

# JAZLOWIEC



## THE TOWN LOST IN HISTORY

by Stanley J. Kowalski

### INDEX

PREFACE

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I: PODOLIA -- GENERAL INFORMATION

CHAPTER II: THE PEOPLE OF PODOLIA

CHAPTER III: ORIGINS

CHAPTER IV: THE EARLY EASTERN SLAVS

CHAPTER V: THE BUCZACKI AND JAZLOWSKI FAMILIES

CHAPTER VI: THE KONIECPOLSKI FAMILY

CHAPTER VII: THE LUBOMIRSKI AND PONIATOWSKI FAMILIES

CHAPTER VIII: UNDER THE AUSTRIAN OCCUPATION

CHAPTER IX: THE SHORT YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

CHAPTER X: THE TRAGEDY OF WORLD WAR II

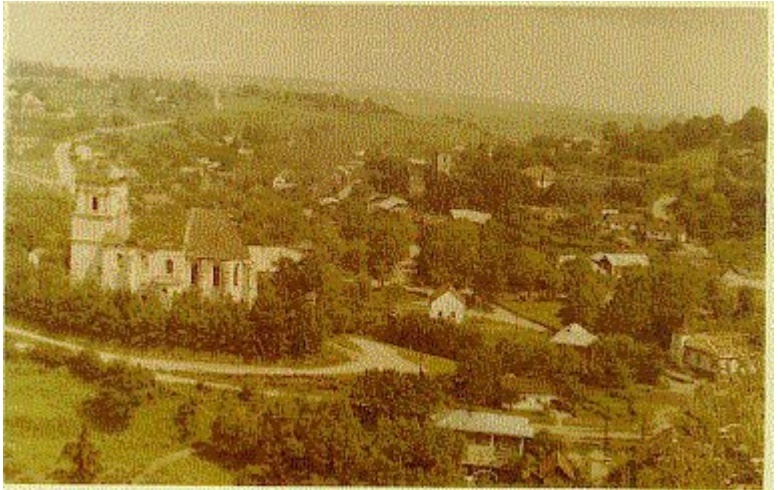
BIBLIOGRAPHY

## Preface

The history of an ancient, but forgotten town can be as simple as a paragraph or two, or as broad and complex as the scope of research allows. In such a case, the extent of the information would exceed the availability of written documentation. The recovery of sought-after data would therefore follow some indirect leads; including archeological artifacts, accidental evidence of past civilizations and the traditions of local folklore.

To formulate a monograph of such a town's history, where written information is scarce, it is necessary to complement factual knowledge with assumptions, deductions and conclusions to produce a reasonably accurate portrait of the past.

This approach out of necessity must be applied to the small pre-war Podolian town of Jazlowiec. The Post-World War Two history, and the will of victorious powers caused this once-prosperous community in the southeast of Poland to disappear



from contemporary maps, its name no longer to be found anywhere in the world. As part of the territory ceded to the Soviet Union, it became a pawn of that great power, and subject to its whims. Like many long-forgotten places, this Podolian town experienced many stages of change and development throughout eastern European history. Beginning as a small Slavic settlement, it grew to become an important post on the East-West trade route and a strong military outpost in Poland's defensive system of its pre-partition days.

The town's final degradation immediately followed World War Two, when the Soviet government, after incorporating the Eastern territories of Poland into their vast empire, for reason of pleasing their Ukrainian allies, named the half-deserted, half-destroyed Jazlowiec with the meaningless name Jabloniwka, "Appletown" in Russian and Ukrainian. The obliteration of its name is reason enough to record Jazlowiec's great past and document its historic and sometime glorious existence.

Prior to the partition of Poland in the 18th century, the name Jazlowiec was well known to Poles, and their leaders and kings. The extent of its recognition varied with its importance to the Polish crown. It decreased to some degree in the 18th century, but reached its nadir during the time of Austrian occupation. During this time the town transformed into a small provincial community, struggling to stay alive and hang on to its ancient name. This changed briefly in the short period between world wars (1919-1939), when Jazlowiec made slow, steady economic progress and its name again gained some recognition within the Polish nation.

One of the causes of its revival was the female Order of the Immaculate Conception, which in the middle of the 19th century took residence in the former palace of King Stanislaw August Poniatowski, which became a vital factor in the improvement of the town's economy and prestige. Another contributor to the revival was the 14th Lancers regiment, which adopted for its own the name Jazlowiec after fighting a victorious battle with Ukrainian forces at the town's doorstep. In the short period of Polish independence, the name gained sufficient popularity to be well known by the majority of Poles. Even during World War Two, its name was carried to countries like France and Great Britain, where the regiment that was destroyed by German tanks at the gates of Warsaw was revived to fight again.

Apart from the Soviets, one should also look to the nationalistic ideology of the Ukrainians as another reason for the obliteration of the town's ancient name. The Ukrainians once shared the town with Jews and Poles, but upon the destruction of the Jewish minority and the forced migration of Poles to post-war Poland after the Second World War, the Ukrainians eradicated the name Jazlowiec, considering it to be too Polish for their nationalistic sensibilities.

After the fall of communism the local Ukrainians did some soul searching. This made them revise their opposition to the name, which in ancient times was as much theirs as Polish. The name Jazlowiec has been brought back from oblivion and in the 1980s was restored to its original geographical position. The Polish accent is no longer heard in it, but if history has something to say in this matter the name will always echo in Polish.

The intention, then, of this monograph is to compile the available information to reconstruct the history of Jazlowiec and to preserve it for posterity. Although in world history, the position this small Podolian place may be insignificant, its existence deserves preservation, and may be of interest to a broad spectrum of the Polish population as well as anyone with an interest in European History. The region may not now belong to Poland, but its history should always be an integral part of Polish history, and preservation of this past has as much value as the history of other parts of Poland and of Europe in general.

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# Introduction

A town's history is no more than a speck of dust, compared to that of a country, or of all mankind. Yet, its minuteness sometimes becomes vital in the discovery of missing chapters in the history of civilizations. Its relative size may not always reflect its historical value, as recent archeological discoveries

amply display that unearthing an ancient grave, an old settlement, or the walls of a forgotten city buried in the ground, provides enormous scientific value in researching the secrets of the past.

No claim of such magnitude can be made with respect to Jazlowiec. Its only archeological find, made by Prof. J. Kozlowski shortly before World War Two, testifies to the presence of man in the valley of two passing streams in the Bronze Age. However, it is certain that much hidden



information relating to the town's various periods of development awaits discovery. But ever since the Eastern territories were ceded to the Soviet Union by the World War Two peace treaties, the likelihood of any archeological undertaking within the town's perimeters have become problematic, and perhaps improbable. Soviet historians and scientists, and even less Ukrainian, could not be expected to find in themselves much incentive to dig into a Polish past.

At the crossroads of many armies and civilizations, Jazlowiec has been subjected to destruction several times in its history. This did nothing to assist in preserving a sufficient amount of information for recreation and restoration of its past lost in old ages. Whatever remains in the form of available documentation is often sparse and incomplete, primarily because many records fell victim to the wanton destruction of invaders, especially from the East, and to the ignorance of local people.

In spite of this, this town so blatantly deleted for the post-war times from the European map still lives on in Polish memory. Certain historical aspects have helped to keep its name alive, although seldom intimate in detail. As its ancient glories radiated over former and present territories, its name was documented in many ways for many reasons. The purpose of this text is to assemble available data into a condensed volume for future references, and to document the town's existence.

The scarcity and incompleteness of historical material on Jazlowiec calls for certain logical conclusions and assumptions in relation to certain periods of its history. Such practice would not be inconsistent with the general approach of historians towards this geographic area or other areas of the world. At different times, historians of differing nationalities in a manner which would further their political interest presented different aspects of history. However, the above statement is more applicable to the general area of Podolia, where the town is located, than to the town itself.

The available documentation on Jazlowiec is basically of Polish origin. The Ruthenian (Ukrainian) sources so far have nothing to offer which even acknowledges the town's existence. Even the map of the region, allegedly

prepared in the 16th Century and presented in their historical publications, fails to show the town's name. This is altogether inconsistent with proven facts that recognize this period as the "golden age" of Jazlowiec. More generous information is provided by Armenians, who maintained a presence there for several centuries, and who were at the time the dominant economic and cultural communities within its walls.

Another important contributor of the town's past is local folklore. The further back in time, the greater its contribution. Legend may not always be the source of verifiable information, but in general, it has an established position in the histories of various nations. Such is the case with Jazlowiec. Ignoring this source of information would jeopardize the project, and at best limit its scope to shortened period of time. Utilizing it, however, we are able to maintain a continuity in the chronology of events.

In all fairness, it has to be recognized that this text cannot be taken as clear-cut historical presentation. In view of the many nationalistic viewpoints presented, no assurance can be made of absolute objectivity. In this context, any assertions as to impartiality of sources would have to be views with the close scrutiny; and assumptions and conclusions presented considered within the framework of the reader's convictions.

This work is being written as a series of essays, each treating historical events and personalities, or even ideological issues, in a fashion that will conform to a series of events in the order of their occurrence. The repetition of time periods, events and personalities is unavoidable, but on the whole, the monograph should give a fair and reasonably accurate account of the history of Jazlowiec.

Another important note relates to the general geographical location of the town, which in the present circumstances needs some clarification. The region of Podolia, once an integral part of the Polish state, has since World War Two become unknown on the new Soviet and Ukrainian maps. To reconstruct its location it is necessary to refer to the territory as the Western Ukraine. Although the borders of the two do not exactly correspond, it is a fair geographical approximation of the "vanished" land of Podolia.

# CHAPTER I

## Podolia - General Information

Any account of Jazlowiec and its history cannot be completely or effectively presented without portraying its image against the background of the area surrounding it. Geographically and historically, this area is the land of Podolia, the far southeast corner of pre-World War Two Poland. It is also an integral part



of a vast plateau, extending as far east as the Azow Sea and running along the territories adjacent to the north shore of the Black Sea. The furthest west region of these plains is Podolia.

This immense plateau has been known under different names throughout its long and volatile history. The Greek historian Herodotus around 500 BCE With subsequent political changes recorded it first known name, the Pontic Steppe, this ancient name disappeared,

giving way to names such a Russian Plains and the Black Sea plateau. Within the area so designated there were many minor divisions, of which Podolia was the most westerly.

The borders of the land had never been clearly defined. Some historians extend Podolia as Far East as the Black Sea and the Dniepr (Dnipro) River. Others confine it to a smaller area. The most consistent geography appears to be the description of the 18th century Polish chronicler, K. Stadnicki. According to his detailed account, the name of Podolia was designated to the territories enclosed between the Dniestr River in the south, the land of Vohlynia in the north, the rivers Murchwa in the east and Zlota Lipa in the west. These borders were substantially reduced to benefit the adjacent Ukraine at the time of the partition of Poland in 1772. In the short period between World War One and World War Two, its Polish borders were congruent with the Voivodship of Tarnopol.



Historians or geographers have never resolved the origin of the name "Podolia." There is not even a legend that would lend assistance to the solution of this mystery. As its meaning may indicate, "the land of depressions," some Eastern Slavs of Polish family must have conceived it. The fact that Ruthenians and later the Ukrainians did not show affinity for the name indicates that the Poles alone were its originators.

Contrary to what the term "plateau" may imply, Podolia is not a land of flat, endless plain. Its geography provided Poland with the country's most beautiful pre-war scenery. Deep valleys cut by rivers running through rich soil created panoramic mountainous view compatible to those in Switzerland or Colorado in the United States. Its

comparison to Switzerland was often quoted in tourist publications and has remained its basic description when referring to the beautiful valley of the Dniestr River. Its tributaries flowing from the north, almost parallel to one another, created in their long erosive process perpendicularly running valleys rich in beauty and spectacular scenery. These periodic elongated depressions brought additional attractions to the land and its wonderful picturesque landscapes. In the Polish times the tourist industry was at first not sufficiently developed to profile its beauty to the general public, but given some time it would have become one of the main attractions in the country.

One of the most beautiful panoramas follows the breach of the fast-flowing Zbrucz River through the plateau towards the mighty Dniestr. The steep slopes of the valley, rich in trees and vegetation, create the impression of a wonderful virgin territory, where undisturbed wildlife and unspoiled nature are still dominant. Whoever has seen this view can never forget its enchanted beauty and the peaceful scenery of undisturbed countryside.

This valley's depth may in itself be the explanation for the disappearance of Podolia's greatest wonder, the Sarmatian Sea. A lake of sizable proportions must have been in existence in the region of upper Zbrucz through the time of the Sarmatian Empire (3rd century AD), or even later. Arabian travelers confirmed its presence, but its disappearance remains a mystery to this day. One logical explanation might have been gradual or sudden deepening of the river's canyon, allowing the lake's eventual drainage to the Black Sea via Zbrucz and the Dniestr.

The Arabian descriptions are only one indication of the sea's historical presence. Nature provided another proof, by leaving coral reefs that run as a range of hills at the upper region of Zbrucz River, as well as a long line of ponds and small lakes in the depressions left by the vanished sea. In addition, rare black swans, known for their fondness of water, made a periodic pilgrimage to their ancient grounds. Apparently the last one was seen in that area in 1939, just before the outbreak of World War Two.

At its northern edge, the plateau slowly descends towards the neighboring Vohlynia, creating another mountainous landscape in Podolia. Here, its most striking beauty is a range of hills called Miodobory. Their low rounded peaks and deep depressions between offer a pleasing sight for the visitor, and it is also referred to as another Switzerland.

Further south, another wonder of the past, the Pantalicha Steppe, extends for miles on the plateau's endless plain. It is the last residual form of the terrain that once was common throughout Podolia; the Ukraine and lands further east. With the increase of population, the steppes were gradually put under cultivation, their virgin beauty decreased, as it became a strictly agricultural area.

The geography of this land is also responsible for its unusual and varied climate. Its north and south regions seem to be in complete contrast to one another. In the south the deep valley of the Dniestr River, which allows for the warm Black Sea air current to penetrate deep into the land, made this area the warmest in the pre-war Poland. This climatic condition favored development of a high standard of agriculture, the most varied and productive in the country. Nowhere else in Poland was the farm produce as rich or as bountiful; nowhere else vegetable and fruit growing conditions better. Because of this exceptional climate, fertile soil, and bountiful crop, this part of Podolia was often compared to the Turkish mystic gardens of Meran.

While the south enjoyed a warm, mild climate, the regions further north had to bear with the coldest temperatures in the entire country. Persistent cold winds from the boundless Russian plains gave this area the cold grip of a continental winter. In summer, however, the weather compensated with highest temperature, common to this type of climate.

Podolia, for its fertile blacktop soil and its favorable climatic conditions was, through the entire of its Polish history, recognized as the main producer of such agricultural products as wheat, rye, and barley. It was also the main

exporter of these commodities to the eastern markets through the Black Sea ports and to the west by the way of Gdansk, the Baltic Sea port. This productivity contributed greatly to the prosperity of its people, and gave cause for many laudatory comments by visitors to Podolia. One of them, Jan Dlugosz, the first Polish historian, describes it in his work as "the land flowing with milk and honey." Similar praise was voiced a century later by the visiting Papal Nuncio, Kommandoni, when he witnessed the abundance of the crops.

Various civilizations left their marks on Podolia throughout its long history, beginning with the earliest times known to man, leaving vestiges of nations and great empires. Testimony to this fact is evidenced in rich archeological discoveries all over the region; the excavations at Koszylowce, Zielencze, Sassow and other revealed many artifacts of the Neolithic era. In other places, like Saporow and Czarnokonce, the finds disclosed the presence of the Scythes, famous for the "Pax Scythia" praised by Roman historians. One of the richest and most important excavations was at Michalkowa, consisting of gold items of the Celtic era. Treasures of Marynian culture were uncovered at Zalesie by Czortkow. A site at Trembowla became famous for its discoveries relating to the once-powerful Sarmatians. In many places Roman gold coins, medallions, ceramics and tools of various time periods were unearthed. Also, in some places, the outlines of ancient Slavic sites had been brought out of the earth and some settlements are still visible to the naked eyes. Whatever has been discovered, however, may be only a fraction of what remains in the ground.

The latter era of Podolia's history left an even greater number of relics and monuments, which are still present, some in use, some in ruin. This includes almost all artifacts belonging to the Polish period, beginning in the 14th century and lasting until World War Two. The earliest, a chain of stone castles, were constructed out of necessity to protect the country against Tartar, Cossack and Turkish invasions from the east and south. The same period also left for posterity many churches, monasteries of various Christian denominations, as well as synagogues, palaces, town halls and many lesser structures built as time progressed.

The constant threat of invasion from the east began with the first incursion of Genghis Khan hordes (1237-1241) into Ruthenian principalities and southern regions of Poland. For some time this was, with a lesser degree of success, checked by the princes of Kiev, Halicz and Wlodzimierz through open military confrontation, or by accepting the sovereignty of the Tartar khans and paying them tribute. Another form of protection amounted to building of castles and fortifications around cities and towns. These originally were built of wood and seldom proven to be a fully effective means of defense. In general, with each consecutive invasion, these were burned and razed by the Tartars.

With the return of the southeast territories to Poland in the early years of the 14th century, through inheritance and the Polish-Hungarian Treaty, the Polish king Casimir the Great introduced a more effective system of protection for his eastern lands. Its basic theme was to build several stone castles around the borders of the most threatened province. Thus, Podolia became a strongly fortified region with a great number of castles, stretching from Kamieniec Podolski in the south, to the city of Lwow in the north. The effectiveness of this type of defense against all eastern invaders was proven several times until the fall of Poland at the end of the 18th century.

These monuments of the past, often shrouded in mystery, still stand on the hills, giving witness to man's past glories and their own ragged significance in protection of the country. But their purpose and importance transcended beyond their immediate area, to the rest of the Polish nation and to Western Europe. These stone walls were of greater consequence as life in the West, unaffected by invaders from the East, was free to mobilize its resources and ingenuity to develop art, industry, science and higher standards of living and culture. Contemporaries who recognized the importance of the Polish defense system in Podolia coined the name "The Ramparts of Christianity" to describe its significance in protecting Western Poland and Europe. Were it not for this system, we can be correct in an assumption that the achievements of the West would have been grossly compromised by the threat from the nation of lower



civilization.

The walls now stand mute, no longer needed, obsolete in the face of modern warfare. They cannot aspire to the greatness of other world landmarks, such as the Great Wall of China, or the sophistication of the Maginot Line, but by their continued presence, they inspire images of a great and glorious history. When melancholy for past achievements and sentiments of the present situation fill the Polish soul, the old gates at the Ramparts of the Holy Trinity (Okopy Sw. Trojcy) open the long avenue of historic splendor for eager visitors. The extended range of castles, beginning at that point and stretching to the most northern tip of Podolia, display enchanted views, enhanced by a panoramic setting in nature's grandest splendor. They invite with their charm to make further tours of the historic ruins - from the oldest in Czerwonogrod, through the mightiest at Jazlowiec and the most impressive at Podhorce.

Within sight of these ancient walls, many powerful stories, rich in human drama, potent with past legends, enter the visitor's imagination. The ruins at Krzywczce shout from the lofty towers heroic stories of numerous stands against Tartars and Cossacks, and send the message of the final fight when the defenders had to surrender to the Turks. Nearby an ancient site of the Sarmatian stronghold at Trembowla, replaced with even mightier walls of the Polish castle, is visible in the distance. Within these walls, the memory of Mrs. Chrzanowski, the wife of the commander at the time, still lingers. By threatening her own suicide, she spurred the garrison to fight until final victory. This success, however, caused the great tragedy that befell the defenders of Tarnopol castle. The Turkish sultan, enraged by the failure of his forces at Trembowla, sought revenge on the lesser castle, tearing it to the ground. Also, when the Turkish army was forced to withdraw from the city of Lwow, they unleashed their fury at smaller Polish strongholds, which were in no position to withstand the sultan's might.

During the period of Turkish invasions, there were some encouraging turns of events favoring the Poles in their struggle in avenging their earlier frustrations. They involved quite a few castles, wisely utilized by King Jan Sobieski. This great military leader adopted the strategy of locking his troops inside the walls of his castles during the winter, while the Turks on the outside had to bear the fury of the bitter cold. Further north, the castles of Brody and Zbaraz are the testimony to their successful stand against the Cossacks and the Tartars, frequent allies of the sultan. At very difficult situation they tied those forces up in battles until the main army of the Polish king arrived.

This, of course, is only a short list of historical events that took place within the defensive system of Podolia. In all, there were over fifty castles, each with its own stories and legends. The records of the Tartars threat account for over 200 of their incursions into the land. Then rebellions of Cossacks and three long Turkish wars; all of it taking place on the soil of Podolia. Not all events have been the subject to written documentation - the majority of them remain hidden in the oblivion, unlikely to be ever rescued from the forgotten past. They have perished in the wars of destruction, hidden like skeletons in the prehistoric kurgans of even further past.

Within the shadows of the decaying walls one will unavoidably encounter a great number of churches which, because of the human care, survived in useable condition until the recent times. The, World War Two which brought the radical and social changes caused the houses of God to also become the victims of neglect and decay. In the communist system, where religion was suppressed, these religious structures, with very few exceptions, were left to the mercy of time and the elements of nature. Some of their historical and cultural value was given museum status, some were utilized as state warehouses and most became abandoned.

Other houses of worship, in particular the synagogues, fared even worse. Being the temples of the people who perish in the Holocaust, they in most cases shared the fate of their faithful. The Ukrainians' destructive hand often razed these places for no better reason than to eliminate the memory of genocide committed on their former neighbors. Perhaps if someone one day unearths their foundations, he will be as mystified as we are today by the discoveries of

ancient cultures of in South America and in Pacific.

Ethnologically, Podolia was inhabited by various nationalities, with Poles and Ukrainians being the major groups. These nationalities basically ran along lines of religious preferences: Polish Roman Catholics, Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, Christian Armenians and Jews. Where Ukrainians were concerned that was not always the case - some Ruthenians, although of Orthodox faith, did not consider themselves Ukrainians. Many of them moved with Poles in 1946 to the Western part of Poland, rather than stay in the newly created Ukraine. According to the last population census conducted by the Polish government in 1931, the ethnic population of Podolia broke down as follows:

Poles 47.3%

Ukrainians 45.3%

Others 7.4% (mainly Jews)

In the years between 1931 and 1939, this count increased to favor the Poles. This was due chiefly to the assimilation of Ruthenians with Poles, and Polish migration from the west to the lesser populated eastern regions of the country. Taking these factors into account, it would be safe to assume that the Poles in Podolia constituted an absolute majority.

As for Jazlowiec itself, no exact population numbers or estimates for that period are available. It is generally known that the town at the time was basically Polish and Jewish, with Ukrainians residing predominantly in the suburban areas of Browary and Przedmiescie. It is known from 1931 census that the district of Buczacz, which included Jazlowiec, had an absolute Polish majority. The villages around the town were of mixed ethnicity; some like Duliiby, were totally Polish, while others like Rusilow were primarily Ukrainian. Tangible proof of the Polish majority can be found in the ratio of churches, which ran 6-2 in favor of Roman Catholic versus the Greek Orthodox.

The most recent attempts by Ukrainians in America to justify a reverse population ratio in Podolia, backed by evidence of new discoveries of documents doubtful origin cannot be accepted as anything else but pure fabrication.

# CHAPTER II

## The people of Podolia through the age

A nation's history begins at the point in time when the first known event associated with its origin is recorded. The roots may lie at its creation, migration, expansion or some other episode of historical value.

This approach may vary when the object is to create the history of the country in its strictest geographical terms. While staying fixed within its borders, the study of the origination of people and cultures can provide a solid base for a history of more modern times.

The history of Podolia is the history of many peoples, nations, tribes, clans and political powers, each of which



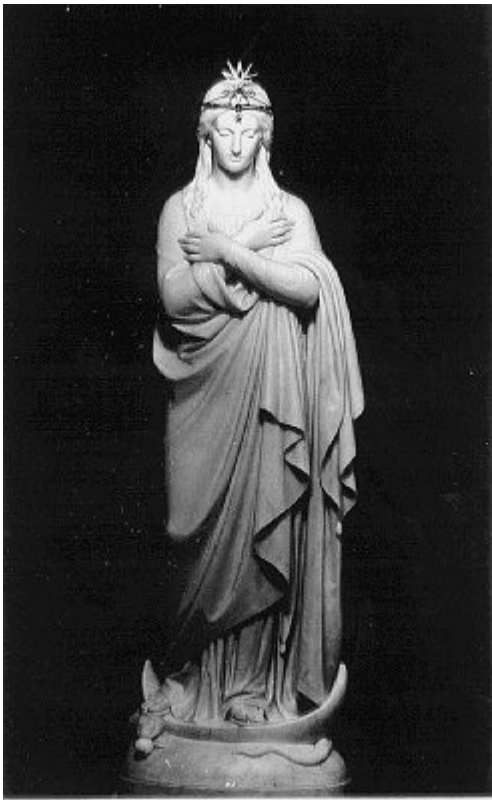
made there own contribution to its development. For its geographical location between the Prypec River marshes and the east ridge of Carpathian Mountains, it became a migratory gate for ancient people to pass through. Some of these wandering groups searched a better environment in which to live, some to increase their territorial borders, and some recognizing the economic potential of the land, remained there until pushed aside by more powerful forces.

To present the names of every migratory group would be too confusing to a clear logical and chronological presentation of their movements. Furthermore, subjecting it to numerous theories and assumptions would only add to the muddled picture. Lengthy discussions on various issues, vaguely recorded long after their occurrence, would render difficult the comprehension of the land's history. Therefore, some episodes of lesser importance will be avoided in this account.

The selection also aims at removing any information lacking in analytical logic, or which perhaps was interpreted in favor of a particular national group or groups for present political reasons. In the case of Podolia, where research of Polish scholars until the third decade of this century was almost nonexistent, and where the ancient history Russian territories was extended as far west as their political interests warranted, the selection of events, information and source material herein is well justified.

The unilateral interpretation of Podolia's ancient past by the Russians and favoring their own rendition, often lacks objectivity, especially where there are conflicting opinions which reflect a restricted comprehension of the issues. Long-running practice of such attitudes gives rise to the conviction that only Russian sources are reliable and credible. This practice became apparent to Polish scholars when the country lost its eastern territories after World War Two. Very few ever tried to present the Polish point of view in regard to the land where Poles once lived and even now maintain scant presence there.

This trend of revisionist history led to a concept that can be described as the "Russian bag."



The Statue of Saint Mary of Jazlowiec

In plain language, it means that whatever lacks explanation or benefits the Russians irrevocably passes into their history. This aggressive posture, and the passive mood of Polish post-war historians, led to abandonment of Polish interest in research of the past, and especially of such Slavic tribes as the Dulebians, Eastern Khorvats, Lendzians and Lekhs. Although the involvement of these groups in the creation of the Polish nation is unquestionable, whenever the subject is presented in texts, their locations are moved east or west, or their existence sometimes totally denied.

When reading recent publications on former Polish eastern territories, this concept appears to be in wide practice. It is evident that after the removal of Polish population to the west of present Poland, the process of the obliteration of its history in that area became a trend among Russian and Ukrainian historians. There were also some Polish scholars who, for reasons of political indoctrination or appeasement, also pursued this policy. This revisionist history is therefore nothing more than a product of political convenience and a blatant distortion of facts.

The selection of historical evidence used in this presentation is related mostly to Russian source material because of its greater availability. Since Polish historians, because

of their tardy entry into the subject, have provided little documentation on the Polish family of eastern Slavs, it is necessary to resort to other sources, such as geographical nomenclature, local traditions, folklore and the logical interpretation of available evidence. These, though not in great abundance, at some point provide a different and perhaps original point of view, but it also highlights missing dimensions. They combine to support a less recognized aspect of Podolian history, the aspect that may have greater authenticity.

Thanks to the archeological research and discoveries of Prof. T. Sulimirski, who opened the secrets of prehistoric cultures, we can go back deep into the Podolian past. Prof. Sulimirski's researches take us as far back as the various Glacial periods, beginning with the lower Paleolithic Age (140,000 BCE), when life was already present in that area. Stone artifacts found by Prof. Sulimirski in West Podolia evidence this. Further evidence of local flint industry testifies to the fact that man was there during the Upper Paleolithic period. Man, as a hunter, could have come into the region from the areas of present-day Poland and could have brought with him the Swiderian culture.

Other archeological findings bear witness to the development of additional cultures common to this area, such as the North Pontic Mesolithic and the Tripolyan. The latter was confirmed by discoveries of globular amphoras in the town of Buczac. This also proves that at the end of the Neolithic era, this section of the Pontic Steppe was comparatively well populated.

In the course of the Bronze Age (circa 1,600 BCE), several other cultures developed in different regions of Podolia at various times. The earliest unearthed by archaeologists were the earlier mentioned Globular Amphoras in Strzyzow and sub-Carpathian Barrow Graves, with corresponding findings at Bilcze Zlote, Beremiany and Rusilow. The later period provided us with the Komarow and Holihradky cultures, both named after the place of their discovery. The following step in human development is our present era, the Iron Age, which originated in that region at the time of the Cimmerian domination over the vast plains north of the Black Sea coast.

The earliest known political organization in the area, the Cimmerian Empire, did

not leave us with sufficient evidence to provide a deeper and broader understanding of its 300 year history (1,000 BCE-700 BCE). Whatever information is available comes from the Greek historian Herodotus. From him we know that the Cimmerians ruled over the entire territory of the Pontic Steppe, but the presence of this Tracian group of Indo-European family in the land of future Podolia cannot be proved with any tangible evidence to corroborate Herodotus. However, it seems unlikely that the westernmost section of the plains was excluded from their control.

The following Indo-European group to arrive in the region was the Scythians, better known in history because of the documentation of Herodotus, which is backed up by tangible evidence of their civilization. After moving into the Cimmerians territory by peaceful means or military conquest they established control over what is now southern Russia , Ukraine and part of Balkans. Their presence in Podolia is evidenced by the "kurgan" graves, inherent to their culture, found in various locations in the area. The Scythians, although of nomadic nature, allowed for indigenous cultures to develop in various parts of their domain. This was the factor in the development of agriculture in the steppe North of the Black Sea, which included Podolia. This stabilization of life also gave rise to the establishment of towns and villages, thus opening the way to commerce and industry.

The Scythians were in their turn overrun by another Indo-European group from the regions of central Asia and Azow Sea, the Iranian-speaking Sarmatians. Their long existence (300 BCE-200 AD), also secured a long period of peace which was beneficial to further development of social and political order in these territories. This progress was further enhanced by the influence of the Greek culture that reached the Pontic Steppes through Greek colonies on the Black Sea coast. The combination of the two gave rise to the Greco-Iranian culture that became the unifying social and political element in this part of the world until the retrenchment of the Roman Empire.

The Greek geographer, Strabo, relates that the Sarmatians were not a homogenous group, but were divided into several lesser groups, like Ossetians, Yazyges, Alans and Antes. In the latter part of Sarmatian existence the Alans seemed to play the major role in creating their history. Much of the control over the vast territorial empire was delegated to them by some Sarmatian organization of which nothing is being known. It is also to be noted that the Sarmatians were the first people that left any permanent imprint on the future Polish nation, as the name "Sarmata" became synonymous with that of the Pole even as close to our period as pre-World War Two era.

The intensive study of Prof. Sulimirski, expert in the field of prehistoric archeology and history in pre-war southeast Poland, provided us with much information on those people who left their legacy in many areas of his country and even Europe. At the end of the first century AD, the Sarmatians expanded their influence deep into southern Europe, which eventually lead them into conflict with the Roman Empire. Defeated by the Romans in 175 AD, they were forced to retreat beyond the Danube line and to provide the victors with eight thousand man cavalry unit. These men, mainly Alans and Antes, were dispatched by the Romans to serve their captors in Great Britain and France, where their names can still be found in the local geography.

The archeological findings in Podolia near the town of Trembowla give witness to the Sarmatians long presence in that region. Proof to that effect can be found in the geographical names that extend through the southern and central Poland. The study of Polish heraldry furthermore indicates that Sarmatian signs, called "tamgas," became part of Polish tradition. In addition, Polish folklore is a viable proof of Sarmatian influence on the culture and traditions of the Slavic tribes that later formed the Polish nation.

One such tradition was the general conviction that the Sarmatians laid the foundations of Polish nobility; the other was the well known phrase that "a Polish patriot is a true Sarmatian". In the post-World War Two Poland this folklore seemed to have disappeared, which is regrettable, considering its traditional importance to the Polish nation.

As stated earlier in this text, the Sarmatians were a multi-group people, where the Iranian-speaking group, the Alans, played an important role at some time of Sarmatians existence. The Alans, while exercising direct control in the central and eastern territories of Pontic Steppe, delegated supervision of outer regions to the Antes. This clan of the "Az" group (a.k.a.) Yaz, As and Asi), like the Alans, is known to have taken its origin in the area of the Azov Sea. There is no information to prove that Alans were directly involved in the control of Podolia, but their underlings, the Antes, definitely were.

The Russian historian G. Vernadsky reports that the Antes were permanently established in the land of Volhynia, the region immediately north of Podolia. It can be assumed that as the overseer of the Slavic tribes, acting on behalf of Alans, the Antes were directly involved in the affairs of Podolia. According to Mr. Vernadsky, they enjoyed good relations with the tribes under their control. According to another source, their relations with the Slavs included intermarriage, especially between ruling families. This practice relates to the post-Sarmatian period, after their defeat by the Romans, and the vanishing of their influence on the general territory in their earlier possession.

With the disintegration of Sarmatians, lesser elements like Alans and Antes assumed rulership of various areas of the Pontic Steppe. The Antes residing in Volhynia took full control of the area. As far as it can be established, their sphere of influence extended from the Dniestr River in the south to the Prypec basin in the north. Although the territory was rather small, they soon developed into a major power in that region. The period of their rule, according to Mr. Vernadsky, in that area is known as the "Antes Empire."

