

IMITATING A CATHEDRAL, OR SAFEGUARDING PAROCHIAL FOUNDATIONS? WHY ESTABLISH A MANSIONARY CHAPEL IN THE DIOCESES OF THE GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY?

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Abstract

A mansionary (from the Latin *mansio*, 'a dwelling') was a member of a community of four to ten secular priests governed by a provost and required to reside by and serve a chantry chapel, similar to a cathedral canon or beneficed chantry priest. Every day they would sing the Hours of Our Lady and offer two Masses, one in honour of Our Lady or the Holy Trinity, and the other for the dead kin of the chantry founder. The chapels they served were attached to a cathedral or a parish church. Those established by the monarch often had pastoral duties, sometimes involving a school or hospice. In Lithuania, they appear from the late 15th century at the cathedrals of Vilnius, Varniai and Lutsk (in Janów Podlaski), and represented a considerable financial investment to establish and maintain. After the Council of Trent, they become even rarer, and concentrate more on pastoral and other educational duties. The paper discusses what a mansionary priest was, and how many of them served in the Diocese of Vilnius and other sees within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Why was it deemed meet and fit to establish a mansionariate in Lithuania at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries, and how were such foundations affected by local Reform movements?

Key words: mansionary, chantry, cathedral, parish, Little Hours of Our Lady, memorial, pastoral duties, Lithuania, Poland, Vilnius, Podlasie.

Anotacija

Mansionarijus (lot. *mansio* – „buveinė“) – kunigas (ne vienuolis), gyvenantis su kitais dvasininkais ir nuolat atliekantis bendrą dvasinį darbą pagal savo beneficijas ir teikėjo nustatytą tvarką. Mansionarijus traktuojamas panašiai kaip katedros kanauninkas, kolegijos-parapijos prebendorius, altarista. Jis privalėjo nuolat gyventi mansionariate, kasdieną aukoti šv. Mišias ir iškilmingai bei tvarkingai giedoti Švč. Mergelės Marijos valandas (kursą) katedros arba parapiinės bažnyčios koplyčioje, teikti sakramentus tikintiesiems. Dažniausiai jie gyvendavo po tris, keturis, šešis, retkarčiais per aštuonis, o jų gyvenimo ir veiklos tvarką valdė jų pačių arba koliautoriaus išrinktas prepozitas. Mansionariatui pirmiausia išplito prie Vilniaus katedros koplyčių, o vėliau prie Varnių ir Lucko (Palenkės Januvos) katedrose. Parapijose atsirado 1495–1535 metais. Steigėjai buvo valdovas, vyskupai, stambieji žemvaldžiai, dažniausiai plito tarp nykstančių giminių – bet kuriuo atveju tai buvo didelė investicija. Straipsnyje aiškinamasi, kas buvo mansionarijai, kiek jų tarnavo Vilniaus ir kitose LDK vyskupijose, kodėl jiems reikėjo kurtis Lietuvoje ir kiek tas kūrimasis buvo paveiktas vietinių reformų judėjimų? Pagrindiniai žodžiai: mansionarijus, altarista, katedra, parapija, Dievo Motinos Mažosios valandos, atmintis, sielovada, Lietuva, Lenkija, Vilnius, Palenkė.

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During his primatial visitation of the Diocese of Vilnius during the late summer of 1518, Archbishop Jan Łaski of Gniezno summoned a meeting of the Vilnius Chapter to examine the life and morals of the local bishop and canons. He spoke with the canons, the cathedral provost and warden and other clerics. His Grace also claims to have interviewed many parish priests, curates, mansionaries and chantry priests, examining their lives and activities, excommunicating some of them before returning them to the bosom of Holy Mother Church.¹ What was a mansionary priest, and how many of them served in the Diocese of Vilnius and other sees within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania? Why was it deemed meet and fit to establish a mansionariate in Lithuania at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries, and how were such foundations affected by local Reform movements?

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The term mansionary, derived from the Latin *mansio*, or dwelling place, refers to a non-monastic (secular) priest, obliged to live in one place together with other clergy and carry out his duties in accordance with the instructions of his patron, who founded his benefice, under the direction of a provost, as the Węgrow mansionariate (Diocese of Lutsk) was described in the mid-18th century, '*ecclesiae praeposituralis Węgrowiensis pro institutione clericorum saecularium in commune viventium*.'² Mansionary priests are similar to cathedral canons, the clergy of collegiate parish churches and chantry priests. Usually they reside in groups of three, four, six, and more rarely eight or ten priests, under the leadership of a provost appointed by their patron or elected by themselves. They are obliged to reside continually near the mansionary chapel in a house or houses built for them by the founder; every day they offer one, two or more Masses (in honour of the Virgin Mary, St Anne, or the Holy Trinity, or for the repose of the souls of the founder and his kin), and solemnly chant in public the Little Hours of the Virgin in their cathedral or parish chapel, and administer the sacraments to the faithful.³ This devotional phenomenon appears in Polish churches from the beginning of the 15th century.

¹ *Acta primae Visitationis diocesis Vilnensis anno Domini 1522 peractae: Vilniaus Kapitulos archyvo Liber IIb atkūrimas* (Historiae Lituaniae Fontes Minores, VIII). Sud. S. C. ROWELL. Vilnius, 2015, d. III, nr. 2, p. 115; SAWICKI, Jakub. *Concilia Poloniae: źródła i studia krytyczne*. [T.] II: *Synody diecezji wileńskiej i ich statuty*. Warszawa, 1948, s. 124.

² *Mansio*, cf. John 14: 2. In the second half of the 13th century, Polish records used the term to refer to permanent inhabitants of a village or manor, but by the 1350s the word meant 'priest' or 'curate': *Słownik łaciny średniowiecznej w Polsce = Lexicon mediae et infimae latinitatis polonorum*. T. 6. Z. 1 (45). Oprac. Marian PLEZIA, Lech KRZYWIĄK. Kraków, 1983; POGORZELSKI, Krzysztof. Członkowie bractw religijnych działających przy parafii Wniebowzięcia NMP w Węgrowie w latach 1631–1795. In *Małe miasta. Religie* (Acta Collegii Suprasliensis, t. VIII). Red. Mariusz ZEMŁO. Lublin, Supraśl, 2006, s. 77; ROMANIUK, Zbigniew. Kościół katolicki w miastach podlaskich w późnym średniowieczu. In *Małe miasta...*, s. 29 speaks of 'farne kolegia duchownych'; JASZCZOŁT, Tomasz. Dokument fundacyjny pierwszego kościoła w Mordach i data jego wystawienia. In *Małe miasta...*, s. 52.

³ WIŚNIEWSKI, Eugeniusz. *Parafie w średniowiecznej Polsce. Struktura i funkcje społeczne* (Dzieje chrześcijaństwa Polski i Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów. 1, Średniowiecze, t. 2). Lublin, 2004, s. 121; BRUŽAITĖ, Reda. *Vilniaus ir žemaičių vyskupijų parapiinė dvasininkija XV–XVI a. trečiajame ketvirtyje*. Disertacija. Vilnius, 2012, p. 32–33; VILIMAS, Jonas. *Grigališkojo choralo tradicijos bruožai Lietuvos Didžiojoje*

In the period between 1513 and 1539, there were mansionaries in 18 parish churches and the cathedral of the Diocese of Kraków. At around the same time, there were mansionaries in 14 churches within the Archdiocese of Gniezno. Although this number is low, we should remember that other similar communities of secular clergy thrived in Polish parishes during the 13th to 15th centuries: these were collegiate churches along the same model as those in other parts of Catholic Europe.⁴ Such colleges were unknown in Medieval Lithuania; by the time the Lithuanian parish network began to develop after 1387, collegiate churches were somewhat old-fashioned. Readers should bear in mind that although, like Byzantine geography, clerical titles may remain the same for centuries, actual priestly duties change over time. In the Middle Ages, an *altarista* was a full-time chantry priest charged with praying for the salvation of the dead and the well-being of his living patrons, while since the 19th century at least, the term has referred to a retired priest undertaking auxiliary roles within a parish or cathedral community. The term mansionary has undergone a similar degradation over the ages.

Mansionaries in the cathedrals of Vilnius, Medininkai and Lutsk

In effect, mansionaries in Lithuania (and Poland) originated from clergy serving chantry altars and chapels in cathedral churches, a type of de luxe, liturgically more sophisticated type of chaplain-cum-chantry priest. Mansionaries served in the cathedrals of Medininkai (Varniai) and Lutsk (*ratius* Janów Podlaski in the northwestern part of the diocese). They were established in Medininkai in the late 15th century, probably by Bishop Martin III, whose last will and testament was witnessed in 1512 by a complete set of such clergy (four priests); some of them were also parish priests. In 1579, the cathedral had only one bishop-funded mansionary-cum chapter-funded curate, named Jan of Skrzyno, who administered the sacraments in the cathedral and took Holy Communion to the sick, accompanied by a server. Every day he offered Mass in the cathedral, but read (rather than sang) the Hours of the Virgin at home (rather than in public), chanting the office in the cathedral only on holy days.⁵

Kunigaikštystėje. XV–XVIII amžių atodangos ir rekonstrukcijos bandymas. Disertacija. Vilnius, 2012, p. 160–164, 169–172. Cf. BALTZER, Rebecca A. The Little Office of the Virgin and Mary's Role at Paris. In *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages. Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography. Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner.* Ed. by Margot E. FASSLER, Rebecca A. BALTZER. New York, NY, 2000, pp. 345–366. On this form of devotion in Lithuania, see MOTUZAS, Alfonsas. „Švč. Mergelės Marijos valandų“ maldų ir giesmių lietuviškoji kilmė, jų giedojimo lokaliniai ypatumai. *Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos Metraštis*, 1997, t. 11, p. 143–160.

⁴ WIŚNIEWSKI, E. Op. cit., s. 121.

⁵ ROWELL, S.C. Martin III, Bishop of Medininkai, Archdeacon and Canon of Vilnius: The Lawyer Bishop. In *Kriščiioniškiosios tradicijos raiška viduramžių–naujausių laikų kasdienybės kultūroje: europietiški ir lietuviški puslapiai* (Acta Historica Universitatis Klaipedensis, t. XXVII). Sud. Vacys VAIVADA. Klaipėda,

The rank of mansionary was created in the cathedral of Janów Podlaski most probably by Bishop Paulius Alšeniškis (1507–1536) around 1523–1525.⁶

It would appear that the first mansionary priests in Lithuania were established in the Holy Trinity Chapel of Vilnius Cathedral founded by Jogaila, where serving clergy at first were called chaplains, and later, from the 1460s and 1470s, assumed the more fashionable title of mansionary (along with more disciplined liturgical and residential obligations). During the late Middle Ages and early modern period, the cathedral had three or more mansionary communities (in the Holy Trinity-Royal-St Casimir Chapel, the Bishops' Chapel, Bishop John's Chapel, the Goštautas Chapel). There were other less well-endowed chapels served by chaplains.⁷

In his 1605 report on the state of the Diocese of Vilnius, Canon Grigalius Svencickis notes that from midnight psalms were chanted in the cathedral, and as dawn broke a whole series of Masses were offered in honour of the Holy Trinity and Our Lady, and for the souls of the faithful departed.⁸ The mother church of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania veritably hummed with prayers as a buzzing hive of devotion. Canons, mansionaries, chantry priests and other clergy carried out their various liturgical duties with some ceremony, in public and loudly. By the 1470s, the cathedral was so busy that Casimir Jagiellończyk asked Pope Sixtus IV (1471–1484) to allow the mansionaries of the Holy Trinity Chapel to offer Mass during the usually forbidden hours of darkness before daybreak: '*nocturno tempore post mediam noctem et ante diurnam lucem.*' This grace was confirmed by Clement VII in a bull issued on 8 May

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2013, p. 44, 45, 46, 48, 59, 60; *Žemaičių vyskupijos vizitacija (1579) = Visitatio dioecesis Samogitiae (A.D. 1579)* (Fontes ecclesiastici historiae Lithuaniae, vol. 1). Parengė Liudas JOVAIŠA, Juozas TUMELIS. Vilnius, 1998, p. 298–302.

⁶ See below.

⁷ We have in mind the Chapel of Ss Andrew and Francis founded on 9 May 1397 by Bishop Andrew [Andrzej Jastrzębiec] (*Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry i diecezji wileńskiej = Codex diplomaticus ecclesiae cathedralis necnon dioeceseos Vilnensis*. Wyd. Jan FJAŁEK, Władysław SEMKOWICZ (hereafter, *KDKDW*). T. 1. Z. 1: 1387–1468. Kraków, 1932, nr. 29, s. 47–50); the Corpus Christi Chapel, where canons gathered in chapter at the end of the 14th century (*KDKDW*, z. 1, nr. 34, s. 60–62); the Manvydas Chapel of Ss Adalbert and George (founded in 1423 – *KDKDW*, z. 1, nr. 85–86, s. 114–115; z. 1, nr. 173, s. 196–197); the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Ss John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Nicholas and Michael (founded by Mykolas Kęsgaila on 22 February 1476 – *KDKDW*. T. 1. Z. 2: 1468–1501. Kraków, 1939, nr. 296, s. 348–350); the chapel of the Confraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (founded before 23 April 1515 – *Lietuvos mokslių akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka*, Rankraščių skyrius (hereafter, *LMAVB*), F6–104; *Pergamentų katalogas*. Sud. Rimantas JASAS. Vilnius, 1980 (hereafter, *PK*), nr. 206, p. 87). The complicated history of the chapels and altars of Vilnius Cathedral still awaits thorough investigation. Because of the frequent fires, rebuilding and refoundation of these pious institutions, it is difficult to know clearly where they stood and what was the size and obligations of their foundation. The extant sources themselves can be confusing, for example when providing supplementary income for the Royal Chapel on 25 August 1551 (*kapszczyzna* for eight mansionary priests or income '*ex fructibus et bonis mensae regiae dictum procuratorem arcis nostrae regiae vulgo horodniczy*'). Sigismund Augustus speaks of '*capella regia olim Sanctae Trinitatis nunc sub titulo Sancti Casimiri*' – *LMAVB*, F6–198; *PK*, nr. 517, p. 204.

⁸ *Relationes Status Dioecesium in Magno Ducatu Lituaniae*. [Pars] 1: *Dioeceses Vilnensis et Samogitiae* (Fontes historiae Lituaniae, vol. 1). Ed. Paulius RUBIKAUSKAS. Roma, 1971, p. 24.

1534 after the cathedral burned down during the Great Fire of Vilnius four years previously.⁹ During general sessions of the Chapter, the great bell was to be rung before the mansionaries' Mass in the Royal (Holy Trinity) Chapel. In 1526, after Albertas Goštautas had re-founded the Holy Cross Chapel, cathedral chantry priests and mansionaries asked the canons to organise a rota of divine service, so that three new votive Masses could be fitted into the daily routine, by allowing them to take place in different chapels until Goštautas obtained an indult from Rome to allow a pre-dawn Holy Cross Mass.¹⁰

It is unclear exactly who founded the original Holy Trinity Chapel on the right-hand side of the cathedral. Most probably it was founded by Jogaila, as tradition (unsubstantiated by a surviving foundation emolument) says, and then reestablished during the time of Bishop John Łosowicz (1468–1481) by the Deltuva grandee Stanislovas Sudivojaitis (after 1480) and his niece Ona Viaževičiūtė, the wife of the owner of Yvija manor and palatine of Trakai, Petras Jonaitis Mangirdaitis. The chapel was served by six chaplains or mansionaries. According to Viaževičiūtė's charter, the chapel stood on the south side of the cathedral where its patron Sudivojaitis was buried. Every Candlemass (the feast of the Purification of the Virgin) she offered 12 stones (approx. 180 kg) of wax for the manufacture of candles. Such a large quantity of wax reflects the fact that the mansionaries were busy, on and off, for almost the whole of the day and night.

Along with the monarch, she provided houses for the mansionaries, and obliged her heirs, like those of the ruler, to take care of the chapel. In Sigismund the Old's post-fire confirmation of the Holy Trinity mansionaries' rights in 1535, we read that 'from their first foundation the aforesaid mansionaries had cottages for their habitation in the area next to our royal palace which for our security we had converted into an orchard and when all the buildings in that space were destroyed by the cruelty of the fire, soon afterwards an area not far from the bridge towards the River Vilnele was assigned to those same mansionaries for certain cottages on our orders that a number of cottages be built by the mansionaries themselves in that area. In the use and possession of which we hold and preserve those mansionaries and their successors perpetually and forever.' Where exactly these houses stood in the royal orchard

⁹ *'Sixti pape IV [...] pro parte Casimiri Polonie regis [...] altare sub invocatione Sanctissime Trinitatis in ecclesia Vilnensi per similibus memorie Wladislaum Polonie regem genitorem suum fundata construi et edificari fecerat illudque magnis redditibus dotaverat, ad quod per perpetuos pro tempore beneficiatos mansionarios nuncupatos dicte ecclesie una missa singulis diebus cum cantu celebraretur et quod difficile videbatur, quod missa ipsa nisi ante diurnam lucem celebrari posset, cum plures alie misse etiam in cantu in dicta ecclesia ex illius fundacione quotidie celebrarentur'* – LMAVB, F6–146; PK, nr. 381, p. 151. The Mass was most probably that whose introit was *Benedicta sit Sancta Trinitas*, see reference 11. Clement's bull was engrossed by the Vilnius Chapter five months later on 7 October 1534 – LMAVB, F6–150; PK, nr. 383, p. 152.

