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**ILL Number:** 12130965



**OCLC #:** 30821236

**Journal Title:** Jewish studies quarterly ; JSQ.

**Volume:** 12 **Issue:** 1

**Month/Year:** 2005**Pages:** 8-42

**Article Author:**

**Article Title:** David Frick; Jews and Others in  
Seventeenth-Century Wilno

**Imprint:** T?ubingen ; Mohr (Paul Siebeck), c1993-

**YES NO Reason:**  
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## Jews and Others in Seventeenth-Century Wilno: Life in the Neighborhood

DAVID FRICK

In the spring of 1669, the Wilno (Vilnius) Magistracy composed instructions for the city's envoys to the election *Sejm* (Parliament) that would make Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki king of Poland-Lithuania. Among the points the envoys were to raise was the allegation that

the Jews, to the great disfigurement of the city – having taken up residence *in medutulo* [in the middle] of this capital, and already having insinuated themselves right under the Town Hall itself, ... and, having taken over the foremost streets – German St., Glass St., Meat Shop St., and, St. Nicholas St. – have taken over all the commerce (*handle*) and all the tavern keeping (*szynki*); and not only do they begin to establish themselves in the city, but also in the suburb beyond the Stone Bridge. They keep Christian servants, work on Sundays and on various holidays, and thereby the Christians are brought to ruin.<sup>1</sup>

The complaint was one stage in a losing battle that Wilno burghers had been fighting for about a century in an attempt to maintain what had once been exclusive privileges of residence and commerce in this royal city. Burghers were all but excluded from the political process of the Polish *Sejms*, and only envoys of a few of the most important royal cities (next to Cracow and Wilno, the two capital cities of the Commonwealth of the Two Nations, eventually also Lwów [1658], Kamieniec Podolski [1670], and Lublin [1703]) had the right to make silent appearances in those bodies and, occasionally and behind the scenes, to bring the concerns of their cities to the attention of the delegates and the king.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *AVAK* 10, pp. 371–72. The Stone Bridge (*Murowany Most*) linked Wilno and its Łukiszki (Lukiškės) suburb with the Snipiszki (Šnipiškės) suburb across the Wilia to the west, where the Jews had established their cemetery. It stood more or less on the spot where the Green Bridge would later be erected. For a list of abbreviations please see the last page of this article.

<sup>2</sup> On the status and function of the burgher *nuntii* or *ablegati* to the Sejm, see Kaczmarczyk 1966, pp. 60, 208–209.

The Jewish community responded as a corporation to legal and extra-legal challenges such as this one with two general strategies: first, by going to the various Christian authorities – from the King and the Lithuanian Tribunal, through the Wilno Castle Court, to the Magistracy and the patchwork of other jurisdictions – to seek privileges from, and to conduct litigation with, Christian corporations and individuals in defense of Jewish life, property, and commerce; and second, by seeking, through organs of Jewish self-governance, such as the Wilno kahal and the Lithuanian *Vaad* or Council of the Chief Communities, to regulate Jewish life – primarily, of course, so that Jews conform to Jewish authority, but also so that Jews give Christians fewer opportunities to raise complaints. The Jews found some support in their struggles with the cities in the *szlachta* (gentry, nobles) and the king; and they sometimes also looked to the burgher elite in struggles with the guilds. In fact, the Jews of Wilno also regularly sent representatives to the election and coronation *Sejms*. That year was no exception, and Wiśniowiecki's reaffirmation of old Jewish privileges and his granting of new ones were important moments in the story.<sup>3</sup>

My remarks here are part of a larger investigation of society and religion in the daily life of seventeenth-century Wilno. General questions shaping this study are these: to what extent did seventeenth-century Vilnans conduct which aspects of their lives within neighborhoods and networks bound by religion and confession (as well as ethnicity and language); to what extent, under what circumstances, and in which directions did they cross those boundaries; what sorts of constellations of neighborhoods and confessions did they most frequently and easily form in these border crossings? This research has yielded some information concerning Jewish life, and I offer here a few thoughts on “Jews and Others” in seventeenth-century Wilno.

In speaking of Others in the plural, I do not wish to question the notion that for the Jews of Wilno, as for their Christian neighbors, *one* fundamental aspect of interrelations was shaped by an opposition of Christians and Jews. Although members of the Christian confessions of Wilno crossed boundaries and mixed in an unusually wide range of places (the Magistracy, the guilds, the family, extended-family networks), a fundamental divide remained between Christians and Jews. Still, it is worth noting the presence in Wilno of at least one more non-Christian Other for the Christians (the Islamic Tatars), as well as the fact that since the late sixteenth century the Christian “camp” in

<sup>3</sup> Some of them are printed in *AVAK* 29, pp. 24–29.

Wilno was actually a grouping of five often fractious confessions – Roman Catholics, Calvinists, Lutherans, Greek Catholics, and Greek Orthodox. Members of these confessions competed for power in the city’s self-governance and other secular corporations.<sup>4</sup> Thus, without forgetting the fundamental Jewish-Christian opposition, it is important to be alert to the fact that, depending on need, the Christians of Wilno could draw shifting lines between Self and Other, joining, for example, “Jews, Tatars, Scots, and ‘bunglers’ (*partacze*, i. e., non-guild artisans)” in one list, or “Jews, pagans, and heretics” in another list of “the Other”;<sup>5</sup> and that the Jews of Wilno may have taken some of these complexities into consideration as they established their relationships with their neighbors. In short, Wilno was a place where binary oppositions had long been complicated and attenuated, and this fact may help to explain some things about how its inhabitants interacted.

My focus here will be on Jewish space in Wilno, on the places – from the public to the more private – where Jews and Christians encountered each other, drew lines, and occasionally crossed them. My goal is not to remove the tears from this frequently lachrymose story, nor to exaggerate possibilities for a shared society, but to try to imagine (to whatever extent the slender documentation will allow) some of the qualities of the daily interactions between Jewish and Christian neighbors – or, as Gershon Hundert might put it, between “Jews and other ‘Poles’” (or here mostly Polonized people) – in this early modern city.<sup>6</sup> As my project is restricted to Wilno and to the seventeenth century, my source base for Jewish matters is limited almost entirely to the court documents of the various Christian jurisdictions, some surveys of the city, and the record book of the Lithuanian *Vaad*. Most of the sources stemming from the Christian courts belong to well defined forensic rhetorical genres and must be interpreted accordingly.

<sup>4</sup> For histories of Wilno in the late medieval and early modern periods, see Łowmiańska 1929, Kowalenko 1925–1926, 1927, Vasil’evskij 1872–1874. For a history of Jewish Wilno in English, see Cohen 1992, who relied for the early period on Beršadskij (1886–1887), as did Klausner (1988). For a recent study of Wilno’s “ruling elite” in the second half of the seventeenth century, see Ragauskas 2002. For a brief introduction in English to the peoples and confessions of early modern Wilno, see the first sections of Frick 2003.

<sup>5</sup> The first comes from the 1633 statute of the Wilno haberdashers’ guild, the second from Jesuit Jakub Wujek’s 1579–1580 *Postilla*. See Łowmiański 1939, p. 186, Wujek 1579–1580 (I), pp. 118–19.

<sup>6</sup> See Hundert 1992, pp. 36–45, 156–57.

## Streets

On 12 October 1679 a Wilno Jew named Mejer Jakubowicz was “walking peacefully with his companion (*kompan*), also a Jew, expecting nothing bad, along a public way,” when, “without giving the least cause,” he was attacked by a Wilno glazier named Łukasz Rycewicz. The protestation that Jakubowicz brought before the Wilno Magistracy is a good example of this particular forensic genre, combining highly conventionalized rhetoric with a few details that suggest individual lives. The Jewish plaintiff offered a psychologizing explanation for the event: Rycewicz had had a falling out with his fellow glaziers during the *popis*, the annual mustering of Wilno guilds under their colors in a field outside the walls. Unable to “achieve what he had planned, ... jumping out with a drawn sword, drunk,” he attacked the innocent Jew.<sup>7</sup>

This particular protestation begs all the questions obfuscated in similar litigation between Christian parties. Was the plaintiff really just an unsuspecting victim of random violence, or – as we can often uncover from other sources – was there some specific bone of contention between two individuals who knew each other better than the language of the protestation would lead one to believe? It is, of course, doubtful that we will be able to discover a close personal relationship here, as frequently turns out to be the case among litigious Christians. Still, we might ask ourselves whether this incident was perhaps partly motivated by professional rivalries, especially since Jakubowicz himself brought up the work-related detail. Why did Rycewicz attack the one Jew and not the other? Did he know Jakubowicz? Was Jakubowicz perhaps one of the Jewish glaziers, who seem to have preceded the Christians of Wilno in that branch?<sup>8</sup>

But let us return to the scene of the crime. Jakubowicz was walking “peacefully,” “expecting nothing bad”; he was attacked “without giving the least cause,” “on a public way” (*na dobrowolnej drodze*). These are all commonplaces that occur in countless protestations.<sup>9</sup> What interests me here is, first, the Jewish use of them. Jakubowicz presented his protesta-

<sup>7</sup> LVIA SA 5337, f. 407r–v.

<sup>8</sup> In 1633 King Władysław IV had allowed Jews to engage in trades not organized into guilds in Wilno, and he named specifically “furriers, haberdashers, and glaziers.” See Łowmiański 1939, p. 192. King Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki reaffirmed this privilege in 1669, again naming the same three trades (*AVAK* 29, p. 28). But the Christian glaziers were incorporated at least by 1663, and their charter that year pointed to a conflict, demanding that Jews cease receiving Christian apprentices to study the trade with them. See *AVAK* 10, p. 47; Łowmiański 1939, p. 275.

<sup>9</sup> On the rhetoric of the protestation, see Frick 2002.

tion to the court "*in parato scripto*," which suggests that he might have had help from someone versed in the rhetorical and procedural conventions of the Magistracy. Still, we should not rule out the possibility that Jakubowicz belonged to that group of Jews sufficiently fluent in Polish and versed in the various Polish legal systems to be an independent legal actor in the Christian court. And second, I would note the specific claim to be on a "public way." The Polish term (*dobrowolny*) means literally "voluntary," or "of one's own free choice." In using the phrase, a plaintiff asserted "I had a right to be where I was when the events in question occurred." We discover from Jakubowicz's protestation that he was walking at the time "at the back of the palace of His Grace, the Lord Palatine of Wilno on Glass Street," and thus perhaps in the jurisdiction of the nobles' castle court and not that of the burghers' Magistracy. In any event, he was far from the "field behind St. Stephen's," where the mustering had taken place.<sup>10</sup> A captain of horse in the palatine's employ intervened, saving Jakubowicz in the nick of time from probable death (another commonplace of the genre, however much truth there may have been in it in individual cases), and he took the drunken glazier into the palatine's personal custody. Upon discovering that Rycewicz was a burgher, the captain had him transferred to the Town Hall prison.

