POMPA FUNEBRIS:

FUNERAL RITUALS AND CIVIC COMMUNITY

IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY VILNIUS

By

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ABSTRACT

Baroque urban funerals were festivities which used religious signs and displayed them in a multiconfessional environment. This can be seen as of manifestation of religious difference, which might have presented a pretext for outbreaks of violence. However, most of the time these ceremonies ended without causing additional turmoil. The present thesis aims to explore the possible causes allowing these morbid festivities to remain peaceful and the effects that they might have had on the urban community.

The research is based in the latter part of seventeenth-century, when the political discord was widespread in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. Vilnius felt the repercussions of the Northern Wars firsthand, for it was occupied twice. This provides for an interesting background to determine if the civic belonging would increase at the time of trouble. This is addressed by analyzing the last wills of Vilnius' citizens in order to determine whether their political or religious allegiances were predominant. Besides that, the remembrance practices are explored, aiming to understand what forms the memory keeping of the deceased were widespread and how Vilnans welcomed death. Funeral processions are interpreted as the most public, and possibly problematic, part of the ceremony. It is reconstructed on the basis of the sources and interpreted by theory of semiotic anthropology.

The main sources used for this research are wills and posthumous wealth registers. Both of these source groups were composed by the citizens of Vilnius. On the basis of these documents all research is conducted by employing quantitative methodology.

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List of Abbreviations

AVAK—Акты, Издаваемые Виленскою Археографическою Комиссиею Для Разбора Древних Актов–a XIX c. series of published source materials.

LVIA f. SA—Lietuvos Valstybės Istorijos Archyvas fondas Senieji Aktai—The Historical Archives of Lithuanian State, the fond of Old Acts.

VUB RS—Vilniaus Universiteto Bibliotekos Rankraščių Skyrius—The Manuscript Collection of Vilnius University Library

INTRODUCTION

The finality of death is a constantly recurring cultural trope throughout the Baroque, the epoch when the concept of virtuous life was formed by perception of virtuous death. Seventeenth-century Europe felt death's touch to an extreme extent. Thirty Years war alone claimed so many lives that Europe could not carry on as it did before. The cruel reality was full of strife, thus one could not help but seek refuge from it in various forms of theatricality. This gave rise to the distinctly pompous nature of the epoch. "For all life is a dream and even dreams are but dreams" concludes Sigismund in his soliloquy, embodying the notions of uncertain reality and disdain towards it.[1] The fascination with death and theatricality merged together into a public festivity during funeral ceremonies. In the Commonwealth of the Two Nations it took a remarkably festive form.

The **setting** of seventeenth-century Vilnius supplies a stimulating case analysis because of the multicultural character of the city, constricted urban space, and specific cultural and political background of the period. Vilnius was a multiconfessional city from early on in its history. During the latter part of the seventeenth-century, it was home to five Christian denominations, in addition to Jews and Tatars. While only Christians were allowed full participation in civic life and privilege to have the citizen rights, non-Christian groups were able to avoid conflict when it came to funerals. The confined area of a city acted as a catalyst for intensity of reactions towards the festivities. Taking place in crowded city streets, funerals were a spectacle hard to miss, especially if a famous person was being escorted to the chosen final resting place. The city officials and noblemen gave a considerable amount of resources

[1] Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Life's a Dream*, trans. Michael Kidd (Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 2004), 136.

for a fitting funeral, which meant that more attention was attracted towards them, and, subsequently, differences were emphasized.

Thesis statement: Civic funerary ritual in Vilnius was a public manifestation of religious symbols in a multiconfessional environment, yet it did not provoke violence, but furthered civic belonging, which otherwise was overridden by differing religious allegiances.

Chronology. The latter part of the seventeenth-century was a troubled time for the Commonwealth. It was marked by the wars with Sweden and Russia, which led to the Deluge—a period when both armies invaded and subdued most of the territory of the State. This research focuses on the period framed by two occupations of Vilnius—by the Muscovite (1655-1661) and the Swedish forces (1702) during the Northern Wars. This period is chosen to test a hypothesis that civic unity increased against the backdrop of political turmoil.

The object. This thesis focuses on civic urban funerals. It lies at the intersection of the abovementioned religious, cultural, and political events. The civic setting allows to address questions of cohabitation, and is much less explored than the funerals enacted by the nobility. Thus, this calls for a view into the archival sources and encourages consideration to what extent claims expressed about noble funerals are valid for the civic community. The main archival source used for the research are the last wills, the testaments, and posthumous wealth registers.

Source critique. The last wills that are subject of this research were composed by the citizens of Vilnius. In order to gain legitimacy, the document had to be corroborated by the administrative institution of the city. The addressed wills have been verified in the institutions of the city–the record books of Magisterial Court of Vilnius, which was part of an autonomous municipal institution. The copies of corroborated wills survive in its archives. The wills substituted a small amount of documents copied by the notaries of Magisterial court.

Documents have been written into the archival books based on chronology, thus wills were copied among statements of personal wealth, litigation documents, business deals and other various sorts of documentation. During the copying process wills composition underwent a slight change. The notaries had to record the situation, time and contents of the last will before rewriting it "word by word." This data was written in the official language of the institution– Latin, while the main body of the will is rendered in Polish, retaining original composition language. The entry in the magisterial record book usually records the methods of legitimation used to validate the will, which could not be transferred from the original document–sigils, witnesses, and signatures.

Nowadays a researcher has limited possibility to go into a first-hand connection with the testator. Besides, not every citizen composed a last will, while some city dwellers chose to have them verified in other courts. However, this specific court is chosen as the main source because the act of verifying a will in municipal institution is interpreted as an act showing allegiance to the city. Nevertheless, the possibility of finding wills in an unusual archives should not be disregarded–Aivas Ragauskas found a will of a prominent citizen among the documents of Lithuanian Tribunal.[2] Due to the inconsistent notary practices of the city, copied wills are scattered through the records of various institutions. It makes them difficult to trace, thus, exhaustive research is unlikely.

The main body of sources for this research are the abovementioned Magistrate record books kept in the Lithuanian Historical State Archives (abbreviation–LVIA f. SA). Their information is supplemented by the sources from the Manuscript Section in library of Vilnius University (abbreviation – VUB RS), and published material from the series of Acts issued

[2] Aivas Ragauskas, The Will of the Royal Secretary and Doctor of Medicine Mathias Vorbek-Lettow (1593-1663) as the Source of the Biography of the Eminent Dweller of Vilnius, *in:* LDK: Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystes istorijos studijos: Konstantinui Avižoniui - 90, Vilnius, 2001, p. 44-59.

by the Vilnius Archeological Commission for Parsing of Ancient Documents (abbreviated AVAK). Further on the source material will be cited in this manner: name of the archive and the fond, number of the document (i.e. magisterial record book), page number.

The will as a source: Testament is a document which lies at the intersection of public and private: while demonstrating a personal attitude towards mortality it also directs the wealth allocation, which transcends the circle of immediate family. Thus it becomes a part of the judicial practices of the city and its composition was institutionalized. A testament followed a predetermined template. It starts with an invocation (alongside the lines of "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the God in Holy Trinity"), which had to guarantee the posthumous execution of the will and provided aura of gravity to the document, for it was witnessed by the temporal and eternal authorities. It is succeeded by a preamble: abstract justification of the importance of the will, followed by the presentation of the testator—indication of one's social status, trade, etc. Then, the exhortation about the inevitability of death—mostly constituting of variation upon Matthew 25:13:" Therefore keep watch, because you do not know the day or the hour." After this introductory rhetoric part, testaments turn to the disposition, where the testator allocates the wealth and settles the worldly matters. It includes the almsgiving practices and funeral instructions, settles the burial. This is the most unique and significant part of the will.[3] Towards the end of the document the people responsible for acting out the directions of the will are named, alongside the corroboration of the document, which usually is the signature, witnesses and a seal.

Methodology: The wills are selected in compliance with external requirements—to be included among the research materials, they had to be drawn up by a citizen of Vilnius, fall into the outlined chronology, and contain a full form of a document. Then the sources are

[3] Laimontas Karaliūnas, "Testamentai [Testaments]," in *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos kultūra. Tyrinėjimai ir vaizdai*, ed. Vytautas Ališauskas (Vilnius: Aidai, 2001), 714–24.

addressed by quantitative analysis.[4] This approach is possible due to the specific nature of the will, because of the mandatory parts in its composition. The shared traits of the sources allow for a comparative perspective towards them and achieving feasible results. The unified structure of a will allows a reading detached from the personal in favor for the common. Thus, addressing a large number of wills sheds light on the prevalent tendencies, rather than particular cases. 97 testaments are selected primarily for this research, however, supplementary wills are used to verify the findings.

Personal allegiances are explored by addressing final donations. Wills record the posthumous wealth allocations, which provide a chance to demonstrate belonging to a certain group. This is emphasized in the advent of death and made in presence of God, thus, wealth allocations gain certain gravity. The bequests allow a glimpse to the relation of an individual with a wider social whole, be it religiously, professionally, or politically united community.

Literature review. The literature dealing with the civic funeral ceremonies of Vilnius is scarce. It has been touched upon by Aivas Ragauskas and David Frick, as a part of a larger whole of their projects. Ragauskas is one of the leading experts on the history of Early Modern Vilnius, and he addresses the question from the perspective of the ruling elite of the city, i.e. the smallest and most exclusive part of the citizenry.[5] David Frick is a Slavic philology scholar, who has devoted attention towards the problem, and provided an account of the sources driven by the linguistic analysis. His approach aims to prove that kinship ties override other affiliations. He concludes that citizenry of Vilnius were able to transgress confessional boundaries.[6] Both of these cases are based on deep qualitative research, because Ragauskas

[4] Quantitative approach has been adopted by Michel Vovelle, one of the most prominent scholars in the field, for his methodological discussion, see Michel Vovelle, "On Death," in *Ideologies and Mentalities*, trans. Eamon O'Flaherty (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 64–80.
[5] Aivas Ragauskas, *Vilniaus miesto valdantysis elitas: XVII a. antrojoje pusėje (1662-1702 m.) [Ruling Elite of Vilnius in the Second Half of the 17th Century (1662–1702)]* (Vilnius: Diemedis, 2002), 393–97.
[6] David A. Frick, *Kith, Kin, and Neighbors: Communities and Confessions in Seventeenth-Century Wilno* (Ithaca [N.Y.]: Cornell University Press, 2013), 356–400.

writes a prosopography of the ruling elite, and Frick researches the overall civic life. While both of these analyses are examples of excellent scholarship, I find them insufficient to provide a more general account of the phenomenon. Ragauskas' research object presumes exclusivity and aims to explore only the most luxurious funeral ceremonies, while Frick's account is based on the material that stands out from the rest, rather than is commonly found. He looks at the sources with great attention towards every particular case and this makes his research deep and insightful, however, the field could benefit by a more general overview.

Studies of death in the Commonwealth are relatively limited, though the field has been present for a while now. In 1974 art historian Juliusz Chrościcki published a classic study in cultural history of funeral ceremonies, which explores the grandest examples and focuses on the material culture of the festivity, especially funeral architecture—catafalques and *castrum doloris*.[7] Since then, funeral ceremonies of the nobility attracted cultural and art historians of Poland-Lithuania. The context of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was explored by Mindaugas Paknys. His research stands on the shoulders of the field pioneers—Philippe Aries and Michel Vovelle.[8] The popularly written book aims to contextualize the culture of death in the specific region, heavily drawing upon the European practices presented by these authors. Despite the fact that the picture is painted in broad strokes, Paknys provides a comprehensive overview of the field and systematizes what has been done in the region. In regard to the civic funerary rituals, he only states that this field has not been addressed at all.[9] However, this is only partly

[7] Juliusz A. Chrościcki, *Pompa Funebris: z Dziejów Kultury Staropolskiej [Pompa Funebris: From Cultural History of Poland]* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1974).
[8] Philippe Ariés, *The Hour of Our Death* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Michel Vovelle, *Śmierć w cywilizacji Zachodu* (Gdańsk: Słowo, 2004).
[9] Mindaugas Paknys, *Mirtis LDK kultūroje XVI-XVIII a. [Death in the Culture of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania 16-18th c.]* (Vilnius: Aidai, 2008), 86.

true, for it has been addressed in earlier analyses.[10] However, there is no overall synthesis devoted to exclusively civic funerals.

While broader topics of mortality enjoyed some attention from historians, more specific questions, are yet to be explored. These include the remembrance practices, processions, and civic identification. Overall, the impact of death over the urban community is an underresearched field in the history of Vilnius. Some attempts were made by Stephen Rowell, where he looked at the creation of civic community and traits of sacral topography, however, he presents a view of earlier times.[11] The remembrance practices of the noblemen were explored by art historian Marija Matušakaitė.[12] In her work Vilnius gains some attention, however its citizens are mostly omitted from it.

Some scholars based their research on the wills and testaments. Wioleta Zielecka-Mikolajczyk shows interest in topics related to funeral ceremonies of the Eastern rite. She explored the examples of noblemen and published several wills of Vilnans, however, she deals with the eighteenth-century, thus her research is later than one undertaken here.[13] Rasa Varsackytė analyzed last wills of citizens of Kaunas, yet her focus primarily falls with the attitudes towards death and relies on the analysis of rhetoric part of wills.[14]

[10] Hanna Zaremska, *Żywi wobec zmarłych: brackie i cechowe pogrzeby w Krakowie w XIV - pierwszej połowie XVI w. [The living to the dead: brotherhoods and guild funerals in Krakow in the XIV - the first half of the sixteenth century]* (Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1974).
[11] Stephen C. Rowell, "The Role Of Charitable Activity In The Formation Of Vilnius Society In The 14th To Mid-16th Centuries," *Lithuanian Historical Studies* 17 (2012).
[12] Marija Matušakaitė, *Išėjusiems atminti: laidosena ir kapų ženklinimas LDK [In memoriam of the Deceased: Burial and Grave Marking in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania]* (Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 2009).
[13] Wioletta Zielecka, "Pamiec O Zmarlych Wsrod Szlachty Obrzadkow Wschodnich W XVI-XVII Wieku W Swietle Testamentow [Memory of the Dead among the Nobility of the Eastern Rite in the 16th-17th Centuries on the Basis of Last Wills and Testaments]," in *Tradycja: Metody Przekazywania I Formy Upamietnienia W Panstwie Polsko-Litewskim; XV-Pierwsza Połowa XIX Wieku*, ed. Urszula Augustyniak (Warszawa: Neriton, 2011), 153–72. Wioletta Zielecka-Mikołajczyk, "Antemortem Documents of Eastern Orthodox and Uniate Burghers of Vilnius from the First Half of the 18th Century," *Zapiski Historyczne* 4, no. 79 (2014): 143–72.
[14] Rasa Varsackytė, "Laikysena mirties akivaizdoje: kauniečių testamentai XVII–XVIII a. [Bearing in the presence of death: testaments of Kaunas dwellers of the 17th and 18th centuries]," *Kauno istorijos metraštis*, 2007, 85–95.

Art historians have conducted research which is closest to the questions raised in this thesis. Auksė Kaladžinskaitė provides a useful analysis by systematizing the guilds and brotherhoods in Vilnius and their relation to artistic foundations and religiosity.[15] Rūta Janonienė reconstructs the funeral practices in the church of St. Bernard and St. Francis of Asisi in Vilnius, which provides one of the few glimpses into the Vilnan funerals, however, her viewpoint is dependent on the locus, hence it shows preoccupation with the nobility, which is best documented.[16]

History of corporations in Vilnius has been explored Darius Baronas, who researched the Orthodox Vilnans,[17] a general view towards religious brotherhoods is supplied by Liudas Jovaiša,[18] who also published on particular examples.[19] Aivas Ragauskas addresses the exceptional examples of corporations,[20] while Stasys Samalavičius researched guilds from viewpoint of their material heritage and impact on everyday life of the city.[21] Stephen Rowell has taken an interest in the brotherhoods as a tool for Christianizing the Grand Duchy and

[15] Auksė Kaladžinskaitė-Vičkienė, "XVI-XVIII a. Vilniaus amatininkų cechai ir jų altoriai [Craft Quilds and their Altars 16th–18th Century In Vilnius]," *Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos metraštis*, 2004, 89–113; Auksė Kaladžinskaitė, "Brolijų dailės užsakymai XVIII a. Vilniuje [Artistic commissions from Brotherhoods in Vilnius in the 18th century]," *Dailė LDK miestuose: poreikiai ir užsakymai*, 2006, 147–164.

