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## Denominational Composition of the Kievan Nobility 1569-1648

In the discussion and comparisons presented below, different methods have been applied to analyse particular social layers of the nobility. The problem of religious changes that occurred in knyaz families has been studied in detail and thus it will not be addressed here.<sup>1</sup> Due to the lack of relevant sources, also the boyar class will not be discussed. I will, however, try to present the denominational composition of Ruthenian nobility and gentry. In the present state of research the analysis of noble families can be much more detailed than it is possible in the case of gentry. In this case I attempt to determine the denomination of all adult members of the families being active in the period under discussion which is a base for a statistical analysis. In the case of gentry families only fragmentary data, related to a limited number of persons, is analysed. To supplement it, I attach also information on the denomination of members of the most important incoming Polish and Lithuanian families.

### Sources and bibliography

Any research on the denominational composition of the nobility in the incorporated voivodeships relates to a specific set of sources. The descriptive material – memoirs, diaries or correspondence – is used rather rarely,

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<sup>1</sup> Recently discussed by N. Jakovenko, 'Relihijni konwersiji. Sproba pohljadu zse-redyny', in eadem, *Paralelnyj svit. Doslidžennya z istoriji ujavlen' ta idej w Ukrajinii XVI-XVII st.*, Kiev, 2002.

because of its scarcity.<sup>2</sup> When presenting a list of such sources, one should emphasise that some of them are particularly useful. An important source is the journal of an orthodox gentleman, Joachim Jerlicz.<sup>3</sup> His chronicle gives an account of family and religious events (like christenings, weddings and funerals) that occurred in his social circle. This allows the denomination of many members of that group to be ascertained. The correspondence that survived is of lesser importance. A useful collection of sources is provided by the Basilian centre in Rome.<sup>4</sup> The preserved relations, however, concern mainly elite circles – those of knyaz and senators. There were ‘gentlemen’ among the latter, they constituted only a small part of the community. A plenty of valuable information comes from letters, that may be found in preserved collections<sup>5</sup> as well as in thematic editions from the pre-Revolutionary era.<sup>6</sup> When analysing denominational issues, also court records (excerpts and regesta) may be

2 For a more detailed discussion, see H. Litwin, ‘Fakcje magnackie na Kijowszczyźnie 1569-1648’, in *Władza i prestiż. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVIII wieku*, ed. by J. Urwanowicz, Białystok, 2003.

3 J. Jerlicz, *Letopisiec albo kroniczka*, ed. by K.W. Wójcicki, vols. 1-2, Warsaw, 1853.

4 *Litterae Episcoporum historiam Ucrainae illustrantes (1600-1900)*, ed. by A. Welykyj, vols. 1-2: 1600-1670, Rome, 1972-73; *Litterae Nuntiorum Apostolicorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantes (1550-1850)*, ed. by A. Welykyj, vols. 1-6: 1550-1648, Rome, 1959-65; *Epistolae Metropolitaram*, ed. by A. Welykyj, vols. 1-2: 1613-1674, Rome, 1956.

5 See H. Litwin, ‘Fakcje...’, *op. cit.*

6 *Archiv Juzozapadnoj Rossii izdavaemyj Vremennuju Komisseju dlja razbora drevnich aktov*, Part 1-8, vols. 1-34, Kiev, 1859-1914 (hereafter, AJZR with no. of Part/vol.); *Archeograficeskij sbornik dokumentov odnosjaščichsja k istorii Severozapadnoj Rusi*, vols. 1-7, Vilnius, 1867-70 (hereafter, Ar Sb with no. of vol.); *Dokumenty objasnjajuščie istoriju Zapadno-Russkogo Kraja i ego otnošenja k Rossii i k Polše*, Petersburg, 1865; S.T. Golubev, *Istorija Kievskoj Duchovnoj Akademii. Period do-Mogiljanskij, Priloženija*, Kiev, 1880 (hereafter, IKDA); idem, *Kievskij mitropolit Petr Mogila i ego spodvižniki*, vols. 1-2: *Priloženija*, Kiev, 1883-98 (hereafter, Golubev – Mogila); *Pamjatniki izdavaemye Komisseju dlja razbora drevnich aktov*, vols. 1-4, Kiev, 1846-59 (hereafter, Pamjatniki, no. of vol. – no. of Part); *Sbornik materialov dlja istoričeskoj topografii Kieva i ego okrestnostej*, ed. by V. Antonovič, Kiev, 1874; *Svodnaia galicko-russkaja letopis' s 1600 po 1700 god*, ed. by A.S. Petruševič, Lviv, 1874 (hereafter, Svodnaia); *Dopolnenie do Svodnoj galicko-russkoj letopisi s 1600 po 1700 god*, ed. by A.S. Petruševič, Lviv, 1891; *Opis aktovoj knigi Kievskago Centralnago Archiva*, vols. 1, 8-14, 16-18, Kiev, 1869-82 (hereafter, Opis); *Ukraina (Kijów-Braclaw)*, Dział I-III, ed. by A. Jabłonowski, Warsaw, 1894 (*Źródła Dziejowe*, vols. 20-22); J.H. Drohojowski, *Kronika Drohojowskich*, vol. 2: *Źródła*, Cracow, 1904.

included among the descriptive sources, that occasionally mention the denomination of the participants of legal tussles.<sup>7</sup>

A separate category of sources consists of individual public documents – foundation acts and testaments (or regesta of these). All such documents indicate the denomination of the issuers, and in certain cases also of the witnesses. Although donations to a ‘foreign’ religious institution (for example, an Orthodox temple being sponsored by a Catholic or a Protestant) cannot be excluded, no such case seems to be attested in the Kievan region.

Of the utmost importance for the present discussion are communal public documents, among them the numerous protestations and re-protestations concerning religious issues, as well as resolutions passed by gentry assemblies in religious matters, and especially the records of elections to high Orthodox offices. The extensive lists of signatories in those documents enable ascertaining the denomination of a significant part of the community under discussion. There may be some doubt in this case, especially about the denomination of the signatories of political and religious documents related to joint operations undertaken by dis-uniates and dissenters; these, however, can usually be resolved by referring to other sources. A list of the most important documents in this category is contained in Table 1.

Table 1. The most important sources related to the denomination of the representatives of Kievan gentry

Document	Date	References	Abbreviation
An instruction for envoys sent to the king by the Orthodox gentry assembled at the synod in Brest	9 October 1596	AJZR 1-1, pp. 515-16	Instr. 1596
A manifest of the Orthodox gentry in defence of the brotherhood in Lublin	5 May 1601	AJZR 2-1, pp. 37-39	Man. 1601
A letter sent to the king by the Orthodox gentry assembled in Lutsk	1619	Pamjatniki 1-2, p. 12	List 1619
The document attesting Zachariasz Kopysteński to have been elected as the Pechersk archimandrite	28 June 1624	Golubev-Mogila, pp. 271-72	El. 1624
The protest of the Orthodox gentry against the synod in Kiev	5 July 1629	Golubev-Mogila, p. 366	Prot. 1629

<sup>7</sup> The sources belonging to individual categories discussed in this paper are scattered throughout various collections and editions of manuscripts; relevant references in Table 2.

Document	Date	References	Abbreviation
The manifest of the Orthodox Kievan gentry concerning the union of the Bratsk and Pechersk schools	20 December 1631	IKDA, p. 71	Man. 1631
The document attesting Piotr Mohiła to have been elected as the Kiev metropolitan	1632	Kiev, Biblioteka Ukrajinskoji Akademiji Nauk (hereafter, BUAN), Ms. 1441	El. 1632
The protest of the dissident Kievan gentry concerning the course of the <i>sejmik</i>	1645	AJZR 2-1, p. 281	Prot. 1645
The document attesting Jesyp Tryzna to have been elected as the Pechersk archimandrite	25 January 1647	AJZR 2-1, pp. 341-42	El. 1647 Tryzna
The document attesting Sylwester Kossow to have been elected as the Kiev metropolitan	25 January 1647	AJZR 2-1, pp. 347-48	El. 1647 Kossow

Sources produced by religious institutions are only of a complementary significance. The borderlands gentry plays only a minor role in the published records of Protestant synods.<sup>8</sup> An interesting source originating from the Orthodox church comprises *pomianniki* – lists of persons mentioned during commemorative services and masses.<sup>9</sup> The usefulness of these documents is, however, limited as a result of the inconsistency in dating individual entries. Of Catholic origin are the chronicles of Jesuit posts (in Winnica, Fastów, Ksawerów) preserved in the congregation's archive in Rome.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, these contain only scarce information related to the conversion of specific persons.