Here we find a few more elements of Jewish life in seventeenth-century Wilno: an attempt to assert a right of free movement, coupled with a recognition of certain negotiatory strategies (e. g., looking to the nobles for protection against the burghers) and perhaps certain self-imposed restrictions – the scene, after all, was more or less the "Jewish neighborhood."

I have put quotation marks around the term "Jewish neighborhood," because, in spite of encouragement, incentives, and commands, the process of the formation of a neighborhood remained unfinished at the end of the seventeenth century, and Jewish settlement – although concentrated – was in no way bound.<sup>11</sup> Following the 1551 decree exempting the houses of the Grand Duke's council from the rule of the Magistracy, Jews began to live and work in certain noble houses: that of Stanisław Piotrowicz Kiszka (palatine of Witebsk and starosta of Brasław, d. 1554) on German St. at 26.04 and that of the Słucki princes across the street at

<sup>10</sup> The guilds and other corporations were required by royal decree to muster here in the suburbs once a year. See LVIA SA 5111, p. 267. In 1679 the palatine of Wilno was Michał Kazimierz Pac. I have been unable to locate his palace more precisely.

<sup>11</sup> For an overview of types of Jewish settlement in Polish-Lithuanian towns and cities, see Hundert 1984.

27.04.<sup>12</sup> Venturing out from these two houses – which would remain “Jewish houses” from the late sixteenth century onward – Jews began to live in neighboring streets between German St. and Glass St. and below German St. toward St. Nicholas’s Catholic church. A street that had been identified descriptively in 1556 as the one that ran “from St. Nicholas to the hospital of St. Mary” had acquired a name for one segment of it by 1592: “Jewish Street.”<sup>13</sup>

The Jewish community of Wilno differed from those of Cracow and Warsaw (to choose two other capital cities of royal residence) in two crucial regards. First, settlement was established much later here than in Cracow and Warsaw, where Jewish immigrants began to arrive in large numbers from Germany and Bohemia in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Indeed, Wilno was late by the standards of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, where Brest, Grodno, and Pińsk first comprised the Lithuanian *Vaad*. Wilno would join only in 1652.<sup>14</sup> Second, unlike Cracow or Warsaw, where the Jews were banned from residing within the walls of the old cities (in 1495 and 1483 respectively), Jews would establish themselves in the heart of Wilno and were thus more of a constant presence for their Christian neighbors. (The Tatars, by contrast, had no such right and settled in the nearby Łukiszki suburb.)

In response to a complaint against a burgher-led attack on Jewish life and property, King Sigismund III Vasa issued the founding privilege on 1 June 1593 granting the Jews of Wilno for the first time the right to “acquire and purchase dwellings with the gentry (*szlachta*), especially since, at the time of our accession to these domains, the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, we found [Jews] living [here].” He further permitted Jews to “have and celebrate their religion, to conduct various kinds of trade and commerce, just as our other subjects who live in our cities in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.” In a separate decree he granted the Jews of Wilno the right to establish a synagogue, cemetery, ritual bath, and meat shops.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> I have assigned addresses to the houses of Wilno based on detailed surveys of the city conducted in 1636 and 1639. They are to be found at BUJ, B Slav. Fol. 17 and Fol. 15.

<sup>13</sup> Beršadskij 1887 (VI:10), p. 137, 1887 (VII:3), p. 84.

<sup>14</sup> Perhaps the various surveys of the city’s houses and inhabitants that I will cite here will eventually allow a reassessment of seventeenth-century Wilno’s demography. Probably Łowmiańska’s estimate (1929, p. 77) of 14,000 inhabitants ca. 1640 will need to be raised somewhat. And certainly Beršadskij’s estimate (1887 [VII:8], p. 102) of 5,000 Jewish adults of both sexes in 1645 will have to be reined in considerably.

<sup>15</sup> *ML* 78 (RGADA 389.78), ff. 250v–251r. See also Beršadskij 1887 (VII:3), p. 82.

At the coronation of King Władysław IV Vasa in the winter of 1633 two members of the Wilno Jewish elite, Samuel and Łazarz Moieższowicz, received a new privilege. In addition to re-affirming his father's 1593 grant, Władysław called upon the Jews of Wilno – according to the model of other Polish-Lithuanian cities – to live not scattered throughout the town in houses under the Magdeburg jurisdiction, but gathered together in one place. Following a project drawn up by Father Marcjan Tryzna, royal secretary and spiritual referendary of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the king commanded the Jews to “buy, exchange for, or obtain by some other legal means the wooden and stone houses in the following places: all houses on Jewish St. on both sides, as well as the houses at the back of Jewish St. across from the meat shops [i. e., the side of “Meat Shop St.” closest to Jewish St.], and the houses on both sides of St. Nicholas St.” The royal decree set a limit of fifteen years, during which time “all Jews are required to move to the quarter assigned to them, with a ban on living in other parts of the city.” Exempt were the two original “Jewish houses” on German St., the Kiszka and the Shucki houses.<sup>16</sup>

Some more clarifications came soon thereafter on 20 July 1633. The Jewish settlement would now take in *both* sides of Meat Shop St.<sup>17</sup> Jews would be allowed to build on any Jewish-owned back properties that opened onto German St. Those structures, however, could have only windows – no gates of entry to the houses – from the German St. side. A royal commission assigned the task of investigating an anti-Jewish tumult in 1635 proposed the construction of gates to the Jewish “quarter,” one at Glass St. and two at the intersections of German St. with Jewish and Meat Shop St. The gates were to be in the control of the Jews.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Beršadskij 1887 (VII:3), p. 95–96.

<sup>17</sup> The street (ul. Jatkowa in Polish, also known as Mozeryjska, Mozyrska, etc.) was the site of meat shops well before the Jews settled there. A 1536 decree had removed the butchers' stalls from the market square to this parallel street one block over “on account of such stench and filth” (*Zbiór* 1843, p. 50). In 1636, one of the Jewish houses on Meat Shop St. (19.06) contained, among other outbuildings and in addition to a stable for four horses, a *wolownia* or “cattle shed” (BUJ, B Slav. Fol. 17, f. 48r).

<sup>18</sup> Beršadskij 1887 (VII:4), p. 67–70. This decree established a flat “wage” (*pensja*) to be paid to the Magistracy by the Jews of Wilno as a corporation. A curiosity: the Magistracy was to keep up the municipal water pipes, but individual Jewish owners of houses that had connections to the pipes were to pay annual fees, as did their Christian neighbors. This is one of the interesting lists of names in the annual financial records of the city of Wilno where a few individually named Jews do appear next to Christians, here in lists of “Income From the Gentlemen Burghers Who Have Water in Their Houses.” See, e. g., LVIA 458.1.19, f. 20v, which tells us of “the Jew, Jakub Moieższowicz,” and “the Jewess, wife of Marek, widow,” both of whom paid 4 k in 1663 (k = *kopa* or 60 Lithuanian groschen). On the early history of the Wilno municipal water system, see Jurkštas 1990.



In 1644 the Magistracy made a series of complaints against the Jews, alleging that, not only had they had acquired all but three or four houses in the allotted streets, had further occupied the "best street" in town (presumably German St., in this instance), and had taken over Glass St., but they were also living among Christians on Jop St., Holy Spirit St. and others, and were even approaching the Town Hall. The Magistracy claimed it was helpless to protect Jewish life and property because of the multitude of jurisdictions within the city, and it urged the Jews to build the proposed gates for their own protection.<sup>19</sup> The Jewish side countered that more than twenty houses in the assigned streets were owned by Christians and that as long as Christians lived there it was impossible to put gates on the community.<sup>20</sup>

In its ruling on the litigation, the Lithuanian Tribunal set a new twenty-five-year deadline (1669) for Jews to purchase the houses in the Jewish quarter, and it allowed Jews during that period to own one house elsewhere in the city for every Christian-owned house in that quarter.<sup>21</sup> Appraisals of property values in the proposed Jewish quarter were to be conducted by a commission of two Christians and two Jews in an attempt to obtain reasonable prices for both buyer and seller.<sup>22</sup> A survey conducted in 1645 determined that in the Jewish quarter Jews owned 32 houses, Christians 11, and that Jews lived in 17 houses "among Christians."<sup>23</sup>

Upon his election to the crown of Poland-Lithuania in 1669, Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki re-affirmed royal privileges for the Jews of Wilno. This was the year in which the twenty-five-year grace period had run out. The king granted a new twenty-year extension (to 1689) on the required move to the Jewish quarter in recognition of the "*calamitas moderna temporum* [recent misfortune of the times] and in view of the fact that Wilno itself had remained for several years in the hands of the enemy under Muscovy [1655–1662], and the Jews had had to wander around various places and cities."<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Beršadskij 1887 (VII:6), pp. 60–63. The Magistracy claimed that in addition to the castle and episcopal jurisdictions, there were more than twenty others. Spokesmen for the Magistracy alleged to the king in 1644 that "there is not one municipal jurisdiction, rather there are as many jurisdictions as there are monasteries, which is the number of havens for crafty people" (see Łowmiański 1939, p. 233).

<sup>20</sup> Beršadskij 1887 (VII:6), p. 67.

<sup>21</sup> Beršadskij 1887 (VII:6), pp. 71–72.

<sup>22</sup> Beršadskij 1887 (VII:8), p. 104.

<sup>23</sup> Beršadskij 1887 (VII:8), p. 102.

<sup>24</sup> *AVAK* 29, p. 27. Muscovite forces entered the city on 8 August 1655. Soon thereafter (28 December 1655) some Jews of Wilno petitioned the new Muscovite palatine of

In fact, although it is certainly possible to discern the outlines of a Wilno neighborhood in which Jews were preponderant, the neighborhood was never – at least in the seventeenth century – uniquely Jewish. The triangular section of the city (German St.-Jewish St.-Meat Shop St.) that had been proposed for Jewish occupation behind gates became largely Jewish, but not entirely so. And St. Nicholas St., which also belonged to the official Jewish “quarter,” was a kind of dangling appendage across German St. and could not be gated effectively. To get to it from the “Jewish Triangle,” you had to cross German St., which – although Jews lived there legally (in two houses only) and illegally – was still a street in which Christians (primarily Catholics and Lutherans) occupied some of the city’s “better” houses.