[16] Rūta Janonienė, "Laidotuvių iškilmės Vilniaus Bernardinų bažnyčioje XVII-XIX amžiais [Funeral ceremonies at the Bernardine church in Vilnius in the 17th to 19th century]," *Acta Academiae artium Vilnensis. Dailė* 54 (2009): 27–40.

[17] Darius Baronas, "Stačiatikių Šv. Dvasios brolijos įsisteigimas Vilniuje 1584-1633 m. [Establishment and development of the Vilnius Orthodox brotherhood in 1584-1633]," *Bažnyčios istorijos studijos*, 2012, 47–97.

[18] Liudas Jovaiša, "Brolijos [Brotherhoods]," in *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės kultūra: Tyrinėjimai ir Vaizdai*, ed. Vytautas Ališauskas (Vilnius: Aidai, 2001), 109–24.

[19] Liudas Jovaiša, "Šv. Andriejaus Bobolos Pėdsakai Vilniaus Pirklių Brolijoje [Traces of St. Andrew Bobola in the Merchant Brotherhood of Vilnius]," *Lietuvių Katalikų Mokslo Akademijos Metraštis* 10, no. 1 (1996): 134–41.

[20] Aivas Ragauskas, "Iš Vilniaus miesto socialinio žemėlapio XVII a. pirmojoje pusėje-XVIII a.: elgetų organizacijos pobūdis [Social map of Vilnius (17th-18th centuries): paupers' Organization]," *Istorija*, 2007, 15–23; Aivas Ragauskas, "Midaus brolijos - Vilniaus stačiatikių kultūros fenomenas (XV a. vidurys - XVII a. vidurys) [Mead societies - phenomenon of the Orthodox culture in Vilnius (the mid-15th - the mid-17th c.)]," *Florilegium Lithuanum : in honorem eximii professoris atque academici Lithuani domini Eugenii Jovaiša anniversarii sexagesimi causa dicatum*, 2010, 229–241.

[21] Stasys Samalavičius, Almantas Samalavičius, and Stepas Janušonis, *Vilniaus miestiečiai ir miestų kultūra XVII-XVIII amžiuose: monografija* (Vilnius: Edukologija, 2013).

also shows the importance of charitable donations for creating and cementing the civic community in Vilnius.[22]

A general confessional background to the commonwealth can be found in the work by Matthias Niendorf, where the scholar explores the possibility to apply confessionalization paradigm to the context of Poland-Lithuania, with a conclusion that it might be complicated.[23] More particular confessional situation of Vilnius is discussed by the abovementioned David Frick, who supports the usefulness of the paradigm.[24] A more specific view on the interrelations of confessions was exposed by Marceli Kosman, who looked at the interconfessional violence in Vilnius.[25] The most famous case of the banishment of Calvinists out of the city was explored by Henryk Wisner and Urszula Augustyniak.[26]

Historians of literature provide the research with a more commonly shared atmosphere of attitudes towards death. Funeral sermons received the most attention. Jolita Sarcevičienė explored the images of afterlife,[27] Viktorija Vaitkevičiūtė–the attitude towards death from religious Baroque texts.[28] A study of funerary texts and practices from the perspectives of

[22] Stephen C. Rowell, "Winning the Living by Remembering the Dead? Franciscan Tactics and Social Change in Fifteenth-Century Vilnius," in *Tarp Istorijos Ir Būtovės. Studijos Prof. Edvardo Gudavičiaus 70-Mečiui*, ed. Alfredas Bumblauskas and Rimvydas Petrauskas (Vilnius, 1999), 87–121; Rowell, "The Role Of Charitable Activity."

[23] Mathias Niendorf, *Lietuvos Didžioji Kunigaikštystė: studija apie nacijos formavimąsi ankstyvaisiais naujaisiais amžiais, 1569-1795*, trans. Indrė Klimkaitė (Vilnius: Mintis, 2010), 144–215. For the German original, see Mathias Niendorf, *Das Großfürstentum Litauen: Studien zur Nationsbildung in der Frühen Neuzeit (1569-1795)*, Veröffentlichungen des Nordost-Instituts, Bd. 3 (2006) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006).

[24] David A. Frick, "Five Confessions in One City: Multiconfessionalism in Early Modern Wilno," in *A Companion to Multiconfessionalism in the Early Modern World*, ed. Thomas Max Safley, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 28 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 417–43.

[25] Marceli Kosman, "Konflikty Wyznaniowe w Wilnie: schyłek XVI-XVII w [Religious Conflicts in Vilnius: end of 16-17th c.]," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 79, no. 1 (1972): 3–23.

[26] Henryk Wisner, "Likwidacja Zboru Ewangelickiego w Wilnie (1639-1646) : z Dziejów Walki z Inaczej Wierzącymi [Expulsion of the Calvinist Congregation in Vilnius (1639-1646): Acts of Interconfessional Struggle]," *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* 37 (1993): 89–102; Urszula Augustyniak, "Jeszcze Raz W Sprawie Tumultu Wileńskiego 1639 I Jego Następstwach [One More Time on the Tumults in Vilnius in 1639 and its Consequences]," *Odrodzenie I Reformacja W Polsce*, 2006, 169–89.

[27] Jolita Sarcevičienė, "Diel kožna griesznika sugatawota ira wieta muku: pragaro vaizdiniai XVIII amžiaus LDK spaudiniuose," *Socialinių tapatumų reprezentacijos Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės kultūroje*, 2010, 210–227.

[28] Viktorija Vaitkevičiūtė, "Mirties Raiška Religiniuose Baroko LDK Tekstuose [Expression of Death in the Religious Writing of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Baroque Period]," *Literatūra* 38, no. 1 (2000): 57–74.

literature, sociology, and gender studies is presented by Artūras Tereškinas.[29] His input provides a novel narrative, which is considered controversial among the scholars in the field.

All in all, previous research tends to focus on the nobility and emphasize the relation towards death through the perspective of art. The present research aims to explore the social effects of death upon urban community and the city itself.

Structure: The first chapter sets the scene for further inquiries by offering the overall historical situation of Vilnius in the latter part of the seventeenth century. City is interpreted as a patchwork of interrelating communities, instead of a topographical unit. Their ties are tested during the funeral processions. A hypothesis is raised that at the backdrop of political calamity, civic belonging is encouraged, which is tested by source analysis.

The second chapter is based on source analysis and organized on the basis of religious belonging. The section aims to, firstly, analyze the group of testators, in order to show what people created the examined wills, and answer the questions of gender, trade, and belonging to any corporate body. After this presentation, research moves on to explore the funeral ceremonies, i.e. the actions between death and burial—prayers, masses, and the funeral procession with all its attributes. Special attention is directed to trace the burial practices, i.e. examining the predominant place of burial and showing its significance. This includes analysis of the ways a body was commemorated. The important question here is the relation of the actual burial site of the body and the material embodiment of memory. This part contributes to a better knowledge of sacral topography of Vilnius and allows to interpret the city as a place for the dead as much as it is for the living. Third element constituting the contents of the second chapter is the aim to examine wealth allocation after death—the final

[29] Artūras Tereškinas, *Imperfect Communities: Identity, Discourse and Nation in the Seventeenth-Century Grand Duchy of Lithuania*, Senosios Literatūros Studijos (Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2005), esp. ch. "The Figures of Death," p.p. 183-233.

dispensations. This is traced aims to uncover the most conventional donation practices of the citizens. By analyzing allocation of wealth, I aim to look at the question, if citizens of Vilnius preferred religion based communities (a brotherhood or parish community) or the ones able to transgress these boundaries by emphasizing unity on different grounds (social—a hospice, professional—a guild). This allows a glimpse of Vilnius as a civic community, and explains which form of belonging was predominant—political or religious.

The third chapter offers an interpretation of the funeral procession and presents its significance. I reconstruct the event by the help of source analysis and critical evaluation of historiography. Then, I go to interpret it with the help of the theory of semiotic anthropology by Webb Keene.[30] This theory allows to explain why the public manifestations of different religious symbols did not deteriorate into violence basing it on the multivocality of the signs. The interpretation is enforced by a more abstract view, which shows the political significance of a dead body.[31]

[30] Webb Keane, "Semiotics and the Social Analysis of Material Things," *Language & Communication* 23, no. 3–4 (July 2003): 409–25; Webb Keane, "Signs Are Not the Garb of Meaning: On the Social Analysis of Material Things," in *Materiality*, ed. Daniel Miller (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 182–205; Webb Keane, "Rotting Bodies: The Clash of Stances toward Materiality and Its Ethical Affordances," *Current Anthropology* 55, no. 10 (December 2014): 312–21.

[31] For this research I use the theory presented in Katherine Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change*, The Harriman Lectures (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

1. SKETCHES OF VILNIUS IN BETWEEN OCCUPATIONS

The following chapter aims to provide a general introduction to the problem. Hence, the political calamities framing the chronology are explored. Main changes in religious landscape and their impact on the confessional communities are presented. This is followed by interpretation of a city as a social body, a patchwork of codependent communities. Reaction to funeral processions provide a possibility to test these ties.

1.1. "How deserted lies the city, once so full of people!"[32]

"Jan Kazimir, Dei Gratia King of Poland, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, etc.
Ordinance, or written instructions, according to which Our loyal Colonel Willhelm Pilatt, whom We now graciously appoint the Commandant of Our New and Old castle fortress, must follow and act by:
1. You, as a Commandant, shall immediately capture the mentioned New and Old castle fortress, manage it and maintain it, until further notice"[33]

During the period which came to be known as the Deluge,[34] Vilnius was honored with the presence of royalty. In 1655 tsar Aleksey Mixajlovic entered the city with all the triumphant splendor of a victorious force.[35] Six years had passed when Jan Kazimir visited to witness the lasting effects that the triumph of the tsar brought. By that time the last remaining Muscovite troops were barricaded in the castle fortress of Vilnius, the siege lasted for more than a year and the garrison was exhausted. On December 4th, 1661, they rebelled, then executed their leader, and put down the arms. The instructions to the newly appointed Colonel of the castle were given by the king on the 8th December, four days after the fortress was reclaimed. The

[32] Lam. 1:1 (New International Version).
[33] Antanas Tyla, "Jono Kazimiero Instrukcija Vilniaus Pilies Komendantui [Jan Kazimier's Instruction to the Comendant of the Castle of Vilnius]," trans. Vilija Gerulaitienė, *Lituanistica*, no. 4 (2006): 112.
[34] For the political context of the State in this period, see Robert I. Frost, *After the Deluge: Poland-Lithuania and the Second Northern War, 1655-1660*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History (Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
[35] For an account of this triumphal ingress and the state of Vilnius, see Philip Longworth, *Alexis: Tsar of All the Russias* (New York: F. Watts, 1984), 105–8.

orders were to be kept in utmost secrecy, under a threat of the colonels life. It has been unknown until just recently, when a copy of the document was found in Kraków.

After the dust settled, inhabitants of the city were left with the arduous task to revive the capital of the Grand Duchy to its former glory. Surviving cultural memory illustrates the severity of the time, for legends about ravaging and plundering troops are told to this day. Some of them state that when the last Muscovite carriage left Vilnius, the first entered Moscow, and all this caravan was full of valuables, stolen from the churches, homes, and graves of wealthy Vilnans. The Cathedral of St. Stanislaus and St. Vladislav suffered great damage. While the faithful were able to keep the body of St. Casimir safe by transporting it out of the city, citizens were unable to secure the royal necropolis. Remains of Vytautas, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, who was considered the ideal ruler, an almost a mythological figure, were lost ever since.[36] It's almost as if the patrons of Vilnius turned away from the city during these troubled years. Whatever part of these stories is true, it was the first occupation, which robbed the city of its status and sense of security.

Vilnius was not able to recover from this blow. Demography and economic power reached its prewar state only in the latter part of the eighteenth-century, when the state was politically deteriorating. Hence, these events marked a new page in the city's history, which is immediately evident when one directs the attention towards its social structure. Citizens were deprived of their life by soldiers, outbreak of bubonic plague, or the fire that raged for 17 days. Those who did survive the occupation years, were exploited. Part of the inhabitants were able to flee.[37] According to Maria Łowmianska, around 17 000 inhabitants died during

[36] The image and importance of Vytautas throughout ages is explored in an illuminating study of Giedre Mickunaite, *Making a Great Ruler: Grand Duke Vytautas of Lithuania* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2006).
[37] For further analysis of fleeing citizens refer to David A. Frick, *Kith, Kin, and Neighbors: Communities and Confessions in Seventeenth-Century Wilno* (Ithaca [N.Y.]: Cornell University Press, 2013), 292-300.

the occupation.[38] The fates were different, however, these years scattered and dissolved the community of the city.[39] The rhetoric of the wills also include traces of turmoil's impact–Jan Kukowicz (d.1666) a Greek Catholic Burgomaster, declared that he can only spare 50 złoty for his funeral, which was a very little sum for a political figure.[40] Testators mark this event as the cause of their downfall, referring to the it as the *time of the enemy*.

The occupation had particularly noticeable impact on the status of Orthodox community. The decrease of their influence started with the events relating to the Union of Brest (1596), which aimed to rectify the schism and bring the Orthodox closer to Rome, by encouraging them to join the Catholic church and retain their rite. While part of the faithful were persuaded to submit to the new status, it also encountered a grave opposition from others, thus ripping the Orthodox community apart. These processes directly reflected in the history of Vilnius, for by the year 1607 majority of the Orthodox churches went into the possession of those who joined the Union. Then the Orthodox were left only with the church of the Holy Ghost which was built by a brotherhood in 1598, and was allowed to be reconstructed in brick by royal decree in 1633.

Up until the occupation, Vilnius was the center of confessional polemics, which contributed to overall distrust of the Orthodox. In 1610 the Orthodox publishing house was closed down and its books burned. This coincided with the ongoing siege of Smolensk, which aimed to reclaim the strategically crucial fortress from Muscovy, and polemics were interpreted as propaganda, thus Sigismund III decided to put an end to it in this manner.[41] The

[38] This number is contested often, however, there has been no convincing conclusion to this problem. This number is quoted from Adolfas Šapoka, *Raštai [Selected Writings]* (Vilnius: Edukologija, 2008), 466.
[39] The individual cases are rarely explored, however, the actions of a specific group is addressed in Eimantas Meilus, "The Jews Of Lithuania During The Muscovite Occupation (1655-1660)," trans. Alfoncas Loučka, *Lithuanian Historical Studies* 14 (2009): 53–70. It notes that up to 75 percent of Vilnan Jewry left the city during this period.
[40] LVIA f. SA 5335, 117. For more detailed analysis, see ch. 2.
[41] Kosman, "Konflikty Wyznaniowe," 13.

unyielding temper of the Orthodox provided basis for dissent towards the community. Also, the invaders shared their religion, which contributed to growing distrust.[42]

The confessional parity principle of political representation in the municipal institutions was introduced in 1536 and stated that the city had to be ruled by a magistrate of equal number of Eastern and Western rite Christians. However, in 1666 Orthodox and Protestant citizens were deprived of the right to municipal representation by royal decree of king Jan Kazimir. The same decree confirmed the last Orthodox burgomaster, already framing it as an exception to the rule. Henceforth the municipal posts were limited to Roman and Greek Catholics.[43] Because of that, during the years 1666–1702 only one Orthodox and three Protestants succeeded in taking these offices.[44] However, changes did not effect guilds, where religious dissidents could be elected to the leading positions.[45] These events coincided with the overall decline of influence of the non-Catholic magnates in the country and the triumph of the Catholic Reform.