A significant – although still not a dominant – amount of information comes from the literature on the subject. An old study on the religious history of some Ruthenian noble families, written by P. Wiktorowski, still retains some academic value.<sup>11</sup> Useful are also studies on the his-

8 *Akta synodów różnowierczych w Polsce*, vol. 3: *Małopolska 1571-1632*, ed. by M. Sipayło, Warsaw, 1983.

9 Drevnij pomiannik Kievo-Michailovskogo (Zlatoverchnogo) Monastyrja (XVI-XVII w.), 'Čtenija v istoričeskom obščestve Nestora Letopisa', vols. 18-19, 1903, 1904.

10 Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (hereafter, ARSI), Polonia, no. 52, 66.

11 P.T. Viktorovskij, 'Zapadno-russkie dvorjanskije familii otpravšie ot' pravoslavija v końce XVI i v XVII u.', *Trudy Kievskoj Duchovnoj Akademii*, 1908, nos. 9-12; 1909, no. 6; 1910, nos. 3, 11; 1911, nos. 2, 6-8 (hereafter, Viktorovskij, year, no.). The work deals mainly with Ruthenian knyaz families. Concerning the families discussed in the present

tory of Reformation on the Ruthenian lands of the Commonwealth.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, works related to the Orthodox and Catholic pious foundations in Kiev region have been consulted,<sup>13</sup> as well as monographs devoted to individual families and persons. Some of the persons listed in Table 1 have their biographical entries in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*.<sup>14</sup> Separate biographical studies have been so far written only for Adam Kisiel and Jerzy Niemirydz,<sup>15</sup> although the works differ significantly in their quality. The histories of some Kievan noble families were studied by historians and essayists in the nineteenth century; although the methodology of those works is outdated, their authors had access to sources that have been lost since that time.<sup>16</sup>

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paper, Wiktorowski studied the histories of Siemaszko (1911, no. 7/8), Tyszkiewicz, Skumin, and Łohojski families (1911, no. 2), as well as Niemirydz (1911, no. 7/8).

12 A. Kossowski, 'Zarys dziejów protestantyzmu na Wołyniu w XVI-XVII w.', *Rocznik Wołyński*, 3, 1934; O. Levickij, 'Socinjanstvo v Polše i jugozapadnoj Rusi', *Kievskaja Starina*, 1, 1882, 4, 5, 6 (an abridged Polish version of this work has been published in *Reformacja w Polsce*, 2, 1922); J. Tazbir, 'Antytrynitaryzm na ziemiach ukraińskich w XVII w.', in *Z polskich studiów slawistycznych*, Series 4: *Historia*, no. 3, Warsaw, 1972; idem, 'Kisielińsko-bereski zbor Braci Polskich', *Przegląd Historyczny*, 57, 1966; H. Merczyng, *Zbory i senatorowie protestancy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Warsaw, 1905, p. 128; H. Lulewicz, 'Skład wyznaniowy senatorów świeckich Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego za panowania Wazów', *Przegląd Historyczny*, 68, 1977, 3, p. 435.

13 Wołyniak [J.M. Giżycki], *Wykaz klasztorów dominikańskich prowincji ruskiej*, Cracow, 1923, p. 213; Wołyniak [J.M. Giżycki], 'Zniesione kościoły i klasztory katolickie przez rząd rosyjski w wieku XIX w diecezji łuckiej, żytomierskiej i kamienieckiej', *Nova Polonia Sacra*, 1, 1928; S.T. Golubev, 'K biografii fundatorši Kievo-bratskogo monastyrja Elizavety Vasylievny Hulevičovny i eja bliżajšych rodstvennikov', *Trudy Kievskoj Duchovnoj Akademii*, 1886; *Klasztory Bernardyńskie w Polsce w jej granicach historycznych*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, 1985, p. 215; H. Litwin, 'Dobra ziemskie Cerkwii Prawosławnej i Kościoła Katolickiego obu obrządków na Kijowszczyźnie w świetle akt skarbowych i sądowych 1569-1648', *Rocznik Teologiczny*, 32, 1990, 2; M.A. Maksimowicz, *Sobranie sočinenii*, vols. 1-3, Kiev, 1876-1900; B.J. Wanat, *Zakon Karmelitów Bosych w Polsce. Klasztory karmelitów i karmelitanek bosych 1605-1977*, Cracow, 1979.

14 Andrzej Chalecki, Iwan and Jerzy Czaplica-Szpanowski, Hawryło and Roman Hojski (in PSB as Hosccy), Gabriel Hornostaj, Adam Kisiel, Filon Kmita-Czarnobylski, Stefan, Jerzy and Władysław Niemirydz, Mikołaj and Aleksander Siemaszko. The entries of Chalecki and Hornostaj do not contain any information about their faith.

15 F. Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine. The Dilemma of Adam Kysil 1600-1653*, Cambridge, 1985; S. Kot, *Jerzy Niemirydz. W 300-lecie Ugody Hadziackiej*, Paris, 1960; M. Brik, *Jurij Nemyrycz na tli istoriji Ukrainy*, Lossner, 1974.

16 Short monographs on individual families: O. Halecki, 'Chaleccy na Ukrainie', *Miesięcznik Heraldyczny*, 3, 1910; A. Kamiński, 'Kariera rodu Siemaszków w XV-XVII

## The denomination of members of the Kievan noble families

The community under discussion includes members of the noble families that were active in the Kiev region in 1569-1648. The list has been based on data collected by the present author elsewhere.<sup>17</sup> All adult males are taken into consideration, who acted independently as landowners. Omitted are those members of the families who did not own any estates or held offices in the Kiev region in the period under discussion. This way, 260 persons have been selected, and it was the author's aim, to ascertain their faith. All relevant information is presented in Table 2, containing data related to the denomination of particular members of the noble families. The earlier collected data and published results of research contain no evidence that any of nobles converted to Roman Catholicism in the Ruthenian lands of the Commonwealth has ever returned to the Orthodox faith. There is no evidence that any of their descendants converted to the Orthodoxy either<sup>18</sup>. Therefore I assumed that the lineal ancestors of persons described as being of 'the Greek religion' must have been of the same denomination.

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wieku', *Litвано-Slavica Posnaniensia. Studia Historica*, 3, 1989; Z. Lasocki, 'Sienkiewiczowskie "lwie pachole" i ród jego', *Miesięcznik Heraldyczny*, 15, 1936 (on the Aksak family); A.J. Rolle, 'Niemierycze', in idem, *Opowiadania historyczne*, Series 3, Warsaw, 1882; T.J. Stecki, 'Steccy herbu Radwan', in T. Żychliński, *Złota księga szlachty polskiej*, vols. 1-31, Poznań, 1879-1908, vol. 10, pp. 3-13; E. Tyszkiewicz, *Groby rodziny Tyszkiewiczów*, Warsaw, 1873. E. Rulikowski (in his works: *Opis powiatu kijowskiego*, Kiev and Warsaw, 1913, and *Opis powiatu wasylkowskiego pod względem historycznym, obyczajowym i statystycznym*, Warsaw, 1853) describes, among others, the stories of Aksak, Hornostaj, Iwaszeńcewicz-Makarewicz, and Sołtan families. T.J. Stecki (*Z boru i stepu*, Cracow, 1888) deals with Babiński and Czaplica families. A. Jabłonowski and E. Rulikowski wrote a series of papers on specific estates and their owners; those have been published in *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i krajów ościennych*, vols. 1-13, Warsaw, 1880-93 (hereafter, SGKP and a specific entry). See also, A.J. Rolle, 'Dzieje szlachty okolicznej w owruckim powiecie', in idem, *Z przeszłości Polesia Kijowskiego. Opowiadania historyczne*, Warsaw, 1882, p. 22.

<sup>17</sup> H. Litwin, 'Rody pańskie Kijowszczyzny 1569-1648. Status majątkowy', *Przegląd Wschodni*, 8, 2002, 2 (30), pp. 235-92.