¹⁰ KURCZEWSKI, Jan. *Kościół zamkowy czyli Katedra wileńska w jej dziejowym, liturgicznym, architektonicznym i ekonomicznym rozwoju*. Cz. 3. Wilno, 1912, s. 13, 27; LMAVB, F43–210; *Acta Capituli Vilnensis*, t. I, fo. 52, 100.

(*pomarium*) or space between the inner and outer walls of the castle (*pomerium*) cleared for the monarch's security is unclear: opposite what is now Tilto gatvė, or as Dr Vitkauskienė considers, near the site of the new Mindaugas statue, or in front of the new palace reconstruction, opposite Pilies g. At least we may conclude safely that the priests' presence was visible architecturally.¹¹

Depending on the generosity of their founding benefactors, mansionary priests could control considerable wealth. In 1509–1510, after the death of the mansion-

¹¹ *KDKDW*, z. 2, nr. 322, s. 379–381. After the Great Fire of Vilnius, Sigismund the Old restored the Holy Trinity Chapel and confirmed the Viaževičiūtė bequest – *LMAVB*, F6–157 [Vilnius, 28 June 1535]: 'Quomodo ecclesia cathedralis vilnensis per ignis impetuosum voraginem cum omnibus capellis pluribusque ecclesiasticis ornamentis et privilegiis ante biennium exustis et pene ruinosa facta est quodque eodem tempore capella nostra Sancte Trinitatis in latere dextro eiusdem ecclesie sita eadem calamitate fuerit afflicta et non solum ornamenta sed etiam privilegia erectionesque super mansionariis in tempestate ignis ammisit. Tali igitur periculo consulere et eiusdem capelle mansionariis de privilegio et indemnitatem in futurum providere volens, contenta privilegiorum et consuetudinum eiusdem capelle a fidedignis et rerum istarum bonam notitiam habentibus per certos et omni suspitione carentes viros inquisivimus et investigavimus, quorum fideli relatione atque autenticis litterarum copiis haec infrascripta conperimus et invenimus [...] ipsa capella Sancte Trinitatis in dextra parte ecclesie cathedralis prefate Vilnensis habet habereque debet perpetuo sex presbiteros mansionarios' over whom the monarch reserved his *iuspatronatus* and right of presenting new candidates to the living, to sing the Holy Trinity Mass with the *Benedicta sit Sancta Trinitas* introit every day; every year on Holy Trinity Sunday the mansionaries were to be paid their stipend – 'per sex sexagenas numeri et monete lithuanice, sexaginta grossos in quamvis sexagenam computando per officialem nostrum hrodnyczy'; 'decimam omnis grani de predio Dosnyan'; 12 stones of wax 'de bonis magnifice olim Anne filie magnifici Joannis Wiazowicz palatini Trocensis, magnifici Petri Janowicz de lwy marscalci consortis'. Sigismund confirms the 30 May 1482 charter of Ona Viaževičiūtė-Petrienė Jonaitienė – *KDKDW*, z. 2, nr. 322, s. 379–381: 'Prefati mansionarii a prima sua fundacione habuerunt domunculas pro habitationibus suis in area sub domo nostra regia posita et per nos propter securitatem domus nostre in pomarium conversa, idque quando iam per ignis inclementiam omnia edificia in ea fuerunt demolita pro quibusquidem domunculis eisdem mansionariis iussu nostro area subinde non procul a ponte versus fluvium Vilna assignata est ut aliquot domuncule ab ipsis mansionariis in eadem area extruende sint. In quarum usu et possessione eosdem mansionarios eorumque posteris reliquimus et conservamus perpetuo et in eum presentium per tenorem'. In his coronation charter of 1 March 1633 granting the office of *horodniczy* to his secretary Konstanty Eustachy Zaleski, Władysław IV cites the obligation to give financial support to the mansionaries of St Stanislaus' Church: 'Eustachego Zaleskiego Podśędka Wilenskiego Secretarza naszego ktore on z dawnych czasow ieszcze za zywota S. Pamięci Krolowi Jego Mci Panu Oycowi y Dobrodziejowi naszemu tak przy dworze iakoz w roznych woiennych expeditiach Roty wodząc więc y rozne legatie tak od tego Jego Krol- Mci iako y od Rzplitey sobie poleczone godnie przystoynie y z pochwałą odprawuiąc zawsze całą wiarą y zyczliwoscią oddawal y teraz za podaniem okazey oddawac nieprzestae, w nagrodę ktorych chcąc na znak laski naszej pokazac y do dalszych poslug naszych y Rzplitey chętnieyszym uczynic, Horodnictwo nasze Wilenskie do dispozitiei naszej po zeysciu z tego swiata urodzonego Piotra Nonharta Budowniczego wilenskigo przypadle onemu dac y conferowac umyslilismy' (*Urzędnicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Spisy*. Tom I: *Województwo wileńskie, XIV–XVIII wiek*. Red. Andrzej RACHUBA. Oprac. Henryk LULEWICZ, Andrzej RACHUBA, Przemysław P. ROMANIUK. Warszawa, 2004, Nr. 334–335). 'Horodnictwo z mieszkaniem, ogrodami, sadami, placami Pobiereznym, gruntami, poddanemi mieszczany y ich powinnościami y ze wszystkimi inszemi naleznościami z dawna na Horodniczego Wilenskigo przynalezacemi na siebie obiqwszy spokojnie trzymac, pozytywkow, praerogatyw y wolnosci temu urzędowi naleznych przykladem antecessorow swoich zazywaiąc, do zywota swego. Zamek iednak nasz y co do horodnictwa nalezy w porządnym zawiadowaniu zawsze powinien być miec. Do tego jurgielt zwyczajny wedlug fundatij Mansionarzow Kosciola S. Stanislawia co rok ma dawac y placic. A nad to zadney nam y do skarbu naszego powinności pelnic y lidzby zynic nie będzie powinien [...] Pisan w Krakowie na seymie walnym Coronatyjnem' (*Lietuvos Metrika*, kn. 106, fo 127–128). For this *Metrika* source and discussion of the site of the mansionary cottages, the author is grateful to Dr Birutė Rūta Vitkauskienė.

ary Jokūbas Lesdinskis, his fellow priest Steponas Kijovietis had taken the keys to the Holy Trinity Chapel without the permission of the patron, the lord lieutenant of Grodno, Stanislovas Kiška. The chapel's treasure chest was supposed to contain 200 sexagenae (12,000 groats)...¹² Steponas served as a cathedral chapel mansionary priest for several decades, and it was in Vilnius cathedral that he began his career as Bishop Tabor's chaplain (1503–1504). By 1511 he appears in the records of the Gniezno court of appeal as a mansionary. In 1532, the Chapter allowed him to occupy premises beside the house of the cathedral curate. According to the sparse surviving early records of the Cathedral Chapter, Steponas was cathedral curate in 1524, and by 1532 he was employed as the penitentiary. Apparently, Steponas carried out his duties as mansionary responsibly (as far as the slight extant source base gives us to understand), as indeed did other clergy of his type: if mansionaries accumulated more than one benefice, their duties were associated with cathedral affairs.¹³ If, finally, they obtained a parish, it was usually part of the bishop's mensa. There were canon-mansionaries, but their number was small.

Understandably, the income of mansionaries varied according to their chapel's endowment. On 28 June 1552, the parish priest of Knýchów (Diocese of Lutsk) Wawrzyniec of Węgrów rented out his benefice with its income for one year to the Ciechanowiec mansionary Maciej Pieńko for 12 sexagenae (720 groats). In return, the latter handed over his house in Mansionary St, Ciechanowiec along with his vegetable garden (and pastoral duties).¹⁴ We note *en passant* the impact the mansionary presence had made already on the town's topography. According to

¹² *Archiwum Archidiecezjalne w Gnieźnie* (hereafter, AAG), Acta Cons. C3, fo 220: '*Capitanei Grodnensis diffinitiva sententia. Cristi nomine invocato pro tribunali sedentes et solum Deum pre oculis habetes per hanc nostram sententiam diffinitivam, quam ferimus in causa et causis appellacionum et appellacionis inter magnificum dominum Sranislaum capitaneum Grodnensem appellansem ex una et quendam Sthephanum Kyovitham et mansionarium ecclesie cathedralis vilnensis appellatum coram reverendo patre et domino Vincentio episcopo vilnensi ac demum coram commissariis per eundem dominum ipsum latum in prima et nunc coram nobis ex devolutione parte ex altera occasione cisticule summaque pecuniarum Lythwanicalium ducentarum sexagenarum in eadem cisticula contenta ac in capella sancte Trinitatis in dicta ecclesia vilnensi relicta rebusque aliis coram nobis deductis vertendo ex confessione et recognitione iuridicale per dictum dominum Stephanum in presenciam dicti domini episcopi vilnensis et partis adverse sponte et libere factis et coram nobis probatis maturaque deliberatione inter nos perhabita, dicimus, decernimus et diffinuendo declaramus prefatum dominum Sthephanum mansionarium post mortem honorabilis domini Jacobi Lesdzynka mansionarii capelle sancte Trinitatis prefate propria ipsius Stephani voluntate claves dicti Jacobi ad capellam prefatam sancte Trinitatis sine cuius vis [...] et absque dicti Capitanei voluntate recepisse ispanque capellam clavibus sine depositione defuncti operuisse*'. For this case, see ROWELL, S.C. *Church Court Records as Evidence for the Christianisation of Lithuanian Society in the Late-15th and Early-16th Century*. In *Mobility in the Eastern Baltics (15th–17th Centuries)* (Acta Historica Universitatis Klaipedensis, vol. XXIX). Ed. by Dainius ELERTAS. Klaipėda, 2014, p. 39, n. 22.

¹³ Names of some Holy Trinity Chapel mansionaries are known from 1491 – ALIŠAUSKAS, Vytautas; JASZCZOŁT, Tomasz; JOVAIŠA, Liudas; PAKNYS Mindaugas. *Lietuvos katalikų dvasininkai XIV–XVI a.* (Bažnyčios istorijos studijos, t. 2). Vilnius, 2009 (hereafter, LKD), nr. 69, p. 29; nr. 230, p. 54; nr. 364, p. 73; nr. 494, p. 98; nr. 543, p. 107; nr. 931, p. 161; nr. 1188, p. 216; nr. 2313, p. 380; nr. 2414, p. 397.

¹⁴ *Archiwum diecezjalne w Siedlcach* (hereafter, ADS), D7, fo 157v-158v.

data from the 1553–1559 silver levies (*srebrshchizna*), the Volpa mansionaries owned 15.5 hides of ploughland, 5.5 plots of land and nine gardens, whilst the local chantry priest owned just one plot of land. At Trobos, the mansionaries held 17.5 hides of ploughland and five gardens, while the chantry priest derived his income from 4.5 hides. The Yvija mansionary owned 7.5 hides and one plot of land. In Goštautas-owned Geranainys, the mansionaries controlled 27.5 plots of land.¹⁵ It is logical that when a chapel's endowments became exhausted, or simply deteriorated over time, the mansionaries' work might also cease, as Sigismund III Vasa acknowledged in 1609 when he doubled the stipends of the Holy Trinity, St Casimir and Royal Chapel mansionaries of Vilnius Cathedral.¹⁶ Sometimes a priest might change chapel, as in the case of Jokūbas Mlinskis (fl. 1554–1574), who was cathedral vice-dean and mansionary of St Casimir's chapel in 1554, and later in March 1562 he became provost of the Bishops' Chapel (when that post was joined with the office of vice-dean).¹⁷

In 1484, Grand Duke-King Casimir (Andrew) Jagiellończyk founded the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St Andrew and St Stanislaw where his son (the future St) Casimir would be buried.¹⁸ Later, another of his sons, Grand Duke King Alexander, would

¹⁵ *Acta primae Visitationis...*, d. III, nr. 31, p. 163–171.

¹⁶ LMAVB, F6–276 [Warsaw, 28 February 1609]: '*In ecclesia cathedrali vilnensi certa sacella videlicet Sanctissimae Trinitatis, Beatae Mariae, quae nunc Casimiri vocatur et nostrum Regale antecessores nostri tanquam pietatis suae inter alia praeclara opera, monumenta ad devotionem piorum Catholicae religionis hominum et animarum suarum refigerium non solum a fundamentis erexerint, sed etiam liberalitate sua iuverint [...] eam curam laudabili praesertim Regis Sigismundi avi nostri desideratissimi exemplo pertinere estimamus. Quamobrem cum nobis expositum esset per Reverendum in Christo patrem Dominum Benedictum Woina episcopum Vilnensem nomine sacerdotum mencioniariorum [!], qui in dictis sacellis ad ecclesiam cathedralem Vilnensem erectis Sanctissimae Trinitatis, Divi Casimiri et nostro Regali divina officia peragere solent, illos nimirum annuis censibus, quos ex antiqua fundatione hucusque recipiebant ob summam caritatem [should be: carentiam] rerum omnium victus rationes sustentare non posse, supplicatumque nobis est eorum nomine ut eundem censum ad sustentationem illorum augere et addere dignaremur. Nos consideratis presentium temporum difficultatibus ne forte ob aliquas angustas victus rationes aliquid de administratione cultus divini, qui in praefatis sacellis per dictos mansionarios fieri consuevit, negligatur aut diminuatur facere adducti sumus ut eisdem sacerdotibus mencionariis in praefata ecclesia cathedrali Vilnensi existentibus ad salarium, quod ex antiqua fundatione recipiebant novum censum in duplo maiorem adderemus, augeremus et adscriberemus [...] pensionem geminatam ex proventibus arcis nostre Vilnensis kapczyzna dictis a procuratore arcis eius[dem] Vilnensis habeant [...] mencionariis pensionem in duplo auctam quolibet anno ex praefatis proventibus kapczyzna dictis integre numerent et persolvent ut qui illarum hucusque sex Lithuanicae sexagenae ex antiqua fundatione solvebantur, nunc iam duodecim, cui octo nunc sedecim, et ita reliquis omnibus salaria duplicata ratione priorum solvantur perpetuo et in aevum*'. See also above, references 7 and 11.

¹⁷ LKD, nr. 641, p. 118. On 22 September 1571, before fleeing the plague-struck city, the canons ordered Mlinski to check that the curates, chantry priests and mansionaries continued to carry out their duties – KURCZEWSKI, J. *Kościół zamkowy...*, cz. 3, s. 55 (mistakenly dated 6 September).

¹⁸ KDKDW, z. 2, nr. 386, s. 442–443. Cf. Šv. *Kazimiero gyvenimo ir kulto šaltiniai = Casimiriana: fontes vitae et cultus S. Casimiri* (Fontes ecclesiastici historiae Lithuaniae, vol. 3). Sud. Mintautas ČIURINSKAS. Vilnius, 2003, p. 90 (as remarked by Jan of Targowisko), 150–152. Names of St Casimir's mansionaries – LKD, nr. 84, p. 32; nr. 641, p. 118; nr. 865, p. 150; nr. 1123, p. 205; nr. 1728, p. 299. Royal Chapel mansionaries: LKD, nr. 338, p. 69; nr. 488, p. 97; nr. 865, p. 150; nr. 1488, p. 260; nr. 1211b, p. 219 [Lukas, 1503; perhaps the Lukasz of Buczyn, who founded a chantry altar in Liw in 1521, when he was named as a requialist of Vilnius Cathedral. For this information from an entry in a forthcoming volume of PACUSKI, Kazimierz.

also be interred there. On 29 May 1534, after the Great Fire of Vilnius, Sigismund the Old renewed his father's chapel devoted to Our Lady, where eight mansionary priests were employed to sing the Little Hours of Our Lady every day, and offer a daily Mass in honour of the Virgin in return for a stipend of ten marks (or eight sexagenae, or 480 groats). In addition, six priests known as requialists (*requiistae*) were charged with singing Mass daily for the repose of the souls of dead members of the royal family, as well as chanting vigils and the three nightly offices (*nocturna*), for a similar financial reward. Once a year, the mansionaries and requialists were required to offer an anniversary requiem for the dead, and chant a solemn vigil with nine readings.¹⁹

On 21 July 1495, making use of Grand Duke Alexander's gift of Shypiany Manor and the property bequeathed by Jokūbas Hanušovičius in his will, Bishop Albertas Tabor founded the altar of the Assumption, St Adalbert, Nicholas, Catharine and Anne in the Bishops' Chapel located on the south side of the cathedral between the Goštautas Chapel and the tower. This Bishops' or *Gaudeamus* altar was to be served by eight mansionary priests and one supplementary cleric (who could also be a priest; his duty was to wear a surplice and serve Mass). Tabor required the mansionaries to sing the complete office (*'integrum officium nocturnum atque diurnum'*) in honour of the Assumption of Our Lady. Immediately after nones one week one group of four priests, the next the other four were to offer Mass for the Dead, after which all eight were to sing a Mass in honour of the Assumption. A similar division of labour between two groups of four priests was set down in the foundation charter of the Mąkobody mansionariate in 1513. Later the *Gaudeamus* clergy were to sing vespers and compline. On the anniversary of the death of the bishop and his kin, and again every embertide, Mass was to be offered for the souls of the dead. The mansionaries were each paid seven sexagenae from Shypiany, six *ausetkos* of honey valued in monetary terms at five sexagenae each, ten siclus or rubles (comprising 100 groats per ruble) from the manor of Pershaj Magna (in lieu of labour dues) and ten beaver pelts with their tails (valued at 40 groats each), making a total of 13 sexagenae and 40 groats. Other manor funds were set aside for repairing the chapel and its two altars. The auxiliary cleric or *minister's* stipend was two sexagenae from Shypiany. A second chantry altar was founded for the celebration of Masses for the dead with funding from the manors at Vydziai and Pershaj Parva in accordance with

Słownik historyczno-geograficzny ziemi liwskiej w średniowieczu i w XVI wieku. Warszawa: IH PAN, the author is grateful to Dr Tomasz Jaszczolt; nr. 1727, p. 298–299; nr. 1900, p. 325; nr. 2064, p. 349; nr. 2126, p. 357; nr. 2238, p. 370; nr. 2239, p. 370; nr. 2443, p. 401.