Four decades passed until the city was seized again, this time, by the Swedes. In April of 1702 the city fell due to incompetent leadership of the defending forces. However, this time the foreign troops were disciplined and the authorities demanded money, instead of seizing it for themselves. Swedes attended the masses during the period of the Holy Week, hence showing that they are political enemies, rather than a threat to every citizen. This was taken advantage of by the Commonwealth's military leadership–they attacked on the morning of April 16th, for they knew where the majority of Swedish troops will be. It was the morning of Easter.[46]

[42] For further investigation, see David A. Frick, "'Ruski Człowiek': Muscovites and Ruthenian Identity in Occupied Wilno, 1655-1661," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, 2008, 134–60.
[43] Ragauskas, *Vilniaus miesto valdantysis elitas*, 162.
[44] Ibid., 154.
[45] Kosman, "Konflikty Wyznaniowe," 10.
[46] Gintautas Sliesoriūnas, "The First Occupation of Vilnius during the Great Northern War (April-May 1702)," *Lithuanian Historical Studies*, 2010, 81.

The mid-century calamities mark a new page in the history of Vilnius. Alongside to the devastation of the city, it left a lasting social effects on its community. The ties between people had to be recreated. Thus, it seems probable that civic unity would be encouraged as a way of facing these events. To inquire into it, the city has to be addressed as a community.

1.2. City as a Corporate Body

"To the city dwellers, and inhabitants, and all community of the abovementioned Our City Vilnius, the German Law which is called Magdeburgian; (we) give and bestow:"[47] thus stated Jogaila, granting the first privilege to Vilnius in 1387. By its effect, contemporary Vilnans gained the exclusive judicial status of a citizen. Later, however, these rights and social standing had to be earned. Joining the ranks of citizens was allowed for those who met certain requirements.[48] It was no easy task and the city welcomed only those, who would be able to contribute to its prosperity. The inauguration was corroborated by a ritual: the prospective citizen stood in front of the Municipal officers, knelt in front of a picture of the Savior, raised hands with two fingers pointing towards it, and spoke an oath. The vow affirmed loyalty to the ruler, obedience to the magistrate, an obligation to contribute to the city's wellbeing, and readiness to defend it.[49] The fact that beside the legal and economic demands, a citizen had to meet ethical standards shows that a city was more than a territorial unit. First and foremost, it was a community.

[47] *"Civibus et incolis totaeque communitati praedictae Civitatis Nostrae Vilnensis, Ius Theutonicum quod Magdeburgense dicitur; damus et conferimus."* Cited from Piotr Dubinski, ed., *Zbior praw y przywilejow Miastu stołecznemu W. X. L. Wilnowi nadanych* [Collection of rights and Privileges given to Vilnius, the Capital city of The Grand Duchy of Lithuania](W Wilnie [Vilnius]: w Drukarni J. K. Mci przy Akademii, 1788), 1.

[48] A candidate had to be personally free; know a trade; provide recommendations from previous dwelling places; find citizens who would pledge for him and own a gun Agnius Urbanavičius, *Vilniaus naujieji miestiečiai 1661-1795 m.* [The New Citizens of Vilnius 1661-1795] (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos instituto leidykla, 2005), 9.

[49] In this case, city was to be understood as a community, rather than territorial unit. This did not include all citizens–Vilnius was divided into units, which were subjected to different legal statuses. For instance, some neighborhoods belonged to the Castle's jurisdiction, thus an inhabitant living there would be obliged to be tried according to the Lithuanian Statute, rather than Magdeburgian law. Full citizenship of Vilnius transgressed these boundaries and allowed one to be tried only by the Magistrate. The actual text or instructions of the ritual is not known, yet the crucial aspects were reconstructed in Ibid., 60–61.

Citizenship provided a distinct legal, social and political status, however, it was only one of the corporate identities embodied by a person. It was surrounded by ethnic, religious, and professional associations. Multiplicity of allegiances was inevitable, and their competition contributed to an environment constantly building up tensions. Nevertheless, citizenship was fundamental, for most of the time those communities could only flourish under its wing.

The religious differences were the most prominent. Seventeenth-century Vilnius was home to five different Christian denominations, and religious belonging had a great influence on how other spheres of life were organized.[50] Hence the brotherhoods were the most prominent corporate body, which united citizens on religious terms and had distinct institutional traits. They aimed to enforce faith and inculcate a more religiously attune everyday life, thus furthering peaceful cohabitation in otherwise quite violent society. Brotherhoods were a family abiding Christian standards that one can choose to participate in.[51] After the Tridentine reforms these communities united people of the same faith, often transcending social differences.[52] The same brotherhood could bring together members of the clergy with wealthy burgers, poor nobles with homeless paupers—so long as they upheld their obligations to the community.

In the light of this thesis, the brotherhoods are important because of the posthumous care for their members. They had the privilege to be buried in the brotherhood's crypts. Brotherhoods had altars which they adorned and held masses at, and the crypts were placed under them, thus making it a prestigious place of burial.[53] Besides that, brotherhoods

[50] Besides them, Jews and Tatars inhabited the city, however the status of a citizen was reserved to Christians.
[51] John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400-1700* (Oxford [Oxfordshire]: Oxford University Press, 1985), 57–63.
[52] Jovaiša, "Brolijos," 109.
[53] The importance and the role of saints in creating a distinction between *sacrum et profanum* is wonderfully explored by Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, Haskell Lectures on History of Religions, new series (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

promised eternity by keeping *liber vitae*–books of life. In those, the names of the members were inscribed and their memory carried on after death by holding masses and remembering them. Importance of remembrance grew with popularity of the purgatory and the growing belief in power of prayers for the salvation of suffering souls. Hence, the idea of remembrance paved way towards the growing popularity of the brotherhoods.[54] Aside from providing a desirable place of burial and a lasting memory, members were obligated to participate in the funeral ceremonies. This functioned as a public manifestation of brotherly unity and claim of the deceased as a part of their community. Brotherhood of Assumption of Virgin Mary at the church of St. Casimir even had a specific position of master of ceremonies, who would be responsible for organizing the funeral procession, including music, bells, and burial.[55]

The abovementioned traits are shared by brotherhoods, but those also had specific differences, dependent on their venerated saints. Brotherhoods that emphasized the importance of proper burial were particularly interesting.[56] They cared for the poor and the sick, outside the bounds of brotherhood by working in the hospices and burying the deceased. In a conflict ridden environment these actions contributed to social integration and created a more peaceful atmosphere. These communities had an impact on the city, however, their religiously based unity confined their acts of compassion to their own Church.

Earliest religious brotherhoods in Vilnius simultaneously functioned as corporation uniting people of same trade or ethnicity. Eventually, unity based on trade grew more important than faith, and it manifested by establishment of guilds. The first Vilnans to

[54] Interestingly, in seventeenth-century Vilnius, only protestants were able to remain indifferent to the power of prayers, while the Orthodox and Greek Catholic believed in a certain liminal place after death, thus were motivated to keep their memory. More on their remembrance practices in Vilnius, see ch. 2.2.
[55] Liudas Jovaiša, "Šv. Andriejaus Bobolos Pėdsakai Vilniaus Pirklių Brolijoje [Traces of St. Andriej Bobola in the Merchant Brotherhood of Vilnius]," *Lietuvių Katalikų Mokslo Akademijos Metraštis* 10, no. 1 (1996): 235.
[56] Three of them were established in the first half of 17th century, they bore the titles of St. Lazarus, St. Martin, and Joseph of Arimathea. Members volunteered in the hospices of their own faith. Jovaiša, "Brolijos," 114; 118-119.

organize into a guild were the goldsmiths in 1495. From then on, the popularity of guilds grew, and boomed in the first part of the seventeenth-century. This also had an impact on brotherhoods, for from the middle of sixteenth-century they united people of various trades and ethnicities. Predominance of economic unity in guilds led to multiconfessionality—guilds welcomed members of all faiths. Despite being united on economic bases, they retained religious sentiment and secular fraternal traits.

Guilds still funded their own altars, supported their members, and cared for the dead. However, the biggest difference that came with the emphasis shift from religion towards the professional, was that guilds united people of different faiths into one institutional corporate body. While religious differences were still very much present, some traits of transcending confessional boundaries were developed. For example, the saddler guild had two Orthodox icons adorning their altar in the parochial church of St. John the Baptist and John the Apostle; the hatters had separate altars for the Orthodox and Catholic members, while the Orthodox barbers built a small separate church to serve their needs.[57] Guilds shared part of the religious character of brotherhoods, and that reflected in the mandatory attendance of mass and funeral processions. While most of the time artisans of other confession could buy-out of the obligation to attend masses of other confessions, they were not allowed to avoid the processions, seen as a way to express the brotherly solidarity.[58]

The marginal cases, taking middle ground between a confraternity and a guild, were the Orthodox mead societies and the paupers' organization.[59] The pauper organization was a

[57] Auksė Kaladžinskaitė, XVI-XVIII a. Vilniaus amatininkų cechai ir jų altoriai [Craft Guilds and Theirs Altars 16th-18th Century in Vilnius], *Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos metraštis*, 2004, p. 94; 96–98. The author claims that the church has burned down before 1655, but this case demands a greater attention, for the sources about the existence of the church are limited and would suggest that the Orthodox community was in a better standing than was reported by other authors.

[58] The right was granted by Władysław IV in 1638, see Kosman, "Konflikty Wyznaniowe," 10.

[59] Both of these still are a subject of some opacity, for historiography and sources are limited. Recently only Aivas Ragauskas shed light on these matters, however, it would benefit from a more in-depth study. Aivas Ragauskas, "Midaus brolijos - Vilniaus stačiatikių kultūros fenomenas (XV a. vidurys - XVII a. vidurys) [Mead

response of the Magistrate to an increasing numbers of the poor, who often raised trouble in the city. Uniting them into a one institutionalized body and imposing structure over the mass of people allowed to partly solve the issue. However, the poor were reluctant to join, because of the imposed taxes. The organization assembled in the hospice of St. Nikodemos and Joseph, located just outside the Gate of Dawn.[60]

The mead societies were one of the earliest citizen corporations, with their roots dating back to the fifteenth-century. These were exclusively male Orthodox communities, which partook in charity and were organized around a church. Their specificity was that they largely based their socializing activities on mead consumption, rather than a trade or devotion. They were granted the privilege to brew as well as sell mead and organize several yearly socializing sessions. Just as the guilds and confraternities, they cared for their dead by providing black velvet for decorating of the church, candles and participating in funeral ceremonies.

When the brotherhood of the Holy Ghost took the role of uniting the remaining Orthodox resisting the Union of Brest, mead societies pledged allegiance and materially contributed to its cause. This led to increasing tensions with the Greek Catholic authorities, and their subsequent disintegration. An intricate history of this brotherhood dates back to 1584, when it was established at the Orthodox Church of Holy Trinity and bore the same title. However, it had to be changed when in 1609 the church went to the Greek Catholics. The brotherhood moved to the church of the Holy Spirit and from then on, shared its title. The latter church was established by the members of the brotherhood themselves in 1597 and in the course of the decade it became the last standing temple resisting the Union in Vilnius. In

Societies - Phenomenon of the Orthodox Culture in Vilnius (the mid-15th - the mid-17th c.]," *Florilegium Lithuanum : in honorem eximii professoris atque academici Lithuani domini Eugenii Jovaiša anniversarii sexagesimi causa dicatum*, 2010, 229–241.Aivas Ragauskas, "Iš Vilniaus Miesto Socialinio Žemėlapio XVII a. pirmojoje Pusėje-XVIII a.: Elgetų Organizacijos Pobūdis [Social map of Vilnius (17th-18th centuries): paupers' Organization]," *Istorija*, 2007, 15–23.

[60] For territorial references see the map of Vilnius: Figure 1 in "Appendices."

time it grew into a center of non-abiding Orthodox throughout the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.[61]

Under political and religious pressure, the Orthodox consolidated into a stronger politically motivated body, and a brotherhood served as an adequate form to achieve this goal. Foundation of the Church of the Holy Ghost was an achievement of this community, uniting burghers with nobles. Around it they established a monastery, hospice, school and a printing house, which supplied for an institutional background to preserve their distinction from Greek Catholicism. This example only serves to show, how the religious brotherhood may turn into a tool of promoting political agenda.

There were 56 brotherhoods[62] and 27 guilds[63] in Vilnius during 16-18th centuries. All of them had distinct symbolic representations, connected to their trade or venerated saint. For instance, the brotherhood of St. Anne had the sign showing the venerated saint alongside with the Virgin Mary and Jesus, accompanied by words: *S. Anae Societas. Fructus caritatis salus*.[64] During public festivities, the funeral processions included, these symbols had to be displayed in public, as a representation of the people rallying under that banner. While most of the time various communities tended to coexist peacefully, everyday interactions led to frictions. The latter had a chance to manifest during public festivities where the participation of different communities was mandatory.

[61] Darius Baronas, "Stačiatikių Šv. Dvasios brolijos įsisteigimas Vilniuje 1584-1633 m. [The Establishment and Development of the Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood in 1584-1633]," *Bažnyčios istorijos studijos*, 2012, 47–97.
[62] Auksė Kaladžinskaitė, "Brolijų dailės užsakymai XVIII a. Vilniuje / Auksė Kaladžinskaitė [Artistic commissions from Brotherhoods in Vilnius in the 18th century].," *Dailė LDK miestuose: poreikiai ir užsakymai*, 2006, 147–164.
[63] Kaladžinskaitė-Vičkienė, "Vilniaus amatininkų cechai," 112.
[64] "The Brotherhood of St. Anne. Fruit of love – salvation." Jovita Pivoriūnaitė, "Vilniaus šv. Onos brolija ir socialinė jos sudėtis XVI a. [The Social Structure Of The Vilnius St.Anne Fraternity in 16 c.]," *Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos metraštis*, 2000, 122.

1.3. Funeral Processions and Violence

Tension between the Catholics and Calvinists was an issue throughout the seventeenth—century. On more than one occasion it turned to violent acts, and the territorial proximity between Catholic and Calvinist churches contributed to it a great deal. Funeral ceremonies were an unsettling event, which is illustrated by the prohibition to enact Calvinist funerals around the St. Bernard and St. Francis of Asisi church in 1620, which was its closest neighbor.[65] However, the tension culminated in 1639-1640, when the Calvinist church was banned outside the city.

The event that led to taking these drastic measures took place on one of the Friday nights in October. On that evening, a Calvinist minister was baptizing a child in his house and celebrating an increase of a small community. While the whole family was preoccupied with baptism, a servant and a brother of the child sneaked out of the house, took up a bow and started shooting jackdaws, sitting at the roof of the Calvinist church. While the intentions were seemingly innocent, the next morning Calvinist neighborhood was woken up by an angry mob of Catholics, mostly consisting of Jesuit academy students. They were infuriated by the sacrilegious act performed yesterday, of which, the Calvinists had no clue. As it happens, some of the arrows that missed the jackdaws, flew straight over the edge of the roof and landed on a nearby Catholic church of adjacent Bernardine nunnery. Whereas the broken window and a frightened nun might have been ignored, one of the arrows stuck in the leg of St. Michael–the polychromic image on the façade of a church bearing the same title.[66] The occurrences of this evening led to an outburst of violence, when the crowd attacked the Calvinist school and hospice. Riots lasted for days and only intervention by military troops

[65] Wisner, "Likwidacja Zboru Ewangelickiego," 96.
[66] Jakub Niedźwiedź, "Danielius Naborovskis ir XVII amžiaus vilnietiškieji teisminiai naratyvai [Daniel Naborowski and Vilnius Court Narratives of the 17th century]," *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra*, 2012, 221–244.

could put an end to it. The conflict was transferred to court, which judged in favor of Catholics: Calvinist church and school were banned out of the city bounds and in the course of six weeks they had to relocate the communal institutions outside its gate.