<sup>18</sup> Idem, 'Katolicyzacja szlachty ruskiej i procesy asymilacyjne na Ukrainie 1569-1648', in *Triumfy i porażki. Studia z dziejów kultury polskiej XVI-XVIII w.*, ed. by M. Bogucka, Warsaw, 1989, pp. 56-66.

Table 2. The denomination of members of the Kievan noble families, 1569-1648<sup>19</sup>

Name	1	2	3	4
Aksak				
Martyn † after 1569	O			
Jan (Iwan) Martynowicz † 1627	O	1624, before 1627	document, report	El. 1624; Z. Lasocki, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 4
Stefan Iwanowicz-	O	before 1627	report	Golubev – Mogiła, p. 293
---	C	1627	report	ibid.
Michał Iwanowicz-	?			
Babiński				
Andrzej † before 1598	O	1595	document	Pamiętniki 3-1, p. 91
Wasył Andrzejowicz † before 1624	O	1597, 1601	document, report	Ar. Sb. 1, p. 229; <i>Diariusze sejmowe r. 1597</i> , ed. by E. Barwiński, Cracow, 1907, p. 400
---	A	before †	literature	A. Kossowski, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 245
Piotr Wasyłowicz-	A		literature	A. Kossowski, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 245
Eliasz Wasyłowicz-	A	1644	literature	T.J. Stecki, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 121
Butowicz				
Jacek Dymitrowicz † 1604	O	1596	document	Instr. 1596
Hryhory Jackowicz † 1591	O			
Semen Jackowicz † 1601	O	1601	document	AJZR 1-4, p. 12; Opis, vol. 19, p. 28
Aleksander Jackowicz † 1604/05	O			
Marcin Jackowicz † 1630	O	1596, 1601, 1629	document	Instr. 1596; Man. 1601; Golubev – Mogiła, p. 366
Paweł Marcinowicz-	O	1648	report	J. Jerlicz, <i>op. cit.</i> , vol. 1, p. 168
Chalecki				

19 Column 1 indicates the denomination, where A – Arian, P – Protestant-Calvinist, C – Catholic, O – Orthodox, U – Uniate. Column 2 contains dates of the information related to the person's denomination; column 3 – type of source, and column 4 – references.

Name	1	2	3	4
Wasył Harasymowicz until 1575	?			
Bohdan Harasymowicz until 1575	?			
Andrzej Jesypowicz † before 1595	?			
Jan Jesypowicz † 1610	?			
Wasył Jesypowicz † ca. 1588	?			
Józefian Andrzejowicz before 1625	?			
Chreptowicz-Bohuryński				
Konstanty 1618 † after 1645	A	1645	document	Prot. 1645
Władysław Konstantynowicz-	A	1645	document	Prot. 1645
Czaplica-Szpanowski				
Iwan 1585 † 1607	P	1607	literature	<i>PSB</i> , vol. 4, p. 170
Jerzy 1639	A	1648	literature	<i>PSB</i> , vol. 4, p. 170
Dorohostalski				
Piotr Mikołajowicz before 1588	?			
Paweł Janowicz † 1607/9	?			
Furs				
Iwan until after 1581	O		document	Ar. Sb. 6, p. 324
Hojski				
Hawryło † 1632	O	1596, 1601	document	Instr. 1596; Man. 1601
---	A	before 1610	literature	<i>PSB</i> , vol. 10, p. 25
Roman Hawryłowicz † 1635	O	before 1617	literature	<i>PSB</i> , vol. 10, p. 26
---	A	1617	literature	<i>PSB</i> , vol. 10, p. 26
Hornostaj				
Hawryło (Gabriel) † 1587	O			
---	P		literature	H. Merczynfi, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 128
Jerofiej (Hieronim) Hawryłowicz † 1600	P			



Name	1	2	3	4
Samuel Jerofiejowicz † 1618	P	1605, 1618	document	Synody..., <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 272; E. Rulikowski, Opis powiatu kijowskiego..., p. 129
Michał Samuelowicz † 1637	P	1637	literature	E. Rulikowski, <i>op. cit.</i>
Hulewicz-Dolski				
Mikołaj 1587-† 1606	O		document	AJZR 1-6, p. 678
Hulewicz-Wojutyniec				
Łukasz 1646-	P	1649	literature	S. Ochmann, <i>Sejm koronacyjny w 1649 r.</i> , Wrocław, 1985, p. 225
Iwaszeńcewicz-Makarewicz				
Iwan † after 1591	O			
Hryhory † after 1591	O			
Mikołaj † 1621	O	1591	literature	E. Rulikowski, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 155
---	P	1621	literature	ibid.
Krzysztof Mikołajowicz † 1641	P	1641	literature	ibid.
Aleksander Mikołajowicz † 1613	P	1613	literature	ibid.
Andrzej Mikołajowicz † 1618	P	1618	literature	ibid.
Jerzy Mikołajowicz † 1632	P	before 1620	literature	ibid.
---	C	1620, 1632	literature	ibid.
Jelec				
Dymitr † 1598	O	1598	literature	M.A. Maksimowicz, <i>op. cit.</i> , vol. 2, p. 234
Filon Dymitrowicz † 1625	O	1608, 1624, 1625	report	ARSI, Pol. 75, no. 18; BUAN, Ms. 23371; El. 1624; M.A. Maksimowicz, <i>op. cit.</i> , vol. 2, p. 234
Konstanty Dymitrowicz † 1634	O	1608	document	BUAN, Ms. 23371
Fedor Dymitrowicz † 1648	O	1624	document, literature	El. 1624; A.J. Rolle, <i>Dzieje szlachty...</i> , <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 22

Name	1	2	3	4
Aleksander (Ignacy) Filonowicz-	O	before 1632	report	ARSI Pol. 74, no. 139/397, 76, no. 18
---	C	1632, 1646	document	ARSI Pol. 74, no. 139/397, 76, no. 18; Opis, vol. 17, p. 47
Remigian Fedorowicz-	O	before 1647		
---	C	1647	report	ARSI Pol. 77, l. 371
Jelowski				
Zachariasz 1613-† 1629	O	before 1596		
---	U	1598	document	AJZR 1-10, p. 501
---	O	1624	document	El. 1624
Aleksander 1643-	O	1646	report	Cracow, Czartoryski Library (hereafter, BC), Ms. 1657, l. 345; Golubev – Mogiła p. 338
Kisiel				
Adam since 1628-	O		literature	F. Sysyn, <i>Between...</i> , <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 69
Kmita-Czarnobyłski				
Filon † 1585	O	1585	literature	<i>PSB</i> , vol. 13, pp. 88-89
Lazar Filonowicz † 1595	O	1595	literature	<i>PSB</i> , vol. 13, pp. 88-89
Kordysz				
Michał until 1588	O		document	Cracow, State Archives of the Voivodeship (hereafter, WAPK), Archiwum Sanguszków, Teki Rzymskie, no. XVIIa, b. p.
Kotaszewicz				
Wasył until 1595	?			
Łasko				
Iwan Olechnowicz † 1581	O			
Michał Olechnowicz † after 1607	O			
Fedor Olechnowicz † 1592	O			
Kuźma Iwanowicz † after 1618	?			