Around that time, another tribal name appears on the map of the Slavs antiquity. That tribe was called the Duleby and considered to be a Slavic tribe, although its origins were never established. According to one of the Polish historians, H. Paszkiewicz, the name Duleby evolved as a result of the Gothic invasion from the north at the end of the 3rd century AD, who passed through Volhynian and Podolian territories in their migration towards the northern shores of the Black Sea. The same Polish historian theorizes that a Slavic tribe became subjugated to the rule of a Gothic chieftain named Gotlieb. Consequently, the Slavic group was recognized as the people of Dietlieb, then Dietleby, and finally the name was Slavicized to Duleby. It is a feasible explanation and therefore may be factual.

The Goth's invasion was also responsible for several major changes in the politics of the Pontic Steppe. It pressured the Antes into submission and relocated several Alan tribes further west, into the Balkan area. One of them Khorezm, another clan of Az group, originally from the area of the Azov Sea, relocated to Volhynia. It should be noted that the ancient name of the Azov Sea was Volhynia. We can therefore assume that the Khorezm were instrumental in naming this part of the Pontic Steppe with the name of their place of origin.

Some of the Khorezm elements who migrated further west along the slope of the Carpathian Mountains were the forerunners of the eastern and western Khorvatians (Croatians). Both of these components of the tribe played important role in the creation of the original states in the region of Upper Vistula and of the Moravian nation across the mountains. There is an historical explanation about the Croats, who reside in the Balkans. A group of them settled there as the result of an arrangement of the 7th century AD with the Byzantine emperor Heraclius. This move was meant to protect Grecian territories against the Serbs menace.

The Slavic Dulebians, after the defeat of Goths by the Alans in 376 AD, developed into a regional political power. At various times the Slavic tribes united under their leadership and attacked the towns of Illyria and Thracia, then under Byzantine rule. It was because of this political power that they themselves became the subject of aggression from the Avars in 561 AD. As a result of this conflict, a great number of Dulebians were taken captive and forced to resettle in the valley of Tisza River (present-day Hungary). Some of their people, apparently fleeing from the Avars, reached the region of present-day Czechoslovakia, where their name is preserved in geographical terminology. Some must have fled as far north as Russian Smolensk, because the map shows a place

of their name over there. Although Dulebian power was destroyed, some of their tribe remained in Podolia, subject to the rule of Hungarian Avars.

The Avars domination ended in 803 AD, when the Frankonians and Bulgars defeated their armies and divided their territories between themselves.

Prior to that, a new power developed in the Azow-Caucasian region, the Khazars, who had ruled the Black Sea Steppe for more than three centuries (605 AD-965 AD). Their control extended as far west as the land of Derewlans in the present Ukraine - neighboring Vohlynia. Control and collection of tributes was delegated to the Magyar clans. This new group from the east, resided mainly in the western regions of the Khazar's empire, particularly in the Kievian lands. In the 9th century, the Magyars, prior to their final migration to the present territory of Hungary, came in direct contact with the Slavic tribes of the Polish family, the Lendzians. Since that time "Lendzian" became synonymous with the name of the Poles in the Hungarian language.

With the sudden disappearance of Dulebians in the region of Podolia and Vohlynia, some new Slavic names became known in that area. In the northern part, Wohlynians, Buzans and Lendzians developed into independent tribes. In the south, the Dulebians still maintained a small presence, and further west, the East Khorvats were gradually replaced or assimilated with the Lekhs. The presence of the latter is well-evidenced by Kievian and Arabian chronicles. The Ruthenian Primary Chronicle places the East Khorvats (Lekhs) directly in the vicinity of Polianians and Derewlans - East Podolia and Vohlynia. It also mentions Khorvat and Dulebian participation in the foray of the Kievian Prince Oleg into northern Greece (902 AD), then part of Byzantine Empire.

From the time of consolidation of the Kievian state by the Scandinavian Warengians and the establishment of the Rurick dynasty in Kiev, the Dulebians and Lekhs again became subject to foreign invasion from the east. The Kievians, after conquering the Eastern and Balkan Slavic tribes, turned westward against the Dulebians and Derewlans. In 945 AD, the Kievians were defeated by the two Slavic groups and their leader, Prince Igor, killed in the battle. In reprisal, his mother, Olga massacred the Derewlan population. Similar actions were taken against the Dulebians, who were opposed to Kievian domination. The implication was that Kievian rule was harsh and uncompromising, which may also explain the disappearance of the Dulebians from that region. Their only vestige was in the geographical nomenclature, which was still in evidence until World War Two. It stretched in line from Kovel in the north (Vohlynia) to the town of Stryj in the south (the sub-Carpathian region).

Some recent Russian and Ukrainian historians claim that the extinct Dulebians were once a Slavic tribe which became part of their nations. This claim seems to be void of supporting evidence and even contradictory to information provided by their own chronicles. In the analysis of the source material by the contemporary historian H. Paszkiewicz, this assumption originated no earlier than 12th or 13th centuries, long after the tribal names had become absolute. It appears that the Russians and Ukrainians to support more recent territorial claims in the past historical perspective raised both this issue. It openly contradicts information contained in the Ruthenian Primary Chronicle, which nowhere classifies Vohlynia and Podolia as lands of the Kievian Slavs. In addition, the Kievian chronicler Nestor never mentions Dulebians as a tribe belonging to Ruthenian (Kievian) family of Slavic tribes. Furthermore the strong social and political ties of the Dulebians and East Khorvats, dating back as far as Khorezm times, indicate that when pressed by the Kievians, they melded together under the name of Khorvats, identical with the later Lekhs.

After the Dulebians and East Khorvats waned in the region that was later known as Podolia, the name of the Lekhs became well established. This name change was a general application to all Slavic tribes sharing common ethnic and linguistic roots. According to Russian historian Nicholas Riasanowsky, all Southern Slavs (which to him refers to Slavs residing south and west of the Kievian state) had common language. This was also the language used by the Slavs residing in the territory that would become Poland. Therefore, the term "Lekhs" was commonly used by Ruthenians and contemporary traveling Arabian merchants in reference to all Slavic tribes of the Polish family.

The original Lekh territory, apart from Poland, extended far east, along the northern slopes of the Carpathian mountains and basin of the Dniestr River to the lower run of the Boh River, almost reaching the Black Sea shore. This entire area was known to the Arabs as Lekhistan, and later to the Armenians as Lakhistan. The Kievian Primary Chronicle also use the expression "Land of the Lekhs." This territory, although having gone through only a minimal ethnic changes, had its geographical nomenclature changed on several occasions. Its former names include "Grody Czerwienskie" (most western part), "Land of Tyvercy and Uhliche" (the eastern section), later evolving into "Podniestrze" - land along the Dniestr River) and "Poboze" (land along the lower Boh). Podniestrze for some unknown reason acquired the name "Ponize," which under Tartar occupation changed to "Podole" (Podolia). It should be noted that all these names are of Polish origination, strong evidence of Polish ethnicity of the people in the area.

Most of the history of the peoples of the region originates from the Kievian Primary Chronicle. From this source, it can be determined that these people existed as an independent Slavic group, strongly opposed to the aggressive tendencies of their Kievian neighbors. The earliest evidence points to the fact that the entire area south of Kiev was known as the Land of Tyvercy and Uhliche, peoples who built strong wooden forts to protect their agrarian population from foreign aggression. This aggression can be none else but the Ruthenians from Kiev. Further proof of their independent posture is found in the texts which relate to the expedition of the Kievian Prince Oleg against Greece (907 AD), in which Tyvercys and the Uliches participated in no other role than his allies. They are also mentioned in the chronicle relating to 944 AD Since then, only the name Lekhs was commonly used by their Ruthenian neighbors.

Lekhian opposition to continuing Ruthenian aggression most likely caused the hostile attitude of the Ruthenians (later Ukrainians), towards them and all Poles in general. The traditional one-sided hate lingered through many centuries, expressed in the slogan "Smert Lacham" (death to Poles). Even in World War Two, this slogan was popular with Ukrainian nationalists, as they pursued their policy of attrition against the oppressed Poles.

The Eastern Lekhs (residing in Podniestrze and Poboze) had their history presented in some details by a 19th century Kievian historian, N. Molczanowski, in a monograph entitled "Ancient Podole to 1434". Reaching deep into Kievian chronicles, he came to the conclusion that the land of Eastern Lekhs had only been subjected to temporary Kievian rule, if they were subjected at all. It is also evident that the incursion of the Ruthenian princes into their territory had not been very deep. The first information that gives us some insight on the conquest of this territory dates to 1144 and 1156 when one of the Ruthenian princes, Wszechwolod, while fighting Waldimirek Halicki, conquered the town of Uszyca and Mikulince. This does not represent a very deep penetration of the Lekhian lands. As the Ruthenian invasion of Polish Grody Czerwienskie in 981 AD cut this land off the main body of Poles, Lekhian history after that date intertwines with the history of Altaic and Mongol invasions from the east. For the following two centuries, nomadic people like Polovtse and Tartars dominated the territory of the Eastern Lekhs.

The history of the Lekhs in Grody Czerwienskie, renamed by the Ruthenians "Red Ruthenia" (Czerwona Rus), took a different turn under the rule of the Kievian princes. Invasion of their lands did not necessarily mean that they became Ruthenian in any other way than that of a political nature. Except for the administration functions, it was unlikely that the Kievians colonized the land or converted the local populace to their culture. At that time the Kievian state, continuously engaged in wars with Khazars, Bulgars, Pechengs and Polovtse, did not have the sufficient human resources to effectively colonize their newly-acquired territory. It is also unlikely that in the system of serfdom and slavery, introduced to the Ruthenians with the Byzantine culture, that the migration of individuals from the Ruthenian culture to the Lekhian lands was possible. It is thus evident that Ruthenian rule was merely a military occupation, with its main purpose being the collection of tribute from the conquered people.



The harsh rule of the Kievian princes was unpopular among the Lekhs. The painfully slow process in which the Eastern Orthodox religion and the Byzantine culture took root in the area is perhaps the best example of opposition to Ruthenian rule. For instance, the first Orthodox bishopric in the area, in Halicz (the capital of the principality bearing the same name), was not founded until the second half of the 12th century, almost 200 years after the Ruthenians established themselves in that area. This opposition to eastern religion and culture also serves as evidence of a strong inclination towards Poland by the conquered Lekhs, although separated from Poland by conquest.

Grody Czerwienskie's national and cultural (and perhaps religious as well) ties to Poland were the reasons behind Polish kings' (primarily Boleslaw I and Boleslaw II) attempts to reunite this land with their kingdoms in the 10th and 11th centuries. The claim of Russian and Ukrainian historians that the Polish intervention was merely motivated by the desire of territorial expansion lacks logical support. The fact that the acquisition of land was limited to Grody Czerwienskie testifies to the contrary.

At that time, the Polish kings were in a position of power, and could have integrated the entire Kievian state into their kingdom, should they have desired to do so.

The history of Podniestrze and Poboze took a different turn, affected by invaders from the east, who also menaced the Kievian state for more than two centuries. The Kievians were the first to be subjected to invasion from the primitive Altaic-speaking nomads, the Pechengs. From 915 AD, the Pechengs carried out constant assaults against them, draining the Kievians' human and economic resources. Eventually, the Pechengs were forced by the Kievians to settle south of their territory in the area of the lower Dniestr, the Lekhian territories. The Pechengs were then pushed out of their newly-occupied lands towards the lower Danube by the nomadic Turkic-speaking invaders, the Polovtsy. In due course, these people also became a direct threat against the Kievian state. Beginning with their initial assault in 1061 AD, they plundered the Ruthenian territories until the middle of the 12th century. Eventually pushed aside by the Kievians, they settled into the Lekhian region of Podniestrze and Poboze. They also settled around Kamieniec Podolski and moved further northwest towards Jazlowiec, Buczacz and even Zloczow.

According to a brief article which appeared in Chicago's Polish-language newspaper after World War Two, the Polovtsy, following their established tradition, scrupulously recorded in writing all events leading to their western movements. The records were stored for several centuries in Kamieniec Podolski. Removed from there by the Russians in the 18th century, they were transferred to Kiev and kept in storage until World War Two. After German forces captured the city in 1941, they foolishly destroyed the records. A small part of them survived, however, and was removed to Moscow, where they allegedly remain to this day.

Strong evidence of the Polovtsy's presence in Podniestrze, Poboze and Podolia also survived in the geographical nomenclature of the Lekhian lands. After reaching the fertile land along the River Dniestr, these nomadic people abandoned their former way of life, adopting agriculture and the raising of cattle as their main occupation. In due course, they settled in various places, along with the Lekhian population, that acquired names of combined language structure. The basic theme was a combination of both, Altaic and Polish languages, with Altaic roots and Polish endings like "owce," meaning "sheep" in Polish. This gave origin to the such geographical names, like Koszylowce, Trybuchowce, Ossowce and others in which the Polish ending "owce" is a constant component. Some personal names, like Polowczak and Polowczuk, were also common among the people in that area. The geographical names are also strong evidence that at that time the Kievian/Ruthenian influence on the Lekhian lands was negligible. The combined population must have continued their tradition of independence from Ruthenian princes, up to the time when new nomadic people, the Tartars, appeared on the scene.

The Polish historian, Aleksander Jablonowski, in his publication, "Ancient Podole," gives description of this interim period in a detailed, but not always

complete. Within this time period the Ruthenian princes, although engaged in internal wars, on some occasions made attempts to subjugate Podniestrze, being successful in some instances. One of the princes, Roman Mscislowicz, the Prince of Halicz, conquered part of Podniestrze and Podole (Podolia), extending the borders of his principality almost to Boh River. However, this uncompromising and ambitious prince's autocratic rule caused general resentment among the people in his newly-conquered lands. Following his death in the war with Poland, there was general unrest among the Lekhian population. These lands remained under Ruthenian rule, however, until 1226. At this time, the name of Podniestrze for some unknown reason acquired the name "Ponize." Again, in spite of Ruthenian influence, this term is of definite Polish linguistic roots. The term itself denotes a "lower land." There is no corresponding term in the old Ruthenian or later Ukrainian terminology.

The Tartar invasion of 1240, which devastated Ruthenian principalities and reached the far western borders of Poland, somehow did not have the same destructive effects on Ponize/Podole. By then, the Tartars were well-settled in that area, and must have considered it part of their own territory, although somewhat later we find that part of Ponize was still in Ruthenian hands. This is evidenced in the decree of Daniel, Prince of Halicz, in which he names a man Milij to the post of governor of Ponize. The historian Jablonowski makes the conclusion that Milij was neither of Ruthenian nor Tartar origin, hence he might have been a descendant of the forgotten Lekhs. The new governor eventually sided with the Tartars and as a result, the entire former Lekhian lands, as far south as the shores of the Black Sea, came under Tartar domination.

It was under the Tartars that the Land of Ponize acquired the name Podole (Podolia). This term is also of linguistic Polish origination. In direct translation, it means "the land of many valleys." It is in fact a most accurate description of the land north of Dniestr River, cut by several of its parallel tributaries on the north side.

The Tartars rule was in every sense a colonial system that allowed for the economic exploitation of the occupied land. Its basic aspect was the system of taxation, calling for local representatives to collect tributes, who in turn paid them to Tartar khans. This occupation was apparently less hard on the populace than the former Ruthenian occupation. Evidence of this can be found in the fact that when military confrontation between the Ruthenians and Tartars erupted, the local populace sided with the Tartars. One unpopular Tartar imposition on the conquered people was a total ban on the building of fortifications as a means of defense. Thus, at the time when war was a constant threat, the people were left without protection. In some parts of the land caves in the banks of the Dniestr River provided shelter.

In this part of eastern Europe, Tartar domination was to some extent viewed as a relatively peaceful period. The local population increased through natural birth rates and immigration of the people from adjacent regions suffering from continuous conflicts. The prime occupation of the populace was a primitive agriculture. The people were basically allowed to pursue it without interruption, as Tartar control served as a protection against the aggressive Ruthenians. As this land was on the direct route Halicz, Poland and Lithuania it had to bear substantial burdens to forage provisions for the ever-marching Tartar armies, however.

By the end of the 13th century, the Tartar empires began to show internal weaknesses. The lesser leaders, or minor khans, of the Tartar groups called "ordas" revolted against the Golden Orda in Crimea in an effort to gain more individual power. This internal war created the division of the Tartar state into three ordas, among which the Crimean still remained the most powerful. During that time, Podole remained under their rule, in spite of repeated attempts by the Ruthenian princes to regain control over the area. Prior to the middle of the 14th century, the last two Ruthenian princes died in a battle with the Tartars, leaving the Ruthenia throne empty. The Ruthenian nobility offered the throne to the Polish prince of Mazowsze, the nearest relative of the fallen princes. However, his rule was cut short, as he was poisoned by the Ruthenians for favoring the Roman Catholic Church against the wishes of the country's

clergy of predominantly Eastern Orthodox faith.

Three neighboring powers - Poland, Lithuania and Hungary - immediately appeared as contenders for this area. In due course Polish King Kazimierz the Great acquired the territory of Red Ruthenia (formerly Grody Czerwienskie) in 1340, while the Lithuanians grabbed at Wohlynia. The acquisition of their neighboring land encouraged the nobility of Podole to overthrow Tartar control in which they were assisted by the Lithuanians, who sent troops against the Tartars and defeated them at Siny Wody in 1362. Podole then became part of the Lithuanian state.

The Lithuanian family of Kuriatowicz took the task of securing of the newly gained lands against possible Tartars attacks upon themselves. Four brothers of the family, following the example of the Polish king in Red Ruthenia, began to erect stone castles throughout the land. The most formidable one of these was at Kamieniec Podolski. This town then became the capitol of Podole, and an important trading post on the East-West route.

Due to a rearrangement of borders in 1366, the most western part of Podole, the territory west of the Seret River, at this time became a Polish possession. This land included the town of Jazlowiec, which had already become an important trade center developed by its Armenian community. Polish Catholics must have also played an important role here, since early Dominican missionaries, whose presence, already there at that time, built a Catholic church in that area dates back to the mid-13th century.

The nobility of the eastern part of Podole also began to display tendencies towards joining neighboring Poland. This caused some uprisings and military confrontation between Poland and Lithuania, some of which involved the Hungarians. A state of hostilities existed between two principal parties until the Tartars defeated the Lithuanian forces at Worskla in 1399, leaving Podole once again at the mercy of Tartars. Polish and Hungarian kings saved the Podolians from this fate by arranging joint control of the territory due to succession of the Hungarian king to the Polish throne. This state of mutual control existed until Jadwiga, the daughter of the Hungarian king, was designated Queen of Poland. As her dowry, she brought with her the Hungarian rights to Podole. The Lithuanian claims to the territory were resolved by the accession of their Prince, Wladyslaw Jagiello to the Polish throne by the virtue of his marriage to Jadwiga. The marriage also dealt a fatal blow to the weak claim of the Lithuanians to Podole, who then compromised by having their Prince Swidrygiello accept governorship of Podole, with the Poles retaining sovereignty over the land. But the ambitious prince plotted open revolt against the Polish king, with the help of some of his countrymen, in an effort to make it a part of Lithuania. This led to some confrontations between his forces and the Poles, in which the local nobility sided with the Poles. Under the leadership of the Buczacki family the Podolians struggled for several years to stay Lithuanians away from their land. Eventually, in 1402, the Polish king intervened by entering Podolian territory and capturing Kamieniec Podolski, its capitol.

After 1402, the land of rich soil and strategic importance became a Polish province with special rights and privileges granted by the Polish king. One such privilege was exemption of Podolian participation in any Polish military action against their enemies. In exchange for this exemption the Podolians obligated themselves to vigilance against the Tartars. Thus the ancient land of Tyvercy and later Lekhs, after several years of separation, joined the nation of the same traditional, ethnic and linguistic ties.

By this time, Podole has been substantially reduced in size. Its eastern borders near the Black Sea remained under Tartar control, which for many years became the source of constant threat of attacks and incursions from its eastern neighbor. The new borders of Podole, then developed, were as follows: the southern boundary was the Dniestr River; the east was the Murchwa River; to the west, along the Strypa River, turning east at Buczac to Trembowla; and to the north the borders with Vohlynia. These borders remained firm until the 18th century, when the eastern territories of Poland were ceded to Russia.

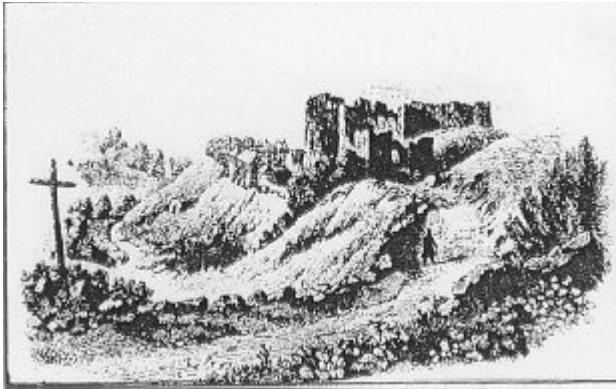
After World War One part of the former Podolia returned to Poland which

basically included the Voivodship of Tarnopol. The next war and the Yalta Treaty gave Podolia to the Soviet Union, who named it the Western Ukraine. After the Polish population left that territory, in 1946, Podolia as the name ceased to exist and the population became predominantly Ukrainian. Nothing basically changed after the fall of communism. The once Polish land remained in the hands of the Ukrainians. This nation highly nationalistic and strongly anti-Polish tends to remove all Polish vestiges in order to ukrainize the culture and the past of the land. Their prime object is to have a homogenized Ukrainian nation, which seems to be problematic, since large Russian population may well represent the majority of the populace.

# CHAPTER III

## The origins of Jazlowiec - legends and historical deductions

The complex, ancient origins of Jazlowiec are shrouded in time and a vaguely-reported past, inhibiting attempts to recreate them with the accuracy and credibility of historical detail. More often than not, the ancient history of Jazlowiec has been preserved through legend and folklore,



and an occasional archeological discovery. Folklore, unfortunately, may or may not be accurate for it may originate in some facts blurred by time and circumstances. Yet, we must assume that every story has some basis in fact, and in spite of distortion and modification, may assist us in piecing together the past.

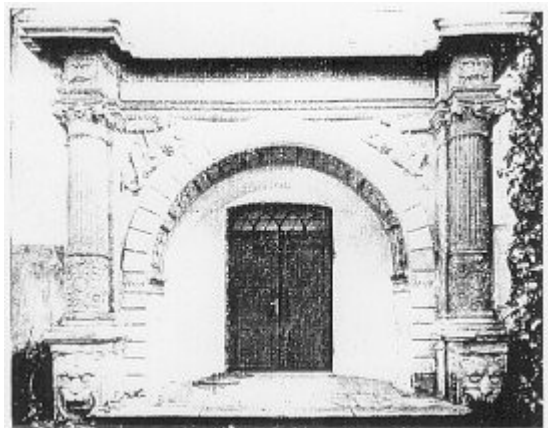
There are more than one legend relating to the origins of Jazlowiec, and a dearth of evidence to verify them. Limited archeological studies, which

might have lent credence to some of the legends, were not conducted; therefore, the legends (and their interpretations within a framework of logical fact) is for now the only way to reconstruct the distant beginnings of Jazlowiec.

Either factual evidence or imagination provided Jazlowiec with three basic legends relating to the town's founders and its mythical past. No one can say for sure where they originated, or how much truth is in the rich colorful stories, but we cannot deny that these three stories vividly recreate a past that would have been otherwise lost.

As the town prospered, the citizens called for a local bard to create a tale of Jazlowiec's past. Using nothing more than the town's name, the poet composed a folk tale which more than satisfied his sponsors. It may also be that the legends based on real events that preserved the facts of the town's early existence.

The most common of the stories pertains to the legendary Jas Lowiec (John the Hunter), who accidentally strayed into the valley that became his future home. This story strongly appealed to the populace, because it was told in more than one version, although the hero's name remains the same. The most graphic presentation of this story is from Rev. Sadok Baroncz, a man deeply affected by the town's history, and who decided to try and recreate it through the sources available to him. His imaginative approach and colorful description of John the Hunter, deserves to be told verbatim:



"Almost at the southern point of Podolia, very close to its borders with Pokucie (the east sub-Carpathian region) there was a deep valley braced by three tall hills, separated from one another by two passing streams. In the beautiful green dale Jaz the Hunter and his wife found a safe place to set their homestead. Its location provided good protection against marauding bands of thieves and robbers, and furthermore the fertility of the land assured them of the

provisions needed to sustain good living. Before long their children were born, and they took over much of the chores, like the care of sheep grazing on the slopes of the valley. As a result Jas could devote most of his time to his favorite pastime, hunting the game.

Within the next decade or so several other families moved into the valley to start their households, too. As the settlement grew in size and Jas grew older in age he had to restrict his hunting and eventually abandon it altogether. Since he could no longer set his falcons against the birds or kill big game with his spear he found a more suitable pastime for his old age. He walked in the bright sun over fields and hills, searching for herbs, so abundant in Podolia, which served as medication for sick people of his settlement. In the evenings he sat on the hill, surrounded by his grandchildren, telling the stories of the Slavic tribes of the Derewlans, who, at the time lived in Podolia, believed in their ancient tribal gods and lived by the generosity of nature.

In his old ways he made his life meaningful and pleasant and exciting for all his family and his neighbors too. But this could not last forever. One day he was taken gravely ill, and shortly thereafter his industrious life came to an end. The small group of family members and faithful friends carried his body to the hill, where he used to tell his stories. They buried him on the top, so that he, as an angel, could protect their freedom and their homesteads from the high position. Then, all of them joined their hands together and promised one another brotherly love, everlasting friendship and mutual help in times of need. To preserve the memory of this respected member of the community they gave their village his name, Jas Lowiec, which later developed into Jazlowiec."

This beautiful and moving story of the town's founder, although impressive and realistic, does not correspond to the era suggested by the tale. It also misplaces historic facts like the habitat of the ancient Derewlans.

The story's substance indicates that the founding of the village took place during the Kievan domination of Podolia. Were it true, the Polish-sounding name "Jas" would have been certainly expressed within the Ruthenian name "Ivan." The etymology of the names is so different that they carry no resemblance to one another outside of their meaning. If the town's origins goes back farther, to the era of the early Slavs, the name "Jas" (the biblical John) could hardly be part of the story. At that time, the Slavic tribes still practiced paganism.

As mentioned previously, the Derewlan's habitat does not quite fit into the Slavic demography of the area, as the tribe, which was well-established, lived in the land that is present-day Belarus (White Russia). The area is too distant from southern Podolia or the Derewlan's presence to be feasible. As at the time of Rev. Baroncz the history of the early Slav was still in the process of development, very little information would be available for his story. The fact point to this area at this time of history as being under Dulebian habitation, and this was the tribal name that should have been used by Rev. Baroncz.

For this reasons, we should consider the Altaic Antes and the Slavic tribes remaining under their control, in the context to the story. As underscored earlier, the Altaic tribe of the "Az" (As, Asii, Yaz or Jaz in Slavic) family resided in nearby Vohlynia and maintained intimate relations with the Slavs in Podolia. This led to frequent intermarriages between these two groups, especially between chieftains and leaders.

It is therefore conceivable that a male member of the Antes group married a Slavic princess in order to become a leader of the Slavic tribe, an apparently common occurrence at the time. In such a case, he would change his name to comply with the requirements of the local customs, retaining his Antes root "Yaz" ("Jaz" in Slavic) and combine it with a Slavic word appropriate to describe his certain qualities. In this instance, the word could have been

"Lowiec" (the hunter), a common occupation for men at the time. Thus, we have two verbal elements for the name Jaz-Lowiec, or Jazlowiec.

This version of the story may relate as much to the Antes as the Yazyges, another Turkic group of "Az" family, who lived south of the Dniestr River and may have exercised some political control over the Slavs across the river. In

such a case it can be assumed that Jas the Hunter must have been a Jaz from the other side of the river who by virtue of marriage with a Dulebian princess have become leader of a tribe and a founder of the town.

This may corroborate another version of the tale of Jas Lowiec, also preserved in local folklore. According to this version, a hunter named Jas Lowiec, while following game through a forest, came to a hill surrounded by water on three sides, overlooking a beautiful green valley. Recognizing its potential as a defensive stronghold, he brought his people to the place and built on the top of the hill the first wooden fort. Around this protective fortification a settlement grew, the first beginning of a town.

With this perspective on the legend, the town's origin would have to be placed as far back as the 4th century AD. In view of the demographic records relating to the territory, this would not have been too distant of a time for the first man to appear in the valley of Jazlowiec. Archeological finds in areas close to the town prove that man was present in the area as far back as the Bronze Age. Testimony of this is provided by artifacts of the Globular Amphora culture found in Buczacz, and the sub-Carpathian Barrow Grave culture discovered in nearby Rusilow. The first part of the first millennium would not have been too distant of a date for settlement of early Slavs on the site of the future Jazlowiec.

Another popular legend claims close ties to the Armenian people, who once resided in the town, and who can claim responsibility for this version. This legend can be accepted as fact, with some modification, but does not necessarily relate to the town's origins.

The legend describes the arrival of an Armenian group to a green valley surrounded by three hills where they took their rest in a long migration from their Caucasian country to the west. As they looked upon the peaceful scene, they were taken aback by the resemblance to the country they had left behind. They also recognized the valley as a suitable grazing pasture to raise cattle and sheep, and decided to make it their home. Because of excellent sheep-grazing conditions, they called the place "the sheep's crib," or "jaslo owiec" in Polish. This bears a close resemblance to the town's name, but does not lend enough credence to the legend to make it sound factual.

The research of Armenian sources by the Rev. Sadok Baroncz reveals a similar episode in this group's history. According to the information he obtained, the Armenians left their town of Ani in 1060 to escape Turkish persecution. At some point in the westward movement, they reached the Podolian territory, and its ideal living conditions. The description of the place they chose for their settlement is identical to the account of the valley in the legend. This source of information gives an accurate description of the valley's scenery, and we can reasonably assume that the story of the Armenians' arrival in Jazlowiec to be true.

There is an unrealistic part to the legend. The two word "jaslo" and "owiec" have no meaning in the Armenian language, however. This implies that the Armenians could not have provided the town with its name. As the words are of Polish origin, this would probably mean that the legend is a later addition to local folklore. The Armenians are also known to be merchants, artists, craftsmen, diplomats and interpreters and, as such, were basically urban dwellers. Thus, raising of sheep would hardly be their line of work. The legend could therefore be applied to the Polowtsy rather than the Armenians, as these people were nomads making their living by raising sheep and cattle.

The Armenian story cannot be verified with written evidence, although these people were known for recording their history and matters relating to religion. If the information had been recorded, some incident may have been responsible for their destruction. When the Armenian community relocated from Jazlowiec to the city of Lwow in the 17th century, all of the old records were deposited in the archives of the Archdiocese in that city. Periodic fires that caused varying amounts of damage plagued Lwow, like many cities and towns of that period. The Great Fire of 1778, which destroyed much of the city, also badly damaged the Armenian Cathedral, where Jazlowiec records had been stored, destroying all the valuable documents. Some short references on the early history of the Armenians

in Jazlowiec found their way into the Polish chronicles, and those became the main source of information for their history in that area.

There is yet another legend concerning the town's beginning, but mentioning nothing about the name. It refers to the first trading post, which had been built on one of the hills. It must have been a solid structure, since it was referred to as a castle, and most probably was built of wood as protection from merchants and their families. This legend is very viable, as ever since ancient times, an East-West route, called the "Amber Route", was used by the merchants and travelers as the shortest passage between the ports of Black Sea and the shores of the Baltic Sea. The trading post legend indicates that this important route passed through Jazlowiec, and there are many valid arguments to support this supposition.

This important land route, connecting East and West, is mentioned in the earliest known documentation of the area. In ancient times, when the Sarmatian Sea was still in existence, the route had to follow the dry land pass between the Dniestr River and the said sea. The only likely passage would have to run along the north banks of the river, placing Jazlowiec directly on the route. This would justify the positioning of a fortified trading post within the town's limits.

The question may also arise as to who used the trade route and who built the post. Prior to World War Two, the site on the hill where the legendary post once stood was the location of a local synagogue. In view of numerous invasions and periodic destruction of many communities in that area, it is unlikely that the site always remained the property of a single group or owner. It is, however, possible that the tradition kept the site available for people of the same ethnicity. We can therefore draw the conclusion that either the Jews or followers of the same religion, the Khazars, were the merchants who frequented the "Amber Route" and built the trading post in Jazlowiec.

There are other indications that an important trade route passed through Jazlowiec. Evidence of this is found in the ancient stone rampart along the road now in disuse leading to the village of Rusilow and also in the remains of stone embankments at the crossing of Strypa River. Both lead to the assumption that at some time a well-kept road existed in that area, as well as a bridge joining two banks of the river. Since the two mile length of road between Jazlowiec and Rusilow be of no importance to anyone, its stone reinforcement suggest that a route of greater importance once ran through these point. A village lay on the line between Jazlowiec and Halicz, the latter also known as a post on the Amber Route. The finding of gold artifacts from Great Britain in the village, may be proof that trade on a larger scale passed through Jazlowiec.

Considering all legends and deductions, based on available data, we cannot easily conclude the exact date of the first settlement in Jazlowiec. Prof. J. Kozlowski's findings, which gave evidence of man in that area as far back as the bronze Age (1600 BCE), may not mean that he was the first human being in that valley. But any organized settlement would not have stretched back so far in time, due to long periods of nomadic life. This did not end on the Pontic Steppe until the Scythians appeared there. We can deduce from this that the first signs of early civilization did not appear in Jazlowiec before the beginning of Christian era. But taking into account that Soviet and Ukrainian authorities are extremely reluctant to permit access to these area, archeological digs to evidence this fact is highly unlikely.

In regards to the name of the town, a viable conclusion can be made. The various legends have little credence, and in light of available information presented in the text, the most logical and realistic conclusion would have to be based on the Anto-Slavic relationship. In this context, the name "Jazlowiec" is perhaps the most perfect example of the ancient people of Podolia. The Altaic and Slavic components of the name are nowhere else more prominently displayed. And nowhere else is there a better testimony to the etymology of Podolia.