While the case was still unresolved, Catholics attacked a funeral ceremony of Aleksandr Przypkowski–a Calvinist nobleman, the cupbearer of Oszmiana, and secretary to the king. A group of students from the Jesuit academy threw stones when the funeral procession was passing the parochial church of St. John serviced by Jesuits. While they were passing the church of the Holy Spirit, a Dominican father, Matiasz Karwowski, came out of the cloister and threatened the procession members with a stick. After another round of stones, the situation deteriorated into a clash between military troops of Krzysztof Radziwill the Younger, who was attending the ceremony, and the students.[67] Needless to say, participants of the procession dispersed.

This case also reached the court, where students defended themselves by accusing the Calvinists of disturbing Jesuit masses and acting indecently—shouting and beating drums in front of the church.[68] The Calvinist trial process ought to be taken as proof that the Reformation had receded in the Grand Duchy. Banishment of a church outside the capital city walls, as was ruled by Władysław Vasa, symbolically embodied it. Interestingly, this event echoed in the English press, when Eleazer Gilbert, a former Protestant minister, described various incidents led by the Jesuits against the Calvinists of Lithuania and concluded that the 'public exercise of our reformed religion, throughout the whole kingdom of Poland, within few years is like to be extirpated and extinguished.'[69]After the banishment, Calvinists still

[67] Wisner, "Likwidacja zboru ewangelickiego w Wilnie (1639-1646): z dziejów walki z inaczej wierzącymi," 96.
[68] Frick, *Kith, Kin, and Neighbors*, 387.
[69] J. K. Fedorowicz, *England's Baltic Trade in the Early Seventeenth Century Trade: A Study in Anglo-Polish Commercial Diplomacy* (Cambridge University Press, 1980), 11.

had to conduct processions to the final resting place, which was seen as a troublesome event. It came to the highest authority–the king Władysław Vasa, to say the last word in it, and he ordered to conduct public Calvinist rituals 'in silence and without singing'.[70]

During the trials, some accusations were voiced by the Bernardine nuns that Calvinists often disturbed in the Catholic rituals–presumably, they threw stones at the funeral processions, interfered with masses, and did other things to disturb the religious practices of nearby located Catholics.[71] While the Calvinist community was not as zealous as the Genevan one, they still regarded the pompousness of Catholic rituals unreasonable. However, their disturbances must have been petty, for there are no violent cases caused by their actions.

This was not the last time when Jesuit incited Catholics violated Calvinists. In 1682 another sacrilegious violent act shook the *status quo*. A well organized group of Vilnans attacked the Saxon garden—the Calvinist cemetery, where their Church stood for more than four decades now, with neighboring school and hospice. The crowd rampaged through the church, burned its surroundings, and desecrated the graves by unearthing the dead. Marceli Kosman reports that excavations were followed by defilement of the bodies. The judicial process lasted four years, and after four perpetrators were sentenced to death, they managed to slip away and run abroad.[72]

Violence broke out during the funeral procession escorting Mikolay Kliczewski (d. 1667), Catholic Burgomaster of Vilnius. As a befitting ceremony required, this was a pompous and theatrical event, commemorating a well-known citizen. Number of guilds and

[70] Wisner, "Likwidacja Zboru Ewangelickiego," 101.
[71] Urszula Augustyniak, "Jeszcze Raz W Sprawie Tumultu Wileńskiego 1639 i jego Następstwach [One More Time on the Tumults in Vilnius in 1639 and its Consequences]," *Odrodzenie I Reformacja W Polsce*, 2006, 175. Similar accusation appears in an earlier case, when Jesuit students attacked Calvinist church in 1624, under the pretext that they pelted a Catholic procession with stones. The Calvinists swore they did not, see Kosman, "Konflikty Wyznaniowe," 20.
[72] Kosman, "Konflikty Wyznaniowe," 19.

brotherhoods attended, however, the occasion could not override the frictions between the Tailor and Salt Merchant guilds. Both members of the corporations tried to get as close as possible to the coffin, so that they could honor him by bearing candles alongside. Competition turned to grapple, and deteriorated into fighting. In the subsequent trial process, offenders stressed the professional and commercial strife between the guilds rather than the causes related to religion.[73] The predominantly social nature of the conflict remains relevant, yet somewhat differently. The social essence of the struggle prevents from interpreting it as a religiously driven violence. Ritual practices provided a trigger to manifest these, otherwise repressed, frictions.[74]

Against the background of multiplicity, cohabitation relied on peaceful interaction between different groups and their ability to benefit from it. It was made possible by a commonly shared space and membership to a civic community. Politically fueled allegiance allowed for cohabitation between individuals united by more exclusive bases of religion or trade. Ritualistic and theatrical events posed a challenge to this equilibrium, however, peaceful emergence from them might actually strengthen the communal political allegiance.

[73] Frick, *Kith, Kin, and Neighbors*, 386.
[74] This corresponds well with the anthropological interpretation of ritual as a manifestation of social tensions. For a comprehensive summary see Catherine M. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 35–37.

2. PETITIONS FROM THE GRAVE: DONATING, PLACING, REMEMBERING

Structure of the chapter is based on denominations and allows to avoid the comparison between of funeral practices where no basis for it may be justified. Differences reflecting in rites are determined by the beliefs towards afterlife, thus adopting a unified standard would lead to ignore the distinct religious sensibilities. However, testators are interconnected on the basis of shared political status–they are citizens of Vilnius. Thus, although they differ on religious grounds, all of them share political allegiance to the city.

In this chapter, the last wills are researched on several different grounds: by presenting the demography of the addressed group, explicating the funeral practices, and tracing the wealth allocation. All in all, 97 wills substitute the main body of the research, of which 60 are drawn up by Catholics; 7 by Greek Catholics; 15 Protestants; 15 Orthodox. However, documents from earlier and later periods were also addressed to question the longevity of trends or in search for adequate information for comparison, thus overall number of addressed documents is higher.[75]

2.1. The Western Rite

2.1.1. Catholics

The Catholic wills substitute the biggest part of the research material. It corresponds to the demography of the city, where Catholics held the absolute majority and were the best politically represented group. Alongside to the Greek Catholics they could choose where to be buried. Multiple options create an interesting background to investigate how the final dispensations are distributed, the memory is preserved and funeral ceremonies conducted.

[75] For a thorough discussion of structure and research questions, see Introduction.

The archive consists of 60 wills, evenly covering the research chronology. 38 of the testators are male, 9 of which held political posts, 8 were craftsmen, 5 merchants, 3 army officers and the remaining 13 were described only as citizens. The demography of the female part of the group is as follows–among 22 of them, 4 are widows, whereas others are named as citizens or described according to the position of the husband. Only 6 of the testators stated belonging to a corporate body. However, while the official proclamation of belonging might be missing, other people asked to be remembered or buried in the tombs of the brotherhoods, which was available to their members.[76] Thus, according to the records of their almsgiving practices or burial preferences, it might be presumed that 14 male[77] and 8 female[78] testators actually were members of various brotherhoods. The most popular one was the Brotherhood of the Rosary, organized in the Dominican Church of the Holy Spirit, uniting 9 testators. 27 testators out of 60, allocated their wealth after death towards various institutions.

Funerals take their full splendor in the Catholic tradition. Nevertheless, it also reveals the minimal requirements for the majority of the citizens were Catholic. Minimal wage for a ceremony with the participation of the clergy and other attributes which were presumed to belong in a "proper burial" costed around 10 złoty. This is the smallest amount of money ascribed specifically to the ceremony and it was repeated throughout the wills of different denominations.[79] However, the differences between funerals were stunning–while Stanislai Kulesz (d. 1663) asks only for a black cloth to cover his body,[80] Paul Boim (d. 1677) surrounds himself with a number of monks, priests and an escort of the lamenting poor amid

[76] E.g. Jan Cichowicz (d. 1665) asks to be buried in the tomb of confraternity of St. Virgin Mary at the church of St. Casimir, LVIA f. SA, 5334, 783.
[77] Ibid, 5334, 20; 883;1544;1577; Ibid., 5337, 283; Ibid., 5335, 96; Ibid., 5339, 207; Ibid., 5340, 301; Ibid., 5341, 59; Ibid., 387; Ibid., 5342, 6; Ibid., 5342, 38; VUB RS, F4-(A531)21864, 21925.
[78] LVIA f. SA, 5334, 388; Ibid., 5335, 671; Ibid., 672; Ibid., 5337, 41; Ibid., 278; Ibid., 5338, 487; Ibid., 5340, 132; RS F4-(A531)22004.
[79] Ibid., 5334, 79; Ibid., 1252; Ibid., 5334, 1577.
[80] Ibid., 5334, 80.

the chanting bells.[81] A proper funeral was of great importance and that is illustrated by the will of Stanislaw Czubakowski, who left his house to the convent of Discalced Carmelites, in order to assure himself and his wife a proper funeral.[82]

Catholic almsgiving transcended boundaries of confessions only in cases of political figures. However, no records show funding towards churches of other faith. Instead, testators concentrated on funding the Catholic churches with big amounts of money in exchange for promises to keep the memory. The political figures had an interest to set an example to the city community, but almsgiving beyond one's own denomination was not widespread. The donations ranged from few to few thousand złoty, while Paul Boim (d. 1677), proved to be most generous by donating over 17 000 to various churches and monasteries and another 3000 to the poor.[83]A unique example manifesting the political consciousness of the deceased was shown by Joseph Proniewski (d. 1690), a Secretary to the King and a wealthy merchant, who ascribed 500 złoty directly to the treasury of the Grand Duchy.[84]

The sums given to the social institutions were relatively small. If it was not for few generous testators, they could be interpreted as bearing only minimal importance. To illustrate the care for these institutions, an example from the will of the abovementioned Joseph Proniewski, might be taken. He states: "to the hospice of St. Stephen, lying in the outskirts of the city, the Rūdininkai suburb, which was damaged during the occupation and is in great need of repair, I ascribe one hundred złoty […] To the poor lying in the streets and begging, I ask that one hundred złoty be distributed."[85] Although the hospice of St. Stephen was already funded by Mikolay Kliczewski (d. 1664) with 1000 złoty, it still required attention even after

[81] Ibid, 5337, 432.
[82] Ibid., 5333, 341. A reconstruction and analysis of the funeral ceremony is conducted in the following chapter.
[83] Ibid, 5337, 436. This roughly constitutes a half of overall distributed alms, which amounts to 44 431 złoty.
[84] LVIA f. SA, 5337, 422.
[85] LVIA f. SA, 5337, 420

almost 20 years had passed from the liberation of the city. The rhetoric of the sources suggest that one seems to feel the need to justify donations to the hospice, which are bigger than 30 złoty.

Table 1: Catholic Charitable Almsgiving Practices

Hospices and the Poor	**Alms**
Poor	3420
St. Stephen Hospice	1225
St. Trinity Hospice (Uniate)	525
St. Joseph and Nikodem Hospice	55
St. Peter and Paul Hospice	50
St. George Hospice	40
St. Mary Magdalene Hospice	40
Brothers Hospitallers of Saint John of God Hospice	36
Orthodox Hospice	20
Total:	5411
Percentage:	12.17%[86]

Almsgiving shows that the citizens were not very concerned with the institutions providing poor relief. However, those were administered by civic and the church authorities, thus by ascribing wealth to the churches, one might presume that some of it might reach the poor and the sick living in the hospice. Usually the sums vary from 5 to 20 złoty and can hardly be seen as a significant improvement of the condition of either the inhabitants, or the hospice itself. Direct help to those in need was considered more important to the citizens as it is shown by the donation of 3000 złoty by Paul Boim (d. 1677), for the prayers of the poor were considered more easily finding a friendly ear, than those of a wealthy man. Interestingly,

[86] Percentage of alms given to the hospices in comparison with all other funeral dispensations. Sums are in złoty.

the prospect of the hospice inhabitants praying for their patrons was not alluring enough to motivate bigger alms.[87]

A similar situation is seen in the donations to the ecclesiastic confraternities.[88] The sums given to these corporate bodies ranged up to 100 złoty. A donation by Jan Kaimer (d. 1674), stands out, who ascribed 5180 złoty to the Brotherhood of the Rosary, asking to keep his memory and pray for his soul.[89] The participation in these confraternities was not a cheap endeavor–one of the testators mentions the fee for joining it being 300 złoty.[90] As the support has been shown earlier, most testators find no need to repeat the practice. One should bear in mind, that participation in a certain confraternity was a social statement as much as it was religious–some of those were organized on the terms of profession and might be reserved only the embers of the magistrate, on the other hand another corporation joined the beggars.

Overall, the biggest sums were ascribed to the churches and the orders that service them.[91] It might be seen as an outcome of interrelation between the religiously determined predispositions towards afterlife, and the church as a social body, which was surrounded by other institutions and sheltered communities. Usually a wealthy testator would give different sums of money to number of churches, rather than ascribing a bigger sum to one church or order. While the rich spread their resources, the poorer citizens concentrated on benefiting the one where they intended to be buried. Those who could afford it, extended their alms from the chosen church to its related institutions. For example, Stanislaw Misiukiewicz (d. 1686) asked to be buried in the church of the Holy Spirit, to which he left 150 złoty, his alms extended to the Brotherhood of the Rosary, organized in the same church–100 złoty, another

[87] This finding is the opposite of what has been shown in earlier historiography, see Rowell, "The Role Of Charitable Activity," 50.
[88] These amounted to 17,26% of overall dispensations, however, the bigger part of the sum was donated by one person, thus if it was ignored, the percentage would drop to 3.9%.
[89] VUB RS, F4-(A531)21864.
[90] LVIA f. SA, 5341, 387.
[91] For a general overview see Table 2: Donations to Catholic Churches and Monastic Orders, below.

church served by the Dominican fathers, bearing the title of St. Jacob and Phillip, was ascribed 25 złoty.[92] He showed allegiance towards the Dominican Order in general, and by dividing the alms he earned the benevolence of the whole monastic group, rather than only those who serve at the certain church. While the allegiance towards Dominicans is predominant, Misiukiewicz also funds Calced Carmelites and the Uniate Basilian fathers. Thus final dispensations were flexible and allowed for showing affinity to various orders.

However, not just any affinities might be shown. Looking from a more general perspective, a pattern in almsgiving emerges: the testators who would give bigger sums to the Discalced Carmelites, tend to avoid funding the unreformed branch of the Order. This is also true vice versa, besides, those funding the Carmelites of the Antique Observation, show less sympathy towards the Jesuit Order. It seems, that a rupture between two types of spirituality could be traced by a deeper research into this topic, for a divorce between the spirituality of pre and post Trident orders seems to manifest even at the level of almsgiving.

According to the sources, wealthier almsgivers preferred the post-Tridentian orders: biggest dispensations went to the orders of Discalced Carmelites, and the Jesuits, who overall gained 6860 złoty. However, the orders receiving alms most frequently were the Calced Carmelites and Dominicans. Thus whilst the church of St. Teresa could be seen as the most prestigious one, churches of All Saints and Holy Spirit were the most loved.

[92] Ibid., 5339, 528.