¹⁹ KURCZEWSKI, J. *Kościół zamkowy...* Cz. 2. Wilno, 1910, s. 115–116. During holy days, the monarch would offer money to the mansionary priests and other cathedral clergy, as a 1503 example from Alexander Jagiellończyk *'illustrates: mansionariis capelle regis III florenos in auro pro columbacione'* – *Lietuvos didžiojo kunigaikščio Aleksandro Jogailaičio dvaro sąskaitų knygos (1494–1504)*. Parengė Darius ANTANAVIČIUS, Rimvydas PETRAUSKAS. Vilnius, 2007, p. 90.

the Hanušovičius legacy. In this case, the mansionaries received payment in kind, including eight stones (120 kg) of wax for candles, which were to burn between first and second vespers.²⁰ Episcopal foundations usually set down in greater detail the liturgical (and, should need arise, pastoral) duties of the recipients of such largesse. In 1562, Bishop Valerijonas Protasevičius renewed the foundation for six mansionaries and supplemented their endowment.²¹

In the aftermath of the 1530 fire, Bishop John of the Lithuanian Dukes founded the cathedral's last new mansionary chapel, setting aside 100 sexagenae to maintain four mansionary priests. In 1548, the executor of the bishop's will Bishop Jerzy Chwalczewski of Lutsk rented out a house on Holy Ghost Street to the family of the Vilnius tailor Stefan Kirchel. The income from this rent was paid every year to the mansionaries. In 1667, only one chantry priest was maintained by this emolument.²²

Founding a mansionariate, to say nothing of maintaining such a foundation, required great financial outlay; the records speak of penniless priests and lost mansionariates. This type of religious foundation was a possible means of guaranteeing

²⁰ *KDKDW*, z. 2, nr. 432, s. 500–505 – the original parchment is now *LMAVB*, F6–69; *PK*, nr. 113, p. 54–55; 7 March 1495 Grand Duke Alexander grants Shypiany manor to Bishop Tabor in return for services rendered – *KDKDW*, z. 2, nr. 423, s. 490–491; will of Jokūbas and Elžbieta Hanušovičius, 26 September 1492 – *KDKDW*, z. 2, nr. 390, s. 447–449. Before 1939 Shypiany was a manor in Igmiena powiat. On the churches of Vidžiai and Pershaj (Losokina) – *Acta primae Visitationis...*, d. I, nr. 9 [7]–11 [9], p. 13–16 and p. 180, n. 86, 87. The names of some of the Bishops' mansionaries are known from 1525: *LKD*, nr. 1647, p. 290–291; nr. 313, p. 65–66; nr. 650, p. 119; nr. 831, p. 145; nr. 955, p. 165; nr. 992, p. 174–175; nr. 1523, p. 264; nr. 1594, p. 280–281; nr. 1942, p. 330–331; nr. 2048, p. 345; nr. 2321, p. 381; nr. 2412, p. 396. For the division of duties at Mąkobody, see below, reference 52.

²¹ *KURCZEWSKI*, J. *Kościół zamkowy...*, cz. 2, s. 269–270 (acc. to the 1676 *Summariusz*); *LMAVB*, F43–203, fo 239. Cf. reference 11.

²² *LMAVB*, F6–192 [20 July 1548] – Bishop Jerzy Chwalczewski of Lutsk, executor of the last will and testament of Bishop John of the Lithuanian Dukes, rented out a house in Vilnius – ‘*in annuo censu de domo [...] in platea [...] dicta Swiethoduszka*’; income from this rental was intended to maintain four mansionaries in Bp John's Chapel. From Easter 1549 [21 April] the tenants were Stephanus Kirchel *sarcinator* (tailor), *incola vilnensis*, his wife Anna, daughter Helisabet *singulatim ad vitas eorum*, rent to be paid in two parts, half at Michaelmas (29 September), half at Easter: ‘*annuatim presbiteris dicti sacelli triginta sex sexagenas Lithuanicalis numeri in vim usufructuarie possessionis et unam sexagenam pro cereis solver [...] Sacellum ipsum in predicta ecclesia cathedrali vilnensi muro in altum ex ipsis fundamentis ereximus et exornavimus ac in eodem presbiteros quatuor aptos pro exequendis divinis officiis constituimus ac prefecimus*’. Among the witnesses were Martino a Garwolino, Stanisław Tabeczki eiusdem sacelli predicti presbiteris. Ca 1530 the bishop had set aside 100 sexagenae to maintain four priests. In 1667 only one chantry priest was maintained from this emolument – *KURCZEWSKI*, J. *Kościół zamkowy...*, cz. 2, s. 266–267; *LKD*, nr. 1166, p. 214; nr. 1310, p. 232; nr. 2313, p. 380. Mansionaries of unspecified chapels – *LKD*, nr. 132, p. 39; nr. 294, p. 63; nr. 382, p. 79; nr. 579, p. 111; nr. 642, p. 118; nr. 663, p. 121; nr. 740, p. 128; nr. 965, p. 166; nr. 1144, p. 208; nr. 1225, p. 220–221; nr. 1301, p. 231; nr. 1329, p. 235; nr. 1342, p. 237; nr. 1343, p. 237; nr. 1364, p. 240–241; nr. 1366, p. 241–242; nr. 1490, p. 260–261; nr. 1583, p. 276; nr. 1595, p. 281; nr. 1630, p. 288; nr. 1938a, p. 330; nr. 1943, p. 331; nr. 1945, p. 331; nr. 2049, p. 346; nr. 2114, p. 354; nr. 2120, p. 356; nr. 2369, p. 390; nr. 2381, p. 392. Sources also mention mansionary priests of St Lazarus [*LKD*, nr. 427, p. 87], Holy Cross [*LKD*, nr. 1325, p. 234; nr. 2464, p. 403], and the Goštautas Chapel [*LKD*, nr. 1891, p. 324].

a deeper, more liturgically and spiritually diverse religious experience (the Hours of the Virgin Mary, Marian Masses, especially those celebrating Her Assumption and Her motherhood [*Salve sancta Parens*]), offering chances for wider pastoral services, to say nothing of a broader and somewhat more grandiose memorial of the Dead. Instructions are provided for the dress of lower clergy (such as the parish schoolmaster) and the singing of services in choir. It is worth noting that in the course of one week, the mansionaries at the Church of the Nativity of Our Lady in Bielsk (Diocese of Lutsk) commemorated solemnly the whole life of their heavenly patroness, from her Immaculate Conception through the Nativity of Her Son to Her Assumption into Heaven. Jan Kurczewski claims that after gaining victory in battle over Švitrigaila in 1432, Grand Duke Žygimantas Kęstutaitis founded a provostry at Oshmiany. This would be the community of priests or college of which diocesan reports speak at the beginning of the 17th century. No sources have been found to support this claim (and the military circumstances behind the foundation sound suspiciously like the building of the parish church at Pabaiskas). Oshmiany was the site of a Franciscan friary. The case of St John's Church in Vilnius is similar. It appears strange that mansionaries served four Kraków parishes, while the sole parish church in Vilnius had no known mansionary foundations. Kurczewski claims that the church had six mansionary priests, but the sources he cites do not mention them (for the 15th and 16th centuries at least). In February 1609, the Vilnius merchants Juozapas and Virginija Sienkiewičiai founded the Corpus Christi Chapel at St John's Church, with three curates whose duties included singing the Hours every day and serving the poor.²³ We find mention of parish mansionaries in the 19th century, by which time the title was used frequently to refer to curates.

Mansionary foundations included regulations which might ensure their proper activities (the authority of the provost, the dismissal of priests for persistent non-residence, the plurality of incumbents). It seems that, for the most part, mansionary priests avoided the illegal accumulation of benefices, and arranged for other priests to deputise for them when other duties required their absence from their parishes. Nevertheless, miscreants, or at least clergy involved in court disputes (over chapel finances, accusations of defamation or theft of liturgical prerequisites), did hold such offices on occasion. Sometimes conflicts arose with outsiders, at others with members of the broader cathedral community. In 1492, the Gniezno court of appeal heard a case involving the mansionary Fr Paweł of Szadek (Sieradz woj.) and the parish priest of Lubcza (woj. Świętokrzyskie) over some now unknown dispute. In February 1524, Fr Leonardas (priest of an unspecified cathedral mansionary chapel) lost his appeal against one Olechno, factor of an estate in Trakeliai (Novy Dvor). During the first quarter of the 16th century, the

²³ The 1609 foundation – *LMAVB*, F43–216: *Acta Capituli Vilnensis*, t. VIII, fo 145–148.

Gniezno Consistory court heard several cases which had been forwarded from Vilnius concerning cathedral mansionaries (other than the dispute between Stephen of Kiev and Stanislovas Kiška): these include the 1518 case of one Franciscus de Hynszko, who lost an appeal involving Canon Jurgis Taliatas over verbal and physical abuse. Defamation cases involving cathedral mansionaries are mentioned in the Chapter record. In April 1521, the provost of the Royal Chapel, Canon Albertas Rožanietis, accused his subordinate Fr Motiejus Baptista of having accused him in Szczepankowska's hostelry of being a thief and a rascal (*latronem et ribaldum*); a month later Maciej was accused of casting a similar aspersion on the reputation of Canon Martynas Dušnikietis, as a result of which he was threatened with a fine of three marks for every similar future insult. The following year, Canon Albertas Vieležinskis accused Maciej of stealing two ampullae. Other thefts from the chapel were also investigated that year.²⁴

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It was no coincidence that canons as well as the patrons of cathedral mansionary chapels maintained discipline in these foundations. In November 1520, the papal legate Zacharia Ferreri confirmed the authority of the Vilnius Chapter over local cathedral vicars, mansionaries, chantry priests and chaplains. On 14 May 1572, the canons were informed during a chapter meeting that certain curates, mansionaries and chantry priests were leading unsuitable lives. The miscreants were to be warned that unless they reformed their behaviour, they would be reported to the bishop. Four days later the chapel clergy were told that they would be visited for a month, and those keeping concubines would be confined in the bishop's gaol. More than a year later, on 5 June 1573, the official and bishop's auditor Wawrzyniec Wolski presented Cantor Brzezinski with a report for the chapter that some curates, mansionaries, chantry priests and chaplains were keeping concubines in public with whom they had children (*profligantibus*) and refused to reform. They miss divine service, do not confess before celebrating Mass; they miss Matins, and sometimes the day and night offices too; sometimes one or two mansionaries sing the hours, sometimes three or four, rarely four or five, and very rarely all six. They must reform, and carry out their duties with due reverence, or they will be punished. Of course, not only the chapel clergy failed in their duties; the canons themselves were far from being paragons of duty and virtue. It seems that implementation of the reforms decreed by the Council of Trent increased. From all this very selective material, we gain the impression that mansionaries were involved in cases of defamation and theft, but not accumulation of benefices or absenteeism. It may be that such cases were dealt

²⁴ 'Mansionarius Vilnensis Paulus de Schudek (Szadek) (Sieradz woj.) contra Petrum Strzeszewski in Lubcza plebanum, 9 IV 1492 Gniezno' – AAG, A60, fo 49r, 113 (12 IX), 123v, 125v. For Vilnius mansionary cases before the Gniezno Consistory, see ROWELL, S.C. Church court records..., pp. 33–52. For cases involving Fr Motiejus Baptista [LKD, nr. 1727, p. 298–299], see LMAVB, F43–210: *Acta Capituli Vilnensis*, t. I, fos 37v, 40v, 52v, 53v. In 1522 Stanislovas Tereška of the Royal Chapel was accused of stealing a chain from a cope – *Ibid.*, fo 53r; LKD, nr. 2238, p. 370.

with by other mechanisms (foundation charters provided for instant dismissal for such misdemeanours).²⁵

Mansionary foundations in parishes of the Diocese of Vilnius

There are considerable grounds for thinking that the first mansionary priests appeared in Lithuania in the mid-15th century in royal and Episcopal foundations, namely Vilnius Cathedral chapels, where chaplains increased in number and adopted a fashionable title from Poland, *mansionarius*, undertaking enhanced liturgical and memorial functions. In theory, the mansionaries' collective duties of chanting the Hours and celebrating Mass everyday in chapel, while residing permanently nearby, were intended to combat the problem of absentee clergy. The foundation of a mansionariate or simple chantry altar in parishes far from the centre of the diocese was also an imitation of cathedral prestige. In 1447, Mikalojus and Elžbieta Nemiraitis founded the Church of the Holy Trinity and St Nicholas at Ishkoldz. Later, in 1471, as they neared death, the founders of the parish extended their endowment, and asked the bishop of Vilnius, to whom they handed over the advowson and property of the parish, to oversee the foundation of a mansionariate there, if an opportunity to do so arose. Determining the chanting of the Hours and the celebration of Mass was entrusted to the bishop's care.²⁶ However, despite the considerable endowments made by the Nemiraičiai, we know of no mansionariate in the impressive stone church at Ishkoldz.

A successful example of the albeit complicated process of founding a parish mansionariate is provided by the first-known such example from the Diocese of Vilnius at Yvija, now in the Grodno *voblast*, formerly part of the Lida powiat, approximately 60 kilometres south of Oshmiany (Ašmena), 12 kilometres to the

²⁵ On the canons' right to govern lower cathedral clergy, see *Acta primae Visitationis...*, d. III, nr. 20, p. 139. For events of 1572–1573, see *LMAVB*, F43–213: *Acta Capituli Vilnensis*, t. V, fo 106 f.; KURCZEWSKI, J. *Kościół zamkowy...*, cz. 3, s. 56–57; PAWLIKOWSKA, Wioletta. Konkubiny w życiu prałatów i kanoników wileńskich w XVI–XVII wieku. Uwagi o recepcji uchwał Soboru Trydenckiego w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim. In *Tridento visuotinio Bažnyčios susirinkimo (1545–1563) įtaka Lietuvos kultūrai: susirinkimo idėjų suvokimas ir sklaida Vidurio Europos rytuose* (Religinės kultūros paveldo studijos, t. 2). Sud. Aleksandra ALEKSANDRAVIČIŪTĖ. Vilnius, 2009, p. 227–234; PAWLIKOWSKA-BUTTERWICK, Wioletta. Problemy z wdrażaniem reformy trydenckiej w biskupstwie wileńskim w XVI wieku. *Rocznik lituanistyczny*, 2015, t. 1, s. 29.

²⁶ *KDKDW*, z. 2, nr. 270–271, s. 311–317: '*ordinabit fieri prepositum et mansionarios ac ministros competentes pro possibilitate proventuum serviencium de solutione eis providendo, qui horas et missas iuxta provisionem Domini Ordinantis decantabunt*' (Ibid., nr. 271, s. 316 [10 June 1471]); JASZCZOŁT, Tomasz. Ród Niemiry z Wsielubia – Niemirowiczowie i Szczytowie herbu Jastrzębiec do połowy XVI wieku. In *Unia w Horodle na tle stosunków polsko-litewskich od Krewa do Zaręczenia wzajemnego Obojga Narodów*. Red. Sławomir GÓRZYŃSKI. Warszawa, 2015, s. 175–250.

southeast of Žygimantiškiai. Probably some time before 1495, Petras Jonaitis Mangirdaitis, palatine of Trakai, planned on founding a mansionariate for four priests in the Church of Ss Peter and Paul at Yvija. However, for some unknown reason, the founder did not set down his intentions in writing before he died (after 6 December 1497). On 12 May 1499, his heir Jonas Petraitis, the marshall of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, confirmed his father's wishes in a charter: every day after a Mass for the dead, the mansionaries were to chant the Hours of the Virgin, and then sing another Mass devoted to Our Lady. This arrangement deliberately follows the model of the monarch's (Holy Trinity) chapel in Vilnius Cathedral: *'iuxta ritum et consuetudinem capelle serenissimi principis magni ducis Lythuanie, Russie etc ecclesie cathedralis Vilnensis sancti Stanislai.'*²⁷ This deliberate pious imitation should not surprise us, for back in 1482, along with his wife Ona Jonaitė Viaževičiūtė, niece of the re-founder of the Holy Trinity Chapel Stanislovas Sudivojaitis (Kęsgaila), Petras Jonaitis confirmed the endowment of six mansionary priests and one auxiliary cleric.²⁸ The Mangirdaitis heirs, the Kiškos (in the person of the widow of the Grodno starosta Stanislovas Petraitis [d. 1514], Zofija Mangirdaitė, and their son Petras Stanislovaitis), continued to support the Yvija mansionaries. Stanislovas Petraitis is the same Grodno starosta who in 1511 investigated the actions of the cathedral's Holy Trinity mansionaries. On 15 May 1518, Petras Stanislovaitis asked Sigismund the Old to confirm Stanislovas Petraitis' gift of land at Niesvyžis, Dambrova, Losk and Yvija to the Yvija mansionaries, and the wax donation to the Yvija and Vilnius cathedral Holy Trinity chapels.²⁹

The Goštautai founded mansionaries in Trobos and Geranainys, in addition to their chapel in Vilnius Cathedral. The first mention of the Trobos mansionariate comes from an indulgence granted in 1510 to the Confraternity of the clergy and layfolk of 11 Oshmiany powiat parishes, although traditionally a foundation date of 1538 is cited.³⁰ Albertas Goštautas established the Trobos mansionariate of the

²⁷ *KDKDW*, z. 2, nr. 462, s. 539–542. For the sake of comparison, we might cite the example of the Holy Trinity Church in Lublin. A mansionariate was founded there in 1497 by Bishop Frederick Jagiellończyk of Kraków according to the model of Kraków cathedral – WADOWSKI, Jan Ambroży. *Kościół lubelskie*. Lublin, 2004 [reprint wydania z 1907 r.], s. 44–46; CHACHA, Jacek. *Blżej schizmatyków niż Krakowa... Archidiaconat lubelski w XV i XVI wieku*. Lublin, 2012, s. 284: it was served by six mansionary priests and an auxiliary cleric under the rule of a precentor.

