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**Property and Personal Relations in the *Jurydyka* of the Vilna Cathedral Chapter in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century
(with Particular Reference to the Scandalous and Suspicious Misdeeds of Canon Isaac Fechtinus)***

Słowa kluczowe: Wilno, kapituła wileńska, jurydyka, duchowieństwo, epoka wczesnonowoczesna
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The term *jurydyka* is usually defined as 'a settlement of urban character, whether organized within the defensive walls of a proper town, or beyond them, on land belonging to the said town, or on other suburban land, excepted from the municipal jurisdiction, possessing its own authorities and courts, subjected to the authority of the landowner or the king, but not possessing the rights of a town.'¹ The *jurydyki* of Vilna were not consolidated enclaves – we can rather speak of greater or lesser plots and properties which were sometimes connected. Some of them belonged to ecclesiastical corporations such as the Vilna Cathedral Chapter or bishopric. The chapter exercised jurisdiction both over the *jurydyka* and its estates located beyond the city limits. The scholarly literature on *jurydyki* in early modern Vilna is limited in extent and uneven in quality. Some scholars have established their existence, some have attempted to describe them gener-

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¹ Piotr Borowik, *Jurydyki miasta Grodna w XV-XVIII wieku*, Supraśl 2005, p. 23; Janusz Frykowski, *Przypadki i formy przestępstw okazjonalnych mieszczan tyiszowieckich w latach 1608-1807*, „Historia i Świat”, 2 (2013), p. 51.

ally and some have even tried to locate them on the plan of the city.² Vladas Drėma's titanic work on Vilna properties now runs to thirteen volumes.³ Maria Łowmiańska used the plan of the city's fortifications drawn up in 1648 by Friedrich Getkant, as well as other sources, to create the plan of mid-seventeenth-century Vilna,⁴ which, adapted and refined by later scholars⁵ including David Frick, continues to function as the principal basis for work on the city's topography.⁶

Legal questions connected with the functioning of the Vilna *jurydyki* have been signalled by Vasil Družčyc,⁷ Juozas Jurginis,⁸ Juliusz Bardach.⁹ The extent of the *jurydyka* of the Vilna Cathedral Chapter was estimated by Jerzy Ochmański, according to whom in 1569 the capitular *jurydyka* comprised 21 hearths and brought in an income of 80 Lithuanian schocks (*kopy*) and 30 *grosze*.¹⁰ At this time the average number of persons per hearth in the larger towns of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania could exceed eight persons.¹¹ However, Ochmański's calculations on the size of the chapter's *jurydyka* are incomplete, and we do not know the basis on which he arrived at his result. We can only suppose that he may have counted only those houses occupied by burghers, and not those inhabited by canons and prelates, or the houses belonging to St Mary Magdalene hospital. My own calculations indicate that in 1569 the burghers alone brought the chapter an income of 92 schocks and 30 *grosze*.

² Jerzy Ochmański, *Powstanie i rozwój latyfundiów biskupstwa wileńskiego (1387-1550). Ze studiów nad rozwojem wielkiej własności na Litwie i Białorusi w średniowieczu*, Poznań 1963, p. 17. Józef Maroszek, *Ulice Wilna w XIV-XVIII wieku*, „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej”, 47 (1999), 1-2, pp. 163-185. Mindaugas Paknys, *Wilno roku 1636 według 'Rewizji gospód'*, „Lituano-Slavica Posnaniensia. Studia Historica”, 12 (2007), pp. 103ff; Mindaugas Paknys, *Vilniaus miestas ir miestiečiai 1636 m.: Namai, gyventojai, svečiai*, Vilnius 2006.

³ *Vilniaus namai archyvo fonduose*, 13 vols, ed. Vladas Drėma, Vilnius 1995-2007.

⁴ Maria Łowmiańska, *Wilno przed najazdem moskiewskim 1655 roku*, Wilno 1929, 2nd edn [in:] *Dwa doktoraty z Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego w Wilnie*, Poznań 2005.

⁵ Maroszek, *Ulice Wilna*, p. 183.

⁶ David Frick, *The Bells of Vilnius: Keeping Time in a City of Many Calendars*, [in:] *Making Contact: Maps, Identity, and Travel*, ed. Glenn Burger, Lesley B. Cormack, Jonathan Hart and Natalia Pylypiuk, Edmonton 2003, p. 26; David Frick, *According to the Confession in Which I Die: Taking the Measure of Allegiances in Seventeenth-Century Wilno*, „Central Europe”, 8 (2010), no. 2, p. 109; David Frick, *Kith, Kin, and Neighbors: Communities and Confessions in Seventeenth-Century Wilno*, Ithaca, NY 2013, p. x.

⁷ Васіль Дружчыц, *Магістрат у беларускіх месцах з майдэборскім правам у XV – XVII стагоддзях*, Менск 1929, reprinted in „Arche”, 7 (2009), pp. 241-337.

⁸ Juozas Jurginis, *Reakcinis bažnytiniiū jurisdikcijū vaidmuo Vilniaus istorijoje*, „Lietuvos TSR mokslų Akademijos Lietuvos istorijos instituto darbai”, Vilnius 1951, pp. 88-152.

⁹ Juliusz Bardach, *O dawnej i niedawnej Litwie*, Poznań 1988, p. 107. It is impossible to agree with the author when he states that the *jurydyka* of the Vilna chapter was only established towards the end of the sixteenth century.

¹⁰ Jerzy Ochmański, *Biskupstwo wileńskie w średniowieczu. Ustrój i uposażenie*, Poznań 1972, p. 108. It is interesting that the Vilna chapter achieved the same income from its houses in 1573. *Kościół zamkowy, czyli katedra wileńska w jej dziejowym, liturgicznym, architektonicznym i ekonomicznym rozwoju*, ed. Jan Kurczewski, vol. 2: Źródła historyczne na podstawie aktów kapitulnych i dokumentów historycznych, Wilno 1910, p. 332.

¹¹ Józef Morzy, *Kryzys demograficzny na Litwie i Białorusi w II połowie XVII wieku*, Poznań 1965, pp. 129-132; Stanisław Alexandrowicz, *Zaludnienie miasteczek Litwy i Białorusi w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, [in:] Stanisław Alexandrowicz, *Studia z dziejów miasteczek Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, Toruń 2011, pp. 133-134.

Map of Vilna, the end of the sixteenth century. *Vilna Litvaniae metropolis.*



G. Braun and F. Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* III, the first Latin edition of volume III was published in 1581

Fuller information is contained in the *Rejestr poborowy* of 1602.¹² This is a fiscal source, created by the chapter in response to the extraordinary tax levied by the Vilnan Convocation (a meeting of the Lithuanian Estates retaining some of the characteristics of the former Lithuanian parliament) in order to finance the war with Sweden over Livonia.¹³ According to this source the *jurydyka* of the chapter within and just outside the city comprehended plots containing sixty-four buildings.¹⁴ It is noteworthy that the buildings in which members of the chapter lived were usually described as ‘tenements’ (*kamienice*). The exception was the house (*dom*) of the archdeacon. This might indicate that there was a significant architectural or constructed difference between them.¹⁵ Or it might not. At one point the *Rejestr* refers to the *kamienica* of the Cathedral Provost

¹² It is preserved in the Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius [hereafter Wróblewski Library], sign. F43-490. Published for the first time in the Appendix to this article.

¹³ On the reasons for the voting of taxes in the sixteenth century see Krzysztof Boroda, *Kmieć, łan czy profit? Co było podstawą poboru łanowego w XV i XVI wieku?* [in:] *Człowiek wobec miar i czasu w przeszłości*, ed. Piotr Guzowski and Marzena Liedke, Kraków 2007, p. 154.

¹⁴ The *Rejestr* twice notes ‘half-houses’ (*pół domy*).

¹⁵ A *kamienica* is usually defined as a brick- or stone-built house of at least two storeys in a filled-in townscape. See Maria Sołtysiak, *Na styku dwóch epok: architektura gdyńskich kamienic okresu międzywojennego*, Gdynia 2003, p. 16.

Reverend Matthias Klodziński († before 5 October 1616¹⁶), and later on to ‘Reverend Klodziński’s house (*dom*)’.¹⁷ So it would seem that the scribe used the terms interchangeably.

In the light of the *Rejestr* the chapter’s property was found on sites on Castle Street, Skop Street, the street ‘leading to the Bernardine Fathers’ (Bernardine Street), the street ‘leading to the royal mill’, the street ‘to the river Wilenka’,¹⁸ and the street ‘beyond the Bernardine bridge’ (Transfluvial Street). The chapter’s *jurydyka* also encompassed the Church,¹⁹ as well as the hospital of St Job and St Mary Magdalene²⁰ (later just St Mary Magdalene) and the buildings belonging to it along Castle Street, Skop Street and ‘beyond the St Mary Magdalene gate’.

Besides these properties, the chapter exercised jurisdiction over ‘the hospital buildings in Antokol’, that is, in the suburb of Antokol (now the district of Antakalnis within the city of Vilnius). By this is probably meant the houses of the hospital next to the Church of Saints Peter and Paul. One of the houses mentioned in the register, located in Antokol, was noted as ‘under the jurisdiction’ (*znajdujący się pod jurysdykcją*) of the custodian of the cathedral, Prelate Eustachius Wołowicz († 9 January 1630²¹).²² It is worth noting that scholars date the founding of the hospital variously. Kurczewski wrote that the hospital for the poor, located next to the Antokol presbytery, had been founded by Reverend Paulus Korkonos in 1604.²³ In turn Józef Maroszek notes laconically: ‘in 1620 the king granted the Vilnan hospital of St Peter the income from the bridge across the Wilia in Niemenczyn,²⁴ while in the funeral sermon preached by Andreas Schönflissius for Andrzej I von Embden on 4 September 1628, we can read: ‘Testimony to his generosity is the hospital, by St Peter’s outside the city, which he built

¹⁶ Acta Capituli Vilnensis, vols I–XIII, [hereafter ACV], manuscripts in The Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius, [hereafter Wróblewski Library]. ACV, VIII, f. 296, § 959.

¹⁷ See the Appendix.

¹⁸ An analysis of seventeenth-century sources indicates that the name ‘Wilenka’ referred to the river Wilia (Neris in Lithuanian). In the 1636 Lustration [*Rewizja*] of the Dwelling of the Court of His Royal Majesty Władysław IV, published by Paknys, *Vilnius miestas ir miestiečiai 1636 m*, p. 265, some of the houses in the Chapter’s jurisdiction were situated on the alley identified as ‘uliczka poboczna ku zamkowi nad rzeką Wilną’. This description, assuming that the surveyor did not make an error, leaves no doubt that the river Wilia was meant.

¹⁹ On the governance of the parish church by the chapter, see Jan Fijalek, *Opisy Wilna aż do połowy wieku XVII-go*, “Ateneum Wileńskie”, 1 (1923), no. 3–4, p. 334.

²⁰ Historians accept the date of the hospital’s foundation either as 1518 (e.g. Władysław Zahorski, *Pierwsze szpitale wileńskie*, (*Kartka z historii Szpitalnictwa w Wilnie*), [in:], *Pamiętnik wileńskiego towarzystwa lekarskiego*, nos. I–II, Wilno 1925, pp. 65–72) or 1514 (e.g. Maria Korybut Marciniak, *Działalność dobroczynna zakonów i zgromadzeń w Wilnie w końcu XVIII i pierwszej połowie XIX wieku*, „Echa Przeszłości” 11 (2010), p. 139). On the relations between the chapter and the hospital see Wioletta Pawlikowska-Butterwick, *Regarding the Sixteenth-Century Statutes of the Cathedral Chapters of Vilna and Samogitia*, [in:] *Vilnius ir Žemaičių katedrų kapitulų statutai*, ed. Wioletta Pawlikowska-Butterwick and Liudas Jovaiša, Vilnius 2015, pp. 208–210.

