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People of the church as reflected in contemporary Polish surnames

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Abstract: Many contemporary Polish surnames motivated by religion are derived from church or monastery positions. Catholicism, dominant in Poland, requires celibacy of clergy and monks; therefore, surnames like *Biskup* 'bishop', *Mnich* 'monk' and *Proboszcz* 'parish priest' developed mostly from nicknames, not as occupational surnames. This finds additional evidence in the high frequency of such surnames as *Papież* 'the Pope' and its variants. Nevertheless, certain surnames, e.g. *Kantor* '(church/synagogue) singer' or *Kościelny* 'sacristan', reflect church functions performed by non-celibate laymen. The surnames are discussed with respect to their possible origin, semantics and statistics, including positions in other religions alongside Catholic hierarchy.
Keywords: surnames, church hierarchy, Christianity.

Introduction

Polish surnames include at present, it is estimated, at least 400 thousand different onyms (Rymut 1999: VI). Among these, some are occupational in origin. While it is difficult to establish their percentage in the overall anthroponomasticon, it can safely be estimated that among the thousand most frequent ones in contemporary Poland they constitute approximately one seventh. However, only several of these are ecclesiastical occupational surnames, i.e. those motivated by the names of church or monastery positions.

According to the nature of the motivating relationship that presumably used to bind a particular church-related nickname (from which later a surname developed) with its bearer, two types may be distinguished: names which may have referred to the actual profession, such as *Kościelny* (cf. the Polish appellative *kościelny* 'sacristan, sexton'), *Oblacewicz* (cf. *oblat* 'oblate') or *Psalmister* (cf. *psalmista* 'author of psalms' or in Orthodox Christianity 'singer of psalms'), and those in which the profession motivating the nickname that later developed into a surname cannot have been treated literally, a striking case in point being the surname *Papież* (cf. the appellative *papież* 'the Pope') and its numerous derivatives. Tomczak (1992: 130) gives an example of a contemporary nickname of a village dweller, *Wikary*, motivated by the fact that his brother for many years used to be merely a vicar, never a parish priest.

It must be borne in mind that the predominant religion in the ethnically Polish

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areas of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth used to be (and both in Poland and Lithuania still is) Catholicism[1]. This fact, coupled with the official celibacy of the Catholic clergy, which was made legally binding by Pope Innocent III (1198–1216), indicates that the names of most church functions as motivation for nicknames should probably be understood metaphorically.

On the other hand, caution must be exercised. In what follows, the aforementioned division into literally and metaphorically construed nicknames/surnames will not be followed too strictly. First, some church positions that in contemporary Poland are obviously clergy turf, were once available to laymen as well. Jan Kochanowski, the most famous Polish Renaissance poet, was at one point in his life a *prepozyt*, *proboszcz* ('parish priest') without having being ordained; he only had to resign when he decided to marry. However, his duties were of administrative nature and he did not celebrate Mass. Second, the practice diverged from the officially declared celibate, and even in late Middle Ages some priests did have wives[2]. As E.C. Smith (1986: 130–131) noted,

> There are many surnames which seem to indicate that a remote ancestor was an official of the Church who performed sacerdotal functions, and this may appear puzzling in view of the rule of celibacy enjoined on its ministers by the Catholic Church. Notwithstanding the inflexible rule of the Church against marriage by its clergy, many were married in medieval times. There were instances where the last representative of an ancient family obtained from the Pope a dispensation to marry upon the death of an older brother or other relative whereby his family was in danger of becoming extinct. It was not an uncommon thing in the Middle Ages for widowers to go into the Church, a significant act which might affect the names of their children at the times surnames were becoming hereditary [...]. Particularly before the Norman conquest, clerical marriages were quite common. Efforts to abolish them were only partially successful especially in the north of England [...]. Several of the bishops of Durham and at least one archbishop of York had children. Besides the clergy who were formally married there were many who had consorts or hearth-mates. Children of such unions would not be scorned and would be known in the community by a sobriquet referring to their clerical father.

