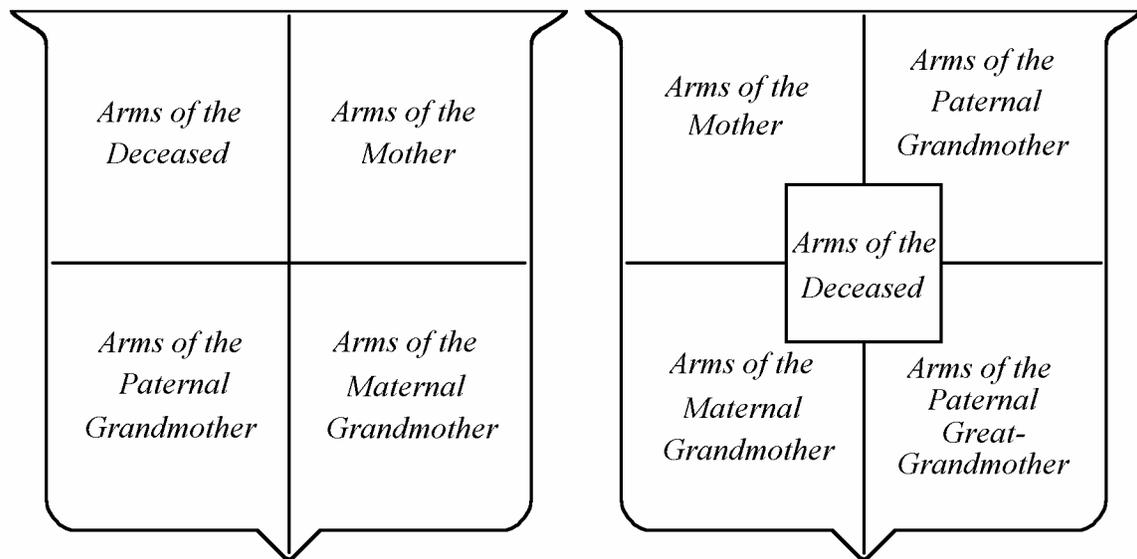
5. Monuments

The third group of genealogical sources would be monuments, which, along with tradition and written sources, play an extremely useful auxiliary role. Sepulchral monuments from distant times are located in churches, and from about the end of the 18th century on in cemeteries as well. During the 19th century tombs within the church became somewhat rarer, usually afforded only to church dignitaries. The most a deceased layman could expect was a modest tablet set into the church walls. During the 20th century even this way of immortalizing the memory of dead laymen was used less and less. From midway through the 19th century cemetery gravestones provide the basic material of this sort. Genealogical information and dates found on tombstone inscriptions usually deserve confidence, for they were placed there at the instigation of the ones

nearest the deceased and most familiar with his familial connections. What's more, this was usually done either immediately after the death or at a time relatively soon thereafter.

Still, even here it is impossible to proceed without a certain amount of caution, to take for granted that all data taken from gravestone inscriptions are correct. It could happen that the monument was placed several years, even several decades after the death of the person whose memory it honors. Dates concerning the deceased were therefore sometimes taken from oral tradition, which is so deceptive even when it comes from the closest relatives. In such cases the month and day, by virtue of their close connection with the observation of the anniversary of the death, are usually somewhat more certain than the year. The latter is sometimes set by way of synchronization with memorable events, and that is a very untrustworthy method. In assessing the value of epigraphic material one must also take into account that the memorial may have undergone alteration or renovation over the years, and thus the inscription can change. The forms of Arabic numerals, which have changed over the centuries, and the ones of Roman numerals, so easily confused with cracks and scratches in the stone—in many cases all that can cause errors during renovation.¹²²

The arms of the mother and grandmothers of the deceased, which were frequently inscribed on gravestones, allow one to verify genealogical data acquired elsewhere. The arrangement of these arms was pretty much a matter of choice in Poland. Most often it took one of the forms depicted below:



We must count **portraits** as belonging to this same group. Inscriptions on them only rarely provide genealogical data, but coats of arms are often arranged on them as on gravestones, in several squares, and thus can sometimes help clarify filiation. A rather widespread custom was placing around the arms, not inscriptions explaining whom the portrait represented, but instead only the initials of his given name, surname, and, if applicable, the offices he held. This was virtually standard for so-called *portrety trumienne* [“coffin” portraits]. Seeking out family likenesses and trying to establish

flimsy family traits from them is rarely possible and can easily lead one astray. On the one hand one needs to keep in mind the immeasurable primitivism of most so-called “Sarmatian” portraits; and on the other hand one should remember that the prejudiced eye will easily note even striking similarities where an indifferent viewer would see absolutely nothing. Furthermore, we know about the fairly common 17th and 18th-century practice of painting whole galleries of family portraits at one blow. The likenesses of all the deceased members were creations of the artist’s imagination, and that the imagination was usually not too great is shown by the marked similarities between the portraits.

Almost all monographs of individual temples or groups of churches in certain regions provide a whole bundle of gravestone inscriptions. A book devoted specially to these inscriptions is Sz. Starowolski’s *Monumenta Sarmatorum [Monuments of the Sarmatians]*, Crac. 1655. It is a valuable work because it features inscriptions from graves in churches, many of which no longer exist. — *Pomniki Krakowa [Monuments of Kraków]*, M. and S. Cercha, with text by F. Kopera, Kr. 1904. — The reports of the Commission for the Research of Art History in Poland (Kr., 1879 on) provide a great deal of material of this kind.

Silesia has a comprehensive inventory of monuments: J. A. J. Howerden-Plencken, *Schlesiens Grabdenkmale u. Grabinschriften [Silesia’s Grave Monuments and Inscriptions]*, *Chronolog. Register bis zum J. 1800*, Breslau 1870, *Alphabet. Register 1872*.