²¹ *Monumenta Sarmatarum viam universae carnis ingressorum Simone Starovolscio primicerio Tarnoviensi collectore*, ed. Szymon Starowski, Cracoviae 1655, p. 227; *Inscriptiones ecclesiarum Vilnensium*, ed. Eugenija Ulčinaite and Włodzimierz Appel, Vilnius 2005, p. 80, no. 31.

²² See the Appendix.

²³ Cf. Jan Kurczewski, *Kościół Zamkowy czyli Katedra wileńska w jej dziejowym, liturgicznym, architektonicznym i ekonomicznym rozwoju*, vol. 1, Wilno 1908, p. 122.

²⁴ Józef Maroszek, *Wileńskie przytułki-szpitala w XVI–XVIII w.*, [in:] *Cała historia to dzieje ludzi... Studia z historii społecznej ofiarowane profesorowi Andrzejowi Wyczańskiemu w 80-tą rocznicę urodzin i 55-lecie pracy naukowej*, ed. Cezary Kukło, Białystok 2004, p. 205.

and endowed at his own expense'.²⁵ Nevertheless Wincenty Przyałgowski, referring to an entry of 4 February 1620, informs us that 'at Antokol by the Church of SS. Peter and Paul, where at this time Bishop Wołłowicz introduced the congregation of the Lateran Canons, a new hospital was also established, the building of which was much assisted by a merchant, some Belgian, called Andrzej Wonende.'²⁶ The question is resolved by an entry in the capitular acts. Under the date of 6 February 1620 was noted the request of the cantor, Prelate Nicolaus Jasiński († between 21 May²⁷ and 22 June 1635²⁸), to the chapter that it would hand over a plot at Antokol to the Belgian Andrzej Wonende, so that a hospital and foundation for the poor and sick living by the Church of St Peter could be built. The chapter's reply was affirmative. Nevertheless, the canons and prelates made it a condition that the hospital would be subject to their jurisdiction.²⁹

All the members of the chapter were subject to its disciplinary authority³⁰ and so were the inhabitants of capitular properties and houses. The subordination to capitular jurisdiction of the inhabitants of the *jurydyka* is attested both by capitular sources, for example in entries in the metrica and by fiscal sources. The entry in the metrica for 7 November 1522 notes that Jan (a tailor of the palatine of Vilna, Olbracht Gasztold) renting a house (for the period of one year for the sum of six schocks of Lithuanian *grosze*), swearing on oath that he would be a good resident, subjected himself to capitular sanctions and jurisdiction.³¹ Moreover the *rejestry* of extraordinary taxes refer to sums due 'from houses and subjects of the jurisdiction of the Honourable and Reverend Chapter of Vilna'.³² This is confirmed by entries in the metrica from the early seventeenth century. On 6 February 1602 the canons resident by the cathedral heard the archdeacon, Prelate Nicolaus Jasiński, who complained that despite his membership of the chapter – contrary to capitular statutes and capitular jurisdiction – he had been summoned by the rector of the parish church of St John in Vilna, Reverend Joannes Żuchowski, to the court of the bishop of Vilna. The chapter therefore resolved to delegate Canon Gregorius Świącicki († 26 February 1617³³) to the bishop, with the request that the bishop respect the rights and privileges of the chapter.³⁴ A similar problem was considered at the session of 30 September 1604. The canons and prelates again decided to warn the bishop against actions contrary to (canon) law. He was to be reminded that the chapter of Vilna was the court of first instance for all capitular persons.³⁵

²⁵ 'Wyświadcza tę szczerobliwość jego szpital, u świętego Piotra przed miastem, który sumptem swym zbudował i nadał, [in:] *Wilnianie. Żywoty siedemnastowieczne*, ed. David Frick, Warszawa 2008, p. 78.

²⁶ Wincenty Przyałgowski, *Żywoty biskupów wileńskich*, vol. 2, St Petersburg 1860, p. 84.

²⁷ Wróblewski Library, ACV, X, f. 172, § 462.

²⁸ Wróblewski Library, ACV, X, f. 175v, § 466.

²⁹ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, f. 379v, § 1226.

³⁰ Full judicial authority was granted to chapters by the IV Lateran Council (*Dokumenty Soborów Pow-szechnych*, vol. 2, ed. Arkadiusz Baron and Henryk Pietras, Kraków 2007, p. 243), which also gave chapters the right to issue statutes on the basis of which chapters could exercise disciplinary authority over their members.

³¹ Wróblewski Library, ACV, I, f. 60, § 166.

³² See the Appendix.

³³ *Monumenta Sarmatarum*, p. 223. On 27 February 1617 he was mentioned as deceased in the metrica, Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, f. 307-307v, § 989.

³⁴ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, f. 4v, § 12.

³⁵ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, f. 47-47v, § 188.

All cases were reserved for the chapter except for capital offences. For clergymen could not bring about anybody's death, so such cases belonged to a secular court – usually. In 1633, when a servant of the palatine of Vilna (Lew Sapieha)³⁶ killed a cathedral singer, the chapter did not hand the case over to a secular court. Instead, it fined the servant 100 schocks. He was also obliged to stand with a drawn sword in the cathedral doors, crying 'I am a killer'. And after that he was imprisoned for three months. But he was not executed – perhaps out of regard for his patron.³⁷ It should be noted that the chapter applied a different system of penalties and punishments to its own miscreant members, and a different one to its lay subjects; laypersons could be fined, imprisoned or flogged.³⁸

Quite frequently it fell to the chapter to adjudicate disputes between inhabitants of its *jurydyka*. For example, on 13 June 1574 the chapter's notary, Albertus Strzałkowski made an oral complaint against the bookbinder Stanisław Sienicki, who had allegedly, in May 1573, caused a fire in Strzałkowski's house through his 'villainy'. Strzałkowski testified that the bookbinder kept debauched women and prostitutes in the residential part of the property, who on the night of the fire drank together with cathedral clergymen, including Reverend Andreas Żychowski. One of these inebriated women had led another up to the attic, which contained a good deal of straw on which to sleep. This woman, known as Besuszka, who was fed and kept by the bookbinder and the mistress of the cathedral vicar and sacristan Stanislaus from Stroniecz (or Stromiec), allegedly left her companion with a lighted candle placed in the roofing, after which she came back downstairs to drink beer with Reverend Żychowski. In the meantime the candle fell from the overheated roofing onto the straw and fire spread from the attic to destroy two houses – the bookbinder's and the newly built residence of the cathedral notary. Strzałkowski, having reckoned his losses at two hundred złotys, tearfully asked the chapter to start the procedures for obtaining compensation. It did so.³⁹ Whether it was paid we do not know. The *Acta Capituli Vilnensis* do inform us, however, that a few months later the bookbinder Sienicki was let off his rent due for the year 1573.⁴⁰ This was not the end of his troubles. Sienicki again features in the metrica when he was beaten up by the tailor Jan Pawłowski.⁴¹

For the inhabitants of the capitular *jurydyka*, the pressures resulting from frequent contacts and physical proximity within a limited space generated conflicts. We can reasonably suppose that only a small proportion of these conflicts were entered into the metrica of the chapter. Not least because the statutes were only binding on the prelates and canons, relatively few disputes could be prevented by the regulations contained in the capitular statutes, which laid down the ways in which houses were to be managed. Six decrees referred to capitular houses, while several further resolutions concerned both capitular houses and the prestimonial landed estates which were allocated to particular members of the chapter as they fell vacant.⁴²

³⁶ Wróblewski Library, ACV, X, f. 17, § 48. *Urzednicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, Spisy*, vol. 1, *Województwo wileńskie XIV-XVIII wiek*, ed. Andrzej Rachuba, Henryk Lulewicz and Przemysław P. Romaniuk, with Uładzimir Jemialianczuk and Andrej Macuk, Warszawa 2004, p. 195, no. 1111.

³⁷ Wróblewski Library, ACV, X, f. 17, § 48. See also Jan Kurczewski, *Biskupstwo wileńskie*, Wilno 1912, p. 110.

³⁸ Kurczewski, *Kościół zamkowy*, vol. 1, p. 50.

³⁹ Wróblewski Library, ACV, V, ff. 144-145, § 428.

⁴⁰ Wróblewski Library, ACV, V, f. 152v, § 447.

⁴¹ Wróblewski Library, ACV, V, f. 184v, § 518.

⁴² *Vilniaus ir Žemaičių katedrų kapitulų statutai*.

For example, the statutory regulation *De non locandis hospitibus in domibus canonicorum* forbade members of the chapter – without the permission of the corporation – to host non-members under their roofs. A canon or prelate who failed to observe this provision was liable to a fine of three schocks of Lithuanian *grosze* and the loss of the income appertaining to his position in the chapter.⁴³ The statutes can however be supplemented by resolutions issued on particular occasions. For example, on 5 October 1583 the chapter forbade canons and prelates, under the sanction of deprivation of their *refectio*, or daily allowance, for a month, from renting their houses to Vilnan artisans (cobblers, saddlers and locksmiths).⁴⁴ It is worth emphasizing here that this prohibition applied to particular canons and prelates and not to the chapter as a whole. It seems that many canons and prelates failed to observe the ban and perhaps with time it lost its force; the 1602 *Rejestr* records that the artisan Paweł and the saddler Jan were living in the house of Reverend Kłodziński.⁴⁵ Moreover, two women, Dorota Pawłowa and Zofia Harasimowa, were engaged in petty trading in front of the house. The tenement of Reverend Ambrosius Beynart († before 18 January 1603⁴⁶), was inhabited by the tailor Bartosz Stankowicz and the furrier Jakub Smolski, while the carpenter Jurek lived in the house of Reverend Joannes Bulpat († before 1 February 1603⁴⁷). A separate group consisted of burghers who lived in houses located on capitular land, but which were not designated as belonging to particular members of the chapter. For example Wawrzyniec Opuchowski's house on Skop Street was inhabited by Wawrzyniec Kopac and the smith Paweł.⁴⁸

Although the statutes fixed many norms related to the residences of canons and prelates, the capitular legislators were unable to foresee every eventuality. In such cases the corporation tended to follow the examples set by other chapters. For example, on 10 October 1539, Canon Andreas Nadbor († 1547⁴⁹) complained to the chapter that his neighbour, Canon Joannes Kunicki († before 30 June 1552⁵⁰) had revoked his earlier agreement to the building of a shared privy in the rear section of the wall. He also refused agreement to its location in another place – next to the storehouse (where, indeed, a privy could have caused serious problems). The corporation, having inspected the spot, ordered Canon Nadbor to build the privy in his own property, in such a way as it would not disturb Canon Kunicki.⁵¹ We might compare the efforts to solve this odiferous urban problem with the modernization of the residences of the canons and prelates of Kraków cathedral in the second half of the sixteenth century. Convenience was enhanced, for example, by brick-built galleried latrines atop the boundary wall at the back of the property.⁵²

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 40, 138, 316.

⁴⁴ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VI, pp. 313-314, § 237.

⁴⁵ See the Appendix.

⁴⁶ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, f. 17, § 61.