[1] Reformation in Poland, with its three chronologically successive movements (Lutheranism, Calvinism and an antitrinitarian wing of the Calvinists called *Polish Brethren*) and its culmination in the second half of the 16th century, was relatively transient. It was also markedly elitist: the Calvinists were mostly members of the landed gentry, while Lutherans were found chiefly among the burghers of the Duchy of Prussia and on the territories adjacent to its border, as well as in Courland and in most of Swedish Livonia. Reformation never gained ground among peasants.

[2] "The Council [of Trent, 1545–1563] received a report that 96 per cent of Bavarian priests had concubines or clandestine wives. An Austrian inspector in 1563 found a typical monastery to be composed of nine monks, seven concubines, two 'wives', and eight children. In 1542, Archbishop Albrecht of Brandenburg admitted to a papal representative that all his priests were living in concubinage, but they would become Lutherans if he tried to do something about it" (Phipps 2004: 160).

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Church hierarchy

The Polish name of the head of the Catholic church, *papież* 'the Pope', is reflected in a number of surnames: *Papież* 2187[3], *Papieżyński* 25, *Papieżański* 2, *Popież* 10, *Popierz* 49, *Popiesz* 18, *Papierz* 1565, *Papierzański* 60, *Papierzewski* 18, *Papierzyński* 233, *Papiesz* 17, *Papies* 11. One could add to these two more names, *Papiewski* 569 and *Papieski* 85, according to Rymut (2001: 206) both toponymic (cf. *Papieże*, a village in central Poland, Piotrków County), as well as the German *Papst* 61. Just like similar surnames in other European languages – e.g. German *Papst*, *Pabst*, *Pape*, *Pfaff*, Italian *Papa*, English *Pope* (sometimes spelled *Pape*), Spanish *Papa*, Hungarian *Papp/Pap* and many more – this name, first attested in Poland in 1382 (in the form *Papezs*, later also spelled *Papesz*, *Papyesz*, *Papyesch*, *Papiesch*, *Papiesz*, cf. SSNO IV: 187), probably derives from a nickname given to someone playing the part of the pope in a medieval pageant or play, or maybe to someone ascetic-looking or ostentatiously pious. That the surname may once have been perceived as blasphemous is evidenced by the fact that at the beginning of the 19th century Magdalena Maria Lubomirska (*née* Raczyńska, 1765–1847), the owner of the village of Czarnolas in central Poland, reportedly forbade the use of the surname *Papież* by the peasants on her estate, replacing it with *Popis*[4] (Jastrzębowski 1896: 233).

The same ultimate source – Greek πάππας 'father' – links *papież* with the appellative *pop*, in contemporary Polish meaning 'Orthodox priest', but earlier referring to any priest or even specifically to a Catholic one (cf. Breza 2000: 339). It gave rise to a plethora of surnames: *Pop* 300, *Popczak* 94, *Popczuk* 24, *Popczyk* 1482, *Popek* 4196, *Popków* 9, *Popow* 315, *Popowa* 7, *Popowczak* 174, *Popowicz* 2101, *Popowiecki* 10, *Popowniak* 71, *Popowski* 2205, *Popowycz* 24, *Popów* 249, *Popp* 53, *Poppa* 7, *Poppe* 159, *Poppek* 36, *Popadiak* 65, *Popadjak* 5, *Popadiuch* 7, *Popadiuk* 97 (cf. also *popadia* 'an Orthodox priest's wife', *popadianka* 'an Orthodox priest's daughter') and perhaps several more.

In general terms, nicknames (later to become fixed surnames) associated with church hierarchy were given to people somehow connected with the church. Perhaps they tried to become priests, perhaps inaptly repeated Latin prayers after the priest, or maybe simply served at the altar (cf. Breza 2000: 250–251). More examples of that kind include *Prymas* 582, *Prymasiak* 9, *Prymaszko* 17 (cf. Polish appellative *prymas* 'primate'); *Kardynał* 583, *Kardynalczyk* 37, *Kardynalski* 74 (cf. *kardynał* 'cardinal'); *Prałat* 1193 (cf. *prałat* 'prelate'); *Kanonik* 94, *Kanoniuk* 55 – cf. *kanonik* 'canon (priest)'; *Sufragan* 3, *Sufraga* 10, *Szufraga* 1 (cf. *sufragan* 'suffragan bishop'); *Dziekan* 2356, *Dziekanek* 7, *Dziekaniak* 37, *Dziekanik* 16, *Dziekanowicz* 29, *Dziekanowski* 587,

[3] The number after each surname refers to the number of its bearers according to Rymut (2005).