²⁸ *KDKDW*, z. 2, nr. 322, s. 379–381.

²⁹ 15 May 1518 – *LMAVB*, F6–110; *PK*, nr. 224, p. 93–94: *'generosus Petrus Kyschka Stanislavowicz [...] exhibit literas magnifice Sophie relicte olim magnifici Stanislai Pyotrowicz capitanei Grodnensis, supremi marschalki magniducatus nostri Lithuanici et palatini Trocensis matris sue ipsius ac magnificorum Gregorii Stanislavowicz Osczykowycz palatini Trocensis, Stanislai Jaonowicz castellani Trocensis et capitanei Samogitie generalis et Joannis Janowicz Zabrzezynski palatini Novogrodensis sigillis appendentibus communitas [...] ad extradendus redditus et proventus pro mansionariis lwensibus in et super curiis Nyeszwya, Dubrowy, Lossk et lwye per patrem suum designatos et ad extradendam ceram pro ecclesia lwienzi et capella magnifici olim Sandevogii in ecclesia cathedrali Wilnensi'*. Cf. further support, 11 June 1541 – *LMAVB*, F6–175.

³⁰ *LMAVB*, F43–204, fo 149r-v; *Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich*, Kraków, 1777/IV, fo 134v–135 [28 May 1522].

Nativity of Our Lady, and All Saints, whose priests were to chant the full Hours of the Virgin daily, and celebrate two masses, conditions similar to those laid down by Mikalojus Mikalojaitytis Radvila in 1519 for his Goniądz chapel foundation (q.v.). It may be that the mansionariate was founded earlier by Albertas' mother, who obtained papal permission in 1499 to select her own confessor, and was extended further by Goštautas himself.³¹ The Goštautas chapel in Vilnius Cathedral, which in 1552 owned silver vessels worth more than 84 marks (67.2 sexagenae), in addition to a gold chalice, a gold-embossed image of Our Lady, and several dozen expensive silk vestments, was served by mansionaries, while the family's home parish of Geranainys, where St Nicholas' Church was granted collegiate status with a provost-infulatus by the pope, and was served by ten prebendary clergy (in some sources called mansionaries), was in its wealth and liturgical sophistication a local miniature cathedral. Whether or not Goštautas used his luxurious manuscript book of hours in his churches and chapels is a probability impossible to confirm or deny.³²

It should be noted that all the founders of these Oshmiany powiat mansionaries were magnates who sought to obtain various spiritual graces and indulgences, and founded churches and chantry altars. Some of them belonged to the Confraternity of (the Assumption of) Our Lady from 1495, an organisation which was controlled eventually by the Goštautas family. This confraternity had members also in the parishes of Žygimantiškiai, Subotniki, Graužyskiai, Surviliškiai, Lotva, Dieveniškės, Vseliub and Šalčininkėliai, as well as the mansionary centres of Yvija, Trobos and Mūriniai Geranainys.³³

In the spring of 1511, the castellan of Vilnius, Duke Aleksandras Jonaitis Alšėniškis, died. At some unknown exact date, Alšėniškis founded a four-priest mansionariate at his wife's ancestral parish of Volpa. Unfortunately, he did not provide suitable funds to sustain such an endowment, and so on 6 November 1518 his heir, the lord of Volpa and bishop of Lutsk Duke Paulius Alšėniškis, at the behest of his mother Zofija Aleknaitė Sudimantaitytė Aleksandrienė Alšėniškienė, built the chapels of St Anne, the Immaculate Conception, Ss Sophia, Paul, Alexander and All Saints at the Church of St John the Baptist in Volpa to be served by four mansionary priests, to each of whom he assigned a plot of land to build a house and a garden, along with 23 sexagenae from the manor's annual income and the tavern fee (four sexa-

³¹ *Acta primae Visitationis...*, d. III, nr. 11, p. 127 and p. 233, n. 218.

³² *Ibid.*, d. III, nr. 29, p. 154–158 [29 November 1539, Albertas Goštautas' will mentions the liturgical equipment of the Vilnius Chapel and the Geranainys collegiate church]; nr. 30, p. 159–163, here p. 161–163 [26 January 1552, inventory of the St Casimir and Goštautas chapels' property]. A facsimile edition of Goštautas' prayer book has been republished with a scholarly introduction – *Modlitewnik Olbrachta Gasztołda kanclerza wielkiego litewskiego 1528 r. Facsimile*. Red. Katarzyna KRZAK-WEISS, Wiesław WYDRA, Rafał WÓJCIK. Poznań, 2015.

³³ See reference 26 and *KDKDW*, z. 2, nr. 428, p. 495–497.

genae for each priest and three for the auxiliary). The endowment included two small manors from the Volpa area with their land, water sources and peasants. The Gudavičius peasant family was to pay a tribute in honey and one stone of wax for candles. The mansionaries were to select from among their number a senior official to oversee the presence of the brethren in chapel and punish absentees; absence from the chapel was possible only with the patron's permission. Every day before High Mass, the clergy were to chant the Hours of the Immaculate Conception, and offer Mass in honour of the same, while every Tuesday a Mass to St Anne was to be sung in lieu of the Immaculate Conception Mass; every day, Mass was to be offered for the repose of the souls of the bishop's ancestors. If the chapel were to burn down or otherwise fall into disrepair, the mansionaries or their appointed deputies were to sing the required office and Masses in another suitable location. Every ember-tide Wednesday, Friday and Saturday, the mansionaries were required to sing vigils twice, and not leave the chapel before the end of the service. The founder reserved for himself and his heirs the right to present candidates to the mansionariate. Altar wine was to be supplied by the manor at Volpa; while the priests enjoyed the right to gather timber for domestic needs from manor lands and grind their corn in the manor mill.³⁴

The names of Volpa mansionaries appear in the surviving record in the years 1520 to 1525, 1575, and 1579. The first, Baltramiejus, appears to have been a member of Paulius Alšėniškis' Janów court. Another courtier, Stanislovas Rumbovičius, witnessed the foundation charter, and in 1520 the parish priest of Volpa, along with all four mansionaries, witnessed the establishment of a chantry altar in their church by the same Rumbovičius. In 1521, the papal legate Zacharia Ferreri granted an indulgence of ten years and ten Lents to visitors to the church in Volpa. In 1553, the taxable value of the parish was 127.5 groats, based on its landed wealth. The church owned 13 hides, 1.5 plots of land, and two gardens; while the mansionaries had 15.5 hides, 5.5 plots of land, and nine gardens; the chantry priest owned just one plot of land.³⁵

On 2 July 1521 at Szpakowo, as death drew inevitably nigh, the chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Mikalojus Radvila issued a charter for his newly estab-

³⁴ *Acta primae Visitationis...*, d. I, nr. 44 [39], p. 62–65 [6 November 1518, foundation emolument issued by Paulius Alšėniškis]. Although the bishop carried out the wishes of his mother in Volpa, Zofija did not favour the mansionariate in her own will, whereby she left great wealth to Bernardine houses throughout Lithuania and Poland – *Ibid.*, p. 197–198, n. 500. See also WRÓBEL, Wiesław. Krąg rodzinny Zofii z Chożowa Holszańskiej i jej testament z 29 VII 1518 r. In *Rody, rodziny Mazowsza i Podlasia. Źródła do badań genealogicznych* (Archiwalia a Badania Regionalne, t. 3). Red. Dorota K. REMBISZEWSKA, Hanna KRAJEWSKA. Łomża, 2013, s. 345–366.

³⁵ Volpa mansionaries – *LKD*, nr. 342, p. 69 [Baltramiejus], nr. 1345, p. 237; nr. 1835, p. 312; the Rumbovičius altar – *Acta primae Visitationis...*, p. 199, n. 507. Cf. ŠEDVYDIS, Laurynas. Lucko (1507–1536) ir Vilniaus (1536–1555) vyskupo Pauliaus Alšėniškio dvaras: dvarioniai ir tarnybiniai bajorai. *Darbai ir dienos*, 2015, t. 64, p. 17.

lished mansionariate in a chapel built on the side of Our Lady's Church in Goniądz, to be served by six priests and a *minister*. The post of provost was to be held by the chaplain of Goniądz Castle. They were to reside close by the Assumption Chapel, where every day they were to chant the complete Little Hours of the Virgin reverently. In the morning after nones, they were to sing a Mass in Our Lady's honour, and then another Mass for the repose of the souls of the dead. After dinner, they were to sing vespers, compline and three nocturnal vigils.³⁶ The first provost was the Castle chapel priest Maciej of Malbork; in 1546, after the death of the parish priest of Kuleszy Piotr Rogalski, the mansionary of Goniądz Mikalojus Stanislovaitis Kolačkovskis, a priest of the Diocese of Płock, took over the duties of commendary of Kuleszy.³⁷

The parish mansionariates we have considered thus far were all established (or intended for foundation) by very wealthy noble families. Where were the Jagiellonians? Sigismund the Old and his son Sigismund Augustus founded only two parish mansionariates (one each) in the see of Vilnius, and in so doing did not establish any new parishes, but consolidated two ancient foundations in Naujieji Trakai (1522–1524) and Grodno (1561–1562). In both cases this seems to be an act of retrenchment, combining existing chapels and an almshouse, or even in the case of Trakai, a distant regional parish, Eisiškės. The stated aim of both foundations was: '*pro augmento cultus divini et cura animarum.*'³⁸

For more than a century, Vytautas the Great's Church of the Assumption of Our Lady in Naujieji Trakai was served by two canons and a parish priest-provost. On 24 March 1522, Sigismund the Old decided to abolish the canonries and the castle Chapel of St George, and replace them with six mansionary priests to augment divine worship and the care of souls, endowing them with 30 sexagenae annually, 30 measures (*pelves*) of honey, and four tithes of grain from the royal manors of Aukštadvaris, Stakliškės, Bražuolė and Raudonsalė. They had the right to build themselves a communal house on one of the plots of land which had belonged to the canons. As in other mansionary establishments, the six priests were required to chant the full Hours of the Virgin every day, and offer Mass, as well as providing the sacraments to parishioners. This pastoral duty is a new duty, emphasizing their service to the parish

³⁶ '*Excepta causa rationabili et perardua, ubi in absentia sua unusquisque eorum potest aliquem idoneum horum officiorum bene peritum substituere secundumque conscientie sue synderesim malum evitare posset*' – KLOZA, Jarosław; MAROSZEK, Józef. *Dzieje Goniądza: w 450 rocznicę praw miejskich* (Prace Białostockiego Towarzystwa Naukowego, nr. 37). Białystok, Goniądz, 1997, s. 126: *corrigendis correctis*.

³⁷ ADS, D5, fo 8v, 9v; LKD, nr. 1526, p. 264–265; KLOZA, J.; MAROSZEK, J., Op. cit., s. 27 raises the hypothesis that de facto the Goniądz mansionariate was never established because he had not found any reference to its priests.

³⁸ The Naujieji Trakai mansionariate – *Lietuvos Metrika*. Knyga 12: 1522–1529. *Užrašymų knyga 12*. Parengė Darius ANTANAVIČIUS, Algirdas BALIULIS. Vilnius, 2001, Nr. 759 [24 March 1522], p. 597–599; Nr. 720 [27 January 1524], p. 558–559. The Goštautas Chapel of St Nicholas in Trakai – *Acta primae Visitationis...*, p. 245, n. 415; the Grodno mansionariate – see below, Appendix 2.

beyond liturgical praise and commemoration. Special attention is paid to the Advent period, when *Rorate* Masses were to be said before dawn in honour of the Mother of God. An extra stone of wax (15 kg) was set aside to provide for candles in that dark season. The priests' benefice, *beneficium monoculum*, did not allow them to hold any other post. They were to reside permanently in the parish, and if they should be absent without leave for four months, or six at most, they were to lose their benefice.³⁹ It would appear that even so generous an endowment was insufficient to sustain the priests, for on 27 January 1524, on account of the insufficient size of the former canons' stipends, the monarch combined the parish of Eišiškės with the provostry of Naujieji Trakai. The parish priest was to reside in Eišiškės during Holy Week (from Palm Sunday to Easter Tuesday), and the feasts of the Ascension, Whitsun, Corpus Christi, Christmas, all the holy days of Our Lady, and the parish feast day. Two curates were to assist the parish priest in the liturgy during high holy days. Only one ecclesiastical foundation remained in Trakai, which was not subsumed within the mansionariate, namely St Nicholas' Chapel, which was founded by Albertas Goštautas in 1522.⁴⁰

Grodno was home to another great Marian parish founded by Vytautas which Sigismund Augustus sought to consolidate in his charter of 24 July 1561 in response to a petition from the local parish priest Fr Adam Pilichowski. The monarch joined St Nicholas' Chapel, thitherto mentioned separately in the sources from the parish church, and the Holy Ghost almshouse founded by Queen Bona in 1547, with all their endowments, with the parish Church of the Assumption.⁴¹

On 5 April 1562, Bishop Valerijonas Protasevičius of Vilnius reestablished the benefices of the Grodno clergy, providing stipends at Easter of 14 Polish florins for the new vice-provost (or former parish priest), ten florins each for the two perpetual (*ammovibiles*) mansionaries, and eight florins for each of the three temporary mansionaries (*manualibus*) and the parish schoolmaster. The mansionary priests were to share income from spiritual services (*quaestum*) and the fee (*strena*) which had been levied on every hide and city household previously for the benefit of the parish priest. When the posts of vice-provost and mansionary fell vacant, the provost was to present suitable replacement candidates to the bishop. The vice-provost, mansionaries and schoolmaster were required to sing the Hours of the Virgin with matins, prime, terce, sext and nones before a Mass of the Assumption, followed by vespers and compline. These services were to be sung every day harmoniously, without haste

³⁹ *Lietuvos Metrika...*, kn. 12, Nr. 759 [24 March 1522], p. 597–599; Nr. 720 [27 January 1524], p. 558–559; for another example of *pelvis mellis* – the 1547 Nowy Dwór emolument includes two *pelves* – *Acta primae Visitationis...*, p. 247–248, n. 447.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 245, n. 415.

⁴¹ See below, Appendix 1 and cf. KAMUNTAVIČIENĖ, Vaida. Kauno ir Gardino katalikiškų parapijų istorijų paralelės XV–XVII a. *Kauno istorijos metraštis*, 2012, t. 12, p. 21–22.

and sonorously. On each Sunday and solemn holy day which did not have a specified Mass, the priests were to sing a Mass of the Holy Trinity, and if a feast did fall on a Sunday, there was to be a High Mass in honour of the Virgin Mary. A mansionary who was absent from duty for a month was to lose his benefice and be replaced by the bishop of Vilnius. The vice-provost and mansionaries were to obey the provost in all his lawful and honourable commands, to come to church vested in a surplice, and attend censings (*thurificationes*) on all feast days; the provost was to correct all the defects of the parish clergy with regard to their pastoral and mansionarial duties. Among the first provosts and perpetual mansionaries were Mikalojus Točickis (Thoczycki), formerly priest of St Nicholas' Chapel, who as provost retained control of the chapel for life. He selected Adam Pilichowski as his vice-provost, and he presented Maciej of Zakrocim and Bartłomiej Poniatowski as perpetual mansionaries. In 1619, the Vilnius Chapter record mentions that the monarch was asked to extend the endowments of the Grodno mansionariate.⁴²

During the 16th century, in addition to the three or four cathedral mansionariates, there were eight parishes in the Diocese of Vilnius endowed with mansionary priests (Ašmena, Gardinas, Geranainys, Goniądz, Naujieji Trakai, Yvija, Trobos, Volpa). According to the incomplete 1605 account of the state of the diocese (*Relatio anni 1605*), the cathedral had ten chapels where Mass and the Hours of the Virgin were sung each day. This work was carried out by curates, mansionaries and/or other beneficed clergy in honour of Our Lady and for the souls of the dead. Outside Vilnius, there were four collegiate churches (provostries or mansionariates), in Geranainys, Naujieji Trakai, Grodno and Oshmiany. Although the latter parish could support only two clergymen (the provost and another) from its endowment, hope still remained that the local financial situation would improve.⁴³ In the 1609 account, the number of collegiate churches was the same, four, but the list was a little different: it includes Trakai, Grodno, Geranainys and Trobos.⁴⁴

⁴² *Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas*, Vilnius (hereafter, *LVIA*), f. 694, ap. 1, b. 3969, l. 6v–8v. The charter was witnessed by Jonas Ostrovskis, canon of Wolborz, Bp Protasevičius' chancellor [*LKD*, nr. 949, p. 163–165]; Tomas Sarbskis, priest of St Nicholas' chapel in Trakai [*LKD*, nr. 2464, p. 403]; Petras Bodzentinietis, parish priest of Zholudok and royal chaplain [*LKD*, nr. 2028a, p. 342; nr. 2029, p. 342 with mistaken dates]; Mikalojus the Vilnius Penitentiary [*LKD*, nr. 1564, p. 269] and Martynas Rutkietis [*LKD*, nr. 1331, p. 235]. A list of mansionary income is given on *LVIA*, f. 694, ap. 1, b. 3969, l. 9r–v. For the 1619 request, see KURCZEWSKI, J. *Kościół zamkowy...*, cz. 3, s. 103.