What is more, many Jews continued to live elsewhere in the city and suburbs. Surveys conducted in 1636 and 1639 noted – at a minimum – Jews in three houses on German St. (26.05, 27.06, 27.08) in addition to the two explicitly granted to them (26.04, 27.04).<sup>25</sup> I say at a minimum, because these particular surveys were conducted in order to determine where members of official entourages should “stand” (*stać*, i. e., take up temporary residence while accompanying the king on his visits to the city). The compilers of these documents were more interested in things like ownership, jurisdiction, and physical layout (about which they provide unusually detailed information) and almost entirely uninterested in who also lived in the house in addition to the owner or chief renter. Thus they may well have overlooked other Jews living elsewhere in town as renters in Christian or Jewish houses.

Other types of surveys make the picture clearer on this question. In 1676, fulfilling the requirements of a constitution of that year, Wilno Jewish elders Salomon Jakubowicz and Moizesz Dawidowicz, along with Jewish beadles (*szkolnicy*)<sup>26</sup> Moizesz Jakubowicz and Lewek Izraelowicz, came before the officials of the Wilno Castle Court to render their solemn oaths concerning the census of Jews living in the city under jurisdictions other than that of the Magistracy (and thus apparently also outside the Jewish quarter). In the castle jurisdiction (i. e., noble houses) there lived 922 “Jewish heads of both sexes, both male and female, children and servants,” and in the episcopal jurisdiction 84 –

Wilno, Mixail Šaxovskoj, for permission to return to their houses within the walls. The petition seems not to have been granted. See Storoževa 1895, p. 134.

<sup>25</sup> BUJ, B Slav. Fol. 17, ff. 55v, 57v.

<sup>26</sup> On the term, see Góralski 1988, p. 230. It was presumably the Polish equivalent for the Hebrew *shammash*. For the constitution in question, see *V/L* 5, p. 209.

in both cases “excluding children under age ten and beggars incapable of work.”<sup>27</sup>

Yet another kind of census offered more information on this topic. In 1690 detailed surveys of the Wilno palatinate were conducted for the purpose of assessing hearth taxes, including separate reviews of houses subject to the Wilno Magistracy and subject to the synagogue in that city. In the survey of houses under the jurisdiction of the synagogue we find, in addition to the Jewish quarter and the two German St. houses originally granted for Jewish occupation – the Kiszka and Shucki residences – four more Jewish residences on German St. But it is the much larger review of houses subject to the Magistracy that gives a picture of the spread of Jewish habitation – certainly not to every quarter of town, but still widely among the city’s Christians.<sup>28</sup> Recall that 1690 was one year after Wiśniowiecki’s new twenty-year grace period for removal to the Jewish quarter. The survey noted thirty-one houses in which Jews were living subject to the Magistracy. Perhaps farthest afield from our Jewish St. focal point was the neighborhood around Troki St. and heading toward the Wilia Gate, where we find fourteen houses in which at least one Jewish “hearth” was reported (and sometimes there were several in one house).<sup>29</sup>

Still, descriptions of violence against Jews reveal a sense of a Jewish space, or at least a symbolic center of the Jewish presence in Wilno, that could be attacked and defended. Consider, for example, the following narration. On 13 February 1673 seniors Aaron Lewkowicz and Moizesz Jakubowicz brought a complaint in the name of the Jews of Wilno before the Magistracy – and against people directly connected to that body, “Their Graces, Sirs Bartłomiej Tukan, Józef Bonfili, Italians, and other companions, the servants and retinue of His Grace, Sir Bartłomiej Cynaki, secretary of His Royal Majesty, burgomaster of Wilno, administrator of the customs of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and

<sup>27</sup> LVIA SA 4691, ff. 476r–v.

<sup>28</sup> I find no Jews in the Ruthenian neighborhoods: around the Uniate Holy Trinity church and to the east (right) of the Great Castle St.-Sharp St. axis, around and to the north of the Orthodox Holy Spirit church.

<sup>29</sup> Jews appeared in houses in the Third Quarter (“Going from Rudniki St. from the Market Square toward German St. on the left side”) and Fourth Quarter (“Going from the Castle toward the Market on the right-hand side”). See Rachuba 1989, pp. 37–42. But the survey ends with the complaint that members of several groups – including Catholic clergy and Jews – refused to cooperate, even though they were living in houses under the jurisdiction of the Magistracy (Rachuba 1989, p. 59). The survey thus implies an even greater Jewish presence outside the Jewish quarter than that reflected by the registered Jewish “hearths.”

against Sir Michał Szwarc.” According to the Jewish allegation, on the day before, 12 February 1673,

the aforementioned Italians ... having dressed themselves in some strange, unheard of clothing, in turbans, Turkish style, with masks on their faces, contrary to the custom of this city, about ten people in number, giving an occasion and an incitement for the commonality to tumults, unto the great and unbearable harm of the plaintiffs, driving by on two sleighs along German St., purposefully passed by Jewish St. several times. Looking for a reason and an occasion to raise a tumult, they ordered their drivers to whip the Jews with their whips on their faces, on their eyes, which they indeed did. ... And when, having gathered numbers, they fell with a great uproar upon Jewish St. in a horde of some thousands of people of various condition and estate, and there, having made a great noise, saying – “Beat, beat those Jews” – then the drivers whipped and beat whomever of those Jews they could get their hands on with their whips on the faces, eyes ...<sup>30</sup>

The day was the Sunday before Ash Wednesday, and the Italians, dressed as they were in costumes, Turkish turbans, “unheard of clothing,” “contrary to the custom of this city,” were no doubt in carnival spirits. The “Italians” were indeed – at least some of them – immigrants from Italy who had entered into Wilno’s elite.<sup>31</sup> But there were also some connections here with the Lutherans of the immediate neighborhood. Roman Catholic city councilor Józef Bonfili had a Lutheran wife named Anna Szenmanowiczówna (i. e., daughter of a descendent of someone named Schönmann), and Michał Szwarc (Schwartz) seems himself to have been Lutheran.<sup>32</sup> In any event, it is worth noting the Jewish attempt to make the aggressors “strange”: they were “Italians,” dressed in exotic clothing, behaving contrary to the custom of this (you almost hear the inclusive “our”) city. No mention was made of the custom of carnival, which was certainly not unfamiliar to the plaintiffs.<sup>33</sup> And note again the scene of the crime: the “Italians” made a few taunting by-passes along German St., a Jewish-Christian (also Jewish-

<sup>30</sup> LVIA SA 5106, ff./pp. 738r/1461–738v/1462.

<sup>31</sup> On Italians in the Wilno Magistracy, see Ragauskas 2000.

<sup>32</sup> See Bonfili’s testament and inventory (LVIA SA 5113, ff. 583r–586r). From 1673 to 1689, Szenmanowiczówna – identified as “Joseph Bonfigly’s wife” (subsequently “widow”) – made regular offerings to the Lutheran Church (LVIA 1008.1.42, ff. 141v, 173r, 250r, 264v, 284v). We learn that Szenmanowiczówna was Bonfili’s wife in LVIA 5113, ff. 713r–714r. Szwarc wrote his last will and testament in 1676, asking to be buried “according to the custom of my religion of the Augsburg confession” (LVIA SA 5108, ff. 476r–77v).

<sup>33</sup> We learn from the Latin prologue to the “*Conspectio*” (the official *in situ* survey of the harm to person and property conducted by the court) that the tumult (*turba*) had occurred “at the time of carnival” (*tempore bachanalarum*).

Lutheran) limit, before bringing their attack into Jewish St., the heart of the “neighborhood.”<sup>34</sup>

One of the main organizers of the tumult, Italian immigrant Bartłomiej Cynaki, rose through the ranks of the ruling elite, serving as councilor in 1664 and 1669, burgomaster in 1670 and 1676, and *wójt* (from the German *Vogt*, the highest municipal office in Polish-Lithuanian cities) from 1680 to 1683.<sup>35</sup> This was not the only time he was taken to court by non-Christian Vilnans. On 18 July 1676 “landed gentryman and Tatar of His Royal Majesty of the palatinate of Wilno, Sir Stefan Czapkowski” appeared before the Castle Court with accusations of slander and defamation. According to his complaint, Cynaki, “disdaining the supremacy of His Royal majesty and the authority of the entire Commonwealth,” publicly ascribed to the Tatar nation “pagandom” and “treason.” Czapkowski insisted on his personal and “national” honor: “the plaintiff is not a traitor, together with all the Tatars of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania of the Commonwealth of His Royal Majesty.”<sup>36</sup> Was newcomer Cynaki more aggressive in his dealings with non-Christian Vilnans, less tolerant of their free movement through the city’s streets, than some other members of the ruling elite?

### *Houses*

On 26 August 1665 two Wilno Jews, Łazarz Michałowicz and Foltyn Michałowicz, appeared before the bench of the Wilno Magistracy to register a complaint against their landlord (*gospodarz*), a certain Hanus Pecelt, iron founder. Toward evening on the preceding Friday, 21 August, Pecelt had come to the room of Łazarz, the arendator (leaseholder) of his house on Glass Street (probably the one at 21.03), whereupon he assaulted the persons and the property of the Jews who were living there. One part of the story told of a debt of 30 zł owed by Pecelt to a deputy who was quartered in the house *ex officio* during a session of

<sup>34</sup> Other sources give a sense of Jewish discomfort at appearing as a corporation outside Jewish space, especially during the annual mustering of the guilds. In 1682 Jan III Sobieski granted the Jews of Wilno the right to be mustered within the walls, in the house of one of the nobles. The fact that he had to repeat the privilege in 1687, placing a new penalty upon the Magistracy for non-compliance, suggests that practice varied. See *AVAK* 29, pp. 123–24, 174–77. A document from 8 August 1681 (LVIA SA 5111, pp. 266–69) tells the story of an attempt by a Wilno councilor to protect the mustered Jews against violence from the tailors’ guild.

<sup>35</sup> LVIA SA 5324, ff. 18v, 19v, 20r; Ragauskas 2002, pp. 420, 431.