## CHAPTER IV

### The Early Eastern Slavs and Polish influence in Podolia

Concurrent with the legends in Jazlowiec is another history much wider in territorial scope and greater in importance to the people of Podolia. Its roots are also shrouded in the mystery of the past,



and are subject to different interpretations by historians of various culture and nationalities. Even the period of Slavic migration from the regions of the upper and central Vistula to the east has little available resource material for historians to study. Much of this history is a matter of analytical deduction and logical conclusions based on scant

information provided by cultures south of Slavic habitats. The period of migration does provide a valuable entry point to the Slavic history of Podolia, however.

With the retreat of the Huns from the southern and eastern parts of Europe at the end of the 5th century; and with the decline of influence of the Sarmatian groups like Alans, Antes and Yazyges, the Podolian plains and the area of the present-day Ukraine became open to the eastern movement of the Slavic tribes from their "Crib" - what is now central and southern Poland. In the course of this migration, some new Slavic names appeared in the western territories of the Pontic Steppe. The Polyanians settled the area of present-day Kiev; Belorus by the Derewlans; Bessarabia and Moldavia by Uliches and Krywiczcs; and Podolia witnessed the rise of the local Dulebians to political and military prominence.

The full extent of Dulebian activity in this region has never been established through historical facts, but there are strong indications that this tribe played a significant role in the history of Podolia. At times their influence extended far beyond the limits of Podolia and into the territories of the present-day Vohlynia in Ukraine. In spite of some proven documentation and factual evidence, this Slavic tribe has never risen above an obscure historical level, or had its achievements sufficiently recorded to reflect their significant impact on the history of the area. There are no records to indicate their geographical limits, but in the opinion of some historians, the Uliches, the Slavic tribe which in its eastward movement reached the Black Sea at the estuary of Dniester, were a branch of Dulebians. Evidence of their power and political organization can be found in the chronicles of the Arabian traveler Masudi, who tells of the Dulebian Prince Madzak, the leader of the 6th century invasion of Byzantine territories by combined forces of eastern Slavs.

To date, no tangible proof has been presented giving evidence of the Dulebians residing on the site of present-day Jazlowiec, but that they lived in the immediate area is an undeniable fact. For this reason, we have to accept the possibility of their inhabiting the Jazlowiec site, and the local nomenclature may well support this theory. Just a few miles southeast of Jazlowiec, there was a village called Duliby. Ethnically they considered themselves Polish, but they practiced some traditions peculiar to their village alone. They had also their own dialect, which had to descend from the early Slavs. Geography of the nearby area presents us with five names of identical background, which in itself gives credence to the fact that the Dulebians must have resided there in great numbers.

When at the peak of their power, the Dulebians must have extended their control over a wide range of territory, and Jazlowiec had to be at that time a Dulebian settlement, and larger than a village. As mentioned earlier in this text, the name may have been the result of social and political intercourse between Antes or Yazyges and the Dulebians. While a small village, due to its isolation, could have survived foreign invasion, the survival of a larger settlement would be a different matter altogether. It is likely, therefore, that the Dulebians in Jazlowiec, as a larger and better organized community, became subject to Avars' aggression, and in the course of this were either annihilated or forced to relocate with the invaders to the territory of present-day Hungary. Not all of them were removed, but the number left behind was too small as to render them ineffectual as a dominant political and military organization. They were still there at the time of early Kievan rule and were known to be in opposition to their princes. For this reason, they were severely dealt with the Warengian forces of Princess Olga, the Kievan ruler, in around 950 AD. Since then, the Dulebian name became totally obscure.

We do not know what Podolia's role was in the early development of the first state on present Polish territory, known as the Wislan State. This state emerged in the second half of the 8th century in the region of the upper Vistula, around the present city of Cracow. Its founders were unquestionably the western Khorvats (Croats), whose ruler may have extended his domination over a wider area to counterbalance the rising power of the Moravians across the Carpathian Mountains. This state's geographic borders are a matter of speculation, but it would have been logically incorporated the Eastern Khorvats, who, according to the Kievan Primary Chronicle, bordered the Polanyans and Derewlans, and would therefore have also included Podolia. This would have extended the borders of the Wislan State at least as far east as the Zbrucz River, or even the Murchwa River.

This state was short-lived because of Moravian aggression from the south in the middle of the 9th century. Moravian records state that their expanded territories reached as far east as the Styr River in the basin of Prypec. These records also state that the Polish tribe called Lendziany inhabited some of the territories captured from the Wislans. It is also known that these people resided in Vohlynia and in the land east of the Bug River. The Moravians do not mention any name other than the Styr River to provide us with the exact limits of their eastern borders. However, since the river constituted the furthest northeast corner of their domain, there had to be some territories to the south under their control as well. The logical limit of these territories would be the Dniestr River, placing Podolia under their domination.

After the disintegration of the Moravian state in the middle of the 10th century, all territories north of the Carpathians, except the Cracow region, came under the control of the first known Polish dynasty, the Piasts. This would imply that Podolia and Vohlynia became part of Poland at this time in European history. Giving credence to this is Ruthenian information relating to the invasion of the Lekh's lands by the Kievan prince, Vladimir the Great.

This invasion took place in 961 AD, with Kiev sizing the Polish territory known as "Grody Czerwieskie." This name, of purely Polish origin, gives us reason to presume that the land had been populated for some time by Polish-speaking people who had strong traditional and historical bonds with the Slavic tribes under the Piasts' rule. For many centuries, this name was used colloquially in reference

to the area, and at times also included the adjacent territory of Podolia.

The phrase "Lekh's Land", as recorded by the Kievian chronicler Nestor, proves in itself that the territory taken by the Ruthenians from the Piast was inhabited by the Lekhs, whose language was Polish. Taking into account such hard factual evidence, there can be no doubt that this area was also of Polish ethnicity. From the above, we can deduce that Jazlowiec, in the heart of Podolia, must have had a Lekhian population, and would have had to be considered a Polish settlement.

Beginning with the first Ruthenian invasion, there were a long series of military conflicts between the Polish kings and the Kievian princes over the possession of this territory. "Grody Czerwienskie", lost to Kiev by the Polish king, Mieszko I, were recovered by his son Boleslaw Chrobry (the Great) in 992 AD. The lands were again lost, this time to Kievian prince Jaroslaw, in 1036, but taken back by another Polish king, Boleslaw Smialy, in 1070. It remained in Polish hands until the king's banishment (through a conspiracy of clergy and nobility) in 1086. These early conflicts and changes of rulership over the land were the first in the numerous series of conflicts between the Poles and Ruthenians.

During the sporadic occupation of the Polish eastern territories by the Kievians, the Kievian control would have had to have been minimal due to both internal and external conditions that would have hardly favored the consolidation of their rule over the lands. Soon after the first Kievian invasion, the Ruthenian state came under a lengthy attack by the Turkic people from the east, the Pechengs. This threat drained their human and economic resources, and was deterrent to the solidification of Kievian control over captured Polish territories. The harsh conditions of Ruthenian rule, as evidenced with the Dulebians, continued in their later domination of Podolia. Life of the subdued Poles under the uncompromising princes is well illustrated by a Polish phrase of the time: "Na Rusi to sie musi, a w Polsce jak kto chce." The English translation is "In Ruthenia you have to behave as you are told, in Poland you can do whatever you want." The origination of this phrase had to predate the 14th century, as after that date, these territories became Polish, and there would have been no reason for the saying.

Further analysis of this phrase shows that the use of the ancient word "Russ" implies that it originated in the times when the Ruthenians were known by that name, which would place it in the 11th and 12th centuries. This is again an indication that the phrase was in use during Ruthenian presence in the land, and which also indisputably proves that the victims of the harsh Ruthenian rule were the Poles, or Lekhs, as they were called by the Ruthenians.

Additional evidence of Ruthenian presence in the region is its geographical nomenclature. Two miles southwest of Jazlowiec there was a place called Rusilow, mentioned previously in the text. Although this name has definite Ruthenian roots, closer examination reveals a pictorial history, an interpretation presenting a clear picture of the local history.

This name had to have originated with the local Polish-speaking Slavs, which in this case could only be the Lekhs or few of the surviving Dulebians. The name "Rusilow," which translates as "Russes' hunting grounds," would not have "Russ" as its basic component if the local population was of ethnic Ruthenian origin. In a community where there is a single strong ethnic majority, there would be no justification to name a place for a specific nationality unless it was a powerful minority. Using this deduction, we thus know that the Russes (Ruthenians) were considered by the local population to be a foreign ruling power, who allocated to themselves special privileges, such as their own hunting grounds. From this we can also conclude that the Ruthenians, as the controlling power, lived in some secluded place, like a castle. In this area, there would have been no other location or structure but the wooden castle in Jazlowiec.

There is another implication in the name that should also be given consideration, and further confirms its Polish origins. The meaning of Rusilow, as stated above, is only understood in the Polish language. Its Ruthenian version, "Rusyliw," represents nothing in either of the two languages, except

for recognition of the name "Russ." This is further confirmation that the local population was Polish, and that the Ruthenians were nothing more than the powerful group that ruled the region on behalf of their princes.

This argument can be applied to the entire region of Podolia, It is very unlikely that the area surrounding Jazlowiec would a Ruthenian sea surround a Polish island. More evidence is provided by other geographical nomenclature in the region, which developed in the course of Polovtsian migration into the area.

The Polovtsy, another tribe of Turkic nomads, defeated the Pechengs and pushed them towards upper Danube, becoming another threat to Kievan state. They first attacked Kiev's eastern borders in 1061, and in the process made some territorial gains in the south, occupying the areas bordering the Black Sea. Their furthest advance in the west extended their influence as far as the southern area of Podolia, where some of them settled down to a more stable existence. Their threat to Kievan principality ended with their defeat in 1111 at Salnica by the Ruthenian ruler, Vladimir Monomach. This did not, however, remove their physical presence from the areas of their former occupation. They eventually melted into the local population, leaving behind only some geographical names as proof of their inhabitation in southern Podolia.

The Polovtsian names in the local geography are too numerous to list all of them, but for the purpose of analysis, we will examine some of them. In close vicinity of Jazlowiec, and further southeast of the town of Kamieniec Podolski, several names of Lekhian and Polovtsian composition are still visible on local maps. Closely examining some of them, like Koszylowce, Trybuchowce, Petlikowce and others, it is immediately evident that they are comprised of two basic elements: one Turkic-sounding root and the ending of Slavic origin. In direct translation, they mean "Koszyl's sheep", "Trybuch's sheep" and "Petlik's sheep", respectively. There is little argument against the fact that the local population generated these geographical names, which was of Polish and Polovtsy origin. In time, as the settlements grew in size, these became the names of the places inhabited by the people of two ethnic groups. "Owce" meaning "sheep" in Polish, is common to all these names, further demonstrating that the population base in this area was of Slavic/Polish origin, which would be Lekhs.

Translation of these names into the Russ, or Ruthenian version - Koszylivci, Trybuchivci and Petlikivci - leads us even more strongly to assume that no Ruthenian contribution can be detected in their formation, as in this version, the names lose their meaning altogether; the ending "ivci" is meaningless in both Polish and Ruthenian. On this basis, we can safely conclude that these geographical names originated with the Lekhs, also indicating that any Ruthenian influence in western Podolia, apart from political domination, was minimal until the end of 12th century.

After 1086, the Red Ruthenia (Grody Czerwienskie) was lost by Poland to the Ruthenians, the question of Polish political domination over the area becoming unclear. However, for more than a century, there was some evidence of periodic and rather superficial return to Polish authority in the Red Ruthenia territory, while there is none to support that the same authority extended to any part of Podolia. War between Wasylko, the Ruthenian prince of Trembowla and the Polish king, Boleslaw Krzywousty, brought no positive resolution to the Polish claims. The victory in 1100 AD of the same king over the combined forces of the Ruthenians and the Polovtsy did not result in recovery of any former Polish territories to the Polish kingdom. The next attempt - the Polish intervention in the internal war between the Ruthenian princes (1118 AD -1123 AD) only temporarily extended the sovereignty of the Polish king over the Principality of Trembowla. Since this area was at the time under Polovtsian control, it is unlikely that Jazlowiec was part of this arrangement between the king and Ruthenian princes.

The division of Red Ruthenia (after disintegration of the Kievan state), into two basic principalities - one in Vohlynia, with the capitol in Wlodzimierz; the other closer to Podole, with the capitol in Halicz (replacing Trembowla), did not affect Polish claims to these territories. For the next sixty years, Polish kings involved themselves in the internal conflicts between the feuding principalities, to recover lands or assert their authority over them, but were

generally unsuccessful. At this time, we also are not sure whether the area of Jazlowiec ever shared its history with the Halicz Principality.

Continuous internal conflicts between the Ruthenian princes fractionalized the original Kievan state into several principalities, which in 1170 AD, reached the incredible number of 72 warring political states. The rulers of Halicz appeared to be the most powerful and successful in imposing their sovereignty over the lesser princes. One of the Halicz princes, Włodzimierz, managed to establish domination over the region of Trembowla in 1141 AD, extending his political influence to the lower Danube, which included at least western part of Podolia. This would have naturally included the area of Jazlowiec.

His son, Jarosław Osmiomyśl, increased the borders of his state through military conquest, but also showed some constructive tendencies during his rule. He is credited with improving methods of agriculture, development of towns, and sponsorship of trade and commerce, especially in the region of his original principality. During his reign, the Polish king, Bolesław Kędzierzawy, intervened militarily in 1149 AD to increase the boundaries of his land, but the move lacked sound political thought and was therefore a failure. In fact, during his reign, Polish influence in Ruthenian controlled territories diminished considerably.

In the years following Jarosław's death in 1187 AD, internal conflict between his sons led to a Hungarian invasion of the Halicz Principality. Their harsh rule created a revolt of the nobility, resulting in the intervention of the Polish king, Kazimierz Sprawiedliwy. After a decisive victory over the Hungarians in 1189 AD, the king managed to extend his influence over the region, but only for a short period of time.

His successor, King Leszek Biały, provoked by Roman's, the prince of Halicz, invasion of Polish border lands, undertook immediate military action, which ended in total Ruthenian defeat and the death of the prince in 1205 AD. But Polish control over this land was soon contested by the Hungarians. After some military hostilities between the two parties, a mutual agreement was reached, providing for Hungarian succession to the throne of the Halicz Principality. The Hungarian King Andrew then declared himself king of Halicz and Włodzimierz Principalities. If the Hungarian rule extended as far as the western part of Podolia is anybody's guess.

Hungarian rule in Halicz was short-lived. The growing power of the Włodzimierz Principality under Prince Daniel Romanowicz upset the arrangements between the Hungarian and Polish kings. After defeating the Hungarians, Daniel incorporated Halicz into his territories in 1236 AD, and three years later conquered the Principality of Kiev. Thus, after several years of infighting between Ruthenian princes, the three basic components of the former Kievan state - Halicz, Włodzimierz and Kiev - were brought back together under the rule of one monarch. Prince Daniel, with the backing of the Vatican, had himself crowned king of the Ruthenian state.

Somewhere between those years, there was a peaceful migration of Armenians into Podole and evidently into the valley of Jazlowiec. Considering that Armenians were primarily urbanites, the fact that they settled in Jazlowiec proves that the local community was already well-established, with the basic characteristics of a town. It would have had to have been an organized municipality with commercial facilities, defensive walls and perhaps a fort or castle for protection of the populace. If there was a fort or castle, it had to have been of wooden construction, for the knowledge of stone building was at that time still in early stage of development. The likely place for such a fort or castle would have been on the hill on which a future stone castle would be constructed. Traces of the wooden structure were discovered several centuries later, during excavation for the foundation of Poniatowski's palace, in close proximity of the castle's site.

Armenians, a nation of a 3,000 year history, migrated to various countries to avoid oppression after the capture of their capital, Ani, by the Turks in 1064 AD. Some of them traveled as far as the Kievan Principality and settled in several towns in that area. In Podolia, their earliest travels brought them to

Kamieniec Podolski, Jazlowiec and Lwow, where they took some solid roots. Their arrivals in those places cannot be confined to a specific date, due to the lack of physical evidence, but there seems to be a consensus among historians that by the end of the 12th century, the Armenians were well-established in that region. This approximation of time is apparently quoted in the Armenian Statue, codified in 1519 during the reign of the Polish king, Zygmunt I (Stary). Some Polish chroniclers of later period also recognized this as the point in time when Armenians settled in Podolia.

Although an exact date of their migration in Jazlowiec will remain an unsolved mystery, we do know that after settling in the town, they built a church, private homes and surrounded the place with defensive walls. It is not known to what extent they fortified the town, because very few segments of the walls were in existence prior to World War Two, and it was not certain whether these remains constituted parts of the original Armenian wall. There is a definite reference to the gate they built in the wall, referred to as the "Armenian Gate". According to Armenian source, this was a massive, fortress-like structure that survived until the beginning of the 20th century. At that time, it was ordered torn down by the town's council for safety reasons.

Indications are that the Armenians quickly developed into a sizable and influential autonomous community. According to Polish records, there was by 1250 an Armenian bishopric in Jazlowiec, which proves that the town became one of their important centers in the area, equal to Kamieniec Podolski and Lwow. We can thus presume that their presence contributed greatly to the growth and development of the town.

As happened in other parts of the general area, this relatively small minority exercised a disproportionate influence on the town in a wide range of activities. Their contribution to the development of the town must have been substantial, however, because for many years Jazlowiec was known as the "Armenian town". They naturally engaged in such occupations as merchants and craftsmen, which would foster a good business climate and establish the town as an important post on the East-West trading route. As merchants, they specialized in trade with eastern countries like Persia, Turkey and Arabian countries, introducing oriental wares into Podolia. As craftsmen, they created industries such as weaving, jewelry making, weapon making, stone building and carving, wine making and several other occupations of lesser nature. In Jazlowiec, they were also originators of the yearly trade fairs, which brought merchants from as far away as Arabia, Greece and Turkey. These fairs were held outside the town at what is now the nearby village with the tell-tale name of Bazar (the oriental bazaar).

In those days, Jazlowiec spread out in every direction, especially along the two valleys of Olchowczyk and Jazlowczyk streams. This is evidenced by regional names inside and outside the town, names such as Przedmiescie ("suburbia"), Browary ("brewery"), Olchowiec (a name taken from the stream), Gora ("high grounds" and Gubernia ("administrative center"). We know about the existence of the Armenian church and their bishopric, but there is nothing to confirm additional houses of worship of other faiths that certainly had to be in the town prior to the Armenian emigration. Among relics in the town that remained until present times were two Armenian wells, which served as places for washing clothing, one of them still in use until World War Two. Also the ruins of an ancient monastery, known to be in the nearby woods, indicated that the Armenian religious order existed in the town.

While the Ruthenian state was still in a process of consolidation, a new threat arose in the east. The Mongolians, called Tartars, charged through the open, wide steppes of Eastern Europe, devastating all in their path. After defeating the Polovtsy and pushing them into the region of the upper Dniestr, they turned against the Principality of Kiev. The combined forces of the Ruthenian princes made an initial attempt to stop the Tartar invasion at the Kalka River in 1224. Although their stand was not fully successful, they did put a temporary halt to further aggression by the Tartars. This was only a short-lived pause, however, as sixteen years after the battle, Tartar hordes again appeared at the walls of Kiev, this time conquering the town and razing it to the ground. With western

Europe as their goal, they proceeded west, in the process invading the provinces of Daniel Romanowicz in 1241, and destroying major town like Halicz and Trembowla. The fate of Jazlowiec at this time is not known, but it is certain that its wooden castle was burned down in accordance with general Tartar military practices. The town may have remained intact, however, due to good relations between the Armenians and the Tartars. Due to a practice developed in the Crimea, the Armenians at this period of history apparently kept records in the Tartar language.

For the next thirty years of his rule, Prince Daniel tried to keep the state together by fighting or accepting the Tartar rule and paying tribute. Just when his goal seemed to be achieved, and life had become peaceful and stabilized, another invasion came from the east. The Tartars again plundered the country and destroyed all his towns. Prince Daniel himself had to seek refuge, first in Hungary and then in Poland, with his relatives, in the province of Mazowsze. He finally acceded to Tartar rule over his land, and became their vassal.

His son, Prince Lew, who aligned himself with Tartars, invaded the territories of Poland in 1280 with their assistance, while King Leszek Czarny was about to ascend to the throne. The Polish nobility hastily organized their forces and defeated Lew's troops at the town of Goslice. King Leszek Czarny followed the Ruthenians deep into their own country, destroying their forces and taking some border towns. After this decisive defeat, the Ruthenians never again dared to invade the king's territory during his lifetime. Leszek Czarny, ever-mindful of the Tartar involvement in the Ruthenian territories, wisely did not attempt to extend his influence into that land.

From then on events worked in favor of the Poles. Prince Lew's successors adopted a more conciliatory attitude toward Poland, turning their attentions against the continuing Tartar threats from the east. After the last two princes of the Romanowicz dynasty, Andrew and Lew, died in a battle against the Tartars in 1324, the boyars (nobility) called the Polish prince of Mazowsze to the Ruthenian throne. Although this newly-elected ruler was poisoned during an internal friction between Ruthenian nobility, his short rule opened the door to the recovery of Vohlynia and Podolia by Poland.

This period also witnessed radical change in the social system in the areas under Ruthenian domination. Individual freedoms, practiced by the early Slavs, gradually gave way to the absolute power of the rulers, creating the system of social classes and serfdom. While in Poland, the ruling nobility was already in possession of vast territories and enjoyed a wide range of rights and privileges, the boyars in Ruthenia were more or less administrators of the princes' estates and obligated to provide for the defense of the country. In some instances, they revolted against their rulers and eventually developed into an independent political force that the Ruthenian princes had to reckon with. The land, which had once been the property of the ruling prince, was in time acquired by lesser men, who in turn became absolute rulers in their own right.

The most numerous of the population were the villagers, or serf, who at best possessed small plots of land for which they had to pay yearly tributes to the princes or their administrators. In general, the serfs were considered the property of the princes and landlords and were forbidden to leave the land. Even in religious matters, they had to follow the ruler's convictions and be of the same faith. They also bore the brunt of all invasions and were frequently sold as slaves in eastern markets if captured by the invading armies.

The towns at this time were not as numerous and therefore not recognized as an influential part of the social system. Some, populated by foreign ethnic minorities, still enjoyed their autonomous privileges, although subordinated to the laws of the princes. Their social position was much higher than that of the serfs and they basically enjoyed freedom of movement and religion. A typical example would have been Armenians, and most likely, the Jews, whose presence in the area dates back to the 8th century, when they became an influential group among then powerful Khazars.

Due to Kievan influence, the basic religion of the entire Ruthenian region during this time was the Christian Orthodox faith. While in Poland, church

leaders and clergy enjoyed exceptional privileges and often influenced state affairs, in Ruthenia, the Orthodox clergy was subjugated to the will of the princes and functioned more or less as part of state administration. With time, their position improved somewhat in proportion to that of the nobility and boyars, and at the end of the Romanowicz dynasty, they had become quite vocal and were often instrumental in the choice of new rulers.

The acquisition of Lekhian lands by the Ruthenians brought some social changes for the Lekhs. As conquered people, they were considered lower-class by the Ruthenians, and, following the practice of the time, were relegated to serf status. Proof of this can be seen in the prejudicial and antagonistic attitudes of the Ruthenians towards the Lekhs throughout the entire period of their domination over the land. It is safe to assume that the Lekhs' traditional ties with the Poles were weakened during this time period, though not completely destroyed.

The Lekhian bond to Poland, which survived in a limited fashion during the Ruthenian domination, has to be considered in the light of religious preferences. We will have to deal with this subject on the basis of assumption, as no viable records that specifically relate to this matter are available. It is possible that some Roman Catholic influence prevailed in the region since the time of the Polish king, Boleslaw the Great, an ardent propagator of the faith. It is known that he had introduced Catholic missionaries into the region, and that their followers may have survived until another Polish king, Boleslaw the Brave, retrieved their lands from Ruthenians. The Catholic religion was definitely reinforced by a new wave of missionaries, whose efforts may have contributed to the attempts of the later Ruthenian prince, Daniel Romanowicz, to seek direct contact with Rome. His leaning towards Rome is a viable proof that the Catholic religion had at that time a solid following among some of his subjects.

Some evidence to that effect is also provided in the records of the Catholic Church in Poland. From these, we learn that the Dominican Order had a monastery in the town of Halicz around the mid-13th century. As this period in time was hardly suitable for missionary work, due to the Tartar invasions, it can be presumed that this mission was set up at much earlier date and might have been an extension of Polish efforts in the prior century. We also know that somewhat later in that century as Roman Catholic church was built in Lwow and that the Polish missionary, Jacek Odrowaz, carried out his work as far as the distant city of Kiev. This in itself is an indication that there were some followers of Catholic teaching in that city, and it is also likely that there were other followers of Roman Catholicism in other towns in the region. From this we can summarize that during the Ruthenian rule, the Lekhian bonds with Poland were maintained through the Catholic religion. This may also have been true in areas under Tartar control, since in the beginning of the next era, Catholic churches were already in existence in some areas under their domination.



# CHAPTER V

## The Buczacki and Jazlowiecki Families

This period in Podolian history must be viewed in context with the events that led to its incorporation into the Polish kingdom. Likewise, the history of Jazlowiec and nearby Buczacz are also inseparable component of the political changed involved the entire territory.

With the disintegration of the Ruthenian Principality, due as much to Tartar pressure from the east as to the internal friction among the boyars, its neighboring countries of Poland, Hungary and Lithuania began to compete for its land and establish their influence in the region.

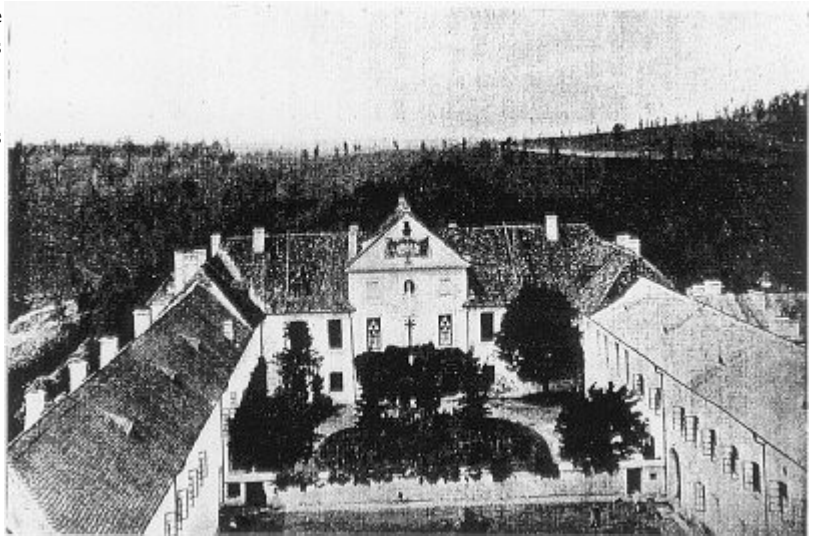
The most viable contender was the Polish kin, Kazimierz the Great, who, as the nephew of the poisoned prince, Jerzy Trojdanowicz, had claimed over the lands due to the traditionally-recognized practice of inheritance to the throne.

Thus, when the throne of the Wlodzimierz Principality became vacant, he immediately made claim to its territory and incorporated the province of Grody Czerwienskie (or "Red Ruthenia" as called by the Ruthenians) into Poland in 1340. This passed without opposition from Hungary and Lithuania. The issue of the two remaining territories of Volhynia and Podolia were to be resolved by political means, rather than a military solution.

The other chief contender, Hungarian King Louis the Great, agreed in a separate treaty with the Polish king, to leave these lands under Polish control on the condition that the Polish kingdom would pass unto him or his descendants after the death of the childless Kazimierz. The Polish king, now armed with the support of his powerful neighbor, proceeded with the acquisition of the remaining lands in the face of active Lithuanian opposition. Due to the Polish king's tolerant rule and political wisdom, he gained the cooperation of the Ruthenians, who saw in him their savior from the Lithuanian and Tartar threats. One of his chief supporters in the area was the powerful Buczacki family. In trade for their support, the king granted them a big chunk of land on both sides of Strypa River, which included the town of Jazlowiec. This also suggests that prior to this time, Jazlowiec and the neighboring land was in the possession of the princes of Halicz, which became the king's property after his acquisition of Podolia.

Under King Kazimierz's wise rule, the whole Poland prospered, but the greatest changes and improvements were in the newly-acquired lands. The king, recognizing the importance of this region to the economy and defense of Poland, proceeded to energetically implement his policies. New settlements and roads were built, towns and cities received new protective walls, and at least thirty new castles of stone were constructed. Also, by giving special privileges to merchant and craftsmen's guilds, he patronized trade and industry and by doing this improved the economic conditions of the country. He also took care of the ethnic minorities like the Armenians and the Jews, granting them special rights, or by confirming their existing privileges.

Soon after the Armenians became subject to his rule, the king recognized their religious, administrative and judicial autonomy. Eleven years later, he



authorized the bishops of the Armenian Church to exercise the spiritual jurisdiction over their respective communities. The Jewish minority, which had escaped persecution in Germany and had migrated in great numbers to the territories under the king's rule, also became the subject of his benevolent attentions. In 1334, he confirmed the provisions of Boleslaw's Pious Statute, which granted the Jews freedom to practice their religion and certain autonomy rights; and also those of his own statute, known as the Wislicki Statute, extending the Jew's privileges into the areas of trade and commerce. In both instances, the communities in Jazlowiec became the beneficiaries of the king's ethnic policies.

By then Jazlowiec, as an important post on the East-West trade route, already had a well-established cosmopolitan community in which the Armenians played a major role. The Jews, engaged in trade and commerce and enjoying the king's protection, also became an integral part of the town's population. There have to have been a certain Polish and Ruthenian representation, and also most probably a small group of Tartars. As an organized municipality, the town would have received the new laws, generally known as Magdeburg Law, which became the standard judiciary and administrative pattern for all towns and cities in Poland. Finally, under the king's rule, the old wooden structures which may have lain in ruin, were replaced with castles built of stone as a part of his fortification plan for Podolia and which later proved to be one of the most effective defense systems in the country.

This great Polish king died in 1370 as a result of an accident while hunting in the vicinity of his beloved city of Lwow. According to the terms of his earlier treaty, his kingdom passed into the hands of King Louis of Hungary. He therefore became the first ruler in history of an empire stretching from the Mediterranean to the Baltic seas. After being crowned in Krakow, the capitol of Poland, as ruler of the combined Polish and Hungarian kingdom, he returned to his country, leaving the affairs of the Polish state in the hands of his mother, Elizabeth, which proved to be an unfortunate arrangement. The queen had no experience in ruling a country, and allowed the old rivalries between the provincial princes begin anew, the result being that most of the country returned to turmoil. The Lithuanians, taking advantage of the situation, invaded Volhynia and part of Podolia, which they immediately incorporated in their state.

The situation was further aggravated when King Louis himself tried to annex the rest of Podolia into his kingdom. Meeting strong opposition from the Polish nobility, he temporarily abandoned the plan, and in 1379 appointed Polish prince Wladyslaw Opolczyk as governor of Podolia. This man proved to be an able administrator, but not very tolerant on religious matters of other than the people of Christian faith. This adherent follower of Roman Catholic faith is remembered in history as the founder of the convent in Chestochowa, a revered place in Poland. Under his rule, however, Podolia fared much better than the rest of the country. A few years later, in 1382, the Hungarian king then proceeded with his earlier plans and incorporated Podolia and the Principality of Halicz into the Hungarian state.

The situation remained unchanged until his daughter Jadwiga became the Queen of Poland and in 1386 married the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Wladyslaw Jagiello, who by the marriage became the first Polish king of Jagiellonian Dynasty. A year later, the queen personally led her armies against the Hungarians to recover the land incorporated into his state by Louis the Great. The local nobility and the population, whose delegation asked them to keep their province permanently aligned with Poland, warmly received the Polish royal pair. During their reign, they confirmed to the towns the privileges granted to them by the King Kazimierz the Great, introduced the Magdeburg Law and opened the land to Polish colonization.

During this period, a prominent family name was added to the roster of the nobility in Podolia. The Buczackis, known as supporters of the Polish cause in the region, emerged as local leaders. Their original and primary residence was in the town of Buczacz, however, after receiving a land grant from Kazimierz the Great, a family branch moved to Jazlowiec and some time later adopted the town's name for their family surname. From that time on, the landlords of Jazlowiec

with a large estate around it became known as the Jazlowiecki family.

While this new branch of the family was establishing itself, the members of the main branch of Buczackis were playing an even greater role in securing Podolia for Poland. After the death of his young queen, King Wladyslaw Jagiello, uncertain of his Polish throne, relinquished Podolia to Lithuania in 1411. The Podolian nobility, in opposition to their new rulers, engaged in a long, twenty year struggle against the Lithuanians. Under the leadership of Michal Buczacki, they took up arms against them and took possession of several towns in the name of Poland. In retaliation, Lithuanian prince Swidrygiello detained the Polish king while he was visiting his native land. This brought open confrontation between Poland and the forces of Swidrygiello which ended in two Polish victories, the first at Kopystryn in 1432, and the second at Wilkomierz in 1435. This finally resolved the Polish-Lithuanian conflict over Podolia and made Podolia part of the Ruthenian land under the rule of the Polish king.

Until this time, the names of the members of the Buczacki family who resided in Jazlowiec had not been confirmed in written record. But in all likelihood, their presence must have dated back at least to the mid-14th century, when this land was to the Buczacki family by the Polish king. As landlords of the prosperous town, they had to have resided in the stone castle built at the time of Kazimierz the Great as part of the Polish defense system. The family name first appears in the records with the name of Teodoryk Buczacki, the brother of Michal, mentioned earlier in this text. Written testimony is found in a Roman Catholic parish document relating to the properties bequeathed by Teodoryk Buczacki to the Catholic church in Jazlowiec. The lengthy document lists several details and provides us with a decent insight into the local conditions prevailing at the time, mainly relating to the nobility and the Roman Catholic parish.