Name	1	2	3	4
Wasył Fedorowicz † after 1615	?			
Andrzej Fedorowicz † after 1629	?			
Michał Michałowicz † 1633	O	1632	document, report	El. 1632; Drevnij pomiannik..., <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 55
Iwan Andrzejowicz –	?			
Fedor Michałowicz –	O		report	Drevnij pomiannik..., <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 55
Łodziat				
Stefan 1610-29	?			
Łozka				
Filon Jackowicz † before 1578	O			
Wasył Jackowicz † before 1581	O			
Stefan Wasylowicz † 1618	O	1599, 1615	document	Dokumjenty objasnajuščija..., p. 206; IKDA, p. 9
Iwan Wasylowicz † 1608	O			
Ławryn Wasylowicz † 1618	O	1618	document	AJZR 1-6, p. 678
Józef Stefanowicz † 1631	O	1624	document	El. 1624
Michał Stefanowicz † 1648	O			
---	C	1648	document	S.T. Golubev, K biografii..., <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 39
Niemirycz				
Jesyp † 1598	O	1598	report	Ukraina..., <i>op. cit.</i> , Dz. 2, p. 373
Semen Jesypowicz † 1605	O			
Matwij Jesypowicz † 1613	O	1601	document	Man. 1601
Iwan Jesypowicz † after 1618	O			
Andrzej Jesypowicz † 1607	O	1607	literature	PSB, vol. 22, p. 819
Iwan Iwanowicz † ?	O		literature	A.J. Rolle, Niemierycze..., <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 22

Name	1	2	3	4
Michał Iwanowicz † after 1628	O		literature	ibid.
Krzysztof Matwijowicz † 1618	O		literature	ibid.
Mikołaj Matwijowicz † after 1620	O		literature	ibid.
Semen Matwijowicz † after 1620	O		literature	ibid.
Aleksander Matwijowicz † 1648	O	1619, 1624, 1629, 1648	document	List 1619; El. 1624; Prot. 1629; A.J. Rolle, <i>Niemirycze...</i> , <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 22
Stefan Andrzejowicz † 1630	O		literature	<i>PSB</i> , vol. 22. p. 819
---	A	1630	literature	<i>PSB</i> , vol. 22, p. 819
Jerzy Stefanowicz –	A	1648	literature	<i>PSB</i> , vol. 22, pp. 811-13
Władysław Stefanowicz –	A	1648	literature	<i>PSB</i> , vol. 22, p. 824
Olizar-Wołczkowicz				
Iwan † 1577	O			
Adam Iwanowicz † 1625	O	before 1602	literature	SGKP 'Korosteszów'
---	C	1602	literature	SGKP 'Korosteszów'
Wojciech Iwanowicz † 1628	C			
Ludwik Adamowicz † 1645	C	1645	literature	SGKP 'Korosteszów'
Michał –	C			
Jan –	C			
Stanisław –	C			
Pawsza				
Bohufał † 1598	O	1569, 1595	document, report	Cracow, Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences (hereafter, BPANK), Ms. 2983, l. 4; Jagiellonian Library (hereafter, BJ), Ms. 6049, p. 73
Jakub Bohufałowicz † before 1613	O			

Name	1	2	3	4
Fedor Bohufałowicz † 1624	O			
Iwan Jakubowicz † ca. 1641	?			
Wasyl Jakubowicz † ca. 1641	?			
Aleksander Jakubowicz	?			
Szymon Fedorowicz – Prezowski	O	1631, 1647	document	Man. 1631; El. 1647 Tryzna
Semen † ca. 1587	?			
Iwan Semenowicz † 1606	?			
Iwan Iwanowicz † 1643	?			
Semen Iwanowicz † ca. 1643	?			
Mikołaj Iwanowicz – Proskur-Suszczarski	?			
Iwan Tymofiejowicz † 1599	O			
Bohdan Tymofiejowicz † before 1581	O			
Hryhory Bohdanowicz † 1608	O	1608	document	BUAN, Ms. 23371
Michał Bohdanowicz † after 1602	?			
Jerzy Michałowicz † after 1611	?			
Michał Michałowicz † after 1646	?			
Fedor Hryhorowicz † 1647	O	1624, 1631, 1647	document	El. 1624; Man. 1631; El. 1647 Kossow
Mikołaj Hryhorowicz † 1616	O			
Jerzy Hryhorowicz –	O			
Piotr Fedorowicz –	O	1632		
Jan Fedorowicz –	O	1648	document	AJZR 2-2, p. 387
Siemaszko				

Name	1	2	3	4
Aleksander † 1587	O		literature	A. Kamiński, <i>Kariera rodu Siemaszków...</i> , <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 194
---	C	1586	literature	<i>op. cit.</i>
Mikołaj Aleksandrowicz † 1617	C	1586	literature	<i>op. cit.</i> , p. 200
Służka				
Mikołaj † 1598/1602	P			
Krzysztof Mikołajowicz † 1620	?			
Aleksander Mikołajowicz until before 1640	P		literature	J.M. Giżycki (Wołyński), <i>Wykaz klasztorów...</i> , <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 213; H. Lulewicz, <i>Skład...</i> <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 435
---	C	1620, 1634	literature	J.M. Giżycki, <i>op. cit.</i>
Remigian Krzysztofowicz until 1640	?			
Sołtan				
Fedor † 1576	O			
Piotr Fedorowicz † before 1598	O			
Iwan Fedorowicz † 1613	O			
Paweł Fedorowicz † after 1602	O			
Jurij Piotrowicz † after 1602	?			
Bohdan Pawłowicz † after 1634	O	1631	document	Man. 1631
Stefan Pawłowicz † after 1628	?			
Mikołaj Bohdanowicz –	O	1633	literature	J. Dziegielewski, <i>O tolerancję dla zdominowanych. Polityka wyznaniowa Rzeczypospolitej w latach panowania Władysława IV</i> , Warsaw, 1986, p. 64
Samuel Bohdanowicz –	?			

Name	1	2	3	4
Kiryk Iwanowicz † ca. 1624	O			
Iwan Kirykowicz –	?			
Fedor Kirykowicz –	O	1647	document	El. 1647 Kossow
Aleksander –				
Stecki				
Stefan Olechnowicz † 1593	O	1593	literature	T.J. Stecki, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 3
Mikołaj Stefanowicz † 1627	O	1615	document	IKDA, p. 9
Krzysztof Stefanowicz † 1626	O	1626	literature	T.J. Stecki, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 3
Paweł Stefanowicz † after 1641	?			
Fedor Stefanowicz † after 1629	O	1629	document	Prot. 1629
Aleksander Mikołajowicz –	O	1648	report	Svodnaia, p. 440
Jan Mikołajowicz –	?			
Samuel Mikołajowicz –	?			
Strybyl				
Bohdan Iwanowicz † 1605	O			
Filon Bohdanowicz † 1634	O	1624, 1631	document	El. 1624; Man. 1631
Fedor Bohdanowicz † 1609	O			
Daniło (Daniel) Bohdanowicz † after 1630	O	1615, 1624, 1631	document	IKDA 4; El. 1624; Man. 1631
Piotr Bohdanowicz † 1636/8	O	1620	<i>pomiannik</i>	Drevnij pomiannik..., <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 65
Ostafi Bohdanowicz † 1624/8	O	1620, 1624	<i>pomiannik</i> , document	<i>op. cit.</i> , p. 65; El. 1624
Paweł Bohdanowicz † after 1618	?			
Bohdan Bohdanowicz † after 1609	?			
Iwan Fedorowicz † before 1640	O	1634	document	AJZR 8-3, p. 530
Abram Ostafiwicz –	O		report	J. Jerlicz, <i>op. cit.</i> , vol. 1, p. 150

Name	1	2	3	4
Michał Ostafowicz –	O	1642	report	J. Jerlicz, <i>op. cit.</i> , vol. 1, p. 46
Stefan Daniłowicz –	O	1632	literature	M.A. Maksimowicz, <i>op. cit.</i> , vol. 1, p. 302
Mikołaj Daniłowicz † before 1640	?			
Stefan Pawłowicz –	?			
Strzyżowski				
Gniewosz until 1602	?			
Suryń				
Andrzej Niemirowicz † after 1581	?			
Hordej Niemirowicz † before 1598	?			
Harasym Stanisławowicz † 1613	O			
Potej Stanisławowicz † 1595	O			
Iwan Harasymowicz † before 1613	O			
Wasył Harasymowicz † before 1613	O			
Andrzej Harasymowicz † 1619	O			
Piotr Iwanowicz –	O	1619	document	List 1619
Adam Wasyłowicz –	O	1647	document	El. 1647 Kossow
Aleksander Andrzejowicz –	O	1647	document	El. 1647 Kossow
Mikołaj Andrzejowicz –	?			
Rafał Andrzejowicz –	O	before 1630		
---	C	1630	report, document	Opis, vol. 14, p. 58
Jan Andrzejowicz	O	1647		El. 1647 Tryzna
Szaszkiewicz				
Wasył † 1594	O			
Mikołaj Wasyłowicz until 1622	O	until †	document	Sbornik materialov..., <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 43