[4] The surname *Popis*, however, was certainly not her invention, since it was in use long before her ownership of Czarnolas (in the parish of Węgleszyn in 1752 and in the parish of Kołbiel in 1753), as indicated by the data indexed in the database of the Polish Genealogical Society.

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Dziekański 1154, *Dekan* 2, *Dekanowski* 16, *Dekański* 152 – cf. Polish *dziekan*, Latin *decanus* 'dean (in church)'.

Of special interest due to its high frequency is the surname *Biskup* 6394 (cf. *biskup* 'bishop') and its numerous derivatives or spelling variants (*Biskupek* 521, *Biskupiak* 205, *Biskupik* 61, *Biskupowicz* 39, *Biskupski* 2651, *Biskub* 4, *Biskubski* 13), along with its German equivalents present in Poland (*Bischof* 75, *Bischoff* 127, *Bischoffs* 2), as well as Lithuanian ones (*Wyskup* 80, *Wyskupajtis* 1, *Wyskupajtys* 2, cf. Lithuanian appellative *vyskupas* 'bishop'). All these can be ultimately traced back to Greek *ἐπίσκοπος* 'guardian, overseer' and may have denoted a member of a bishop's entourage, someone who served in the household of a bishop, or one who was playing the part of bishop in church plays. There may have been other reasons for the emergence of that kind of surname. For instance, according to E.C. Smith, *Biscop* was an Old English personal name, possibly responsible for some of the instances of the contemporary English surname *Bishop* (cf. 1986: 132). K. Kunze (2014) emphasizes the fact that in individual cases such a name may have also originated from place names (*Bischof* in Schleswig-Holstein, Niedersachsen or Bayern) or a nickname for someone putting on airs, behaving as if he were a bishop.

Clergymen, especially high-ranking ones, may have been addressed with *reverendus* 'reverend', a term which probably motivated the Polish surname *Rewerenda* 37.

Parish clergy

Among the Polish surnames motivated by names of the lower-ranking clergy, a large group is motivated by appellatives with the general meaning of 'priest' (Polish *ksiądz*). Thus in the contemporary Polish anthroponomasticon we find *Ksiądz* 441, *Ksiądzyk* 21, *Ksiądzyna* 214, *Ksienżyk* 47, *Księżyk* 2, *Księżuk* 81 and *Księżyk* 914. A pejorative Polish word for a priest, *klecha*, may have also meant an organist or a church servant, and it gave rise to the names *Klecha* 2443, *Kleszka* 43, *Klechta* 15, *Kleszyk* 287 and *Kleszyński* 19, while its German equivalent – *der Pfaffe* – lies at the root of the contemporary Polish surnames *Pfaf* 19, *Pfaff* 11 and *Pfaffenhausen* 8 (the latter via the same-sounding toponym).

The most common Polish appellatives used in a somewhat narrower sense of 'parish priest, parson' are *proboszcz* and *pleban* (with the dialectal variant *kleban*). The surnames they motivate include *Proboszcz* 128, *Proborszcz* 41, *Proboscz* 8 and *Probosz* 73; an analogical German loan *Propst* 13, *Probst* 86 (cf. Old High German *brobest* < Latin *prepositus* 'president, overseer, parish priest'); *Pleban* 837, *Plebanek* 819, *Plebaniak* 241, *Plebanik* 83, *Plebankiewicz* 91, *Plebanowicz* 46, *Plebańczyk* 203, *Plebański* 320, *Kleban* 830, *Klebaniak* 18, *Klebaniec* 8, *Klebaniuk* 116, *Klebankiewicz* 17, *Klebankowicz* 4, *Klebanowicz* 31, *Klebanowski* 79, *Klebański* 79.