Form this document, dated February 3, 1436, we learn that Teodoryk Buczacki was the sole owner of the Jazlowiec estate, which included several villages around the town. The owner and his family were of the Roman Catholic faith, as were many members of local nobility who witnessed the bequest. It is not evident in the document where the beneficiary, the parish of St. Mary Magdalene was located, but it had to have been in a low-lying area, because the waters of the Olchowczyk stream reached its steps. Furthermore this parish belonged to the diocese of Kamieniec Podolski, together with nearby parishes of Petlikowce and Czerwonograd. This definitely infers that the Roman Catholic faith was well established in the area.

The main item of the bequest was the village of Niezbrody (later called Znibrody) with all its farmlands, woods, fish ponds and local industries, such as flour mills. From the document's lesser details, much can be deducted about Jazlowiec itself; the predominant of the town's citizens was agriculture, there were four flour mills and a brewery in town, the latter on the main road between the marketplace and the main gate. In the valley of the streams there were two fish ponds and a bathing place, reserved for castle personnel only. The town's population is referred to as 'citizens' (mieszczanie) which implies that most of them were engaged in trade and commerce. Tolls were collected from travelers at the gate, indicating that a main thoroughfare passed the town. And among the town's population there were some common laborers. There is no direct reference to Armenians, Jews and Ruthenians, possibly for the reason that they, as members of different religious denominations, were not contributors to the Roman Catholic church.

Teodoryk Buczacki, the master of Jazlowiec, died in 1456, leaving three sons; Bartosz, the subprefect (head of the county) of Kamieniec Podolski who died in battle in 1457; Michal, also subprefect of Kamieniec Podolski, who divided his father estate between himself and two brothers (Bartosz and Jan) in 1469, assigning to himself Jazlowiec and Czerwonograd, and who died as chamberlain of Halicz in 1511; Jan, mentioned in records as master of Monasterzyska and the first one to use the name of Monasterski (another branch of Buczacki family like Jazlowiecki). Michal, the master of Jazlowiec, left one son, named Teodoryk, who distinguished himself many times on various battlefields and was prominently active person in the country.

When a conflict ensued in nearby Moldavia between two Woloch leaders, the Polish king appointed Bartosz Buczacki chief of the expeditionary forces raised to establish peace in the area. In a fierce battle, in which the Polish forces defeated the rebellious Woloch's leader, Bartosz lost his life in 1457. (Some of the chronicles assign the leadership and his death to Michal Buczacki). The loss of the brave leader soon affected the entire population of the southeast Polish territories. The Tartars once again began their devastating incursions into the Polish frontier provinces, this time with no reprisal from poorly organized Polish territorial forces.

The next incursion by the Tartars, in 1452, brought the name of another Teodor Buczacki, into Podolian records. For lack of precise documentation, it has to be presumed that this person was the son of Michal, the master of Jazlowiec. According to available evidence, Teodor Buczacki was accused of negligence in securing the frontiers and as result, the Tartars looted and burned the town Row (later called Bar). This accusation implies that Teodor held some high military position, which made him responsible for the defense of southeastern lands of Poland.

The success at Row was an incentive to the Tartars to continue the aggression into Polish territories. Although defeated by the Podolians at Trembowla in 1455, two years later they were back in full force - plundering, looting and taking captives in various parts of the area. Bartlomiej Buczacki, another master of Jazlowiec and the chief commander of the Podolian territorial army, hastily collected his forces to make a stand against the aggressors. In a fierce battle, the Polish commander and his second in command, Jan Luszcz, were killed and the Polish forces defeated. This put the entire defense system in jeopardy and the consequence of this was Tartar incursion into several areas, some reaching as far west as the city of Lwow. Several other Buczackis, for example, Muzylo from Buczacz, the voivod of Podole, and Michal and Jan from Jazlowiec, fought against them with varying degrees of success.

The name of Buczacki once again became prominent when Michal, the administrator of the Sniatyn district (who resided in Jazlowiec), was appointed chief of the Polish forces assembled to check Turkish and Tartar invasions into Moldavia. The troops under his command, which included the besieged Wolochs, inflicted a decisive defeat upon the invading armies from the southeast. In this battle they took, according to records, one hundred military standards. This would indicate that a substantial Turkish and Tartar force had been defeated.

Later chronicles mention other Buczackis who were active in the country's affairs. Jakub Buczacki, nominated to the voivodship of Podolia in 1485, his son, Jan, who was a member of the king's delegation to Moscow which concluded a six year peace with the Czar; and another Jakub, who was the bishop of Plock. After these, the name of Buczacki disappears, replaced by Jazlowiecki, which became prominent in the southeast territories of Poland. The family name also brought greater recognition to the town of Jazlowiec, and a higher profile in the country as a whole.

The first mention of Jazlowiecki appears in relation to Wacław Jazlowiecki, who became famous for gaining several victories over the Tartars. During the time he held the office of the Podolian voivodship, there were at least five major invasions by the Tartars - in 1450, 1452, 1453, 1469 and 1474. There may also have been minor incursions which were not recorded, but which nevertheless would have added to the strain of the defense of the frontier. Wacław resigned his office in 1477 and became a hermit, spending the remainder of his life in prayer and meditation. Considering that he held such a lofty position prior to his resignation, it can be presumed that he participated in public life in his earlier years, but in minor positions.

In the beginning of the 16th century, however, the name of Mikolaj Sieniawski, a known king's advisor, is mentioned in the town's records. He could not have been the town's landlord, as the name Jazlowiecki was also present on the records. The only rational explanation is that the king delegated to him some business matters relating to the state treasury. Apparently, King Zygmunt I granted Sieniawski the concession to collect quarterly toll taxes due the king's treasury. Because this contract went to one of the king's most influential

courtiers, it carries the inference that toll collecting in Jazlowiec must have been a lucrative business. This directly confirms that a major highway passed through the town, and that its busy traffic was a source of substantial revenue. It also gives credence to the fact that at this time of its history, Jazlowiec was a very prosperous town. The documentation, written in the form of a letter to the Podolian tax collector, refers to the taxes collected in the old and new town. This is evidence that the town increased in size, with its newer portions being called "new town", again confirming the fact that the business was good at the time.

Another document which relates to Sieniawski indicates that the king gave his permission to the town to hold an annual trade fair on the day of St. Catherine. This would naturally benefit the king's treasury, since the increased traffic would also increase the tax revenue. Still another document, the king's decree in response to Sieniawski's request, permitted a second trade fair to be held on the day of the parish's patron saint, Mary Magdalene. All of this provides good evidence that the town was recognized for its business activities and potential state revenues.

The time lapse between Wacław's Jazłowiecki's resignation and the next appearance of his family name in Podolia indicates the existence of his descendant, not clearly reported in contemporary records. The most logical successor was Jan Jazłowiecki, often recorded as Jan Buczański. The premise that he was the grandson of Michał, master of Jazłowiec, and the father of Jerzy, a famous name in Podolia's and Polish history and the timing itself, clearly indicate that he was the Commander Jan Jazłowiec to whom famous Polish poet, Jan Kochanowski, dedicated his epic "Proporzec".

He had to be a well known person who distinguished himself in the king's service, but for some reason his exploits were not recorded or lost if recorded.

The name Jazłowiecki regained prominence when Jerzy, grandson of Wacław the Hermit, appeared on the public scene in Podolia. Jerzy Jazłowiecki, one of the most colorful Polish military leaders and statesmen of his time, left a rich legacy of powerful stories about his many achievements in various fields of public endeavor. As a young man, he followed the custom of the times and enlisted in the service of the famous Polish Commander, Michał Kamieniecki. While serving under him, young Jerzy distinguished himself in many actions against the Tartars, and in spite of his youth, was often entrusted with defense of the frontier lands. In 1528, when still in early manhood, he wiped out a Tartar force of over one thousand men. A few years later, at the village of Oczków, he crushed the Tartar force under Khan Aslan which led to a personal feud between the two commanders.

During one of the periodic lulls in the fighting, the Tartar khan, following the terms of local chivalry, invited the young Polish commander to a reception in his camp. The Polish commander obliged him, but when he arrived, he was forcibly detained and held hostage. He was eventually released (after his family paid a substantial ransom), but this breach of etiquette in the traditional rules began a personal vendetta by Jerzy Jazłowiecki against the khan and the Tartars in general.

But fighting Tartars was not his only military objective. Whenever necessary, he made himself available for other theaters of military action. When the Voivod of Moldavia invaded Poland's southern territories, Jerzy Jazłowiecki rushed his forces across the Dniestr River to fight alongside the Polish commander, Jan Tarnowski. In two battles, at Gwoździec and Obertyn in 1531, the Wołosz army was decisively defeated and forced to retreat. This was regarded a major Polish victory and in one in which the Voivodship of Moldavia once again became subject to Polish rule.

The preoccupation of Poland with the war against the Russians (1534-1537) acted as an incentive for the Tartars to increase their pressure on the southeast Polish territories. Border units under the command of Jazłowiecki successfully defended the Polish land against Tartar incursions in 1535, 1536 and 1537. The Tartar attacks stopped until 1549, when their forces managed to penetrate Polish territory as far west as the town of Tarnopol, where they were severely beaten

by the field commander, Jan Tarnowski. The Tartars then turned their attention toward their northern neighbor, the Moscow state. When Jazlowiecki learned that the common enemy had plundered Moscow (1552) and were returning with captives and spoils to the Crimea, he hastily gathered his forces to intervene. But the enemy unfortunately escaped by using secret travel routes in the steppe.

He fought the Tartars again in 1566, when Polish border guards under his command defeated their invading forces. In 1573, by order of the king, he again took command of a substantial force and was ordered to intervene in the Moldavian revolt and bring peace to the territory. Even in his later years, he was given command over the Polish border forces during the election of the new king, when the Tartars twice invaded Polish land (in 1574 and 1575). Although their powerful forces brought great destruction to Ruthenia and Podolia, Jazlowiecki managed to check their advance at the borderlands before pushing them back into Crimea.

His military service was only a part of his commitment to public life. The Polish king, in recognition of his leadership abilities and faithful service to the country, nominated him to various high public offices, including the Voivodship of Podolia, the Voivodship of Ruthenia and in 1569 as the Commander-in-Chief of the King's Armies (Hetman Koronny). Giving recognition to his expertise in eastern affairs, the king sent him twice as the head of a Polish delegation to the Turkish Sultan to conclude arrangements normalizing Turkish-Polish relationship.

Soon after his last encounter with the Tartars, Jerzy Jazlowiecki died in 1575 in his castle in Jazlowiec, leaving four sons and two daughters. He was buried in the castle's tomb, which now may be buried under a deep layer of rubble in the disintegrated structure. Buried with him lays much of Polish history of his period, a history of unending struggle to keep Poland and the western countries of Europe from the eastern threat.

Jerzy Jazlowiecki, as a public figure and military leader, enjoyed great popularity and respect among his countrymen and was held in high esteem by the last two Jagiellonian kings of Poland. His opinions on affairs of the state always carried weight and well received by the king's court and Polish nobility. Among the lower class, he became a mythical leader who kept them free from the Tartar menace and thus enabled them to live in peace and prosperity. The only section of the community at whom he was at odds was the Catholic clergy. They would not forgive him for his conversion to Calvinism and propagation of this branch of Reformation in Poland.

The conflict between Jazlowiecki and the clergy began when he gave in to his wife's (a devout Calvinist) religious convictions, and removed the Catholic pastor from the Jazlowiec parish and replaced him with a Calvinist clergyman. This was regarded as heresy among the Dominicans in nearby Czerwonogrod and their followers. For voicing their disapproval of him openly and widely, Jazlowiecki ordered them to vacate their monastery in Jazlowiec and confiscated their accumulated wealth. The new religious movement did not take deep roots to survive for very long in Jazlowiec and the entire country. Jerzy's son, Mikolaj, brought the Dominicans back to the town in 1583, installing a Catholic priest in the town's wooden church of St. Mary Magdalene.

During his lifetime, Jerzy Jazlowiecki made a considerable contribution to the development of the town and improvement to the well-being of its citizens. The business and trade sectors (mainly in Armenian and Jewish hands) prospered, and with it, the town in general thrived. Within his life, many new buildings were built and even the castle enlarged and its fortifications improved, making it the mightiest fortress in Podolia. He also improved upon the entire defensive system of southeastern part of Poland, increasing the defensive capabilities of its castles, including fortress in Kamieniec Podolski, the seat of the Podolian Voivodship.

His oldest son, Mikolaj, continued in his father's steps as an able military leader, politician and reformer. He began Public service at an early age and by the time of his father's death he was already a recognized authority on affairs of the state. At the time of King Stefan Batory election, he was called as a

member to the electorate commission, which testifies to his high standing among the Polish nobility.

As a military man, he distinguished himself in the battle with the Russians at Krzywoluki in 1580; he quelled rebellion of Moldavian Hospodar in 1582 and 1591; and in 1595, he organized an expeditionary force against the Crimean Tartars to deal "once and for all with the eastern menace". During this undertaking, his forces entered Crimea, but just when the decisive battle had begun to shape up, the Cossacks and troops of the Siedmiogrod Principality reneged on the promise and the entire project collapsed. Disheartened by this failure, Mikolaj became ill and died soon thereafter.

Although basically known as a military leader, this landlord of Jazlowiec was also deeply involved in politics, social reforms and civic matters of the town and even those that involved the entire country.

As a politician, Mikolaj became involved in the reformatory movement propagated by the nobleman Samuel Zborowski. The basic support for this new political party came from the ranks of the nobility, who eagerly adopted the new ideas of the Western Reformation. The two main points of their political program was first to change election laws and second to confer equal rights to all religious denominations in the country. Their effort proved to be unsuccessful, however, as the majority of the nobility opposed such a reform program. A rebellion in 1584 ended in a battle on the fields of Krakow between the proponents and opponents of the reforms, in which Zborowski's followers were defeated and he was executed. After this disastrous encounter, Mikolaj Jazlowiecki made a hasty retreat to Podolia and organized a force there, in readiness should there be a future fighting. The peaceful intervention of the Roman Catholic Archbishop in Lwow persuaded him to abandon his rebellious plans, however, soon after he was forgiven by the king and returned to his favor.

One of the major appointments Mikolaj Jazlowiecki received from King Zygmunt Waza was to head the King's Commission on the Cossack matters. In this role, he brought peace between the Cossacks and the Moldavian Hospodar, while at the same time secured Polish domination over the Woloch lands. Later, he presided over another King's Commission to plan and oversee the construction a fortress in Krzemieniec to protect the citizens against continuing Tartar attacks. In recognition for his service to his country, he was invited to the king's wedding, and on another occasion was honored with the appointment to be one of the carriers of the king's canopy at some religious or state celebration.

After reverting back to Catholicism, and before the introduction of a new priest to the Jazlowiec parish, Mikolaj insisted that the priest, for which he, Mikolaj, would provide funding, should run a public school. He also instituted laws in the town for protection of the poor, and labor laws which forbade exploitation of serfs and servants on Sundays and religious holidays, as he declared these to be work-free days. He is further credited with building a hospital for the town's citizens and a home for the poor and invalid. Church chronicle records stated that "with his death, the light of Polish nobility vanished, the welfare of the poor and sick disappeared and the well of generosity evaporated." This last sentence is perhaps the best testimony to the achievements of the man who dedicated himself to the service of his country and of his people.

His brother and successor, Hieronim Jazlowiecki, was a man of great courage and great military skill, but he displayed neither the political mastery of his predecessor, nor the ability to understand the needs of his subjects. A historian writes that "battle was play for him, military camp was his home, armor was his daily clothing and fighting with Tartars was a dance". For these valor, he was appointed the Voivodship of Podolia, an office held for life.

However, due to his total lack of understanding of his civic duties, the reforms and improvements introduced by his brother were either neglected or altogether abandoned. Soon after inheriting the estate, Hieronim involved himself in a controversy with the local Catholic clergy, who tried to hold him to his brother's promises. This dispute would later develop into mutual disrespect and personal hatred between Hieronim and the clergy.

It is believed that due to the imposition of heavy taxes on the population of Jazlowiec, and mostly on the Armenian businessmen, he also gave cause to a dispute between himself and the Armenian bishop. According to the legend (which cannot be confirmed through Polish and Armenian records), Hieronim ordered the bishop's beard to be shaved, which was taken as a great insult to the Armenian people. From this, another legend developed, this concerning a supposed curse put on Hieronim by the Armenian bishop, in which his only son, when still a baby, fell into a deep well in the castle's courtyard and drowned.

About the same time the Armenians moved their bishopric from Jazlowiec to the city of Lwow. This would indicate that it was due to a decline in their numbers, forcing them to close the Jazlowiec bishopric and transferring the records to Lwow, because their bishopric in that city had been in existence much longer than the one in Jazlowiec. There is a local folklore that states that the bishopric was moved because of the dispute between the Armenian bishop and Hieronim Jazlowiecki, but evidence leads to other conclusions.

The town, lying on the main East-West route, lost much of its business due to the Turkish acquisition in 1484 of the northern Black Sea ports, closing the traffic to the east. In addition, continuous unrest in nearby Moldavia and Bessarabia, as well as Turkish influence there, deprived Polish merchants of the outlet for their agricultural commodities and their source of foreign goods, sought not only by Poland, but the rest of the West as well. With Jazlowiec off the east markets, it would have given merchants a good excuse to seek more favorable business conditions elsewhere.

The city of Lwow, although affected to an equal degree by the closing of the Black Sea ports and eastern markets by the Turks, also had a better developed business and trade climate, and offered newcomers greater opportunities to grow and prosper. By drawing business from other parts of Poland and as an intermediary center in the shipment of agricultural produce to the Baltic port of Gdansk, and from there to Western Europe, Lwow managed to retain some of its market vitality. It would have therefore attracted merchants and tradesmen from less prosperous places like Jazlowiec, as it offered not only better business conditions, but a much safer geographical position against the Tartar threat. These conditions would have attracted a business-oriented people like Armenians, but in all likelihood, the city of Lwow drew in only the most enterprising of them. For this reason their population declined in numbers and that would call for reduction of their religious representation.

Hieronim Jazlowiecki died in 1607, leaving no male descendants. He left the estate to his wife Eleanor, the former Princess Ostrogski, and the daughter of Janusz Castellian of Krakow. The widow first made peace with the clergy installing the Dominicans in the new church built by her brother-in-law, Mikolaj Jazlowiecki; and made good on some of the generous legacies bequeathed by Mikolaj to the local parish and the Dominicans. At some point later in time, she did get involved in a long dispute with the clergy, who had neglected their parish, devoting all their time and attentions to the affairs of their Order.

At some point, most likely when his husband was still alive, she began to actively involve herself in the civic activities and the welfare of the town. She did not display, however, as much dedication to these causes as her late brother-in-law and her achievements in that area are not as noteworthy as his. She also became interested in the arts and became a dedicated patron of music. The first Polish composer, Mikolaj Gomolka, was a frequent visitor to her court and enjoyed her enthusiastic support in his creative efforts.

According to available records, Mikolaj Gomolka was born in Krakow in 1564, where his talents were first recognized by the Catholic bishop. At the age of sixteen, he composed his first and the only surviving composition, "Psalterz Polski", which was published by the Archdiocese of Krakow. No other composition of his have survived, but it is known that his music was played all over Poland, and much of Lithuania as well. The chronicle mentions that during his time, he was very popular with nobility "as he pleased them with his talent". In twenty six years of artistic productivity, he must have created a great number of nonreligious compositions, but these were in general produced as single copies and had a lesser chance of survival than his church music.



During one of his visits at the court of Eleanor Jazlowiecki, he became ill and shortly thereafter died in her castle. As a commoner, he was buried in the Dominican churchyard in a plot near the surrounding wall. His grave in time became unrecognizable and forgotten. Much later in time, in mid-19th century, the owner of Jazlowiec discovered the grave and its plate restored. Some of his contemporary followers and admirers had a commemorative plaque set in his memory inside the entrance to the Dominican church. This plaque with the following Latin inscription was still readable on the wall before World War Two:

D.O.M

Gomolcam His lapis indicat sepultum

quem cum devorat atra mors choraulae

omnes ingemuere musicique

megatumouue domus stretere mutae

at recte cineres Tui quiescant

Gomolco hoc tumulo a Tuis parato

Obiit Anno D. MDCIX

die V Martis Aetatis XLV

In 1610, the widowed Eleanor exchanged marriage vows with Prince Jan Jerzy Radziwill, a powerful magnate from Lithuania. A year later, she and her new husband signed a document in which they gave the right of care of the parish church and its properties to the new pastor, Rev. Adam Makowski. But the most important document they co-signed, and which has survived, was the confirmation of the rights once granted to the Armenians. At the very beginning of this document, there is a statement which testifies that this was granted due to the request of the Armenians that the privileges granted to them by the late Hieronim Jazlowiecki be continued. This reference to the man who allegedly acted against the Armenians and their bishop, puts in doubt the legends about his conflict with the Armenians.

The intent of this document, as was clearly stated therein, and through its liberal provisions, was to increase the Armenian population in Jazlowiec by attracting newcomers to take advantage of the trade and business opportunities and by same to improve economic conditions in Jazlowiec. This testifies to the fact that business in the town had declined and needed to be revived.

The provisions of the document were indeed very generous to the Armenians and appeared to have been given at the expense of other national groups. First, the assurance had been given to the Armenians that they could move about at will in and out of town, and were to retain their traditional rights of self-government so that "they would govern themselves in civic and church matters like the Armenians in Kamieniec Podolski". Second, the town officials were forbidden to interfere in the activities of Armenian tradesmen and businessmen, and their households were to be free of taxation in both currency and kind. Finally it restored their former rights to properties like the woods, fields and meadows in the village of Porchowa.

Princess Eleanor, widow of Hieronim, wife of Prince Radziwill, was the last of the Jazlowiecki line to reside in the castle and care for its vast estates. We know very little of her later activities. The available documents pertain to the nobility, clergy and church affairs, and contain nearly nothing about Jazlowiec and its people.

Were it not for the bequest of Mikolaj Jazlowiecki, who so generously gave to various causes to improve the welfare of his people, we would not have known that the town had amenities such as military and civilian hospitals, homes for the poor and the invalid, and at least symbolic school run by the parish. We can be assured that the town had a large and influential Armenian population, and a smaller Jewish community, apart from Poles, and what we must presume a very small Ruthenian population, who might have even been identified along with the Poles.

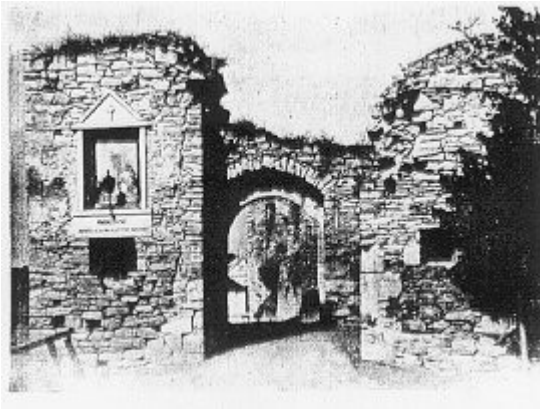
Whatever documentation is available proves that Jazlowiec, at the end of Jazlowiecki era, was somewhat past its peak trade and business period. From a list of church contributions, collected in the form of taxes, we know that the Jazlowiec estate included several villages, some quite a distance from the town; and there was a brewery, a sweetener producing plant, the market place where Jews and Armenians competed for business, and some flour mills. On the debit side of the statement, we find, among others, payments to the parish school teacher, which proves that the school was indeed in existence.

Taking all of this into account, we can surmise that Jazlowiec was a well-organized town at the time, and in many ways surpassed many other towns in that area. Most probably, the only town which held greater importance was the provincial seat, Kamieniec Podolski. As we have seen, almost every Jazlowiecki was awarded the Voivodship of Podolia, which indicated that there must have been a close connection between Jazlowiec and Kamieniec Podolski. Both were considered the mightiest fortresses in the Podolian defense system, and the same Dutch architect brought in by Jerzy Jazlowiecki had fortified both. Jazlowiec's importance to both the defense of Polish frontiers and business aspects of the area was very obvious at the time.

# CHAPTER VI

## The Koniecpolski Family

After the death of Eleanor Radziwill (Jazlowiecki) in 1617, her vast possessions passed in inheritance to various distant relatives. The Jazlowiec estate, which at the time consisted of the town, 31 villages and several lesser properties, was left to Czurzylo, Bogusz, Kaszewski,



Stanislawski and Tyszkiewicz families. There are no records to give us details on who of the above remained in possession of the town and its castle, but in all likelihood, none of the families resided in Jazlowiec. According to some later records, both the town and the castle were for some time in the hands of hired managers or lessees.

The first document revealing the name of a person directly responsible for the town's affairs related to a long-lasting feud between the secular clergy and the Order of the Dominicans over the rights to the church properties that were once left to the parish

by Mikolaj Jazlowiecki. According to this document, one Jadwiga Belzecka, apparently a member of the Czurzylo family who changed her name through marriage, as landlord of the town, became involved in the dispute. She at first took the side of the secular clergy, an act for which the local Dominicans excommunicated her. Under such pressure, she reversed her decision and gave the Dominicans the rights to the properties in question, of which the nearby village of Niezbrody (later Znibrody) was the focal point.

This did not, however, provide a permanent solution to the problem, as the lay clergy of the town and their immediate superior, the bishop of Kamieniec Podolski, did not recognize her reversed decision. They took the matter to the Podolian courts, which ended in intervention of the highest authorities of the Church and State. At some point, the matter was referred to the Vatican authorities and to the Polish king, seeking a decision from both. Eventually, in 1639, fifty years after the dispute commenced, it was resolved by the Podolian high court, which divided the disputed properties between the two feuding parties. By the court's decision, the properties were to be completely separated, going as far as to removing the old wooden parish church from the Dominican grounds to a low-lying place in the downtown area of Jazlowiec.

The long-lasting dispute, compounded by the greed of the landlord's officials, had an adverse affect on the town's population, and most of all on the business section of the community. These two factors became in time indirect cause of heavy tax levy on the citizens by both the landlords, who were burdened by church assessment, fines and legal costs; and the lessees, who were in search for quick profits. This two-pronged demand on the population brought the town's business activities almost to a standstill, causing economic hardships and reduction in toll revenues to the state treasury.

This sad state of affairs was brought to the attention of King Wladyslaw IV, who, understanding the importance of keeping trade and business alive, issued two separate decrees in 1638. In these he specifically forbade the owners and the lessees from interfering with the merchants and tradesmen and ordered the landlord to reopen the abandoned trade fairs. He also prohibited the collection of taxes from merchants passing through or participating in the town's trade fairs. In view of increasing competition from the thriving Lwow, the king's intervention could not have come at a more opportune time.

In 1643, the only remaining heir of the Jazlowiec estate, Anna Odrzywolska, sold

the town and fourteen villages to a well-known public figure, Stanislaw Koniecpolski. This change of landlords during an economic depression was a lifesaver for the populace. Koniecpolski was an educated man who had already distinguished himself both in public service and on the battlefield. He was the very person that the town of Jazlowiec needed to bring it out of its economic stagnation.

Before he purchased Jazlowiec and its estate, Koniecpolski had already held several high offices in service of the Polish king and his country. As a loyal follower of Hetman (Commander) Stanislaw Zolkiewski, he had participated in military exploits against Moscow and the Turks. In 1620, he was taken prisoner by the Turks at the Battle of Cecora, in Moldavian territory, and was held captive for four years. He was finally released through direct appeal of the Polish king to the Sultan of Istanbul.

Soon after his return to his country, and in command of king's forces, he scored two major victories over the invading Tartars: at Dzwynogrod in 1624 and at Martynow in 1626. A few years later, in the campaign against the Swedes who had invaded Poland's northern frontiers, he engaged them successfully at Trzciana in 1629. In this important victory his forces took 37 Swedish regimental standards, which were later displayed in St. John's church in Warsaw.

In the role of commander of the Polish territorial armies, he checked several attempts by the Cossacks to invade Poland's eastern frontiers. To protect the borderlands against their incursion, he built a powerful stronghold, Kudak, which at the time was considered to be an invincible fortress. It was placed strategically on the routes used by the Tartars and Cossacks to keep check on their forays.

Soon after he acquired Jazlowiec, Koniecpolski issued a decree benefiting the Armenians, confirming the rights provided by the Armenian Statutes, which were codified in 1519 by the Polish King Zygmunt I, guaranteeing their special rights as granted by the Jazlowieckis, so "that they would grow in numbers and prosper". Koniecpolski's decree, signed in 1643, affirmed the autonomous rights and freedoms of Armenians, which were to be preserved by future landlords as well. This signaled the beginning of an economic revival in Jazlowiec, creating a new period of prosperity.

The Armenian community once again brought its skills and resources to bear in the town, which began to recoup its status as an important post on the East-West trade route. The Armenians also showed some internal signs of revival as well, and the increase in their numbers was reason for the return of their bishopric to Jazlowiec; Archbishop Andrew (Andrzej) took residence in the town. The Koniecpolski decree re-instituted their rights to self-government and provided for a body of twelve judges and a mayor to oversee their internal affairs, with the first Armenian mayor under this arrangement a man by the name Bahdazar. Records from this period also show storage facilities with a substantial stock of foreign goods held in them, indicating an increase in the business activities in the town. In all likelihood, much of this merchandise was held in transit, eventually ending up in the markets of the growing city of Lwow.

In his later years, Stanislaw Koniecpolski was called on again to do battle with the Tartars, who were still a major threat to Poland's eastern frontiers. When a substantial Tartar force invaded the country, he hastily collected his troops and defeated them, at Ochmatow in 1646, the same place where Jerzy Jazlowiecki had won his victory several years earlier. Shortly after Koniecpolski's victory, this great Polish patriot and military leader died in his castle. He bequeathed Jazlowiec and the entire estate to his only son, who had been born to his second wife Krystyna (Lubomirska), while he languished as a Turkish captive.

This great Polish leader, often cited in texts on Polish history, apart from being a successful military commander and a capable administrator, was also known for his many sterling traits of character, which made him a contemporary legend among the people. One of the chroniclers of the time describes him thus:

"Stanislaw Koniecpolski was a man of great courage and noble character. In company, he was polite and sociable. He was no hasty to engage in a fight, and

in every military undertaking he acted with caution, like his former commander, Stanislaw Zolkiewski. Due to his stuttering habit his friends used to say: 'his actions come sooner than his words.' Physically he was a very strong man. This was evident in the way he handled the bow and arrow. When he let the arrow go it would easily pierce steel armor."

The new heir to the Jazlowiec estate, Alexander Koniecpolski, received his education in the universities of France and Italy. To gain military knowledge, he served for some time under the commander of Auriacus (most probably an Austrian general), in whose service he distinguished himself while fighting in Belgium. Being a young man, he planned a tour of the Orient, to acquaint himself with the cultures there, and India's in particular. However, soon before he was to leave on this long voyage, his father recalled him home, just in time to take part in the battle against the Tartar hordes at Ochmatow.

Alexander's first undertaking as the new landlord of Jazlowiec was to secure his widespread estate against foreign invasions by fortifying the castle in Jazlowiec so that it would withstand any possible siege. The increased size of the fortifications allowed for three thousand men to be stationed within its walls, but there are no details as to what was added to the castle's original fortifications. Most likely the site of the future Poniatowski palace was included within the perimeters of the extended fortress. In its first trial by fire, it was successfully met its defensive expectations by repelling a large Cossack force in 1648.

This new threat from the east had a profound negative effect on the economy of the entire southeast region of Poland. The masses of men from the Ukrainian plains, under the leadership of Bohdan Chmielnicki, a Polish renegade, aligned with Tartars and Wolochs who repeatedly invade Polish territory, plundering and looting towns and villages, taking captives for the slave markets in the East. As a direct result of these invasions, agriculture, the mainstay of the local economy, as well as the lucrative trade industry, was destroyed, and most of the Ukraine lay in ruins. The destruction of the region is best described in the phrase which developed at the time: "Ukraine to ruina" (Ukraine and ruin mean the same). At that point, Chmielnicki, short of funds to carry on war, sold his own subjects into Turkish slavery to raise money to meet his military needs.

The main thrust of Cossack attacks was directed against prosperous towns and cities, where they expected to find rich spoils of war. One of the primary objects of the operations was the city of Lwow, which was then at the peak of its prosperity. The city, besieged in 1648, 1655, 1672, and 1675, had to pay the enemy substantial ransom on every occasion, a sum often exceeding the economic means of the population. This continuous drain on the city's resources brought Lwow to the brink of economic disaster, as business interests sought out areas less affected by the Cossack threat. Jazlowiec benefited to some extent by Lwow's misfortune, as businessmen felt more secure in the town because it lay outside the main Cossack routes, and was well-fortified as well.

During these long and destructive wars, Alexander Koniecpolski was preoccupied with fighting the Tartars and the Cossacks on various battlefields, places like Zbaraz, Zwaniec and Beresteczko. His own town, Jazlowiec, stayed reasonably free from enemy aggression during that time, primarily due to the efforts of one man, a late arrival from Armenia, Bohdan Sefarowicz. Before he settled in Jazlowiec, Sefarowicz received some military training in his native country, and the wars with Tartars and Cossacks gave him ample opportunity to hone his skills.

When the threat of a Cossack invasion became imminent, Sefarowicz organized a home guard unit with the support of his Armenian countrymen to provide an effective defense system for the town and the riches within its walls. Throughout the entire duration of the war with the Cossacks he successfully repelled their repeated attacks, a feat for which his name has been preserved for posterity as the mythical defender of Jazlowiec. Since there is no indication that a major enemy thrust was directed against the town, his military actions must have been carried out against minor forces which he had been engaged in acts of wanton plunder in surrounding countryside. For these actions, Koniecpolski recognized him as the hero of the town, and his grateful countrymen elected him mayor for life of the Armenian community.