Name	1	2	3	4
Fedor Wasylowicz unil † before 1618	O	until †	report	J. Jerlicz, <i>op. cit.</i> , vol. 1, p. 86
Szyszko-Stawecki				
Iwan † 1585	O			
Semen † before 1583	?			
Roman Semenowicz † 1585	?			
Semen Iwanowicz † 1595	?			
Michał Iwanowicz † 1592	O			
Fedor Iwanowicz † 1629	O			
Hryhory Romanowicz † 1617	?			
Hryhory Semenowicz –	C	1649	report	WAPK, Archiwum Dóbr Pomorzany, no. 89, l. 25
Paweł Michałowicz † after 1633	O	1633	report	Golubev – Mogiła, p. 528; BUAN, Ms. 21979
Iwan Michałowicz † 1610	O			
Semen Fedorowicz –	O	1615, 1647	document	IKDA, 9; El. 1647 Tryzna
Hryhory Fedorowicz –	O	1632	literature	W. Kaczorowski, <i>Sejmy konwokacyjny i elekcyjny w okresie bezkrólewia 1632 r.</i> , Opole, 1986, p. 176
Paweł Fedorowicz –	?			
Trypolski				
Fedor Wasylowicz † after 1609	O			
Hapon Wasylowicz † after 1613	O			
Żdan Wasylowicz † after 1609				
Teodor (Fedor junior) Wasylowicz † after 1618	O			
Andrzej Fedorowicz † 1618/24				
Matwiej Fedorowicz † 1634/40	O			

Name	1	2	3	4
Herman Fedorowicz † 1634/40	O	1624		El. 1624
Maksym Fedorowicz † 1634/40	O	1615, 1624		IKDA 9; El. 1624
Marek Fedorowicz † 1649	O	1624, 1631		El. 1624; Man. 1631
Parfen Haponowicz † after 1647	O	1631, 1647		Man. 1631; El. 1647 Tryzna
Fedor Haponowicz † after 1640	O	1624, 1631		El. 1624; Man. 1631
Nikifor Haponowicz † after 1629	O			
Iwan (Jan) Teodorowicz † after 1640	O	1624, 1629		El. 1624; Prot. 1629
Fedor Teodorowicz –	O	1647		El. 1647 Kossow
Ostafi Teodorowicz –				
Eliasz Andrzejowicz –				
Wasył Matwiejowicz –	O	1629		Prot. 1629
Iwan Matwiejowicz –				
Hrehory Matwiejowicz –	O	1632		M.A. Maksimowič, vol. 2, p. 202
Matwiej Hermanowicz –				
Piotr Hermanowicz –				
Aleksander Hermanowicz –	O	1647		El. 1647 Tryzna
Wacław Fedorowicz –				
Iwan (Jan) Fedorowicz –	O	1647		El. 1647 Tryzna
Kostiuk Fedorowicz –				
Aleksander Parfenowicz –				
Józef Parfenowicz –				
Hapon Nikiforowicz? –	O	1647		BUAN, Ms. 23368
Stefan Nikiforowicz? –	O	1647		El. 1647
Tysza-Bykowski				
Fedor † 1572	O			
Aleksander Fedorowicz † 1613	O			
Wasył Fedorowicz † 1624	?			

Name	1	2	3	4
Adam Aleksandrowicz † 1636	O	1636	report	J. Jerlicz, <i>op. cit.</i> , vol. 1, p. 43
Jeremiasz Aleksandrowicz † 1647	O	1647	report	ibid., p. 60
Fedor Wasylowicz † 1644	C	1644	report	ibid., p. 47
Wasył Wasylowicz † 1634	?			
Gabriel Adamowicz –	?			
Paweł Adamowicz –	?			
Jan Adamowicz –	O	1632	literature	M.A. Maksimovič, vol. 2, p. 203
Adam Jeremiowicz –	O	1632	literature	ibid.
Jan Fedorowicz † 1646	C			
Michał Fedorowicz –	C			
Gabriel Fedorowicz –	C			
Tyszkiewicz-Łohojski				
Jur (Jerzy) † 1576	O	1576	literature	Viktorovskij, 1911, no. 2; H. Lulewicz, Skład..., <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 428
Frydrych (Fryderyk) Jurowicz † 1621	O	1601	document	Man. 1601
---	U	1603	document	Svodnaia, p. 16; Viktorovskij, 1911, no. 2
Ostafi (Jan Eustachy) Jurowicz † 1631	O		literature	<i>op. cit.</i>
---	C	1622	document	ARSI Pol. 77, l. 69-70
Marcin Jurowicz † 1595	O	1595	literature	Viktorovskij, 1911, no. 2
Janusz Frydrychowicz –	C	1628, 1630	literature, report	Klasztory Bernardyńskie..., <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 215; Opis, vol. 14, p. 61
Józef Marcinowicz	O		literature	Viktorovskij, 1911, no. 2
Stanisław Józefowicz † 1643	O		literature	ibid.
---	C	1643	literature, report	Opis, vol. 16, p. 7
Antoni Jan Ostafowicz –	C		literature	Lulewicz, Skład..., <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 437; Viktorovskij, 1911, no. 2

Name	1	2	3	4
Krzysztof Ostafiwicz –	C		literature	Viktorovskij, 1911, no. 2; J.M. Giżycki (Wołyniak), <i>Zniesione kościoły...</i> , <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 168
Felicjan Ostafiwicz –	C		literature	Viktorovskij, 1911, no. 2
Tyszkiewicz-Skumin				
Dymitr until 1576	O	until †	literature	E. Tyszkiewicz, <i>Groby...</i> , <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 12
Teodor † 1618	O	1586, 1596	literature	Lulewicz, <i>Skład...</i> , <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 430, 432
---	U	1603	document	Svodnaia, p. 16
Janusz until after 1628	U	1603, 1621	document, report	<i>ibid.</i> , p. 16, 436
Wielhorski				
Wacław 1590-† 1619	?			
Piotr 1629 –	?			
Woronicz				
Aleksander † 1611	O			
Wasyl Aleksandrowicz † 1613	O			
Filon Aleksandrowicz † 1639	O	1624, 1631, 1632	document	El. 1624; Man. 1631; El. 1632
Michał (Mikołaj) Aleksandrowicz † 1643	O	1643	document, report	BC, Ms. 2468, l. 27; Opis, vol. 16, p. 19
Fedor Aleksandrowicz † 1646	O	1632, 1643, 1646	document, report	El. 1632; BC, Ms. 2468, l. 27; J. Jerlicz, <i>op. cit.</i> , vol. 1, p. 49
Daniel Jerzy Wasylowicz –	O	1622, 1647	document	Svodnaia, p. 440; El. 1647 Tryzna
Dymitr Karol Michałowicz –	?			
Samuel Fedorowicz –	O	1642, 1647	document	Golubev – Mogiła, vol. 2, p. 248; El. 1647 Kossow
Michał Fedorowicz –	O	1647	document	El. 1647 Kossow
Władysław Fedorowicz –	?			
Aleksander Fedorowicz –	?			

The above list includes 260 individuals. It consists, however, of 277 positions, because persons who changed their confession in the period under discussion are recorded more than once. I succeeded in ascertaining the confession of 186 persons (72% of the whole group), who are recorded in 207 entries. In the whole period 1569-1648, 149 nobles of the Orthodox denomination are recorded, 24 dissenters (including 11 Arians) and 30 Catholics (including 4 Uniates). The collected evidence should, however, be analysed from a dynamic perspective, which can be done in several ways.

First, the data will be analysed for several significant points in time. Table 3 compares the number of followers of particular denominations among the Kievan noble families in 1569, 1595, 1620 and 1648.<sup>20</sup>

Table 3. The denomination of members of the Kievan noble families active in 1569, 1595, 1620, and 1648

	1569	[%]	1595	[%]	1620	[%]	1648	[%]
Orthodox	36	97,3	54	93,1	59	78,7	38	63,3
Dissenters	1	2,7	3	5,2	10	13,3	7	11,7
Catholic	0	0	1	1,7	6	8	15	25
Total	37	100	58	100	75	100	60	100

Table 4 presents a different approach. Here, the values are compared for periods between the dates set in Table 3.<sup>21</sup>

Table 4. The denomination of members of the Kievan noble families active in periods 1569-95, 1596-1620, and 1620-48

	1569-95	%	1596-1620	%	1621-48	%
Orthodox	66	91,6	83	75,45	72	64,9
Dissenters	4	5,6	17	15,45	14	12,6
Catholic	2	2,8	10	9,1	25	22,5
Total	72	100	110	100	111	100

As indicated by the above comparisons, Catholics were rarely found among the members of Kievan nobles until the Union of Brest, the only attested cases being Aleksander and Mikołaj Siemaszko. Though owners of estates in Kievan voivodeship, they were, however, actually attached to Volyn. Also dissenters found among Kievan nobles were settled either in

<sup>20</sup> Included are only the persons whose denomination could have been ascertained.