⁴⁷ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, f. 17-17v, § 62.

⁴⁸ See the Appendix.

⁴⁹ Konrad Lutyński, *Kapituła katedralna w Poznaniu w XVI wieku, Organizacja i majątek*, Poznań 2000, p. 74.

⁵⁰ Wróblewski Library, ACV, III, f. 30, § 93.

⁵¹ Wróblewski Library, ACV, II, ff. 133v-134, § 307.

⁵² Waldemar Komorowski, *Średniowieczne domy krakowskie. Kamienice, pałace miejskie, i rezydencje kanoniczne. Trwałość gotyckiego modelu w nowożytności*, Kraków 2014, p. 264.

Every so often the protocols of the sessions of the Vilna Chapter record information on its members who kept mistresses, often called 'suspect women', in their houses.⁵³ In 1574 the procurator of the chapter, Laurentius Wolski († before 28 May 1584⁵⁴), brought the problem of immoral conduct to the chapter's attention. His ire was aroused by the residence in the house of the absent Canon Joannes Pikarski († 8 September 1577⁵⁵) of a laywoman, the wife of Jakub the butcher. Worse than this was the fact that in the underground storeroom she maintained a number of girls – of about twelve years of age. According to the protocol, 'And she lets them out at night, probably, as can be concluded, for the purpose of vile earnings'. The procurator complained that despite his admonitions, Jakub's wife remained stubbornly defiant, because she had the support of Canon Nicolaus Koryzna († 3 November 1598⁵⁶). After hearing out Reverend Wolski, the chapter decided to expel the butcher's wife from the house of their absent confrère.⁵⁷

The chapter would experience far greater difficulties than these. The last decade of the sixteenth century and the first years of the seventeenth were enlivened by the escapades of Canon Isaac Fechtinus († 25 May 1607⁵⁸). Fechtinus was the son of Peter Fecht, Catholic secretary to John III of Sweden, who drowned in 1576. His son became a Jesuit, educated at their seminaries at Olomouc⁵⁹ and Braniewo⁶⁰ as well as the papal seminary in Vilna,⁶¹ and was earmarked by the papal legate Antonio Possevino as one of the priests destined to win back Sweden for Roman Catholicism. He was appointed as assistant confessor to the Brigittine nuns at Vadstena in 1585, as one of a team of Jesuits who preached hellfire sermons in order to effect the nuns' reform, but he soon complained of boredom and sought a transfer.⁶² Fechtinus is sometimes described in the literature as a chaplain to Sigismund Vasa, either while he was still a prince in Sweden,⁶³

⁵³ More generally on this problem, see Wioletta Pawlikowska, *Konkubiny w życiu pralatów i kanoników wileńskich w XVI-XVII w.*, [in:] *Tridento visuotinio Bažnyčios susirinkimo (1545-1563) įtaka Lietuvos kultūrai. Susirinkimo idėjų suvokimas ir sklaida Vidurio Europos rytuose*, ed. Aleksandra Aleksandravičiūtė, Vilnius 2009 pp. 227-234; also *Liudas Jovaiša, Castus, doctus, diligens, deoootus: tridentinio sielovadininko tipo formavimas(is) Žemaičių vyskupijoje*, [in:] *Tridento visuotinio Bažnyčios susirinkimo*, p. 208.

⁵⁴ Метрыка Вялікага княства Літоўскага. Кніга 70 (1582-1585). Кніга запісаў № 70 (Копія канца XVI ст.), ed. Андрэй Анагольевіч Мяцельскі, Мінск 2008, pp. 186-187, no 120.

⁵⁵ *Encyklopedyja powszechna Samuela Orgelbranda*, vol. 4, Warszawa 1899, p. 121.

⁵⁶ *Monumenta Sarmatarum*, pp. 226-227.

⁵⁷ Wróblewski Library, ACV, V, ff. 138-138v, § 414.

⁵⁸ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, f. 106, § 383. On Fechtinus see Wioletta Pawlikowska, *Wileńska kapituła katedralna w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Poznań 2011, passim; *Lietuvos katalikų dvasininkai XIV-XVI a.*, ed. Vytautas Ališauskas, Tomasz Jaszczolt, *Liudas Jovaiša, Mindaugas Paknys*, Vilnius 2009.

⁵⁹ *Schweden und seine Stellung zum heil. Stuhle unter Johann III., Sigismund III. und Karl IX*, vol. 1, *Versuche und Bemühungen des heiligen Stuhles in den letzten drei Jahrhunderten, die durch Ketzerei [...] von ihm getrennten Länder des Nordens wieder mit der Kirche zu vereinen*, ed. Augustin Theiner, Augsburg 1839, p. 316; *Jesuité olomoučtí za protireformace: akty a listiny z let 1558-1619*, vol. 1, 1558-1590, ed. B. Navrátil, Brno 1916, p. 214; Zdenek Hojda, *Collegia Nordica v Olomouci a Braniewu 1578-1619*, "Acta Universitatis Carolinae: Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis", 30 (1990), p. 82, no. 63; Oskar Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia until the Establishment of the S. Congregatio de Propaganda fide in 1622*, vol. 1 (1539-1583), Oslo 1963, p. 379, vol. 2 (1583-1622), Oslo 1980, p. 10, vol. 3, *Jesuit Educational Strategy in Scandinavia 1553-1622*, Leiden 1992, pp. 246-247.

⁶⁰ *Schweden und seine Stellung zum heil. Stuhle*, p. 329. Hojda, 'Collegia Nordica', p. 82, no. 63.

⁶¹ Jan Poplatek, *Wykaz alumnów seminarium papieskiego w Wilnie 1582-1773*, „Ateneum Wileńskie”, 11 (1936), p. 228; Henryk Litwin, *Katalog alumnów seminarium papieskiego w Wilnie 1582-1798*, part 1: *Wstęp, wykaz skrótów, spis źródeł, katalog alumnów 1-500*, „Przegląd Wschodni”, 8 (2003), no. 4 (32), p. 939, no. 6.

⁶² Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation*, vol. 1, p. 215; vol. 2, pp. 10, 20, 177.

⁶³ Jerzy Michalewicz, *Dwórn szwedzki Zygmunta III w latach 1587-1600*, "Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce", 11 (1966), p. 174; idem, *Polish-Swedish Relations in the Late Sixteenth Century (Sigismund Vasa's Swedish Court)*,

or after his election to the Polish throne in 1587.⁶⁴ However, no sources are cited in support of these statements, and neither the standard work on Sigismund's royal court nor that on Jesuits at the Vasa courts mention Fechtinus at all.⁶⁵ Whatever the truth of the matter, the fact remains in 1590 he was presented to a canonry of Vilna by King Sigismund III. He joined the chapter on 13 August 1590.⁶⁶ Fechtinus would still feature in Possevino's lists of potential missionaries to Sweden,⁶⁷ but his subsequent career could not have taken him further away from such high expectations. Something or someone must have broken his character.

As we shall see in the remainder of this article, Canon Isaac caused scandal in Vilna for many years. The chapter's exasperated responses to his numerous misdeeds cast light on the question of its jurisdiction over properties and persons. Over a dozen years and more he was frequently fined, deprived of his daily distribution or *refectio*, threatened with the loss of his canonry, subjected to house arrest and forbidden entry to the cathedral church. His behaviour, according to the chapter, provoked numerous complaints from laypersons and cast a shadow on the corporation and the Church as a whole. Canon Fechtinus was accused of roaming the city at night with suspect companions, drunkenness, and maintaining and living with a woman in his house.⁶⁸ The capitular acts do not inform us what happened to Fechtinus's kept women, but as late as 9 April 1604 it was noted that Reverend Gregorius Świącicki, while conducting a visitation of the capitular property in Fechtinus's possession, had found there a woman with whom – according to reliable testimony – the miscreant canon maintained improper relations.⁶⁹

To take one of many examples of Fechtinus's misconduct, on 10 February 1597 he was deprived of his *refectio* for two weeks for having sung while drunk during a cathedral service.⁷⁰ This was neither the least nor the last of his misdemeanours. Similarly, on 16 May 1597, for drunkenness and numerous contacts with women, as well as keeping them in his house, he was fined two schocks of Lithuanian *grosze*, his right to a vessel of honey, and two weeks' *refectio*. The penalties were imposed in the hope that they would lead to a correction of his behaviour, and further sanctions were threatened if no improvement was forthcoming. Angered, Fechtinus announced he would appeal, before calming down, begging forgiveness and promising to mend his ways. As a result,

"Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego", 508, "Prace Historyczne" no. 61 (1979), pp. 53-54; Henryk Wisner, *Zygmunt III Waza*, 2nd edn, Wrocław 2006, pp. 9, 44; Przemysław Szpaczyński, *Polityka Zygmunta III wobec wyzwań kontrreformacji. Kilka uwag w sprawie wpływu rzekomego fanatyzmu króla Zygmunta III na politykę Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów na przełomie XVI i XVII w.*, [in:] *'Młodsza Europa' – od średniowiecza do współczesności*, Zielona Góra 2008, p. 244, n. 5.

⁶⁴ Hojda, 'Collegia Nordica', p. 82, no. 63.

⁶⁵ Walter Leitsch, *Das Leben am Hof König Sigismund III. von Polen*, 4 vols, Kraków and Wien 2009 (the section on clergymen is at vol. 1, pp. 279-303); Stanisław Obirek, *Jezuici na dworach Batorego i Wazów 1580-1668*, Kraków 1996. Nor is Fechtinus mentioned among Sigismund's preceptors and chaplains by Garstein, *Rome and the Counter Reformation*, vols 1, 2 and 3.

⁶⁶ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VII, f. 142, § 294. See Wioletta Pawlikowska-Butterwick, *Kelias į designatio personae, arba bažnytiniiū beneficijų suteikimas XVI a. antrojoje pusėje: Vilniaus kapitulos pavyzdys*, "Lietuvos Istorijos Metraštis", 1 (2012), p. 12.

⁶⁷ Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation*, vol. 2, pp. 80, 347.

⁶⁸ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VII, f. 264v, § 692; f. 266, § 697.

⁶⁹ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, f. 39, § 162.

⁷⁰ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VII, f. 293, § 807.

part of the penalty was withheld.⁷¹ When in 1598 the clerical delinquent was summoned again,⁷² he pleaded illness (*lues venerea*).⁷³ And so it continued.⁷⁴

On 15 December 1599, the chapter penalized Fechtinus for not returning the considerable sum of 40 schocks of Lithuanian *grosze*. It subjected him to house arrest, and seized all his income until the debt was paid off.⁷⁵ The reason he had fallen into debt was that during the night of 2/3 April 1599, a fire had started in the former bakery belonging to Canon Fechtinus. The fire destroyed neighbouring buildings – stables, a coach house and a brewery – belonging to the archdeacon, Joannes Ryszkowski († 13 March 1606⁷⁶). So testified Ryszkowski's servant, the mansionary (a junior cathedral clergyman) Matthias Migowicz. It transpired that that night bread had been baked in the old bakery and that some remains of the bread had been found. Moreover, shots had been heard from Fechtinus's house, which may have been connected to the outbreak of the fire.⁷⁷ On 27 May 1599 Fechtinus and Ryszkowski reached agreement before the chapter. It was agreed to regard the matter as closed if Fechtinus would pay Ryszkowski, by Martinmas (11 November 1599), compensation of 70 Polish zlotys – the equivalent of 40 Lithuanian schocks.⁷⁸ On 12 November Ryszkowski's servant complained that Fechtinus had broken the agreement.⁷⁹ A few months later (28 March 1600) Fechtinus was in trouble again, this time for unauthorized absence.⁸⁰

Almost a year later, on 9 February 1601, Fechtinus provoked the ire of the chapter for another reason. The bishop of Vilna, Benedictus Woyna († 22 October 1615⁸¹) reported that Fechtinus had, in defiance of the statutes in force, revealed capitular secrets to outside persons, including himself. Moreover, Fechtinus had supposedly told Woyna that the chapter had begun to conspire against the bishop⁸² (it is worth adding here that Woyna had entered the chapter back in 1576,⁸³ and had only left it on his elevation to the bishopric the previous year). In the light of the sixteenth-century statutes of the Vilna chapter, the revealing of capitular secrets was liable to be punished by the loss of the right to speak and sit in the chapter and the loss of up to a year's income.⁸⁴ In this case the chapter decided to impose a penalty of the loss of three months' income, as well as the offender's place and voice in the chapter. Although he was not forbidden from collecting income from the prestimonial estate in his possession, he was forbidden to make frequent visits to it. He was also commanded to dismiss his whore. He was also banned from receiving at his house the Swedes and Finns whom – despite the dangerous times – he had often hosted. It should be added that entertaining mysterious guests during Duke Karl Södermanland's invasion of Livonia might arouse suspicions of culpable stu-

⁷¹ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VII, f. 301-301v, § 842.