⁴³ *'Per diversas capellas, quae adhaerent ecclesiae cathedrali, aliae novae decantantur: quaedam a vicariis, quaedam a mansionariis, quaedam ab aliis beneficiatis [...] Collegiatae vero sunt quatuor, in quibus tamen nulli sunt canonici; verum tantum unus praelatus praepositus cum quinque aliis sacerdotibus vicariis seu assistentibus. Prima collegiata, quae infulatum praepositum habet, est Geranonensis, secunda Trocensis, tertia Grodnensis, quarta Osmianensis; haec ultima propter direptionem possessionum admodum tenuis in proventibus modo est, ut vix unum praepositum praelatum cum altero sacerdote sustinere possit [...] in his omnibus collegiatis tantum officium B. Mariae Virginis cum suis horis et duae missae: una de Beata Virgine Maria, altera de die occurrente' – Relationes Status Dioecesium...*, p. 24, 25–26.

⁴⁴ *'Collegiatae ecclesiae [...] quatuor curatae nimirum: Trocensis, Grodnensis, Gieranonensis et Trabensis; unaquaeque habet quinque mansionarios presbyteros, divini officii cantores, proprios praepositos habet*

The Diocese of Žemaitija

Beyond the confines of the cathedral, mansionary priests appear in Žemaitija only in the 17th century, or after the Council of Trent. As the 1767 account of the state of the diocese reports, there were no collegiate foundations in Žemaitija, but there were five churches in the hands of a provost (Šiluva, Veliuona, Skuodas, Salantai and Tverai), *'ubi officium Beatissimae per mansionarios sacerdotes ex fundatione quotidie absolvitur ac cura animarum exercetur.'*⁴⁵ It may be that in the first half of the 16th century, the role of mansionary in certain of the larger Žemaitijan parishes was played by local curates, if we can judge from the 1521 Šiaulėnai re-foundation of Mikalojus Stankaitis and Barbora Butrimavičiai (where the parish priest and his three curates were obliged to sing one or sometimes two Masses every day). We know that in 1512 some cathedral mansionaries were also parish priests.⁴⁶

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The Diocese of Lutsk

In the 16th century, there were six mansionary chapels in the northwestern part of the Diocese of Lutsk, outside the cathedral in Janów Podlaski: Bielsk, Bransk, Budzieszyn (cum Mąkobody), Ciechanowiec, Miedzna (Międzyzlesie),⁴⁷ and Mordy.⁴⁸ They were founded by the monarch (Sigismund the Old and Queen Bona Sforza), a bishop (Paulius Alšėniškis), and most commonly by powerful local landowners (Kiškos, Korczewskiai, Chreptavičiai, Hlebavičiai), who are well known also for other

in quibus iuxta ordinantionem fundatorum officium B. Mariae Virginis et vota sacra singulis diebus fiunt, excepta Gieranonensi, ubi matutinum diurnum cum nocturnis et reliquis canonicis horis missaque decantatur. Praeterea nullae in his collegiatis dignitates et personatus sunt' – Ibid., p. 36–37.

⁴⁵ Relatio anni 1767 – Ibid., p. 403. Cf. 1755 Account – Ibid., p. 375, 378, 380, 383.

⁴⁶ *Codex Mednicensis seu Samogitiae dioecesis* (Fontes historiae Lituaniae, vol. 3). Pars I: 1416.II.13–1609. IV.2. Ed. Paulius JATULIS. Roma, 1984, Nr. 128, p. 201: *'plebanus cum suis vicariis [...] missas singulis hebdomadis [...] die dominico de die, feria secunda de sancta Trinitate, feria teria de Sancta Anna, feria quarta pro animabus, feria quinta de omnibus sanctis in matura, in summa vero de Corpore Christi, feria sexta pro animabus, sabbato de Nativitate Virginis Mariae; et si aliquo horum dierum venerit festum, ex tunc praedictae missae in maturis debent compleri, et summa cantetur de festo, vespere similiter pro festis et festivis diebus decantentur'*. Cf. the 1514 foundation – *Codex Mednicensis...*, Nr. 117, p. 185–187.

⁴⁷ Not far from Węgrów, St Stanislaus' Church was founded before 1470 by Stanisław Karski, after whose death the estate was taken over by the Wodyński family in 1522 – NIEWIATOWSKA, Renata. Olędzcy herbu Rawicz, właściciele Siedlec w XVII wieku. *Szkice Podlaskie*, 2000, z. 8, s. 5–29.

⁴⁸ LKD makes mistaken reference to a mansionary named Peter in Biała Podlaska (nr. 2010, p. 337 Petras) who was really the Janów priest Piotr Lojek (LKD, nr. 2009, p. 337 [fl. 1545–1555]). In 1550 the chantry priest Piotr Runowski was active in Biała (LKD, nr. 2015, p. 339); the alleged Rudka mansionary Fr Marcin (LKD, nr. 1327, p. 234) was in fact the Mordy mansionary Marcin Kosciesza (LKD, nr. 1319, p. 233–234 [fl. 1552–1556]), who claimed income from Rudka manor on 26 August 1556. Extant Rudka documents of this period make no mention of local mansionaries, cf. SOSYŃSKI, Jacek. Dokumenty uposażające kościół w Rudce (1442–1543). *Studia Podlaskie*, 1991, t. III, s. 161–169.

expressions of piety. There are hints in the record that in Międzyrzec Podlaski, the palatine of Novgorodok (and later of Trakai), Jonas Jurgaitis Zaberezinskis, was unsuccessful in his attempt to found a mansionariate, which later became the chantry altar of the Annunciation.⁴⁹ Unlike the case in the Diocese of Vilnius, it seems that the mansionariate (and later college) in the cathedral in Janów Podlaski was founded later than several parish ones; it was founded before 1525 by Bishop Paulius Alšėniškis (1507–1536).⁵⁰ Mansionary priests are known from the cathedral between the 1520s and 1590s, some of whom held other cathedral offices (such as canon, curate or official), and more rarely held parish livings. Most often they appear as notaries or witnesses in Consistory cases.⁵¹

Liutaras Chreptovičius established a mansionary foundation in Mąkabody (Nowe Miasto) in 1513 for eight priests, granting them seven peasants from Księżopol and four from Trebno, in addition to a mill. He also founded a parish school funded by tithes from the manors of Żyrowice and Czekanów.⁵² In this way, Chreptovičius founded his new church as a dependency of the parish in Budzieszyn (in 1525, Fr Marcin was incumbent in both churches, and shortly afterwards the mother church was transferred to Mąkabody, perhaps because the mansionary church was the richer of the two foundations⁵³).

⁴⁹ 19 May 1546, note of a defunct mansionariate – ADS, D5, fo 92: '*ex parte honorabilis domini Ade in Myedzirzecz altariste*' [LKD, nr. 27, p. 22]: '*post deperditum fundatum [...] ne proventus sui anichilarunt, sicut et mansionarii victu carentis locum dimisarunt [...] Joannis Zabrzezyny palatini Nowogrodzensis et tandem Trocensis et marsalci Magni Ducatus Lithwanie, heredis et patroni ecclesie in Myedzirzecz et prefati altaris post amissam mansionariam*'.

⁵⁰ 16 October 1536 [PK, nr. 405, p. 160–161, mistaken date] Bishop Paulius Alšėniškis of Vilnius and Bp Jerzy Chwalczewski of Lutsk agree a division of landed property, mentioning '*Mansionarios similiter quos sua reverendissima dominatio [Paulius] in Janow fundavit*' – *Описание рукописного отдѣления виленской публичной библиотеки*. Выпускъ III. Вильна, 1898, № 16, с. 54–55. The first Janów mansionary to appear in the extant record is Andriejus [LKD, nr. 221, p. 53] 5 June 1525 – LMAVB, F6–128; PK, nr. 282, p. 114. On 7 April 1523 Alšėniškis confirmed the charter of the Holy Trinity Chapel in Janów, where a considerable number of local personages were buried. On 11 March 1553, the charter was engrossed in the Consistory record – ADS, D8, fo 75v–77.

⁵¹ LKD, nr. 125, p. 37; nr. 126, p. 37; nr. 221, p. 53; nr. 276, p. 60; nr. 359, p. 73; nr. 516, p. 100; nr. 624, p. 116; no. 627, p. 116; nr. 853, p. 148–149; nr. 1093, p. 199; nr. 1164, p. 211; nr. 1298, p. 231; nr. 1315, p. 232; nr. 1635, p. 289; nr. 1745, p. 300; nr. 1805, p. 309; nr. 1818, p. 311; nr. 1823, p. 311; nr. 1930, p. 329; nr. 2009, p. 337; nr. 2045, p. 344–345; nr. 2457, p. 402.

⁵² ADS, D2, fo 142–142v: '*Mansionariorum Mąkabodi fundacio* [Consistory copy dated 29 September 1542] [...] *Nos Joannes Litawr Chreptowicz marchio magni ducatus Lithuaniae et capitaneus Cobrinensis una cum coniuge [...] nostra Heduigi, volens memoriam nostris facere praedecessoribus et divinum cultum augmentare primo et principaliter constituimus octo presbiteros propter augmentationem cultus divini in ecclesia nostra Nowemiastho ad decantandum Horas de Beata Virgine vulgariter communem cursum et missam de Assumptione Virginis Mariae et aliam pro peccatis. Et hoc quatuor presbiteri tenebuntur quolibet die supplere et alii quatuor tenebuntur quolibet die vigiliis et missam pro defunctis cantare et aliam missam legere*' [fo 141v, a later archival note (17–18th century) gives a date of 1513].

⁵³ Marcin – LKD, nr. 1284, p. 229; JASZCZOŁT, Tomasz. Szlachta ziemi drohickiej w XV i początkach XVI w. Zagadnienia społeczne, gospodarcze i genealogiczne. Dissertation. Białystok, 2009, s. 184–185.

The parish of Mordy was founded some time before 1458 by the Korczewski family (Jan Mordzki). After Jan Mordzki died, the parish advowson fell to his cousin Stanisław Korczewski, and on 12 July 1505 the latter's daughter and sole heir Zofia, together with her husband the lord lieutenant of Polotsk Stanislovas Hlebavičius, established a mansionariate for four priests at the parish church. Mordy was the 'nest' of the Korczewski family, and although the flourishing Hlebavičius family had its clan centre in Polonka (Diocese of Vilnius), it was in Mordy that the mansionariate was founded. The priests were to be paid a stipend of five sexagenae each from the manors of Rudka, Bartkowo, Korczewo and Mordy; they were also given the mill at Wyczolki, along with a plot of land. Along with several gardens, the priests also received three fields, at Gluchowek, Jajki and Olendi, which were to be served by peasants from the villages of Wiczolki, Sthok, Czolomyia and Czepelien.⁵⁴ The names of the first four mansionary priests at Mordy are known to us from the foundation emolument and later documents, viz. Motiejus Domovskis, Petras Kosovietis, Stanislovas Kožuchovskis and Stanislovas Ziemakas. These men all witnessed the foundation charter and the 1517 will of Jan Sapieha, husband of Elżbieta, the eldest daughter of the Hlebavičiai, and sister of Katarzyna and Nicholas. In return for their generous stipend, the priests were obliged to sing the Hours of Our Lady every day along with a High Mass; they were also required each day to offer two more Masses for the dead. The donation was to be upheld by any and every heir of Stanisław and Zofia Hlebavičius, *'filii sive filie vel quacunq̄ue affinitate, propinquietate et sanguinea linea juncti'*.⁵⁵ In Lent in 1526, the Lady Zofia transferred control of her Rudka manor to her daughter Catherine and her husband Motiejus Albertaitis Kiška, lord lieutenant of Volkhovysk, for their lifetime in return for a payment of 1,000 sexagenae and the duty along with Zofia's son Nicholas to make an annual payment of ten sexagenae from their manors of Rudka and Grodziszczce to the Mordy mansionaries.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ JASZCZOŁT, Tomasz. Osadnictwo lewobrzeżnej części ziemi drohickiej w XV i na początku XVI w. – okolice Sokołowa, Węgrowa i Mord. In *Sokołów Podlaski. Dzieje miasta i okolic*. Red. Grzegorz RYŻEWSKI. Białystok, Sokołów Podlaski, 2006, s. 214–221, esp. s. 215, 216, citing ADS, D148, fo 15–17 – another copy in *Archiwum Główny Akt Dawnych*, Warsaw (hereafter, AGAD), Acta terrestria drohicensia II, fo 496v–497, see Appendix 1. See also MAROSZEK, Józef. *Dzieje województwa podlaskiego do 1795 roku*. Białystok, 2013, s. 453. The Hlebavičiai chose the Vilnius diocese parish of Polonka, which they acquired by marriage as their family mausoleum – ROWELL, S.C. Parapijos dangaus ir žemės globėjų vaidmuo formuojantis bendruomenės identitetui – Polonkos pavyzdys 1437–1529 m. In *Kultūra – ekonomika – visuomenė: sąveika ir pokyčiai viduramžiais ir ankstyvaisiais naujaisiais laikais Baltijos rytinėje pakrantėje*. Sud. Marius ŠČAVINSKAS. Klaipėda, 2015, p. 275–288.

⁵⁵ See below, Appendix 1.

⁵⁶ The Drohiczyn Land Court record of 27 February 1526 (feria secunda proxima post dominicam *Reminiscere*) was confirmed in a charter of Sigismund the Old, 19 March 1529 – LMAVB, F1–101; PK, nr. 322, p. 129: *'Ipse quidem dominus Mathias debeat et tenetur me defendere et tuere in vita mea ab omnibus iniuriis meis per se mecum personaliter stando vel per suum procuratorem sicut tutor et gubernator omnium bonorum meorum. Item idem Dominus Mathias in vita mea mansionarii in Mord de bonis eisdem per me obligatis quos ibi obligavi cum omni onere et proprietate in summa suprascripta [mille sexagenarum] una cum filio nostro Nicolao, cui ex gratia mea inscripsi et resignavi aliam curiam meam et villam Grodziszczce nuncupatam ad Ruthka prius concernentem decem sexagenas grossorum numeri octonarii, prout ex antiquo*

On 9 July 1528, the Hlebavičius' eldest daughter Elžbieta Jonienė Sapiegienė donated the town of Mordy to King Sigismund the Old, along with its appurtenant villages of Gluchowo, Czolomyja, Czepielin, Stok, Wyciolki and Jajki. In 1539, the monarch demanded that the Drohiczyn Land Court record annul a reference to Mikalojus Hlebavičius as owner of these lands.⁵⁷ Between 1523 and 1541, Stanislovas Ziemakas held the post of parish priest (and provost?) in Mordy.⁵⁸ Sources mention ten mansionaries during the period 1542 to 1556, and some of these, like Ziemakas, later became parish priest. One mansionary, Fr Klemensas (1542–1544), resigned his post in Mordy in order to be parish priest of Paprotnia (10.5 km to the north of Mordy), but in 1546 he swapped places with the then parish priest of Mordy, Fr Motiejus Ty-miński. Klemensas was parish priest in Mordy until 1551, when he was replaced by the patron Hlebavičiūtė-Sapiegienė with another local mansionary priest, Brikcijus Bzovskis (1542–1551).⁵⁹ In 1552, Sapiegienė, who had been patron of the church in Mordy for 45 years, died. On 9 May 1552, two mansionaries who had witnessed her will, Martynas Kočieša and Mikalojus Olendzki, engrossed their mistress' will along with the 1505 mansionariate emolument in the records of the Drohiczyn Land Court.

de eisdem bonis dicta summa predictis mansionariis singulis annis solvebatur, eandem computando in numerum et monetam lithuanicalem currentem vero de Ruthka sex sexagenas grossorum et de Grodziszce duas sexagenas grossorum lithuanicorum, que faciunt prefatam summam numeri octovii decem sexagenarum dare, solveere tenebuntur singulis annis. Post mortem vero meam dum et quando filii et filie mee vel aliquis consanguineorum meorum prefatam summam mille sexagenas grossorum, quam ego Zofia prefata apud ipsum Dominum Mathiam accepi et in eadem suprascripta bona mea obligavi, eidem Domino Mathie vel uxori eius filie mee Catherine vel cuicumque predicta bona mea in summa iam expressa, per prefatum dominum Mathiam qualicumque modo fuerint inscripta et reformata realiter et cum effectu reposuerint. Ex tunc predicta bona cum aliis bonis post me derelictis, que nunc sunt et in posterum quomodocumque iure proprietatis devolvi valeant, in equales partes partiri debent. Nichilominus vero prefatam mercedem mansionariis de eisdem bonis seu de portionibus suis singulis annis solveere tenebuntur. Non reposita vero prefata summa mille sexagenarum grossorum nullus filiorum seu filiarum et consanguineorum meorum quovis modo, iure, possessione audeat nec debet se in suprascripta bona per me obligata intrmittere nec in eisdem aliquid iri et proprietatis, quo ad totalem prefate summe solutionem habere [...] Actum et datum Vilne, feria sexta ante dominicam Ramispalmarum, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo nono, presentibus reverendissimis in Cristo patribus Joanne Vilnensi, Nicolao Kyowiensi episcopis necnon magnificis Alberto Gastholth palatino Vilnensi et cancellario nostro, Boguslao Bohuthinowicz tezaurario nostro, Joanne Steczko marsalco et aliis quamplurimis consiliariis nostris testibus circa premissa. Zofia endowed the Kiška also with redditibus, tributis, censibus, preceis, laboribus etiam collaturis ecclesiasticis, silvis, nemoribus'.