The appellative *kapłan* 'priest' (not necessarily Christian) is worthy of attention. First, it occasioned a considerable group of Polish surnames: *Kapłan* 560, *Kapłanek* 149, *Kapłaniak* 123, *Kapłaniuk* 18, *Kapłanow* 22, *Kapłanowski* 95, *Kapłański* 147, *Kaplan* 19. The appellative is derived from the Latin *cap(p)ellanus*, which gave rise to numerous

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surnames in Europe, a well-known example being *Caplan/Kaplan*, a surname once popular among Ashkenazi Jews and today encountered in the USA. At the same time the Latin *cap(p)ellanus* in Polish developed into *kapelan* 'chaplain', the source of the surnames *Kapelan* 303, *Kapelanik* 15, *Kapelanowicz* 10, *Kapelanowski* 13, *Kapelańczyk* 192 and *Kapelański* 227 (cf. also the English name *Chaplin* of the same provenance).

The Polish appellatives *wikary*, *wikariusz* 'vicar' (from the Latin *vicarius* 'substitute, deputy') are today commonly understood as referring to a parochial vicar, who works in collaboration with the parish priest and helps him in his duties. However, once they referred to the priest actually performing services in a parish (on behalf of the absentee benefice holder). These appellatives gave rise to several contemporary Polish surnames: *Wikary* 39, *Wikar* 298, *Wikarek* 254, *Wikara* 3, *Wikariusz* 57, *Wikarjusz* 93, *Wikarius* 4, *Wikarusz* 1, *Wikarjak* 55, *Wikariak* 122, *Wikaryjak* 9, *Wikarczuk* 6, *Wikarczyk* 13, *Wikarski* 396, *Wikaryjczak* 48, *Wikaryjczyk* 40. They may be said to be cognates of analogous surnames in other European languages, e.g. the English *Vicar*, *Vicars*, *Viccars*, *Vickars*, *Vicker*, *Vickers*, *Vickerman*, *Vickors*, *Vicarey*, *Vicari*, *Vicary*, *Viccari*, *Viccary*, *Vickary*, *Vikery*, *Vickrey*, *Vickroy* or *Vickery*. In Ireland there is the surname Mac an Bhiocaire, in Scotland – *Mac áBhiocair* (both literally denoting 'son of the vicar' and anglicized *McVicar* or *McVicker*), in Italian – *Vicari*, in Italian and Spanish – *Vicario*, in Portuguese – *Vigário*, and in French – *Vicaire* (cf. *TISD/Vicar*, *Vicary* and Hanks 2003: passim).

Surnames derived from appellatives relating to various church functions also include *Kaznodziej* 45 – from *kaznodzieja* 'preacher'. Analogous Polish names of German origin (derived from *der Prediger* 'preacher; Black Friar', cf. *predigen* 'to preach', *die Predigt* 'sermon') are *Predygier* 70, *Predi* 15 and *Predy* 3. The name Orator 52 may have meant someone delivering a sermon, but also any person speaking publicly.

The names *Witrykus* 53 and *Witryk* 13 may be derived from the Latin *vitricus ecclesiae* 'the manager of the church finances' (cf. Breza 2000: 437). It must be borne in mind, however, that the primary meaning of the Latin *vitricus* was 'stepfather' (the fact that the church function is a secondary meaning is indicated e.g. by its German translation *Kirchenstiefvater*, a rare term used mostly in the eastern part of Germany). Alternatively, the surname *Witryk* may have originated from the German name *Dietrich*, although it would be more difficult to similarly dismiss, as derived from *Dietrich*, the Latinate form *Witrykus.*

Laypeople in church service

There are several occupational Polish surnames motivated by various church jobs customarily performed by the non-ordained. The Old Polish word *świątnik* 'person obliged to serve in church' (cf. Rymut 2001: 586) is reflected in the names *Świątnik* 15, *Świątniak* 5 and *Świętniak* 6. The people responsible for the church or synagogue music comprise *kantor* or *śpiewak* 'singer' (*Kantor* 3020, *Kantorczyk* 91, *Kantorowicz* 304, *Kantorowski* 281, *Kantorski* 1370, *Śpiewak* 5936 and *Śpiewakowski* 303), as well as an organist (*Organista* 416, *Organistka* 109, *Organistko* 6, *Organisty* 12, *Organiszc-*