Jazlowiec and its citizens, which had been nearly untouched by the Cossack invasion, were even less affected by the aggression of Swedes from the north. During the Swedish incursions, Jazlowiec was far removed from threat of invasion, destruction or foreign occupation. The Cossack threat, which still existed, had begun to subside and successfully checked by the home guards of Sefarowicz, and Koniecpolski's regular forces stationed in the castle. The situation in Jazlowiec was then safe and peaceful.

The Swedish invasion from across the Baltic, lasted from 1655 to 1660, and subjugated most of the western Polish territories to foreign occupation and destruction. In addition, the Cossacks, Russians and the Principality of Siedmiogrod renewed their attacks in the eastern Polish territories. This nearly hopeless situation was resolved by a general insurgency against the invaders, as well as by political means. The latter was achieved with the help of Austrian King Karol, who did not wish to have the powerful King of Sweden as his immediate neighbor. His army invaded the Swedish possessions in Denmark, and directly intervened on another front by invading the Principality of Siedmiogrod. Also, the Tartars turned against Cossacks, indirectly benefiting the Poles as well, and eventually, the entire territory of Poland was freed.

During these difficult times, Alexander Koniecpolski was only occasionally home. He spent most of his time fighting his enemies, mostly Swedes. His forces fought successfully against the northern invaders at Warsaw, Malbork and Torun, in the end pushing them out of Poland. While away from home and engaged against the enemy, he suddenly died in 1659, leaving his estate to his only son, Stanislaw.

As mentioned earlier, Jazlowiec managed to stay unaffected by war during these trying times for Poland, and due to her specific circumstances, regained some of her former position as an important trading post in eastern Poland. The revival of the town's business activities is evidenced by documents relating to the period; the most important being the decree of King Jan Kazimierz, issued in 1659 soon after the death of Alexander Koniecpolski, giving the Boym (Boim) family the authority to collect toll taxes in Jazlowiec "located in the district of Halicz in the Podolia Voivodship". This family in return was obligated to pay 30,000 zlotys in two semi-annual payments to the king's treasury. Such a large sum is indicative of the substantial scope of business being conducted in Jazlowiec at the time.

By another decree of the king, the trade fair on St. Basil's Day was reopened, and two week fair starting on St. George Day was added. This is another proof of the town's strong business and marketing position, indicating that it had reached another high point of prosperity in its history. Other records denote that these trade fairs gained in renown in Poland, as well as among merchants of foreign lands. There are references to their popularity among Arab, Greek, Turkish and Moldavian merchants; many of whom traveled to Jazlowiec with their wares to trade for local agricultural commodities.

Other records give detailed description of the town. According to one, there were three gates leading into Jazlowiec through which a merchant or traveler could enter specific business areas. Each of these gates was named after the ethnic group that occupied the part of the town closest to it. Thus, the town had an Armenian gate, a Jewish gate, and a Polish-Ruthenian gate. These were guarded at all times, but the strictest controls were exercised at the time at the fairs so no unwanted element could pass into the town.

Another indication of the town's growth in the first half of the 17th century was the number of public buildings and churches within its walls and surrounding areas. The town's protective walls, and its huge castle, which stood on the highest hill overlooking the town, offered great protection. The castle's west section had added walls, which substantially increased its defensive capabilities. On the east side, it was protected by two massive towers, which served a shield against enemy attack. As stated earlier, this huge fortification could accommodate 3,000 men, which made it the most powerful stronghold in Podolia.

In the center of the town, somewhere in the Jewish section, there was a two-story town hall built of white cut stone. No more detail of this structure and

about the activities within its walls was given in the record. One Armenian will give a good account of the churches and other religious buildings inside and outside the town. It mentioned the Armenian church, which was surrounded with protective walls; and the Armenian monastery, located in a wooded area where the Strypa River and the Olchowczyk stream merged; it also calls attention to the Roman Catholic church, which also was surrounded by protective walls; the Dominican church and Dominican monastery; and it also takes note of two Ruthenian chapels in the town and three on the outside. Since this will was made by a member of the Armenian community, no mention was made of the massive synagogue that had been built on one of three local hills. It also says nothing about a huge slaughterhouse, located by the Olchowczyk stream, and which, as its size indicated, served the people inside and outside the town's walls.

Of the three separate communities, Catholics, Jews and Armenians, each of which exercised the right to self-government, the Armenians were the most numerous, the most prosperous and the best organized. The mere fact that they were able to mobilize their own defenses to protect the town's wealth lends credence to the above statement. As to their wealth, evidence is provided by a four page long list of valuables, which were the common treasure chest of the Armenian community.

In the case of the town's prosperity, one has only to look to the citizens' ability to support the king's treasury by toll taxes, and by providing substantial funds towards the maintenance of the castle's garrison, in addition to taking care of their own guards.

The only contemporary physical description of the town comes from Dalerac, a Frenchman who served in the court of Commander (Hetman) Jan Sobieski. This, related as part of his memoirs, paints a vivid picture of the town's center as he viewed it from the high walls of the castle, where he apparently stopped with his patron. He must have walked the streets of the town since he mentioned the beauty of the town and he must have visited the churches, in particular the Armenian which amazed him by some Slavic writing unknown to him. The description, although short in substance, gives a reasonable view of Jazlowiec at the peak of its development.

He writes:

"In the picturesque valley there is a town, Jazlowiec, arranged in the form of an amphitheater. It extends from the top of the gently descending slopes to the fairly wide stream flowing at the bottom. The stream winds around three hills and passes through the rows of houses built alongside its banks. Wide streets and sumptuous houses on both sides stand decorated with Polish and Ruthenian signs. The presence of several churches enhances the beauty of the town. Close to the impressive Roman Catholic church there is a huge Jewish synagogue. In the center there is a Greek (it had to be Armenian) church and a cemetery with cone shape stones bearing inscriptions in Slavic languages."

The reference to the Armenian church and rich architecture of their community as Greek can be attributed to author's insufficient knowledge of the town's ethnic composition at the time. There never was a Greek community in Jazlowiec, unless he meant Greek Catholics who were Ruthenians. In all likelihood he by mistake took the Armenian centrally-located church and their cemetery with "cone shape stones" as that of the local Greek Catholics. The Only Greek Catholic church in the area at the time, St. Nicholas in suburban Browary, would not have been visible to him from the castle, as the view would have been obstructed by one of the hills.

Around 1670, business in Jazlowiec still must have been substantial. In that year, the Polish king, Korybut Wisniowiecki, decreed additional trade fairs to be held in the town. According to records, the trade fairs were well-attended by local people and merchants from Poland and other countries.

Jazlowiec did not add onto this progress beyond this point in its history. This was primarily due to the invasion of the Podolian territories in 1671 by the Turks and their allies, the Cossacks and Tartars. While the armies of the Turks were checked in that same year by the Polish victory at Podhajce, the Turkish

invasion, under the command of Sultan Mohamed IV, was of greater duration and infinitely more damaging to the country. As the major power in the region, the Turks had sufficient resources and manpower to their disposal to invade, capture and hold conquered territories for a substantial length of time.

In the course of this invasion, almost all the Podolian strongholds fell to the Turks, including those at Kamieniec Podolski, Zborow, Jezierna and Zloczow. Only the castles at Buczacz, Jazlowiec and Trembowla remained free of enemy occupation. The first defended by Maria Potocki in absence of her husband, was left intact when the Sultan learned that the woman was in command of the castle. In Trembowla, another woman played the decisive role in the garrison's successful stand against the invaders. The wife of the castle's commander Chrzanowski threatened to commit suicide if her husband proceeded with the planned surrender, thereby stiffening his spine and creating atmosphere for defending the castle.

The castle of Jazlowiec, well-fortified and well-supplied with provisions, manned by Koniecpolski's forces, never allowed the enemy to come close to the town's walls. Records indicate that Koniecpolski himself was in command of the garrison and dealt successfully with lesser Turk and Tartar forces. This also indicates that no major action by the Sultan was taken against the fortress of Jazlowiec.

The former hero of Jazlowiec, Bohdan Sefarowicz, mayor of the Armenian community for life, once again took arms in defense of his homeland. Having organized the Armenian home guard, he kept close watch on approaching enemy units and immediately intervened whenever danger threatened. His military actions were so effective that the town remained free from marauding units of Turks and Tartars throughout the hostilities. It was for this heroic stand that he was elevated by the Polish king to the rank of nobility and given the name Spendowski and Koniecpolski's coat of arms.

The defense of Buczacz, Trembowla and Jazlowiec were only small local victories and had no decisive effect on the outcome of the first war with the Turks. Poland suffered many battlefield defeats and was eventually compelled to sign a treaty with the Turks in 1673 in nearby Buczacz. This treaty is known in Polish history as the "Ignominious Treaty". Under its terms, Podolia and Ukraine became part of Turkish Empire, and also provided some territorial concessions to the Cossacks and Tartars, who from that point on were also to recognize Istanbul as authority in the area.

Since the Buczacz Treaty was not approved by the General Polish Assembly, the Turks again invaded, and in 1676, the Turkish commander, Ibrahim Szejtan, crossed the Danube and entered Poland with its powerful armies. Many major castles fell to the enemy, this time including Jazlowiec. The fortress, although well-manned and provided, gave in to the Turks without fight. This act of abject surrender was blamed on the castle's commander, known to be a habitual drinker and who, in absence of Koniecpolski, decided against defending the town or the castle.

By that time Bohdan Sefarowicz had also passed away and there was no other to take up the mantle left by the brave Armenian and exert influence among the town's people to defend their homes. The invading forces looted the town, burned their houses and took some citizens to be sold as slaves on the Moldavian slave markets. Some escaped this grim fate by leaving the town prior to the invasion, among them large number of Armenians who left for the town of Brody, near Lwow, taking with them the famous painting of the Madonna and the church records in which the history of their community was preserved.

The Turks, and thorn also took the castle of Buczacz to the ground. The castle of Jazlowiec, because of its size and strategic location, was spared destruction, with the Turks utilizing it as a stronghold to exercise military control over the area. They maintained a permanent garrison at the castle, and even made improvements to the fortifications. However, outside the castle, everything went into decay for the duration of the seven-year Turkish occupation.



The Turkish problem was finally resolved in 1683 when their armies were defeated at the gates of Vienna, Austria, a decisive Western victory in which Polish forces under the command of King Jan Sobieski were the decisive factor. Sobieski then followed the retreating Turkish armies of Kara Mustafa into Hungarian territory, flanking the Turks occupying Podolia. This action freed almost all Podolian territory, with the exception of the fortress of Kamieniec Podolski. At the same time, another Polish force under the command of Stefan Potocki dealt a crushing defeat to the remaining Turkish armies in Polish territory.

The main force of King Sobieski liberated Jazlowiec. There are two versions of the story of its liberation, both similar but not identical, by Rubinkowski and Dalerac. Both reported the siege of the castle and its surrender without fight. The difference on their reports relate to the moment of surrender and the behavior of the Turkish commander.

According to Dalerac, The Turkish commander, after viewing a Polish army approaching him from the north on the hill facing the castle, called his men inside to prepare for its defense. In preparation for a long siege, the Poles dug trenches on the hills surrounding the castle, during which they were subjected to Turkish artillery fire from the garrison inside. A few days after the beginning of the siege, the Polish king himself arrived at the camp; his late arrival was due to the fact that his wife, Marysienka joined him, for the first time since the victory at Vienna. Accompanying her were several foreign dignitaries, including the Spanish delegate Montecuculi, Austrian representative Wallenstein and Angelo Morozini from Venice.

Aga, the Turkish commander, refused the king's demand to surrender the castle, until he heard first salvo from the Polish cannon. When the Poles opened fire, he hung white flag from atop the castle's highest tower, but when he surrendered to the king, he expressed fears as to the fate that await him in his homeland, as he had surrendered without fight. The queen, present at the surrender ceremonies, took pity on him and retained him in her service. He served her for the remained of his life, managing one of her estates in central Poland.

Rubinowski's version relates that after laying arms before the king, the Turks marched their Jazlowiec contingent to Kamieniec Podolski, still in their possession. The Turkish commander, before leaving, expressed fears that he would pay with his life when he reported to his superiors. Someone then suggested that he join the Polish army, as some of his men done, but he replied that "I would rather die in Kamieniec Podolski than betray the great Wezyr." It is therefore likely that it was a Turk of lesser rank who was retained by the Queen in her service.

The Polish king parted with his queen and crossed the Dniester River at Zwaniec to liberate some cities south of the river. Before departing, he left a strong military unit in Jazlowiec to protect the immediate area from small groups of Turks and Tartars still present in the surrounding countryside. He gave command of this unit to one of the highest military men (Hetman Polny) in his army, which indicates a strategic importance of the castle and town in the defense of Poland's southeastern frontiers.

Shortly before its liberation, Jazlowiec's landlord, Stanislaw Koniecpolski, the Castellán of Krakow, died in 1682 in the safety of one of his other family possessions. Childless, he left his entire estate, with exception of Brody and Podhorce, to his closest relative, Jan Koniecpolski, the Voivod of Belz. The new landlord did not take up residence in the castle at Jazlowiec, but appointed a governor to administer the town, which at this time was grossly underpopulated due to the war and with many properties in ruin.

The effect of the Turkish wars was total devastation of the town and complete standstill of its former brisk business activities. Most of the public and private buildings were destroyed and severely damaged, including the churches, which suffered the heaviest damage. The Armenian exodus out of the town and the pressing of some citizens into slavery almost wiped out the once-burgeoning community. Only a small number of people survived, basically culled from those in agriculture and services, which were needed by the Turks. Thus, at the time of liberation, only a few Armenians could be found in the town, as well as Jews,

Poles and Ruthenians.

The only beneficial aspect of the Turkish occupation was the introduction of fruit orchards and vineyards in the town and surrounding areas. The Turkish commander, soon after occupying the castle, ordered fruit trees and grape vines to be planted on the slopes of the hills, and by the time of the town's liberation, they were fully grown and bearing fruits. The Polish governor, after his appointment, ordered these to be cared for "for the fruits and for the appearance". It must be noted that the vineyards soon gave rise to the vine industry, which in the future became a major revenue producing commodity for the citizens of Jazlowiec and its landlords.

The wine industry became one of the main occupations of the Jewish community, indicating that they were probably the least- affected by the Turkish occupation and therefore in position to acquire the knowledge of growing and producing wine. From this time on they also became the local business and trade group, replacing the Armenians in influence, even though their numbers remained relatively small.

The name of King Jan Sobieski became a common appellation for the town and its citizens during the remaining years of his reign. In 1684, while ending the campaign against the Turks and their Tartar allies, he strengthened the castle garrison to protect against the roving gangs of the enemy. In 1685, he sued Jazlowiec as marshaling area for the troops assembled for the liberation of Kamieniec Podolski. In later years, the town served the same purpose several times. In 1686, the king's army, under the command of Hetman Chelmski, assembled on the town's periphery for the liberation of the rest of Podole. In 1687, King Sobieski visited Jazlowiec again, where he waited for his son's return from an expedition against the Turks in Moldavia. In 1692, another king's expeditionary force collected in Jazlowiec to fight the Tartars.

Activity was still part of the town's being, but this was of little consequence to its revival.

Continuous military activity and presence of the enemy did little to benefit Jazlowiec or Podolia. It did contribute a small amount to increased business activity because of the presence of the military, but the unending turmoil created negative effect on the normalization of trade on the large scale of previous years. It also acted as a drawback because the funding of the garrison maintained in the castle and services demanded from forces in transit placed a great burden on the town's population.

The first signs of improvement are seen in a record from 1700. According to the information, some of the town's former citizens began to return and resettled abandoned properties, which were given by the landlord to families who wanted to rehabilitate and live in them. A town record from the time shows that by permission of Jan Koniecpolski the right of ownership of the former Sefarowicz (Spendowski) estate was given to the Bogdanowicz family. In 1700, the Armenian church also reopened, and the Dominicans took possession of their church and monastery.

Polish history after the death of King Jan Sobieski was fraught with political and military turmoil which led the country to disaster. Sobieski's son, Jacob, the apparent candidate to the throne, was imprisoned by the Saxon King August, who was himself a pretender to the Polish throne. Due to the intrigues of Prussia and Russia, August was elected King of Poland against strong opposition from Poles, who wanted a king of Polish birth.

The Saxon, now known as King August II, was met with strong disapproval from the Polish nobility, who elected their own candidate, Stanislaw Leszczyński, with the assistance of the Swedish king, Charles XII. Leszczyński's rule lasted only five years (1704-1709). After the Swedes became embroiled in a war with the Russians, and had suffered a defeat at Poltava in 1709, Leszczyński was forced to abdicate and leave the country. King August II then returned to the throne with the help of the Russian czar, Peter the Great. Since that time, Russian interference in Polish internal affairs became a common occurrence.

Jazlowiec, now a reduced and decaying town, no longer enjoyed wide recognition

as in earlier years, and as a town no longer supplying revenue for the king's treasury, had no mention in state dispatches or royal decrees. It was not totally forgotten or ignored, however. The king's of Saxon dynasty recognized its strategic importance and made sure that a garrison of trusted men was stationed in the castle. An episode which relates the desecration of the picture of the Madonna, which was held in great reverence by the local population, by the Saxons in 1701, indicates that King August II kept a German unit in Jazlowiec from the very beginning of his election to the Polish throne.

August's antagonist, King Leszczynski, who also stationed troops there during his short reign, also recognized the importance of the Jazlowiec fortress. They were routed from the position by Russian troops in support of King August, who imposed extreme hardships on Jazlowiec's citizens during their short presence in the area.

But Jazlowiec was still recognized as an important military stronghold in the service of the country. It was chosen in 1711 as the meeting place for the conference between the Poles, Turks and Tartars to resolve their differences from prior times of conflict.

The amicable meeting ended the long-lasting state belligerence between all three nations and from that time on, Turkish and Tartar incursions into Polish territory ceased.

The following year (1712), Jan Koniecpolski, the landlord of Jazlowiec, issued a decree restoring the privilege of internal autonomy to the town's citizens. This document wavered so much from prior decrees that it provided a reform in the former system of Jazlowiec's government. The three past independent municipality's -Armenian, Jewish and Polish - were to merge into one with an elective mayoral office (wojt), to magistrates (burmistrz) and some aldermen. While the mayor was to be responsible for the town's administration, with the support of the aldermen, the magistrates were to provide legal service in all minor offenses and disputes; the more serious offenses were to be arbitrated by the governor of the castle. The same decree laid rules for taxation to maintain the newly-created administrative offices.

Koniecpolski's decree confirms the provisions of the ancient Magdeburg Law, by which justice was to be administered in the town as one of its basic components. By the new regulations, elections of the town's offices were to be held every fourth year on the day following Epiphany. All the citizens, with the exception of elected officials, were to contribute money and services for the restoration of the town, especially its decaying walls. The enclosed rates of taxation to be paid on various properties reveals that some of the populace were still engaged in trade and business. It names Armenian, Jewish and Christian shops, the public bathhouse, the barber shop and some stands in the marketplace. The town hall must have been in complete ruin, because it was declared free from taxation until it was rebuilt. The once-a-week trade fairs were still held in the town, but their scope was limited to local business.

Registry of the town's population, prepared for the landlord's needs, gives the following head count: Catholic male - 120, female of all denominations - 118, and others - 48, a total of 286 men and women. Children apparently were not considered in this count. "Others" listed related to the Jewish community, which, as numbers indicate, was at an all-time low.

According to this record, the town's main occupation was agriculture. Apiculture was also wide practiced, mainly by the Armenian monks, who still occupied their monastery in the woods outside the town. This explicitly points to the fact that Jazlowiec was relegated to the position of a small provincial town, sustained by agriculture and moderate trade. Its former position as a main business center on the East-West route was now a thing of the past, the role assumed by the fast-growing city of Lwow, which had become the home for most of the Armenians from Jazlowiec.

Since the introduction of the new rules, the town's general condition began slowly to improve. In 1717, several new stores were built in the center of town, a permit was issued for two flour mills, which were built immediately

thereafter. The same year, by the permission of Koniecpolski, the Roman Catholic Order of Paulists set up a branch in the castle, serving as its chaplains.

A court verdict of 1718 gives a testimony that a guild of weavers was began by Mikolaj Zadrozny. The record mentions the name of Blazej Kowalski, a weaver who for some reason attacked the guard at the local prison. For this the magistrates fined him, and the guild was to ask them for pardon for their member misbehavior.

Jan Koniecpolski died without any heirs, in 1720. The Jazlowiec estate was left in inheritance to his relatives - two brothers, Alexander and Franciszek Walewski. This was only a temporary arrangement, as they sold the estate shortly after inheriting it. They were, in fact, the last members of the Koniecpolski family who had any connection to Jazlowiec.

# CHAPTER VII

## The Lubomirski and Poniatowski Families

Administration of the vast Jazlowiec estate proved to be too complex for its new owner, Alexander Walewski. After mismanaging it for six years he eventually decided to sell it. Except for this short information, nothing of any importance seemed to have happened in the town during those years. The property was sold to Prince Jerzy Lubomirski for 200,000 zlotys, with an additional 100,000 to be paid in valuables at some later date.

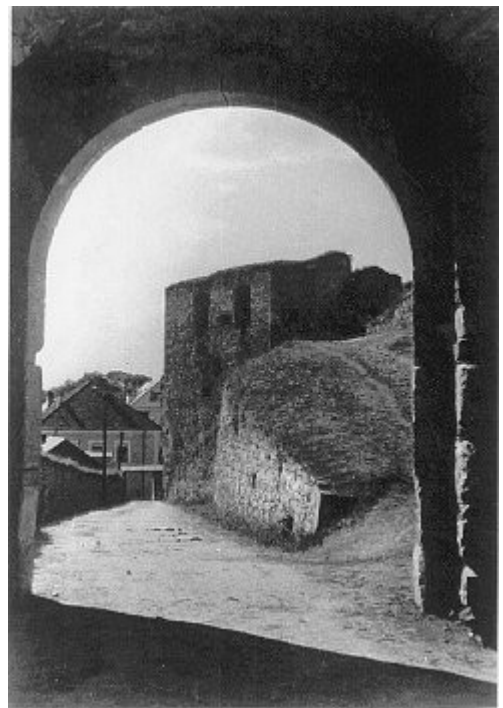
The latter sum was apparently not paid when due, because Walewski sued the new owner for payment twice, in 1726 and 1737. We do not know how the matter was finally resolved.

Prince Lubomirski, like the last of the Koniecpolski, did not take up residence in Jazlowiec. Being a wealthy man with residence elsewhere, he appointed a governor to seal with administrative matters relating to the town and surrounding villages. Nevertheless, the Prince took keen interest in his new acquisition. In fact, he proved to be an able administrator for the estate, which had been much neglected by his immediate predecessor.

From the very beginning in Prince Lubomirski's administration there was a noticeable improvement in general business activity, much of which paralleled innovations and improvements introduced or stimulated by the landlord. Some new stores were built around the market place, three trade guilds were registered in the mayor's office, and the long-overdue reconstruction of the town hall was completed. The guild's registration revived past traditions of the town's craftsmen - the guild of furriers and tailors, the guild of weavers and the guild of shoemakers. This was a clear indication that business was brisk, and the demand for local products warranted an increase in production. The business revival also called for some revision in local trade practices, which up to that time had not been standardized. One of these revisions was the introduction of uniform weights and measures standard by Lubomirski in 1729.

For the first time a record provided a facsimile of the town seal, which must have been in existence for some time, but for some reason, documents bearing it had not been preserved. According to the description of a latter chronicler, the seal's main motif was a castle gate within the wall of a single tower. Above it was a coat of arms that was known under the name "pobog," and obviously relating to one of the town's previous landlords. Around the open gate was a Latin inscription - "Sigillum Urbis Jazloveczensis" ("the seal of the town of Jazlowiec"). The mayor was obviously the keeper of the seal, and the only town official who had the right to use it in the matters of official business.

Another notable event of that period of the town's history was the opening of new Roman Catholic parish church in 1731. The old structure, which had fallen into a state of total disrepair, was thorn down. To replace it, Rev. Adam Oranski, purchased a sumptuous Armenian house and converted it into a church.



The records do not specify the location of the new church. It could be nowhere else but the business section of the town, which was once occupied by the Armenians. About the same time, the Armenian monastery, located in the woods outside the town, was abandoned by the monks and due to lack of interest soon became a ruin. It was never returned to use, its walls overgrown with vegetation, almost invisible and forgotten by the people of Jazlowiec.

For the country as a whole, this was a period of gradual deterioration in every aspect of public life. The long reign of King August II was tantamount to the total political and moral disintegration of the state. The now-common interference by the foreign powers (Russia and Austria) into Poland's internal affairs was the decisive element that practically neutralized the entire government system. Some patriotic member of the Polish nobility, who foresaw disaster, tried to forestall it by appealing to the General Convention for necessary reforms like abolishment of "liberum veto", which allowed a single member to veto the decision of the majority. At the time the country needed a strong military force to defend itself against foreign interference one single vote jeopardized such a reform. In general, the calls and manifestos of well meaning people had little or no effect.

The situation rectified itself somewhat after the death of August II in 1733. A large number of nobility, led by the influential and patriotic families of the Poniatowskis, Czartoryski and Potockis, again raised the idea of electing king of Polish birth. The exiled Stanislaw Leszczynski was recalled from France and hastily re-elected by the General Convention to the position of King of Poland.

His reelection was strongly opposed by the interfering powers, which supported the son of the deceased king. Their military intervention led to inauguration of his son as August III, King of Poland. Stanislaw Leszczynski had to once again flee the country, as the patriotic front collapsed under pressure from Austria and Russia.

The people of Jazlowiec were immediately affected by the political confrontation between the patriotic front and the powers supporting August III. Russian troops sent to intervene in Poland were stationed in Jazlowiec for a while, and although their military action was restricted primarily to occupation, their presence became a great economic burden to the townspeople. By order of the of the Commander-in-Chief, Prince Dolhoruki, the citizens were obligated to provide quarters, provisions, transportation and other services for the officers and men of the unit. After the installation of August III to the throne, the Russians withdrew their occupation forces from Jazlowiec, but not from Poland entirely.

Soon after, 1736, an epidemic of smallpox broke out in the town, mainly among the Jewish population. It was kept secret by the Jews and the rest of the town for fear of being quarantined by the authorities. To conceal any information about the epidemic, all burials were carried out under the cover of the night. Suspicions eventually led the state authorities to investigate. A commission appointed the commander of a Polish unit stationed in Ukraine to travel to Jazlowiec to deal with the matter. Apparently some measures were taken to prevent epidemic from spreading do adjacent territories.

At this time information appeared about change of name of the nearby village. The place had been known up to that time as Niezbrody. For unexplained reason it changed to Znibrody. The rational explanation may be in an error by a clerk made in documentation. There would be no significance attached to this detail did not give rise to the legend of a conflict between Armenians and Hieronim Jazlowiecki. The meaning of the name Znibrody (cut beards) must have inspired a poetic soul to develop a story explaining the cause of the long-ago Armenian exodus from the town.

From other records we know that Prince Lubomirski took a keen interest in the development of Jazlowiec. In 1739, he granted a permit to build plants for brewing beer and other alcoholic beverages to be sold during the traditional trade fairs and religious feasts. The restriction as to the use of these products indicated that the industry was rather limited in size. But this restriction did not relate to wineries, which were run mainly by the Jews, as wine continued to be sold in local taverns, which were also run by them.

At this time, after its long existence, Jazlowiec finally had its history preserved in writing. The pastor of the Dominican church, Fr. Anzelm Piatowski, penned the first chronicle of the town, based on monastery records. He completed the work in 1745, entitling it "Short Chronicle of Jazlowiec." It is not known whether it was ever published, but it was kept in manuscript form in the church records and used by future historians. The present whereabouts of the document is unknown, but it is most likely to be stored in the archives of the Dominican Order in Poland.

The completion of this short history of Jazlowiec coincided with the Lubomirski's last interest in the town. In that year of 1745 the Jazlowiec estate was acquired through marriage by a new public figure in Poland, Stanislaw Ciolkosz Poniatowski. This well-known public personality is not to be confused with his son, Stanislaw August Poniatowski, the future king of Poland. The new landlord of Jazlowiec was widely known in the country as an ardent supporter of King Stanislaw Leszczynski. During the political upheaval over Leszczynski's claim to the throne, Poniatowski published the manifesto to the Polish nobility known as "The Open Letter", in which he called for reform of the electorate system and for the election of a king of Polish birth. In the apathetic times, his appeal had little effect and was generally ignored by the ruling class.

In the years before acquiring the Jazlowiec estate, Poniatowski had gained recognition among the Swedes as a supporter of King Stanislaw Leszczynski, and was drawn into inner circles of the Swedish King Carl XII, an advocate of Leszczynski's election. King Carl XII intended to check the rising power of Russia by supporting Leszczynski and the able and capable Poniatowski soon gained the king's confidence. Poniatowski was even nominated to the position of general in the Swedish army and was on many occasions entrusted with responsibilities of major importance. In the ill-fated Swedish expedition against Russians, which ended in the defeat of Carl's forces at Poltawa in 1709, Poniatowski was credited with saving king's life. In the battle, he managed to facilitate the escape of the embattled king to the safety of Turkish territory.

After the disintegration of Leszczynski's party, King August III for his personal valor also recognized Poniatowski, even though he had not been a supporter of August's claim to the throne. His appointments to such state offices as Treasurer of Lithuania and Commander of the King's Guards evidence this. King August III appointed him to the very prestigious office of Castellan of Krakow, another indication of the high esteem in which the king held Poniatowski. Obviously, as much Leszczynski as August III endeavored to ally themselves with the man who enjoyed popularity and recognition among his countrymen.

Poniatowski married twice. He was first married to the widow of Prince Oginski, which substantially increased his wealth but did not produce any descendants. His second wife, Princess Constance Lubomirski, was also wealthy and brought with her dowry the Jazlowiec estate and other estates of her wealthy father. She bore his several children, one of whom, Stanislaw, would become the last king of Poland.

The year Poniatowski acquired the Jazlowiec estate favorable weather conditions produced bountiful crop. Being unable to harvest the entire crop with available labor, he offered the remaining harvest to the serfs. Because they also were in the same position, they declined the offer. The fact that the crop bounty was recorded indicates that such a harvest was an unusual occurrence in the general area of Jazlowiec.

Unfortunately, the bountiful harvest in 1746 was followed by a series of natural disasters. In 1747, torrential rains and winds of hurricane strength caused a deluge of previously unknown proportions. The excess water, as it drained through the valleys of Jazlowczyk and Olchowczyk streams, wreaked a substantial damage on the properties in the town and was also responsible for an unspecified number of deaths.

The losses registered included several private residences, many wine yards and wineries, all the flour mills, the stone bridge at the ruins of the Armenian gate, the public bath, the hospital and some church property owned by the Roman

Catholic parish. Heavy loss of life was attributed to the fact that a great number of people from surrounding villages had been in town to participate in the parish religious festivities.

This was the first such recognition given to a flood of such magnitude in the town's history, but there are indications that it was not the first disaster of its kind in the area. The earlier floods possibly did not cause much damage, and therefore would not have been an exceptional event. The walled banks of the Jazlowczyk stream, ten feet high and better in some places, prove that at some time in the past people had taken precautions to protect themselves against the periodic floods.

In the next year (1748) a prolonged drought in the spring almost wiped out the entire crop, causing considerable hardship on the people. To compound the problem, in the same summer locusts invaded Jazlowiec, destroying all remaining vegetation. Records report that only bare soil was left after these two natural disasters. In response to an appeal by his subjects, Poniatowski agreed to accept taxes in services, rather than the traditional agricultural products.

A decree issued by the new owner in 1753 proves that he was very much concerned about the town's economy. In this decree he called to mention many of the town's governmental and economic functions, and expressed desire to improve the well being of its citizens and to restore its past prosperity. Addressed to the town council, the decree assured his subjects of their right to hold, use, and sell their properties at will. This was an open recognition to the citizens' freedom, which in general, at the time, was the sole privilege of the nobility. This would also prove that Jazlowiec was considered a "free town" or a "king's town," implying that its citizens enjoyed the right of certain personal freedoms.

In the same decree he declared that abandoned properties must not be damaged or destroyed. This infers that their former owners or their families did still not reclaim many of the Armenian homes vacated at the time of the Turkish invasion. From this, we interpret that although some had once again taken up residence in the town, the majority had permanently settled elsewhere.

A special paragraph of the decree deals with the autonomous aspects of the town's government. Self-rule was again granted and the offices of the governing body were to remain unchanged. The head of the town was the elected mayor (wojt), having twelve aldermen as his advisory council, taken in equal numbers from all the town's religious denominations. The justice system, based on Magdeburg Law, was to be exercised by elected magistrates (burmistrz), with more serious matters to be referred or appealed to the castle's authorities, in this case the landlord or his appointed governor.

In the decrees last paragraph the issue of individual and group taxes to be paid to the Poniatowski treasury were addressed. Some of the assessments are referred to as state taxes and taxes for the upkeep of the army, meaning they would ultimately go to the king's treasury. Taxes due to the landlord were to be paid in currency, but some, mainly relating to the improvement and maintenance of public facilities, were paid in services.

For this final paragraph we learn that there now existed two basic communities in the town - Christians and Jews; that the town was still surrounded by walls, but they were in need of repair; and that the town hall completed in Lubomirski's time was in the Jewish section. A small note indicated that a clock was installed in the town hall tower, and night guards took turns there. We also learn that taxes ranged from few pennies (grosz) to 20 zlotys, which were assessed on the taverns.

In a separate decree Poniatowski dealt with special privileges granted to various craftsmen guilds. The original three guilds had by then expanded to five to include the guild of carpenters and cabinetmakers and the blacksmith's guild. In order to protect local trade from outside competition, taxes were assessed on all manufactured commodities imported from out-of-town merchants. Included in the same decree were several provisions relating to improvements within the town. Through these, Poniatowski instructed the town government to repair walls, gates, dikes, roads and flour mills damaged or destroyed by the big flood.