⁵⁷ JASZCZOŁT, T. Osadnictwo..., s. 218, citing inter alia *Lietuvos Metrika*. Knyga 25: 1387–1546. *Užrašymų knyga* 25. Parengė Darius ANTANAVIČIUS, Algirdas BALIULIS. Vilnius, 1998, Nr. 217 [9 July 1528], p. 271–272. On 15 March 1529, the monarch confirmed the agreement with Hlebavičiūtė-Sapiegienė. Elžbieta retained the right to control the estate until her death.

⁵⁸ *LKD*, nr. 1701, p. 295–296; nr. 1982, p. 335; nr. 2196, p. 364; nr. 2197, p. 364 [Stanislovas Ziemakas].

⁵⁹ *LKD*, nr. 390, p. 80; nr. 409, p. 83 [Brikcijus, 1552 (?) was suspended by Mikalojus Radvila the Black from presbytery and 28 February 1551 declined from mansionary, in order to way the duties of parson on 11 March 1551 – *ADS*, D7, fo 115r-v, 119v]; nr. 443, p. 91; nr. 458, p. 93; nr. 506, p. 99; nr. 1113, p. 203–204 [Klemensas]; nr. 1319/1327, p. 233–234 [1552–1556, Martynas, mistakenly listed as a Rudka mansionary]; nr. 1542, p. 267 [not 1540, Mikalojus Olendzki, Mordy curate, appointed mansionary on 28 February 1551 in place of Fr Brikcijus (*ADS*, D7, fo 115v), 11 March 1551 installed as mansionary, although the record names him mistakenly as *Jacobus* – *ADS*, D7, fo 119v]; nr. 1775, p. 307 [Motiejus Paprockis, kinsman of the patrons of the Paprotnia living, 1545–1550]; in 1550 mention made of Serafinas [*LKD*, nr. 2079, p. 351] – *Maķobody commendarius*, the same man as *LKD*, nr. 2074, 2080, p. 350–351.

On 25 October 1552, in the house of the Mordy parish priest in the presence of Vicar General and Official of the Diocese of Lutsk Canon Adrian Koscianiec and the Visitor, Laurynas of Warka, and other dignitaries, the executor of Sapiegiené's will, the notary Jan Iwanowski, accused the parish priest Fr Brikcijus and all four mansionaries (Grigalius Zalievskis, Martynas [Kościeśa], Mikalojus Olendzki, Feliks) of secretly spreading rumours that certain persons unknown had forged the will, and required the Drohiczyn Court to rescind the document. However, during this inquiry, all the mansionaries and Brikcijus, who had sealed the document himself, as well as the notary Martynas, who had written out the text, publicly acknowledged the document to be genuine.⁶⁰ It would seem that the mansionaries (or other persons unknown) were anxious that the old order would soon inevitably change. After Sapiegiené died, the monarch took over the property, which she had ceded to him nearly a quarter of a century earlier, and on 13 November 1552 the monarch handed possession of the Mordy estates to the Protestant magnate Mikalojus Radvila Juodasis. The parish clergy thereby lost their jobs, homes and income, as the Protestant lord of the manor established a Calvinist prayer house in Mordy. Between 1553 and 1556, the mansionaries jointly sued the late Lady Sapiegiené's brother Mikalojus Hlebavičius for tithe income from Rudka Manor, formerly part of the Mordy estate, requiring payment of four unpaid sexagenae. Mikalojus was patron of a chantry altar in Rudka parish church, but the advowson to the Church of the Assumption belonged solely to his sister Catherine, widow of the former starosta of Žemaitija Motiejus Albertaitis Kločka. Although the Hlebavičius siblings did not inherit Mordy, the mansionaries may have argued that the 1526 charter governing their lifetime control of Rudka and Grodziszczce respectively obliged them to continue to support the Mordy clergy.⁶¹

⁶⁰ JASZCZOŁT, T. Osadnictwo..., s. 218, citing AGAD, Acta terrestria drohicensia II, fo 452v–453v, 486v–487v. Cf. 25 October 1552, Lutsk consistory record – ADS, D7, fo 186r–187r: '*Generosus dominus Joannes Iwanowsky notarus terre Drohiciensis, magnifice olim domine Pallatine Throczensis Elisabet Sopiezyna in Mordy heredis testamenti exequutor coram reverendo domino Adriano a Costhan canonico vicarioque in spiritualibus et officiali generali Luceoriensi personaliter constituto contra honorabiles Briccium Bzowsky artium baccalaureum plebanum, et Gregorium Zaliewsky, Martinum, Nicolaum Oliędzky ac Felicem mansionarios in Mordy verbo proposuit, quamvis ipsi omnes insimul interfuissent et in testes vocati essent testimonio magnifice olim domine Elisabeth Sopizyna supradicte ultimamque voluntatem illius audiissent et novissent, audent tamen clandestine dicere contenta ipsius testamenti per prefatam dominam Pallatinam fabricati non esse vera, testamentumque huiusmodi ultra voluntate predictae domine Pallatine confectum fuisse et per aliquas personas viciatum, falsificatum et transmutatum esse asseruerunt. Et etiam coram quibusdam personis et actis Iudicii terrestris seu castrensis Drohiciensis quasdam recognitiones fecerunt, petens ipsos ad respondendum, huiusmodi iure proponi, cogi et compelli. Et ibidem incontinentè.*'

⁶¹ ADS, D8, fo 118v–119 [1 December 1553]; D9, fo 9v–10 [9 February 1554]; D9, fo 44v [23 August 1554, '*repositio quatuor sexagenarum numeri polonialis mansionariis in Mordy*']; fo 50; fo 100r–v [6 March 1555, '*universitatis mansionariorum in Mordy cum domino pallatinide polocensi*'], Hlebavičius must pay the census per eum retentum within a month or be excommunicated]; D10, fo 6r–v [26 August 1556]. That Catharine was sole patron of the Assumption in Rudka – ADS, D5, fo 174v: '*magnificam dominam Catharinam Hlyebowna in Ruthka heredem, relictam olim magnifici domini Mathie Alberti capitanei Szamagithiensis, unicam patronam prefate ecclesie*', 22 April 1547; Nicholas presented Fr Marcin of Lomza [1556–1563, cf. LKD, nr. 1324, p. 234 not the same as nr. 1327, p. 234 (cf. ratiis nr. 1319, p. 233–234), the which Martin was mansionary in Mordy] to a chantry altar in Rudka on 27 May 1556: '*Nicolai Hlebowicz*

Despite the fact that in 1571 Kristupas Radvila the Orphan, son of Radvila Juodasis, exchanged Mordy with the Catholic owner of Siwerzno, Pawel Ciecierski, and the parish was restored to Catholic hands, we have no evidence of any new mansionary priests there.

At Miedzna, not far from Węgrow, the Church of St Stanislaus was founded before 1470 by one Stanislaw Karski, after whose death the advowson passed to the powerful local Wodyński family. On 26 March 1531, Sigismund the Old endowed the town with Magdeburg Law, and it may have been on this occasion that a mansionariate was established at the Church of St Stanislaus. We know the names of only two mansionary priests associated with this church, namely Jakub, who died some time before 11 September 1553, and Franciszek of Wola, whose candidature was presented to the bishop by Margareta Olendzienè, widow of Jan Wodyński, and their son Mikołaj Wodyński. Janusz Wodynski was a zealous Calvinist.⁶²

During the first half of the 15th century the ancestor of the Kiška family Petras Strumila founded the Church of St Stanislaus in Ciechanowiec, where some time before 1514 (when the lord lieutenant of Grodno Stanislovas Petraitis Kiška was buried in that shrine), a mansionariate was founded, whose priests appear in the written record from 1517. Several Ciechanowiec mansionaries are named in the Lusk diocesan consistory record as witnesses, notaries, and so on.⁶³ From these sources, we glimpse the actions of mansionaries in other nearby parishes. We might deduce that such clergy quite often felt a temptation to take up a neighbouring benefice, combining this conflict of interests with a temporary rent of an extra parish or its incomes, or exchanging mansionary income with an outside parish priest. There are grounds for thinking that mansionary priests who cheated on their benefice to obtain supplementary (or increased) income took care to ensure the spiritual needs of their parishioners when they selected others to take over their living (*arendarii*).

pallatinidis Polocensis, in Ruthka heredis, eiusdem altaris veri et legitimi patroni et collatoris – ADS, D9, fo 141r–v.

⁶² ADS, D8, fo 87v: *'Post festum Nativitatis Virginis Marie. Decretum institutionis ad mansionariam in Miedzilesie. Ad mansionariam ecclesie parochialis in Miedzilesie morte honorabilis olim Jacobi eiusdem || ultimi et immediati possessoris vacantem ad presentationem generose domine Margarete de Radzanowo, consortis generosi domini Christophori Oliedzki Liskowiensis et Miedzylesiensis capitanei, tenutricis bonorum Miedzilesie, et generosi domini Nicolai Wodinski, predicte domine Oliedzka filii in eadem Miedzilesie heredis Honorabilem Franciscum de Volia diocesis Posnaniensis archipresbyterum Dominus per manus sue capiti illius impositionem instituit. Presentibus tunc ibidem honorabilibus et nobilibus dominis Mathia preceptoris mansionariorum Janoviensium substituto, Jacobo in Bransko vicario, Alberto Kuczienski, Stanislaw Wysokinsky testibus circa premissa*. Cf. LKD, nr. 636, p. 117; nr. 2044, p. 344. For an account of the family connections, see NIEWIATOWSKA, R. Op. cit., s. 5–29.

⁶³ Andriejus Očko (LKD, nr. 208, p. 51 [1517], the same man as the curate mentioned in 1493 – nr. 195, p. 50?); Andriejus Očko (LKD, nr. 242, p. 55 [1543–1545], unsuccessful candidate for parish priest at Kadluby); Jonas (LKD, nr. 809, p. 137 [1517]); Mikołaj of Sokołowo (LKD, nr. 1514, p. 263 [1541–1561], parish priest of Narew 1541–1556, in 1553 he was mansionary in Ciechanowiec, when he sought to rent out his own parish to the Kuczyno priest Stanislaw Trzaska – ADS, D8, fo 38r–39v); Maciej Pierńko (LKD, nr. 1756, p. 304 [1541–1552]) and Maciej Luniewski (LKD, nr. 1768, p. 306 [1544–1565]).

The Ciechanowiec mansionariate seems to have been some sort of watchtower from which priests might scan surrounding parishes for a supplementary benefice. In March 1548, Stanislaw Trzaska, the parish priest of Ss Nicholas and Dorothy in Winna, who had recently acquired the Kuczyno living on the death of its incumbent Fr Jerzy Kieswyeski, gave up his Winna parish in favour of Maciej Pienka, a mansionary priest in Ciechanowiec. The latter's candidacy was supported by Trzaska, one of the patrons of the Winna parish, and the starosta of Drohiczyn and patron of Ciechanowiec Mikalojus Kiška. In March and April that year, Maciej's rivals for the living were the Winna curate Baltramiejus of Plonsk, and the later curate of Perlejewo Andrius Leščinskis (who withdrew his candidature on grounds of ill health). Finally, on 8 June, even though he enjoyed the backing of the Trzaska and Cholewa patrons and the Curia, Fr Maciej resigned the Winna living in favour of a kinsman of the Cholewa patrons of Kuczyno, Adam Cholewa.⁶⁴ As is noted above, in 1552 Fr Maciej eventually purchased the Knychówek living for one year (the parish had been founded by the Korczewski family, and remained under Hlebavičius patronage). As befits a good patron, Kiška presented several of his Ciechanowiec mansionaries to other livings (in 1564, he supported the candidature of Maciej Luniewski as parish priest of Sterdyń).⁶⁵

We come across another deal struck by Stansilaw Trzaska and a Ciechanowiec mansionary (this time Fr Mikolaj of Sokolowo) in 1553 and 1554, concerning the renting out of the Narew living. Stanislaw was of local gentry birth, and served his family's foundation at Winna. In 1548, as we have seen, he took over the nearby parish of Kuczyno.⁶⁶ In the spring of 1553, he decided to rent out for one year the duties and income of the parish of Narew, where Fr Mikolaj was incumbent, for 20 Lithuanian (or 25 Polish) sexagenae, to be paid in two instalments, one of 12 sexagenae on St Stanislaus' Day (8 May), the remainder on Assumption Day (15 August) 1553. The contract, signed on 11 April 1553, was witnessed by Fr Marcin, the curate, the schoolmaster Kacper, and five townsfolk on 30 April. On 5 May, the rental contract was engrossed in the Consistory Court record. It appears that Mikolaj of Sokółow intended to take on the duties of mansionary priest in Ciechanowiec only for a limited period. In his deal with Trzaska, he stressed that after a year he would resume his duties in Narew (*ad integrum annum concedere debeo, regressum mihi post annum reservando*). In Ciechanowiec, he would be a temporary mansionary (*manualis*), rather than a perpetual one (*perpetuus*). Narew Trzaska was obliged to maintain a curate (for two sexagenae) and an auxiliary cleric (a schoolmaster or *ludi litterarius* for one sexa-

⁶⁴ The Winna Church of Ss Nicholas and Dorothy: ADS, D6, fo 26v (11 March 1548 Trzaska resigns the Winna living in favour of Fr Maciej), fos 27v, 29v-30, 36v, 46r. Cf. LKD, nr. 1756, p. 304.

⁶⁵ On 28 June 1552 Wawrzyniec of Węgrów rented out his living at Knychówek to Maciej Pieńko – ADS, D7, fo 157v-158r. For the career of Maciej Luniewski, 1544-1565 – LKD, nr. 1768, p. 306.

⁶⁶ ADS, D6, fo 16v. In general – LKD, nr. 2283, p. 377-379.

gena); Trzaska was to keep the furniture of the presbytery safe and take care of the parish's spiritual and temporal well-being such that the Divine honour should not be harmed and the faithful should receive the sacraments. For himself, Mikolaj of Sokołow retained income from the village founded in 1495 by the then parish priest (*colonia*) at Burzyce.⁶⁷ The rental agreement had been in force for barely half its period of validity when, for reasons unknown to us (probably financial), discord arose between the priests of Narew and Kuczyno. On 20 October 1553, Fr Mikolaj's lawyer presented the Narew case against Trzaska before the Consistory Court in Janów. On 13 April 1554, a former *minister* from Narew, Jakub Wiśniowski, and two townsmen, the notary Maciej and Pawel Lyach, testified on Trzaska's behalf. On 27 August, the case was closed for judgment in Gniezno. Despite the efforts of both courts, the dispute continued and was still being heard in Janów two years later. The final outcome is unknown.⁶⁸

The Diocese of Lutsk contained only one mansionariate founded by the monarch, and this was established relatively late in Bielsk Podlaski, the capital of the palatinate from 1513. As in the cases of Naujjeji Trakai and Grodno, the monarch founded a mansionariate in an important administrative centre which did not have a cathedral church. The land of Bielsk was purchased in 1530 by Queen-Grand Duchess Bona Sforza from Albertas Goštautas. On 26 April 1535, at the behest of the queen, the patron of the local parish, the bishop of Vilnius, Paulius Alšėniškis, formally transformed the Church of the Nativity of Our Lady, St Nicholas, and the Three Kings (with its parish priest and curate) into a mansionary church. The parish priest became the provost entrusted with the spiritual and temporal administration of the church (*'administrationem spiritualium et regimen rerum temporalium'*), and his curate became vice-provost in charge of pastoral matters. The provost was allowed to combine his simple benefice (without pastoral duties) with other livings: *'beneficium simplex et compatabile.'* Three mansionary posts were also created. Every day, the vice-provost and three mansionaries were obliged to offer Mass in honour of the Assumption of Our Lady, in addition to a *Salve Sancte Parens* Mass on Saturday and the ordinary Sunday Mass. Together with the schoolmaster or his deputy, the mansionaries were

⁶⁷ On the parish of Narew and Burzyce village (now the middle part of the village of Klejniki, known as Klebanczyzna), see MAROSZEK, J. *Dzieje województwa...*, s. 290, 350–352, 362. Decretum ingrossationis litterarum contractus arende proventuum ecclesie parrochialis in Narew: ADS, D8, fo 37r–39r. Trzaska was awarded income from the bridge toll (*theoloneum pontale*), and the townsfolk's tithes: *'iuxta mee parrochialis fundationem. Item regimen ecclesie mee tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus prefato meo arendario commendo, rogans ne sit aliqua negligentia in cultu divino et administratione sacramentorum Christifidelibus, in quo bonam conscientiam per officium Reverendissimi peto oneratum'*.