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zak 98, *Organiściak* 819, *Organiściok* 49, *Organiściuk* 44 – most of them denote not the musician himself, but his son). The name *Psalmister* 23 comes from *psalmista* 'author of psalms; (in Orthodox Christianity) singer of psalms', cf. *psałterz* 'psalter'. The names *Dzwonnik* 528, *Dzwonowski* 74, *Dzwończak* 42, *Dzwończyk* 127 and *Dzwonnicki* 3 are reminiscent of *dzwon* 'bell' and *dzwonnik* 'bell-ringer'. The names related to the diminutive form *dzwonek* 'little bell' (*Dzwonka* 24, *Dzwonkiewicz* 55, *Dzwonkowicz* 42, *Dzwonkowski* 2535), as well as the surname *Ołtarzewski* 712, derived from *ołtarz* 'altar', may have once referred to altar boys, whose duties included ringing the consecration bells during Mass.

Finally, the appellative *świątynia* 'temple' became the source of the names *Świątyński* 48, *Świątyniewska* 1 and *Świątyniowski* 1. It is not quite certain if these denoted people in church service or merely those living near a church. The same uncertainty is characteristic of the names *Fara* 220, *Farny* 21 (cf. *fara* 'parish church') and *Kościelny* 3354 (cf. *kościelny* 'sacristan, sexton' < *kościół* 'church'), *Kościeliak* 5053, *Kościelnik* 265, with some more similar forms. The meaning 'sacristan, sexton', with reference to the Eastern Orthodox churches, is also carried by the appellative *cerkownik* – hence the surname *Cerkownik* 58. The word *cerkiew/cerkwa* 'Orthodox church' gave rise to some other surnames too: *Cerkiewicz* 24, *Cerkiewnik* 26, *Cerkiewny* 2, *Cerkowiak* 14, *Cerkowniak* 168, *Cerkowski* 45, *Cyrkiewicz* 3. Note that its Russian cognate, *церковь*, refers to church as an organization rather than a building. The latter sense is covered by the appellative *храм*, Polish *chram* 'Eastern Orthodox temple' – hence the surnames *Chramcow* 1, *Chramiec* 197, *Chramienko* 4 (note the Ukrainian suffix), *Chramienkow* 3 (Russian suffix) or *Chramik* 6 (with a Polish diminutive suffix – literally 'little Orthodox church').

Monastic and reclusive life

The center of monastic life, *klasztor* 'monastery', motivates the surnames *Klasztor* 14 and *Klasztorny* 59. Similar meanings lie at the root of *Monasterski* 195, *Monastyrski* 335, *Monastyruk* 3 and *Konwent* 261, though it must be noted that the Polish appellatives *monaster/monastyr* generally refer only to Eastern Orthodox monasteries. However, the bulk of names that refer to monastic life are reminiscent of various functions performed in a monastery.

A popular group of names stems from the appellative *mnich* 'monk' or its older variant *monach* with the same meaning (both ultimately from Latin *monachus*): *Mnich* 3087, *Mnicha* 1, *Mnichasz* 16, *Mnichowicz* 46, *Mnichowski* 128, *Mnisz* 4, *Mniszak* 91, *Mniszek* 114, *Mniszewski* 25, *Mniszko* 28, *Monach* 188, *Monachiewicz* 5, *Monachowicz* 38, *Monachowski* 12. Its German equivalent, *Münch*, became the source for *Münch* 45, *Munch* 26, *Minch* 48 and *Mincha* 14. The cognates in other European languages are still recognizable: English *Monk, Monks, Monck, Monnick, Munck, Munk*; Irish *Minogue* and *Monaghan*; German *Mönch, Münch, Mün(n)ich, Münnig, Minnich, Mönnich, Mönnig, Mönke, Mon(ec)ke*; French *Moine*; Spanish *Monje, Monge*; Portuguese *Monge*; Russian *Мона́х, Мона́хов, Мних*. The appellative *zakonnik* 'monk' yielded the Polish surnames

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Zakonnik 93, *Zakoński* 44 and *Zakonek* 244. The list might be enlarged by the names *Inoch* 48 and *Inochowski* 6, which according to Breza (2011: 36) might be linked with the Russian *инок* 'monk' (today especially one who has not taken his eternal vows yet). Christian monks were not supposed to marry or have children; therefore, such a nickname must have described not a member of a monastic order but simply someone pious, God-abiding or perhaps playing the part of monk in theatrical performances. Another Latin word for a monk (also meaning 'shepherd'), *mandrita*, is likely to have motivated the surname *Mandryto* 4.