Table 2: Donations to Catholic Churches and Monastic Orders

Order, Church	**Sum**
Discalced Carmelites, St. Teresa	7300
Dominicans, Holy Spirit	5085
Jesuits, St. John	5000
Bernardines, St. Francis and Bernard and St. Anne	2335
Franciscans, The Assumption of The Blessed Virgin Mary	1855
Jesuits, St. Casimir	1610
Basilians, St. Trinity (Greek Catholic)	1425
Brothers Hospitallers of Saint John of God, St. Cross	1215
Benedictines, St. Catherine	1000
Bernardines (female), St. Michael	800
Calced Carmelites, All Saints	605
Dominicans, St. Jacob and Phillip	245
Jesuits, St. Stephen	200
Calced Carmelites, St. George	110
Jesuits, St. Ignotus	50
Augustinians, Blessed Virgin Mary of Consolation	10
Canons Regular of the Lateran, St. Peter and Paul	10
Total:	28 805
Percentage:	64,94%[93]

These findings resound in burial practices: the most popular burial place was the church of the Holy Ghost, whereas, the most prestigious one was the church of St. Theresa. The latter was serviced by the neighboring convent of Discalced Carmelites and located beside the Gate of Dawn, the only remaining Orthodox church of the Holy Ghost, and the

[93] Percentage of alms given to the churches in comparison with all other funeral dispensations. Sums are in złoty.

Greek Catholic church of St. Trinity.[94] The construction of the church ended in 1654 a year prior to the occupation of the Muscovite troops. It retained only a part of its former glory after the liberation, nevertheless, the church of St. Teresa served as the mausoleum for some of the wealthiest citizens of Vilnius.

At the advent of eighteenth-century, testators start to express wishes to be buried outside the city walls, nearby the churches of St. Stephen, St. Phillip and Jacob or the cemetery of St. Peter and Paul. The pleas to be buried in the surrounding suburbs may be indications of a general change in burial practices. Usually these changes are caused by either internal stimulus, the declining need to place the body *ad sanctos*, or external factors, such as municipal hygiene regulations. Whichever of these was the case, it historiography states that until the end of the 18th century the common practice was to burry inside the city walls. The outskirts were reserved for people who have failed to uphold social or religious norms. Hence, Mikolay Luczynski (d. 1690)[95] is an interesting example because the cemetery preferred by the testator were outside the city and further from sacral spaces. Especially so, since other testators express the wish to be buried inside the city walls.[96]

Table 3: The Allocation of the Body After Death

The Church Title and affiliation	**No. of burials**
Church of the Holy Spirit, Dominican Order	15
Church of All Saints, Carmelite Order	8
Church of St. Theresa, Discalced Carmelites	8
Church of St. Casimir, Jesuit Order	7
Church of St. John the Apostle, Jesuit Order	5

[94] See Appendix 1 for a detailed map of Vilnius.
[95] LVIA f. SA, 5340, 416
[96] Philippe Ariés, *The Hour of Our Death* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 528–33. This claim has been verified in the context of Vilnius in Paknys, *Mirtis LDK kultūroje*, 104–5.

Curch of St. Francis and Bernard, Bernardine Order	6
Church of the Ascention of Virgin Mary, Franciscans	3
Church of St. Stephen, Jesuit Order (?)	1
Church of St. Philip and Jacob, Dominican Order	1
Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Consolation, Augustinian Fathers	1
Cemetery of the St. Peter and Paul, Canons Regular of the Lateran	1
Total	56[97]

Remembrance was ensured by generous donations which came with a plea to retain the memory after death. Thus alms had a very prominent utilitarian function, motivated by faith. The posthumous remembrance is vital to Catholics because of the belief in the purgatory, hence these dispensations are important. In a way, they serve as the investments for a better afterlife. While the monetary alms were the most usual way to secure remembrance, sometimes the deceased was commemorated by material items. A poetic example of embodying memory is found in Jan Kaimer's (d. 1674) will, who was a soldier. He left his sword to a friend and humbly asked to be remembered in his prayers.[98] Mikolay Kliczewski (d. 1663) funded a new altar in the church of St. Teresa, under which he asked to be buried and there should be remembered.[99] Thus he contributed to the revival of the church.

Burials in the church, and especially under a family altar, were reserved to the highest echelons of society. Burial in a brotherhood crypt was more common. In this case, the individual character of memory is downplayed, but the body of the testator is still placed in the most desirable locus–the church itself, and memory is carried on alongside with other members of the brotherhood. Some attempts to individualize it in this setting can be seen. For

[97] The number of available wills and the data do not coincide, for some of the documents are unreadable.
[98] VUB RS, F4-(A531)21865.
[99] LVIA f. SA, 5333, 342. Stephan Karas, who funds the altar at the Franciscan church, but is buried in another church. His memory is embodied in both churches. See Ibid., 5339, 16.

example, Matthias Klarowski (d. 1692) donates three expensive candlesticks to the altar;[100] Stephan Karas (d. 1684), asks some oil lamps to be lit nearby the altar.[101] However, these individualization practices were also available only to the wealthy.

An attempt to avoid fading into anonymity can be seen in the still surviving inscription on the wall of the Cathedral of Vilnius. Jakob Naporkowski funded a memorial panel, stating, that he and his family died in the plague and left 5000 złoty to the Cathedral, hence the priests pledge to celebrate a mass in their name two times a week and one sung mass every month and a yearly vigil on February the 5th, until the end of days.[102] The panel was placed there in 1636 and it is one of the earliest surviving material traces of this kind in the city. However, while the memory is preserved, it is divorced from the body of the deceased, for the place of burial would most likely have been a common grave for the victims of the plague.

Majority of citizens were buried in the churchyards, where their bodies joined the community of the dead, and their individual entities were forgotten. In the Baroque culture, the body was viewed in a quite negative light: "my sinful body, as it is made from the dirt, I give back to it," state most of the wills. Traditionally, after the burial, the memory is divorced from the body and most of the time it is only preserved in the memory of the living: the name would be said in the prayers and during masses. The trend to materially embody memory was finding its way in Vilnius. However, in the latter part of seventeenth—century, the memorial practices mostly took immaterial forms of masses and prayers.

Thus in the light of negative perception of the body, the desire to tie the memory of the deceased with the actual resting place might be seen as an anachronism. Almost no

[100] LVIA f. SA, 5341, 60.
[101] Ibid., 5339, 16.
[102] Włodzimierz Appel, ed., *Inskrypcje z Wileńskich kościołów* [Inscriptions from the Churches of Vilnius]. *T. 1*, 2005, 40.

testators ask to carry out the practices of remembrance–masses or prayers–at a strictly defined burial place. It might even be argued contrary to that: for the place of burial and material signs of its commemoration coincide only so rarely, whereas, the ignorance for the body, as in the general disregard to its burial place, is more than evident in the wills, where usually only the preferred church is mentioned. Instead the memory is transported into mobile material things. Only later the body becomes a dominant vessel of memory after death, which is illustrated by the will of Joseph Paszkiewicz (d. 1774). He asks his family to remember and pray for him in the exact spot of his burial–the Crucified Lord Jesus altar in the church of St. Teresa.[103]

2.1.2. Protestants

The Magistrates record books contain only scarce mentions about the Protestant community of Vilnius: there are remaining 13 testaments citizens of Lutheran testators, and the Calvinists are represented by only 2 wills. While it is true that the latter community's numbers were comparatively low at the time, disposing such a scarce source base will allow only to catch a glimpse of their practices by comparing their wills with those of Lutheran testators. 4 of 13 known wills are written by female testator, out of whom 1 is described as a widow and the status of remaining three are unknown. Among the male were one served in the municipal institution as a benchman,[104] two craftsmen,[105] a wholesaler[106] and two merchants.[107] 6 wills are dated in the 1660's, 4 in 1680's and remaining 2 in 1690's, thus chronology is unequal.

The Protestant faithful are seen as those meeting death with calm and submission, ending their life as a candle in the wind. This sublime silence about the funeral ceremonies reflect in the remaining wills of Vilnans. The only trait present throughout the wills is the plea

[103] LVIA f. SA, 5353, 141.
[104] Ibid, 5333, 470.
[105] Ibid., 5334, 168; Ibid., 5340, 265.
[106] LVIA f. SA, 5335, 174.
[107] Ibid., 5335 718; Ibid., 5340, 413.

to be buried according to their Augsburg rite in the usual place. However, the tranquil religiosity of the protestants bears marks of the epoch–wills are embellished with traits of Baroque rhetoric. Most prominent examples state the contempt to the body, saying that it "is made of earth, it has to be given back to it"[108] or that it "is nothing more than dust and dirt."[109] Similar examples run through the wills of the most testators, thus, it might be taken as a reflection of the common attitude towards the body and death.

"The usual burial place" was the most common and almost the only indicator as to where the members of Lutheran community were to be buried. While the Lutheran church still is located in the heart of the city, their cemetery lay outside the walls.[110] This meant that the deceased had to be escorted for a longer distance until they reached the cemetery. Judging from the silence, it seems that no other directions were necessary, for it was clear where the dead had to be laid to rest.

Only one testator refers to the Calvinist cemetery as the "Saxon."[111]Michael Reyner (d. 1728) specifies it as being outside the city gates,[112] while others do not give any clues of its location. The will of Calvinist Henrik Mones (d. 1666) sheds some light on the manner by asking to be buried in a tomb nearby the Calvinist Church,[113] which suggests that more desired places for burial were available but were left unspecified. Despite the presented examples, when it comes to burial, the Protestant social stratification in the cemeteries was not as prominent as Catholics. This was determined not only by the postulates of religion, but also by the relatively marginal place of the community in the overall context of the city, which encouraged communal unity.

[108] Ibid., 5341, 275.
[109] Ibid., 5335, 718.
[110] See Appendix 1 for a detailed map of Vilnius.
[111] Ibid, 5334, 271.
[112] Ibid, 5345, 66.
[113] Ibid., 5335, 40.

The Protestant wills show little desire for preserving the memory of the deceased, unlike Catholics. However, an excerpt from a funeral sermon given by Stanisław Grodzicki is illuminating, yet it has to be taken with a pinch of salt for he was one of the leading Jesuits. He states that Lutheran cemetery was: "full of epitaphs, that is to say, tablets, or funereal pictures[…]usually with this inscription in German at the end: *Welcher selbe Gott genedig sei*, that is, "for whose soul may the Lord God be merciful."[114]

If one was to disregard the remaining bits of testamentary rhetoric, the documents would come very close to normative texts managing questions of wealth and transmitting the words which otherwise might have been left untold. For example, Katharyna Gierlyczowa (d. 1664) composed her will with the intention to save the trouble for her close ones and enlisted every financial aspect left unsettled.[115] Hanus Magdeburgens (d. 1665) asked for Christian forgiveness from those whom he might have offended, thus easing the moral issues.[116] Regina Marcinowa (d. 1685) finished her will by reminding her children to remain faithful to Lutheran confession. Only the will of Arent Engelbrecht (d. 1680) bears signs of uncertainty: he asks to be buried on the fifth day after his death, when his soul will have separated from the body and would have attained the eternal life.[117] This is a strange passage to read, bearing in mind that protestants usually refrain from these sort of considerations by submitting to the will of God.

Despite the general disregard for remembrance, the testators share their wealth with broader circles than the family. It is a manifestation of solidarity, on which community's existence relied. One third of the analyzed wills keep the record of almsgiving to the Lutheran

[114] Quoted from: Frick, *Kith, Kin, and Neighbors*, 358.
[115] Ibid., 5334, 272.
[116] Ibid., 5333, 472.
[117] Ibid., 5341, 275.

institutions–hospice and the church.[118] Protestants manifest a closer ties with the preachers–two wills record a practice to dispense wealth among the people serving the church. Engelbrecht leaves 25 złoty to his confessor, rev. Samuel Dąbrowki, while Anna Halszka (d. 1683) divides 222 złoty among the church personnel, ministers, and the Lutheran church in Kaunas. A case of individualized funding is present in one Catholic will.[119] Besides these religiously motivated acts of charity, Halszka ascribes 6 złoty to each Catholic hospice in the city.[120] Melchior Illis (d. 1663), the swordsmith, has done the same, although ascribing 10 złoty to each hospice, within or outside the city walls. Besides the Christian hospices, the latter formulation includes alms to the Jewish institution.

Although based on scarce sources, the inquiry into the protestant funeral rites presents quite a different picture from the Catholics. Their silence about remembrance and funeral celebrations provides the wills with an impression of tranquility and reconciliation with the fate. Lutherans seem to be more inclusive towards other groups in the city, which was manifested by funding the institutes belonging other denominations, which might be interpreted as strengthening their own political belonging in the city.

2.2. The Eastern Rite

2.2.1. Orthodox

The Orthodox community is represented by 15 wills, which cover the chronological period quite evenly–1660's is represented by 4, 1670's—2, 1680's–5, 1690's–4 documents. The group consist of 6 female and 9 male testators, of which even 6 present themselves as

[118] LVIA f. SA, 5334, 169; Ibid., 5335, 718; Ibid., 5338, 452; Ibid., 5341, 277.
[119] Matthias Sawrimowicz (d. 1695), merchant left 250 złoty to Jerzy Bilewicz, a White Augustinian (Ordo Canonicorum Regularium Mendicantium S. Mariae De Metro De Poenitentia) monk and a priest, servicing the church of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, see LVIA f. SA, 5342, 6.
[120] Ibid., 5338, 455.

merchants.[121] The status of the remaining part of the group remains oblique–they are named citizens. The identification of the female part of the group is determined by the trade of their husbands.[122] Overall it seems that the available archival material focuses on the wealthier part of the community. However, the most important components of the funeral rites can be extracted.

The church of the Holy Spirit was the only remaining bastion of Orthodoxy in Vilnius, thus the religious and communal life was organized around it. The services were held by monks, who served as schoolmasters in the adjacent Orthodox school. Hospice and printing house were part of it too. Thus the life of an Orthodox Vilnan centered around this area, which was just around the corner from one of the most popular newly built Catholic churches under the title of St. Teresa and St. Casimir, and only few steps away from the Gates of Dawn, where a famous miracle painting was stored. Right in front of the Orthodox complex the church of Holy Trinity stands still, which, according to a legend, was built in the place of the first Orthodox Church in the city. From 1607 serviced to the Basilian monks of the Greek Catholic rite and belonged to that community.[123]

The complex assembled the living, sheltered the old, and harbored the dead. The social stratification is evident in the Orthodox burial habits–while majority remain silent about the preferred burial place,[124] some testators express the wish to be buried in the churchyard.[125] Others choose a more exclusive place for their final rest. For example, Pawel Kosobucki (d. 1689) asked to be buried in a one of the two family mausoleums, which is motivated by his ambiguous family ties with their owners.[126] Jan Radkiewicz (d. 1691) specified that his body

[121] LVIA f. SA 5334, 1061; Ibid., 5337, 84; Ibid., 5340, 224; AVAK V, 204; AVAK X, 174.
[122] Ibid., 5341, 395.
[123] For more detailed explications of the Orthodox situation, see ch. 1.
[124] Ibid., 5342, 343. It is usually taken to indicate the preference of burial in the churchyard.
[125] LVIA f. SA, 5339, 572.
[126] AVAK, tome IX, 510.

is ought to be placed in the communal tomb under the altar of the brotherhood of the Holy Spirit.[127] There are some signs that gender also played a role in placing the dead to a particular place, e.g. Theodora Czarniakowska (d. 1695) asked to be buried alongside the greater entrance to the church, reserved for women , provided there was enough space.[128] This serves to show that from the point of view of the living, social ties transcended the veil of death and were mirrored in the churchyard, even in this close knit community of Vilnan Orthodox.