⁶⁸ ADS, D8, fo 103v–104 [20 October 1553, *'productio libelli pro parte plebani Narvensis'*], 111v–112, 113v–114, 116r–v, 121r–v; D9, fo 4v–5 [15 January 1554], 7r–v, 10v–11, 23v [13 April 1554, *'productio testium pro parte domini plebani Cuczinensis et contra plebanum Narwensem'*], 25r–v, 28v, 33v–34, 45v [27 August 1554, *'decretum clausionis registri in causa Narvensis et Cuczinensis plebanorum'*], the case to be forwarded to Gniezno; D10, fo 7r [26 August 1556, Fr Mikołaj had until 14 September to present evidence to the court], 7v–8 [28 August 1556]. Material from sessions between 2 September and 14 October 1556 is missing.

to chant the complete Hours of the Immaculate Conception in a loud and clear voice. Every Friday they were to offer a Requiem Mass for the dead of the royal family.⁶⁹ In the absence of the provost from the parish, the mansionaries were subject to the rule of the vice-provost, as in the case of other such foundations (*'iuxta aliarum eiusmodi ecclesiarum consuetudinem'*). It would seem from this requirement that there was already a recognised and established way in which mansionary foundations were to be run. In addition to the old established reward of Bielsk clergy in kind, the mansionaries were also paid a monetary stipend of ten Lithuanian sexageneae for the provost, four for the vice-provost, and 1.5 sexageneae for the mansionaries and schoolmaster. In 1554, a conflict arose between the mansionaries and their superior (*principalis*) Fr Tomasz, and a local landowner, Augustyn Pietrzykowski, over non-payment of 20 sexageneae from the tithes at Pietrzykowo Wyszki.⁷⁰

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Mansionary foundations were established after the Council of Trent at Rossosze (in the Dembinski Church of St Stanislaus in 1599, when the town was granted its charter), and at Białystok, where on 5 August 1625 (*in crastina die sancti Dominici*) the Wiesolowski family established a three-priest mansionariate with an endowment of 15,000 zł. According to this foundation, the surplice priests were to chant the Little Hours of the Immaculate Conception every day, along with the organist and the cantor-cum-schoolmaster.⁷¹

Concluding observations

Mansionaries were secular priests endowed by a monarch, bishop or magnate with a considerable benefice, who were required to reside permanently near their chapels in a common house or separate dwellings, and chant publicly in that chapel the Little Hours of the Virgin, and sing one or more daily Masses in honour of Our Lady or the Holy Trinity, and for the repose of the souls of the faithful departed (usually of the founder's family). It was not uncommon for them to run a parish school, whose master and pupils would take part in the mansionaries' liturgical celebrations; in the

⁶⁹ *'Qui vicepraepositus et mansionarii omni die missam de Assumptione Beatae Virginis Mariae, sabbato autem Salve Sancta Parens, et diebus dominicis et duplicibus festis dum de tempore celebrabitur, non erit necessarium ipsam missam cantare de Assumptione. Horas autem matutinas, primam, tertiam, sextam, nonam, vesperas et completorium semper alta et intelligibili voce decantabunt de Conceptione, alternatim cum magistro scholae vel eius substituto, et feria qualibet sexta Requiem pro defunctis serenissimis predecessoribus serenissimi domini Domini Sigismundi'* – BESZKA-BOROWSKI, Eugeniusz. *Dzieje parafii katolickiej Narodzenia Najświętszej Maryi Panny i św. Mikołaja w Bielsku Podlaskim*. Red. Marcin SKŁADANOWSKI. Drohiczyn, 2012, s. 338, odsył. 1074; s. 428–431. Three mansionaries mentioned in the record during the period 1541–1570 – LKD, nr. 1914, p. 328; nr. 2110, p. 354; nr. 2460/2463/2466, p. 403.

⁷⁰ ADS, D9, fo 12v–13 [16 February 1554]; on Pietrzykowo – BESZKA-BOROWSKI, E. Op. cit., s. 338, 430–431.

⁷¹ MAROSZEK, J. *Dzieje województwa...*, s. 455. MOSZYŃSKI, Julian. *Podróż do Prus, Saksonii i Czech odbyta w roku 1838–1839*. T. I. Wilno, 1844, s. 17, 249–250.

case of the reorganisation of royal parishes, they were required to attend to the spiritual requirements of the local parish community. They were not canons or friars, although from a distance they might resemble super-chantry priests. At first, parish mansionariates were a deliberate imitation of cathedral chapels, and only the super-rich could afford to endow such foundations (the equivalent of several old-fashioned chantry altars), and maintain them through their own direct or indirect kin (as in the Radvila or Mangirdaitis-Kiška and Korczewski-Hlebavičius cases, where memory of the distaff line was to be preserved). In the period 1499 to 1522, a mansionary priest might earn five to eight sexagenae a year, and an auxiliary (*minister*, often a schoolmaster) three or four sexagenae and tithes from several manors (four in the cases of Trakai or Yvija), or even a whole manor (Volpa). Revenues might be collected for them by royal city officials (Goniądz, Trakai).⁷² It seems that the likelihood of imminent extinction encouraged this type of largesse. In 1518, Bishop Alšėniškis founded Volpa at his mother's behest, at a time when he was the last male of his line, and some of his sisters were also consecrated nuns. After making provision for her heirs, their mother spent the remains of her vast fortune on mendicant friaries across Lithuania and Poland.

The structure of mansionary life, similar to that of a monastic community, guaranteed an ornate liturgy (in terms of choir, vestments, Masses and psalms), memory of the dead and pastoral service for the wider community (for the parish). The involvement of parish schools and almshouses in the mansionary liturgy provided an opportunity for an even wider dissemination of the cult of Our Lady and devotional discipline. While the tradition of reciting the Hours expanded in Lithuania after the reforms of the Council of Trent, this devotion had taken deep root in the Grand Duchy long before. Sometimes these priests acted consciously as a social group to defend their rights, suing their opponents in Consistory as *universitas mansionariorum*. As an ecclesial product, they were prestigious but cheaper and more open to direct patronal control than a friary, and were an alternative to a diocesan college (of which there was only one in the See of Vilnius, at Geranainys) or a mendicant friary. Collegiate churches were much more common in 14th-century Poland, and especially in England, where the very name mansionary is unknown. Some were completely new or supplementary foundations, while those founded in parishes by the monarch tended to entail a reorganisation of existing foundations, in order to optimise liturgical and pastoral requirements in important administrative centres which lacked a cathedral (such as Bielsk Podlaski, Grodno and Trakai). It seems that the main requirement, namely that the mansionaries reside in their parish, or that they provide for a suitable replacement, should serious need arise for them to be absent, such as Maciej, the *mansionariorum substitutus* of Janów Podlaski,

⁷² Yvija, 8 sexag.; Volpa, 5, 3 sexag.; Goniądz 8 sexag. 10 gr, 5.5 sexag.; Trakai 5 sexag.; Grodno 5, 4 sexag.

was respected (albeit not always). Consistory and chapter records hint that although there were serious problems with some communities (with regard to theft, concubinage, defamation and absenteeism), mansionary foundations were on the whole well-disciplined establishments.

The parish foundations appear at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries in the Diocese of Vilnius, and are devoted to praying for the dead and honouring the Mother of God. As the so-called Reformation began, they could lose their wealthy patrons (the Radvilas at Mordy and Goniądz), and have their main functions devalued (Protestants do not pray for the dead in Purgatory, nor do they call upon Mary's intercession). Even if a parish returned to Catholic hands during the Counter-Reformation, the old endowments may easily have dried up, especially during the economically weaker later 16th century. Although Józef Maroszek is probably mistaken to refer to pre-Reformation mansionariates as '*zespół kapłanów niższej rangi*', the phrase might well suit such priests during the 18th and 19th centuries.⁷³ Mansionaries began as turbo-charged chantries, chantry colleges as opposed to chantry altars, which increased liturgical and intercessional frequency and quality with a supposed inbuilt protection device against absenteeism. They also had a pastoral and educational element not associated as a rule with chantries. After Trent, their role changed gradually, as their focus moved primarily from intercession for the dead to teaching the young and serving the living parish.

⁷³ MAROSZEK, J. *Dzieje województwa...*, s. 456.

Appendix 1

9 Mai 1552 Drohiczyn [12 July 1505, Rudka]

The Mordy mansionary priests Marcin Kocieszko and Mikołaj Olędzki engross Stanislovas Hlebovičius' Mordy foundation charter of 12 July 1505 in the record of the Drohiczyn Land Court.

B: *Archiwum Główny Akt Dawnych*, Warsaw, Acta terrestria drohicensia II, fo 496v–497.

C: *Archiwum diecezjalne w Siedlcach*, D148, fo 15–17.

Inductio litterarum fundati mancionariis de Mordi super fundos mancionariis spectantis concessos.

Venientes personaliter ad iudicium honorabiles viri et domini Martinus Kosciessa de Nova Civitate et Nicolaus Olaniski actu presbiteri et mancionarii de Mordi presentaverunt privilegium donacionis in Mordi civitate facte et mancionariis constitite et concesse in pargamino scriptum et sigillo apenso proprio magnifici domini Stanislai Hlebowycz palatini Polocensis etc comunitum et suis aliasque suorum ffratrum mancionariorum nominibus promerent hoc ipsum privilegium ad acta terrestia Drohicensia induci et ingrossari admitti ad iudicium viso et prelecto eiusmodi privilegio stiligo apenso comunito, sano, salvo et non viciato, illud induci et ingrossari admisit cuius quidem privilegii [tenor] de verbo ad verbum sequitur:

In nomine Domini, amen. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam et ex quo inter humane nature comoda nihil dignius memorie habeatur utique oportunius existit ut ea, que quorumvis hominum decreverit voluntas litterarum apicibus firmissime scriptis et sigillorum iniunctis sic provehi deberent ut ad noticiam futurorum roborent. Proinde ego Stanislaus Hlebowycz palatinus polocensis, marchio serenissimi Alexandri regis Polonie, magni ducis Lithwanie, Russie, Prussie etc una cum coniunge mea Zoffia, filia condam generosi domini Stanislai Korczewski, volens provide ordinare in hoc seculo salutem anime nostre et nostrorum antecessorum et successorum, matura deliberatione et salubri consilio ffretus ordinavi, constitui et disponi ad nostram ecclesiam in Mordi quatuor sacerdotes protunc honorabilem virum dominum Mathiam Domowski, Petrum de Kossowo, Stanislaum Ziemak, Stanislaum Kozuchowski, qui sacerdotes tenebuntur et obligabuntur perpetuis temporibus duraturis ad laudem et honorem Omnipotentis Dei et gloriose Virginis Marie totique celesti gerarchie⁷⁴ Cursum seu Horas Beate Marie Virginis cum hoc missam sollemnem omni die cantare et in qualibet septimanas [!] duas missas legere pro defunctis, non excipiendo missam sollemnem et si aliquem eorum contingat locum mutare aut Dei voluntate mori, extunc ego tanquam fundator, patronus et collator alios et alium in hunc locum ordinabo et locabo necnon mei successores et non alius, quibus ego dedi, legavi et appropriavi et mei successores tenebuntur ad hoc consentire et eos in nihilo diminuere et injuriiri et hoc viginti szezlos monete et numeri consueti in qualibet grossum per octo denarios numerando et hec summa debet eis dari de omni nostro dominio, quod sortitus sum more hereditario cum coniunge mea supranominata post mortem supranominati generosi domini Korcewski, et hoc de curia Ruthka et de omnibus aliis villis, que spectant ad hanc curiam Ruthke, et etiam

⁷⁴ Scribal error, using dative of the usual formula instead of the correct genitive – *totiusque celestis gerarchie*.

ex alia parte ffluvii Bug. Hoc de curiis Mordi, Barthkowo, Corczewo et de omnibus villis, que spectant ad istas curias, et hoc tenebatur eidem extradi ut solui sine aliqua prorogancia pro festo Sancti Martini singulis annis et perpetuis temporibus duraturis. Etiam dedi et legavi eisdem sacerdotibus tres campos in quibus possint seminare per quinque choros silliginis; primum | | campum circa piscinam in Mordi alias *Nawyersch staw Jancule* penes granicies Gluchowo et Jayki; secundum koli Buki; tertium prope Olundi in ffine mansos civitatis Mordi, circa quos campos eciam dedi silvas alias *Dambrov*, ex quibus possunt eisdem facere campum pro seminatione ad alios quindecim choros; in quibus campis nostri homines et nostrorum successorum villis Vyczolki, Sthok, Czolomyia, Czepielen tenebuntur laborare, collere, seminare, metere ad oreum, conducere, triturrare et mericas ffodere et hoc singulis annis reciprocacionem facere. Item dedi, legavi et ascripsi molendinum in villa Viczolki cum piscina et fluvio Liw cum omni jure et emolimento p̄ et utilitate, nil iuris, domini et proprietatis in eadem piscina et molendino pro se et suis successoribus reservando. Et si contingat aliquando ipsum molendinum aut eius aggeres alias *grobla* destrui, extunc homines de villis supranominatis tenebuntur reformare et de meis silvis et boris roborata ad refformandum molendinum dare. Eciam preffati nostri sacerdotes seu mansionarii sine nostra et successorum voluntate molendinatores eis iuxta suum velle statuere, dare et locare debent, quem intellexerint magis prestinum [!]. Item dedi pratum nostrum Jasyonowa kloda penes Viczolki ad quatuor klibanos alias *stogi*, quem pratum supradicti homines tenebuntur in toto disponere, falcare, rostrare et in oreum dare. Item eciam dedi et appropriavi eisdem mansionariis ortum, qui vocatur Soccoroczinski, jacentem inter ortos Mathei Chilcz parte ex una et inter [ortos] Joannis Zyla parte ex altera, quem ortum eciam supranominati homines nostri tenebuntur refformare. Eciam homines nostri et nostrorum successorum de villis suprascriptis tenebuntur annuatim unicuique sacerdoti decem coros lignorum addere. Et si qui nostri successores ausu temerario et proterere et quocumque et ciuiuscumque inpprecari velint eandem nostram dotacionem, voluntatem et privilegium cassare, destruere et anichilare, hoc facere nequaquam presumant, quibus omnibus et cuilibet per se sive sint (quod absit) filii sive filie vel quacumque afinitate, propinquitate et sangwinea linea juncti coram Omnipotenti et Eius districtissimo Judicio et in hoc et in ffuturo seculo Dei par reus omnino nolo. Actum, confectum et datum in curia nostra in Ruthka sabatino die in vigilia Sancte Margarete sub anno Domini Incarnationis millesimo quingentesimo quinto, in presencia honorabilis viri Domini Stanislai curati in Ruthka et honorabilis Domini Joannis capellani eiusdem magniffici Domini Stanislai Hlebowycz palatini et marchionis ut suprascripti, et in presentia mei Joannis Oziambrowski eius privilegii notarii et aliorum fide dignorum ad hoc vocatorum et in cuius rei et privilegii maius et evidencius robur sigillum nostrum proprium, quo usus fui, supra appellandi, presentibus iussi et imprimi.

Appendix 2

2 February 1584 [24 July 1561, Vilnius]

Władysław IV, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, confirms how Bishop Adam Pilichowski of Chełm, with the support of Bishop Valerijonas Protasevičius of Vilnius, asked Sigismund Augustus to reform the parish Church of the Assumption in Grodno and its almshouse as a mansionariate with six priests and a schoolmaster.

D: Lietuvos Metrika, kn. 107, fo 185r–190v.

E: Acta decanatus grodnensis in visitatione decanali cura et labore Casimiri Joannis Woysznarowicz, cancellarii dioecesis Vlnensis, decani pro tunc Grodnensis, confecta anno Domini 1662. *Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas*, Vilnius, f. 694, ap. 1. b. 3969, l. 4v–6v.

(Here, from E)

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Tandem instante eodem illustrissimo et reverendissimo domino Adamo Pilichowski epsicopo Chelmensi, parcho Grodnensi de consensu serenissimi Sigismundi III ac loci ordinarii, illustrissimi et reverndissimi Valeriani erigitur praepositura simul cum mansionariis institutioque ac erectio mansionariorum ad ecclesiam Sancti Spiritus et Sancti Nicolai tollitur; ordinatio autem loci ordinarii et consensus serenissimi Sigismundi per extractum ab illustrissimo Francisco Dolmat Isaykowski episcopo Smolenscensi protunc praeposito Grodnensi ex cancellaria Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae hac in forma exponitur, super quam transmutationem mansionariorum non apparet Sedis Apostolicae approbatio.