<sup>36</sup> LVIA SA 4691, ff. 574r–v.

the Lithuanian Tribunal. Pecelt wanted his arendator to pay the debt, although he did not give him the funds to do so, alleging that Łazarz owed him as much. Whereupon the servants of the unpaid deputy came to the Jewish rooms and “broke out the windows” (a common allegation in the genre) and “made a great uproar.”<sup>37</sup>

Many of the protestations I have encountered in the Wilno archives are about this sort of “domestic” violence: they take place in and about one house; in fact, they are frequently “in the family.” We know a little bit about this Hanus Pecelt. He, Pecelt “the younger,” along with his iron founder father, Hanus Pecelt the elder, were middle-level mainstays of the Wilno Lutheran church. The Glass Street neighborhood was one in which Jews lived next door to, and sometimes in the same houses with, the artisans and small merchants who made up one network within the local Lutheran Church. Pecelt had acquired the house on Glass St. along with other real estate and moveable property by marrying Katarzyna Szmytówna, widow of Lutheran swordsmith Melchior Ilis (Iglis). Pecelt Jr. may well have been a violent man. On 25 May 1669, barber-surgeon Andrzej Hoffman and merchant Jan Stefanowicz, brother-in-law and son-in-law of Katarzyna Szmytówna, both Lutherans, would come before the Wilno Magistracy to complain in her name that she was regularly beaten by her second husband, beginning immediately after the wedding and including an episode the preceding year when she was pregnant. Although Pecelt was “frequently admonished by various people and friends, as well as by the preacher of our religion himself,” he did not desist: “I will shoot her in the head with a pistol, and I myself, having taken the horse, will ride away from here.”<sup>38</sup> (Two footnotes: first, Szmytówna would live to bury her violent second husband and to engage in frequent and acrimonious litigation with her two daughters and sons-in-law over Ilis’s estate;<sup>39</sup> and second, by 1687 Jews would own a house of a Hanus Pecelt in the neighborhood on Meat Shop St.<sup>40</sup>)

Jews were not supposed to live in burgher houses. The Magistracy had attempted to keep them out, and Jewish authorities themselves – apparently in an attempt to ward off this sort of “domestic violence” – sought to ban the practice. But burghers offered rooms for rent and houses to hold in *arenda*, and Jews took them. In 1679, the *Vaad* of

<sup>37</sup> LVIA SA 5333, f. 482r.

<sup>38</sup> LVIA SA 5105, f. 59r.

<sup>39</sup> LVIA SA 5337, ff. 367r–v; LVIA SA 5110, ff. 384r–385r; LVIA SA 5112, ff. 471r–472r; LVIA SA 5113, ff. 659r–v.

<sup>40</sup> *AVAK* 29, pp. 174–77.

the Lithuanian Chief Communities entered a specific regulation in this matter (here, with reference to a case in Grodno):

Dwelling in non-Jewish houses is absolutely forbidden in any regard ... with the exception of the houses of the nobles, where dwelling was permitted from the very beginning. Every other non-Jewish house – no matter whose it might be – is declared a forbidden morsel for everyone who bears the name of Israel, and it is forbidden to take up residence in it, whether for temporary or for constant dwelling.<sup>41</sup>

Who was doing the forbidding and the permitting here? The permission – “from the very beginning” – to live in the houses of the nobles clearly came as much from the Christian side as from that of the Jewish community. Conversely, King Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki’s 1669 decree that Jews would have to be given additional time to buy up the residences in Wilno’s Jewish “quarter,” and would thus have to be allowed to continue to live “in other streets and houses” for another twenty years, tacitly acknowledged that Jews might be living in Christian houses of various jurisdictions. Thus, as far as burgher houses were concerned, it would seem that the *Vaad*’s ban came largely as a Jewish initiative and was an expression of Jewish concerns about the situation.

Surveys of Wilno houses conducted in 1636 and 1690 indicate that Jews were indeed living in Gentile houses – and perhaps more so at the end of the century than at the beginning. The survey of 1636 told, for instance, of the house of one Antoni Krot, apothecary, under the episcopal jurisdiction on St. Nicholas St. at 28.06 (i. e., in the block below German St. foreseen for Jewish residence and on which street Jews were in fact living at that time). This was a large structure containing some sixteen chambers “in which Jews live as renters, as well as various Christian tenants.”<sup>42</sup>

In spite of a 1633 privilege to Jews freeing them from the obligation to provide lodging to official entourages (“even during Our Royal presence”),<sup>43</sup> many Jewish houses did receive “guests” when the king visited Wilno in 1636 and in 1639. The map of guests provides ancillary information for a socio-confessional topography of the city. Modest individuals were assigned modest quarters. “Tomasz, His Royal Majesty’s tailor,” for instance, stayed in the single-chamber wooden house at the top of Great Castle St., just under the Castle (1.01); it was then owned or inhabited by a certain Matys Walecki.<sup>44</sup> “Jerzyna [i. e., “George’s wife”],

<sup>41</sup> Dubnov 1912, pp. 118–19.

<sup>42</sup> BUJ, B Slav. Fol. 17, f. 59r.

<sup>43</sup> Beršadskij 1887 (VII:4), p. 68; *AVAK* 29, p. 4.

<sup>44</sup> BUJ, B Slav. Fol. 17, f. 2r.

His Royal Majesty's washer woman" lived in the alleyway leading to the Royal Mill (51.03) in the house of "Piotr the smithy."<sup>45</sup> We discover that in 1639 two doors down, in the house of Lutheran chamois tanner Paweł Rejchowicz at 50.01, "His Royal Majesty's lackeys had previously lodged, and even now there were lodging there Michał, Wilhelm, and Antoni."<sup>46</sup> By contrast – an indication of relative priorities? – "His Royal Majesty's marzipan maker (*pasztetnik*), Sir Gronostajski," had lodgings in the rear of a house of some splendor (two stories, five chambers) right on the Market Square (3.05). His neighbors there were of the "better" sort of guests: at 3.04 we find the "Court Under-Treasurer of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania" (in 1636 that was Piotr Pac), and at 3.06 "Lady Rajecki, wife of the judge of Troki."<sup>47</sup>

Thus the guests formed "neighborhoods" of their own, in parallel to the more permanent neighborhoods in which they resided. And the fact that they were frequently present in the city, often for several months at a time, meant that they played some role in defining those "permanent" neighborhoods. Władysław IV, for instance, made five trips to his second capital city – in 1634, 1636, 1639, 1643, and 1648.<sup>48</sup> (A comparison of the surveys of 1636 and 1639 indicates a considerable continuity in the location of guests.)

These patterns add to our picture of Jews and Christians in one house (and of Lutherans and Jews in one neighborhood). In 1636, thirty-three houses were required to offer shelter to His Royal Majesty's "*muzyka*," i. e., musicians of various sorts. The map of "musical houses" overlapped to a remarkable extent with the larger neighborhood of Jews and Lutheran artisans and petty merchants on Glass St., Jewish St., Meat Shop St., but also on St. Nicholas St. below German St., which abutted on several Lutheran properties, including that of the church itself (i. e., addresses in the range 18.01–25.04 and 28.01–28.10).<sup>49</sup>

<sup>45</sup> BUJ, B Slav. Fol. 17, f. 76r.

<sup>46</sup> BUJ, B Slav. Fol. 15, f. 42v.

<sup>47</sup> BUJ, B Slav. Fol. 17, ff. 21v–22v. This was Princess Regina Drucka Sokolińska, wife of Land Judge of Troki Olbrycht Dunin Rajecki, widowed since 1633.

<sup>48</sup> Dorobisz 1996, p. 67.

<sup>49</sup> BUJ, B Slav. Fol. 17, ff. 45v–54v and 58v–59v, including the Glass St. residence (18.05) assigned to Baltazarek (i. e., "little Baltazar"), His Royal Majesty's "descantist" (BUJ, B Slav. Fol. 17, f. 46r). "Little Baltazar" was by no means anonymous. The Italian castrato Baldassarre Ferri would continue his career in Vienna after the death of his Polish patron Władysław IV. See Szwejkowska 1997, pp. 117–119. In his 1643 versified guide to Warsaw, Adam Jarzębski wrote: "It is difficult to overpraise BALTASARO./Even in Rome such a soprano is *raro*" (Jarzębski 1974, p. 91). – One house on St. John's St. (32.01) was also assigned to the Royal Music. Although it came considerably later in the survey, it was on the corner of Glass St. and St. John's St., right next to



The “musical guests” had clearly been “ghettoized.” I wonder what the neighborhood sounded like when the king was in town. But although the city’s Jews were concentrated in those streets, Jewish houses were not particularly targeted here within the area. Musicians lodged in houses throughout the neighborhood, both Christian and Jewish. In fact, one reason for the choice of locating “musical guests” here may well have been the presence of the widow of Balcer Danquart at Meat Shop St. 19.04. Danquart (Tanguatt, Danguatt, Dankwart) had served “all his life” as one of the king’s chief local musicians, and his son Jan was continuing in the music business, serving the king and living in his parents’ house when he was in town.<sup>50</sup> (Balcer’s grandson Jerzy would sell the house to Jews in 1689.<sup>51</sup>) Thus musicians were placed in the not very compact streets of the official Jewish settlement, plus Glass St. with its Lutherans and Jews. Nine of the houses in question had Jewish owners or renters. The other twenty-four were Christian houses, although Jews may have been among the renters. In any event, the location of guests clearly put Christians in Jewish houses, and provided one more link between Jews and one network of Lutherans.<sup>52</sup>

If Christians were rarely identified by confession in official documents, Jews were almost always noted as such. The survey of Wilno conducted in 1690 for the purpose of assessing hearth taxes carefully noted the presence of Jewish “neighbors” (*sąsiedzi*, a technical term here meaning renters of chambers *in one house*). This document tells us two things: that many Jews still lived well outside the allotted streets, and that Jews lived in Christian houses. The latter may have been the case in most of the houses listed as containing Jewish “neighbors.” There were thirty-one such dwellings.<sup>53</sup> (This was in addition to the twenty-two houses “subject to the Wilno synagogue” that were surveyed separately, together with their unidentified, but presumably Jewish “neighbors.”<sup>54</sup>) But in several cases in the survey of houses subject to the Magistracy the situation was made absolutely clear: “the great house

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Glass St. 21.05, and thus a contiguous part of the “Musicians’ Quarter,” even if a somewhat “better” address. It was the house of Lutheran municipal clockmaker Jakub Gierke. On Gierke, including some photographs of his extant work, see Brensztejn 1923, Klimka 2001, *PSE* 7, p. 443.

<sup>50</sup> BUJ, B Slav. Fol. 17, ff. 47r–v. He would make a career producing stringed instruments for the king’s and the gentry’s musicians. See Brückner 1930, p. 627.

<sup>51</sup> See the deed of sale at LVIA SA 5340, ff. 193r–194v.

<sup>52</sup> I have not discovered any Jews among this group of royal musicians, but perhaps there were some.

<sup>53</sup> Rachuba 1989, pp. 37–42.

<sup>54</sup> Rachuba 1989, pp. 60–62.

of His Grace, Lord Gierkiewicz, *wójt* of Wilno, in which His Grace himself lives (1 hearth); in addition four Christian neighbors and seven Jewish neighbors." (As we will see, it was likely German St. 26.03 or 26.05.) Or the "great townhouse of Sir Buchner, he himself lives there (1 hearth), in addition to which one Christian neighbor and six Jewish neighbors."<sup>55</sup> And so on.