J. Łukaszewicz, *Krótki opis historyczny kościołów parafialnych w dawnej diecezji poznańskiej [A Brief Historical Description of Parish Churches in the Former Diocese of Poznań]*, 3 vol., Pozn. 1858–1863. — Rev. J. Wiśniewski, *Monografia kościołów w dekanacie Opatowskim [A Monograph on Churches in the Deanery of Opatów]*, Radom 1908. — Same author, *Dekanat Iłżecki [Deanery of Iłża]*, Radom 1910. — Same author, *Dekanat Radomski*, Radom 1911. — Same author, *Monographia dekanatu Kozienickiego [Monograph of Kozienice Deanery]*, Radom 1912. — Same author, *Dekanat Konecki [Końskie Deanery]*, Radom 1912/1913. — Same author, *Monographia dekanatu Sandomierskiego [Monography on Sandomierz Deanery]*, Radom 1915. — Same author, *Monographia dekanatu Miechowskiego [Monograph on Miechów Deanery]*, Radom 1917. — Same author, *Historyczny opis kościołów, miast, zabytków i pamiątek w Pińczowskim, Skalmierskim i Wiślickim [A Historical Description of Churches, Towns, Monuments and Memorials in the Pińczów, Skalmierz, and Wiślica Areas]*, Mariówka 1927. — Same author, *Historyczny opis kościołów, miast, zabytków i pamiątek w Stopnickim [Historical Description of Churches, Towns, Monuments and Memorials in Stopnice County]*, Mariówka 1929. — Same author, *Historyczny opis kościołów, miast, zabytków i pamiątek w Jędrzejowskim [Historical Description of Churches, Towns, Monuments and Memorials in Jędrzejów County]*, Mariówka, 1930. — Same author, *Diecezja Częstochowa [The Diocese of Częstochowa]*, Mariówka Opoczyńska 1936.¹²³

An interesting illustrated record of all known gravestones dedicated to a single magnate family is E. Tyszkiewicz’s *Groby rodziny Tyszkiewiczów [Graves of the Tyszkiewicz Family]*, Warsaw 1873.

K. Reychman, “Nagrobki polskie na cmentarzach moskiewskich” [*Polish Tombstones in Moscow Cemeteries*], MH 1934 XIII.

Abbreviations and Special Terms

- Abhandl.* — *Abhandlungen* (German), papers, proceedings)
Alt. — *Altertum* (German), antiquity
Arch. — *Archiwum* (Polish), archives
Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych — (Polish) Central Archive of Historical Records (in Warsaw)
bibl. — *biblioteka* (Polish) library
d. — any of several forms of *der* (German, the)
do — (Polish) to, for
dziejow. — *dziejowy* (Polish), of deeds, annals, history
Erml. — *Ermland* (German), the region of northcentral to northeastern Poland called Warmia
f. — *für* (German), for
fontes — (Latin) fountains, sources
Gesch. — *Geschichte* (German), history
Gesell. — *Gesellschaft* (German), society
Istor. — *ucmopуueckий [istoricheskiy]* (Russian) historical
Jahrb. — *Jahrbuch* (German), annual, yearbook
język. — *językowy* (Polish), linguistic
kath. — *katholisch* (German), Catholic
kom. — *komitet, komisja* (Polish), committee, commission
kości. — *kościelny* (Polish), ecclesiastical
Kr. — *Kraków*, the Polish city also called *Cracow* in English, Latin *Cracovia*
Lw. — *Lwów*, the city now in Ukraine called *Львов [L'vov]* in Russian, *Львів [L'viv]* in Ukrainian, *Leopolis* in Latin, and *Lemberg* in German
Medii Aevi — (Latin) Middle Ages
MH — *Miesięcznik Heraldyczny* (Polish), Heraldic Monthly
Mies. — *Miesięcznik* (Polish), monthly
Mitteil. — *Mitteilungen* (German), announcements
Mon. — *Monumenta* (Latin), monuments
nauk. — *naukowy* (Polish), academic, scientific
ośw. — *oświata* (Polish), education
PAN — *Polska Akademia Nauk* (Polish), Polish Academy of Sciences
państw. — *państwowy* (Polish), national, government, state
pomn. — *pomnik* (Polish), monument, memorial
Pozn. — *Poznań*, the west-central Polish city called *Posen* in German
pr. — *prawo* (Polish), right, law
prawn. — *prawny* (Polish), legal
Przegl. — *Przegląd* (Polish) review, overview
przew. — *przewodnik* (Polish), guide, directory
Quellen — (German) sources
rer. — *rerum* (Latin), of things, matters, affairs
RH — *Rocznik Towarzystwa Heraldycznego* (Polish), Yearbook of the Heraldic Society
rkps. — *rękopis* (Polish), manuscript

rocz. — *rocznik* (Polish), annual, yearbook
rozp. — *rozprawy* (Polish), treatises, papers
Schles. — *Schlesien* (German), Silesia
star. — *stary* (Polish), old, or any of several words based on this root
tow. — *towarzystwo* (Polish), society
u. — *und* (German), and
Varm. — *Varmiensis* (Latin), of Warmia, Ermland, in what is now northeastern Poland
Ver. — *Verein* (German), club, organization
Vol. leg. — *Volumina legum* (Latin), volumes of laws
wojew. — *województwo* (Polish), province
wydz. — *wydział* (Polish), department, faculty
źródła — (Polish) sources
Ztschr. — *Zeitschrift* (German), periodical, journal
zur — (German) to the, for the

ENDNOTES

⁴⁵ Thus several of the families using the Prawdzic seal in Wielkopolska [Great Poland], for instance, transformed themselves into Zarembas, a process which the similarity of emblems facilitated. Ogończyks here and there changed easily into Odrowążes. Upon finding themselves in Great Poland, the Zarembas of Mazovia, of unknown arms, who had nothing in common with their namesakes in Great Poland—at least as far as descent goes—obviously began using the Zarembo seal. The Lipskis from the Drewnowo-Lipskie area in Nur district, who moved to the Kalisz region in the 18th century, took Grabie as their arms, the emblem of the local Lipskis from Lipe, although they themselves were surely Pobogs. The Dembińskis from Dębno near Nakło had abandoned their original and now unknown emblem by the 16th century, adopting Rawicz, the property of their namesakes from Dembiany in Małopolska [Little Poland]. The Dragosławici Chomeńkis, having acquired Morawsko near Poznań, exchanged their own arms for those of Nałęcz. Here some sort of local tradition may have carried weight, because a Nałęcz was the wife of the first Chomeński to settle in Morawsko. In the 18th century the Tomicki-Dryjas from Tomice in Kalisz province began using the Łódź arms of the Tomickis from Tomice in Poznań province; undoubtedly the senatorial tradition of the latter led them to do so. The Brudzewskis from Brudzewo on the border of the Brandenburg Margraviate, Germans by descent (Brause), at first used their own arms, which were much like those of Ossoria, in their seal; but inasmuch as the senatorial family the Mielżyńskis of Nowina coat of arms styled themselves *z Brudzewa* (“from Brudzewo,” in Gniezno county), in the 18th century they took Nowina as their emblem and began calling themselves ... *z Mielżyna* (“from Mielżyn”)! These are a handful of examples from Great Poland, where one could undoubtedly find many more. I don’t doubt that the same thing happened in other areas.