The head of a monastery, *opat* 'abbot', became the source of the names *Opat* 199, *Opacki* 631, *Opaciak* 1 and *Abt* 17 (from German *der Abt* 'abbot'), though its feminine equivalent – *ksieni* 'abbess' – contributed to the formation of only one name: *Ksieniewicz* 131. The appellative *przeor* 'prior' is detectable in the surnames *Przeor* 328, *Przeorek* 158, *Przeorowski* 4, *Przeorski* 345 and *Prior* 4. Some more monastic names are *Rektor* 127, *Rektorek* 26 – *rektor* once denoted not only the head of a university, but also of certain monasteries. In Franciscan Orders there is no prior but a *gwardian*, from which stem the names *Gwardian* 7, *Gwardjan* 14 and *Gwardyan* 6 (cf. Breza 2011: 35). Sometimes the word *senior* was used to refer to a prior[5] – cf. surname *Senior* 28, and sometimes – perhaps in Franciscan Orders – the word *kustosz*[6] (yielding the surnames *Kustosz* 908, *Kustorz* 23, *Kustos* 144, *Kustosik* 253, *Kustusz* 310 and *Kustusch* 20, see also Breza 2000: 239).

Oblacewicz 33 and *Oblaciński* 38 are probably linked to the appellative *oblat* 'oblate', from the Latin *oblatus*, referring to a monk who does not take vows but only makes a private promise to live according to the rule of the order; an alternative etymology indicates the Old Polish word *oblata* 'sacrifice, offering'. A word today forgotten is *duchownik* 'clergyman, priest, non-layman', also (in Eastern Orthodox churches) 'confessor', with its feminine derivative *duchowniczka*, denoting a nun; hence names like *Duchownik* 6 and perhaps several more beginning with *Duchn-*, *Duchow-*, though it is uncertain if their motivation was always religious (cf. Breza 2011: 34–35).

The popular German surname *Gottschalk* 'God's servant' (over 15 thousand bearers in Germany) is represented in Poland in the form *Gottschalk* 46, but also in either distorted or Polonized orthography *Gottschall* 16, *Gottschol* 1, *Gottscholl* 18, *Gotszalk* 69, *Gotszal* 16, *Gotszol* 4, *Gotszlak* 1, *Gotszald* 18, *Gotrzalk* 2, *Goczalk* 5, *Goczał* 275, *Goczałk* 7, *Goczol* 22, *Goczoł* 516 and *Goczół* 6 (cf. the Upper Silesian place name *Goczałkowice-Zdrój*, German *Bad Gottschalkowitz*). There is also *Gottesman(n)* 7 and *Gott* 12. However, "theophoric" surnames including the element *Gott* mostly come from Puritan/Pietist names (cf. e.g. *Fürchtegott* or *Gottlieb*), and as such they are

[5] Cf. *Słownik funkcji kościelnych łac.-pol.* [Latin-Polish dictionary of church functions], http://genepedia.pl/index.php?title=S%C5%82ownik_funkcji_ko%C5%9Bcielnych_%C5%82ac.-pol., accessed 14.04.2017.

[6] According to SWil 569, the head of a monastery was called *kustosz klasztorny*, whereas *kustosz kapitulny* was a prelate at a cathedral where a bishop resided.

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patronymic, not occupational. *Gottesmann* may have originated as a German translation of *Gabriel* (cf. Breza 2000: 162).

Names of particular orders as motivation for family names include the Jesuits (*Jezuita* 263, *Jezuit* 298, *Jezowit* 15, *Jezowitko* 6, *Jezuwid* 9, *Jezuwit* 9), the Black Friars (*Dominikan* 4), the Camaldolese (*Kameduła* 230, *Kamedulski* 113), the Carmelites (*Karmelita* 790, *Karmelitow* 7, *Karmelitów* 2, *Karmelicka* 1) and the Pauline Fathers (*Paulin* 18). The Polish anthroponomasticon also includes names that relate to reclusive life: *Pustelnik* 3390, *Pustelniak* 136, *Pustelny* 293 (Polish *pustelnik* 'hermit'); *Eremus* 89 (Latin eremus 'hermit, recluse'). The appellative *skit* 'hermitage' is directly related to the surname *Skit* 43, formed probably by means of metonymy. The surname *Schima* 34 might be metonymic too (*schima* 'monastic vows', cf. Breza 2004: 149).