Buchner and Gierkiewicz might serve as counter-examples to our wife-beating iron founder Pecelt and to our Jew- and Tatar-baiting *wójt* Bartłomiej Cynaki. Buchner, like Pecelt, belonged to the middling group of Lutheran merchants. His range of contacts with other Vilnans, however, may have been broader. He and his entire family regularly served as godparents for Catholic and Calvinist babies from the 1660s to the 1680s.<sup>56</sup> I have not found any evidence of conflicts with his Jewish "neighbors," but such arguments from silence are always tricky. I wonder whether Buchner and his Jewish neighbors conversed in Polish or in a very local German-Yiddish *lingua franca*.

Gierkiewicz had a career similar to that of Italian immigrant Cynaki. He was councilor in 1665, 1666, 1669, 1672, and 1675, burgomaster in 1678 and 1684, rising to succeed Cynaki as *wójt* in the years 1686 to 1691.<sup>57</sup> We have a contract from 1670 in which he and his Jewish neighbors living in the Kiszka house on German St. (at 26.04, so Gierkiewicz was living at 26.03 or 26.05) signed a mutual agreement concerning the use of their shared wall ("that there be no impediment to the neighbors living on either side").<sup>58</sup> Again this is an argument from silence, but I note that I was unable to find any record of conflicts between Gierkiewicz and his Jewish "neighbors" (i. e., renters in his house) or his Jewish neighbors in the Kiszka house next door.

### Chambers

On 20 May 1638, a Wilno Jew named Mendel Samuelowicz called upon Jan Gronostajski, "general" of His Royal Majesty in the Palatinate of Wilno, on official business. A "general" was a chief beadle (*woźny generalny*) for the gentry's Castle Court, which was also the forum that

<sup>55</sup> Rachuba 1989, pp. 37, 42. The Buchner family owned several houses in the Glass St. area.

<sup>56</sup> As recorded in Calvinist and Catholic baptismal records: LVIA 606.1.102, LVIA 604.19.95, LVIA 604.19.96, LVIA 604.19.97.

<sup>57</sup> LVIA SA 5324, ff. 18v, 19r, 19v, 20r, 21r; Ragauskas 2002, pp. 420, 431.

<sup>58</sup> LVIA SA 5105, ff. 318r-319r and LVIA SA 5106, ff. 332r-333r/653-55.

heard cases brought by Jews. “Generals” were frequently called upon to take testimony, deliver summonses, collect evidence, etc. As a subject of the Castle Court, Samuelowicz had turned to the correct jurisdiction, and the beginning of the general’s official report (*kwit*) was the standard boilerplate. At the request of Samuelowicz, and accompanied – as foreseen by the Lithuanian statute<sup>59</sup> – by two noblemen (named here, as always in this genre), Gronostajski stated he had “gone with this Jew Mendel and with the gentry entourage to the house called ‘Antoni’s’ in Wilno, situated behind St. Nicholas’s, to the dwelling of this Mendel, where, once arrived, I found lying on a bed the sick servant girl of that Mendel. She was called Nastazja Jakubówna [i. e., daughter of Jakub] from Różanka, and by her sat her mother, she was called Orszula Jakubowa [i. e., wife of Jakub], and quite a few other women sat there.”<sup>60</sup>

Mendel had summoned the “general” in order to have the girl’s testimony officially registered with the court. “The Lord God has visited this sickness upon me,” she reportedly said. “There is no [other] cause, no one owes me anything.” And her mother, sitting by her, corroborated her story: “There is no need for a cause, when the Lord God decides to visit someone. My daughter never suffered any harm, nor does she now, and nothing harms her in any way. If only the Lord God would wish to have mercy and to grant her health.”

The general’s report did (and yet did not completely) make it clear what was at stake here: “Which words that Jew Mendel had attested by me, the general, and by the noble entourage, for a future time, if she – God forbid! – should die, so that he not have any trouble.” The crux of the matter was, of course, that the “landlord” was a Jew, and that his sick servant was a Christian, and a young girl at that. This was certainly a delicate situation, and Mendel was attempting to avoid trouble – perhaps allegations of poisoning or other mistreatment – should the girl die. Among the things that made the situation so sensitive was the fact that masters and servants shared “rooms,” often just one chamber (Polish: *izba*) with its various recesses and alcoves for sleeping areas (*komora*, *sień*, *alkierz*).

In fact, the *Sejm* frequently forbade Christians to work as servants for Jews.<sup>61</sup> Jewish regulations – apparently responding to the same sorts

<sup>59</sup> The Third Lithuanian Statute, Section IV, art. 9 (*Statut* 1989, p. 147).

<sup>60</sup> *AVAK* 28, pp. 171–72. This was probably the house of Antoni Krot, apothecary, at 28.06 St. Nicholas St., which was mentioned above. BUJ, B Slav. Fol. 17, f. 59r.

<sup>61</sup> See Baron 1976, pp. 132, 379. The Third Lithuanian Statute of 1588 (*Statut* 1989, p. 316) forbade Christian women to serve as wet nurses in Jewish and Tatar households. But Andrzej Zakrzewski (2000, p. 199) has noted that, at least in the eighteenth cen-

of fears that had led Mendel to seek out the general – followed suit, but only to a point. The *Vaad* of the Chief Lithuanian Communities meeting in 1628 in Pruzany addressed the issue in the following manner:

In view of the fact that our enemies are up in arms against us and, like a prickly thorn, are a hindrance for us through their intrigues and scoffing on account of non-Jewish servant women serving in Jewish houses, and in view of the fact that it is absolutely impossible to do away with this [practice] for now without damage to the interests of all, we perceive the necessity to limit – to the extent possible – the employment of such services. It has become clear to us that it is necessary to assert firmly ... this inviolable law: not to keep in one dwelling, called a *stube* [i. e., “chamber,” the Polish *izba*], more than one non-Jewish servant girl, even if in one *stube* there will live two, three, or four “landlords” – all of them together may not keep more than one non-Jewish servant girl.<sup>62</sup>

Thus, as far as this particular Jewish ordinance was concerned, Mendel *may* have been in order (we don’t know how many Christian servants he had); but he was still in a potentially delicate situation with Christian authorities, and thus also with Jewish authorities, since the purpose of such rulings was to avoid “intrigues and scoffing.”<sup>63</sup>

Conversely, Jewish authorities placed controls on the temporary presence of unaccompanied Jewish women in Christian rooms. The Lithuanian *Vaad* ruled in 1628 that any Jewish woman selling wares door-to-door “may go there [into the house of a Christian] only in the company of her husband and a boy, or a married man and a boy. ... If she should wish to send one of them for some object, she should send the boy, such that her husband or the married man remain with her.”<sup>64</sup> Given the apparent relative paucity of market stalls for Jewish use at this time, we might imagine that there was much of this kind of commerce, conducted by Jewish men and women.

In fact, one frequent bone of contention between Jewish and Christian artisans was over the right of Jews to sell their wares by “carrying them around the streets.” In 1669, King Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki reconfirmed the 1633 privilege allowing the Jews of Wilno to engage in trades

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tury, the bans of all secular and ecclesiastical jurisdictions on such contact were frequently ignored, and that the only practical penalty was an additional tax paid by the offending Christian servant.

<sup>62</sup> Dubnov 1909, p. 93.

<sup>63</sup> By contrast, the Cracow *kahal* made a regulation absolutely forbidding Jews “to hire a non-Jewish maid as a servant to sleep in a Jew’s house by night, on pain of five schillings for maintenance of the synagogue, and any resulting confusion [Heb. *bilbulim*, i. e., suspicion and rumor mongering] shall be the employer’s own responsibility.” Cited according to Cygielman 1997, p. 90.

<sup>64</sup> Dubnov 1909, p. 89.

not then covered by Christian guild structures (he reiterated: furriers, haberdashers, and glaziers) and to sell their wares door to door.<sup>65</sup> In the same year, the Jews complained that a Jewish glazier by the name of Samuel Dawidowicz was being hindered in just that protected enterprise.<sup>66</sup> The mutual agreement to which Christian and Jewish tinsmiths came in 1673, allowing four Jewish artisans (“and no more”) a kind of adjunct guild membership, specifically granted them the right to sell door to door.<sup>67</sup>

The conflict between Christian and Jewish butchers also raised the question of cohabitation of rooms. In a lengthy court battle between Jewish and Christian butchers, among other charges, the Christian side alleged that “they [the Jewish butchers] entice to themselves Christian apprentices (*czeladź*), who, having caused not inconsiderable harm to their masters, and having incurred debt with them, depart from them; and they [the Jewish butchers] receive them and *maintain them* [my emphasis].”<sup>68</sup> The allegation would imply that Christian apprentices were living with Jewish master butchers. The 1663 statute of Wilno’s Christian glaziers declared in article 47 that “those apprentices, who up to now have spent their years in study with Jews ... just as those who had been with a ‘bungler,’ ” would have to complete the required service with a Christian master before they would be admitted to the guild. Here too the expressed fear is not of Jewish-Christian co-habitation of dwellings, but of Jewish (or “bungler”) competition with the guilds. But the point remains: Christians served apprenticeships with Jewish masters, *and in Jewish quarters*.<sup>69</sup>

Another court case took such living arrangements for granted; they were the uncommented point of departure for the protestation. A Jew of Wilno named Samuel Jakubowicz came before the Castle Court in 1644 to lodge a complaint against his servant woman, Halszka (Elizabeth) Korzewiczówna. Around five in the evening of Friday 28 October he and his wife had gone to the synagogue for religious services. His wife had given the key to the dwelling to her seven-year-old granddaughter. Having tricked the girl into giving her the key, Korzewiczówna had entered the dwelling, opened the door to the chamber, and found the keys to the box lying on the table, from which she proceeded to steal 400 talars.<sup>70</sup> These were clearly rich Jews, with considerable “private” space

<sup>65</sup> AVAK 29, p. 28.

<sup>66</sup> AVAK 29, p. 29.

<sup>67</sup> AVAK 29, pp. 37–38.

<sup>68</sup> AVAK 28, p. 408.

<sup>69</sup> See Łowmiański 1939, p. 275.

<sup>70</sup> LVIA SA 4668, f. 254r.

(recall the assumption of the *Vaad* that as many as four households might occupy one chamber). But however we imagine the living arrangements, the presence of a Christian servant girl in them was taken as a given: it required no comment or defense.