A separate decree relates to the town's Jewish community. It seems that by that time they had taken over the former role of the Armenians as the dominant force in the local business. In this decree, Poniatowski allows a grant of 10,000 zlotys to the Jewish sector to assist the poor and help them open new businesses in the town. One paragraph in the decree relates to the autonomous privileges of the Jews, and how they were to be governed by a council (kahal) headed by the rabbi. Under these provisions, rabbis were to be the executors of justice in cases of minor disputes and offenses within their group, while capital crimes were to be dealt with by the castle authorities. Another paragraph sets up rules relating to the slaughterhouse and supply of meat to the citizens of the town. In it, there is a provision for religious tradition in regard to meat for the Jewish population.

In this general reform of town life, Poniatowski also addresses religious matters. He attended to some religious questions in the early years following his acquisition of the Jazlowiec estate, and, unlike his predecessors, the Jazlowieckis, he arranged church financial affairs without going into conflict and a long judiciary process to resolve the matter. By mutual agreement, the Dominicans reverted to him patronage of their properties, which they held for almost 150 years, for 44,000 zlotys. This fund was to provide financial support for religious activities, although it was not stated who was to administer and supervise it.

In later years, Poniatowski also attended to the financial affairs of the Paulists, who, since the time of Koniecpolski, maintained their residence in the castle and served as chaplains for its chapel. In order to provide for their economic needs, Poniatowski obligated himself to a yearly grant to be paid in grain and currency from his own estate. He also provided funds for the Greek Catholic church of St. Nicholas in suburban Browary. By the same decree, he established guidelines for meeting his commitments to all four Christian churches in the town.

In spite of Poniatowski's decrees and efforts, the business revival he had envisioned for Jazlowiec moved slowly, and was hardly comparable to the time of peak prosperity in the 16th and 17th centuries. Prevailing economic conditions did not provide sufficient stimulus for business development as it had in the Armenian times. To start with, business had moved to the fast-growing city of Lwow, old trade routes had lost their significance and the backbone of trade and business, the Armenians, had reduced their presence in Jazlowiec to a bare minimum.

The Armenians still maintained their church and parish, but the extremely low number of parishioners hardly warranted its existence. Finally, the last Armenian pastor, Rev. Bogdanowicz, having no visible means of support, became an assistant to the Roman Catholic parish. The records of 1755 list only three Armenian families: Aslanowicz, Bogdanowicz, and Wartanowicz. These records did not include citizens of Armenian descent whom, through intermarriage, were no longer members of the Armenian parish. Other records from that period mention names such as Jukimowicz, Danielowicz, and Kurianski who claimed Armenian origin. These at some point in their family history had changed their religious preferences and thus their nationalities, thus becoming Poles or Ruthenians of Roman or Greek Catholic faith.

Poniatowski's most visible and most durable contribution to Jazlowiec was the huge, elegant palace that he had constructed on the castle grounds west of the old structure. This impressive new building, with its two perpendicular wings extending to the east was set in a beautifully landscaped park and was surrounded by high stone walls for protection of the grounds. Above the main entrance, was the Poniatowski family crest with the following Latin inscription: "Honestus Alterum Patrimonium." For a while this was Poniatowski's main residence, from which he administered his numerous possessions across Poland. In later years his brother, Kazimierz Poniatowski, occupied the palace and who by his actions appeared to be the governor of the entire Jazlowiec estate.

Stanislaw Ciolkosz Poniatowski died in Rykow in 1762 at the age of 85. In due course, the Jazlowiec estate received a new landlord - his son, Stanislaw August Poniatowski. In the absence of its new owner, who was at the time the Polish

ambassador to Moscow, his Uncle Kazimierz Poniatowski, mentioned above managed the estate. In all likelihood, Kazimierz continued in position of governor, which he had held when his brother was alive. This can be assumed by various decrees issued at the time, which have his signature as a secondary signee.

In a letter to the town's council, in which the new landlord declares his right to the estate, Stanislaw August Poniatowski confirms the privileges granted by his father to the citizens of Jazlowiec. This was merely a formality expressed in response to a request by the council, who wanted the new landlord's assurance that they would keep their semi-autonomous right.

The death of King August III in 1763 reopened the issue of electing a king of Polish birth. Again the neighboring powers exerted pressure upon the Polish electorate to lend support to the candidate of their choice. The concept of a Polish king, which dominated the election process, was resolved to the satisfaction of both sides. Since the idea was propagated by the influential Czartoryski family, the new candidate, Stanislaw August Poniatowski, enjoyed wide support among the Polish nobility.

Poniatowski's election as king happened to coincide with best interests of the Empress of Russia, Catherine II. The new Polish king was a close personal friend of the empress and a close relative of the Czartoryski's family. In spite of this general support, units of the Russian army made their presence felt and were very visible in Warsaw during the convention. Thus, the new landlord of Jazlowiec was elected King of Poland on September 7th, 1764, with almost no opposition.

The king, although well educated and a man of good intentions, was too weak to handle the situations within and outside the country. His strong Russian support eventually made him unpopular among some of the Polish nobility who, although agreed with the principle of having a King of Polish birth, could not accept Russian dominance of the country. This opposition was centered in the areas most affected by Russian interference; Podole and Ukraine. Under the leadership of the Pulaski family, the nobility called for a general insurrection, but the movement did not find a wide support in the rest of the country and consequently failed. Some members of the Pulaski family were imprisoned and sent to exile in Siberia and one, Kazimierz Pulaski, escaped to the west where he distinguished himself in the service of the American revolutionary army. He died in the battle at Savannah while leading his cavalry unit in attack against the British.

Due to Poniatowski's preoccupation with state affairs he maintained only a nominal interest in Jazlowiec. Outside of permission to open trade fairs on the day of St. John the Baptist early in his tenure as landlord, no other attempts were made by him to influence any kind of activities in the town. If anything, his election to the position of king, had a negative impact on Jazlowiec, in good part due to the fact that increased numbers of the king's troops were stationed there. A record from that time lists several obligations imposed upon the citizens because of the unit stationed in the town.

This record relates to the complaint of the Christian side of the community against excessive demands by the commander of the king's unit. The town's governing body requested that the entire population, including the Jewish community equally share the burden. This complaint, addressed to the governor, gives an idea to what extent the former privileges had been restricted by the imposition of responsibilities to which the citizens had not heretofore been exposed.

According to the complaint, the following were the demands imposed on the Christian community by the military:

- \*Repairs and maintenance of the flour mills, roads, bridges and wax-producing plant.

- \*Transportation and hauling supplies for the military unit stationed in the town.

- \*Taking care of officers' horses and providing the military drivers with horse carts.

\*Providing provisions for the soldiers and fodder for their horses.

\*Hauling grain to storage and to flour mills for the needs of the military.

\*Carting wood for the officers' quarters.

\*Cooking for soldiers stationed in Jewish houses, and cleaning stables.

\*And several other obligations, which were sporadically demanded from the town's people.

Considering that the population of Jazlowiec at this time was no more than some hundreds, which was reduced by subtracting the Jewish community, the burden on the Christian section was to be substantial. These demands also deprived them of some rights previously granted. In addition they had to pay in money and kind. This in effect brought them close to the status of the underprivileged serfs.

The presence of a larger military force in the town of limited population also had some social implication. The off-duty soldiers who looked for entertainment frequented such establishments as inns and taverns. The number of them rose to twenty in the town with a population less than one thousand. Against this number of taverns Jazlowiec had only four shops, nine Jewish tailors, six Catholic tailors and twenty-two weavers. The registry of craftsmen is obviously incomplete, but even so, their proportion to the number of taverns is rather low.

The period of King Poniatowski's reign, hardly beneficial to the citizens of Jazlowiec, was even more tragic for the whole Poland. Decadence in every area of the public trust prompted some patriotically minded nobility to call for reforms to reverse the deadly trend. Their good intentions, sometimes supported by the king, did not stimulate enough public interest to move the nation towards needed changes. Many of the people obsessed with self-interest found no motivation in offsetting the problems incurred by a century of rule by the Saxon kings.

The internal situation almost bordered on anarchy, general corruption among the nobility, disrespect for law and order, and the exploitation of the lower classes carried catastrophic consequences for the nation. Like the confederation of patriotic Poles under the leadership of the Pulaskis, the uprising of Thadeus Kosciuszko could not save the country, either. His appeal to lower classes and the abolishment of serfdom did not produce the desired spontaneous effect among the people. Then, the foreign powers - Russia, Prussia and Austria - exploited the situation and carried out the first partition of Poland in 1772, each taking a portion of Polish territory. Poland, now reduced in size, still existed nominally with the king occupying the throne with tacit approval of the occupying powers.

By the terms of the first partition, the western part of Podolia, which included Jazlowiec, was incorporated into the Austrian Empire. Austria also acquired the province of Pokucie and the sub-Carpathian territories in the south of Poland. These then became one Austrian province, renamed Galicia, the name given to the land by the Hungarians during their short occupation in the 14th century.

Although there are no records as to the disposition of Jazlowiec by the king, it can be assumed that the transaction followed a generally practiced procedure. During the partition, the properties of various families were spread between two or three states of the occupying powers. In order to consolidate their possessions under a single rule, they transacted the exchange to suit their preference.

To this tragic chapter in Polish history, we must add a few words about the melodramatic end of the last king of Poland, the unfortunate landlord of Jazlowiec...

With the final partition of Poland in 1796, King Poniatowski gave up his throne and accepted the hospitality of his former lover, the Empress of Russia, Catherine II. In the ensuing years he did no better than the country he was incapable of ruling. While the Polish nobility complied with the foreign domination and found more or less comfortable arrangements with their new kings,

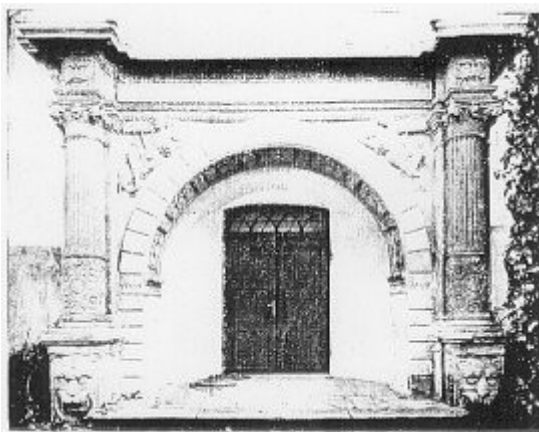
czars and emperors, the ex-king of Poland became a tragic victim of another political "arrangement."

An embarrassment to the occupying powers, he remained in isolation in one of Catherine the Great's estate until his death in 1798. His remains were returned to Poland over a century later and were re-buried in one of his former estates in the eastern part of pre-1939 Poland. However, even his remains could not escape Russian domination. By the terms of the 1942 Yalta agreement between the United States, Great Britain and Soviet Union, this part of Poland was annexed into the Soviet Union and King Stanislaw Poniatowski, dead nearly one hundred fifty years, found himself once again under the Russian rule. His remains again were moved and re-buried in Poland sometimes after World War Two, when communist Poland was established.

# CHAPTER VIII

## Under The Austrian Occupation

While the central Polish provinces still enjoyed the benefits of nominal independence, the territories in the southeast, which included Jazlowiec, became subject to changes brought about by the foreign rule. The Austrian share of the first Polish partition -Podolia, Pokucie and the district of Lwow became the new province of Galicia in the Austrian State.



This name was later extended to additional territories acquired in the third partition of Poland. In this political move the Austrians enlarged their possessions as far west as Silesia.

In order to consolidate their bloodless conquest, the Austrians proceeded to promptly install their administration. Contrary to certain obligations undertaken with the Polish Assembly in which the Austrians agreed to continue Polish administrative and judiciary systems, they immediately introduced their own organization. Thus, while the district of Krakow was still free and experimenting with the new constitution,

Eastern Galicia had already been divided into circuits and districts to comply with the Austrian system. Austrian nationals were brought in to govern the new province and the German language was introduced as the official language of the land. Lesser officials were recruited from the former Polish administration, which gave the appearance of compliance with earlier promises made to the Poles.

While the Austrians were getting themselves established in their new province in Galicia, unoccupied Poland, primarily the districts of Krakow and Warsaw, was going through political and social change brought about by General Kosciuszko's uprising and the declaration of a new constitution in 1793. The new reforms, which aimed at changing the Polish political system and freeing the serfs, had little or no effect on the lands lost to the Russians, Prussians and Austrians, and in the unoccupied areas, were too short a duration to be put in practice. The three powers crushed the uprising and divided the remaining free Polish territories in 1794. The Austrian thus acquired the rest of southern Poland, which included the district of Krakow.

The Austrian system of government, which had already been introduced in eastern Galicia, was now extended to the newly annexed lands, which were now to be known as Western Galicia. The provisions of the Polish constitution were abolished and the old feudal system of serfdom reintroduced, in effect erasing all the radical changes of the Kosciuszko revolution. The nobility, although deprived of their political power, still retained their privileged status of the peasants still remained their subjects. The upper classes also retained their former rights of ownership of land and some jurisdiction over the peasants. Some towns had their autonomous privileges recognized, although subjected somewhat by supervision from state officials.

In the case of Jazlowiec, the matter of self-government was a contentious issue and soon became the cause of frequent confrontations between citizens, landlords, and officials. The officials, having at their disposal several means to restrict the rights of the citizenry, tried on several occasions to reduce them to the status of serfs, as this relationship was much more beneficial to the landlords. This intertwined the future of the citizens of Jazlowiec with the selfish interests of their landlords.

Even though former arrangements supposedly remained in place, the acquisition of the Jazlowiec estate by the Potocki family in 1777 began gradual erosion of privileges for the citizens of the town. The new owners, realizing that there would be more to gain by reducing the people's status, worked to achieve those goals with varying degree of success over the years, and the negative effects soon became apparent. Open conflict between the administrator and citizens led to deterioration of the town's economy and further decrease in population. The exodus first became apparent among the local clergy, who, like Armenian clergy before them, were finding that there were less and less followers to justify their presence in the town.

First of these to leave was the Order of Paulini in 1777 (The Paulist Brothers), who had occupied the old castle for their monastery since the time of the Koniecpolskis. The Paulists moved to the district town of Zaleszczyki Wielkie, leaving the castle unoccupied and unattended. Before long some of the town's elements vandalized its interior, which was already in partial disrepair. The town commission, investigating the property in 1783, reported substantial damage to the interior, including tombs of former landlords, which had been opened and looted. It is not known whether any steps were taken to protect the castle from further destruction.

In that same year of 1783, the town council, in spite its limited political power and shortage of funds, undertook plans to bring running water into the town. Arrangements progressed only as far as to plan for the manufacture of earthen pipes for the water lines. Further conflict with the administrator and the deterioration of the local economy caused abandonment of the project.

Next to vacate Jazlowiec were the Dominicans, leaving their church, which was in good condition and well funded, to move to the larger town of Czortkow. Their Jazlowiec properties were sold at public auction, at which time, the real estate was acquired by the state government. The monastery was converted to a military warehouse, and the church itself was closed and allowed to decay into ruin.

The exodus of these religious organizations had been too much extent caused by the general Austrian policy directed against the Polish population in Galicia. Roman Catholic institutions were considered to the mainstay of Polish culture and therefore became prime targets of ethnic and religious intolerance. In the course of pursuing this policy, several churches and convents were closed, including those in Jazlowiec. Some were ordered torn down under the pretext of being in dangerous structural conditions and some were allocated to priest of non-Polish origins. So, the only remaining parish church in Jazlowiec was allocated to a French-speaking priest, who, in spite of all his good intentions, could not function effectively as its pastor.

This trend continued throughout the entire reign of Austrian Emperor Joseph II. By reducing the number of Catholic institutions, he both curtailed Polish patriotic activity and limited the influence of the Vatican in the territories under his control. In Galicia alone, 150 convents out of 214 were closed. In Jazlowiec, only one of the three original Roman Catholic post remained opened by the end of the emperor's reign.

But at the same time, the burden of taxation steadily increased as a result of the military unit garrisoned in the town. As population decreased, the greater the tax burden had to be shared with the remaining citizens. Excessive demands in both in kind and currency caused great dissatisfaction among the people and many voiced their complaints openly. The appointed administrator saw to that the military demands were met in full without regard for the people's well being.

Parallel to the conflict between the citizens and the landlord's administrator, who also appeared to have carried some state responsibilities, increased in intensity, culminating in 1782 when all original documents relating to the town's rights (including the one granted by King Kazimierz the Great in the 14th century) were impounded and sent to the district authorities under the pretext of intended approval. In this process, the documents were lost and never returned to the town council. In 1785, copies held by the council and Zukowski, the town's administrator, also impounded local guilds. Against vehement protests by the citizens, these were ordered destroyed by the said landlord's official.

In the presence of the council he personally tore them up and had them liquidated.

The elected delegation of three citizens appealed to the higher authorities (apparently Austrian), but this appeal was not even taken into consideration. In response to this town's action, the angered administrator confiscated the town's property in the name of the landlord. Records dating from that period state that one of these properties, Kamienny Garb (Stone Hill), was reserved for the Countess Potocki as a restricted area for her morning strolls.

The council's appeal to the Austrian authorities against this unilateral decision was decided in favor of the landlord. In a further attempt to reduce the status of the citizens of Jazlowiec to serfdom, the town's seal was also impounded and sent to the district of Zaleszczyki Wielkie. There, it disappeared without a trace, like the documents pertaining to the citizen's rights had done before it. But although deprived of supporting evidence of their rights to self-rule, the town government continued to function and managed to survive until there was a change in landlords.

In 1800, the Grudnicki family purchased Jazlowiec. The new owners, represented by Krzysztof Grudnicki, were also indifferent to the town's internal matters and also opposed recognition of the citizens' former rights. In spite of the landlord's disapproval, the citizens elected a new mayor and town council in 1801. This government, although unofficial and unrecognized by the administrator, enjoyed widespread popularity and recognition among the townspeople. Even the Jews, who had always maintained a separate community, obligated themselves to a penalty payment if they did not abide by the rules of the newly elected government.

The Napoleonic wars, to which the Poles had attached great hope in regaining their independence, had little effect on Jazlowiec, which was engrossed in its own internal affairs. At this time, there was no visible enthusiasm for the developing idea of independent Poland. Even a short stay by Prince Joseph Poniatowski's cavalry in his former family estate could not arouse patriotic feeling. In the early years of the 19th century, the people of Jazlowiec, deprived of spiritual leadership and with their rights suspended, were not ready to align themselves with a national independence movement as they still reasoned in the terms of the rights and privileges granted an ancient community.

Some effect from the Napoleonic wars on the eastern Galician territory was evidenced in post-war arrangements procured by the victorious powers of Prussia, Russia and Austria. By the terms of the Treaty of Vienna in 1800, the eastern part of Podolia was ceded to the Russians in recognition to their contribution in the victory over Napoleon. With this arrangement, Jazlowiec became a small town on the western frontiers of Russia. In 1815, this territory, by mutual agreement between Russia and Prussia, was returned to the Austrian Empire, an arrangement.

Soon after this transition the owner of Jazlowiec, Krzysztof Grudnicki, died, leaving the estate to a relative named Rozetta Blazowski, wife of Victor Blazowski. This change had no immediate impact on the town. The new owners showed no interest in revitalizing Jazlowiec in any meaningful way. They settled in at their newly built palace in the nearby village of Nowosiolka Jazlowiecka and lived the comfortable life of the Polish nobility, isolated from their subjects and the town affairs.

Within reforms instituted by Emperor Joseph II, Jazlowiec received its first public school in 1819. The new school was built east of Armenian church, just across the road from it. The school's main objective was to promote the German language among the populace as the official state language. This was in accordance with the emperor's policies to remove Polish culture and traditions from the new territories by educating the children and colonization with Austrian born subjects.

Around this time, the first Austrian colonists appeared in the Jazlowiec area, and therefore in the registry. Some of them were even given land and provided with funds to engage in farming. Others got involved with local trade and

industry, such as the ever-needed flourmills. Being a very small minority in what was to remain a predominately Polish and Ruthenian community, their descendants ultimately became assimilated into the local population and adopted Polish customs, habits and traditions and even becoming members of the Polish national group.

Soon after the death of Emperor Joseph II, another noticeable change took place in Jazlowiec. In 1828, the Order of Dominicans moved back into town and reopened their church as the parish church for the Roman Catholics in the area. This right was granted due to the direct appeal of Archbishop Ankiewicz of the Lwow Archdiocese to the Vatican. The original parish church, once converted from the Armenian private building and now in immediate danger of collapse, was torn down to the ground. Since no records relating to its location can be found, its site can only be a matter of speculation.

As happened in the mid-18th century, Jazlowiec was subjected to another series of natural disasters. On May 1, 1828, torrential rains and a storm of hurricane force hit the town and the immediate area around it. Like the one fifty years before it, it caused considerable property damage, destroying several houses as well as the dike on the stream and the cemetery around the Roman Catholic church. Many people sought refuge on rooftops or by hanging to the trees. This storm was followed by a plague of locusts in the summer and by an earthquake in the fall of the following year. The quake seemed to be of small magnitude and caused no visible damage to local properties.

In the same year of 1828, Rev. Franciszek Siarczyński, the pastor of the Roman Catholic church and an amateur historian, published a short history of Jazlowiec in the provincial publication, "Statystyka Galicji" (Statistics of Galicia). This was the first case in which the past of this small and almost forgotten Podolian town was documented and brought to the attention of the Polish community in the province of Lwow as a memorial to glorious yesteryears. While this text was published in restricted area it did not reach historians of the time, and its contents are presently unknown.

This short history was only the first in a series of incident of wider interest in the history of Jazlowiec. A well-known Polish writer, poet and friend of USA President Thomas Jefferson, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, intrigued by the ruins of the castle and its legend, wrote a poem, "Duma o Jazlowcu" and had it published in "Historic Ecclesiae." Soon after, in 1836, a drawing of the castle by M. Dohrmer, an Austrian artist, appeared in the Polish paper "Przyjaciel Ludu," with a short explanatory note and a verse of Niemcewicz's poem. A second drawing of the castle appeared in the "Lithography of Galician Views," by Pillar, another Austrian artist. Somewhat earlier, a short paragraph on Jazlowiec was presented in the Armenian publication "General Geography," published in Rome in 1802. This writing dealt with the Armenian gate, considered by some to be another castle in the town. Although in ruin, it was still standing at the time, to be torn down later in the century out of concern it would collapse.

For the next decade or so, there is little information relating to the activities of the town. This can be attributed to the semi-dormant state of local government and the consequential lack of any record keeping. One of the few notes that remained from that period indicated that from 1815, Jazlowiec and its immediate area belonged to the district of Czortkow and that the name of the landlord was Victor Baron Blazowski, mentioned earlier in the text.

Another scrap of information that survived related to medical services in the town. This document testified that health care was in the hands of a trained physician, Dr. Michael Grossman. He is credited with opening a health resort that provided water treatment for its patients. Apparently, this clinic was fairly popular among the local gentry but interest gradually diminished and the medical center had to be closed. A section of the clinic, the bath, survived and remained in use for many years thereafter. It was still in use, mainly by Jewish population, in the years between two world wars, with gentiles admitted on a certain day of the week. This same convenience was extended to women, who also could use it on a special day of the week.

In 1841 the Jazlowiec estate passed through inheritance to Krzysztof Baron



Blazowski, the only son of the deceased Victor. The new landlord, a young and energetic, was in many ways a blessing to the town. Motivated by a concern for the well being of the citizens and by sincere desire to improve the town's image and economy, plus a keen interest in its history, he brought about a revival in Jazlowiec. Beginning with reinstatement of citizen privileges of self-government within Austrian law, he mobilized resources to restore decaying historic structures, introduced necessary improvements in the town's business area and undertook investments to benefit the town and its immediate surroundings.

There was nothing that could be done for the castle, which lay in ruin, short of expending large sums of money for a project of a mostly sentimental nature. But he undertook with all the classic characteristics of a young man's nature the preservation of the Poniatowski palace, repairing it to a habitable state. In the center of the town, he built a fair size building to accommodate several shops, what could be considered as the first shopping center in Jazlowiec. Close to that, he built the town's first inn, with stables in the rear to accommodate travelers' horses.

Due to periodic epidemics of cholera, the new Austrian law called for cemeteries to be set up outside of habitable areas. Blazowski gave a plot of land outside the town for such a purpose and built a graceful Gothic chapel in its center, with tall slim towers visible from afar. Within this chapel space were tombs provided for the Blazowski family, with separate tombs built at the cemetery entrance for the prominent families of the town. Some of these tombs were decorated with stone carvings created by local artists.

Understanding the importance of transportation for the town's development, Blazowski intervened with Austrian authorities in the matter of roads and main thoroughfares. Due to his endeavors, a solid gravel road was built, connecting two terminal towns of Buczacz and Tluste. This road passed through Jazlowiec, and at this time was considered the most modern road in the entire district.

In order to improve business, Blazowski revived the traditional weekly fairs held every Tuesday for the sale of livestock and agricultural products. This greatly enhanced trade and commerce in the town and neighboring villages. One of the most appreciated innovations of Blazowski was the introduction of the first apothecary. This provided considerable convenience to the citizens, who prior to that had to travel ten miles to Buczacz to purchase medication.

The positive effects of his initiatives soon resulted in an increase in the town's population, which increased from 584 to over 2,000 by the year 1861. Although no records are available on the increase in trade and business, it can be safely assumed that they also increased in like proportion.

Parallel to these improvements, the government also extended public services to the population of Jazlowiec, which became a district judiciary seat along with concomitant offices, such as the post office, tax office and police station. A private citizens' association introduced the first bank, called "Kasa Stefczyka," combined with a farmers' cooperative known as "Kolko Rolnicze." The latter was a trading center for agricultural products and goods needed by the local people.

The reinstated, reorganized and fully functional town government had been modified in some respects to meet the new requirements of the community. The main modification was the retention of the administration of justice by the Austrian authorities, executed by the district court, which prior to that was in the hands of the elective justice of the Peace. This left only the town administration in the hands of the mayor and town council. This system stabilized the terms of the mayor and council to four years, and the council now consisted of twelve aldermen, representing equal numbers of three main ethnic groups - Polish, Ruthenian and Jewish.

The political events that took place in western Galicia in the mid-19th century had great impact on the population of the province. This was directly connected to the independence movement of the Poles, who never lost the opportunity to display their desire for freedom. Several secret organizations formed, operating in major towns and cities, leading to an eventual open insurgency. The

insurrection in Krakow in 1846, originally planned as a combined liberation movement which was to begin simultaneously in all three parts of occupied Poland, although unsuccessful, began a wider independence movement in the whole of the Austrian Empire.

The declaration of the Republic of Krakow by the insurgents fired the imagination of young Polish patriots, and the uprising spread to other towns and cities, reaching as far east as Lwow. To counteract this, the Austrians undertook a two-pronged action: military response directed against the insurgents, and a political policy instituted to instigate antagonism among the lower classes against the more patriotically inclined nobility and intelligentsia. By spreading rumors among the peasants that the insurgents' proclaimed freedom for the lower classes was to benefit the upper classes only, the Austrians inspired resistance and hatred against the Polish nobility. In due course, peasant groups organized by the Austrians carried massacres against the landlords, and those who excelled in this deadly work were rewarded with land grants from the Austrian authorities.

Many landowners sought safety in larger towns and cities unaffected by this class conflict. In the Jazlowiec area the landlord of Beremiany estate, Kornel Ujejski, who fled to Lwow, wrote a popular patriotic song "Z Dymem Pozarow" (With the Smoke of Fire), placing blame for the fratricidal bloodshed among the Poles on the shoulders of the Austrian government. This song grew in popularity, and became something akin to a local national anthem, sung at various patriotic and religious functions.

The successful Austrian military action against the Polish insurgents, added to the massacre of the landowners by the peasants, brought the uprising to a tragic end; thus terminating the short-lived Republic of Krakow - the symbol of freedom and independence. This did not end the problem of Austrian minority rule, however. The Polish independence movement echoed in other areas of the Austrian Empire, and unrest in several territories created major internal conflicts that the Austrian government settled with compromise and reform.

1948 was a year of profound change for the whole Europe, a year of revolutionary fervor that had enormous impact on the Austrian Empire. The uprising in Hungary, the unrest of the Galician Poles and revolution in Vienna, although individually unsuccessful, shook the foundations of the Hapsburg monarchy and forced the Austrian authorities to seek accommodation with the restive minorities within their rule. The empire was given a new name - The Austro-Hungarian Empire, in which both Austria and Hungary participated in running affairs of state.

The Galician Poles were less successful in gaining concessions from the government, but they did achieve increased participation in state and local government, representation to Austro-Hungarian parliament and a larger share of high offices in Galicia. In addition, the government abolished serfdom as a favor to the lower classes, freeing them from their feudal dependence on the landlords. This proclamation also provided for the land ownership for the peasants, a former exclusive privilege of the nobility.

At the time the Austrian also instituted some divisive policies in Galicia to counteract the Polish claims for independence. They had begun these in the mid-19th century with the purpose of exacerbating religious, national and cultural differences. In time these increased in intensity, eventually giving rise to Ukrainian nationalism, which generated animosity and even military confrontations between Poles and Ukrainians in Galicia in later years. But while this rivalry grew in magnitude in larger towns and cities, amiable relations between two national groups in Jazlowiec continued.

In the peaceful years following the upheaval of 1848, Jazlowiec gained some notoriety outside its boundaries. A little poem about its past appeared in 1856 in "Dziennik Literacki" (Literary News) in Lwow. The unknown poet, when visiting Jazlowiec, felt inspired by the town's past greatness and in a mood of patriotism called the stone walls of the castle to await for the arrival of Commander Jazlowiecki. We can deduce from the poem that the author had some knowledge of the history of Jazlowiec and that this history was a common knowledge among certain circles of the Polish community in eastern Galicia.

The view of the castle and its mysterious past must have fascinated local people as well. A short note, found in the town records, indicated that an unknown person, in an effort to preserve the castle's image, engraved its likeness in stone. The note did not indicate the location of the engraving, but states that it formed part of an old house, then in a state of complete dilapidation. If the engraving still exists, it would only be discovered by chance by a person aware of its existence.

The history of Jazlowiec, for so long buried in records and speculation, now found a proponent and enthusiast in the person of Rev. Sadok Baracz (Baroncz). Assigned to the Roman Catholic parish in Jazlowiec, the priest became so enthused with relics of the town's past that he took upon himself the task of recording its history in written form. Having a staunch supporter in the person of Krzysztof Baron Blazowski, he researched all available records both inside and outside the town to produce the first reliable account of the town's history.

Rev. Sadok Baracz published his history in 1861 under the title "Pamiętki Jazłowiecki" (Memorabilia of Jazlowiec), recording the town's well-documented events and achievements of its historically prominent people. Most of his text is supported with references to information source and often-complete quotes relating to facts and exploits. In doing so, he preserved for posterity much information that would have been otherwise permanently lost or destroyed, in view of the town's destruction in the future. Some of his research material was wisely deposited with the archives of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow.

After the 1861, where Rev. Baracz's book ends, the written records of Jazlowiec are scarce and difficult to locate, as the town's center, including the town hall, were destroyed by the Russian Army in World War One. The fire, carelessly started by drunken Russian soldiers, burned much of the business section and all the administrative offices of Jazlowiec to the ground, also destroying the town's archives and documentation. Therefore, information of that period is incomplete, although some of it was preserved in the convent of Immaculate Conception, which began at that time and became an entire history unto itself.

Considering the size of Jazlowiec, the settling of a convent in the walls of the old Poniatowski palace was a great and important event to all people in the area. It took place around 1863, when the Order of the Immaculate Conception, founded in Rome in 1857 by Sister Marcelina Darowski, moved to the former king's palace with the consent of Krzysztof Baron Blazowski. The first nun that visited the palace must have been enchanted by its scenic setting, which was later described by one as thus:

"There are some places in the world as if destined for a special purpose with a special goal. Such is Jazlowiec, the gate to Podole, wrapped in mystery of old legends and brightened with splendid glory of the past. Many elements contributed to the creation of this place meant for serving the human mind and soul. The location talks with its beauty about the ultimate values and almighty God; the ruins of the mighty castle bring back to the human memory the ancient time when brave warriors and their commanders fought fearlessly against the eastern invaders; the old majestic tress, which throw shadows upon the valley of the Turk, talk between themselves about the times when King Jan Sobieski in the presence of his wife Marysienka received foreign dignitaries after his defeat of the powerful Turkish army; below the ruins of the castle and opposite the gate to the palace of the ill-fated King Stanislaw Poniatowski, meant for the convent and educational institution, extends the arms of the cross as if saying that this is the place where people will draw light and spirit for life."

The prime object of this newly- created religious institution was to gather young ladies of Polish nobility to work for charity and education. Dowries brought in by the members allowed the convent to achieve comfortable economic independence, freeing them for charitable work and meditation. Soon after the palace was remodeled and the nuns moved in, they opened a high school for the daughters of the upper class to assist them in preparing for the life of the successful socialite. The long list of families from the nobility includes some

that distinguished themselves later on in life. One of the alumni was the popular Polish writer Maria Rodziewicz, who produced many novels about 19th century life in Poland under foreign occupation. Poles read her patriotic books in all corners of the country, stimulating young minds and reawakening nationalistic feelings among the younger generation. The school soon gained wide renown within the entire country, and many young girls came there to get their education. Several problems occurred when the Austrian government, always mindful of Polish desire for independence, began to take notice of the school, but these difficulties were overcome due to the assistance of some influential people in the Polish community in Galicia.

The convent brought in with it another blessing: soon after its opening, Jazlowiec and the surrounding area experienced a revival in devotion to Saint Mary as patron saint of the town. Worship of the Mother of God had earlier roots in Jazlowiec, going back as far as 15th century. The very first picture of Madonna in Jazlowiec, known as "Bogurodzica" (Mother of God), hung in the castle's chapel and was an object of special reverence. As old record states: "It was a special treasure of the Jazlowiecki family and source of many blessings". In 1582, when the Armenians completed their new church, Mikolaj Jazlowiecki donated a picture of Saint Mary to their parish. At the time when the Turkish armies were closing in on Jazlowiec (1672), the Armenians moved the picture to the town of Brody, where it soon became an object of special reverence to the people in that general area. Some time later it was moved from there to the Armenian cathedral in Lwow, where it remained until World War Two.