⁴⁶ At every step we meet families there with the same surnames and unquestionably of common descent (identical by-names, if nothing else, attest to that), but the papers documenting their nobility show different arms.

⁴⁷ See L. Białkowski, *Prawdziwe i fałszywe tradycje [True and False Traditions]*, Lublin 1936.

⁴⁸ It was not rare for candidates for the post of canon or cathedral prelate, when proving their noble descent by their father, mother, and both grandmothers (paternal and maternal), to depict one of those grandmothers in a light not wholly in accord with reality. This happened even in cases where there was no practical motive for such an error, such as a desire to conceal the middle-class origin of one’s ancestors. In his autobiography the famous early 17th-century Poznań voivode, Jan Ostroróg, author of *Mysliństwo z ogary [Hunting with Blood-hounds]*, traced his ancestors back only to his great-grandfather, after which his memory misled him (see *Materiały do dziejów rolnictwa w Polsce w XVI i XVII w. [Materials on the History of Agriculture in Poland in the 16th and 17th centuries]*, compiled by W. Chomętowski, Muzeum Konstantego Świdzińskiego, Wars. 1876, vol. II, page 2).

⁴⁹ The Gdańsk library has more than a dozen manuscripts of this type, which are a first-rate source for the genealogies of more than a score of patrician families. The most extensive materials deal with the 17th century, although the 16th is also treated at some

length. The data for the 18th century is far less abundant. Particularly interesting is manuscript #604 (completed on #599), which contains genealogical notes drawn up 1643–1671, undoubtedly by L. Hein (this by information graciously shared with me by I. Madeyska).

⁵⁰ The original is in the Biblioteka Narodowa in Warsaw; a copy from the end of the 17th century is in Lwów; and there's an introduction edited by W. Semkowicz in "Wywody szlachectwa w Polsce XVI–XVII w." [Genealogies of Nobility in Poland, 16th–17th Centuries], *Rocznik Heraldyczny*, 1913 III. The author was Walerian Nekanda Trepka, a moderately powerful member of the nobility of Małopolska [Little Poland] who lived in the first half of the 17th century († 1640). He gathered a considerable quantity of information about families—mainly from the Kraków area—who either passed for nobility already or, having acquired a large fortune, were showing definite tendencies to invest it in land. Thus one may presume that usurping membership in the nobility would become almost a necessity in the near future. Trepka diligently collected information from relatives and neighbors, from knowledgeable nobles he happened to meet at local councils, court sessions, and meetings of organizations; he was not above using what he heard from the common people at inns and fairs. If he did sometimes glance at castle or city records while in Kraków, he did so only to get documentary support for some suspicion of his. It appears he conducted no broad, regular research. His goal was undoubtedly defending the institution of the nobility from usurpers by stigmatizing them; but he seems to have something quite pragmatic in mind as well. He compiled information that could prove useful in cases of reclaiming estates improperly acquired by commoners. Thoughts about "escheat" [*Reversion of property to the state in the absence of legal heirs or claimants*] directed his pen more than once. In view of such a prejudice on the author's part it is clear that all the information he provides must be checked before using it for genealogical purposes. But in most cases the nature of the material contained in his book, which was a sort of chronicle of scandals, precludes the chance of checking it against any official source. So while in some cases we can confirm in general the information given by this author, in many others we must fear that his information represents the most common kind of gossip spread by envious or malevolent neighbors. Despite this, the *Liber chamorum* will always remain a very valuable source for the history of culture and for understanding certain social processes. The paths of social climbing ascribed by the author to various families are undoubtedly taken from authentic contemporary examples, regardless of whether or not the families mentioned actually used them (see H. Polaczkówna, "Liber chamorum," *Miesięcznik Heraldyczny*, 1910 III, also the notes of S. Tymieniecki and H. Merczyng, *Miesięcznik Heraldyczny* 1911 IV).

⁵¹ E. g., *Kopia pobożnej pamięci Imci Pani Elżbiety Orzelskiej* [*Copy of the Pious Memory of Her Ladyship Elżbieta Orzelska*], Pozn. 1866, as well as the interesting family records kept by three generations of Opalińskis during almost all the whole 17th century (Manuscript #44 in the University of Warsaw Library).

⁵² Destroyed during the Warsaw uprising, along with all his manuscripts.

⁵³ Edited by A. T. Działyński, Poznań 1854.

⁵⁴ W. S. Plater, *Zbiór pamiętników* [*A Collection of Memoirs*], vol. IV, Wars. 1859.

⁵⁵ *Liber geneos Illustris Familiae Schidloviciae [Book of the Origins of the Illustrious Szydłowiecki Family]*, Kórnik (Paris) 1848.

⁵⁶ The classic examples are T. Bobrowski's *Pamiętniki [Memoirs]*, (2 vol., Lwów 1900) and K. Chłędowski's *Pamiętniki* (2 vol., Wrocław 1951, 2nd ed. Wrocław 1957), famous at the beginning of the 20th century and recently reissued.

⁵⁷ Most numerous in the pre-war *Kurier Warszawski*.

⁵⁸ A custom practiced in the former Russian and Austrian partitions, but unknown in the Prussian partition.

⁵⁹ The genealogical and heraldic information compiled by Długosz for the period 1454–1466 showed only a small number of errors.

⁶⁰ Its title: *Kronika polska Marcina Bielskiego [Polish Chronicle of Marcin Bielski]*. It has already appeared in several editions, of which the latest was Sanok, 1856.

^{60a} The *regesta* compiled during the pre-partition era had a purely practical significance: they gave information on the families' property relationships. Those compiled in the 19th and 20th centuries had the sole purpose of establishing genealogy. In the second half of the 19th century the Kraków archivist Łuszczynski made several score such collections of *regesta* from the court records of Kraków province, but in view of the numerous errors in them one must be cautious in using them.