Did Jews and Christians go to the baths together? The Jews of Wilno possessed royal privileges for the establishment of a stone synagogue, a cemetery, and a bath, to be heated as the Jews themselves saw fit. One of the privileges stipulated that the bath was to be “only for Jews, and in no way for Christians.”<sup>71</sup> Perhaps this was an unnecessary restriction, but if so, one wonders why it was made. By contrast, the Cracow *kahal* (actually the Jewish settlement was then in suburban Kazimierz) recognized that Jews might sometimes have reason and need to go to Gentile bathhouses, and it sought to control this usage. One regulation stipulated:

It is forbidden for any woman or young maid to bathe in the Gentiles' bathhouse whenever His Majesty the King or his court are visiting. ... Should a woman require a Gentile bathhouse for remedial purposes, she must request permission from the *parnas* [leader] of the month. ... Any man desiring to go to a Gentile bathhouse must first give the Jewish bathhouse owner one schilling. ... Unmarried men and boys may not go to a Gentile bathhouse at all, unless he present a written document from [the Head of the Yeshiva] permitting him to do so on account of illness, crippling injury, or a skin ailment.<sup>72</sup>

This Cracow regulation forbade – during the presence of king and court – Jews to use the Gentile bathhouses of both Christian Cracow and Jewish-Christian Kazimierz (an autonomous municipality just outside Cracow's walls). This would suggest that the Jews of Kazimierz did indeed use Gentile bathhouses when the king was not present, and as far afield as Cracow. Perhaps the practice was similar in the Commonwealth's second capital? For the sake of information: the only public baths I have encountered in the sources were on the Wilenka, near the Holy Savior Gate.<sup>73</sup>

And finally, what about that most common image of Jews and Christians in one room – the Jewish tavern and its Christian customers? This was, of course, an image from rural Poland-Lithuania, and it usually presupposed the lands and interests of the *szlachta*, Jewish middlemen, and Christian peasant drinkers. What was it like in this royal city? A reading of the court records suggests that many Vilnans of a range of

<sup>71</sup> Beršadskij 1887 (VII:3), p. 98.

<sup>72</sup> Cygielman 1997, p. 75–76.

<sup>73</sup> LVIA SA 5109, pp. 188–89; LMAB F43–221, ff. 61v–62v. The annual financial records of Wilno listed tax payments from the “Jewish bath” (*łaźnia żydowska*), for example in 1680 for 10 zł (LVIA 458.1.37, f. 2r).

professions made extra money by selling alcohol in “tavern chambers” (*izby szynkowne*) on the ground floors of their intramural houses. The Magistracy of Wilno did its best to limit the number of Jewish taverns within the walls and their availability to Christian burghers, but the course of the court battles suggests only limited success. Thus in the capital of the Grand Duchy, too, we may have reason to imagine Christians drinking in taverns that were not only Jewish-run but also Jewish-owned, and perhaps next to Jewish fellow customers.

A commission brought to Wilno to investigate an anti-Jewish tumult that had occurred on 7 March 1635 made an attempt to sort out the Jews’ and the burghers’ conflicting royal privileges. Jews were to pay an annual flat tax to the Magistracy in exchange for certain rights and liberties. In particular, Jews were permitted *szynk* – i. e., the operating of a tavern – in their twenty intramural houses, but Christians, although allowed to buy, were forbidden to consume alcohol on the spot.<sup>74</sup>

But nine years later (1644) the burghers again registered a series of complaints concerning alleged Jewish harm to the interests of the city of Wilno. On the topic of alcohol the protestation charged that Jews sold drink for consumption on the premises in more than thirty houses, sometimes in multiple taverns (*szynki, izby szynkowne*) per house. In a rhetorical move that was at least partly a blaming of the victim, the Magistracy alleged that the anti-Jewish tumults that had been occurring in the city since 1635 (and which it was the Magistracy’s responsibility to prevent) were the direct result of Christian commerce in Jewish taverns. The unrest in the streets, attacks on Jewish property and persons – “all of this [is] because not only a servant, but even an artisan, drinking in a Jewish tavern, takes on a greater boldness for profligacy than when he drinks in a Christian tavern.”<sup>75</sup> If only the Jews would close the doors of their taverns to Christians, put gates on the entries to the Jewish neighborhood (and, of course, cease co-occupation of rooms with Christians), they would be able to live in Wilno without fear.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Beršadskij 1887 (VII:5), p. 27.

<sup>75</sup> Although, I would note, many of the protestations in the Magistracy books arose out of barroom brawls that occurred among Christians, and in Christian taverns.

<sup>76</sup> Beršadskij 1887 (VIII:6), pp. 62–63. The *Vaad* of the Four (Crown) Lands, meeting at the Lublin fair in 1607, resolved: “No person should make it his custom to drink in the Gentile taverns, and any person who does so customarily shall be numbered among the worthless and reckless. He shall not be honored with the title of *rabbi* or *Chaver*, nor shall he receive any appointment in the community.” Cited according to Cygielman 1997, p. 276. By contrast, the Lithuanian *Vaad* excluded only “married Jewish men” from the role of “habitues of non-Jewish drinking houses.” See Dubnov 1909, p. 89.

### *Families*

On 1 July 1670 a Christian citizen of the royal city of Nowogródek (Naŭharadok) named Heliasz Jewczyc registered a complaint with the local Castle Court that was subsequently re-enacted with the Wilno Magistracy.<sup>77</sup> His protestation was against three men who turn out to be his brothers-in-law: “infidel Jews, and murderers truly never satiated with Christian blood and themselves the chief principles of the deed named below, who live in the Wilno city of His Royal Majesty – Józef, Hirsza [*sic*], and Nochym Izraelewicz by name – the brothers of the deceased wife.” The charge was murder: that “the wife of the said Heliasz Jewczyc, Katarzyna Izraelewiczówna Heliaszowa Jewczycowa [“daughter of Izraelewicz, wife of Heliasz Jewczyc”] by name, was done away with through shameful and unheard-of murder by those traitor Jews.”

The story unfolded this way. Katarzyna – i. e., Catherine, this was no doubt her baptismal name – was born of Wilno Jews Samuel Izraelewicz and wife.

Having become aware that she was in manifest error and unbelief, having been baptised and having received the holy Catholic faith, having entered into the estate of matrimony with the plaintiff, Heliasz Jewczyc, living with him for ten-some years in the true Christian faith, having given birth to several children, they remained in holy matrimonial concord until those traitors, infidel Jews, both the parents of that Jewczycowa as well as the accused brothers and various friends, found out various methods how they, through various Jews, in any place, having stolen her away silently, secretly, treacherously, on account of the fact that she had abandoned their foul Jewish faith and had become a Christian woman, might wreak vengeance upon her. Thus, you see, all these Jewish traitors who live in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had their particular councils and committees, and they sought diligently throughout all those years to find a way secretly to catch that Jewczycowa by any means possible for torture and murder.

They found the appropriate moment when, on 19 June 1670, Katarzyna Jewczycowa set off for Kleck in the Nowogródek palatinate to buy some articles of necessity at the fair that begins after the tenth Friday following Easter according to the old calendar.<sup>78</sup> Jewczycowa took with her

<sup>77</sup> LVIA SA 5105, ff. 244r–245r.

<sup>78</sup> There are some indications that the Belarusian countryside remained on the old calendar. This was certainly in part because of the preponderance of Ruthenians there. But other groups ruled their lives by this calendar too. The Wilno synod of the Lithuanian Calvinist Church stipulated in 1616 that the new calendar was to be the norm, except in the so-called Ruthenian (i. e., Belarusian) district, where, “for the sake of the edification of the Lord’s Church,” either calendar was to be permitted (*Akta* 1915, p. 38). On the question of the calendars in Wilno, see Frick 2003.



more than four hundred red zlotys and some of her "accessories," valued at 600 Polish groschen (i. e., 20 zlotys). She was travelling in a one-horse cart with a servant named Siemion in the direction of Nieśwież, when they encountered some bad weather, and the horse became tired. The servant went back to Nowogródek with the horse, and Jewczycowa herself hired a Nieśwież burgher named Iwan Mazurek to drive her to Kleck, where she arrived on 22 June, taking a room with a local burgher named Tomasz Horkun.

As Jewczycowa was buying goods in the market a Jew named Hoszko Ceperski noticed that she was carrying a number of red zlotys with her, whereupon "he invited her to his house in the city of Kleck, promising to exchange the red zlotys for schillings, promising to give generously for each red zloty without any detriment to her." Not expecting anything untoward, "especially since it was fair time, and many people of various conditions were present," she moved, together with her money and her belongings, from her room with Horkun to take up residence with Ceperski.

And that Jew, Hoszko Ceperski, gave her room and lodgings in his house, in the room where malt is dried. And she, feeling safe in her lodgings, not expecting any danger to herself, confidently remained in those quarters. But *interim* [in the meanwhile], the accused Jews, Józef, Hirsza, and Nochym Izraelewicz, the brothers of the wife of the plaintiff, took lodgings in the very same house of the Jew, Hoszko Ceperski. And having attacked at night in treacherous fashion the lodgings of the deceased wife of the plaintiff in that city of Kleck, having a conspiracy (*namowa*) with all the Jews of the city of Kleck, having taken that Jewczycowa from her bed at night by force, and having brought her secretly by day and by night to the city of Wilno, they tyrannically tortured unto death the poor Christian woman, wife of Jewczyc, in their secret dungeons that are in the cellars in the earth under their houses. And thereafter, working unto the disdain of the holy Christian religion, they made mockery of this act of murder in many places, saying that we punished that wife of Jewczyc, the apostate from our law, as ever we saw fit. Namely, they said, that, having cast her into a deep well, they cast great rocks upon her and stoned her, promising to do just the same to each one who should dare to have himself baptised from the Jewish faith to the Christian faith.

As usual with this forensic genre the reader is left with the impression that some of the real issues have been blurred, and perhaps on purpose. What was the role of money and property in the story, which are integral to the complaint and come up at every plot turn? Do we believe the assertion that the couple lived in "matrimonial concord," which would seem necessary to mention only if someone had asserted otherwise? Was

it a normal move for a Jewish convert to Christianity – especially a woman travelling alone – to take lodgings in a Jewish house?

But mostly, the story appears to modern readers as a gothic tale of fears and horrors. From the Christian side: the fear that “all the Jewish traitors” – not only of the city of Kleck, but of the entire Grand Duchy of Lithuania – could conspire to locate one woman and help place her murderous brothers in the room next to her; that the houses of the Jewish quarter of Wilno were riddled with private dungeons, cellars, wells, in which apostates could be stoned (or perhaps just random Christian victims incarcerated and converted or killed); that the Jews were “mocking” the Christians, threatening to do the same to all converts.<sup>79</sup> And although the narrator did not try to see anything from the Jewish side, one Jewish fear stands out clearly: the fear of losing members of the community to conversion. In other words, this was a story about the fear of “treason” from both sides of a great divide.