<sup>21</sup> Included are only the persons whose denomination could have been ascertained.

Lithuania, like Hawryło and Jerofiej Hornostaj as well as Mikołaj Służka, or in Volyn, like Iwan Czaplic-Szpanowski. Families linked closely to Volyn were in the period 1569-95 exclusively Orthodox.

As a result of the religious conflict between the union and 'dis-union', the situation became more dynamic. Between 1596 and 1620, the number of Catholics and dissenters increases, though the followers of the 'greek faith' are still in the majority. Completely Catholicised are in that period Olizar and Tyszkiewicz (both Skumin and Łohojski) families, isolated instances of conversion to Catholicism are found also among Służka, Tysz-Bykowski, and Iwaszeńcewicz-Makarewicz. In the Protestant camp, Hornostaj family remains, as well as some of the Służka, Czaplica, and Iwaszeńcewicz. Arianism starts spreading, accepted by the Babiński family and some members of the Hojski, Niemiryż, and Chreptowicz. The evidence, however, indicates that, in the period 1596-1620, the majority of the noble families remains Orthodox. This concerns following families: Aksak, Butowicz, Jelec, Łaski, Łozek, Pawsza, Proskur, Sołtan, Stecki, Strybel, Suryń, Szaszkiewicz, Szyszko, Trypolski, Woronicz. Also numerous members of Tysza and Niemiryż families remain faithful to the Orthodoxy. Thus, the Kievan noble circles are predominantly Orthodox.

In the last of the sub-periods under discussion, the expansion of the Catholicism intensifies, though the followers of the 'Roman faith' are still in a clear minority. Apart from the already earlier converted Olizar and Tyszkiewicz-Łohojski, no other family turned 'papist' as a whole, although the Aksak and Jelec families are on the verge of such turn. Some families disappear from the political arena of the voivodeship: the Aksaks and Skumin-Tyszkiewicz have sold their estates there, while Siemaszko and Iwaszeńcewicz died out. The Catholic branch of the Tysza-Bykowski family proliferates, and there are isolated sprouts in the family trees of the Łozek (who, however, were soon to die out), Suryń, and Szyszko.

In the initial part of the sub-period under discussion, the Protestant influences remain significant. In the 1640's however, the families that died out: Hojski (1635) and Hornostaj (1637), cannot be easily substituted. Then, the Arianism retains its position thanks to the Babiński, Czaplica, Niemiryż, and Chreptowicz families.

The members of the Orthodox church are in the majority until 1648. The Butowicz, Łaski, Pawsza, Proskur, Sołtan, Stecki, Strybył, Trypolski,

and Woronicz families, as well as some of Niemirycz, Suryń, Szyszko, Tysza, and the last of Jelec and Aksak remain true to the faith of their ancestors.

Basing on the collected data related to specific families, one can try to ascertain, with a reasonable probability, the denomination of members of the families under discussion also when there is no direct evidence in this respect. The lack of any evidence of religious diversity within a single family allows us to suggest that brothers followed the same faith (thus we make an assumption concerning all brothers based on data related to one of them). This way, Table 2 may be supplemented with hypothetical data; the result is presented below.

Table 5. The denomination of members of the Kievan noble families active in 1569, 1595, 1620, and 1648 (including hypothetical data)

	1569	[%]	1595	[%]	1620	[%]	1648	[%]
Orthodox	45	95,7	64	88,9	72	78,3	66	73,3
Dissenters	2	4,3	5	6,9	11	11,9	7	7,8
Catholic	0	0	3	4,2	9	9,8	17	18,9
Total	47	100	72	100	92	100	90	100

Table 6. The denomination of members of the Kievan noble families active in periods 1569-95, 1596-1620, and 1620-48 (including hypothetical data)

	1569-95	%	1596-1620	%	1621-48	%
Orthodox	82	88,2	104	76,5	110	71,9
Dissenters	7	7,5	19	13,9	14	9,2
Catholic	4	4,3	13	9,6	29	18,9
Total	93	100	136	100	153	100

These compilations confirm the conclusions proposed above. The lasting predominance of the Orthodox faith in the last of the dates and sub-periods under discussion is even more clearly visible.

The denomination of members of wealthy immigrant families

It would be interesting to supplement the data related to the Ruthenian nobles with information on incoming Polish families that married into wealthy Kievan gentry, acquired Ukrainian estates and started to play an important role in the local political arena.

Table 7. The denomination of members of wealthy incoming gentry, Kievan voivodeship 1569-1648<sup>22</sup>

1	2	3	4	5
Charłęski (Charliński) Kievan branch, before 1569				
Szczęsny † 1601	?			
Stanisław, son of Szczęsny † 1628	?			
Mikołaj, son of Szczęsny † 1623	C	1622, 1623	document, literature	AGAD, Dokumenty Pergaminowe 6116; SGKP, 'Byszów'
Jerzy, son of Szczęsny † 1617	C	1600	literature	J.M. Giżycki, <i>Wýkaz klasztorów...</i> , p. 21
Szczęsny, son of Stanisław † 1648	?			
Samuel, son of Jerzy † 1644	C	1644	literature	SGKP, 'Byszów'
Witowski of Jastrzębiec, 1578				
Rafał † 1622/23	?			
Łukasz † 1647	C	1628	literature	J.M. Giżycki, <i>Wýkaz klasztorów...</i> , p. 21
Frąckiewicz-Radzimiński, 1581				
Michał † after 1607	?			
Mikołaj † 1630	P	1621	literature	H. Wisner, <i>Rzeczpospolita Wazów. Czasy Zygmunta III i Władysława IV</i> , Warsaw, 2002, p. 84
Jan † 1631	?			
Stużyński, 1581				
Kasper † after 1592	C	1570	document	BUAN, Ms. 23283, l. 3
Mierzwiński, 1583				

22 The table contains data pertaining to members of those families of Polish and Lithuanian origin that attained a high material and political status in the Kiev voivodeship. The classification is based on data collected in Litwin, *Napływ szlachty polskiej na Ukrainę 15569-1648*, Warsaw, 2000, passim (landowners belonging to the second and third economic group as well as landed officials). Omitted are magnates, who had any relations with the borderlands only through their representatives or during military campaigns: Jan and Stanisław Daniłowicz, Stanisław and Aleksander Koniecpolski, Stanisław, Jerzy and Konstancy Lubomirski, Jakub, Jan, and Marek Sobieski, Tomasz and Jan Zamoyski, Stanisław Żółkiewski. The families are listed here in a sequence corresponding to their respective arrivals to Kievan voivodeship. The dates given at the family names indicate the first attestations in the Kievan region. The sequence of columns repeats that of Table 2.