⁶¹ Those of the Czartoryskis in Kraków; the Zamoyskis, Krasieńskis, and Przeździeckis in Warsaw; the Raczyńskis in Poznań; the Biblioteka Kórnicka, etc.

⁶² For example the Archiwum Nieświeskie of the Radziwiłłs in Warsaw in the 1930's, today part of the Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych in Warsaw.

⁶³ For example, the immeasurably valuable Kraków archives of the Krzeszowicki line of the Potockis, the so-called "Pod Baranami," now in the State Archive in Kraków.

⁶⁴ Perhaps the greatest store of them is in the family archives of the Sanguszkos, once in Sławuta in Volhynia, later in Gumniski near Tarnów, today in the Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe [State Archive] in Kraków. It includes documents of the Kmitas, the Tarnowskis, the Ostrogskis, and the Sanguszkos.

⁶⁵ In practice, unfortunately, this transfer went a number of different ways. Cases are known deep in the provinces in which a court secretary sold large numbers of old wills to private individuals, sometimes for waste paper. The late historian St. Szczotka acquired a number of wills in this way, thus saving them from destruction. Valuable for peasant genealogies are the wills in K. Dobrowolski's *Włościańskie rozporządzenia ostatniej woli na Podhalu w XVII i XVIII w. [Peasant Provisions of Last Wills in Podhale in the 17th and 18th Centuries]*, Kraków 1933.

⁶⁶ Those archives are: those of the Schaffgotsches, Nostitzes, and Althanns in Wrocław, the Praschmas and the Princes na Raciborzu in Opole, the Princes Pszczyński in Pszczyna, the Princes na Żaganiu and Counts Brühle in Zielona Góra, etc.

⁶⁷ For example, after going through 340 sets of parish registers in both Gniezno and Poznań archdioceses, the author found books dating back to the 16th century in only 14, books from the 17th century in 135, and books from the 18th century in 191. That's how matters stand with entries of baptisms, and it's more or less the same with marriages. There were no entries on deaths from the 16th century, from the 17th century only in 88 sets, and the rest date from the 18th and early 19th centuries.

⁶⁸ Traces of such practices could still be observed in the 1930s in one of the parishes in Kościan county.

^{68a} These remarks are based primarily on materials for Great Poland. In other areas there may be significant departures from these rules. Who knows whether stable and long-used forms of peasant surnames may not abound in those areas where peasant ownership of the land was widespread? One could be led to that conclusion by the example of Wałcz county, where there were a number of peasants who paid rent on land and where established forms of their surnames can be traced from the 16th century. This matter demands further research.

^{68b} There are undoubtedly a number of exceptions to this rule. I am grateful to Director R. Kaczmarek of Łódź for information on registry books from the parish in Koniecpol containing very rich material for genealogies of a series of Koniecpolski generations.

⁶⁹ In a great many cases the dates of the oldest books of the Poznań archdiocese given by J. Łukaszewicz (*Krótki opis historyczny kościołów parafialnych dawnej diecezji poznańskiej [Short Historical Description of Parish Churches of the Former Diocese of Poznań]*, 3 vol., Poznań, 1858-1863) are no longer valid. In 1929–1939 the author studied some 150 parish archives for the province of Poznań and determined that about 25% of the parishes no longer have the oldest books cited by Łukaszewicz.

⁷⁰ In Płock, Przemyśl, and Pelplin large numbers of sets of registers were assembled. Collecting had begun in Łomża and in Kielce the year the war broke out.

⁷¹ The collection of Przemyśl registers transferred to the Reich never returned. Registers from the Płock archives were sent to Königsberg* along with others from northern Mazovia. When they returned, some 10% of them were missing. The Kielce diocese records were badly hit in this regard. Some parish sets had just been sent off to archives when they were lost on the way. The records of the diocese of Łomża also suffered heavy losses. The number of sets of registers preserved today in the Łomża archives is not more than a few dozen. All registers from the diocese of Chełmno were removed by the Germans, and the archives in Pelplin received only a part of them (about 120 volumes). In 1939–1944 the majority of registers from the whole *Wartheland* [*“Warta country,” term for western Poland under Nazi rule*] were removed to the *Gausippenamt* [*District Family Investigation Office*] in Poznań. After the war this collection was split up and individual dioceses recovered their property. The Poznań archdiocese held to the principle of returning to pastors registers from the 19th and 20th centuries only, and kept the older ones in their archives; but inasmuch as some pastors got hold of all their parishes’ records, the Poznań collection is still incomplete. Even less complete is the collection of registers of the Gniezno archdiocese, preserved partly in that city’s *curia*, partly in the archdiocesan archives. Włocławek also kept in its archives some of the sets of older registers. Other diocesan archives do not collect older registers, so one must seek them among the parishes. The heaviest losses that befell this kind of source were suffered by parishes in the Republic’s western sections annexed in 1945. It is still difficult today to account properly for how many sets of records were taken by pastors emigrating westward, and how many were irretrievably lost as a result of wartime activities. Word is that a considerable number were collected in the Potsdam archives.

⁷² S. Kutrzeba, “Kilka słów o metrykach kościelnych w Polsce” [A Few Words on Church Registers in Poland], *MH* 1910 III. — Rev. Cz. Meissner, “Kościelne Księgi i metryki” [Church Books and Registers], *Mies. Kość. Unitas*, Poznań 1913, 1914. — K. Dobrowolski, “Znaczenie metryk kościelnych dla badań naukowych [Significance of Church Registers for Academic Research]”, *RH* 1921 V. — See also Rev. J. Nowodworski’s article entitled “Metryki kościelne” in vol. XIV of the *Encyklopedia Kościelna* [Ecclesiastical Encyclopedia].

⁷³ J. Łukaszewicz, *Krótki opis kościołów parafialnych dawnej diecezji poznańskiej* [A Brief Description of Parish Churches of the Former Diocese of Poznań], 3 vol., Poznań 1858–1863. — Rev. S. Kozierowski, *Szematyzm histor. ustrojów parafialnych dzisiejszej archidiecezji poznańskiej* [A Schematism of the Parochial Constitution of Today’s Archdiocese of Poznań], Poznań 1935. Here we have a repetition of Łukaszewicz’s data without any checking on what is out of date. — The dates of the oldest registers of Chełmno diocese are found in the work entitled *Diecezja Chełmińska. Zarys historyczno-statystyczny* [The Diocese of Chełmno. A Historico-Statistical Outline], Pelplin 1928. — Rev. J. Wiśniewski, *Diecezja częstochowska* [Diocese of Częstochowa], Maniówka 1936, provides dates for the oldest registers. — The Tarnów parish annual gives information on the age of the oldest registers of Tarnów diocese.