A central issue in the story was that of marrying across religious boundaries, which, in the Christian-Jewish case, must have been preceded by conversion. In fact, all religious authorities of the time were opposed on principle to mixed matrimonial unions, unless one of the spouses converted before the marriage, or unless the marriage itself was viewed as a tool leading to conversion. For example, the synod of the Lithuanian Calvinists held in Wilno in 1638 found it necessary to include a canon against “*Ministers [my emphasis] Who Marry Their Daughters to People of Another Rite.*”<sup>80</sup> Polish Jesuit Jakub Wujek (rector of the Wilno Academy 1578–1579), wrote that “a Christian [i. e., Roman Catholic] person must not be joined in matrimony with people of another faith” (and he linked “Jews, pagans, heretics” in the category of “other religion”).<sup>81</sup> But, conversely, papal nuncio to Poland Germanico Malaspina wrote in a 1598 report on the situation in Wilno that there were indeed many mixed marriages, and that the local clergy showed considerable toleration for the practice – despite mouthing the required prohibitions. He went on to suggest that this was perhaps an appropriate response to the local conditions, since the result of many of these unions was the conversion of the dissident to Catholicism.<sup>82</sup>

In fact, my research on Wilno has brought to light quite a few mixed burgher marriages of a variety of constellations: Lutheran-Calvinist,

<sup>79</sup> Recall that Jewish organs of self-governance specifically warned Jews not to mock Christians. See Dubnov 1909, p. 38.

<sup>80</sup> LMAB F40–1136, pp. 2–3.

<sup>81</sup> Wujek 1579–1580 (1), pp. 118–19.

<sup>82</sup> Rykaczewski 1864, pp. 75 ff.

Lutheran-Orthodox, Uniate-Calvinist, Uniate-Orthodox, to say nothing of the frequent marriages of members of all of these confessions with the majority Catholics. And the fact that I still encounter these mixed homes late in the seventeenth century suggests that nuncio Malaspina may have misinterpreted the situation in Wilno, where – in spite of the growing pressures to conform to a Polish (or at least Polonized) Catholic norm – “deviations” retained a certain practical acceptability. Such mixed marriages occasionally gave rise the paradox of a couple who shared a marriage bed but looked forward to resting eternally across the street from each other in the hallowed ground of the confessional competitors.<sup>83</sup>

This limited fluidity among Christian confessions, contrasted sharply with the Christian-Jewish situation. I am unaware of any unions across that divide without the prior conversion of one of the parties.<sup>84</sup> In spite of some anti-Semitic literature that tried to raise the spectre of Christian conversions to Judaism (and a few documented cases of that move), the fact remains that for all practical purposes conversion across this divide was in the direction of Christianity.<sup>85</sup> What remains unclear is how often Jews actually did convert.

The Third Lithuanian Statute of 1588 (XII, Art. 7) decreed that “should a Jew or a Jewess join the Christian faith, such a person and his or her offspring shall be recognized as nobles.”<sup>86</sup> Although this provision remained law until 1764, it seems to have been implemented extremely rarely. When Jews did convert, it was only through a radical break with the Jewish community. Jakub Goldberg has provided a fas-

<sup>83</sup> Cf. the May 1666 testament of Wilno merchant Afanas Otroszkiwicz, who wished to be buried with the Greek Catholics at the Uniate Holy Trinity (LVIA SA 5335, ff. 81v–82v), which was followed half a year later by the November 1666 testament of wife Katarzyna, who wished to lie across the street with the arch rivals at the Greek Orthodox Holy Spirit church (LVIA SA 5335, ff. 215v–217v). Repeated – but quite unusual – turns of phrase in the two testaments suggest the spouses received help from the same legal advisers in the formulation of their last wills.

<sup>84</sup> Bartłomiej Groicki’s 1559 treatment of Magdeburg Law in Polish stated: “There can be no marriage between a Jew and a Christian. And if they should be joined in matrimony, they are not to be considered other than those who live in adultery” (Groicki 1953, p. 62).

<sup>85</sup> Wife of Cracow town councilor Melchior Weigel, Katarzyna Weiglowa, was burned at the stake on the Little Market in Cracow in 1539 for her alleged conversion to Judaism. She was one of a very small number put to death in early modern Poland-Lithuania for religious deviation. See Williams 2000, pp. 633–34, Lubieniecki 1995, pp. 437–38, and Tazbir 2000. At the peak of the Reformation in Poland-Lithuania, Daniel Bieliński made the journey from Catholicism (he had been a priest) to Anabaptism to radical Antitrinitarianism and on, so it was rumored, in 1574 to Judaism, before retracing his footsteps to Calvinism. We know the story only from the writings of his opponents. See Szczucki 1964, p. 258.

<sup>86</sup> *Statut* 1989, p. 315.

cinating historical-sociological survey of Jewish converts in old Poland-Lithuania, tracing the many trajectories that such people might take: into the peasantry, the bourgeoisie, the nobility, the clergy.<sup>87</sup> Although we can find examples of conversion to the several confessions, it is clear that Jewish converts too were drawn in greater numbers to the majority religion, which was Roman Catholicism.

Katarzyna Jewczyzowa converted to Catholicism. (The term "Catholic" might be used in other contexts more closely connected to confessional polemics by adherents of any of the Christian confessions in attempts to claim universality for their Churches, but here it referred to Roman Catholicism.) Her husband was a burgher, but, judging by the family's life style, he would seem to have been in the upper realm of that estate, where many aspired to affect the *szlachta* life style. He was in the employ of a gentryman and petty functionary of the Nowogródek palatinate named Teodor Kiersnowski (who entered a similar complaint with the castle court in Jewczyz's name<sup>88</sup>), and his wife may have been on some estate-related business when she went to market in Kleck. The two had been living in Kiersnowski's Nowogródek manor for some time.

Goldberg's survey tells of several cases in which relatives and community members sought to prevent conversion, or to re-convert the apostate, by force.<sup>89</sup> This particular case is remarkable for its apparent extremity and also for the palpable sense of fear on the part of the Christian complainant vis-à-vis the Jewish presence around him. But for modern readers, probably some of the more remarkable things about the story are those left entirely unaddressed. Above all: *How did it happen?* This was not an anonymous poor Jew who converted with the help of various Christian poor relief programs (about which in a moment). Jewczyz knew the names of all his nearest "in-laws," and his wife was identified by a patronymic taken from her father's Jewish family-name/patronymic.<sup>90</sup> Had there been a courtship? Or was the marriage arranged? How? Why? Where did they meet? Were they accepted in the

<sup>87</sup> Goldberg 1986.

<sup>88</sup> It too was re-enacted with the Wilno Magistracy: LVIA SA 5105, ff. 246r-247r. Kiersnowski (who died after 3 December 1686) was Under Judge of Starodub by the time of the alleged events in 1670.

<sup>89</sup> Goldberg 1986, pp. 195, 199, 213-14.

<sup>90</sup> Which was contrary to normal usage. Jews typically appeared in the Christian court records with name and patronymic only (following Polish and Ruthenian rules of morphology). The father was Samuel Izraelewicz (i. e., son of Izrael). His patronymic has become the family name here. Normally the generation of the children would be Samuelewicz/Samuelówna (son/daughter of Samuel).

world of the small town burgher elite and the minor rural gentry, which seems to have been Jewczyń's estate and environment?

Other conversion "stories" – if we can apply this term to the extraordinarily thin documentation – seem easier to fathom. A Catholic parish in one of the Wilno's poorer neighborhoods (around Skop St.) conducted a program for giving dowries to "poor maidens" in order to enable them to marry.<sup>91</sup> Some – but by no means the majority – of the beneficiaries were converts, and conversion seems, in these cases, to have been the price of inclusion in the program of poor relief. In fact, some of the "poor maiden" converts were not marrying at the moment. Some of them weren't even maidens.<sup>92</sup> Conversely the Jewish community had its own well organized programs of poor relief, including one targeted specifically for the dowries of "poor maidens," perhaps in some part also an attempt to counteract the temptations of this confessionalizing tool.<sup>93</sup> In fact, much of the poor relief in seventeenth-century Wilno was organized by the religious communities, and we can draw maps of Catholic, Calvinist, Lutheran, Uniate, Orthodox, and Jewish poor house-hospitals (and we might suspect that the Tatars also provided something like this to their community), and trace the attempts of all these congregations to use them to encourage discipline and allegiance.

### *In the Neighborhood*

Seventeenth-century Vilnans were constantly negotiating the rules of encounter between groups and individuals of different confessions, religions, cultures, and languages who were living in close quarters. Consider the problem of showing respect for the death of one's neighbor. Jesuit priest Jakub Wujek wrote in 1579 that Catholics were forbidden to have anything whatsoever to do with heretics in three crucial situations: baptism, marriage, and funerals.<sup>94</sup> Arch-Catholic chancellor of the Grand duchy of Lithuania Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł (d. 1656) wrote in his diaries that it was his practice to accompany the funeral processions of his non-Catholic acquaintances only as far as the church doors

<sup>91</sup> We have the record book (LMAB F43–527): *Income and Expenditures for the Endowing of Poor Maidens (Przychód i rozchód pieniędzy pro dotandis pauperibus virginibus)*. The entries are for 1620–1654.

<sup>92</sup> "23 October 1627, to Elżbieta, a baptised Jewish woman, an alm of 2 k" (LMAB F43–527, f. 19v); "6 June 1646, for a Jew [male], converted and baptised, 1 k" (LMAB F43–527, f. 34v).

<sup>93</sup> See Dubnov 1909, pp. 25–26, 55–56, 84–86.

<sup>94</sup> Wujek 1579–1580 (II), p. 55.

and then, as a good Catholic, to turn his back and return home. But he also noted, with a certain amount of disdain, that many of his fellow Catholics took full part in heterodox funeral services, probably, he thought, out of a desire to ingratiate themselves with the likes of his cousin Krzysztof Radziwiłł II (d. 1640), palatine of Wilno, grand hetman of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and patron of Lithuanian Calvinists.<sup>95</sup> In a statute of 3 December 1636 the Wilno capmakers' guild stipulated: "When any of the masters of the capmaker and dyer trade dies, the younger brethren will be required to dig the hole and to place the body in the hole and to bring it on the bier, and the others are to accompany the body honorably, all together, both the Greeks [Uniates or Orthodox] are to accompany a Roman [Catholic, Lutheran, or Calvinist] to the church, and, from the Roman side, to the Orthodox/Uniate church, and to bury (the body) as befits."<sup>96</sup> When, after a season of unrest in 1639–1640, the Wilno Calvinist church, school, and hospital were expelled from their old seat within the walls to a new location at the Calvinist cemetery *just* outside the walls, the city's Reformed ministers were also granted a privilege to visit the sick within the walls and to conduct funeral processions, so long as they not be accompanied by singing. Further, Calvinist ministers were not to dress in any way reminiscent of Catholic priests, in order to avoid confusing the Catholic flock.<sup>97</sup> In 1669 King Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki reaffirmed a privilege of 1642 granting the Jews of Wilno (here, again, as a corporation) the right to proceed with their dead across the Stone Bridge to their cemetery in the Snipiszki suburb without paying the usual tax to the Roman Catholic Holy Trinity hospital that controlled passage on the bridge.<sup>98</sup>

The examples could be multiplied on the question of funerary etiquette, and many other such surveys could be made of the regulations and practice of Vilnans in a variety of life situations. It is perhaps time to reformulate the discussion of tolerance and toleration in early modern Poland-Lithuania along these lines. It is unlikely that degrees of tolerance can ever be satisfactorily quantified, or that they were present in equal measure throughout the Commonwealth. It may be more fruitful to look at the peculiarities of individual cities and regions and to try to measure the degrees of separation between groups living there and the

<sup>95</sup> Radziwiłł 1980a, p. 524, Radziwiłł 1980b, p. 193, Kosman 1978, p. 120.