While the shared locus could be seen as uniting community, greater social differences were manifested in the aspects of being escorted through death–in the funeral procession and other ceremonies. The researched material show how the deceased wished to be escorted, e.g. the abovementioned Jan Radkiewicz (d. 1691) asked his wife to avoid any unnecessary funeral pomp, to place his body on a bier and bury to the ground, accompanied only by the mass for his soul.[129] This urge for simplicity might be contrasted with the prevalent practices of the day, which could become a public splendor. Anna Danilowna (d. 1663) states in her will that her sinful body has to be buried properly with various festivities and diverse almsgiving, which she binds the Orthodox fathers to carry out in the funeral, for which she leaves 200 kop.[130] This sum is quite high, compared to what has been ascribed by the Catholics. It allows for a pompous ceremony, however, the testator does not specify anything else beside that it has to be carried out in a suitable fashion. However, the sums for the funeral ceremonies go way higher than that, e.g. 1500 złoty were ascribed by Theodora Czarniakowska (d. 1695).

[127] Ibid., 503.
[128] LVIA f. SA, 5342, 395. The tern used in the will, "babinc," was reconstructed to its full form – babiniec
[129] Ibid., 504.
[130] LVIA f. SA, 5334, 606. Equivalent to around 400 złoty. Kop constitutes of 60 groszy, while a złoty – from 30 groszy.

The practices of remembrance are quite varied and it is hard to trace a pattern of those from the analyzed source material. However, the religiously dictated forms of are more common than the other: panikhidas are demanded by 4 testators.[131] Otherwise, the pleas to be remembered in the prayers of the family members, the churchmen and the members of brotherhoods are mentioned. Konrad Parfionowicz (d. 1664) asks his name to be inscribed into the Subotnik,[132] a record book kept by the church, where the names of the deceased are inscribed and their souls are later prayed for.[133] However, most of the time remembrance is bought by various donations: Pawel Kosobucki (d. 1689) distributed over 700 złoty to the Church and brotherhoods, in exchange for his name being written into their books or remember him in their prayers.[134] He also embodied his memory by giving a small silver oil lamp to the Church and ascribed 300 złotys for the oil.[135] Jan Radkiewicz gave a precious silver cross adorned with pearls and golden ornaments, which had to hang over the altar of the brotherhood as a reminder of him.[136] Krzystof Sokolowski donated his library to the Orthodox monks to ensure his own remembrance as a patron.[137]

These donations represent the patron only in a certain way: they are not explicitly individualized, but aim to serve the common good of the community. An example which epitomizes this kind of donation practices found in the will of Nikolai Gregowich (d. 1734), who ascribes funding to fix a leaking roof of the church.[138] In exchange for these contributions

[131] "A memorial service for the dead, which takes the form of drastically curtailed vigil," quoted from F. L. Cross and Elizabeth A. Livingstone, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 1214.LVIA f. SA, 5334, 1061; Ibid., 5337, 84; Ibid., 5341, 395; AVAK IX, 503.
[132] LVIA f. SA, 5334, 1061.
[133] Wioletta Zielecka, "Pamięć o zmarłych wśród szlachty obrządków wschodnich w XVI-XVII wieku w świetle testamentów [Memory of the dead among the nobility of the Eastern rite in the 16th-17th centuries on the basis of last wills and testaments]/ Wioletta Zielecka.," *Tradycja - metody przekazywania i formy upamiętnienia w państwie polsko-litewskim, XV - pierwsza połowa XIX wieku : materiały XIX konferencji Komisji Lituanistycznej przy Komitecie Nauk Historycznych PAN w dniach 21-22 września 2010*, 2011, 153–69.
[134]LVIA f. SA, 5340, 224.
[135] Ibid., also asked by Semion Gukowicz see AVAK VIII, 524; this tradition spans into the 18th century, e.g. AVAK IX, 547 (year 1778).
[136] AVAK XI, 505.
[137] AVAK VIII, 524.
[138] AVAK IX, 533.

the Orthodox faithful asked to be mentioned in the prayers of the monks or members of a brotherhood—people who were able to associate gift with the memory of the patron.

However, the main donations towards the church came in the form of money. Compared to other denominations, Orthodox tend to ascribe large sums to their community. The abovementioned Krzystof Sokolowski donated 5000 złoty, Ivan Safronowicz (d. 1681) gave an amount of 10 000 złoty,[139] and the other faithful also professed their allegiance through the means of generous donations, varying from 50 to 500 złotys, which was aimed exclusively at funding the orthodox institutions. Only once we find a donation to the Greek Catholic structures–9000 złotys, given by the same Ivan Safronowicz. Otherwise, the final dispensations were limited to their own institutions, which strengthened its position as a center for Orthodox culture in the surrounding region. Instead of funding corporate bodies of other denominations or the city itself, wealthy Orthodox merchants directed their funding towards other religious centers of Orthodoxy.[140]

The deceased would reinforce their communal ties with brothers in faith throughout the Grand Duchy. Instead of limiting themselves to the city, Vilnan Orthodox operated on a wider frame–donations spread from Vilnius to other centers of Orthodoxy, sponsoring the remaining opposition to the Ecclesiastical Union.[141] Alongside with the funding, the memory of the person also migrated to the other spiritual centers, as the testators asked for masses to be held in their name, or, at the event of death, the bells to be chanted not only in Vilnius, but

[139] AVAK IX, 501.
[140] The sources for donations are LVIA f. SA, 5340, 224 (200 złotys); Ibid., 5341, 395 (40 złotys under the condition of holding mass for the testator.) Interpreted in this sense, the repeated donations to the monastery in Kruonis would reinforce the position that it was an Orthodox temple, rather than the first Greek Catholic church in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It has been a subject of debate in historiography. The argument for belonging to Orthodox Church is proposed and upheld by Rūta Ostrovskaja, Kruonio maldos namų konfesinės priklausomybės klausimas *in:* Soter. 2012, 41 (69). p. 89-102.
[141] It would be interesting to trace if they received any support or acted only as the center of the Orthodox culture.

also in their hometown.[142] It served to communicate the news of a passing, and, on a wider scale, strengthen ties between the remaining Orthodox faithful by making use of death.

The repercussions of political processes echo through the wills of the Orthodox community. Documents reveal their lack of connection with the overall community of the city. The political situation prevented them from full integration, thus they directed resources towards the improvement of their own community and strengthening ties with other Orthodox centers in the region. Whereas impressive amounts of money are directed to uphold the religious institutions to which the deceased belonged, no signs of civic compatriotism are shown. The unfavorable situation of the community encouraged its members to define themselves against other groups and added to the growing antagonism among people of different denominations. The Orthodox, judging by the researched material, were not only alienated on the political and ecclesiastical level in Vilnius, but also reacted to it by increasing the alienation. They united with the remaining centers which resisted the Union of Brest, and claimed the leading role of disunites for the church of the Holy Spirit.

2.2.2. Greek Catholic

Despite the fact that the Uniate community was encouraged by the authorities and had political rights the city, the number of wills has proved to be extremely limited. Only seven of them are recorded in the books of Magistrate court in the given period. This body of sources makes it quite difficult to address the issues in question to an at least probable extent, thus they are addressed in comparison to the discussed Orthodox wills.

The chronology of the documents that have been extracted from the archives is more consistent on the earlier part of the period: 5 of 7 were verified in the 1660's, another one is

[142] AVAK IX, 547.

dated 1686, the last–1700. While the chronology is quite imbalanced, its earlier focus allows to test out a suggested hypothesis about the increase of civically motivated charity as the aftermath of political turbulence. Four of the testators are male, three are female, and only two of them clarified their occupation (both of them male) one was named the Burgomaster,[143] while the other as a merchant.[144] Other five testators were named as *civis Vilnensis*. Katharyna Wasilewska (d. 1686) talks of herself as a "pitiable creature of God" which, on a broader scale can be interpreted as a manifestation of Baroque pious rhetoric in the will. However, the claim seems more than fitting, for during her life she lost two husbands and married for a third time, and soon afterwards fell ill with a sickness from which she did not think she would be able to recover.[145] She describes herself as a citizen and a wife of a merchant.[146] Another similar example is seen in the testament of Maria Czaplinska (d. 1667), where the notary describes her as a widow, although she herself does not mention that in the original text of the will.[147] Two testators specifically declare belonging to a brotherhood titled Eastern Rite Catholic brotherhood of Saint Virgin Mary Patronage, established in the church of Saint Trinity in 1622.[148] Incidentally, these are the same people whose occupations are known: Samuel Filipwicz (d. 1663)–merchant, and Jan Kukowicz (d. 1666)–Burgomaster.

There is little to say about the funeral ceremonies of the Eastern Rite Catholics based on the inquired archival footage. Most of the time after professing their religious allegiance to the Church, and specifying a place of burial they state that the ceremony should be conducted based on the customs of the community or according to the rites of their confession. The usual phrase being "according to the Christian rite,"[149] however, an intriguing example

[143] LVIA f. SA, 5335, 116.
[144] AVAK IX, 492.
[145] LVIA f. SA, 5339, 510.
[146] Ibid., "mizerna stworzenia Boskie"; "mieszczka y kupcowa Wilen[ska]".
[147] LVIA f. SA, 5335, 209.
[148] LVIA f. SA, 5335, 116; AVAK XI, 492. Jovaiša, "Brolijos," 128.
[149] LVIA f. SA, 5335, p. 307.

is recorded in the will of the abovementioned Katharyna Wasilewska, where she explicitly states that she wants to be escorted with the ceremony according to the Orthodox rite.[150] This plea is followed by a wish to be buried alongside her husband in the Orthodox churchyard.

While in her case this decision might be motivated by the pertinence of family ties with the deceased her second husband (despite the fact that she remarried), similar request is present in the wills of other Greek Catholics. Tendency to bury in the territory belonging to another confession, could be explained by the family ties, for other two testators state that they want to be laid to rest in a family tomb, which happens to be besides the Orthodox church.[151] However, one remaining example does not motivate the decision of burial, Maria Semionowiczowa (d. 1667), a widow of Greek Catholic faith states that the body should be placed nearby the Orthodox church. All her remaining worldly belongings should go to the Orthodox Monastery and the church, while part of the ascribed wealth should serve as a substitute for her funerary rites and subsequent remembrance.[152] Testator clearly states that after her death, the Orthodox Fathers should pray for her soul and suggests that they should also be the ones conveying the necessary rituals. This contrasts to another example coming from the later period. Zophia Ihnatowiczowa (d. 1700) asked to be buried in her family tomb nearby the Orthodox church, however, according the Greek Catholic funeral rites.[153]

Nevertheless, according to the examined wills, three testators ask to be buried besides, or in, the Greek Catholic church (all of them at the church of the Holy Trinity)[154] while other four chose the Church of the Holy Spirit as their final resting place. Some of these actions are motivated by family ties thus seemingly bypass the political sphere of the question, however,

[150] LVIA f. SA, 5339, 511.
[151] LVIA f. SA, 5335, 307; Ibid., 53341, 488.
[152] Ibid., 209.
[153] LVIA f. SA, 5341, 488.
[154] AVAK IX, 492; LVIA f. SA 5335, 81; Ibid., 116.

an example of allegiance towards the Orthodox Church by funding its institutions might provide further evidence.

The almsgiving reveal that the Greek Catholics often gave their wealth to the Orthodox institutions, sometimes even at the extent of funding their own. According to the wills, when funding the hospices similar sums are ascribed, however, the funds for the Greek Catholic hospices are distributed, the Orthodox counterpart gains a bigger amount. Different from Roman Catholics, they also funded orthodox monasteries and church, more generously, taking shape not only in money, but also land or other precious things. These trends illustrate that despite the efforts to enforce the Ecclesiastic Union, it was not yet entrenched in the local customs and the Orthodox institutions enjoyed a more consistent and generous funding. It is interesting to note that these remarks apply to the abovementioned municipal officer, who donated more to the Orthodox institutions, despite belonging to a Greek Catholic brotherhood. However, the distribution of wealth did not transgress the boundaries of the Eastern rite. No testators gave financial support to institutions beyond the proximity of their own tradition.

The practices of remembrance according to the wills are mainly limited to intangible manifestations, such as prayers and masses. As usual the testators ask to be remembered in the prayers of their families and the people receiving their alms–the monks and the poor. The two proclaimed members of the religious brotherhood also have the privilege to ask for their names to be written into the books and repeated at the masses, for what they ascribe part of their wealth. Jan Kukowicz (d. 1666) even asks to be buried by the members of the religious brotherhood in the tomb that belongs to them, and for that he leaves 50 złoty, a sum chosen accordingly to his current situation, because he lost his possessions during the Muscovite invasion.[155]

[155] LVIA f. SA 5335, 117.

Some more unusual practices of tying the memory of a person with a certain locus can be traced in two wills. Samuel Filipowicz (d. 1663) ascribes funds for a restauration of garments on icon of the Blessed Virgin Mary placed in the church of the Holy Trinity and asks the priests to pray for the soul in front of the icon in its restored splendor. Interestingly, the same testator asks to be remembered by the monks of the Holy Spirit to whom he leaves a piece of land, laying not far away from their monastery. He asks the Orthodox monks to pray there for his soul.[156] Simon Jakubowicz (d. 1668) ascribes 400 kops[157] to the Orthodox priests, so that they would keep his memory, yet introduces a requirement that they could not take more than 60 kop a year, thus securing the masses for his soul for another six or seven years. Another example reminds of a more conventional practices of today–the abovementioned Zophia Ihnatawiczowa (d. 1700) asks for a marble stone to be placed over the her grave after a year has passed from her funeral.[158]

As it was noted earlier, the present data is too scarce to arrive at broader conclusions that would extend beyond stating the fact. However, from the examined wills it seems that Greek Catholics retained closer ties with Orthodox community, than other denominations.

2.3. Trends, Deviations, and Exceptions

The hypothesis that civic unity increased at the time of political turbulence, did not reflect in the almsgiving practices. The religious boundaries implied deeper ruptures than the political belonging could overcome. Vilnans rarely tended to transgress the bounds of their denomination by wealth allocations, and if they did, only social institutions benefitted from

[156] AVAK IX, 494.
[157] It converts into around 800 złoty.
[158] LVIA f. SA, 5341, 488.

it. Hospices and brotherhoods received some funding made at the final hours, however, a slight minority of citizens gave to institutions of other denominations.

Ascriptions for the funeral processions show signs of theatricality and pomp, which can be derived from sums allocated for the ceremony. However, most of the time details remain oblique, because of the abstract rhetoric used. Some ascribed sums for proper rituals suggest that it was a significant festivity, however, analysis based only on source material proved to be insufficient.

Remembrance took material and immaterial forms. The latter predominated—prayers and masses were more important than the material remainders of a passed person. However, material embodiments of memory were gaining popularity. Traces of increasing association of body with the posthumous memory comes forward in attempts to localize memory and the body as close as possible. This, however, did not fully apply to the Protestants, who, according to the wills, largely disregarded the posthumous remembrance.

A trend emerging in remembrance practices, points toward the changing status of the body. It gains importance after death, because the memory of a person steadily grows inextricable from it. Vilnan wills point towards a process of increasing individualization after death. Instead of joining a community of the dead, Vilnans show a growing interest to retain and differentiate their memory by binding it with a certain material object or locus. Strengthening ties between the memory of the deceased, its material embodiments and the body, provides the burial place a different status of importance. While the Orthodox have shown more inclination towards preserving individual localized memory, Catholics also show signs of turning towards this practice.

Besides the religion imposed differences shown by the Protestants, other denominations have not demonstrated a great difference in preferences when it came to the

funeral procession. The most important differences must have been decided by the teachings pertaining burial, while additional parts of the ceremony came from the shared cultural environment. The edict prohibiting Lutherans to enact procession with songs and chanting bells shows that their processions also took a festive character. The procession was externally similar among the confessions. Its more in-depth analysis is undertaken in the next chapter.