1	2	3	4	5
Prokop † after 1605	?			
Andrzej, son of Prokop † 1624/8	?			
Andrzej, son of Andrzej † after 1648	?			
Ogonowski, 1592				
Jan † after 1607	?			
Leszczyński, 1600				
Andrzej † 1606	P		literature	<i>PSB</i> , vol. 17, pp. 101-03
Rafał † 1644	P		literature	<i>PSB</i> , vol. 17, pp. 135-36
Złotopolski, 1602				
Piotr † 1629	?			
Błędowski, 1606				
Jan † 1621/5	P	1613	literature	J. Byliński, <i>Dwa sejmy z roku 1613</i> , Wrocław, 1984, p. 250
Drzewiecki, 1612				
Jan † 1639/40	P	1624	document	El. 1624; <i>AJZR</i> , 1/7, p. 88
Abramowicz, 1624				
Mikołaj † 1651	P	1651	literature	<i>PSB</i> , vol. 1, pp. 14-15
Wielam (Wilam), 1624				
Stanisław † 1638	P	1625, 1631, 1635	document	<i>Akta synodów...</i> , <i>op. cit.</i> , 471, 557, J.H. Drohojowski, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 112
Firlej, 1628				
Andrzej † 1649	P	1649	literature	<i>PSB</i> , vol. 6, p. 476
Łaszcz-Tuczapski, 1628				
Samuel	C	1628	literature	J.M. Giżycki, <i>Wýkaz klasztorów...</i> , p. 203
Zborowski, 1628				
Andrzej † 1630	C		literature	W. Sokołowski, <i>Politycy schyłku Złotego Wieku. Małopolscy przywódcy szlachty i parlamentarzyści w latach 1574-1605</i> , Warsaw, 1997, p. 102
Marcjan, son of Andrzej † 1639	C			
Hieronim, son of Piotr, † after 1649	?			
Wojnarowski, 1630				

1	2	3	4	5
Stefan † 1646/47	A	1645	document	<i>AJZR</i> 2/1, p. 281
Potocki of Lubicz, 1636				
Florian † 1641/42	C		literature	B.J. Wanat, <i>Zakon Karmelitów...</i> , <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 379
Drohojowski, 1636				
Andrzej † 1642	P	1632, 1635	report	<i>Akta synodów...</i> , <i>op. cit.</i> , 580; J.H. Drohojowski, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 112
Charłęski (Charliński), Volyn branch, 1638				
Hieronim † 1641	C	1632	document	<i>Volumina Legum</i> , vol. 3, p. 366
Krzysztof, after 1648	?		report	A.S. Radziwiłł. <i>Pamiętnik o dziejach w Polsce</i> , ed. by A. Przyboś, R. Żelewski, vols. 1-3, Warsaw, 1980, vol. 1, pp. 201, 210
Kazimierski from Biberstein, 1640				
Tomasz † 1667	A	1667	literature	<i>PSB</i> , vol. 12, p. 295
Dzik 1643				
Jan † 1651	O		literature	<i>Ukraina...</i> , <i>op. cit.</i> . Dz. III, p. 546
Pogórski, 1644				
Jan † after 1648	?			
Krzętowski (Krętowski), 1648				
Jan † 1653/5	C			
Zamoyski (non-entailer line), 1639				
Aleksander † 1655	?			

Among 38 persons listed above, the denomination of 23 can be identified. There are 11 Catholics, 8 Calvinists, 2 Arians, and 2 Orthodox. For 15 persons such identification was impossible. Catholics were most probably in the majority among them (almost certainly Aleksander Zamoyski, Krzysztof Charłęski, and Rafał Witowski). However, the numerous presence of immigrant adherents of other denominations (to those already established probably Michał and Jan Frąckiewicz-Radziniński should be

added) precludes identification of all incomers as Catholics.<sup>23</sup> Evidently, the inflow of wealthy Polish nobles to Kiev voivodeship did not necessarily enhance the Catholic presence in those lands.

The denomination of members of Kievan gentry  
 In order to compile a more complete picture of the religious structure of the Kievan nobility, we need at least approximately ascertain the religious composition of the Ruthenian gentry, constituting a majority among the local *szlachta*. Any more detailed analysis is here as difficult as it is in the case of noble families. Kievan gentry formed an even larger group, and the histories of individual families were only rarely studied in depth. To give a more complete picture of the religious composition of that group, I include herewith data pertaining to the denomination of members of the Ruthenian gentry families who owned estates in the Kievan region in 1569-1648. Included are both local (that is, settled before 1569) and immigrant (after 1569) families; the whole list comprises 179 entries.<sup>24</sup> For 62 families there is no information indicating their faith.<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, there are sources evidencing that members of 111 families

23 Doubts may arise, for example, when immigrant gentry marries into Protestant or Orthodox families. This is the case of Feliks Charłęski, married first with Fenna Lubecka (Orthodox), and then with Katarzyna Zbaraska (Arian). Additionally, the lack of any Catholic foundations during his activity may be significant, despite of his impressive wealth and the scarcity of 'roman' churches in the Kiev region. It seems probable that he died as a Catholic (SGKP, Byszów). Recently, N. Jakowenko ('Relihijni konwersiji...', *op. cit.*, p. 76) questioned the Catholic faith of Feliks Charłęski. Her main argument – the marriage between Feliks and a Protestant, Helena Dorohostajska (who was later accused of poisoning her husband) – may be challenged. The person in question is Feliks Charłęski, son of Mikołaj, and thus a nephew of the Kievan chamberlain. Dorohostajska could not be identified as a wife of the latter, because it is Katarzyna de domo Zbaraska, who was repeatedly mentioned as Kievan chamberlain's widow; see, for example, *Ukraina, op. cit.*, Dz. II, pp. 147, 243, 493, 609.

24 The list is based on data collected by N. Jakowenko, *Ukrajins'ka šljachta, op. cit.*, pp. 147-50, and the material collected by the present author, see Litwin, *Napływ, op. cit.*

25 Bahrynowski, Bałakier, Basarab, Bech, Biłyj, Bliszczanowicz-Werowka, Bobojeda, Bośsunowski, Boruchowski, Budyło, Czechowicz-Orełski, Czyrski, Daboszyński, Drabowicz-Osdzitowski, Hroza-Chowański, Hrynkowicz, Hubiński, Iskorostyński, Jelcza-Rusinowski, Kielbowski, Koczurowski, Korkodynowicz-Sypnowski, Korkoszka, Kożuchowski, Krasnodworski, Kreczetowski, Kryzyn-Żukowiecki, Ladowicz, Ludwiski, Łuczkiwicz-Kochanowski, Małyszka, Mazepa-Koledyński, Merezko, Moczulski, Mokreński, Mormył, Nieraszkowski, Ometyński, Ostalecki, Ostanko, Ostrowski, Paszkiewicz, Perocki, Pieslak, Pokalewski, Postołowski, Przybuski, Rozsudowski,

remained true to the Orthodox faith in the period under discussion. Protestant denominations were less popular among Ruthenian gentry than they were among nobles. Calvinists are found in two families only, and Arians – in four families. Neither was Catholicism well received among that group; it's in seven families only that Roman Catholics are found, and Uniates – in four families.

*List 1. Orthodox members of Ruthenian gentry families in the Kiev voivodeship, 1569-1648<sup>26</sup>*

**Andruski**, Zosima monk 1674, **Bajbuza**, Hrehory 1617, Fedor 1624, Symeon 1630, **Baranowicz** (Baranowski) (b.), Stefan 1699, **Berezecki**, Teodosij monk 1612, Wasyl 1632, Zachariasz 1632, Fedor clergyman 1631, 1648, **Bielkiwicz** (**Bielikiewicz**), Iwan 1614, **Biłoszycki**, Dymitr 1682, Maryna 1680, **Bobicki**, Jan 1646, **Brzozowski**, Iwan 1618, Maksymilian 1632, 1647, **Buľhak** (**Buľhakowski**), Komon 1694, **Bykowski**, Mikołaj 1632, Janusz 1632, **Chalepski**, Konstanty 1699, Abram 1699, **Chałaim**, numerous 1624, Andrzej 1640, **Chłusowicz**, Roman 1624, **Chodakowski**, Teodor 1679, Michał 1688, Hrehory 1688, Jan 1701, Iwan † 1688, **Chodyka-Krenicki**, Teodor 1615, **Czerchawski**, Hrehory clergyman † 1613, Jan 1631, Andrzej 1632, **Czerkas**, Jan 1624, **Czernik**, Hrehory 1619, 1632, **Czopowski**, Samuel 1688, **Czudowski**, Wasyl 1633, **Dachnowicz**, Mikołaj 1624, Jarosz 1624, **Dąbrowski** (**Dembrowski**), Wasyl 1631, Piotr 1641, **Diwoczka**, Onisyfor clergyman † 1588, **Dolmatowicz-Isajkowski**, Iwan 1619, **Dubicki** (**Dubnicki**), Rafał 1624, Mikołaj 1629, Jan 1647, **Dublański**, Samuel 1647, Marianna 1681, **Dumiński**, Daniel 1633, 1640, 1647, Mikołaj † 1689, **Dzietkowski**, Warłaam clergyman 1640, 1647, numerous 1682, 1688, 1689, **Fedorowicz**, Filip 1624, Łukasz 1629, **Gołimunt**, Makary clergyman 1617, **Hajewski-Łowdykowski**, Fedor 1680, Maksymilian † 1710, **Hański**, Aleksander 1633, **Hołowiński**, Tymofiej 1634, Anna = Kropiwnicki 1640, † 1648, Dymitr, Samuel, Konstanty 1679, **Hołub**, Jerzy 1631, Daniel 1647, **Horain**, Jan 1612, 1624, **Hrazny**, Borys 1647, **Hryczyna**, Jan 1642, **Hulkiewicz-Hlebowski**, Filon 1625, Iwan 1632, **Humieniecki**, Jerzy 1624, Agafia 1632, 1636, **Iliński**, Filip 1584, Fedor 1691, **Jarmoliński**, Mikołaj 1601, Jan 1625, 1637, 1646, Serafina

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Sebastianowicz, Synhur, Szawuła, Traska, Uchłowski, Urucki, Werbowiecki, Wielimont, Wityński (Wituński), Zakusiło, Zbranny, Zubryk, Żwan-Deleszkan, Żubr.