⁷² Wróblewski Library, ACV, VII, f. 316, § 895.

⁷³ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VII, f. 317, § 901.

⁷⁴ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VII, f. 327, § 948.

⁷⁵ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VII, f. 342v, § 1020.

⁷⁶ *Monumenta Sarmatarum*, p. 224.

⁷⁷ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VII, f. 335, § 984.

⁷⁸ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VII, f. 337-337v, § 995.

⁷⁹ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VII, f. 342, § 1018.

⁸⁰ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VII, f. 348v, § 1044.

⁸¹ *Monumenta Sarmatarum*, p. 217.

⁸² Wróblewski Library, ACV, VII, f. 1, § 1101.

⁸³ Wróblewski Library, ACV, V, f. 215, § 588.

⁸⁴ *Vilniaus ir Žemaičių katedrų kapitulų statutai*, p. 326.

pidity, if not outright treason. Fechtinus humbly admitted the accusations and – pleading for a reduction in the penalty – promised to do better in future.⁸⁵

The chapter was not equally suspicious of all Swedes and Finns, however. On 6 June 1601, it finally yielded to the pleas of a vicar from Dorpat (Tartu), Olaus Marci Sundergeltus, who, presenting a document, asked for the payment of sixteen thalers – a debt contracted by the Canon Joannes Jussoila († between 20 July 1607 and 12 August 1608⁸⁶), who was then not present in Vilna. Although the chapter did not usually grant such requests, it did so on this occasion, with the caveat that the sum would be deducted from the income due to Jussoila.⁸⁷ Canon Jussoila, who came from the Finnish lands of the Kingdom of Sweden, was another nominee of Sigismund III. In contrast to Fechtinus, he was of unimpeachable character.⁸⁸

Several months later Fechtinus was mixed up in another affair involving Swedes in his house. On 25 January 1602 it was noted in the capitular acts that Canon Fechtinus absent both at sessions of the chapter and at cathedral services, and that he was simulating illness in the hope of concealing his drunkenness. For this reason it was unanimously decided to refuse him the right to collect his *refectio*.⁸⁹ The same day a protest against Canon Isaac Fechtinus was presented to the chapter – with a request that it been inscribed in the acts – by a Swede:

I Krystyan Szum [Christian Schum?] make my complaint against Reverend Isaac Canon of Vilna, who had several times invited me to his house. I did this at his request, and was there last Sunday, that is 20 January, for dinner, where I found other Swedes, three royal servants, and we were all joyful together, and he fed us well: they asked me in good humour about the source of my wealth, as all my property in Kochenhauz had been taken from me. I said that I have a good master, who aids me in everything, and I showed my purse taking out fifty red zlotys [ducats]. Having seen this, he began to fill my cup, adding that no hair of my head would be harmed, and nothing [of mine] would be lost. Trusting in this I became drunk, and Reverend Isaac ordered that I be put to bed, having let out the other guests; and he then himself drank for a long time, so that I slept well. At two o'clock that night, I checked my purse, and the money had been removed, so I then asked him if he had taken it, and he, seizing a weapon and unsheathing it, wanted to throw himself at me, upbraiding me, and saying that he knew nothing about [the money]: 'And if I saw it on you, I know not where you put it'. So I asked him to release me, and he opened [the door] himself. The following day in the morning I came to him to demand what I had lost; he also denied it, saying he knew nothing of it: and in the meantime reaching for something opened a drawer under the table, where I saw my belt and the new band from my cap, and on my cap an old one was fixed, and I saw it in his own locked drawer: he argued with me, that it was not mine. And now I name none other as the principal author of my detriment than this Reverend

⁸⁵ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VII, p. 1, § 1101.

⁸⁶ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, f. 108, § 391; ACV, VIII, f. 130v, § 456. For more on the date of Jussoila's death see Wioletta Pawlikowska-Butterwick, *A "Foreign" Elite? The Territorial Origins of the Canons and Prelates of the Cathedral Chapter of Vilna in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*, "Slavonic and East European Review", 92 (2014), no. 1, p. 48.

⁸⁷ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VII, k. 371v, § 1118.

⁸⁸ Pawlikowska-Butterwick, *A "Foreign" Elite?*, p. 71.

⁸⁹ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, f. 1, § 2.

Isaac as the host, who invited me to his house and inebriated me, having promised me, that nothing of mine would be lost.⁹⁰

The chapter inscribed the protest into its acts, but advised the plaintiff to submit a formal summons. The question was soon taken up again, on 1 February 1602. Canon Isaac – having heard the complaint – declared that he

did not know this Szum, had neither invited him to his house, nor sent for him, but he himself voluntarily, uninvited and unsent-for had come: likewise he knew nothing about any money of his; nor had Szum given him any to keep for him, money which although he had thrown on the table in front of good people sitting at the table, but immediately afterwards put away in front of the good people who had then been in his canon's house. He [Fechtinus] even said [']that when at eight o'clock at night he [Szum] left the house, led to the gate by myself, he said nothing of any money. Until the following morning at eight o'clock he came to asking if I had seen his belt and capband, and I straight away gave him back those things, but there was no money in his belt or band. So wherever he had spent the night, there should he seek his money and lost items, and not at my house, where he had not spent the night.['] The plaintiff Krystyan Szum through his master Mr Jasiński claimed that this loss had occurred nowhere else, but in the house of Reverend Canon Isaac, by whom he had been summoned, given drink and assured that no harm should come to him in this house: he [Fechtinus] knew what people and servants he kept in his house, and invoked the aid of article 77, chapter 4, being prepared to better this complaint with his conscience.⁹¹

The said article 77 comes from the Third Lithuanian Statute of 1588. In the light of this article the best means to prove innocence or guilt was in writing, and failing that, the testimony of witnesses. These were viewed as the surest proofs. If neither was available, then the sides could each swear an oath.⁹² Although the latter was considered a proof of lesser weight, Szum nevertheless intended to use this right. This was also the means rapidly chosen by Canon Fechtinus: 'By this means the Honourable Reverend Canon moved to swear an oath himself in response. And so they gave the matter to our official consideration'. Then the chapter, citing article 41, chapter 11 of the Third Lithuanian Statute⁹³, which dealt with damages occurring at home or on the road with the knowledge of the host,⁹⁴ decided:

And so we the office, in this case of Mr Krystyan Szum with the Honourable Reverend Isaac Fechtinus Canon of Vilna regarding the loss occurring to Mr Szum by his account and complaint in the house of the Honourable Reverend Canon: because Mr Szum does not accuse the Honourable Reverend Canon directly of guilt through injury done to Mr Szum, but because of his incurring the loss in the house of which the Reverend Canon is the host, and to which he was summoned and there assured [of the safety of his person and property]. Therefore according to the reading of the law of the land, article 41, chapter 11, we command the said Szum to swear an oath

⁹⁰ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, f. 1-1v, § 3.

⁹¹ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, ff. 2v-3, § 7.

⁹² Статут Вялікага княства Літоўскага 1588, ed. А. С. Шагун, Мінск 2005, p. 97.

⁹³ Wróblewski Library, ACV VIII, f. 3, § 7.

⁹⁴ Статут Вялікага княства Літоўскага 1588, p. 173.

that he was summoned to the house of the Honourable Reverend Isaac, that the said sum of money, fifty red zlotys, was lost in the house of the Reverend Canon, and that immediately on noticing the loss of the money he went to demand it from the Honourable Reverend Canon, before he left the house. We allow three days for the swearing of this oath, and when it is sworn by the said Szum, the Honourable Reverend Canon should reimburse and pay this loss, as described in the Statute, article 84, chapter 4. The defendant, the Honourable Reverend Canon not accepting our decree, appealed to the principal Tribunal court, which this year will be held here in Vilna. Which he is permitted to do according to the law, and this extract from our capitular books is issued.⁹⁵

The quoted fragment is of interest to us not only because of the moral aspect, but because it illuminates the chapter's knowledge and use by of the text of the Third Lithuanian Statute. Krystian Szum was given three days to take his oath. In case of the proving of the guilt of the host, he would be obliged to pay compensation according to article 84, chapter 4 of the Third Statute, which dealt with the time in which the payment of compensation should be made. The case concerned fifty red zlotys (equivalent to ducats), and so if the case was found in favour of the plaintiff, the reimbursement should be completed within two weeks.⁹⁶ The entry that Fechtinus did not accept the decision of the chapter and announced his intention to appeal to the Tribunal indicates that he was probably not entirely innocent.

Although we do not know the ending of this particular story, there were more matters involving Canon Isaac Fechtinus and his compatriots. On 6 June 1603 a complaint against Fechtinus was entered into the acts at the request of Jerzy Przesiecki, who while serving in Livonia had taken prisoner a Swede called Klaus, whom he subsequently took into his service. After arriving in Vilna with his servant on 27 May 1603, Przesiecki stayed in Zarzecze (Užupis – the transfluvial suburb) with Stanisław Starsielski. There Fechtinus saw Przesiecki, and started to ask him to give him the Swede in return for a ransom. Because these requests brought no result, Fechtinus apparently enticed the Swede to an inn. Shortly afterwards, on 4 June, the Swede disappeared, taking with him fifty red zlotys and six *grzywny* (about 1.2 kilograms) of silver. Przesiecki also testified that the fugitive had found refuge in the house of Canon Fechtinus.⁹⁷ The chapter, having heard the complaint and consulted the bishop, decided that Canon Fechtinus – who despite having been reprimanded and punished so many times already, continued to bring suspicious persons into his house, frequent taverns and suspect places, drunkenly to get involved in fights and wander the streets, and above all to come to the cathedral inebriated and cause trouble – would be punished by losing his right to his daily allowance and his income until the general session of the chapter in the autumn (28 September). From this point onwards Fechtinus's income would be forty Lithuanian *grosze* a week.⁹⁸

This was not the end of the matter concerning Klaus the Swede. On 10 June Przesiecki renewed his complaint against Fechtinus. In response, Canon Isaac stated that he hardly knew the said Swede and did not know where he was. The chapter then ordered

⁹⁵ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, f. 3-3v, § 7.

⁹⁶ Статут Вялікага княства Літоўскага 1588, p. 99.