3. SIGNIFICANCE OF FUNERAL PROCESSIONS

The research carried out in the previous chapter has shown that civic belonging in Vilnius did not provide a sufficient alternative to religious affiliation despite the political turbulences. Presumably, in a community heavily segregated by religion, public employment of religious signs and symbols would supply a pretext for disrupting balance. However, history shows few examples of violence associated with the funeral ceremonies.[159] Contradiction between this presumption and historical reality motivates to look into the significance of funeral rites on the social atmosphere of the city.

In this chapter I focus on funeral processions. Its publicity gives a chance to provoke a reaction from the onlookers and set the stage for a possible crisis. In order to address this particular part of the ritual, procession is reconstructed based upon the source materials and discussion of historiography. This leads to identifying most important symbols in the ceremony. The possible effects of those is analyzed by employing a theory of semiotic anthropology. It allows to understand the relations onlookers might possess towards the symbols. The third part of the chapter analyzes political significance of a funeral procession.

3.1. The Macabre Festivity: *Pompa Funebris*

The peculiarities of cultural norms are best perceived by the foreign eyes. Bernard O'Connor (d.1698), a distinguished anatomist and personal physician to Jan Sobieski, remarks:[160]

> "The Ceremonies of Burial in *Poland* are usually celebrated with so great Pomp and Magnificence, that one would rather take them for Triumphs than Enterments. The Corps having been put into the Coffin, it is plac'd in a Herse or Chariot with six Horses, all cover'd with black Housings, The Coffin has a

[159] See ch. 1.3.

[160] For his short biography, see Sir Leslie Stephen, *The Dictionary of National Biography* (Macmillan, 1887), 21–23. For summary of Englishmen's view on the Commonwealth, see Józef Jasnowski, "Poland's Past in English Historiography: 17th-18th Centuries," *The Polish Review* 3, no. 1/2 (1958): 21–35.

> large black Velvet Pall thrown over it, with a Cross of red Satin in the Middle, and six long black Silk Tassels hanging down from it, which are born up by as many of the deceas'd Person's Domesticks, all in close Mourning. Before the Chariot march several Priests, Monks, and a great Number of People, each of which carries a white Wax Torch lighted in his Hand, next to whom, and immediately before the Herse come three Men on Horseback who carry the Arms of the deceased, one his Sword, another his Lance, and the third his Dart. […] The Procession thus set out, marches very slowly, in a manner that they usually come late to the Church. After the Burial-Service is over, those that carry'd the Armour enter the Church on Horse-back, and furiously riding up to the Coffin, break the Arms of the deceas'd thereupon; after which the Body is Inter'd. Then they return to the House, where there is always a great Feast prepar'd, when the Lay-Guests will not only drink to Excess, but likewise force the Clergy to follow their Example."[161]

He describes the funerals of the highest echelons of the society, however this is also relevant to the civic ritual, for citizens adopted cultural patterns from the nobility and tended to mimic them.

Other from shared cultural norms with the nobility, not much is known of civic funerals in Vilnius. Testaments mention the funeral procession with reserve. Usually, the wishes concerning last escort are expressed with words "according the Christian rite" or "fittingly, according to the customs." Variations of this formula are present in all the researched wills. Vilnans show concern about proper conduct of the ceremony, which ought to abide the cultural and religious norms, but avoid specifying what that actually means.

Voicing the concern about the proper burial is followed by indication of those responsible for carrying out this plea. Usually, the testator ascribes responsibility of organizing it to close family members, spouse being the most common choice. In the cases when this option is unavailable, responsibility passes on to monks, servicing the church where

[161] Bernard Connor, *The History of Poland. Vol. 2 in Several Letters to Persons of Quality, Giving an Account of the Antient and Present State of That Kingdom, Historical, Geographical, Physical, Political and Ecclesiastical...: With Sculptures, and a New Map after the Best Geographers: With Several Letters Relating to Physick / by Bern. Connor ... Who, in His Travels in That Country, Collected These Memoirs from the Best Authors and His Own Observations ; Publish'd by the Care and Assistance of Mr. Savage.*, vol. 2 (London, 1698), 206–7, Last accessed June 2nd, 2016: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A69789.0001.001/1:4.5?rgn=div2;view=fulltext.

the deceased was intended bury, or the brotherhood that one belonged to.[162] The inhabitants of the hospices were taken care of by the institution or the religious confraternities focusing charitable activities and buried in the churchyard.[163]

The sums ascribed for the conduction of proper funerals range from 10,[164] to 8000 złoty from the funerals of Joseph Antoniewich Proniewski (d. 1691).[165] The latter testament allows to take a glimpse into the church awaiting for the arrival of the deceased benefactor,– the interior was covered in black cloth and richly illuminated by candles.[166] Illumination was very important throughout the funeral ceremony.[167] Hence, the most commonly indicated materials were candles and torches. This also is confirmed by the statutes of guilds, who would have a separate tax for candles, which were to be carried during the procession.[168] It proves that surrounding the ceremony by the candlelight was perceived as a cultural norm in the Old Vilnius.

One case indicates that a painting of the deceased ought to be carried alongside the coffin.[169] Funeral portrait took a very prominent place in the funerals of Polish nobility.[170] Polish nobles had a custom to place the funeral portraits on the narrow part of the coffin, from

[162] As in the case of Orthodox merchant Bazylii Brazic, who's burial was reported in the documents of the brotherhood of the Holy Ghost, see Frick, *Wilnianie*, 129.
[163] See ch. 1.2., or Jovaiša, "Brolijos," 122–23.
[164] As the research has shown, it was the lowest required sum to enact proper funeral rites, see 2.3.
[165] The documentation recording funeral expenses of the Secretary to the King allow to approximate the overall sum, which is done in Ragauskas, *Vilniaus miesto valdantysis elitas*, 395. However, the testament of Proniewski does not mention these sums, only 500 złoty for the funeral and another 2000 for the masses to be held in his memory, see LVIA f. SA, 533, 422.
[166] Ibid. which means that the decoration of the church had to be funded from the ascribed 500 złoty.
[167] A parallel to the earlier explored commemoration practices might be drawn–some testators would embody their memory by donating valuable candelabras or asking to hang an oil lamp near the altar. The importance of illumination in the funeral ceremonies, especially the lighting of the catafalque and *castrum doloris*, has been explored by art historians. See, Janonienė, "Laidotuvių iškilmės Vilniaus Bernardinų bažnyčioje." Lina Balaišytė, "Publicum dolori theatrum: kilmingųjų laidotuvių apipavidalinimas Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje XVIII a. viduryje [Publicum Dolori Theatrum: Funerals of the Nobility in the Mid-18th Century in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania]," ed. Lina Balaišytė and Auksė Kaladžinskaitė, *Dailės Istorijos Studijos* 3 (2008): 9–23.
[168] Jovaiša, Brolijos, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos kultūra : tyrinėjimai ir vaizdai*, 2001, 115.
[169] LVIA f. SA, 5335, 220. Testament of Jan Jodkewicz, a weaver.
[170] Chrościcki, "Pompa Funebris," 67–72; Bartłomiej Łyczak, "The Coffin Portrait and Celebration of Death in Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Modern Period," *IKON* 4 (January 1, 2011): 233–42.

where it would face the bereaved and provoke more honest reaction to the ceremony.[171] However, this tradition gained only limited success in the context of Duchy and Vilnius. Although the portraits were used, their shape and painting technique prevents categorizing them together with the Polish funeral portraits.[172] Nevertheless, use of portraits was more popular in civic funerals than the sources suggest. Rūta Janonienė, a prominent art historian and an expert on the Franciscan heritage in Vilnius, states that in certain cases, the portraits used in funeral processions were later hung on the church wall. However, only the patrons were granted this privilege. In this case, their burial and commemoration places coincided.[173]

The testators had their say about the preferred appearance of the body. Burials in coffins were the conventional practice, which is confirmed by the sources and archeological findings.[174] Nevertheless, there were counterexamples to this convention. Stanislai Kulesz (d. 1663) asked to bury his body wrapped in a black cloth, showing a sign of piety. A more radical example was recorded in the will of a wealthy Orthodox merchant Jan Radkiewicz (d. 1691), who asked to avoid any unnecessary pomp, place his body on a bier and bury it to the ground.[175] The practice of humbling oneself and diminishing the importance of the body, was a manifestation of Baroque theatricality, which showed extreme piety instead of splendor, but was a theatrical endeavor nonetheless.

The visual aspect of the funeral spectacle was created by candlelight, funeral picture and the coffin in black. This image was supplemented by sound, which took an important part

[171] Łyczak, "The Coffin Portrait and Celebration of Death."
[172] Paknys, *Mirtis LDK kultūroje*, 85.
[173] In certain cases the memorialization also took form of a sculpture, and although this practice is quite marginal among the burghers, it is traced back to 16th century, see Rūta Janonienė, "Vilniaus Bernardinų bažnyčios altoriai XVII-XVIII amžiais [Bernardine Church Altars in the 17th and 18th Centuries]," *Acta Academiae artium Vilnensis. Dailė* 21 (2001): 113–132.
[174] These wills describe the appearance of the coffin which is to be carried in the procession: LVIA f. SA, 5334, 102; 5337, 9. Archeological findings are reported in Eglė Montvilaitė, "Palaidojimai in Urbe Vilniuje: Iš Dviejų Miesto Bažnyčių Istorijos [Burials in Urbe in Vilnius: Excerpts from the History of Two Churches]," *Voruta*, no. 3 (525) (2003).
[175] AVAK IX, 504.

in the construction of the ceremonial pomp. The aural background was created by tolling bells, which constituted a fundamental part of a ceremony. Usually it was reserved to one church, but sometimes it extended to several churches in the city, or several cities.[176] At times, the background was supplemented by the cries of lamenters and music. For instance, Alexandra Kwincina (d. 1658) asked to be escorted with lamentations, trumpets and bells, thus and spent 740 złoty paying for it.[177] Its importance is shown by the abovementioned decree issued by Władysław Vasa, which prohibited the Lutherans to employ it during funeral processions.[178]

These were the most commonly requested materials for the funeral procession found in the addressed sources. They help to paint a picture of what was considered to be an appropriate burial in its most essential form. The certainty that something was omitted from the surviving documents is epitomized by the broad definition of "other requisites." Presumably, these are left to decide upon by whoever is organizing the ceremony.

A constitutive part of the funeral procession were the actual participants. They can be divided into certain groups–family, members of confraternities or guilds, and the poor. Whereas the first two groups had a personal connection, or were obliged to participate in the procession, the poor were present in the most ceremonies for the alms. The conventional practice to give out small sums of money in exchange for the prayers was one of the income sources for the confraternity of the paupers.[179] The guild and brotherhood members were obliged to participate in the funerals. Disregarding this duty was punishable by fines or disgraces. Guilds united citizens of all Christian denominations, thus the exposure to different religious symbols was ordinary. Besides that, guild members had to wear certain attire, carry

[176] AVAK IX, 181, p. 547.
[177] LVIA f. SA, 5334, 1590.
[178] See ch. 1.3.
[179]See 1.2. and Ragauskas, "Iš Vilniaus miesto socialinio žemėlapio XVII a. pirmojoje pusėje-XVIII a.," 21.

candles, and decorate the church. They carried the symbols of the brotherhood or the guild, thus representing social institution in a religious event.[180]

However pious the procession was, the most important figures were constant. It always was directed by a priest, belonging to the order of deceased choosing. Participation of additional clergy was desirable, but required additional funding. Interestingly, inviting large numbers of clergy was considered as piety, rather than largess. Clergy shared its importance in the procession with the central figure, which was the inanimate body of the deceased. The corpse, placed in a coffin and dressed in black, was at the center of attention: everything was done for it and, in a way, by it, despite the fact that it had been deprived of individual agency. The last will was the manifestation of the final wishes of the deceased, thus it exerted power over the world of the living, having transcended it itself. Simultaneously, the corpse participated as the most important symbol and key element, tying everything together and embodying the purpose and meaning of the overall rite.

The central position of the deceased does not presume absolute submission to the pleas of the will. The wishes that have been voiced through the testament were often partly disregarded, especially when it came to the pleas to organize only modest funerals. It has been noted in the historiography of the Lithuanian funerary customs, that the pleas to avoid festivities were taken as a sign of inward piety rather an actual request.[181] Vilnans understood the importance of a proper funeral and used it as a tool to serve worldly needs. Funeral ceremony was seen as an opportunity for a statement that the living would not waste.

[180] The religious side of artisan guilds was explored in Kaladžinskaitė-Vičkienė, "Vilniaus amatininkų cechai."
[181] Tereškinas, *Imperfect Communities*, 216.

3.2. Symbolic Actions in Multiconfessional Environment

A cultural historian Mindaugas Paknys points out the gap between culturally acceptable funeral ceremony and the teaching of the Church.[182] The suggested cause of it, is based on the external influence of the prevalent cultural atmosphere. His claim is based on the Baroque epoch being the time favoring cultural extremes, when the middle ground between modesty and pompousness was not as alluring as the submission to one of these. However, I would suggest another reading, which could be more illuminating in the case of analyzing the civic funerals. The tension arising between the modest funerals ordained according to a religious rite and the pompous ones, taking forms of the specific culture, might be explained by different goals they aim to achieve. While the Church is concerned with the afterlife of the soul, the relatives are motivated to emphasize worldly achievements of the person. In a way, these are two different ceremonies aimed to serve the soul or the body.

Testing this reading on the sources, a coherent interpretation offers itself. The testators asking for the Christian funeral are seen as those emphasizing the importance of the soul, thus the ceremony focuses on the demonstration of humility, last sacrament and vigils. As an opposition to this, the plea to uphold conventional practices meant emphasizing ones belonging to certain group or a social standing. This does not mean that the religious requirements are ignored. Sometimes, it is even the opposite. For example, at the funeral ceremony of noblemen Mikołaj and Jan Samuel Hlebawicz in 1633, preacher praised the funeral pomp, saying that "in this way we pay respects to God, when a vessel, made by his own hands, redeemed by his own blood, which he consecrated by the sacraments of the Church, we give to an honorable, and not a paltry, burial"[183] This dual approach is embodied

[182] Paknys, *Mirtis LDK kultūroje XVI-XVIII a*, 85-86.
[183] Quoted from: Janonienė, "Laidotuvių iškilmės Vilniaus Bernardinų bažnyčioje XVII-XIX amžiais," 32. Another important aspect in arguing for pompous funeral ceremonies are the representation of the Order and the gained wealth.

in funeral practices of magnates: in some cases, a pious ceremony was enacted soon after death. Then the body was placed into a church, where it awaited the second funeral, organized serve the worldly needs of the living.[184]

The civic funeral practices rarely show preference of either, piety or pomp.[185] The same ceremony had to tend the needs of the soul, as well as the body. Thus the overall significance of civic funerals was multivalent, for the balance between piety and pomp had to be balanced. In this analysis, I base my findings on a contradiction between the preferences in enacting funeral ceremonies that has been noted earlier. However, I trace its causality to differing intentions, placing it in the influence of the deceased and his kin rather than the submission overall cultural trends.

Despite the form it takes, funeral procession still is a religious act, which emphasizes differences between the citizens of Vilnius. While modest Catholic funerals might be more in accordance with the protestant community than the pompous ones, it still accentuates other faith. The same applies to the Orthodox–while their burial practices were very similar to Catholic,[186] the event still represented the community of unyielding merchants, resisting the Union and, in the popular imagination, still connected with the recent invasion of the Muscovite forces. Thus these public manifestation of different religious belonging, which overrode the civic identification, provided a favorable background for eruption of violence.