Mikolaj Jazlowiecki, a fervent Calvinist in his early years, was also the donor of another holy picture of Saint Mary to the Dominican church in Jazlowiec. After settling his dispute with them, he offered for their church as copy of the Maria Maior in the city of Vatican, which was recognized as the official picture of the Order. This picture was generally held as a holy painting and the source of many blessings received by the parishioners. When the Austrians expelled the Dominicans from Jazlowiec in 1788, they took the picture with them to their new location in the town of Czortkow.

There was another painting in Jazlowiec's history that was also the subject of profound veneration by the people of the town. When Stanislaw Koniecpolski was released from Turkish captivity in 1620 he presented the castle's chapel a copy of the painting of St. Mary of Czestochowa. This picture, often called the "black Madonna," was his offering to God in gratitude for his safe return home. At the time he presented his painting he defined the purpose of his generosity in the following words: "...so that the sons of the fatherland, graceful neighbors, and all subjects who, due to the distance, cannot make pilgrimage to Czestochowa could faithfully fulfill their local religious obligation..." From the time Jan Koniecpolski brought the Paulist Order to Jazlowiec in 1717 and settled them in the castle, the painting remained in their care until they vacated the premises in 1777, taking the picture with them to the town of Zaleszczyki Wielkie. Since that time, no further history of the painting was recorded. While it was in Jazlowiec, the people considered the picture to be a miraculous image of Saint Mary, Protector of Jazlowiec.

Devotion to Saint Mary was revived with the opening of the Convent of the Immaculate Conception. The rebirth of this reverence began in 1882 when the founder of the Order, Marcelina Darowska, ordered the statue of their patron saint to be carved in Rome, a replica of the famous statue in the Vatican and done in white marble. For this task, she contracted a well-known Polish sculptor, Tomasz Oskar Sosnowski, who specialized in this type of religious art.

The white marble statue was brought to the convent on its completion, placed in the chapel and blessed, in 1883, by Bishop Szczesny Falinski, a Polish patriot exiled from Warsaw by the Russians. Since that time, it acquired the colloquial name "Saint Mary of Jazlowiec," or the more reverent "Lady of Jazlowiec."

Saint Mary was also recognized as the patron saint of the town. One of the famous poet of the World War Two era, Kazimierz Wierzynski, when composing a tribute to Saint Mary, began his lengthy poem with the following dedication to the Lady of Jazlowiec:

Mother of God, Patron of Jazlowiec,  
Who comes to us every Sunday  
And takes stroll over the fields,  
Over the ramparts of the castle,  
Through the vineyards and apricot orchards,  
You are taking to heaven the beauty of Podole.

Over the years, many other poems and songs were composed to the Lady of Jazlowiec, and many prominent people prayed in front of the statue. One of the songs became the hymn of the order of the Order of the Immaculate Conception, and another was composed for the 14th Polish Cavalry Regiment as their regimental song. Several nuns and students expressed their deep feelings for the patron saint by creating a great number of poems, many with added lyrics. The citizens of Jazlowiec often prayed to the Lady for favors or to thank for favors received. Some dedicated their children into her care, especially in time of war. As Saint Mary of Jazlowiec rose in fame, so too, did the town, rising from its obscurity once again regaining national recognition.

The last quarter of the 19th century, which was known as a period of prosperity for the Austro-Hungarian Empire, had positive effect on all aspects of political, cultural and economic life in Galicia. Lwow, the capitol of eastern part of the country and the city in which the progress centered, was the prime beneficiary of this advancing trend. In a comparatively short time, the city expanded its original limits and increased in population to over 200,000. It opened its doors to trade and industry, becoming a major trading center for manufactured goods and agricultural commodities. It also expanded its educational facilities by adding several departments to the existing University and opening branches for specialized training. Private and public funds were raised to provide for the opening of several cultural centers, including a museum of science and natural history, a gallery of arts, theaters, an opera and a famous center of Polish culture called the Ossolineum. All of these institutions became objects of pride for the Poles in Galicia and other parts of Poland as well.

Along with these basically Polish accomplishments, there was visible growth in nationalism, especially between Poles and Ukrainians. While the Poles organized in open or secret societies to regain lost independence, the Ukrainians, supported by the Austrians, put forth the goal of an illusionary state stretching from Galicia to Caucasus Mountains, aligned with the Austro-Hungarian state. Most of the territories of this proposed future state were to be taken from the Russians. The only Austrian territorial contribution would be the Eastern Galicia, a light loss to them.

Along with this grand plan, the Ukrainians also proposed the radical idea of eliminating all Poles from Galicia. The Poles were the main obstruction in their quest for a greater state. This drastic proposal was assisted in dragging up an ancient motto "smert Lacham" (death to Poles), which had originated in the early Slavic era when the Lekhs (Poles) and the Kievian Russians bordered one another on the eastern fringes of Podolia.

The strongest exponent of this movement and to a great extent its ideologist was Archbishop Count Andrei Szeptycki. Although of Polish origin, he used his influence among the faithful in the Greek Catholic Church to further his plans, inciting hatred towards Poles among his followers. This had little impact at first, as traditions of peaceful co-existence between the two ethnic groups had existed for centuries, but the idea slowly began to take roots, especially among the Greek Catholic clergy and Ukrainian intelligentsia.

At the time Jazlowiec was not experiencing any ethnic divisiveness, as it had a historic tradition where every group had its rights and place in society. The

old idea of self-rule and ethnic privileges were still the most important issue normalizing their mutual existence.

Since Blazowski's re-instatement of town government, the influence of the mayor (burmistrz) and the council had increased both in power and importance. In addition, the old guild of craftsmen, previously denied their charter, was resurrected on differently arranged basis. The guild this time around was a joint organization of all town's craftsmen under the leadership of an elected president (cechmistrz). They also retained the ancient tradition of educating young men in their chosen crafts through long years of training with the masters and mandatory examination. Not until this process was completed could a young man engage in his chosen profession on his own.

The Jewish community, which had always existed as a separate group, began anew their former practice of self-government as granted to them by Poniatowski. Its basic tenet was autonomy in their internal affairs, which included binding arbitration in lesser disputes. Judging by the size of the synagogue at this time, the Jewish community must have been fairly large and had substantial means its disposal.

In 1896, one of the most capable members of the Jazlowiec community and a man of Armenian descent, Jan Kurianski, was elected to the office of mayor. Due to his enterprising ability and wisdom, he retained the office for the next twenty years, and during his tenure the progressive course begun by Krzysztof Baron Blazowski reached new heights. Kurianski's tenure was known to be one of great prosperity, but some of this has to be attributed to the general progress in the whole of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The town's development may have reached even further had not the railroad bypassed it. In spite of several appeals to revise the railroad plans in favor of Jazlowiec, the Austrian authorities refused to consider the town's request. This imposed several limitations on the town's progress, as business began to favor the town of Buczacz because it's close proximity to the railway line. Jazlowiec was thus relegated to secondary status in the shadow of her sister town, a scant ten miles away.

At that time the town still exercised some judiciary rights, although not fully consistent with Austrian law. The authorities because of its time-honored tradition tolerated it, however. Its basic function was to administer justice through an elected arbitrator, who settled lesser disputes without going through costly court procedure.

When Jan Kurianski was elected to the office of mayor, his friend Jan Rola became the town arbitrator, and Rola soon gained the respect and popularity of the community for his fair and rational judgments. Some of the citizens even went so far as to display preference for Rola over Kurianski in the mayoral election. But Rola declined in deference to his friendship with Kurianski. This tale was often quoted when the question of friendship and neighborly relationship became an issue in Jazlowiec.

The importance of the arbitrator's office waned after the death of Jan Rola, who passed away in the prime of his life due to a late diagnosis of appendicitis. That the citizens of Jazlowiec held Rola in high esteem can be attested to the story that grew into local legend about an incident at his funeral, which was a one-of-a-kind affair for the town. Both the Greek and the Roman Catholic pastors attended the customary ceremonial mass, and when the funeral procession was on the road to the cemetery, it passed the Jewish synagogue. The leaders of their community stood by the road, heads bowed, their rabbi holding a copy of the Ten Commandments. Never before and never after had all the three religious groups taken part together in the funeral of a prominent member of the community.

This period of relative prosperity did not pass without natural disaster, however. Around 1885, as recalled by older citizens, a storm of hurricane force and torrential rains hit the Jazlowiec area, again causing a deluge and flooding in the center of the town. By some accounts, the water reached the upper level of the bridge near the Roman Catholic church, which would indicate a crest of twenty feet or more. Property damage must have been substantial, but there are

no official records as to loss of life, and very likely the documents relating to this disaster were part of the archives destroyed the fire in World War One.

As bad as the natural disaster was, the man-made disaster of war was much worse. As soon as World War One broke out in the summer of 1914, it almost immediately affected the Jazlowiec area. The Austrian army, unable to hold the eastern front, withdrew rapidly and Russian troops took possession of the territory as far south as the Dniestr River. As the Russians approach the town, the terrified populace took refuge in the convent, storing their precious possessions in a room designated for that purpose by the nuns.

The left wing of the convent was appropriated for the use as a military hospital as demanded by the Russians. The nuns also opened a smaller hospital and kindergarten for small children. This was meant to assist those women whose husbands had been called to serve in the Austrian army. At that time, some of the populace, fearing the effects of the war, evacuated south of the river to the town of Drohobycz. The military action that passed through Jazlowiec brought the Russian troops in, who stayed there for a while. At some point of their occupation some drunk men started the fire which spread quickly over the entire center of the town and consumed every building that stood in its path. The entire center of the town including the town hall and the ancient synagogue were reduced to smoldering rubble. Most of the gentile section of Jazlowiec was spared the calamity including the church and the convent.

The Russian offensive bogged down on the Dniester River where in the spring of 1915 heavy fighting occurred. Soon the convent hospital began to fill with wounded Russian soldiers. In June, the military hospital took over most of the convent building and remained there for most of the month. During this time, 1180 wounded soldiers passed through the hospital. In the second half of July, the convent hospital began filling with the sick, as an outbreak of cholera ran rampant through the Russian ranks. By the end of August, eighty people died of the disease. On September second, the Austrians recaptured Jazlowiec.

The town did not remain in Austrian hands for very long. By June, 1916, the front line ran about two kilometers east of town, and the headquarters of the 15th Hungarian Division requisitioned part of the convent. Heavy Russian attacks again forced them to retreat behind the Dniester line, and some nuns were evacuated to safety in Jaroslaw, together with some students that chose to continue their studies during the war. As the heaviest fighting again raged around the town, the populace again sought refuge in the convent.

From the seventh of June, 1916, Jazlowiec was once again in Russian hands, with the convent now serving as offices for different sections of the Russian army. A month later, July twenty sixth, the Prussian army, allies of the Austrians, entered the town, and again the convent was appropriated for military needs.

Throughout this terrible fighting and troops movement, while the high school for the daughters of nobility was almost closed, the nuns open the primary school for the local children. The school reached its peak student enrollment, with the nuns registering more than two hundred children in their classes. Apparently, the local children displayed more enthusiasm for education than ever before.

By September, the front had moved further east, allowing the nuns to return from Jaroslaw and to resume their normal duties at the convent. The primary school grew even larger, necessitating dividing of the classes into morning attendance for girls and afternoon attendance for boys. The town at this time was not subjected to further hardship, as the military traffic merely passed through on its way to various destinations.

The town's destruction had terrible adverse effects on the citizens. Seeing their town in ruins and all their property destroyed, many decided to find greener pasture elsewhere. Although the war still raged on, many of the Jewish families and some gentiles made their way to the western hemisphere, mainly to the United States. Most of the properties they left behind remained in ruin for long time during the period between the two World Wars. Their exodus had a negative impact on the rebuilding of Jazlowiec, which became the main goal of those who stayed behind.

The end of the war was finally declared on November eleventh, 1918, which for Poles became their Independence Day. After nearly 150 years of foreign occupation, the land of Eastern Galicia became once again an integral part of a unified Polish state. On this joyous day the citizens of Jazlowiec for the first time saw Polish flags being hoisted on the castle walls while refrains from the Polish national anthem reverberated from their heights.

At this glorious moment, the memories of rich historic past and the town's achievements returned to the walls of Jazlowiec, bringing with them the spirit of freedom and long awaited independence.



# CHAPTER IX

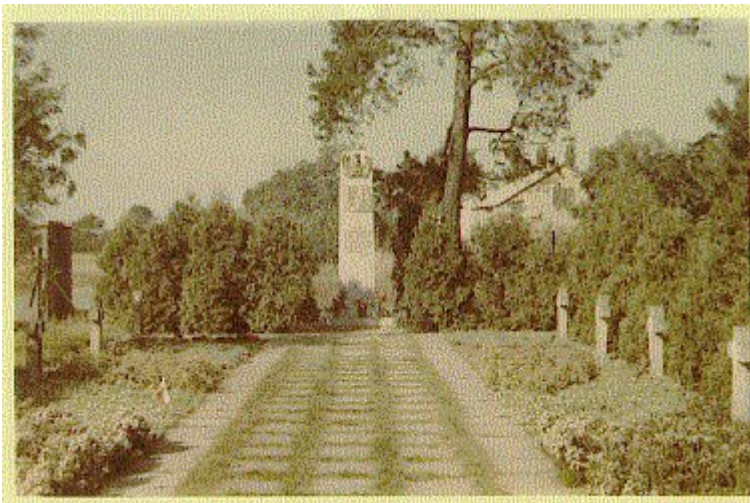
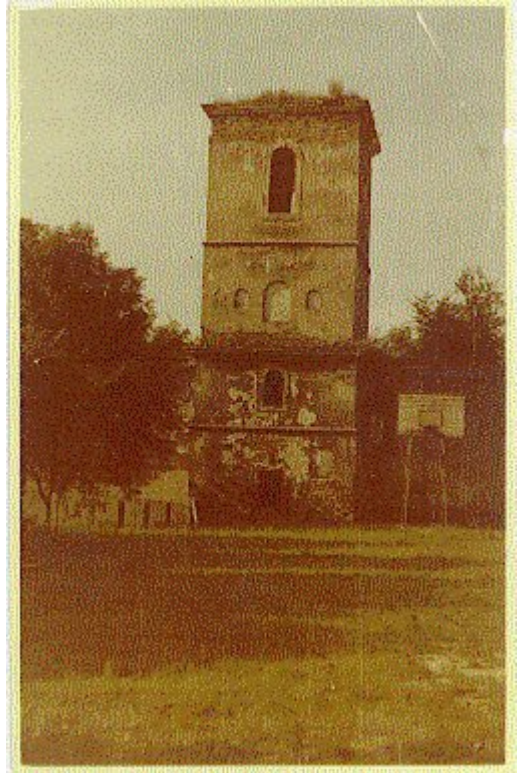
## The Short Years of Independence

Although the First World War officially ended on November 11, 1918, peace was still in the distance for the people of Jazlowiec and for all of Poland. As the three powers of Austria, Russia and Germany crumbled, new states rose in their former territorial acquisitions, and many local conflicts had to be settled militarily in the peripheral areas of the new Polish nation.

One that affected Podole and Jazlowiec was the dispute between the Poles and Ukrainians over the land claimed by both.

The Ukrainians, armed by the retreating Austrians, began a military action against the light Polish forces in the area, beginning a war between the two that lasted from 1918 to 1919. One of the most courageous and important actions of this conflict was the heroic defense of Lwow by Polish boys, whose fathers were fighting to secure Polish borders in other areas. This successful action, assisted by Polish units from Poznan, ended in complete Polish victory. Another victorious action also took place at the gates of Jazlowiec between Ukrainian forces and the 14th Polish Lancers Regiment.

Prior to that, other actions against Ukrainian forces took place at Jazlowiec. In December, 1918, Ukrainians took over the town and instantly closed the convent school, requisitioned all furniture and supplies and interned in one of the convent's wings some prominent Poles from the town. The number of internees reached about 100, plus the nuns and seventeen students who chose to stay in the school. By May 23, 1919, the convent was filled to capacity with internees, which included fourteen Polish priests and four monks from Russia.



On Saturday, just before Whitsunday, a small Polish unit appeared from nowhere, disarmed the Ukrainian guards and freed about three hundred internees. For some reason, this Polish unit then withdrew, leaving only twenty-five of their number for the convent's protection. This platoon-size group was too small to hold out against the larger Ukrainian unit that attacked them later. Jazlowiec was again occupied by the Ukrainians, who for the entire month of June terrorized the nuns and the town's populace.

Within this short lasting war the chronicler of the convent registered one small but chivalrous episode which took place on the outskirts and within the convent of Jazlowiec. This incident pertained to the later Polish hero of World War Two,

Gen. Stanislaw Maczek, who at the time in the rank of lieutenant commanded an infantry platoon. His personal heroism in this care preceded his greater days in Normandy, France, Belgium and Holland by more than a quarter century. A Polish commander dispatched him to intervene in Jazlowiec where the convent with nuns and teenage female students inside was besieged by a Ukrainian force.

The enemy unit proved to be numerical superior and better armed for the young lieutenant to any direct action against them to rescue the nuns and girls. He decided to take his positions on the hill of Ksiezyzna from which he had good insight into the convent's grounds. From this vantagepoint he kept a watch to make a sally at a most convenient moment.

Then, as the chronicler wrote "on the 6th of July, 1919, a miracle happened".

The young lieutenant under the cover of the night made a quick foray through the surrounding woods into the convent's grounds. Attacking the unprotected side he entered the premises unnoticed by the Ukrainian guards. He and his men picked five girls and two nuns and disappeared with them in the darkness of the night. The rescued group was moved under a protective escort to a safer territory, west of Jazlowiec, held by the Polish forces.

Lieutenant Maczek and his platoon remained on the hill for the next five days, keeping watch on enemy movement and occasionally exchanging fire. On July 11th the Polish cavalry unit, 14th Lancers, entered the town bringing relief to the besieged convent and the small but brave unit of Lt. Maczek. This little story became a legend among the Polish people of Jazlowiec, in which the unit's commander grew to be a hero, known to them only as brave and chivalrous Polish officer from Lwow.

The early history of the 14th Lancers and the account of its first major battle was preserved by one of its young soldiers, Antoni Grudzinski, who actively participated in the attack on the Ukrainian positions at Jazlowiec. This man distinguished himself in World War Two as the commander of the 10th Armored Division in the West while serving under the above mentioned Gen. Maczek.

Here in the walls of Jazlowiec the two heroes of the next war came together as of then unspoken heroes of World War One.

According to Grudzinski's account the 14th Lancers Regiment was organized in the region of Kuban of the Poles whom the Czar's regime threw into the depth of Russian territory. As the Soviet Revolution started the young Poles joined together to form a



unit with a goal to fight for freedom of Poland. When the unit reached the regiment strength, it moved west to join another Polish unit, known as the division of General Zeligowski, then organizing in Odessa. This combined force, after a long march through Bessarabia and Bukowina in Rumania, reached the Polish border at the town of Sniatyn in the later Stanislawow Voivodship. After crossing the Dniestr at Jezupol in June, 1919, the unit undertook offensive action against Ukrainian elements, with the objective of reaching the Zbrucz River and clearing the territory of plundering enemy groups.

Working within this plan, the 14th Lancers, supported by one company of the 6th Cavalry Regiment and some artillery, moved towards the main Ukrainian defense line. The Ukrainian force consisted of two brigades, some 2,500 men strong, backed with ten batteries of artillery and were well-dug in around the village of Kadlubiska and the Gleboka estate, both located a mere two miles from Jazlowiec.

After engaging the enemy at the Strypa River and destroying the forward Ukrainian elements at the village of Sokulec, the Polish force reached the village of Beremiany on July the 10th. In their next thrust, the Poles captured the villages of Chmielowa and Duliby, and almost reached the main Ukrainian positions.

On July 11, the regiment commanded by Maj. Konstanty Plisowski, in a typical day-long cavalry attack, completely wiped out the enemy forces, taking 652 prisoners and much of their artillery and equipment. The remainder of the Ukrainians fled, leaving 151 dead men on the battlefield. Polish losses amounted to 25 dead and some wounded.

The same day the Polish unit entered the besieged town of Jazlowiec, liberating the convents, its nuns and some Poles that had been held as hostages. They also joined with the platoon of Lt. Maczek, which as described earlier held the hill outside the town. The chronicler of the convent describes this eventful day as follows:

"Finally arrived the beautiful day of July the 11th, 1919, when Jazlowiec welcomed the victorious soldiers of the Polish Commonwealth, still letting blood in the fight for freedom. On the courtyard of the convent Mother Superior welcomed the Polish Commander, Gen. Aleksandrowicz and his staff. The song of gratitude joined the sound of the shimmering trees to thank God and Holy Mother of the Immaculate Conception for miraculous salvation from Ukrainian oppression."

The citizens of the town welcomed the arrival of the Polish forces with relief and gratitude. The Ukrainian terror left some bitter memories, which caused much antagonistic feelings between the two national groups in Jazlowiec, and which never really healed. During the short Ukrainian rule, two young Piowowski brothers were executed for no other reason than that of being the sons of a prominent Polish citizen. Several people were taken hostage and severely beaten - one of them lost his sight because of it - and much Polish property was confiscated and destroyed.

Soon after the victory at Jazlowiec, the 14th Lancers Regiment adopted the town's name for its own and after that was known as the 14th Lancers Regiment of Jazlowiec. The day of their victory also became the Regimental Memorial Day, celebrated every year to commemorate those who fell in the battle.

Ever since the victory, the 14th Lancers, although stationed some distance from Jazlowiec at Lwow, maintained close ties with the town, mainly through the Order of the Immaculate Conception. In due course, Saint Mary, the Lady of Jazlowiec, became the main motif on their standard insignia, and her name was incorporated into the regimental song. By adopting her as their patron saint, the Lancers brought her cult into their own traditions. This was best expressed by their regimental song, which was sung by the men at every public occasion and as a church hymn at Holy Masses. The first strophe of the song (in translation) sounds as follows:

Give happiness and peace to this land, O Lady,  
which has been soaked with blood in the fire of wars;  
To you we soldiers send our sincere prayers  
that you change our fate, cruel fate,  
and make life radiant as a baby's smile;

Grant us this grace, Holiest Virgin of Jazlowiec!

For their bravery on the battlefield, the Regiment was decorated by the head of the Polish state, Marshall Jozef Pilsudski, with the highest honors that could be bestowed upon a fighting unit. On March 21 the next year, the Marshall personally decorated the standard of the Regiment with the cross of Virtuti Militari.

The end of the Ukrainian conflict did not resolve the remaining problems of the new Polish state. Another and far more perilous threat came from the east, this time from the newly created communist state in the Soviet Union. Counting on the popularity of the communist movement in the west, the Red Army invaded the territories of Poland in August, 1920. This was meant as a first step in their goal to "liberate the working class from the oppression of capitalism."

Jazlowiec was almost immediately affected by this new threat. On the 4th of August, the Soviets entered the town and requisitioned the town for military purposes. On August 18, a Polish unit entered the town, scattering the panicked enemy just as they were about to take hostages whom they planned to transport deep into Soviet territory on September 21.

The sudden Soviet departure was the result of a decisive Polish victory at Warsaw at the end of August. It was the victory that shattered the communists' dream of conquering western Europe, which was then in great turmoil, especially in Germany. Peace was settled between the Poles and the Soviets in the Treaty of Brzesc, in which the Soviets renounced all claims to the land held by the Poles. This stabilized Polish eastern borders until the outbreak of World War Two.

After Poland gained its freedom, and after all military operations came to an end, the citizens of Jazlowiec returned to the business of rebuilding their town. In view of the enormous damage done by the Russian army and the Ukrainian occupation, the task seemed immense. In absence of any state program of reconstruction, the citizens had to do it all on their own, beginning with the election of a new town administration, with the office of mayor going to Wladyslaw Kurianski and executive power to the new city council. According to the old traditions, every ethnic group was equally represented in the council. This meant four Polish aldermen, four Jewish and four Ukrainian. Even though the Ukrainians represented the smallest of the three groups, they still qualified for an equal share on the city council.

When the new town government took office, the business section of Jazlowiec looked like a ghost town with roofless buildings and blackened, smoke-stained walls lining the streets. Above these towered naked chimneys, which added to the ghost-like scenery of destruction. Several hastily constructed temporary wooden barracks, built at random, cluttered the town's center, giving it an even more repulsive appearance. Reconstruction of the town seemed almost an impossible task.

The general post-war boom in Poland was a great assistance in the reconstruction of Jazlowiec. The stamina of the new nation, in the first flush of its newly won freedom, encouraged every citizen to sacrifice in helping both themselves and the country. The general spirit and enthusiasm turned their mental and physical energies towards the task of resurrecting the country, like the legendary Phoenix, out of the ashes.

In Jazlowiec, many new houses and public buildings were built in both the central and peripheral areas. The town received its new town hall, Polish and Ukrainian community halls appeared in once empty places, a new school to accommodate seven statutory grades was constructed, the old 15th century synagogue was restored to its former condition, street lights were introduced, several main streets received their first sidewalks and some drainage system was installed to channel the floodwater to the two streams passing the town. On top of all this, private homes were sprouting up all over the area, adding to the general belief that this was not only the period of reconstruction, but of general prosperity as well. The citizens of Jazlowiec, like the whole of Poland, worked hard not only to restore their town's former condition, but in many ways

to surpass it as well.

On the business side of town's activities, reconstruction and revitalization equaled that of other sectors. Mainly the remaining members of the Jewish community opened many new private shops. Poles and Ukrainians organized new commercial cooperatives. A dairy processing plant was added to the Polish grain cooperative, which soon began to send dairy products for markets outside the town. A brick kiln was activated on the outskirts of the town, providing basic material for the building industry. Many craftsmen opened new shops, and traditional Tuesday markets were well attended by both locals and outsiders.

County and district governments also made their contributions to the general town's revival. Some new offices were introduced, like administrative center for the neighboring villages, the health clinic where three qualified physicians and the police force, which was increased and relocated to larger and more modern accommodation, provided services. Definite progress was also made in the educational field, with the construction of new and larger building for seven grades, bringing in more teachers to the town and upgrading the level of education, qualifying even more students for the high school in Buczacz.

The Convent of the Immaculate Conception had its own educational system, which also had gone through a radical process of modernization. Although primary education was mainly the function of the town government, the nuns still maintained a small school at the convent for the local girls. Their high school, however, strived to attain new heights, with the introduction of new programs, widened in scope to attract more students from affluent families. In addition they opened their high school enrollment to the local girls for a nominal fee, giving them chance to prepare themselves for higher studies, or to acquire a greater knowledge in the field of home economic and the development of disciplines useful for future wives and mothers.

In the field of welfare, due to generosity of a childless Polish family who returned from America with some saved funds, an orphanage was built on the grounds donated by the town. Its administration was entrusted to the secular nuns who took care of the orphaned children and also operated a day care center on the premises.

All these factors contributed to a rapid increase in the population of Jazlowiec, which, at the outbreak of World War Two stood at 5,000. In the time between the World Wars, Jazlowiec showed enormous vitality, which unfortunately began to succumb to impending crisis as the war began to loom on the horizon, hindering further progress planned by the town mayor, Wladyslaw Kurianski. He envisioned bringing a military unit into the town as a new source of funds, to start some small industries and build an electrical plant to bring a new source of energy into the town. Economic conditions improved to some extent in the second half of the 1930's, and most likely a new period of prosperity would have begun if not for World War Two.

A prestigious religious event took place in May of 1939 when, by special permission of Pope Pious XII, the holy statue of the Lady of Jazlowiec was crowned by the Primate of Poland, August Cardinal Hlond. The Ceremony was attended by many church and government dignitaries, among them the future primate of the country, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski. Delegations from different cities and organizations from across the country participated in the event, and many faithful from the Archdiocese of Lwow made pilgrimages to Jazlowiec. The 14th Lancers, with their top regimental staff, took part in the ceremony, adding military splendor to the event.

To commemorate the crowning, the citizens of Jazlowiec provided funds for the erection of memorial chapel on the hill facing the castle and the convent, called "Szance" (Ramparts).

Local artisans created a small altar, in which the centerpiece was a stone carving of the Lady of Jazlowiec. A tradition was then begun in which candles would be burned at the altar on a certain day of the week. It did not last long, because the outbreak of the war halted it.

In 1936, the Recreation Home for theology students from the Archdiocese of Lwow

was opened in the village of Rzepince in the Jazlowiec parish. The idea had originated during Archbishop Eugene Baziak's visit to the nearby village of Trybuchowce. Countess Natalie Wolanski, who offered her sumptuous residence to the Archdiocese, and also sold some twenty acres of land to the church for a nominal sum of money, approached him.

The old residence in Rzepince, originally constructed as a palace in 1818, was furnished with rare and valuable art objects and a rich library, which got great use from the students spending their vacation there. After World War Two, one of the seminary students, Rev. Wacław Szetelnicki, wrote an account of the Recreation Home and included it in his book about his teacher, Rev. Stanisław Frankl. Although enchanted by everything he saw, he was most taken with the beautifully kept park and an old artistically finished chapel. This seminary center was cared for by local nuns, who, in addition to that obligation, also kept orphanage for approximately eighty local children, provided first aid for the villagers and primary education for other children in the village.

As stated earlier, one of the most interesting and admired aspects of the recreation center was its chapel. The Wolanski family first built it in 1696, then after the subsequent fire it was rebuilt and substantially increased in size in 1892. The reconstruction was done under the supervision of the master artist Sandecki of Jazlowiec. To add a more artistic touch, he used the design of the Wilno Cathedral, in northern Poland, and for the altar inside he used a design taken from the Resurrection Church in Lwów. The parish priest held Holy masses there twice a week from Jazlowiec.

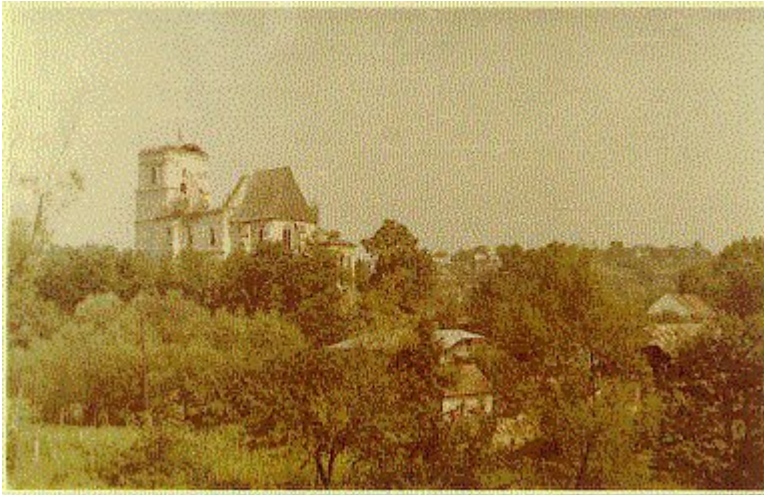
An incident gives testimony to how popular the cult of the Lady of Jazlowiec was. It again involves the military - men of the 9th Cavalry Regiment, who were about to go in to the front line against the Germans. Their commander, Col. Klemens Rudnicki, later the hero of the Battle at Monte Cassino and Bologna in Italy, and the last commander of the 1st Polish Armored Division in the west, committed the men of his unit into the care of the Lady of Jazlowiec. After the war, in his book "Na Polskim Szlaku" (On the Polish Trail), he stated he believed that his regiment suffered small losses in action against the Germans because they had been committed into the care of the Lady of Jazlowiec.

When the first bombs of World War Two exploded on September 1st, 1939, on the western borders of Poland, they were too far away to be heard in the small Podolian town of Jazlowiec. But the sound of church bells echoing their warnings through the valley made the people aware that something unusual and perhaps tragic was unfolding in other areas of Poland. The bells, tolled by Mayor Władysław Kuriański, tried the patience of the church pastor, Rev. Andrzej Krasnicki. He ran out of parsonage, saw the mayor using the church property, and strongly objected to this act of interference by the civil authority. When the mayor explained the reason of his ringing the bells, the good reverend joined hands with the public official to help in sending the message to the people of Jazlowiec. Little did the two men know at the time that neither would survive the war. And little did they know what terrible things were held in store for their town and their people.



# CHAPTER X

## The Tragedy of World War Two



The small Podolian town of Jazlowiec, far removed from the war, was unlikely to see military action on its own grounds. So thought the great number of Poles who, in the

face of enemy tanks and bombs, fled to the furthest southeast corner of Poland to escape the death and destruction. Grim news from the front and fear of German bombs sent stream of refugees in spellbound flight toward the Rumanian border. This stream reached the dusty late-summer Podolian roads,

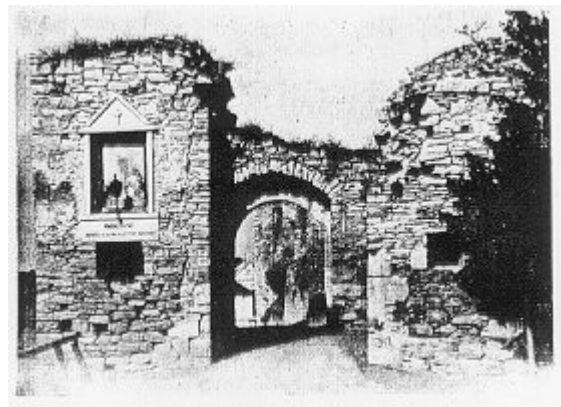
including those that ran through Jazlowiec. The local people watched, helpless, as loaded cars, lorries, horse carts and people on foot trudged through their town in their panic-stricken flight from the German army.

Meanwhile, on the western front, Polish soldiers shed great amount of blood, constantly fighting, then retreating to stronger defensive positions, unable to cope with the armor of the German panzers. Foot soldiers and brave cavalrymen were no match for steel and cannons. Some bloody battles were fought at Westerplatte in Gdansk, at Bzura River, along the foothills of Carpathian Mountains, when in an uneven match against German armor, many brave men gave their lives in defense of their country. Actions such as these, when cavalry and foot soldiers faced tanks were witnessed in many other places in Poland. In the end the fighting concentrated around the Capitol City of Warsaw, in which the city suffered terrible bombardment and bloodshed. The city fought the hopeless fight, hoping for a miracle to come from the western allies. It never came - they had to give up fighting. Their capitulation as well as capitulation of all forces in the field was accelerated by the unexpected Soviet attack on Poland from the east.