⁷⁴ J. Jungnitz and G. Eberlein, *Die Kirchenbücher Schlesiens beider Konfessionen* [The Church Registers of Silesia for Both Confessions], Breslau 1902. — E. Randt and H. O. Swientek, *Die älteren Personenstandtregiester Schlesiens* [The Oldest Personal Class Registers of Silesia], Görlitz 1938. — W. Volkmann, *Die Kirchenbücher der katholischen Pfarreien in der früheren Provinz Grenzmark-Posen-Westpreußen* [The Church Registers of Catholic Parishes in the Former Province of Grenzmark-Posen-West Prussia], reprinted from *Grenzmärkischen Heimatblätter* 1939. — M. Bär, “Die Kirchenbücher der Provinz Westpreußen” [The Church Registers of the Province of West Prussia], *Abhandlungen zur Landesk. d. Provinz Westpreußen*, no. 13, Danzig 1908. — A. Lubomski, “Verzeichnis der Kath. Danziger Kirchenbücher” [List of Danzig Catholic Church Registers], *Kath. Jahrbuch t. das Bistum Danzig* 1936. — J. Kolberg, “Die Kirchenbücher des Bistums Ermland” [The Church Register of the Diocese of Ermland], *Ztschr. Erml.* XX.

⁷⁵ A. Lattermann, *Die Kirchenbücher usw. der Unierten Evangelischen Kirche in Polen (Einführung in die deutsche Sippenforschung in Polen u. dem Preußischen Osten)* [The Church Registers, etc. of the United Evangelical Church in Poland (Introduction to German Genealogical Research in Poland and the Prussian East)], Poznań, 1938. — H. Cornberg, “Die Kirchenbücher der evang. Kirchen der Provinz Grenzmark-Posen-Westpreußen” [The Church Registers of the Evangelical Churches of the Province of Grenzmark-Posen-West Prussia]. *Grenzmärk. Heimatbl.*, Schönlanke 1934. — E. Machholz, “Die Kirchenbücher in der masurischen Kreise Ostpreuß.” [Church Registers in the Masurian District of East Prussia], in *Mitteil. d. Gesell. Masovia* X.

⁷⁶ Census lists from Kraków and Kraków province from 1790–1792 are located in the Provincial State Archives in Kraków, in the set of the records of the Komisja Cywilno-Wojskowa [Civil-Military Commission] of Kraków province. Pastors there compiled them at the request of the Commission.

⁷⁷ See J. Kleczyński, “Spisy ludności w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej” [Censuses in the Republic of Poland], *Rozpr. Wydz. hist.–fil. AU* 1892 XXX.

⁷⁸ These statements with seals are found also in the so-called “books of receipts” [*rekognicji*] as well as in the tax books. They provide a wealth of heraldic material for the 16th century. W. Wittyg put out a work based on this material, entitled *Nieznana szlachta polska i jej herby* [Unknown Polish Nobles and Their Arms], Kr. 1908. Even though he knew quite well that nobles who happened to lack their own signet rings sealed their statements with signets borrowed from others, and even though he watched for errors due to this, he still failed to exercise sufficient caution.

⁷⁹ In the parish archives one can fairly often find lists of members of religious brotherhoods. Whole families appear entered in the lists, but rarely are their mutual relationships detailed.

⁸⁰ S. Kutrzeba, “Sądy ziemskie i grodzkie w wiekach średnich” [District and Castle Courts in the Middle Ages], *Rozpr. Wydz. his.–fil. AU* 1901 XL, 1902 XLII. — J. Bielecka, “Kancelaria grodzka wielkopolska w XVI–XVII w.” [The Great Poland Castle Chancellery in the 16th–18th Centuries], *Studia Źródłoznawcze I*, Wars. 1957.

⁸¹ This exceptional role of Polish court records in establishing genealogy was taken into account in the old Polish procedure for verifying nobility. Local councils, tribunals, and courts treated as equally valid proofs of filiation both church registers and property transactions excerpted from castle or district court records. The regimes of the partitioners did likewise. In the West, where registers were more systematically kept and more attention paid to preserving them, the significance of legal property documents for genealogical purposes was considerably less.

⁸² So for instance the oldest Kraków district records come from 1374, whereas the oldest Kraków castle records are from 1407, and in Poznań from 1400.

⁸³ Only in Great Poland in the 15th century could castle courts also accept real-estate entries in their records. In other parts of the country those entries were reserved for the district courts, and if statements were made before castle courts, they had to be transferred to the district records within six weeks. In the 16th and 17th centuries individual towns acquired, by way of Sejm charters, so-called *wieczność* [perpetuity] on the Great Poland model (Kraków 1589; Sandomierz 1590; Zakroczym, Liw, and Zambrów 1590; Sochaczew 1593; Nur, Kamieniec, Ostrów, Łomża, Ostrołęka, and Kolno 1598; Sącz and Biecz also 1598; Wyszogród, Wizna, and Wąsosz 1601, etc. See *Vol. leg.* II 1272, 1337, 1338, 1408, 1467, 1521).

⁸⁴ Such also were the contents of the records of verdicts of the Lublin and Piotrków tribunals, which are invaluable for genealogy. They accumulated from all over the country the contested cases that were most complicated from a legal point of view and therefore often the richest in genealogical material. The records of tribunal entries, less abundant, contained entries made there by nobles who happened to be at the tribunal, and dealt with uncontested cases. The tribunal records burned in Warsaw in 1944. Of a similar nature are the books of verdicts and records of the Tribunal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, kept in Vilnius.

⁸⁵ At first these books went along with the *starosta* general all over Great Poland proper, which was under his jurisdiction. Entries were made in them wherever the Great

Poland *starosta* general carried out his official functions. Only in the first half of the 16th century did it become established that these entries were made exclusively in Poznań.

⁸⁶ War destroyed virtually all of the indexes of the Warsaw archives. On the other hand, the Kraków and Lublin archives have a considerable number, of persons as well as places. The Poznań archives regained a sizable portion of their indexes in 1958, thanks to the reclaiming of archivalia protected by Soviet troops in Germany.