And yet, the funeral ceremonies were pompous and peaceful. This is an outcome of a perplexing phenomenon relating to the dead body. One of the ways to interpret it, was proposed by a prominent anthropologist of religion, Webb Keene. He sets out to show what

[184] Paknys, *Mirtis LDK kultūroje*, 97.
[185] Only a relatively low number of testators would actually emphasize spiritual over the bodily and vice versa.
[186] A recent research has shown that religious belonging did not determine the form of funeral and remembrance practices–the nobility of the Eastern Rite adapted the cultural norms dictated by the Catholic nobles. The only difference was religiously motivated: the pleas to hold Panikhidas. See Zielecka, "Pamięć o zmarłych wśród szlachty obrządków wschodnich w XVI-XVII wieku w świetle testamentów," 168.

uses semiotics may have for social analysis. In Keene's version of semiotic anthropology, meaning and its material expression are inextricably connected to a specific spatio-temporal setting. Relationship between materiality, sign and its context is named semiotic ideology. It aims to transcend culturally inherent dichotomies which, at the broadest level, divorce material and spiritual plains. This theory is an instrument to address symbolic action in a novel and historically sensitive perspective.

Keane argues for the materiality of signs as an important asset for deriving meaning. His major aim is to overcome the dichotomy of vehicle-essence in interpretation of sign, where the material expression is disregarded in favor of the meaning. He bases the claim for importance of materiality on its significance in the processes of cognition. Keene subtly reminds that without a tangible expression of the sign, no signification processes would be available: "red" does not exist in a pure form, but is found, for example, in an apple, which come as an object with shape, texture and natural tendency to rot.[187] Without embodying and transmitting, the meaning is unattainable, thus, it is only made available through mediation. In this way, materiality becomes an unavoidable quality the sign has to attain in order to be transmitted. Thus, interiority is relatively irrelevant if it is deprived of mediation.

Importance of materiality also rises out of the concept of affordances, meaning that not just any object is capable of embodying a certain symbol. Some objects are just more suitable than others, because they afford themselves for an intuition based usage. For example, seeing a mug for the first time, its shape affords itself as an object to be taken in the by the handle. It is heavily dependent on variety of causal relations found in the context of its employment. Without substantial proximity between the material and the sign, signification

[187] Webb Keane, "Semiotics and the Social Analysis of Material Things," *Language & Communication* 23, no. 3–4 (July 2003): 414.

process will not take effect, for the meaning cannot be derived successfully by using materials counterintuitively to the prevalent semiotic ideology.

Materiality limits the ability to express meaning and while the symbolism may be essential for understanding, examination of materials used to express it constitutes a part of meaning derivation process.[188] Material expression of the sign should not be overlooked as an empty shell for carrying something of higher value, but as an object which was chosen intentionally because it was able to communicate the meaning in an effective manner.

On a more fundamental level, materiality is crucial, because it serves as a common ground for different semiotic ideologies. Whereas worlds of meaning arrived at, through decoding it from signs can greatly differ from one group of people to another, they may stem from the same material object. Without shared materiality these worlds lose a tying reference point, on which a successful communication can be based. There are no strict causal relations between the object and the meaning that it may lead to, only affordances, governed by semiotic ideologies. Affordances are suggested uses of an object, by its material form, but the agency to (re)determine its function lies in the hands of an actor.[189] They are open ended, multivocal, yet still confined to a limited scope of meanings, suggested by materiality.

Different semiotic ideologies coexist in the same temporal frame. That is because they do not totalize the whole representational economy. This is of crucial importance, for it allows to make sense of the coexistence of different interpretations of the same material expression of the sign, and suggest a framework to derive and accommodate different meaning. For example, in a semiotic ideology, based on shared belonging to a brotherhood, the deceased

[188] Keane, "Signs Are Not the Garb of Meaning: On the Social Analysis of Material Things," 201.
[189] Keane, "Rotting Bodies," 315.

will be seen as one. At the same time, other onlookers might interpret the body by other semiotic ideology, for example, see it as a family member, a citizen, a brother in faith, etc.

In the funeral procession, the most important sign is the escorted body itself. The representational economy is the particular historical situation when the ceremony is taking place. [190] Thus the meaning derivation process and the interpretation of the funerary procession depends on the successful communication between the context, the body and the onlooker. The interpretation that the onlookers or participants arrive at, depends on their own agency, because the body only offers itself for interpretation. Its materiality suggests certain fixed meanings, but the choice is taken by the onlooker.

Semiotic anthropology allows to explain coexistence of different opinions projected towards the same material expression of the sign, thus allowing to explain why the conflicts were rare. Different approaches were projected upon the same body in accordance to its affordances in meaning. However, those are largely determined individually–the establishment of connection depends on the onlooker who interprets the body to suit one's own situation and needs. For example, guild members participating in a funeral procession see the body as the remains of another craftsman, which was more important to them than the fact that the deceased might have been of other faith. The same happens with other onlookers, who would see it according to their own personal connection with the deceased. The violence that broke out during the funeral procession of Mikolay Kliczewski (d. 1668), two guilds started the conflict because of their ambition to get closer to the body and benefit from its significance. [191] The deceased was not a member of either guild, and was seen as a

[190] In the case of this research, it is the politically unstable period after an occupation, when city is increasingly divided by religious differences. For a more detailed account, see ch. 1.
[191] For a discussion of the event, see ch. 1.3.

Burgomaster, which emphasized its political importance, and bearing the signs of a guild besides his body was beneficial to the prestige of the guild.

The sign functions in certain constellations of other signs. However, if the funeral procession is limited to the body of the deceased is surrounded by candlelight, tolling bells and clergy, it reinforces the precedence of religious approach. Another kind of intention is shown in the ceremonies making use of socially recognizable signs. By placing a portrait, carrying the flag of a guild, or honoring the sigil of the family, the dead body is placed in a particular spatio-temporal setting and the social interpretation overrides the religious one. Thus, an increased number of signs encourages a civic interpretation, preoccupied with the social life of the deceased and framing it as a part of the community of citizens, rather than a member of certain church. Besides that, upholding the societal belonging to certain groups allows more options for interpretation and communicates the care for community too rather than only the soul. Thus the modest ceremonies of Calvinists might provoke more violence, because of their clear cut communication of religious interpretation, which is the factor dividing the community. Because of the self-imposed limitations, modest funerals are more prone to provoking violence by prohibiting an approachable relation towards the ritual to an extended number of onlookers.

3.3. Civic Significance of the Dead

If all the theatricality, social ties, and religious dogmas were to be ignored, funeral practices would still retain its importance. It is not the form of a funeral or the importance of a person that makes the event of death significant. Death provides a setting which commands attention as nothing else might, because it is an inevitable part of the human condition. Its universal

significance serves as a source of meaning upon which all other discourses might draw.[192] This is what makes the funeral procession so important. The symbolic approach towards the funerals is fruitful because all of these symbols gain weight, when placed against the inevitability of death and convinces the onlooker of that too. It is something that resounds the recent study of Thomas Laqueur, where he emphasizes the difference between culture and nature by dating the start of civilization at the point when men started burying their kin.[193] Hence overall cosmology marks the gravity of the funeral, which allows it to become a powerful instrument in worldly matters.

Besides the universal significance of death, the body itself is a powerful sign due to its ability to accommodate conflicting meanings. In the case of the civic funerals, one of the underlying and most commonly shared meaning derivation processes is one of seeing the person as a member of a Church, or a citizen of Vilnius. These are the broadest relevant affordances that are made by the dead body in terms of it being interpreted as a sign. When taken in the political sense, the shared inevitability serves as a means to further the civic belonging of the living. When the religiously torn city is engulfed under the veil of *theatrum funeralium,* the communities are forced to bypass the differing religious affiliation in favor of establishing a connection with the deceased by emphasizing the other lowest common denominator–the civic belonging. Thus, the celebrations of death encouraged to transgress the differences and unify the civic community.

The ontological importance of death prohibited violent actions and strengthened the political belonging by enacting public and pompous funerals. Theatrical funerals not only

[192] The argument for cosmic importance of death as a catalyst for furthering other processes is presented in Katherine Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change*, The Harriman Lectures (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).
[193] Thomas Walter Laqueur, *The Work of the Dead: A Cultural History of Mortal Remains* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2015), 9.

reproduced and secured the social standing of the family of the deceased, but also patched up the wider community stricken by grief. Enactment of shared cultural symbols ensured that death will be overcome and life in the community will triumph, despite the death of an individual. This argument is very much in line with Robert Hertz's conclusion, stating that the community dealing with death is facing more than the loss of one its units, but also everything that was socially invested in the person. It is this that really spreads dread in the community–not the loss of the individual, a woman or a man, but the person shaped in a particular way by the community. That is why the social equilibrium is put out of balance–death strikes to the very core of the society and reminds it of its own mortality.[194]

The proper funerals, which was a concern of majority of Vilnans, had to bring back the balance to a community beset by death. However, the practices of proper burial took contrasting forms which communicated different meanings, thus, achieving different ends. The modest funerals made use of explicitly religious symbolism which was less open to interpretation and could easier provoke a violent reaction. The theatrical funerals favored signs of belonging to communities, which afforded multiple interpretations and strengthened the civic belonging. These qualities suggest a possibility of interpreting funerals as a civic, rather than religious, ritual. Overall cosmic importance of funeral rituals, transcending any differences and speaking to the shared human fate, discouraged hostile action towards it and commanded attention to the form it took. Hence, the effect of pompous ceremonies, contributed to promoting shared political belonging and took an important part in shaping civic community of Vilnius.

[194] Robert Hertz, *Death and the Right Hand* (The Aberdeen University Press, 1960), 78.

Conclusion

Theatrical and mournful, funeral processions were a common sight in the streets of Vilnius. The bodies of citizens were carried from their homes into a church or a final resting place, escorted by masses and ringing bells, surrounded by candle bearing lamenters, and carrying signs of the communities that lost a member. In some cases, these fundamental aspects were supplemented by audial and visual splendor, involved great number of people, from wealthiest merchants to alms-seeking paupers. Numerous flags of guilds and religious brotherhoods would contrast black clad group, while bells, songs, and cries echoed through the city. Coffin and an inanimate body of the family member, a faithful Christian, merchant, and a guild member would command attention of every onlooker, reminding them of their own temporality. Funerals claim attention because it speaks of inevitable fate, every mortal will face.

Seventeenth-century Vilnans felt the presence of death all too well. The experiences of the city were marked by occupation, plague, fire, and religious strife. Against this background, people found ways to deal with death by masquerading its presence with pompous theatricalities or extreme humility. These options fulfilled different aims and stated the triumph over death by a certain cultural setting, or humble submission to the hands of the Lord. These ways of celebrating death allowed insight into the beliefs of the deceased and sent different messages. While the pompous funeral accentuated worldly means to transcend death, the modest one stressed predominance of certain Church. Against the backdrop of five denominations, this was a problematic statement of predominance of one Church over others.

The community of the citizens of Vilnius was divided by religious differences more heavily than the shared civic status could overcome. This reflects in the almsgiving practices—at the face of death, citizens focused on the last charitable deeds towards their

Church and perpetuating their memory in prayers and masses. However, a small part of testators has contributed to the common good by funding social institutions of other faiths. Material embodiments of memory were quite rare, because the oral tradition of remembrance was more important. However, from the analyzed cases, a trend comes forward that the memory of the deceased was becoming important to Vilnans. This is epitomized by attempts to retain individual memory of a person by additionally donating wealth or precious belongings. These objects contributed sacral topography of the city.

The worldly funerals were multivocal, and by employing variety of signs, they promoted the civic ties in the urban environment. Using symbols which represented different corporate bodies in the lamenting procession, funerals offered more ways of interpretation and different ways of relating to the same event. Thus, religiously conflicting symbols substituted only a part of the overall spectacle, and offered ways of different relation towards the body. Besides that, participation in these ceremonies were mandatory for guilds, who united people of different faith, thus exposing them to religious practices, of, possibly, antagonistic group. However, most of the time funerary ceremonies were peaceful not because it was ignored, but due to its multiple meanings. It had a lasting effect on the civic community by contributing to the growth of shared political allegiance, rather emphasizing distinct religious differences.

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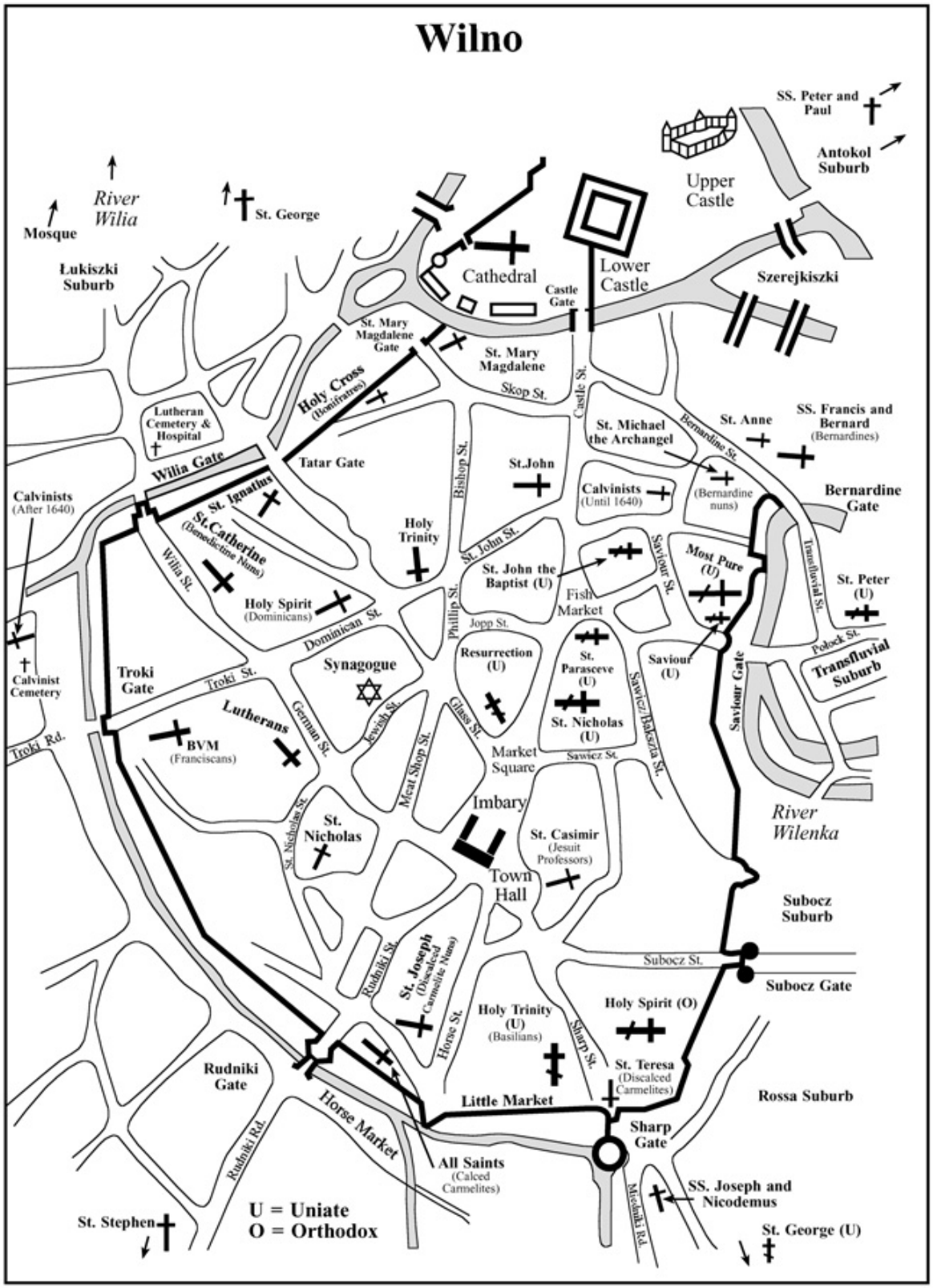
Appendices

Figure 1: Map of Vilnius in Seventeenth-century.[195]



[195] Frick, "Five Confessions in One City: Multiconfessionalism in Early Modern Wilno," 418.