26 I have included here also data pertaining to later periods, assuming ancestors of Orthodox persons were of the same faith; see above, note 17.

monk 1646, **Jenicz-Komicki**, Trochim 1648, Jan 1649, **Jerlicz**, Maciej, Joachim 1647, Jan, Jarosz 1679, **Kaleński**, Michał 1685, Jan 1699, **Karwowski**, Aleksander 1667, 1671, **Kierdanowski**, Fedor 1629, Piotr 1679, **Kiewlicz**, Krzysztof 1596, Hrehory 1624, Krzysztof 1653, **Kniehyniński**, Tymofiej 1632, Mikołaj 1679, **Kopeć (Koptewicz)**, n. 1645, Owdotia = 1 Kropiwnicka, = 2 Kędzierska, **Korcowski**, Iwan 1598, **Kostiuszkowski**, Eliasz, Jan 1699, **Kotubaj-Iliaszewski**, Wasyl, Teodor 1585, **Kozarewski**, Stefan until 1700, **Kubiliński**, Eliasz 1682, **Lasota**, Michał 1624, Jerzy 1629, Ostafi 1631, **Lemiesz**, Benedykt 1647, Lew, Stefan 1647, **Lewkowski**, Suprun 1631, Michał 1630, numerous 1688, 1699, 1715, **Liplański**, Daniel 1612, Hrehory 1647, **Macharyński**, Helena = Kaznowska 1648, Michał 1654, **Maluszycki**, Andrzej 1624, **Mieleniewski**, numerous 1682, 1688, 1699, **Mirowicki**, n. 1636, **Moszczenicki**, Jerzy 1631, **Moszkowski**, Tyszko 1660, Maciej 1688, **Myszka-Chołoniewski**, Michał 1619, Semen 1637, n = Kropiwnicki † 1648, **Neczaj-Hruzewicz**, Iwan 1624, **Nestorycki**, Iwan 1631, **Niekraszewicz**, Samuel 1631, **Niemirowicz-Szkarewski**, Teodor 1622, Mikołaj 1625, **Niepituszczzy**, Roman 1577, Rafał clergyman 1613, 1618, **Niewmirycki**, Fedor, Iwan 1629, Roman 1647, Pelagia 1647, Stefan 1680, Aleksander, Jan 1699, **Ohij-Tyszkiewicz**, Jan 1617, Aleksander 1632, **Oleksicz-Gieranowski**, Aleksander 1631, 1632, 1647, Bohufał 1647, **Paszyński**, Terech 1629, Daniel 1631, **Pawłowicz**, Demian, Prokop, Szymon 1601, Konstanty, Michał 1624, Jaków 1666, **Peresecki**, Martyn clergyman 1646, 1647, **Pilipowski (Pilipowicz)**, Paweł 1647, **Poźniak**, Anna = Arciszewski 1640, **Rabsztyński**, Aleksander 1645, **Raj**, Filon 1572, **Redczyc**, Tomasz 1719, **Rodkiewicz**, Hipolit 1624, **Sierchowiecki**, Jan 1624, **Silicz**, Mikołaj 1628, Nikodem clergyman 1636, 1640, Krzysztof 1654, **Siła-Nowicki**, Teodor 1655, **Skipor**, Adam 1647, **Skurat**, Marek 1681, Stefan 1687, Piotr 1691, Maciej 1699, **Sokołowski**, Iwan 1629, Aleksander 1647, 1649, **Sokor**, Eustachy, 1624, Roman 1624, Samuel 1631, Hrehory 1645, **Sołoma**, Jan 1612, **Staszkievicz**, Jan 1631, **Strzelnicki**, Ignacy 1647, Jan 1679, **Susło (Susło-Żerbiłło)**, Mikołaj 1631, Teodor 1632, 1637, Jan 1667, Jakub, Andrzej 1679, **Synhajewski**, Samuel, Paweł 1699, Michał 1720, **Szczeniewski**, Marcin 1624, Daniel, Paweł 1647, Krzysztof 1679, **Szostakowski**, numerous 1686, **Świacki**, Semen 1614, **Tretiak**, Stanisław 1624, 1631, 1640, 1647, Aleksander 1698, **Uszczap (Uszczapowski)**, Michał, Hrehory, Artem, Jewchim 1690, Waśkowski, Stefan, Jewtych 1682, **Wereszczaka**, Fedor 1624, Prokop 1647, **Wigura**, Stanisław 1624, Semen 1647, 1649, **Wolkowicz (Wolkowski)**,

Andrzej 1647, Paweł, Antoni, Jan 1684, **Wyhowski**, Iwan 1619, Bohdan 1629, Ostafi, Fedor 1631, Iwan 1638, Piotr 1647, Jakub, Łukasz, Teodor 1679, Bazyli, Samuel 1698, **Wyszpolski**, Benedykt, Mikołaj Stefan 1699, **Zdzitowiecki**, Jan 1618, **Zołotoliński**, Eliasz 1647, **Zub**, Bazyli 1664, **Żaszkowski**, n. 1649, **Żmijowski**, Jan 1596, Waclaw 1624.

*List 2. Dissenter members of Ruthenian gentry families in the Kiev voivodeship, 1569-1648*

Calvinists: **Dachnowicz**, Mikołaj 1642, **Motowidło-Bieniewicz**, Waclaw 1635.

Arians: **Czudowski**, numerous before 1648, **Jenicz-Bystrycki**, Iwan, Ilia, Paweł 1632-48, **Peresecki**, Piotr, Andrzej, Anna 1611, **Rostkowski**, Mikołaj, Stefan 1632.

*List 3. Catholic members of Ruthenian gentry families in the Kiev voivodeship, 1569-1648*

Roman Catholics: **Chodyka-Krenicki**, Teodor 1640, **Czudowski**, Anna = Serebrysko 1640, **Dołmatowicz-Isajkowski**, Samuel 1658, **Hański**, Jakub 1635, **Korcowski**, Adam 1641, 1644, **Lenkiewicz-Ipohorski**, Aleksander 1644, **Wyszpolski**, Benedykt, Mikołaj 1645.

Uniates: **Dachnowicz**, Andrzej 1602, 1613, **Dołmatowicz-Isajkowski**, Dołmat 1656, **Horain**, Jan since 1634, Jerzy 1656, **Kotlubaj-Iliaszewski**, Michał † 1625, Sylwester 1628, Artemij 1645, **Uhrynowski**, Lazar 1646.

To complete the picture, it should be said that among immigrant Polish gentry representing the middle and lower economic levels, there were both Catholics and dissenters. However, there are only fragmentary data available, referring to the faith of the members of that group. Noteworthy, it's not only Catholics, like Bielecki, Bolanowski, Grzybowski, Kaniński, Pontkowski, Staniszewski, Sulimowski, Uniszowski, Węzłowski, Wilga, Zakrzewski, Ziemblicki, and Ziółkowski, who settled in the borderlands. There were also Arians (Arciszewski, Bieniewski, Czechowski, Nasiłowski, Przypkowski, Sowiński, Stan, Suchodolski) as well as Calvinists (Bogucki, Gamysz, Kochowski, Krupko-Przeclawski, Rej, Pomsta).

Translated by *Kamil O. Kuraszkievicz*

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