Non-Catholic denominations

Some common nouns denoting the clergy of religions other than Catholicism are traceable in Polish surnames. These include *pastor* 'pastor, Protestant priest', recognizable in the names *Pastor* 1129 and its derivatives usually referring to a pastor's son: *Pastorczak* 7, *Pastorczyk* 111, *Pastorek* 7, *Pastorski* 2. It must be noted that *Pastor* as a name was first attested in 1369; since the Reformation started only in 1517, the name must have originated with reference to the meaning of *pasterz* 'shepherd', not to a Protestant clergyman. Its Hungarian spelling variant is *Pasztor* 139.

Many surnames are motivated by the appellative *diak/dyjak* 'helper of an Orthodox priest; singer in an Orthodox church; teacher in an Orthodox parish school': *Diak* 204, *Diakon* 8, *Diakoniak* 7, *Diakoniuk* 13, *Diakonow* 20, *Diakonowicz* 11, *Diakonowski* 8, *Diakonów* 10, *Diakończyk* 6, *Diakow* 34, *Diakowicz* 109, *Diakowski* 421, *Diaków* 192, *Diakun* 131, *Diaczek* 61, *Diaczenko* 36, *Diaczeńko* 5, *Diaczkow* 2, *Diaczok* 7, *Diaczuk* 85, *Diaczun* 8, *Diaczyk* 3, *Diaczyński* 9, *Diaczyszyn* 12, *Dyjak* 1554, *Dyjakiewicz* 17, *Dyjakon* 17, *Dyjakowski* 27. The appellative *władyka* 'bishop in the Orthodox Church' gave rise to the following surnames: *Władyka* 806, *Władykin* 2, *Władyko* 91 and *Władykowski* 14.The name for an Eastern Orthodox priest, *jerej*, stood behind the surname *Jerejski* 6. Finally, *Batiuszczak* 8 invokes an Orthodox priest's son (cf. *batiuszka* – a common, colloquial term of address for an Orthodox priest in Russia or for the Russian Tsar).

In the parts of Poland once under the influence of the Ukrainian tradition, such as regions inhabited by the Lemko people or the historical region of Galicia in Eastern Europe, a priest was addressed as *jegomość* (Ukrainian *єгомость*) and his wife as *jejmość* (Ukrainian *їмость*); hence the surname *Jejmocki* 14. Also of Orthodox Christian origin are the names *Czerniec* 617, *Czerniecki* 1161 and *Czerniecow* 11, from *czerniec* 'Orthodox monk' < *czarny* 'black'. By contrast, an unordained layperson living in a monastery would be called *bielec* < *biały* 'white', hence the name *Bielec* 2241 (cf. Breza 2011: 34).

The list would be incomplete without a group of surnames motivated by the appellative *rabin* 'rabbi': *Rabin* 61, *Rabinek* 116, *Rabiniak* 208, *Rabinovitch* 3, *Rabinow*

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1, *Rabinowicz* 16, *Rabinowitz* 1 and *Rebe* 5, as well as by *Mełamed* 7 (cf. *mełamed* 'melamed, i.e. teacher in a religious Jewish school'). Islam is represented by the surnames *Imam* 2 and *Imamov* 2 (the latter frequent in Russia and some former Soviet republics, like Uzbekistan). This scarcity, vis-a-vis the high frequency of e.g. the surname *Imamović* in Bosnia or *İmamoğlu*[7] in Turkey, is understandable, considering the secondary role that Islam played in Polish history.

Other names

Lay members of the congregation are generally not immortalized in surnames, unless they performed some church function (e.g. sacristan, organist). This is hardly surprising considering that at the time of the fixation of surnames being a churchgoer was taken for granted and therefore hardly helpful in distinguishing them from the crowd. Some exceptions are *Pielgrzym* 33, *Pielgrzymowski* 37 from the appellative *pielgrzym* 'pilgrim'. According to Breza (2004: 141), the same meaning is carried by the surnames *Bogomolec* 1, *Bohomolec* 1 and *Bohomolski* 7, derived from the appellative *bogomoljec* 'pilgrim' [8].