This unprovoked attack by the Soviets was felt immediately in Jazlowiec. The second day after they had crossed the border, the 16th of September, 1939, Soviet tanks appeared in the main street of the town.

The short-lived Polish independence seemed to be over. Foreign soldiers once again trod on Polish soil, bending the country to their will. This fact in itself was sad and foreboding, but it was the least of the war time tragedies to come.

The first signs of the tragic truths of war were witnesses when some of the soldiers from Jazlowiec began to return home. Of the eleven young men who had gone off in defense of the country, only four came back to Jazlowiec and another four were lost on the battlefield, never to be seen again by their



families - Jan Rola, Kazimierz Kowalski, Stanislaw Kurianski and Wladyslaw Krajewski - the whereabouts of their bodies unknown.

The 14th Lancers Regiment carried the name of Jazlowiec into battle in the same spirit as it fought in World War One. During the next war of theirs, of short duration, the men of the regiment carved a place in history in a fight with the enemy in a place far removed from Podole. The regiment, as one of the elements of the Podolian fighting group, was initially assigned to the Poznan region on the western front. They immediately went into action after German tanks crossed the border and for seventeen days fought a continuous action against them, resisting the attempts of several German panzers divisions to encircle and destroy the entire cavalry unit. They eventually broke out of the closing pincers and reached the banks of the Bzura River, where their commander thought the area to be safe from enemy. To his surprise, he found himself facing another strong German army group blocking his path across the river, where he had planned to escape into the Kampinoski Forest. In a fierce attack, the 14th Lancers breached the German infantry lines and took by surprise a Nazi panzer unit. This unexpected Polish movement enabled the entrapped Polish units to break through weak enemy resistance to join the main forces in defense of Warsaw.

This brave attack was witnessed by an Italian war correspondent, which immediately sent the account off to the Italian and French press. In his article, in which he hailed the bravery of the Poles, he called their action "the last military epic in the history of cavalry warfare." It was the last action of the kind for the Lancers and for all the Polish cavalry units as well. A few days later, their outgunned army was defeated at the gates of Warsaw. The city surrendered to the Nazi generals and the brave but outdated Polish army ceased to exist.

The victorious powers, Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, quickly divided the spoils between them. In this modern division of Poland, Jazlowiec was incorporated with the entire Podole into the Soviet Union. The whole territory of the former Austrian eastern Galicia was renamed the Western Ukraine and declared a separate Soviet republic.

This of course pleased the Nazi minded Ukrainians, even though many of them were staunch believers in the Nazi ideology. They adopted a 'wait and see' attitude, while a great percentage of other Ukrainians openly cooperated with the Soviets, filling in minor bureaucratic positions in the local administration and security services. With this arrangement, Poles became the subjects of persecution both from the Soviet secret police (NKVD) and the local Ukrainians who collaborated with them.

Communism was immediately introduced in the newly occupied lands. The idea was not well accepted by various ethnic groups and least of all by the Poles.



Their negative attitude towards the new system was no deterrent to the typical Soviet methods of persecution. The security forces and the secret police took charge of internal affairs and promptly proceeded with the elimination of passive resistance. Mass arrests, forcible closure of private enterprise and nationalization of private property were some of the methods employed to keep the population in check.

This system of terror called for victims to be taken from Polish villages, towns and cities, picked at will to satisfy the labor needs of prisons and concentration camps in Siberia. The Poles in Jazlowiec were not exempt from this terror. Some men, like Kazimierz Stanecki, Michal Kuliczkowski, Julian Kurianski and Stanislaw Kowalski, became prisoners and slave laborers in Siberia labor camps of the north



taiga. Another group of Polish families, the mayor's family (Kurianskis), the Kowalskis (Wladyslaw and Ignacy), Grzesiowskis, Goldstaubs, Piwowarskis, Staneckis, Baczynskis and some nuns from the convent and assorted others - twenty families in all - were deported to the steppes of Khazakstan to work in collective farms. Most of the victims were rounded up with the assistance of the local Ukrainians. This kind of terror kept the remaining members of the Polish community in total obedience to the new system.

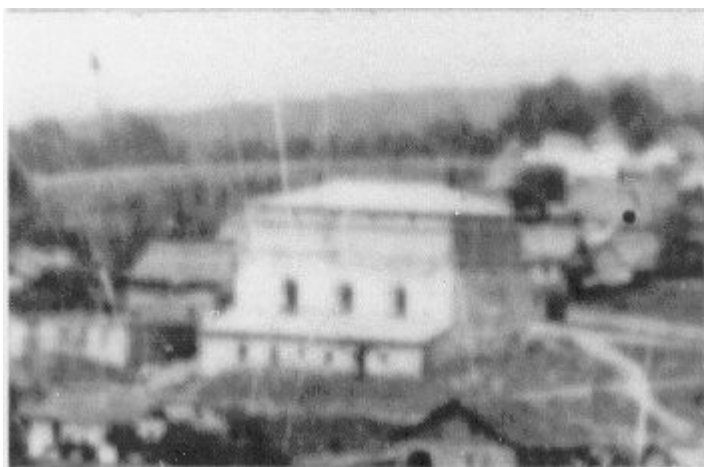
The first Soviet occupation, as it was called, ended abruptly when Hitler and his Nazi armies swept into the fertile territory of the Soviet Union in June of 1941. In a lightning maneuver, they conquered the former Polish territories and penetrated deep into the Soviet Union itself, advancing against light resistance. To some Poles, the Nazi appeared at first to be a salvation from the Soviet terror. It soon became a nightmare for the Jews and another, more terrible, reign of terror, for the Poles.

The Nazi terror gave an almost free rein to the Ukrainian nationalists to ply their trade of hatred against the Poles, exacerbating and accelerating the terror plied by the Soviets, and with much greater destructive effect. For the Jews, it was genocide on a scale unprecedented in history. The motivation behind the Ukrainian terror was the total elimination of both Poles and Jews from territories shared with them, so that in the end there would only be one nationality remaining masters of the land.

As soon as the Nazi armies reached Podole, the only Ukrainian division serving with them quickly occupied Lwow and immediately after, their spiritual leader, Archbishop Andrei Szeptycki, formed a national government and declared the independent state of Ukraine. This proved to be a very temporary and short-lasting arrangement as the Nazis, who had their own plans for the occupied lands, disbanded the Ukrainian government and their forces, recognizing the whole of the former Galicia as a future Polish province under their direct control.

The ambitious plans of Szeptycki to unite the Soviet part of the Ukraine with his Galician State also proved to be totally unrealistic. There was no ambition in the Soviet Ukraine for this grand nationalistic venture. Those Ukrainians chose to remain faithful to Mother Russia, the state that the Ukrainians had helped to build into a world power over several past centuries. As soon as the Nazis became aware of the fact, they imprisoned some Ukrainian leaders and put an end to their ambitious plans. One German general even went as far as to report to Berlin that if there were to be an independent Ukraine, it would have to be held together with German bayonets.

The Nazi leaders' change of attitude toward an independent Ukraine state did nothing to thwart their plans to utilize the Ukrainians as the police and security forces in occupied Poland.



They put them to excellent use in their auxiliary services of the Banschutz, Ortschaft, Schutzmann, militiamen and concentration camp guards. Such responsibilities seemed to suit their characters perfectly.

At a later stage of the war, the Ukrainians were even allowed to have their own military unit of division strength, which went by the name of SS.Galizien. The unit was primarily used for control and persecution of the other ethnic groups, as the Ukrainians, in their frustration with the Nazis,

vented their hatred against Poles and Jews. It was in this capacity that they committed some of the most heinous war crimes, many of which have not been brought to the attention of the world.

All persecutions followed the explicit Nazi policy of genocide, in which they provided a specific role for the Ukrainian nationalists. The German Governor General of occupied Poland, Hans Frank, made a declaration to that effect in March, 1940. "In our task to deal with the Polish problem," he said, "we will be helped by 600,000 Ukrainians, the inherent enemies of the Poles. We will draw them to our side and will use them in police and other public services. Here we have in our hands the falcons, who will not spare Polish life." In November of 1941 another Nazi leader, Hermann Goering, sounded the same note when presenting plans for the extermination of the Poles. The Ukrainians, jointly with the Gestapo, liquidated the Jewish population in Belzec, Sobibor, Majadanek, Treblinka, Kiev, Zhytomir and many other places of mass destruction of human life. As with regard to the Poles, there were so-called "Pacification Expeditions" in Polesie, Wohlynia, Podole and other areas where total destruction of the Polish population was attempted. In some cases the Nazis inspired these horrendous actions, but in most cases, the initiative and execution of the plans were of Ukrainian making.

The Ukrainian intelligentsia and even most of the priests soon found justification for the savage treatment of their Polish and Jewish neighbors in historic national and ethnic conflicts. Going deep into history, they found the excuse for hatreds that fired their new political ideology: their religious and political writings that had been turned into nationalistic slogans to fuel the passions of the masses. Thus, the SS. Galizien had for its final strophe of its military marching song the obliteration of the Lekhs (the ancient name for the Poles) and every Jews in the territories claimed by the Ukrainians. A pamphlet distributed among the Ukrainian masses called specifically for the death of all Jews, Poles and Hungarians. The latter were the focus of Ukrainian hatred because of a centuries-past occupation of part of future Galicia. Ukrainian priests used the biblical phrase of separating "the weeds from the wheat," which meant the destruction of the Jews and Poles. With this goal in mind, the Ukrainian nationalists turned all of the southeast Polish territories into a bloodbath of hitherto unknown proportions.

In Jazlowiec and the surrounding areas, things could not have looked more bleak. Since the initial German blitzkrieg had missed them and the new German administration was slow in coming, the town was left at the mercy of the Ukrainian nationalists. On June 27, 1941, they declared their independence and immediately sized power. To symbolize the event, they began to raise mounds, called kurgans, with high crosses atop them. In some places, they used the bodies of murdered Poles for a foundation. In Jazlowiec, there were such calls among the Ukrainians, but for some reason none of the Poles was murdered for the foundation of their kurgan.

In the ruthless display of power, the Ukrainians resorted to some drastic and uncompromising measures directed primarily against the Poles. They immediately imprisoned several young Polish men and women (their neighbors) in a provisional detention center they had set up in one wing of the convent. All detainees were severely beaten, and some were killed. The first victim of the Ukrainian terror was Bronislaw Kulesza, the second Jan Kolodziej who died later from injuries sustained while imprisoned. The remaining prisoners were rescued through the intervention of a Hungarian detachment stationed in Czernelica, who obligated Polish request for help.

The disarmed Ukrainian militia were soon re-armed by the Gestapo in Buczacz. However, due to the presence of the Hungarian troops, the local Ukrainians in Jazlowiec temporarily suspended their outrages against the Poles, burning their barbaric instincts against the helpless Jews. Their first victim was a local hairdresser, Joseph Keiler, whom some eager nationalists shot on the street. They also imprisoned some twenty young Jews, detaining them in their provisional prison. After days of relentless beatings and inhumane treatment, the victims had their hands bound with barbed wire and were led to the Strypa River where all, save one who had managed to escape, were shot.

In response to this initial terror, the Jewish population began to engage in passive resistance - hiding, storing food, selling their possessions for next to nothing and in some cases, by moving to larger cities. Those who chose to remain

were subjected to Nazi rule and Nazi justice. As in communities all over Poland, a Jazlowiec Jewish council, or "Judenraten" as it was officially called, was organized to supervise their community. Their basic obligation was the collection of taxes and blood money and valuables that were periodically extorted from them by SS gangs on the prowl for loot.

The first incident of Jewish genocide in Jazlowiec occurred in late summer of 1942. The victims were Hungarian Jews, allegedly Polish citizens, expelled to Galicia by Nazi decree. As far as it can be established, all these people spoke Hungarian, which brought into question the claim of their Polish citizenship. There is also no rational explanation as to why Jazlowiec was chosen for their place of execution, unless such a request came from the local Ukrainian nationalists.

According to the Polish information, Hungarian Jews were transported on trucks, two or three times a week for three consecutive weeks, to the courtyard of the convent. There, the Ukrainian militia and the supervising men of the Gestapo stripped them of their personal possessions. After this humiliation, they were led in groups to their place of execution. The most commonly used spot was at a small lake called Pozeze, where the Jews were shot and their bodies tossed into the water. After a group of the doomed Jews revolted in the middle of the town, resulting in a wholesale and bloody public beating, some of the groups were executed in the forest by the banks of the Strypa River. In all, it can be estimated that 3,000 to 4,000 Hungarian Jews perished in this massacre. Any local Jew who tried to help them was either severely beaten or led away for execution with the victims. Two of the executioners, Konowalczyk and Bielowski, later prided themselves by bragging that they had killed 1,500 and 800 Jews, respectively. Since there were also other executioners who took part in the massacre, even the high estimate of 4,000 murdered would not be far from the truth.

Local Jews, although subjected to harassment and persecution, were not yet the targets of genocide. Harassment of the Jews of Jazlowiec took many forms. Many were forced to toil as slave laborers for Ukrainian farmers and do general town work under police supervision. There were many tasks that they performed, but one of the most odious and degrading was a direct result of severe flooding that occurred in the town in May 1942. The rushing torrents of water had wrecked substantial damage, most notably destroying a wall supporting one of the main streets in the town. The police assembled all able-bodied Jews and ordered them to repair the wall, using the headstones from the graves of their ancestors in the Jewish cemetery. Curiously, this in a way may have preserved the memories of the Jewish community in Jazlowiec, as the wall is likely to stand for a very long time.

By then, the Jewish community's days in Jazlowiec were numbered. In nearby Buczacz, the Jewish ghetto was already established and according to Nazi plans was to accommodate all the Jews from the entire county. On several occasions, prior to their deportation, the Jews of Jazlowiec were subjected to the usual deceptions and extortions by which the Nazis used to deprive their victims of their valuables. Each time a purported deportation the ghetto was announced, a ransom was demanded of the Jewish community to stay their removal. This only lasted until the next appearance of the Gestapo in the town, and in the end, with their funds depleted, they were rounded up and taken to the ghetto in Buczacz. Some of them were executed in a place called Fedor and some were sent to concentration camps.

Some remained in hiding and became the subject of constant search by the Ukrainian police. Whenever one was discovered, he was publicly executed on the spot, or led to the Jewish cemetery, which had become the local place of execution.

By the end of 1942, the Ukrainian militia (Ukrainian Sicz), responsible for the massacre of the Hungarian Jews, was disbanded by the German authorities. In its place, another police unit was formed under the command of a man called Batiuk. This was only a nominal change, however, because the men in the unit were recruited from the former militia group. After the establishment of this unit, the local Poles were again subjected to new acts of terrorism. Several of them

were imprisoned, severely beaten, then transported to the county prison in Buczacz, where they were subjected to long, senseless interrogations and eventually freed by the German authorities. Further Ukrainian excesses against the Poles were checked by the presence of a Hungarian unit stationed in nearby Potok Zloty. It has to be said of the Hungarians that whenever they were asked to intervene on behalf of the Poles, they always responded positively. In some ways, it became a comic situation of cat and mouse. After every intervention by the Hungarians, the Ukrainians were disarmed, and a few days later, the Germans in Buczacz gave them new weapons.

The Hungarian presence in Potok Zloty did not mean total elimination of the Ukrainian threat to the Poles, however. Ukrainian nationalists did their utmost to stir up anti-Polish feelings among the nearby villages of Rusilow and Leszczance. In the fall of 1942, they had so stirred up the Ukrainians of these villages that they armed themselves with axes, pitchforks and scythes, ready to attack and murder their Polish neighbors. The Poles barricaded themselves in their homes, ready to defend their lives. Some more reasoned minds among the local Ukrainians persuaded the mob to disband and to go home, and bloodshed was averted. This incident made the Poles realize that in order to survive, they had to have arms and an efficient self-defense organization.

Small arms became a very precious and sought-after commodity. It became even more precious than food, which, because of a poor crop that year, was in very short supply. Only the generosity of the Poles in Duliby saved the people of Jazlowiec from starvation. The Jews, deprived of all sources of supply, fared even worse. The main source of supply for small arms became the Hungarian detachment, which by the end of the year moved to Jazlowiec. Trade between the soldiers and the locals was brisk, especially in home-brewed vodka, which was always in strong demand by the soldiers.

With the Hungarians now occupying the convent, the Ukrainian police were forced to move to lesser accommodations in the town. They took over a spacious house which once belonged to a rich Jew, Reinisch. The building was big enough to also serve as a temporary prison and center for detainees destined for eventual shipment to Germany as forced laborers.

A German official named Roth headed the supervision of the operation of the search and arrest of Poles. The actual execution of the program was in the hands of the Ukrainian police, who usually rounded up Poles during the night when most were asleep in their beds. They sometimes used deception to ruse people into assembling themselves for deportation. In one instance, they advertised a big shoe sale, a commodity that was in very short supply, in a village near Jazlowiec. All Poles who responded to the sale announcement were rounded up and sent to Buczacz for deportation. These round-ups were frequent but not always successful. In one case, fifteen Poles were sent to Buczacz under escort and the next day ten of them returned home. Some always found a way to escape.

Self-defense became the main concern for the Polish community in Jazlowiec. Under the light Hungarian protection and with the tacit cooperation in arming the Poles, a small Polish underground unit was formed, organized by Kazimierz Kowalski. This young man, who had escaped Soviet deportation to Siberia and had managed to survive the Ukrainian terror, was assisted by a former military man, Jozef Grzesiowski, in formation of the first secret cell. They were not totally effective - they could not neutralize Ukrainian positions completely, but they managed to keep the town free from the feared night attacks. To increase the cell's effectiveness, they maintained close contacts with similar groups in Buczacz and Duliby. The Polish village Duliby, threatened from the Ukrainians villages that surrounded it, had formed its underground unit in the very early stages of the Ukrainian terror and by this time, they were the best-armed and best-organized of the Polish resistance groups in the Jazlowiec area. In its infancy the Jazlowiec resistance relied heavily upon the assistance of this group and counted on their intervention in the case of a general attack upon the Polish community.

In 1943, a new and more dangerous situation reared its ugly head. The Ukrainian nationalists, realizing that Hitler and his armies may go down in defeat, frantically sought some measures to retain their power after the war. They began

the policy of destruction of the Poles in all the territories claimed by them. They reasoned that after the West destroyed the Nazis, they would also destroy the Soviet Union, leaving the Ukrainians with no competition in dominance of the land. At that point, the annihilation of the Poles begun and was conducted at a frantic pace, while the German armies were still around. The first genocide operations affected the territories north of Podole.

Before long, frightening news reached the Polish communities of Podole. In nearby Wohlynia, thousands of Poles had been killed. Their villages had been destroyed, properties stolen, churches burned and entire communities wiped out. In response, some Poles took up arms, in some places putting up an effective defense against the Ukrainian assassins. Polish loss of life was staggering. There were no offices and people to record the exact numbers of the dead. The only organization capable of keeping such records the German Gestapo did not care, or gave support to the Ukrainians.

The news that reached the Poles in Podole was immediately followed by Ukrainian massacres in their territory as well. The area around Jazlowiec was not spared. In nearby Pozeze, three generations of the Sawicki family and all members of the Zielinski family were wiped out. Eight other Poles, who went out in search of food to nearby village Leszczance, were later found dead in the woods, massacred, tied with barbed wire. In nearby Latacz, only one person was left alive from the Kurpiak family. In Polowce, three attacks took place, always at night, leaving a total of 100 Poles dead. Attacks in Barysz resulted in more than 100 deaths, according to sketchy reports, and there were several unrecorded acts of violence committed against Poles in the area.

Jazlowiec also suffered. The first victim in Jazlowiec in this series of killing was the pastor of the Polish parish, Rev. Andrzej Krasnicki. Early in December of 1943, a band of Ukrainian nationalists attacked the parsonage under the cover of the night and tried to force their way in. The young parish assistant, Rev. Aloysius Schmidt, seeing that a gun was pointed at him, wrestled it out of the hands of his attacker. The gang then fled into the darkness. The next day the Ukrainian mayor appeared at the parsonage to recover the gun and warned the priests that they should not harm his young "warriors." In spite of the danger, the priest decided to stay where they were, hoping that their resistance of the night before would discourage the Ukrainians from making further attacks upon them.

On the 8th of December, in the middle of the night, the Ukrainians returned. This time, they gained access to the interior of the parsonage. The terrified priests attempted to seek refuge in the attic. The young assistant managed to jump out of the window, but the older priest was captured by the assailants and thrown to the frozen ground, apparently sustaining several injuries. Moaning, he asked them to spare his life. They threw him into a manure-filled wagon and drove him to the lake outside the town where he was shot and thrown into the icy waters.

There were many priests killed in such attacks - they number may well go over 200. They were heroes and martyrs for the Church, but for some reason, the Vatican and Church hierarchy in Poland remains strangely silent on this subject.

The eradication of the Jews from Jazlowiec by deportation to the Buczacz ghetto was not entirely successful. Many Jewish individuals and families remained in the area, hiding among the Poles, and in the fields and the forests. Their story is one of individual suffering and endurance of terrible hardships as they fought to stay alive. Many were helped by the Poles, who in some cases even kept Jews in their homes, although there was a strict German order that to do so was a crime punishable by death.

Since the hiding of Jews in Polish homes was done in such a great secrecy, it was much later before this fact came to light, naming the Poles who had done so in risk of losing their lives. There was Jan Szablowski, who hid a Jewish girl; Stanislaw Kulesza who kept a Jewish family in a shelter built for them in his field; Stanislaw Kowalski, who for some time had another family hidden in his house; Teofilia Zimirska who hid a baby; Emilia Rola, who secretly fed two boys who used to come in the night; plus many other incidents that must have gone

unrecorded due to the postwar ejection of Poles from the territory. We do not know how effective the Polish assistance to the Jews was because in 1944, the front line passed right through Jazlowiec and all Poles were forced to leave the town. All that is known that around twenty Jews from Jazlowiec eventually survived the war. The other story tells of those who were killed by the Ukrainian police on the spot - people like Rinder Moszko, Glaser Tylka, the Baruch family, the Auschnit family grain dealer Held, Dr. Goldstaub and his son, and many others.

The Jews also formed a partisan group to fight their persecutors. According to witnesses, their operation relied heavily upon the advice, guidance and help of a Pole named Piszcz. This man was a naturalized American who had returned to Jazlowiec and built a house on the banks of Strypa River. It was an isolated place, ideally suited for secret rendezvous, and some young Jews quickly discovered its potential and made a deal with Piszcz. He supplied them with food and shelter and together they guarded his property against any Ukrainian incursions. They managed to acquire some small arms with which they hunted the game for food and used it in partisan activities.

As far as it can be established these Jewish partisans carried two actions against their persecutors in Jazlowiec. One was undertaken against a Ukrainian nationalist by the name of Begierski, who ruthlessly searched for the hiding Jews to deliver them into the hands of the executioners. Unfortunately, he lived in a two family house and the partisans attacked the wrong family -the whole operation was thus unsuccessful. Another time, relying on Polish information, they attacked the house by the stream in the town, where the self-confessed killer of Jews, Konowalczyk, would spend nights with his girl friend. The partisans attacked the house from three sides, but did not secure the stream side, and Konowalczyk escaped into the water. Of the number of the Jewish partisans who lived with Piszcz only one name came to Polish attention. This man was the son of prosperous Jewish merchant Nurnberg.

This only survivor of the family survived the war and stayed for quite a while in Poland. Later he immigrated to Israel where he changed his name to Nirn, apparently of Israel origin. His wife was also one of the Jewish survivors from Jazlowiec, who was saved by a Polish family in the nearby village of Trybuchowce. No other name of the partisan group is known. Some of these men apparently settled in New York after the war.

The Jewish partisans also secured food for their people hiding in the woods. Apparently there was a route running along the Strypa River from Buczacz to Duliby which served as a secret supply line. According to Franciszek Kowalski, who dealt with the Jewish partisans as supplier for arms from the Hungarians, they were reasonably well dressed and better-armed than Poles. They had a stock of leather goods, which they traded with Kowalski for munitions and they also used American currency for purchasing their other supplies. Although it is not known exactly how large their stockpile and funds were, it is likely that both were limited.

The Ukrainian terror and the deportation of the Poles as slave laborers for Germany continued throughout 1943. For some reason, the Ukrainian terrorists, who called themselves "freedom fighters", did not attack Jazlowiec proper, but anybody who dared venture outside the town limits put himself to danger of brutal murder. So perished Polish people like Glebocka, Brozakowa, Suchecka, Strzelecki, Piekarz and three unnamed villagers from nearby Nowosiolka.

The terror raged all around the town. The dark fall nights displayed the grim flames of burning Polish villages and small settlements around Jazlowiec. Many terrorized Poles, fearing the Ukrainian attacks sought refuge in the town, moving into the vacated Jewish properties. They might have found some safety but they could not be sure that the hand of the Ukrainian terror would not reach them there.

Then, another plague began to inexorably move towards Jazlowiec from the east as the Soviet armies pushed their way towards Polish territories. Fleeing at its front were many Nazi collaborators attempting to escape to the west. Among these was a large group of Donski Cossacks, men and women, who passed through

Jazlowiec. They were a lawless group who carried no scruples. They beat people, stole their valuables, food and clothing and vodka was their most prized item for theft. In Nowosiolka, they broke into an alcohol distillery and engaged in a wild party of drinking, dancing and shooting. Fortunately, no one of the local people was killed.

With the coming of winter and the first snowfall, the murderous activities of the Ukrainian thugs subsided to some extent. The weather might have been the factor, as it reduced visibility, and adding to this was the grim fact that most of the Polish properties and villages outside the town had been burned and destroyed. At that time, weapons became easier to acquire and the Poles armed themselves sufficiently to withstand any Ukrainian attack. Local Ukrainian activists knew about this and were not willing to risk their lives in open confrontation with the Poles. One of them stating his opinion about the Poles in Jazlowiec said that "even every Polish girl has a machine gun."

By the end of March, 1944, the first Soviet troops appeared in the vicinity of Jazlowiec, while larger units passing through Buczacz in attempt to close the door on the large German forces fighting in Podole. On Easter Day, the first Red Army detachments entered Jazlowiec. This first liberation was short-lasting, as three days later, the Germans broke out of the Soviet encirclement at Kamieniec Podolski and re-occupied Jazlowiec. This second German occupation was far harsher than anything the people of the town had previously experienced. The front line ran just outside the town, with Jazlowiec on the German side, forcing the entire population to evacuate to other places such as Rusilow and Potok Zloty. The town was left to the mercy of Germans. Only the nuns in the convent were allowed to remain, and with them, a few of the locals who were assigned to service the military by cooking their meals and like tasks.

While in the town, the Germans uncovered the Polish underground organization and arrested four of its members. The two Szablowski brothers managed to escape from a provisional prison. The other two, Franciszek Kowalski and Stanislaw Seretny, were interrogated, beaten and transported west. They eventually escaped from the train around Krakow and with the assistance of local Poles remained in that area until the end of the war.

In July, the Soviet army re-entered Jazlowiec, this time for good. Soon after their arrival, the town's Poles elected a new administration. The new mayor was Kazimierz Kuliczkowski, the last Pole to hold this position. All young Poles were called into service with the new Polish army in the east. All weapons were confiscated and the Soviets organized a local police force, ostensibly for protection of the citizens against the Ukrainian terror groups, who were still playing their nefarious trade.

While Jazlowiec's Poles suffered the tragedy of war, the Polish unit bearing its name on their standard, the 14th Lancers Regiment, was active inside and outside Poland. Although defeated at the gates of Warsaw in 1939, they were resurrected in two places, distant from each other. A new regiment was first begun in Scotland, where it was a unit in the 1st Polish Corps and was originally planned to be included in the 1st Polish Armored Division under the command of Gen. Stanislaw Maczek. Owing to a change of plans, the 14th Lancers was assigned to another unit that never left the shores of Great Britain for action in Western Europe.

Another unit with the same name was formed in Lwow, as part of the Polish resistance movement. Its history and wartime activities were described in brief by one of its members, Stanislaw Garczynski. According to him, pre-war officers of the unit who had survived Soviet imprisonment and deportation organized a secret resistance group soon after the Germans invaded eastern Polish territories in June of 1941 and joined the nationwide organization known as the Polish Underground Army.

Their activity initially included monitoring of Nazi units moving to the Russian front and gathering intelligence about their action. With the outbreak of the Ukrainian terror, the unit took defensive actions to protect Polish civilians. The residents of several Polish villages owe their lives to the men of this unit.

The members of this secret organization also carried out many actions against German Wehrmacht and SS units and saved many Jewish lives.

In 1944, when the Soviet army re-entered the city of Lwow, the unit commander in compliance with orders from higher authorities in the Underground Army, revealed himself to them, in belief that he and his men would be employed by the Soviets to assist the fight against the Nazis. He and his staff were instantly arrested and deported inside the Soviet territory, where they disappeared without a trace. After this gruesome experience, the unit re-organized at Przeworsk-Jaslo and engaged in an action to free imprisoned members of the Polish Underground, who were then being arrested en masse by the secret police of the newly established communist administration.

For a while in the fall of 1945, some detachments of the unit were actively engaged in the administration of the new western territories of Poland. When several of its members were arrested by the secret police, many of them escaped to the west and joined the 2nd Polish Corps, then stationed in Italy. Some of the imprisoned men served sentences as long as ten years, before a change of government in Poland made their release possible.

The immediate post-war fate of the Poles in Jazlowiec was sealed in the Yalta agreement, which awarded all eastern Polish territories to the Soviet Union. Immediately after the Soviets entered the land, they introduced their own administration, which, like the Nazis before them set their goal to destroy the Polish population. They resorted to deceptive methods by employing Ukrainian Nazis for performing this gruesome task. While many young Poles were called into service and the weapons were confiscated from the Polish populace, the Ukrainians who either did not comply with the order to disarm or were allowed to retain the weapon, became the masters of the situation. The Ukrainian terror started afresh. The villages in Podole suffered greatly from the genocide continued by the Ukrainians.

The first village to suffer was a small one, Zaleszczyki Male, only two miles away from Jazlowiec. According to those who witnessed the aftermath of this outrage, some two hundred Poles were brutally murdered in their homes, some burned alive, and most of their properties destroyed to the ground. Only one small girl survived. The massacres was discovered by some of the young men of Jazlowiec who went to investigate why no one from the village showed up for church on Sunday. The picture they described was "hell on earth." Men, women and children lay scattered where they fell as they tried to escape or were shot inside their homes. This was not the only incident of its kind around Jazlowiec.

Another village, Latacz, about five miles southeast of Jazlowiec was also attacked, this time during a February night in 1945. Over eighty Poles were murdered and all their properties set ablaze. Some managed to escape their burning homes, in many cases without proper clothing or shoes. Other villages south of Jazlowiec - Drohiczowka, Szutromince, Chmielowa, and those across the Dniester River - Kunisowce, Korolowka, Dabki, Michalce and Torskie lost all their Polish population to the new Ukrainian terror.

Jazlowiec, protected by a symbolic police unit, was not subjected to any of these night attacks, but there were casualties outside the town. So perished young Jan Kowalski, while returning home from German captivity. And so perished two nuns of the Immaculate Conception and two of their lay companions, whose bodies were discovered cut in two with a wood saw. Such atrocities were common and apparently tolerated by the Soviet authorities.

The terror eventually had its desired effect on the Poles of the Jazlowiec area. They began a mass exodus from their town and villages in an effort to save themselves from the Ukrainian operating with support of the Soviets. This exodus lasted for several months throughout 1945. Most of the populace moved west, into former German territories east of the Odra River. The Poles of Jazlowiec spread out in the area of Silesia, individually or in groups, with the largest contingent settling in the town of Nowa Sol, which, since that time, had been known colloquially as the "Jazlowiec of the West." In 1946, the surviving deportees from Siberia joined the group here.



The Order of the Immaculate Conception also moved to a new location in Central Poland, adopting a place by the name of Szymanow, near Warsaw, as their new headquarters. They took the statue of the Lady of Jazlowiec with them and now it is displayed in their new chapel as the object of special reverence to the Catholics in Poland. The nuns continued their charitable work and educational efforts by opening a school for young girls of high school age. They also opened a branch in the Tatra Mountains in southern Poland, and also provided the same service for the girls there.

Ancient Jazlowiec underwent traumatic changes during the post-war period. Its name, which did not fit in with the Ukrainians and their Soviet overlords' ultimate plans, was changed to Jabloniówka (Appletown). This was done with the purpose of removing all traces of Polish inhabitation on the site. The name was then removed from maps and hidden from the world's geography. Polish and Jewish cultural traces were wiped out - the Catholic Church was let to go to ruin, the synagogue was torn down and many properties were taken apart and used as building materials in sites elsewhere.

There were some indestructible properties, like the ruins of the castle and the massive structure of the convent, which defied physical limitations of those who would have had them torn down. The Soviets found a rational use for the convent, utilizing it as a convalescent home for tuberculosis patients. But the property, once immaculately clean and always in a peak condition, was let go to a sad state of deterioration. The town, in fact, ceased to exist, as it was given the status of a village of no great importance to anybody and with no prospects of resurrecting to its former state.

Recently, in the late 1980's, some reports filtering out of Poland that the name Jabloniówka reverted back to the old name of Jazlowiec. Apparently, some old residents of the town realized that the real values of the place where they live lie in its history and antiquity, not with the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism. After forty years plus the name of Jazlowiec came back quietly to serve once again the people who live in the valley of two streams Jazlowczyk and Olchowczyk; it came to remind them that long before Ukrainian nationalism the name served various national groups, like Poles, Armenians, ancient Lekhs and perhaps the forgotten Sarmatians. Hopefully it will live again for many centuries as the proof of its deep appeal to the people of every nationality that lived or will live in the walls of the town.



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