⁹⁷ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, f. 27-27v, § 109.

⁹⁸ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, ff. 27v-28, § 110.

Fechtinus to take the following oath within three days: 'As this Swede Klaus is not in my house, neither do I know of him, nor did I myself or through other people give him any counsel of escape, nor did I give any ransom for him, nor did I ask for his freeing from Mr Przesiecki.' Przesiecki was permitted to act freely.⁹⁹

The problem of Fechtinus again came before the chapter on 29 October 1604. That day the Jesuit heavy artillery was trained on him. Because of his hideous, repellent and obstinate conduct, his numerous offences which cast a shadow on the Church and in particular the event which had taken place a week earlier on 22 October, when Fechtinus had during the particular Friday session of the chapter 'threw up yesterday's drinking through his summons', and the following day, he had sung – or rather sputtered – drunkenly during Saturday Vespers, it was decided to deprive him of his daily distributions for a month. He was also commanded to go to confession and was sent on retreat to the Jesuits – who had educated and trained him as one of their own. After this time he could count on forty *grosze* per week, until his conduct had improved. He was also forbidden to leave the city without permission, including journeys to his prestimonial property, which was consigned to the care of the chapter's procurator. Nor was he permitted to celebrate Mass because, as the investigation had revealed, Fechtinus usually did so drunk, without having first confessed his sins. Fechtinus then announced he would appeal to the bishop of Vilna. However, the chapter refused him the right to do so, citing the decrees of the Council of Trent (session 22, chapter 1) and the capitular statutes, summing up that there were no appeals regarding the correction of morals.¹⁰⁰ We do not know what effect – if any – the Jesuit Fathers exerted on Canon Isaac. Nevertheless, on 9 February 1607 it was noted that during a dispute at the Jesuit Academy he had talked gibberish under the influence of alcohol.¹⁰¹

Less than a year after the above verdict (on 25 February 1605) it transpired that Canon Fechtinus had defied it by transporting out grain out of his prestimonial estate of Trusowicz, and had attempted to manage it, despite the prohibition on his doing so. He drew on himself the anger of the chapter which threatened that if he did not submit to the verdict and did not moderate his conduct, the bishop would deprive him of his canonry and the chapter would deprive him of his prestimonium.¹⁰²

Canon Isaac kept his canonry until he died, but his contacts with Bishop Woyna were far from good, and so he had weak claims on his personal protection. On 8 February 1602 the bishop of Vilna, citing a resolution of the provincial synod of the archbishop of Gniezno Joannes of Sprowa († 1464), demanded from Fechtinus the return of the sums obtained from the administration of the lease of Widze during the period of *sede vacante* that had preceded Woyna's elevation in 1600. For this reason the chapter decided to sequester Canon Isaac's prestimonial income except for his *refectio* – on condition of his presence in the cathedral.¹⁰³

The question returned two years later. Because Fechtinus had not paid his debt, on 4 February 1604 the chapter exhorted him to return the due sum to the bishop. He was

⁹⁹ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, f. 28-28v, § 111.

¹⁰⁰ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, ff. 54v-55, § 209.

¹⁰¹ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, f. 95-95v, § 354.

¹⁰² Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, f. 61v, § 230.

¹⁰³ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, ff. 5v-6, § 20.

also – on pain of losing his *refectio* – forbidden to visit taverns.¹⁰⁴ This time the threat was exceptionally effective, because on 9 March Canon Stanislaus Szydłowski († before 7 February 1620¹⁰⁵) was able to inform the chapter that he had received one hundred schocks of Lithuanian *grosze* to cover the debt to the bishop.¹⁰⁶

Nevertheless, in the meantime Fechtinus had caused another scandal. After drinking he had paid a visit to King Sigismund III, who was then in Vilna. He had also followed the Queen's coach on foot like an ordinary soldier. So on 22 March 1602 the chapter procurator Nicolaus Dicus († 23 December 1629¹⁰⁷) rebuked Canon Isaac with words from the Bible ('And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees: every tree therefore which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire'¹⁰⁸). If Fechtinus did not repent and mend his ways then he would face the deserved punishment. He also lost a week's *refectio*, with the warning that if he did not cease to frequent taverns he would lose the distribution for half a year.¹⁰⁹ A week later on 28 March, the chapter deprived him of his *refectio* for a month. This time the reason was that the canon had got involved in a fight with 'heretics' in one of the city's taverns.¹¹⁰

Throughout his time as a canon of Vilna Fechtinus misbehaved. He also mismanaged the prestiomonial estates assigned to him, although it was only on 9 February 1607 that he finally lost Trusowicze¹¹¹ – in exchange for a modest weekly pension of 48 Lithuanian *grosze*. The direct cause of the verdict was the seizure of grain being transported by villagers from Trusowicze to Vilna.¹¹² The punishments applied to him never effected sufficient pressure to bring about a change of lifestyle. He evidently had powerful protectors – especially, it would seem, his compatriot King Sigismund Vasa. It is otherwise hard to explain why, despite his frequent offences including drunkenness, fighting and open breaches of celibacy, he was never incarcerated by the bishop. Although we should not generalize from Fechtinus's behaviour, his offences were certainly not isolated cases, and not only in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. It is also notable – especially in this context – how often he was judged by the chapter in cases concerning capitular property. The scandalous story of Canon Isaac Fechtinus is therefore an excellent key to the question of the chapter's jurisdiction over both properties and persons within its *jurydyka*.

To conclude, capitular sources reveal that all inhabitants of buildings in the *jurydyka*, including artisans, were subject to the jurisdiction of the chapter. Occasionally the chapter exceeded its judicial authority, by judging cases which would have been capital offences in secular courts. Sanctions of varying severity were available to it: fines, imprisonment, house arrest, corporal punishment, deprivation of entitlements and even benefices and offices. As a last resort there was excommunication. However, before it reached for the severest penalties it sought to give even repeat offenders – such as Canon Isaac Fechtinus – the chance to make amends.

¹⁰⁴ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, f. 33-33v, § 133.

¹⁰⁵ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, f. 381, § 1238.

¹⁰⁶ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, f. 37-37v, § 151.

¹⁰⁷ *Monumenta Sarmatarum*, p. 226.

¹⁰⁸ Luke, chapter 3, verse 9 (<http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/Luke-Chapter-3/>, accessed 7 August 2015).

¹⁰⁹ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, f. 10-10v, § 33.

¹¹⁰ Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, f. 15, § 50.

¹¹¹ See the Appendix.

¹¹² Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, f. 95-95v, § 354.

Appendix¹¹³

Rejestr wybierania poboru z 1602 roku

[Register of the collection of the extraordinary tax of 1602]

Original: The Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius, sign. F43-490.

Copy: The Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius, sign. F256-3177

Register: *Feodalinių žemės valdų Lietuvoje inventorių aprašymas*, ed. Vladas Abramavičius, *Lietuvos TSR Mokslų akademija. Centrinė biblioteka*, Vilnius 1963, no. 143, p. 76.

The original version is the basis for the publication.

f.1	Rejestr wybierania poboru na konwokacji wileńskiej w roku terażniejszym 1602 ¹¹⁴ uchwalonego z prestymoniów Ich Mości ks. ks. kapituły wileńskiej przez[e] mnie Stanisława Sidlowskie[g]o ¹¹⁵ kanonika wileńskiego poborcy deputowanego od Ich Mości ks. ks. kapituły wileńskiej	
	Prepozytura Hermanis[z]ki ¹¹⁶ Jego Mość ks. Maczei Klodziński ¹¹⁷ proboszcz wileński oddał poboru z prestymonium swego nazwanego Hermanis[z]ki z włók osiadłych 19 po gr 24. A od ogrodników 2, po gr 4/8. Czyni kop	7/45/6
	Decanatus Jego Mość Mikolai Dicus ¹¹⁸ dziekan wileński oddał poboru z prestymonium swego Rubna ¹¹⁹ służeb 3 ½ po gr 24. A od bojarzyna jednego gr 24. Czyni kop	1/48/0
	Tenże Jego Mość ks. dziekan z Sielan ¹²⁰ i Popielan ¹²¹ oddał służeb 3 po gr 24. A od bojarzynów gr 24. Czyni kop	1/36/0

¹¹³ The text is published according to the principles elucidated in *Instrukcja wydawnicza dla źródeł historycznych od XVI do połowy XIX wieku*, ed. Kazimierz Lepszy, Wrocław, 1953 – with certain permissible modifications. Punctuation and spelling have generally been modernized, nevertheless the original spelling of given and family names and place names retain many of their distinctive features, some of which suggest local pronunciation. Every effort has also been made to resolve the abbreviations in the manuscript and to identify persons and places. Where this has been possible, explanations have been provided in the notes.

¹¹⁴ *The 1602 convocation was summoned by Sigismund III in connection with the war with Sweden over Livonia*, see Andrzej Rachuba, *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie w systemie parlamentarnym Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1569-1763*, Warszawa, 2002, p. 256; *Akta zjazdów stanów Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, vol. 2, *Okresy panowań królów elekcyjnych XVI–XVII wiek*, ed. Henryk Lulewicz, Warszawa, 2009, pp. 135-138.

¹¹⁵ Stanislaus Szydłowski, see above.

¹¹⁶ Hermaniszki (Bel. Германішкі) – Oszmiana district. *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, ed. Filip Sulimierski and Władysław Walewski, 15 vols, Warszawa, 1880-1914 [hereafter SG], here at vol. 3, p. 61; Ochmański, *Powstanie i rozwój latyfundiów, map no. 6: Ochmański, Biskupstwo wileńskie*, p. 73.

¹¹⁷ Matthias Klodziński, see above.

¹¹⁸ Nicolaus Dicus, see above.

¹¹⁹ Rubno (Lith. Kirtimai) – Wilno district. SG, vol. 9, p. 880; Ochmański, *Biskupstwo wileńskie*, p. 98.

¹²⁰ Szyłany (Lith. Šilėnai) – Wilno district. *Atlas Kościoła tacińskiego w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w XVIII wieku*, ed. Stanisław Litak, Lublin, 2006, p. 313.

¹²¹ Popielany (Lith. Papile) – Wilno district. SG, vol. 7, p. 784.

	Archidiaconatus Jego Mość ks. Ris[z]kowski ¹²² archidiacon wileński oddał poboru z Rikon ¹²³ z włók osiadłych 7 po gr 24, z włók pustych 2 po gr 8. Od bojarzyna z włóki jednej gr 24. Z kaplicy Rukonskiej z włók 1 ½ po gr 24. Z Par[af]i[a]nowa ¹²⁴ służeb 6 po gr 24. Od ogrodników 13 po gr 4. Czyni kop	7/20/0
	Scholast[e]ria Pan Matyss Wlochowic imieniem Jego Mości ks. Roszczissewskiego ¹²⁵ scholastyka wileńskiego, oddał poboru z prestymonium Toloczissek ¹²⁶ nazwanego z włók 20 po gr 24. Czyni kop	8/0/0
	Custodia Jego Mość ks. Wol[!]owicz ¹²⁷ kustosz wileński oddał przez służę swego poboru z prestymonium Lobonarskie[g]o ¹²⁸ [z] służeb 5 ½ po gr 24. Czyni kop	2/12/0
		28/41/6
f.1v	Cantoria Jego Mość ks. Jassinski ¹²⁹ kantor wileński, przez służę swego Lonianskiego oddał poboru z dóbr plebani Solockiej ¹³⁰ [z] służeb 5 po gr 24. A od ogrodników 6 po gr 24 /8. Czyni kop	2/28/8
	A nie oddał dla spustoszenia i głodu [z] służeb 5 a ogrodników 7	
	Prestymonium Korzen maior ¹³¹ Jego Mość ks. Ambrosi ¹³² kanonik wileński przez urzędnika swego Palaskie[g]o oddał poboru z prestymonium swego Korzenskie[g]o z włók osiadłych 57 ½ po gr 24. A od ogrodników 4 po gr 6. Czyni litewskich kop	23/20/0
	A dla spustoszenia nie oddał z włók 2 ⅔	
	Prestymonium Korzen minor ¹³³ Jego Mość ks. Gornicki ¹³⁴ kanonik wileński z prestymonium swego Korzenskie[g]o oddał poboru przez urzędnika swego Karniczkie[g]o z włók osiadłych 51 ½, ½ po gr 24, a z pustych 3 ½ po gr 8. Od ogrodników 3 po 6. Czyni kop	21/30/0

¹²² Joannes Ryszkowski, see above.