The surnames *Raspopin* 9 and *Raspopow* 17 may be linked with the appellative *raspop* 'a defrocked priest'.

Closely related with performing certain church functions is the appellative *prebenda* 'prebend', from which the name *Prebendowski* 16 is derived. The clergyman benefiting from the prebend is called in Polish *prebendarz/prebendariusz* 'prebendary' and indeed the personal name *Prebendarz* was attested in 1499 (cf. Rymut 2001: 295), though no such surname exists today. However, several derivatives have survived: *Preweda* 60, *Prewencki* 31, *Prewendowski* 112, *Prewentowski* 3, *Prewęcki* 83.

An interesting example of a surname whose contemporary shape effectively obliterated its origins is *Popendyk* 14, *Popędyk* 3. While Rymut (2001: 278) links it with the appellative *popęd* 'fast movement, rush, impetus, drive, impulse', in our opinion the German appellative *Papendieck* 'priest's pond'[9] serves as a more cogent explanation (alternative spellings: Pappendieck, *Poppendieck*, Popendieck). Considering that the name *Papendi(e)ck* used to be frequent in East Prussia (in 19th-century family records from Memelland it appears in the versions *Papendick*, *Papendykin*, *Papendickin*, *Papendieck*, *Papendig*, *Papendich*[10]), it might be surmised that the *a/o* change is typical of the Lithuanian-Polish language contact – but it also might be the effect of adideation under the influence of *popęd*.

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[7] Cf. http://rebrn.com/re/when-turkey-introduced-surnames-my-ancestors-picked-one-of-their–1035381/, accessed 22.06.2017. Incidentally, İmamoğlu is also a city in southern Turkey.

[8] But see also *bogomodlca* 'one praying to God' (Arct 1920: 23).

[9] Cf. http://www.onomastik.com/papendieck.php, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kennel_(Braunschweig, accessed 14.04.2017.

[10] Cf. http://ofb.genealogy.net/namelist.php?nachname=PAPENDIK&ofb=memelland&modus=&lang=de, accessed 14.04.2017.

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Frequency

Of the above-mentioned over 360 surnames, the most frequent (with a four-digit number of bearers in contemporary Poland) are the following: *Biskup* 6394, *Śpiewak* 5936, *Kościelniak* 5053, *Popek* 4196, *Papież + Papierz* (homophones) 3752, *Pustelnik* 3390, *Kościelny* 3354, *Mnich* 3087, *Kantor* 3020, *Biskupski* 2651, *Dzwonkowski* 2535, *Klecha* 2443, *Dziekan* 2356, *Bielec* 2241, *Popowski* 2205, *Popowicz* 2101, *Popczyk* 1482, *Kantorski* 1370, *Prałat* 1193, *Czerniecki* 1161, *Dziekański* 1154, *Pastor* 1129. Only the first two are included in the top thousand most frequent Polish surnames: *Biskup* at #755, *Śpiewak* at #814 (cf. Zawadzki 2002).

Interestingly, in countries where priests marry and have children, as in Orthodox Christianity, patronymic surnames reflecting clerical lineage are far more common. Thus, the three most frequent surnames in 2013 in Romania were *Popa* 'priest', *Popescu* 'son of a priest' and *Pop* 'priest'[11]. In Greece, *Papadopoulos* (*Παπαδόπουλος*) 'son of a priest' is the most popular family name, whereas *Papadakis* (*Παπαδάκης*) with the same meaning, as well as *Papantoniou* (*Παπαντωνίου*) 'son of priest Antonios', oscillate around #10 in frequency. The Russian *Попо́в* 'son of a priest' was in 2005 the 4th most common surname in that country. The surname *Popa* 'priest' in 2007 ranked 9th in Moldova[12], with 3373 families of that name.

Nevertheless, not only in predominantly Orthodox countries are certain such surnames relatively frequent. The surname *Pap* 'priest' occupies 12th position on the frequency list in Hungary (cf. Farkas 2015: 131), and in 2008 the name *Popović* 'son of priest', with 6797 bearers, ranked 27th in Croatia[13].

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