⁸⁷ All transactions dealing with real estate and designated for the fair-copy records of *rezygnacje* have a characteristic formula in the protocols that begins: *coram iudice surrogato [in the presence of the surrogate judge]*.

^{87a} Given names in these fictitious entries were usually especially elaborate, but the Wilibrords or Meluzynas the clerks liked to insert did occasionally turn up in reality. Ancient history was often employed. The intentional humor of the surnames of the contracting parties was based primarily on the contrast between them: Kuflewski with Wypijalski, Grubiński with Chudziński, Szpulkowski with Nitkowski, etc.* The sites selected were usually ones that seemed exotic at the time; in offices in Great Poland “*districtus Oczakoviensis*” was especially popular. Legal tender was usually leaden oboli. Sometimes the content was explicitly pornographic, but most of the time it was thoroughly routine.

⁸⁸ Records from Mazovia that were destroyed: Warsaw (from 1600), Czersk, Wizna (including Grójec), Warka, Wąsosz, Garwolin, Liw, Łomża, Ostrów-Kamieniec, Ostrołęka (most of them), Rawa (including Biała Rawska), Gostynin (most of them), and Sochaczew (including Mszczonów). Furthermore, all books were destroyed from Podlasie province, from Łuków in Lublin province, and from Sandomierz province those of Steżycza, Sandomierz, Radom, Chęciny, Opoczno, and Nowy Korczyn.

⁸⁹ See T. Wierzbowski, *Opis aktów przechowywanych w Warszawskim Archiwum Głównym II. Akta ziemskie i grodzkie XIV–XVIII w. województw [sic] wielkopolskich [A Description of Records Preserved in Warsaw’s Chief Archives, II. District and Castle Records of the 14th–18th Centuries for the Provinces of Great Poland]*, Wars. 1917.

⁹⁰ Losses among Zator and Oświęcim books due to the last war run as high as 75%.

⁹¹ Castle jurisdiction in that county belonged previously to the City of Nowy Korczyn. See S. Kutrzeba, “Katalog Krajowego Archiwum akt grodzkich i ziemskich w Krakowie” [National Archives Catalog of Castle and District Records in Kraków], *Teka Grona Konserwatorów Galicji Zach.* III, Kr. 1909.

⁹² These gaps were considerable until 1958, especially for the first half of the 16th century. They were filled in almost completely, however, with archivalia protected by Soviet troops in Germany and returned to Poland in 1958. The Kalisz books had sizable gaps even before the war, especially for the first half of the 16th century.

⁹³ T. Wierzbowski’s inventory, mentioned above and in print, deals with Kalisz and Konin records. An inventory of all castle and district records of the Poznań Provincial Archives is being prepared for print.

⁹⁴ S. Sochaniewicz, “Archiwum krajowe aktów grodzkich i ziemskich we Lwowie” [National Archives of Castle and District Records In Lwów], *Przew. Nauk.-Liter.*, Lw. 1912. — P. Dąbkowski, “Katalog dawnych aktów sądowych polskich wojew. ruskiego i bełskiego przechowywanych w Archiwum Państwowym we Lwowie”

[Inventory of Ancient Polish Court Records of the Provinces of Ruthenia and Belz Preserved In the National Archives in Lwów], part I, Lw. 1937 (*Studia nad historią prawa pol. XVII 1*).

⁹⁵ N. Horbachevskiy, *Каталогъ древнимъ актамъ губ. виленской, гродненской, минской и ковенской ... также книгамъ губ. могилевской и смоленской* [*Katalog drevnim aktam gub. vilenskoj, grodnenskoj, minkoi i kovenskoj ... takzhe knigam gub. mogilevskoi i smolenskoj—Inventory to Ancient Records of Vilnius, Hrodna, Minsk and Kaunas Provinces . . . Also Books of Mahileŭ and Smolensk Provinces*], Vil'na 1872.

⁹⁶ Catalogs of the books of the Crown and Mazovian Registers are given in T. Wierzbowski's *Описание дѣлъ хранящихся въ Варшавскомъ Главномъ Архивѣ* [*Opisanie dyel khraryashchikhsya v Varshavskom Glavnom Arkhivě—A Description of Works Preserved in Warsaw's Chief Archives*], Wars. 1912.

⁹⁷ S. Ptaszycki, *Описание книгъ и актовъ Литовской Метрики* [*Opisanie knig i aktov Litovskoi Metriki—A Description of the Books and Records of the Lithuanian Register*], Petersb. 1887.

⁹⁸ W. Semkowicz, *Nagana i oczyszczenie szlachectwa w Polsce w XIV i XV w.* [*Charge and Exculpation of the Nobility in Poland in the 14th and 15th Centuries*], Lw. 1899.

⁹⁹ For books of entries they were much less so.

¹⁰⁰ See W. Semkowicz, "Wywody szlachectwa w Polsce XIV–XVII w. [Genealogies of Nobility in Poland, 14th–17th Centuries], Lw. 1913 (*RH* 1911/1912 III), Foreword.

¹⁰¹ See H. Łowmiański, "Wykaz wywodów szlachectwa na Litwie, przeważnie z lat 1773–1799" [A List of Genealogies of the Nobility in Lithuania, Primarily from the Years 1773–1799], *MH* 1939 XVIII. The list is given alphabetically, and was interrupted at the name Jawoysz by the outbreak of the war. See also S. A. Kozłowski, "Spis szlachty wylegitymowanej w gub. wileńskiej" [A List of Nobles Identified in the Province of Vil'na], *Herold* 1931–1932, nos. 2, 5.

¹⁰² G. Błosfieldt, *Сборникъ Законовъ о россійскомъ дворянствѣ* [*Sbornik zakonov o rossijskom dvoryanstvie—A Collection of Laws on Russian Nobility*], Petersb. 1901–1903. — K. P. (K. Podernia), "Deputacje wywodowe szlacheckie, czyli Zebrania deputatów szlacheckich" [Noble Genealogical Deputations, or Meetings of the Nobility Deputations], *Encyklop. Powsz. Ilustr.* XV. — I. Pogonowski, "Legitimacja szlachecka po rozbiorach" [Verification of Nobility after the Partitions], *MH* 1932 XI. — W. Perkowski, "Legitimacja szlachty polskiej w prowincjach zabranych przez Rosję" [The Identification of Polish Nobility in the Provinces Annexed by Russia], *MH* 1938 XVII.