¹²³ Rukojnie (Lith. Rukainiai) – Wilno district. Ochmański, Powstanie i rozwój latyfundiów, *map no. 6; Ochmański, Biskupstwo wileńskie*, pp. 73, 98.

¹²⁴ Parafianowo (Bel. Парфенавічы) – Oszmiana district. Ochmański, Powstanie i rozwój latyfundiów, *map no. 6; Ochmański, Biskupstwo wileńskie*, p. 98; *Большой исторический атлас Беларуси*, vol. 1, Минск 2009, p. 108.

¹²⁵ Sigismundum Rościszewski († between 14 May 1610 (when he was mentioned for the last time in the capitular acts, ACV, VIII, f. 170v, § 562) and 11 February 1611 (Adam Szelągowski, *Sprawa północna w wiekach XVI i XVII*, vol. 3, *O ujście Wisły wielka wojna pruska*, Warszawa, 1905, pp. 67, 413).

¹²⁶ Tolocziszki (Bel. Талочішкі) – Oszmiana district. *Большой исторический атлас Беларуси*, vol. 2, Минск 2013, p. 80.

¹²⁷ Eustachius Wołowicz, see above.

¹²⁸ Labonary (Lith. Labanoras) – Witkomierz district. Ochmański, Powstanie i rozwój latyfundiów, *map no. 6; Ochmański, Biskupstwo wileńskie*, p. 75.

¹²⁹ Nicolaus Jasiński, see above.

¹³⁰ Soloki (Lith. Salakas) – Brasław district. Ochmański, Powstanie i rozwój latyfundiów, *map no. 6; Ochmański, Biskupstwo wileńskie*, p. 76.

¹³¹ Korzeń (Bel. Корань) – Mińsk district. Ochmański, Powstanie i rozwój latyfundiów, *map no. 6; Большой исторический атлас Беларуси*, vol. 1, p. 117.

¹³² Ambrosius Beynart, see above.

¹³³ See Korzeń.

¹³⁴ Paulus Gornicki, † 8 March 1632, *Słownik biograficzny Warmii, Prus Książęcych i Ziemi Malborskiej od połowy XV do końca XVIII wieku*, ed. Tadeusz Oracki, vol. 1, Olsztyn, 1984, p. 72

	A dla ubóstwa nie dodał 4 ⅔	
	Prestimonium Baxti ¹³⁵ Jego Mość ks. Swieczick[i] ¹³⁶ kanonik wileński z prestymonium swego Baxczinskie[g]o przez służę swego Zernickie[g]o oddał poboru 18 ½ po gr 24, z pustych służeb 12 po gr 8. A od ogrodnika jednego gr 6. Czyni kop	9/6/0
	A dla spustoszenia nie oddał służb 3	
	Prestymonium Wonalgow[o] ¹³⁷ Jego Mość ks. Wilczopolski ¹³⁸ kanonik wileński z prestymonium swego oddał poboru z włók 16 ½, po gr 24. Czyni kop	6/36/0
	A dla spustoszenia nie oddał z włók 3 ½	
	Prestymonium Kuzmiski ¹³⁹ Jego Mość ks. Sidlowski kanonik wileński z prestymonium swego Kuzmiski przez służę swego Jana Konobackie[g]o poboru z włók 15 po gr 24. Czyni kop	6/0/0
	A dla spustoszenia nie oddał z włók 9	
		69/0/8
f. 2	Prestymonium Haniewicz ¹⁴⁰ Wojczech Kossowski urzędnik Haniewicki oddał poboru od podimia 40 po gr 12. Czyni kop	8/0/0
	A dla spustoszenia nie oddał z pniow 8	
	Prestymonium Trussowicze ¹⁴¹ Jego Mość ks. Isaac ¹⁴² kanonik wileński z prestymonium swego Trussowicz oddał poboru z włók 20 po gr 24. Czyni kop	8/0/0
	A dla spustoszenia nie oddał z włók 17 ½	
	Prestymonium alteru[m] Trussowicze i Korzen Jego Mość ks. Jurg[i]ewicz[z] ¹⁴³ kanonik wileński oddał poboru z prestymonium swego Trussowickie[g]o z włók osiadłych 21 po gr 24, a ze dwu pustych po gr 8. A z sioła Korzenskie[g]o z włók 17 po gr 24. Czyni kop	15/28/0
	Strzessin ¹⁴⁴ Thomas Strabczewski urzędnik Ich Mości ks. ks. kapituły wileńskiej odesłał przez służę swego Swiderskie[g]o z dymów osiadłych 280 po gr 12. Od chałup ubogich 10 po gr 6, jeszcze uboższych 14 po gr 4 ½. Czyni kop	57/59/0

¹³⁵ Bakszty (Bel. Бакшты) – Oszmiana district. Ochmański, Powstanie i rozwój *latyfundiów*, *map no. 6; Большой исторический атлас Беларуси*, vol. 2, p. 89.

¹³⁶ Gregorius Świącicki, see above.

¹³⁷ Wojniałgowo (also *Swetglica*) (Bel. Ва́йналяў) – Oszmiana district. Ochmański, Powstanie i rozwój *latyfundiów*, pp. 65, 145 and *map no. 6; Большой исторический атлас Беларуси*, vol. 1, p. 107.

¹³⁸ Stanislaus Wilczopolski, † before 13 May 1611, Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, f. 196, § 642.

¹³⁹ *Kuzmiszki* (Bel. Кузьмішкі) – Oszmiana district. *Большой исторический атлас Беларуси*, vol. 2, p. 81.

¹⁴⁰ Haniewiczze (Bel. Ханявічы) – Grodno district. Ochmański, Powstanie i rozwój *latyfundiów*, *map no. 6.*

¹⁴¹ Trusowicze (Bel. Трусавічы) – Mińsk district. Ochmański, Powstanie i rozwój *latyfundiów*, *map no. 6; Большой исторический атлас Беларуси*, vol. 1, p. 116.

¹⁴² Isaac Fechtinus, see above.

¹⁴³ Andreas Jurgiewicz, † before 12 February 1604, Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, f. 35, § 141

¹⁴⁴ Strzeszyn (Bel. Стрэшын) – *Rzeczycza* district. Ochmański, Powstanie i rozwój *latyfundiów*, *map no. 6; Большой исторический атлас Беларуси*, vol. 1, p. 140.

	Kamieniec ¹⁴⁵ Pan Jan Sadko urzędnik Kamieniecki oddał poboru z dymów 37 po gr 12. Od rzemieślników 6 po gr 4. Od boba[?] gr 24. Od mlinka jednego gr 12. Od mlina 6 kol, od każdego po gr 24. Od 3 kol Rudnich po gr 48. Od rzemieślników Rudnich od 9 po gr 12. Od jednego ubogiego gr 6. Czyni kop	83/18/0
	Witebsk ¹⁴⁶ Pan Hieronim Podlecki, urzędnik plebani witebskiej przez sługę swego Matissa Stanislawislawowicza oddał poboru z dóbr plebani witebskiej z domów ulicznych mieszczan witebskich 12 i ogrodami po gr 6/4. Z włości Sorzickiej z dymów 120 po gr 12. Od bojar Sorckich 10 po gr 24. Od ogrodników 3 po gr 3/2. Czyni kop	25/26/4
	A dla spustoszenia przez głód nie oddał z dymów 26. Ogrodników 2, mieszczan 8	
		192/4/11
f.2v	Borodzicze ¹⁴⁷ Jego Mość ks. dziekan wileński oddał z imienia Ich Mości ks. ks. kapituły wileńskiej Borodzicze[g]o z włók 100 po gr 24. [Czyni] kop	40/0/0
	Poswole ¹⁴⁸ Pan Stanisław Czaplecki urzędnik poswojski oddał poboru przez sługę swego Mikolaia Kussminske[g]o z włók 43 po gr 24, a ze trzech czwierci gr 18. [Czyni] kop	17/30/0
	A ostatka przez spustoszenie żołnierskiego i głód wedle registrów dawnych nie oddał	
	Wolcza ¹⁴⁹ Jego Mość ks. Pac ¹⁵⁰ kanonik wileński z prestymonium swego wolczanskie[g]o oddał poboru z włók 4 po gr 24. Czyni kop	1/36/0
	A dla spustoszenia nie oddał z włók 2	
	Ponari ¹⁵¹ Matyss urzędnik ponarski oddał poboru służeb osiadłych trzech po gr 24. A co na półsłużbach siedzą czterech po gr 12. A z mlinka[?] gr 12. Czyni kop	2/12/0
	A dla spustoszenia przez żołnierzy i głód nie dodał służeb	
	Wosgalisk ¹⁵² seminarzystów Jego Mość ks. Jurg[i]ewicz kanonik wileński prowizor dóbr seminarzyskich oddał poboru z poddanych Wosgaliskich z włók osiadłych 45 po gr 24. A z pustych 4 po gr 8. Czyni kop	18/32/0

¹⁴⁵ Włość Kamieniecka (Ukr. Каменская Волаць) – Mozyrz district. Ochmański, Powstanie i rozwój *latyfundiów*, pp. 49-51, map no. 6; *Большой исторический атлас Беларуси*, vol. 2, p. 120.

¹⁴⁶ Witebsk (Bel. Віцебск) – Witebsk district. Ochmański, Biskupstwo wileńskie, p. 77; *Большой исторический атлас Беларуси*, vol. 1, p. 110.

¹⁴⁷ Boroduczje (Bel. Бародзічы) – Brześć district. *Большой исторический атлас Беларуси*, vol. 1, p. 134.

¹⁴⁸ Poswol (Lith. Pasvalys) – Uputa district. Ochmański, Biskupstwo wileńskie, p. 75.

¹⁴⁹ Wolcza (Bel. Ваўча) – Mińsk district. Ochmański, Powstanie i rozwój *latyfundiów*, map no. 61; *Большой исторический атлас Беларуси*, vol. 1, p. 108.

¹⁵⁰ Nicolaus Pac, † 6 September 1624, *Codex Mednicensis seu Samogitiae dioecesis*, vol. 2, (1609 VI 26-1926 V 13), ed. Paulius Jatulis, Romae 1989, no. 96B.

¹⁵¹ Ponary (Lith. Paneriai) – Wilno district. Ochmański, Powstanie i rozwój *latyfundiów*, map no. 6.

¹⁵² Wozgieliszki, Wilno district. Michał Baliński, *Historia miasta Wilna*, vol. 2, Wilno, 1837, p. 272.