Vladislaus Quartus Dei gratia Rex Poloniae, magnus dux Lithuaniae etc. Significamus tenore praesentibus litteris nistris, quorum interest universis et singulis harum notitiam habituris, quonia constituts coram nobis personaliter et ad Acta Cancellariae nostrae Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae maioris, venerabilis Franciscus Dolmat Isaykowski, custos Vlnensis, praepositus Grodnensis, thesauri Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae notarius ac secretarius noster literas pergameneas Reverendissimi olim in Christo patris Valeriani episcopi Vlnensis sigillo munitas, manu autem venerabilis Baltazaris Krasowski eiusdem reverendissimi episcopi curiae et actorum notarii subscriptas, sanas, salvas, illaesas omnisque suspensionis nota carentes erectionem seu institutionem praepositurae ac mansionariorum in civitate Grodnensi ad ecclesiam parochialem in se continenti per oblatam exhibuit petytque a nobis ut esidem actis inseri mandaremus. Quarum quidem literarum tenor de verbo ad verbum, qui sequitur, talis est:

In nomine Domini amen. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Convenit actus hominum, qui vetustate cadunt et successu temporis in oblivionem vertuntur, solidis scripturarum et testium fundamentis commodare, in quarum custodia nullis marcescunt || temporibus, sed semper iugis perennationes memoriae incommutabilis servantur. Proinde nos Valerianus Dei gratia episcopus Vlnensis universis et singulis praesentes literas inspecturis, illis praesertim, quorum interest aut interesse contigerit quodque infrascriptum tangit negotium seu tangere poterit quomodolibet in futurum et potissime cum hoc requirit necessitas et causae persuadent rationabiles ac divini cultus augmentum salubriter id exposcit, tenore praesentium significamus,

Quomodo inter alias crediti nobis officii sollicitudines haec nobis non minor nec posterior cura visa est, ut omnes ecclesiae nostri episcopatus maiori clero et cultu divino ampliori decorarentur in eis que cultus divini magis ac magis augmentaretur et Nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi Eiusque gloriosissimae Matris Virginis Mariae commemoraretur et invocaretur. Hic etiam causis et rationibus permotus et zelo devotionis accensus venerabilis dominus Adamus Pilichowski scholasticus Varsaviensis, canonicus Plocensis Voznensisque et Grodnensis plebanus sacrae regiae maiestatis secretarius, cupiens in ecclesia sua parochiali Grodnensi cultum divinum auctum iri, certas literas consensus sacrae regiae maiestatis domini nostri clementissimi in papiro scriptas et manu propria suae sacrae maiestatis subscriptas et sigillo huius Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae signatas pro maiori infrascriptorum subsistentia coram nobis in primis exhibuit, quarum tenor sequitur et est talis:

Sigismundus Augustus Dei gratia Rex Poloniae, Magnus dux Lithuaniae, Russiae, Prussiae, Samogitiae Masoviaeque etc. Significamus tenore praesentium, quibus expedit universis praesentibus et futuris harum notitiam habituris, exposuisse coram nobis venerabilem Adamum Pilichowski, scholasticum Varsaviensem, canonicum plocensem voznensem et Grodnensem plebanum, secretarium nostrum, Quia ad laudem Omnipotentis Dei et pro augendo cultu divino in ecclesia parochiali Grodnensi cupit atque intendit ex certa sorte proventuum suorum plebanatus Grodnensis mansionarios seu sacerdotes sex, septimum vero baccalaureum promotam personam fundare atque dotare, qui quidem sacerdotes fundantes et pro tempore existentes singulis diebus Horas Beatissimae Virginis Mariae una cum missa competenti modo et ordine debito decantare et celebrare in eadem ecclesia parochiali Grodnensi futuris perpetuis temporibus possint aliaque omnia ordinaria et necessaria officia | | ecclesiastica septimanatim obire debeant. Baccalaureus vero promotus persona pro tempore existens in ministerio scholae Grodnensis circa eandem ecclesiam parochialem Grodnensem in erudienda et instituenda iuventute assiduam et diligentem curam habeat. Supplicavitque idem nobis venerabilis Adamus Pilichowski quatenus ratione melioris et uberioris provisionis sustentationisque eorundem sex sacerdotum et rectoris scholae promotae personae ibidem fundatorum et residentium omnes et singulos proventus dotationesque ex fundatione praedecessorum nostrorum quomodolibet ad ecclesiam seu sacellum Sancti Nicolai confessoris ibidem Grodnensis pertinentes et spectantes deinde quoque omnes et singulos proventus pro sacerdote hospitalis Grodnensis per olim pia memoriae serenissimam dominam Bonam reginam Poloniae parentem nostram desideratissimam dotatos et inscriptos per nosque approbatos donare et gratiose concedere ac eidem ecclesiae parochiali Grodnensi perpetuo adscribere et incorporare dignemur. Nos itaque tam pium opus et desiderium ipsius Adae Pilichowski favore et gratia nostra complectentes ad laudem divinam et ornamentum illius ecclesiae parochialis civitatisque nostrae Grodnensis petitionibusque eiusdem Adae Pilichowski benigne annuentes praefatos omnes et singulos proventus dotationesque, nullis penitus exceptis, ad ecclesiam seu sacellum Sancti Nicolai Grodnensis sitam quomodolibet spectantes. Praeterea proventus ac utilitates pro sacerdote hospitalis Grodnensis ut promissum est fundatos et assignatos ad provisionem et sustentationem meliorem dictorum sex sacerdotum mansionariorum et praefecti scholae personae promotae idoneae dandum et concedendum duximus praesentibus literis nostris donamus et largimur atque ipsi ecclesiae parochiali Grodnensi post mortem seu cessum honorabilium Nicolai Thoczyci sacellarii ecclesiae Sancti Nicolai et Bartholomaei Poniatowski presbyteri hospitalis Grodnensis modernorum possessorum inscribimus incorporamusque ac unimus perpetue et in aevum cassantes et in nihilum redigentes praesentibus literis nostris omnes quascunque donationes iuris patronatus

nostris seu expectativis per quascunque personas super dictam ecclesiam seu sacellum Sancti Nicolai a nobis obtentas et obtinendas damus itaque consensum nostrum hisce literis nostris reverendissimo loci ordinario in sorte proventuum plebanatus Grodnensis, quos ispe Adamus Pilichowski plebanus Grodnensis praedictis mansionariis et || rectori scholae assignaturus et commissurus est ac deinde in proventibus et dotationibus omnibus tam ad ecclesiam seu sacellum Sancti Nicolai confessoris Grodnae sitam quam ad sacerdotem hospitalis Grodnensis quomodolibet spectantibus et pertinentibus mansionariam ipsam in ecclesia parochiali Grodnensi erigendam, ordinandam atque secundum formam iuris consuetudinisque in talibus fieri solitam constituendam literasque erectionis et ordinationis suae desuper concedendam. Qui sacerdotes seu mansionarii sex taliter fundati et ordinati ac pro tempore existentes omnes horas cum vesperis et completorio de Beata Maria Virgine atque missam competentem celebrare singulis diebus tenebuntur. Baccalaureus quoque persona promotus in erudienda iuventute omni ut moris et consuetudinis est adhibere adstrictus erit, salvo nichilominus et reservatis oneribus et officiis omnibus ecclesiasticis in eadem ecclesia seu sacello Sancti Nicolai et hospitali Grodnensi debitis per eosdem mansionarios ordine certo inter eos constituendo sine quavis negligentia continuo adimplendis. In cuius rei fidem et evidentius testimonium praesentes literas nostras manu nostra subscripsimus et sigilli nostri subimpressione iussimus communiri. Datum Vilnae die vigesima quarta mensis Julii anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo primo.

Quatenus vicepraepositus et duos perpetuos, tres vero manuales et amovibiles mansionarios sacerdotes saeculares et septimum rectorem scholae baccalaureum personam promotam pro tempore existentes, qui omnes horas Sanctissimae Virginis Mariae alias ut vocavit cursum cum missa, vesperis et completorio singulis diebus in eadem ecclesia parochiali Grodnensi decantare sint adstricti de novo erigere illosque omnes et singulos proventus et obventiones ad sacellum sancti Nicolai et hospitalis Grodnae siti ab antiquo pertinentes eidem sacello et hospitali dotatos ipsi mansionariae per sacram regiam maiestatem modo prescripto perpetuo iam inscriptos pro dote et fundo asscribere et per dictum dominum Adamum Pilichowski in Grodno plebanum in praepositum eiusdem ecclesiae Grodnensis ex plebano titulum permutando creare vicepraeposituramque ipsum et mansionarios || praefatos, ecclesiastica beneficia pronuntiare et ea libertati et immunitati ecclesiasticae incorporare...

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KATEDRŲ IMITACIJA AR PARAPINIŲ FUNDACIJŲ APSAUGA? KAM LIETUVOS DIDŽIOSIOS KUNIGAİKŠTYSTĖS VYSKUPYSTĖSE XVI A. STEIGTI MANSIONARIATŲ?

S.C. Rowell

Santrauka

Mansionarijai (lot. *mansio* – „buveinė“) – kunigai (ne vienuoliai), gyvenantys atskiruose nameliuose arba bendrame name prie bažnyčios ir už nemenką beneficiją nuolat atliekantys bendrą dvasinį darbą. Jie buvo įsipareigoję atskiroje vietoje šventyklos viduje arba pristatytoje prie bažnyčios sienos patalpoje kasdien tvarkingai ir iškilmingai viešai giedoti Švč. Mergelės Marijos psalmyną (Mažąsias valandas, kursą) ir aukoti šv. Mišias Dievo Motinos arba Švč. Trejybės garbei, taip pat aukoti mišias už mirusiuosius. Neretai mansionarijai turėdavo išlaikyti parapijos mokyklą, atlikdami liturgiją su ministranto arba mokinių pagalba, ir teikti kitus sakramentus parapijos gyventojams. Tokios bažnyčios-prepozitūros buvo susietos su špitolėmis. Mansionarijai panašūs į katedros kanauninkus, kolegijos-parapijos prebendorius ir išskirtinio prestižo altaristas. Dažniausiai jų būdavo po tris, keturis, šešis, retkarčiais per aštuonis, o mansionariatų įsteigimo privilegijoje nustatytą gyvenimo ir veiklos tvarką valdė jų pačių arba koliautoriaus išrinktas prepozitas. Bendra gyvenimo struktūra, liturgine veikla, ypač mirusiųjų atminimu ir atsidavimu Švč. Mergelės Marijos kultui mansionarijai panašūs į LDK populiarųjį Šv. Pranciškaus ordiną. Prepozitas buvo atsakingas už mansionarijų discipliną, turėjo teisę bausti tuos, kurie daugiau kaip mėnesį, kartais pusę metų be leidimo negyvendavo mansionariate ir neatlikdavo savo liturginių arba sielovados pareigų. Kartais mansionarijus pasinaudodavo galimybe įsigyti kaimynystėje esamos parapijos vairą. Pvz., Ciechanowieco mansionarijus Mikalojus So-

kolovietis turbūt tik laikinai valdė šią beneficiją (1553 m.), kai klebonavo Nareve (1541–1561). 1553 m. balandžio 11–30 d. Kučino klebonas Stanislovas Trzaska išsinuomojo Narevo parapijos pajamas vieneriems metams iš kun. Mikalojaus. Stanislovas buvo tas pats dvasininkas, 1548 m. kovo 11 d. atsakęs Vinos parapijos Ciechanowieco mansionarijaus Motiejaus Pieneko naudai.

Mansionarijų reiškinys kai kuriose Lenkijos parapijose atsiranda jau XV a. pradžioje. 1513–1539 m. Krokuvos vyskupijoje būta mansionariatų aštuoniolikoje parapijų ir prie katedros. Panašiu laikotarpiu Gniezno arkivyskupijoje tokias įstaigas turėjo keturiolika parapijų. Nors šis lenkų fundacijų skaičius, kaip ir lietuvių, mažas, tačiau verta prisiminti, kad Lenkijos vyskupijose XIII–XV a. buvo įsteigtos kitos įvairių paskirčių pasaulio kunigų bendruomenės – kolegijos. Iš esmės Lietuvoje (ir Lenkijoje) mansionarijai yra kilę iš katedros koplyčias ir altorius aptarnaujančių dvasininkų – tai itin prabangus, stipriau apibrėžtas kapelionų-altaristų variantas. Medininkų ir Lucko (Palenkės Januvos) katedrose taip pat funkcionavo koplyčios, aptarnaujamos mansionarijų. Žemaičiuose nuo XV a. pab. visas mansionariatas (keturi asmenys) paliudijo 1512 m. vyskupo Martyno Lietuvosio testamentą; tikriausiai vyskupas Martynas jį ir įkūrė. 1579 m. būta tik vieno mansionarijaus (funduoto vyskupo) vikaro (funduoto kanauninkų) – tai Jonas iš Skžino. Jis sakramentus teikdavo katedroje, taip pat ligoniams nešdavo Švč. Sakramentą į namus su ministrantų palyda. Kasdien aukojo šv. Mišias katedroje, o Švč. Mergelei Marijai kursą skaitydavo tik privačiai, namuose. Kursas buvo giedamas katedroje tik per šventes. Apie 1523–1525 m. Lucko katedros mansionariatą tikriausiai įsteigė vyskupas Paulius Alšėniškis (1507–1536). Įtakingi didikai šios vyskupijos parapijose mansionarius steigė jau XV a. antrojoje pusėje.

Lietuvoje, regis, pirmasis mansionariatas įsteigtas prie Jogailos funduotos Vilniaus katedros Švč. Trejybės koplyčios. Kunigai pradžioje vadinti kapelionais, o nuo XV a. 7–8-ojo dešimtmečių – mansionarijais. Vilniaus katedroje tarnaudavo trys, kartais daugiau prie skirtingų koplyčių (Švč. Trejybės, Karališkosios, Šv. Kazimiero, Vyskupų, Vyskupo Jono iš Lietuvos kunigaikščių, Goštautų) priskirtų mansionarijų. Savaiame suprantama, būta ir koplyčių, kurių pajamos buvo šiek tiek kuklesnės, o kapelionai – ne mansionarijai.

Pradžioje mansionariatai sąmoningai imituodavo katedros koplyčią. Juos funduoti galėjo tik labai turtingos giminės, kurių nariams ir jų įpėdiniams pavyko išlaikyti tokios paramos teikimą (plg. Radvilų ir Mangirdaičių-Kiškų giminių pavyzdžius). 1499–1522 m. numatomas atlygis mansionarijams – 5–8 kapos grašių, o pagalbininkams – 3–4 kapos nuo dešimtinės iš keleto dvarų (remiantis Trakų, Ivijos atvejais – net keturių dvarų, Volpos atveju – viso dvaro); pajamas rinkdavo raktininkas (remiantis Goniondzo (*Goniqdz*), Trakų atvejais). Berods, mansionariatą steigė nykstančių giminių atstovai, pvz., Alšėniškiai.

Liturgijos puošnumą, mirusių giminių atminimą, pagaliau tvarkingesnę liaudies sielovados atlikimą garantavo į vienuolyno bendrijos gyvenimą-veiklą panaši struktūra. Kartais jie veikdavo kartu kaip bendrija, ginanti savo teises, – konsistorijos bylos mini *universitas mansionariorum*. Kaip priemonė – prestižiška, pigesnė už vienuolyno steigimą, lengviau kontroliuojama steigėjų koliatorių. Jie buvo tarsi diecezinių kolegiatų bažnyčių (kurių Vilniaus vyskupijoje iš viso buvo tik viena) arba elgetaujančiųjų ordinų bendruomenių pakaitalas. Koleginės bažnyčios buvo steigtos XIV a. Lenkijoje; ypač daug jų būta viduramžių Anglijoje (kur mansionariatų *ipso verbo* nebūta). Pagrindinis reikalavimas, kad dvasininkai

nuolat gyventų prie šventyklos, o jei esant rimtam reikalui ten nebūtų, surastų tinkamą pavaduotoją, pvz., kaip Motiejus Januvo *mansionariorum substitutus*. Galbūt ilgo jų nebuvimo Žemaičiuose pasekmė – vienuolių veikla?

Svarbu pažymėti, kad parapijų mansionariatai atsiranda tik XV–XVI a. sandūroje; jie skirti Dievo Motinos garbei, mirusiųjų sielos atpirkimui. Prasidėjus Reformacijai, jie galėjo netekti koliautorių finansinės paramos (Mordų, Goniondzo pavyzdžiai) ir veiklos prasmės. Mansionarijai, kaip ir kiti beneficijuoti dvasininkai, buvo priklausomi nuo koliautorių dėl jų skiriamų lėšų. Mordų mansionariatą 1505 m. įsteigė Stanislovas Hlebavičius su žmona Sofija Korčevskaite (Korczevska); tai skanus kąsnelis, kurį kunigai mielai pasiliko; gavę naują paskyrimą, siekė grįžti į Mordus. Regis, Reformacija žlugdė parapijos gerovę. 1552 m. mirus Elžbietai Hlebavičiūtei-Sapiegienei, 1528 m. valdovui perdavusiai Mordų dvarą, Žygimantas Augustas perdavė dvaro valdas evangelikui liuteronui Mikalojui Radvilai Juodajam. 1554 m. pastarasis bylinėjosi Januvos vyskupo teisme su Elžbietos broliu Mikalojumi Hlebavičiumi dėl jiems priklausiusių pajamų iš Rudkos ir Gorodiščės dvarų. Reformacija trukdė mansionariato veiklai ir katalikų kunigų gyvenimui. Atsisakius tikėti maldų už mirusiuosius efektyvumu ir būtinybe bei perėmus senas fundacijas, protestantų žemvaldžiai nebegebė senų įsipareigojimų.

Po Tridento suvažiavimo reformų kursas tapo visų kunigų privataus pamaldumo reikalu, skaistyklų „pramonė“ sumenko, didesnis dėmesys pradėtas skirti gyvųjų pamaldumui ir parapijiečių sielovadai. Dėl LDK ūkinio nuosmukio (palyginti su padėtimi XVI a. 2–3-juoju dešimtmečiais) senos fundacijos išseko, o koplyčia, kadaise turėjusi 6 mansionarius, turėjo vieną altaristą. Pats terminas *mansionarijus* (kaip ir *altarista*) pakeitė prasmę nuo prabangaus šeimos maldų atlikėjo iki kunigo emerito, parapijos mokyklos dvasininko. Nors Jozefas Moroszekas klysta, rašydamas apie XVI a. pr. mansionarius kaip „zespól kapłanów niższej rangi“, tačiau toks pasakymas būtų teisingas kalbant apie XVII–XIX a. mansionarius.

Vieni mansionariatai – naujos fundacijos, kiti – esamos parapijos pertvarkymas, racionalizavimas; didikai juos kūrė stambesniuose savo dvaruose. Valdovai juos fundavo administracijos (vaivadijų) centruose, kur nebūta katedrų (Bielskas, Gardinas, Trakai). Valdovo fundacijos Gardine, Palenkės Bielske, Naujuosiuose Trakuose – iš esmės esamų įstaigų racionalizacija.

Pradžioje mansionarijai, išskirtinio prestižo altaristos buvo tarsi platesnius, tvarkingesnius ir madingesnius liturginius įsipareigojimus (tiek mirusiųjų atminimo, tiek Švč. Mergelės Marijos, Jos Motinos šv. Onos ir Švč. Trejybės gerbimo atžvilgiu) vykdančios kolegijos dvasininkai. Pagrindinis jų įsipareigojimas nuolat gyventi su kolegomis prie koplyčios – tarsi steigėjų bandymas užtikrinti tikslo įgyvendinimą. Jie turėjo atlikti sielovados ir / ar mokymo funkciją, kurios neprivalėjo vykdyti eiliniai, pigesni altaristos. Pamažu įsišaknijant Tridento visuotinio Bažnyčios susirinkimo nuostatoms, būtent su parapijos sielovadine ir edukacine veikla susiejamas mansionarijaus vardas.