¹⁰³ See J. R. Sobieszcański, "Nieznane kresowe herbarze powiatowe z r. 1795" [Unknown County Armorial of the Eastern Borderlands from 1795], *MH* 1934 XIII.

¹⁰⁴ There are also similar lists for other provinces, e. g., Minsk.

¹⁰⁵ The senate dealt with the greatest number of such cases in 1819–1821. The lists of those whose nobility was verified then and in the following years were published in the Warsaw press.

¹⁰⁶ J. Terlecki, *Heroldia i porządek otrzymywania od niej utwierdzenia szlachectwa* [*The Herald and the Procedure for Receiving Confirmation of Nobility from*

It], Petersb. 1832. — S. Dziadulewicz, “Jak się legitymowano przed b. Heroldią Królestwa Polskiego” [How Identity Was Proved before the Former Herald of the Kingdom of Poland], *MH* 1914 VII. — K. W. Łukomski, “Dokumenty b. Heroldii Królestwa Polskiego” [Documents of the Former Herald of the Kingdom of Poland], *ibid.* — L. Białkowski, “Przyczynek do urzędowego znaczenia herbarzy” [A Contribution to the Official Significance of Armorial], *MH* 1909 II.

¹⁰⁷ In the Provincial Archives in Poznań a very rich collection of genealogical lists has been preserved, compiled for identification purposes by the mid-19th-century Kalisz lawyer Szaniawski.

¹⁰⁸ That institution’s utter lack of a critical faculty is shown by the following instance. From the papers presented by a certain Stepkowski it was clear that he was the son of an illiterate petty functionary of the Warsaw postal service, who was in turn the son of a certain Józef, whose trade was not recorded. In order to confirm the nobility of this Józef Stepkowski, his grandfather, the applicant submitted an excerpt from the Crown Register showing the bestowal of the order of the White Eagle on the Kiev voivode Józef Stepkowski! The sameness of given name and surname was enough to confirm the applicant’s nobility as the grandson of said voivode.

¹⁰⁹ The only worthwhile part of Uruski’s *Herbarz “Rodzina”* is based on precisely this identification material (see below), which is the measure of the relative worth of even that part. Also based on *Heroldia* materials is the bilingual *Herbarz rodzin szlacheckich Królestwa Polskiego* [*Armorial of the Noble Families of the Kingdom of Poland*] by M. Pawliszczew (2 vol., Wars. 1953).

¹¹⁰ No official list of persons identified by the *Heroldsamt* has been printed. The *Handbuch des preußischen Adels* [*Handbook of the Prussian Nobility*] put out by that institution (2 vol., Berlin 1892–1893) does deal with some families of Polish descent, but almost exclusively with ones that had already been completely Germanized.

¹¹¹ Fairly complete sets have been preserved for: the Old City of Gdańsk, Malbork, Puck (these are in Gdańsk), Toruń (Old and New Cities), Chełmża, Starogard, Wąbrzeźno, and Kowalewo (in Toruń).

¹¹² *Katalog Archiwum Akt Dawnych miasta Krakowa* [*Inventory of the Archives of Old Records of the City of Kraków*], ed. St. Krzyżanowski, 2 vol., Kr. 1907–1915. — J. Smółka, *Katalog Archiwum Akt Dawnych miasta Przemyśla* [*Catalog of the Archive of Old Records of the City of Przemyśl*], Przemyśl 1927. — Rough outlines of lists of municipal records currently held in archives are given in the mimeographed *Bulletins of individual archives*. Recently a work was published entitled *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie. Przewodnik po zespołach. I Archiwa dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* [*The Central Archive of Historical Records in Warsaw. A Guide to the Sets. I. Archives of the Former Republic*], Wars. 1958.

¹¹³ Therefore the comprehensive search of castle and district records throughout the Republic for materials on village histories, commissioned by the Chief Directorate of the State Archives and conducted 1953–1955, could not provide much of use for genealogical purposes.

¹¹⁴ For the establishment of land registers see: W. Dutkiewicz, *Prawo hipoteczne w Królestwie Polskim* (*Hypothecary Law in the Kingdom of Poland*), 2nd ed., Wars.

1936. — F. Zoll, *Prawa rzeczowe na ziemiach polskich [Material Laws in Polish Territories]*, part I, Wars. Kr. (1920), pp. 90-111.

¹¹⁵ Monographs written by S. Borkiewicz, based on land registers and appearing in the collective work *Monographia historyczna i gospodarcza pow. jędrzejowskiego [A Historical and Economic Monograph on Jędrzejów County]*, Kielce 1937, testify to the wealth of genealogical information to be found in such registers.

¹¹⁶ General information on manuscript sources to be found in church archives is provided by [Father] H. E. Wyczawski, *Wprowadzenie do studiów w archiwach kościelnych [An Introduction to Studies in Church Archives]*, Wars. 1956.

¹¹⁷ For Gniezno from 1440, Poznań from 1439, Kraków from 1466, Włocławek from 1480, Przemyśl from 1470.

¹¹⁸ Gniezno and Poznań from 1404, Kraków from 1410, Włocławek from 1422, Przemyśl from 1470, Płock from 1502.

¹¹⁹ H. E. Wyczawski, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 90.

¹²⁰ We have them for Gniezno from 1408, for Poznań from 1428, for Włocławek from 1435, for Przemyśl from 1438, for Kraków from 1461, for Warmia from 1499, for Płock from 1506 (H. E. Wyczawski, *op. cit.*, p. 98).

¹²¹ Z. Wdowiszewski, who profited greatly from the use of bookkeeping records in his *Genealogia Jagiellonów* (in print), recently pointed out their value for genealogical research.