	Nowogródek ¹⁵³ seminarzystów Jego Mość ks. Jurg[i]jewic[z] kanonik wileński prowizor dóbr seminarzyskich oddał poboru z dóbr plebani nowogrockieie to jest z mieszczan plebani nowogrockieie i siola plebańskiego Grdeczna. Z włości Łuckieie ¹⁵⁴ i Kolpinićkieie ¹⁵⁵ [czyni] kop	58/43/2
	Spangła ¹⁵⁶ Jan Cziganski oddał od trzech ogrodników do karczmy należącej Spinglia nazwanej kop	0/36/0
		139/9/2
f. 3	Suma wybierania z prestymonieie kanoniczej i z dóbr seminarzyskich czyni litewskich kop	435/3/0
f. 4	Wybieranie poboru na konwokacji wileńskiej w roku 1602 uchwalonego od komorników którzy w domach Ich Mości ks. ks. kapituły mieszkają, także i od tych [którzy] pod domami z przekupstwem soli, chleba, Ich Mości siedają	
	Kamienica Jego Mości ks. proboszcza wileńskiego księdza Kłodzienskiego	
	W domu Jego Mości ks. Kłodzienskiego mieszka Paweł, który dał poboru od rzemiosła swego tak wiele kop	0/24/0
	Tamże mieszka Jan Rymarz, który dał poboru kop	0/24/0
	Pod tymże domem mieszka Dorotha Pawłowa, która chleb przekupuje dała poboru kop	0/24/0
	Pod tymże domem przekupuje Zophia Harasimowa uboga dała poboru kop	0/6/0
	Kamienica Jego Mości ks. dziekana	
	Pod kamienicą Jego Mości ks. dziekana, Ambrozy Baran od przekupstwa swojego dał poboru kop	0/24/0
	Dom Jego Mości ks. archidiacona	
	Pod tym domem Jego Mości ks. archidiacona mieszka Piotr solennik, który od przekupstwa swego zapłacił poboru kop	0/24/0
	Kamienica Jego Mości ks. kustosza Tam mieszka Greger Rnkowd miecznik, [który] oddał poboru od rzemiosła swego kop	0/24/0
	Kamienica Jego Mości ks. Ambrozego ¹⁵⁷	
	W tej kamienicy mieszka Barthos Stankowicz krawiec, który oddał poboru od rzemiosła swego kop	0/24/0
	Tamże mieszka Jakub Smolski kuśnierz, [który] oddał poboru od rzemiosła swego kop	0/24/0

¹⁵³ Nowogródek (Bel. Новагарадак) – Nowogródek district. Ochmański, Powstanie i rozwój latyfundiów, *map no 6; Ochmański, Biskupstwo wileńskie*, p. 74; *Большой исторический атлас Беларуси*, vol. 1, Минск 2009, p. 125.

¹⁵⁴ Łuki (Bel. Лука / Вялікія Лука) – Nowogródek district. *Большой исторический атлас Беларуси*, vol. 1, p. 125.

¹⁵⁵ Kolpienica (Bel. Каўпеніца) – Nowogródek district. *Большой исторический атлас Беларуси*, vol. 1, p. 125.

¹⁵⁶ Spingła (Lith. Spenglas) – Wilno district.

¹⁵⁷ Ambrosius Beynart, see above.

	Pod tą kamienicą mieszka Valenti solennik, [który] oddał od przekupstwa swego kop	0/24/0
	Kamienica Jego Mości ks. Bolpathy ¹⁵⁸	
	W tej kamienicy mieszka Jurek stolarz, [który] oddał poboru od rzemiosła swego kop	0/24/0
	Pod tą kamienicą mieszka Piotr Daskowicz solennik, [który] oddał poboru od przekupstwa swego kop	0/24/0
		4/30/[0]
f.4v	Kamienica Jego Mości ks. Gornickiego ¹⁵⁹	
	W tej kamienicy mieszka Boguczky krawiec, który oddał poboru od rzemiosła swego tak wiele jako kop	0/24/0
	Pod tą kamienicą mieszka Andrei Konkulli solennik, [który] oddał poboru od przekupstwa swego kop	0/24/0
	Domy mieszczan kapitulnych ulica Zamkowa	
	Z domu Jana Krewla Bartosz Zalieski zapłacił powrotnego gr 6/4 A od rzemiosła swego krawieckiego gr 24. Czyni kop	0/30/4
	W tymże domu mieszka Jan Iglis miecznik, który zapłacił od rzemiosła swego poboru kop	0/24/0
	Tamże mieszka Piotr miecznik, [który] oddał poboru kop	0/24/0
	Tamże mieszka Matys slosarz ubogi, [który] oddał poboru kop	0/24/0
	Dom Woiciecha Siodlarza	
	Woyciech siodlarz oddał poboru powrotnego gr 6/4. A od rzemiosła oddał gr 24. Czyni kop	0/30/4
	Tamże mieszka Paweł miecznik, który oddał poboru od rzemiosła kop	0/24/0
	Ulica Skopowa	
	Dom Wawrzencza Opuchowskie[g]o, który oddał powrotnego kop	0/6/4
	Tamże mieszka Wawrzencz kopac ubogi, [który] oddał kop	0/12/0
	Tamże mieszka Paweł kowal oddał od rzemiosła kop	0/24/[0]
	Dom Urbana rymarza oddał powrotnego gr 6/4. A od rzemiosła oddał gr 24. Czyni kop	0/30/4
	Dom Stanisława Koszakowskie[g]o, który oddał powrotnego gr 6/4. A od rzemiosła swego krawieckiego gr 24. Czyni kop	0/30/4
	Tamże mies[z]ka Franc czapnik, który oddał poboru kop	0/24/0
	Tamże mies[z]ka Paweł furman ubogi, [który] oddał kop	0/12/0
	Dom Kosmowskiego krawca, od domu dał gr 6/4, od rzemiosła gr 24. Czyni kop	0/30/4
	Dom Jana Litwinka, który oddał powrotnego gr 6/4, a od rzemiosła gr 24. Czyni kop	0/30/4
	Tamże mieszka Chwiedor piwowar, [który] oddał według tak rocznego gruntu kop	0/9/6
	Dom Jakuba Łączkiego, który nie dał dla ubóstwa	

¹⁵⁸ Joannes Bulpat, see above.

¹⁵⁹ Paulus Górnicki, see above.

	Dom Sebastiana Wircinskie[g]o, który oddał powrotnego gr 6/4. A od rzemiosła gr 24. Czyni kop	0/30/4
	Dom Pawła Rudzinskiego powrotnego oddał kop	0/6/4
	A rzemiosła przed starością nie robi	
		7/27/2
f. 5	Dom Ambrozego Barana, który oddał powrotnego kop	0/6/4
	Tamże mieszka Jadwiga Piotrowa Siemiernicza, która od sprzedawania chleba oddaje poboru kop	0/12/0
	Ulica do Bernardynow idąc	
	Dom Sebastiana Trębydzkie[g]o z którego zapłacił powrotnego kop	0/6/4
	Dom Woiciecha Krolowiczka z którego oddał powrotnego kop	0/6/4
	Tamże mieszka Mathysz koszali krawiec, który poboru od rzemiosła dał kop	0/24/0
	Dom Jastrzępskiej z którego Łukasz malarz oddał powrotnego gr 6/4. A od rzemiosła gr 24. Czyni kop	0/30/4
	Dom Franciszka Slindaiskie[g]o z którego oddał powrotnego kop	0/6/4
	Tamże mieszka Marek muliarz, który od rzemiosła poboru oddał kop	0/24/0
	Tamże mieszka Jan kowal, który od rzemiosła poboru oddał kop	0/24/0
	Dom drugi Sebastiana Trębiczkie[g]o powrotnego kop	0/6/4
	Ulica idąc z Zamku do murowanego młyna	
	Dom Andrzeia solennika z którego zapłacił powrotnego kop	0/6/4
	Dom Piotra solennika z którego zapłacił powrotnego kop	0/6/4
	Dom Buiwila	
	Dom Szczycza zamesnika z którego zapłacił powrotnego gr 6/4. A od rzemiosła gr 48. Czyni kop	0/54/4
	Ulica nad rzeką Wilną	
	Dom Janowej Gawloiskiej z którego oddała powrotnego kop	0/6/4
	Tamże mieszka Jakub wezglownik, który oddał wedle kwita tak rocznego dla ubóstwa kop	0/12/0
	Tamże mieszka Jan swiec człowiek ubogi i nic nie dał	
	Dom Jarmuszewskiej z którego oddała powrotnego kop	0/6/4
	Dom Hanasza Zerstucha z którego oddał powrotnego gr 6/4, a od rzemiosła gr 48. Czyni kop	0/54/4
	Dom Woiciecha Strzałkowskiego ¹⁶⁰ z którego powrotnego kop	0/6/4
	Tamże mieszka [A]polonia praczka oddała od ubogiego kop	0/12/0
	Dom Łukasza tkacza z którego powrotnego zapłacił gr 6/4. A od rzemiosła dał gr 0/24. Czyni kop	0/30/4
	Dom Stanisława tkacza z którego oddał powrotnego gr 6/4, a od rzemiosła gr 24. Czyni kop	0/30/4
	Tamże mieszka Augustyn swiec, który dał poboru od rzemiosła kop	0/24/0

¹⁶⁰ Albertus Strzałkowski, see above.

Domy za mostem Berna[r]dyskim		
		6/36/0
f.5v	Lawrin sloszarz z pół domu powrotnego gr 1/6. A od rzemiosła gr 24. Czyni kop	0/25/6
	Piotr Ghłowac z pół domu powrotnego gr 1/6. A od rzemiosła gr 24. Czyni [od] ślusarskiego rzemiosła kop	0/25/6
	Dom Bartłomieia Olichniewicza z którego oddał powrotnego gr 3/2. A żona jego od pieczenia białego chleba gr 24. Czyni kop	0/27/2
	Tamże mieszka Marek swiec, który oddał z rzemiosła swego kop	0/24/0
	Tamże mieszka Stanisław Bołoiko słodownik, który oddał od rzemiosła swego kop	0/24/0
	Tamże mieszka Marcin miecznik, który dla ubóstwa swego oddał kop	0/12/0
Wybieranie szosowego z domów szpitala S. M. Magdaleny		
Ulica Zamkowa		
	Dom Pana Abszolona aptekarza z którego zapłacił powrotnego gr 6/4, od aptekarstwa kop 1/12. Czyni kop	1/18/4
Ulica Skopowa		
	Dom Pani Catharzyni Bartłowej zamesznieckiej, która oddała powrotnego gr 6/4. Od rzemiosła gr 48. Czyni kop	0/54/4
	Mathys Oszust powrotnego dał 6/4, a od rzemiosła gr 24, kop	0/30/4
	Tamże mieszka Jan Bolko swiec dla ubóstwa dał kop	0/8/0
	Walenty Święciczki powrotnego oddał kop	0/6/4
	Thomas kucharz oddał powrotnego kop	0/6/4
	Tamże mieszka Stanisław piwowar ubogi dał kop	0/9/6
	Dom Mathysza ciesli z którego oddał powrotnego gr 6/4, a od rzemiosła gr 24. Czyni kop	0/30/4
	Tamże mieszka Maciej ciesla ubogi dał kop	0/7/2
	Tamże mieszka Laurin ciesla dał kop	0/9/6
	Tamże mieszka Piotr piwowar ubogi dał kop	0/9/6
	Dom własny szpitalny, którego najmuje Łukasz Budziwolski tkac, który zapłacił od rzemiosła swego kop	0/24/0
	Bagili tkac od rzemiosła swego zapłacił kop	0/24/0
Domy za bramą S M. Magdaleny		
	Dom Jana Bielewicz z którego Jan Żno oddał powrotnego gr 3/2, a od rzemiosła swego złotych dwa. Czyni kop	0/51/2
		8/8/[0]
f. 6	Tamże mieszka Matuk koziemiak ubogi oddał kop	0/4/8
	Tamże mieszka Jan Gaidelis przekupień skór oddał gr 12. A żona jego od pieczenia chleba gr 9/2. Czyni kop	0/21/2
	Tamże mieszka Jerzy koziemiak od ubogiego obejścia dał gr 12, a żona jego od pieczenia chleba rzeszotnego gr 12. Czyni kop	0/24/0
	Tamże mieszka Bartłomiei koziemiak od ubogiego obejścia dał kop	0/12/0
	Tamże mieszka Maczey koziemiak oddał z żoną swoją która chleb piecze rzeszotny kop	0/24/0
	2 Tamże mieszka Adam koziemiak oddał kop	0/4/8