<sup>96</sup> Łowmiański 1939, p. 212, *AVAK* 10, p. 29.

<sup>97</sup> LMAB F40–1136, p. 116; LNMB F93–1713, f. 1r. On the events surrounding the removal of the Calvinists *extra muros*, see Zwolski 1936, Wisner 1993.

<sup>98</sup> *AVAK* 29, p. 25

qualities of engagement at the group and individual level, including, in the case of Wilno, not only the five Christian confessions, but also the Jews and the Tatars, in an assessment of the rules of the game and the play of the players.

Jewish-Christian separation was, of course, the rule: it was the goal of religious and secular authorities on both sides, and individuals – especially individual Jews, so dependent for survival upon the community – could ill afford not to play by the rules. And yet, it would seem, Jews also helped determine the rules of encounter, as a community, but frequently also individually. That the rules were under such constant debate and negotiated in such detail stemmed from what Jacob Katz (1993, p. 27) has termed “the paradox of Jewish communal existence: a separate society that existed only through the constant contact of its inhabitants with the outside.”

#### *Abbreviations*

- AVAK* *Akty, izdawcemyje Vilenskoju arxeografičeskoju komissieju*, 39 vols. (Vilnius, 1865–1915).
- BUJ, B* Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego (Library of the Jagiellonian University, Cracow), Berlin collection (manuscripts from the Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz)
- LMAB* Lietuvos Mokslų Akademijos Biblioteka (Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Vilnius)
- LNMB* Lietuvos Nacionalinė Martyno Mažvydo Biblioteka (The Martynas Mažvydas National Library, Vilnius)
- LVIA* Lietuvos Valstybės Istorijos Archyvas (Archive of the History of the Lithuanian State, Vilnius)
- ML* *Metryka litewska* (Lithuanian “Metrica”)
- PSB* *Polski słownik biograficzny* (Cracow-Wrocław-Cracow, 1935–).
- RGADA* Rossijskij Gosudarstvennyj Arxiv Drevnix Aktov (Russian State Archive of Old Acts, Moscow)
- VL* *Volumina legum: Przedruk Zbioru praw staraniem XX. pijarów w Warszawie od roku 1732 do roku [1793]*.

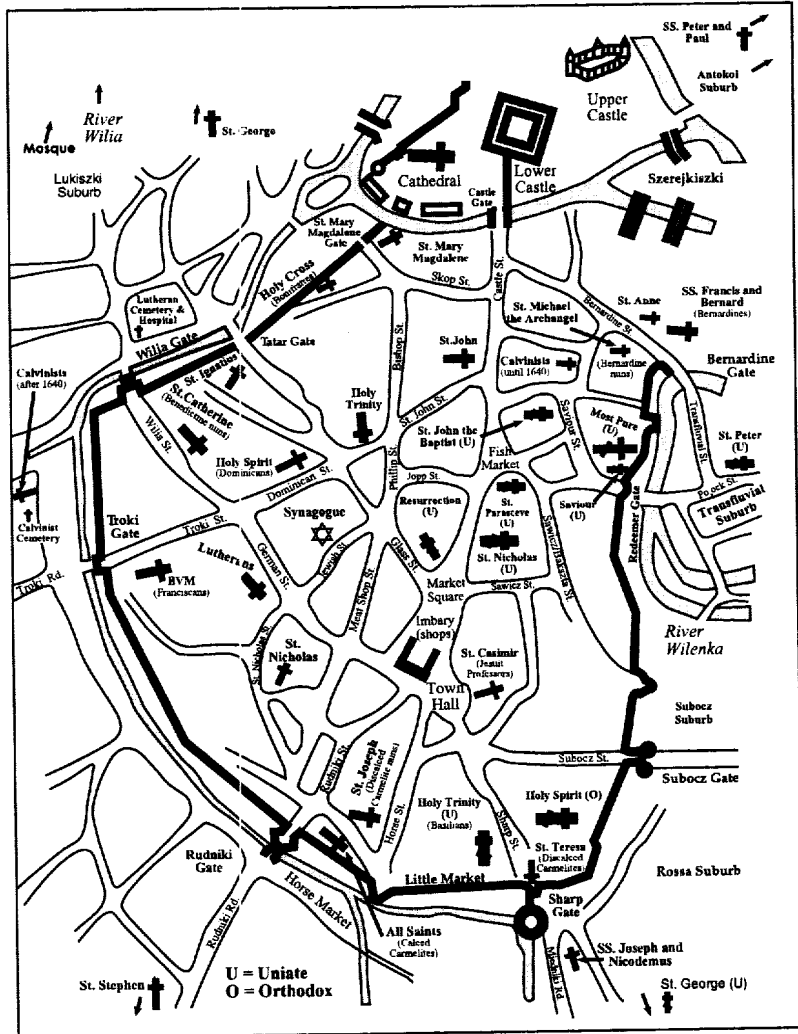
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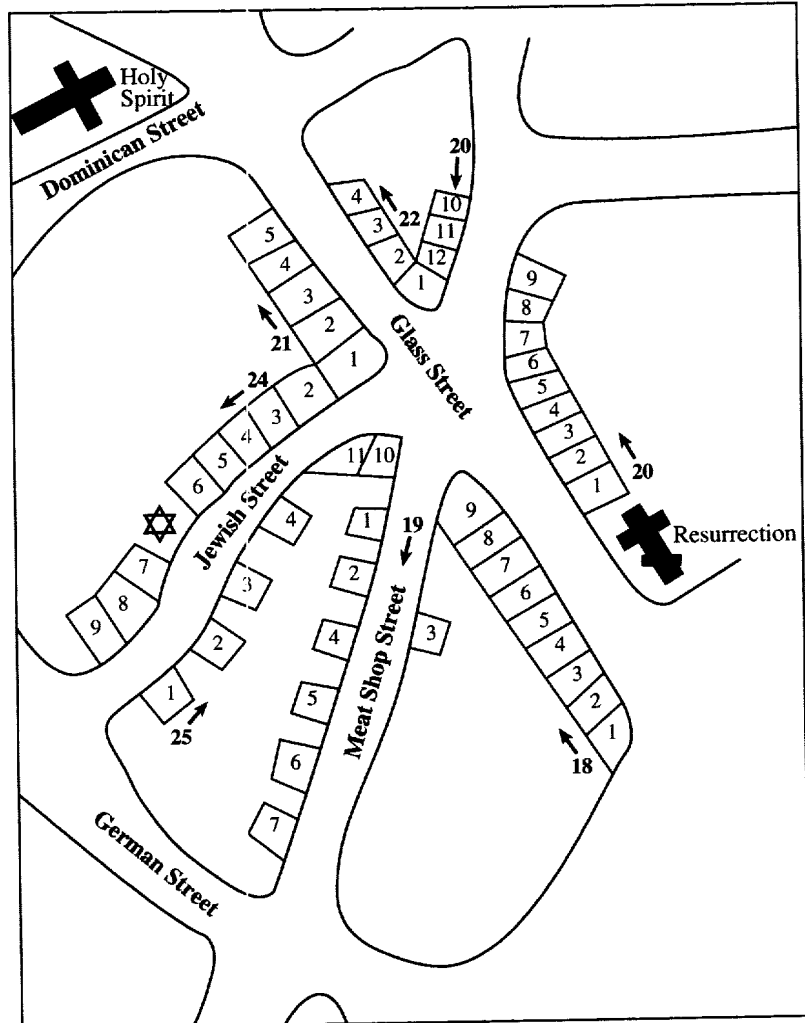
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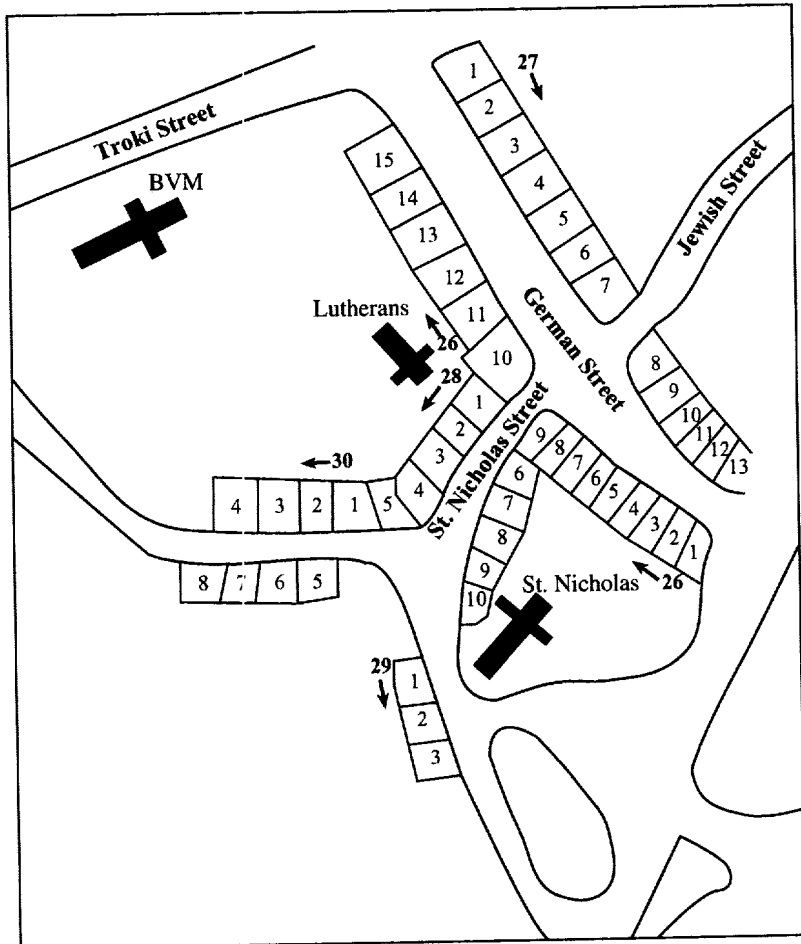
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Map 1: Wilno



Map 2: Glass and Jewish streets



Map 3: German Street