¹²² We find in Osieczna, in Great Poland, a typical example of how a gravestone inscription can be altered. On the wall of a parish church there are two tablets of black marble with portraits painted on metal plates, dedicated to the memories of Adam Olbracht Przyjemski, the castellan of Gniezno, and his wife Anna Konstancja (née Grudzińska). The tablets were paid for by the son-in-law of the deceased, Jan Opaliński, voivode of Brześć and a general of Great Poland, who took Osieczna, among other estates, for his wife's dowry (she was Zofia Przyjemska, her parents' only heir). He made this endowment after 1678, and thus several dozen years after the castellan's death and more than a dozen after that of the latter's wife. According to the inscription on the tablet, Przyjemski supposedly died in 1646, and his wife in 1657. In the meantime we've learned of a printed panegyric from which it's evident that the castellan's funeral took place on 28 July 1644, and Anna (nee Grudzińska), according to undisputed testimony of the mother of her second husband, Mielżyński, died in 1664. Furthermore Przyjemski, who on his own tablet is correctly given the title of Gniezno castellan, has been promoted on the other tablet to the office of Kalisz castellan. Such gross errors can not be interpreted as products of memories grown faulty after several score years. They must here be ascribed to later efforts at preservation.

¹²³ Rev. Wiśniewski's works, especially the earlier ones, bear all the traits of a dilettante's works, devoid of research methodology. The numerous citations of documents in them are full of errors. Gradually the level of his work rose, and it came to provide more and more information valuable to genealogy. Besides the enormous store of gravestone inscriptions from churches and church cemeteries from all over the southern part of the "Congress Kingdom," the reader began to find a number of inscriptions from church registers as well. The richest in this regard is the volume dedicated to the diocese of Częstochowa.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTES

Page 1: *The outward sign of this descent was the herb (coat of arms).* — This statement makes it clear from the start Dworzaczek is dealing with genealogy primarily of noble families. Historically speaking, of course, he was justified. Attention to the genealogy of peasants is a relatively recent phenomenon in Poland; when he wrote this, comparatively little had been done to develop sources tracing the genealogy of anyone other than nobles.

Page 16: *Mogila* — now part of the city of Kraków.

Page 17: *gimnazja* — roughly equivalent to high schools in the American system.

Page 18: *lists of persons accepting the city law* — becoming a burgher or townsman, in Polish a *mieszczan*, was not as simple as just finding a place in town and moving in. A town or city, in Polish *miasto*, was a strictly defined community with a charter granted by a king or prince other authority, often on terms modeled after the charters of German cities. A town or city had certain privileges and an explicit jurisdiction spelled out in its charter. “By tradition, membership in the Burgher Estate was confined to Christian tax-payers enjoying full civil rights, and represented anything between one-third and two-thirds of a city’s inhabitants” [Norman Davies, *God’s Playground: A History of Poland*, Vol. 1, Columbia University Press, New York 1982, ISBN 0-234-05351-7, page 297]. It was not as in modern America, for instance, where we call any community a town and you become a resident if you can afford to buy a house. The lists referred to give information in individuals who qualified for membership in that Estate and swore to fulfill all obligations involved with such membership.

Page 20: *the ziemski [district] and the grodzki [castle] courts* — Translating *sąd ziemski* and *sąd grodzki* accurately is very difficult because there’s nothing quite the same in our system, and because their exact roles changed as time passed. Rendering them as “district court” and “castle court” is probably the best I can do without appending a lengthy treatise, and conveys the basic distinction, I suppose; but I’m not at all satisfied with these translations.

The adjective *grodzki* means “of a *gród*,” a settlement enclosed by walls or ramparts, some dating back to the Neolithic period; you could make a case for translating it as “castle,” even though the standard Polish term for “castle” is *zamek*. In the Middle Ages a *gród* typically came to be as much a center of political or administrative authority as of military power; many served as the nucleus from which towns later developed (cmp. Russian город, *gorod*, the modern word for “town, city”). In fact, in Polish *gród* is regarded also as an archaic term for “town, city.” But courts connected with towns and cities are something quite different from *sądy grodzkie*, and I feel “town courts” is just too misleading a translation; a *miasto* or town is not at all the same thing as a *gród*, even though there can be a connection between the two. “Castle courts” does at least refer to their affiliation with a *gród* and the fact that originally these courts were headed by a castellan.

The adjective *ziemski* means “of *ziemia*,” and that noun can mean many things, including “earth, soil, land”—but it was also a political administrative subdivision, the precursor of the modern *województwo* or province. So a *sąd ziemski* was affiliated with a

ziemia—although, to make things more confusing, these courts did often deal with land matters!

Some dictionaries translate *sąd grodzki* as “magistrates’ court” or “bureau court,” and *sąd ziemski* as “court of the first instance”; but I don’t feel that those renderings convey much to modern readers, and invoke misleading comparisons with the English judiciary. “District court” and “castle court,” while inadequate, was as close as I could come without appending a lengthy treatise on the development of the Polish judiciary and its administrative jurisdictions. If anyone can suggest more accurate translations, I’d love to hear them.

Page 24: *the duchy of Samogitia* — *Samogitia* is the Latin name for this region, and that is name most often used in English. The region is called *Żmudź* by Poles, *Žemaičiai* by Lithuanians.

Same page, *the Grand Duchy of Lithuania* — I hope it’s not too confusing that I’ve used here the modern forms of names such as *L’viv*, *Hrodna*, etc.—even though those are not the Russian forms by which these cities were usually known during the days of the Soviet Union. Anyone researching these areas is going to have to deal with the variability of place names anyway; giving the versions now accepted as standard may make the task a bit easier, even though their usage here is definitely an anachronism! I used *Kiev* because that form is so much better known to English-speakers than *Kyiv*.

Page 33: *Paprocki, Okolski, and Niesiecki* — the authors of the best-known Polish armorials.

Same page: *before the ława* — the literal meaning of *ława* is “the bench.” A *ława przysięgłych* is the term for a jury, but in this case the term surely refers to the *ława sądowa*, an organ of self-rule for towns and villages established on terms of German law and headed by the local *wójt* [administrative executive of a *gmina*] or *sołtys* [village administrator], or by a foreman. [According to the *Multimedialna nowa encyklopedia powszechna PWN*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 1999]. A *ławnik* was an assessor or a kind of associate judge who sat on a *ława*.

Page 34: *records of the acceptance of city law* — i. e., the formal act by which a person accepted that he was under the jurisdiction of a city’s charter and was recognized as a burgher or townsman.

Page 50: *Königsberg* — this is the city now called Kaliningrad, in that enclave of Russia sandwiched between the Baltic Sea, to the west, and Lithuania, to the east.

Page 53, footnote 87: *Kuflewski with Wypijalski, Grubiński with Chudziński, Szpulkowski with Nitkowski, etc.* — These names come from words meaning, respectively, “mug” and “drink up”; “fat” and “thin”; “spool” and “thread.”

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