	1 Tamże mieszka Jan Gilis koszemiak z żoną swą, która chleb piecze rzeszotny, oddał kop	0/24/0
	Dom Piotra furmana z którego Piotr furman oddał powrotnego gr 3/2, a od wożenia gliny gr 7, żona jego od pieczenia chleba rzeszotnego gr 12. Czyni kop	0/22/2
	Tamże mieszka Łukasz ciesla, który oddał od ubogiego swego obejścia kop	0/12/0
	Tamże mieszka Stanisław ciesla, który od ubogiego obejścia dał kop	0/12/0
	Dom Gregiera Pierzeczucia koziemiak z którego oddał powrotnego gr 3/2, od robienia skór czerwonych gr 48. Czyni kop	0/51/2
	Żona jego Jadwiga od piekarstwa oddała kop	0/24/0
	Dom Pawła Bałtusnika, który oddał powrotnego gr 3/2 od rzemiosła gr 24, dla ubóstwa kop	0/27/2
	Dom Marcina Bienkiewicza s którego zapłacił powrotnego kop	0/3/2
	Tamże mieszka Paweł zdun, który od rzemiosła swego oddał kop	0/24/0
	Dom Stanisława Barthoszewicza koziemiak z którego oddał powrotnego gr 3/2, od rzemiosła gr 48. Czyni kop	0/51/2
	Tamże mieszka Andrzej Swidra koziemiak, który oddał od ubogiego obejścia swego kop	0/24/0
	Tamże mieszka Barthłomiej skorownik, który oddał od ubogiego obejścia swego kop	0/15/0
	Dom Marcina szewcza z którego zapłacił powrotnego gr 3/2, a od rzemiosła gr 24. Czyni kop	0/27/2
	Tamże mieszka Ambrozy kowal, który oddał od obejścia swego ubogiego kop	0/12/0
	Dom Szczepana Bidzisia, który oddał powrotnego gr 3/2 od rzemiosła gr 48. Czyni kop	0/51/2
	Domy szpitalne na Antokoliu	
	Dom Urbana rymarza, którego najmuje Woiciech stolarz z którego zapłacił powrotnego gr 3/2 od rzemiosła gr 24. Czyni kop	0/27/2
	Tamże mieszka Jan tkac oddał rzemiosła kop	0/24/0
	Dom Jana Swiła muliarczyka, który oddał powrotnego gr 3/2, a od rzemiosła gr 12 dla ubóstwa. Czyni kop	0/15/2
		8/57/6
f.6v	Dom Piotra Bistra, który dał powrotnego gr 3/2, a od ubogiego obejścia swego gr 5. Czyni kop	0/8/2
	Dom Pana Buiwiła po Kuczenskiej	
	Dom Jurka Witowskiego	
	Dom Piotra Manskie[g]o	
	Dom księdza Płocharskiego kaznodziei zamkowego	
	Ulica Zamkowa	
	Dom Pana Symona pisarza zamkowego Liber	
	Tamże mieszka Ostapczewicz solennik oddał przekupstwa swego kop	0/24/0
	Ulica do Bernardynów idąc	
	Dom Andrzeia Gorskiego krawcza, który oddał powrotnego gr 5/4, a od rzemiosła gr 24. Czyni kop	0/80/4
	Dom Szczęsnego bednarza, którego najmuje Mathys malarz, który oddał powrotnego gr 6/4, od rzemiosła gr 24. Czyni kop	0/30/4

	Ulica Skopowa	
	Dom Kristopha Wircinskiego krawca, który oddał powrotnego gr 6/4, a od rzemiosła gr 24. Czyni kop	0/30/4
	Tamże mieszka Andrzej sloszarz, który od rzemiosła oddał kop	0/24/0
	Tamże mieszka Jan Woidowos, który oddał od obejścia ubogiego kop	0/9/0
	Dom Adama krawca oddał powrotnego gr 6/4, od rzemiosła gr 24. Czyni kop	0/30/4
	Ulica Świętoianska	
	Dom Szczęsne[g]o Radzikowskie[g]o oddał powrotnego gr 6/4, a od rzemiosła gr 24. Czyni kop	0/30/4
	Tamże mieszka Chrystoph malarz oddał od rzemiosła kop	0/24/0
	Tamże mieszka Kasper skliarz oddał od rzemiosła kop	0/24/0
	Tamże mieszka Thomas miecznik oddał od rzemiosła kop	0/24/0
	Tamże mieszka Krystow krawiecz oddał od rzemiosła kop	0/24/0
	Tamże mieszka Stanislaw sloszarz ubogi dał kop	0/12/0
	Tamże w piwnicy chlebem przekupując dał kop	0/16/0
	Tamże mieszka pergaminik ubogi dał kop	0/12/0
	Dom Mathysza Gołębia saffiannika, który powrotnego oddał gr 6/4, a od rzemiosła gr 48. Czyni kop	0/54/4
		6/47/6
f. 7	Kamienica księdza Twardowskie[g]o ¹⁶¹ kaznodziei zamkowego	
	W tej kamienicy mieszka Piotr krawiecz, który oddał powrotnego gr 6/4. A od rzemiosła gr 24. Czyni kop	0/30/4
	Tamże mieszka Andrzej paszamannik dał od rzemiosła kop	0/24/[0]
	Tamże mieszka Jan pasznik, [który] dał od rzemiosła kop	0/24/8
	Tamże mieszka Chrystoph miecznik, [który] dał od rzemiosła kop	0/24/0
	Tamże mieszka Adam solennik, [który] dał od przekupstwa kop	0/24/0
	Tamże mieszka Stanislaw solennik, [który] dał od przekupstwa kop	0/24/[0]
	Dom ks. Korzeniewskiego	
	W tym domu mieszka Casper zamesznik, który oddał powrotnego gr 6/4. A od rzemiosła gr 48. Czyni kop	0/54/4
	Dom na kaplicę nieboszczyka ks. Suchodolskie[g]o	
	W tym domu mieszka Grygiel Hancel tkac dał powrotnego gr 6/4, a od rzemiosła gr 24. Czyni kop	0/30/4
	Dom altaryski Piotra Brzeszinskiego	
	W tym domu mieszka Marcin Truskowski, który dał powrotnego gr 6/4, a od rzemiosła gr 24. Czyni kop	0/30/4
	Dom pod Jego Mość ks. Wolowicza ¹⁶² kustosza wileńskiego na Antokoł[u] iurisdicției	
	W tym domu mieszka Bernat Łukasewic, [który] zapłacił powrotnego kop	0/3/2

¹⁶¹ Joannes Twardowski, † between 22 April (Wróblewski Library, F43, 26732) and 2 May 1606 (Wróblewski Library, ACV, VIII, ff. 83v-84, § 316).

¹⁶² Eustachius Wołłowicz, see above.

		4/29/6
	Summa wybrania z domów od rzemieślników i szosowego. Czyny litewskich kop	46/56/0
f.7v	Suma summarum wszystkiego wybrania według uchwały konwokacji wileńskiej w roku 1602 tak z dóbr Ich Mości ks. ks. kapituły wileńskiej, jako też szosowego z domów i rzemieślników jurisdiktyi Ich Mości ks. ks. kapituły wileńskiej tu w mieście wileńskim leżących. Czyny złotych 1204/ 28/6	
	Które czynią litewskich kop	481/59/0
	Rozchód tym pieniądzom: Do skarbu oddano florenów: 1160 A na mnie poborcę wzięło się salarium zwykle florenów: 40 Restat do skarbu oddał florenów 4/28/6 Nicolay Korzeniowski Subcollector manu propria	

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Streszczenie

Wioletta Pawlikowska-Butterwick

Stosunki personalne i własnościowe w jurydyce kapituły wileńskiej w XVI i na początku XVII wieku (ze szczególnym odniesieniem do skandalicznych i podejrzanych występków kanonika Izaaka Fechtinusa)

Pomimo prowadzonych od wielu lat badań nad historią miasta Wilna, wciąż niewiele wiemy o jego mieszkańcach, szczególnie ludziach drugiego i trzeciego planu historii, żyjących w cieniu wielkich dworów i pałaców. Równie słabo zbadane pozostają jurydyki wczesnonowożytnej stolicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, w tym jurydyka kapituły wileńskiej. W oparciu o rękopiśmienny materiał źródłowy podjęta została próba jej zarysu oraz ukazania ludzi i problemów w niej zachodzących; jej zobrazowaniu posłużyć może załączony w aneksie Rejestr wybierania poboru z 1602 roku, dokument publikowany po raz pierwszy. Problemy własnościowe i personalne krzyżowały się w licznych sprawach związanych z występkami kanonika Izaaka Fechtinusa († 25 V 1607), który przez wiele lat gorszyć miał ulicę wileńską, mieszkańców miasta i kapitulnych konfratrów. Na przestrzeni kilkunastu lat wielokrotnie zarzucano kanonikowi nocne włóczęgi z podejrzаныmi osobami, pijaństwo oraz utrzymywanie i mieszkanie z kobietami, najczęściej na terenie jurydyki kapitulnej. Bezskutecznie nakładano nań kary pieniężne, wstrzymywano wypłatę refekcji, grożono pozbawieniem kanonii, stosowano areszt domowy i zakazywano wstępu do Kościoła.

Аннотация

Виолетта Павликовска-Буттервик

Личные и владельческие отношения в юридыке (пригороде) капитулы в Вильнюсе в XVI и начале XVII века (с особой ссылкой на скандальные и подозрительные поступки каноника Исаака Фехтинуса)

Несмотря на много лет веденные исследования истории города Вильнюса, мы еще очень мало знаем о его жителях, особенно о людях второго и третьего плана истории, живущих в тени больших зданий и дворцов. Автор, на основе рукописного материала, сделал попытку описания юридыки собора в Вильнюсе, а также представления людей и проблем там существующих. Картину пополняет приложение - Реестр сбора налога от 1602 г. Автор указал вышесказанные вопросы через судебные процессы каноника Исаака Фехтинуса († 25.05.1607). На протяжении более десяти лет обвиняли его о ночное бродяжество с подозрительными лицами, пьянствование, а также содержание и проживание с женщинами, чаще всего на территории капитульной юридыки. Неуспешными оказались денежные наказания, задерживание выплаты содержания, угрожение отобранием канонии, домашний арест и запрет всода в Костел.

