

Testament Invocations as a Manifestation of the Religiosity of Kraków Burghers in the 17th and 18th Centuries

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The aim of this paper is to provide an overview over the last wills as the historical sources. The first part of this work consists of the overview of published relevant works; it also summarised the well-known facts about purpose and creation of the last wills. The paper describes its form, possible use as well as their development. The emphasis is put on the concrete manuscripts originated from the region of Kraków from the 17th and 18th century. The last part of paper is dedicated to specific section of testament – the invocation.

Key words: Testament. Kraków. The 17th and the 18th centuries. Invocation.

In recent years, Polish historiography has observed huge interest in last will deeds, which serve as excellent sources for research on the life of communities in different epochs. Testaments may be useful in research on genealogy, biographies, relations within a family, Old-Polish customs, mentality (particularly the attitude towards death), legal issues (not only related to inheritance), economic arrangements, theatre of everyday life (birth, wedding, death, funeral and issues related to the education of children), broadly understood material culture, foundation and charity activities and religiosity of society of that time.²

Last will deeds were drafted by the representatives of nearly all groups of Old-Polish society: magnates, nobility, clergymen, burghers, peasants and followers of the Roman-Catholic and Evangelical religions.³

In the Christian Europe of the 12th century, there appeared the custom of drafting a new kind of testament. The last will deed ceased to only be a document meeting the norms of private law, whose only purpose was to transfer one's property. It became a primarily religious act, a kind of contract concluded between an ordinary mortal and God with the

1 Commission of National Education's Pedagogical University of Kraków

2 Complete and accurate list of possibilities for what can be used in traditional Polish wills is In: *Cui contingit nasci, restat mori. Wybór testamentów staropolskich z województwa sandomierskiego*. Eds. Lubczyński, M. – Pielas, J. – Suchojad, H. Warszawa 2005.

3 DOBROWOLSKI, K. *Włościańskie rozporządzenia ostatniej woli na Podhalu w XVII i XVIII wieku*. Kraków 1933; BORKOWSKA, M. *Dekret w niebieskim ferowany parlamencie. Wybór testamentów z XVII – XVIII wieku*. Kraków 1984; *Testamenty ewangelików reformowanych w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim*. Warszawa 1992; *Testamenty szlachty krakowskiej XVII – XVIII w.: wybór tekstów źródłowych z lat 1650 – 1799*. Eds. Falniowska-Gradowska, A. Kraków 1997; *Testamenty mieszczańskie wojnickich 1599 – 1809*. Wojnicz 1997; WIŚLICZ, T. *Zarobić na duszne zbawienie. Religijność chłopów małopolskich od potowy XVI do końca XVIII wieku*. Warszawa 2001; GŁÓWKA, J. *Testamenty mieszczańskie kieleckich z końca XVIII w. zwierciadłem epoki w świetle księgi Rady Miejskiej Kielc 1789 – 1792*. In *Wesela, chrzciny pogrzeby w XVI – XVIII wieku. Kultura życia i śmierci*. Ed. Suchojada, H. Warszawa 2001, 323-332; *Testamenty Jana, Tomasza i Jana „Sobiepana” Zamoyskich*. Ed. Kaczorowski, W. Opole 2007; *Testamenty szlacheckie z ksiąg grodzkich wielkopolskich z lat 1631 – 1655*. Poznań; Wrocław 2008; POPIÓŁEK, B. *Woli mojej ostatniej testament ten... Testamenty staropolskie jako źródło do historii mentalności XVII i XVIII wieku*. Kraków 2009; WRÓBEL, E. E. „Kościotowi memu jako najukochańszej oblubienicy mojej”. *Wybór testamentów duchownych małopolskich z XVII wieku*. Kraków 2010; JUSTYNIARSKA-CHOJAK, K. *Testamenty i inwentarze pośmiertne z ksiąg miejskich województwa sandomierskiego (XVI – XVIII)*. Kielce 2010; *Testamenty księży Lubartowiczów-Sanguszków. Wybór tekstów źródłowych z lat 1750 – 1876*. Eds. Marszałska, J. M. – Graczyk, W. Kraków 2011; *Dług śmiertelności wyptać potrzeba. Wybór testamentów mieszczańskich z XVII – XVIII wieku*. Ed. Danowska, E. Kraków 2011; BOBOWSKI, B. *Kultura materialna mieszczań Świdnicy i rycerstwa weichbildu świdnickiego w świetle testamentów (od I potowy XIV do końca I ćwierci XVII wieku)*. Zielona Góra 2011; *Testamenty szlacheckie z ksiąg grodzkich wielkopolskich z lat 1657 – 1680*. Wrocław 2011.

agency of the Church. As stated by Jacques Le Goff, on the one hand, the testament was one's „pass to heaven”⁴, as it ensured the possession of eternal property, but the bonuses were paid in the form of legacies, and, on the other hand, it was a „safe conduct on earth”, because it sanctioned and justified the usage of property gained during one's earthly life.⁵ By the end of the 18th century, Polish and European testaments were deeds of a largely religious nature.⁶

The guidebooks on „ars bene moriendi” of that time commanded one to prepare them in the state of „God's grace”, because if they were drafted in the state of sin, then such a regulation would not earn „eternal life”.⁷ Starting as early as the middle of the 18th century, one could notice changes in the nature of testaments drafted in Western Europe. The pious clauses and clauses about the division of inheritance started to be of equal importance.⁸ Property distribution became more important than charity and pious provisions. A testament turned into an act of caution drafted in the face of expected and not sudden death.⁹

The testament of the Old-Polish epoch was a one-sided regulation stating, in a form provided for by law, one's heirs in the event of the testator's death. As an instrument regulating inheritance issues, it performed a significant social function. The testator could manage only those items that belonged to them. According to Przemysław Dąbkowski, such formulation gave rise to the problem of „when the item had to belong to the testator: at the time of drafting the will, at the time of death or at the time of opening the will”.¹⁰ This was regulated only by one of the constitutions of the 16th of March 1775, adopted at the Extraordinary Warsaw Sejm, which stated that the testator could manage items they did not possess at the time of drafting the testament if they purchased and possessed them at the time of death.¹¹

The Jesuit Jan Morawski claimed that at the end of the 17th century, pious people could draft two kinds of testaments. The first one decided about earthly property, while the other referred to the „possessions of one's soul”.¹² But in practice, the two kinds of testaments were combined.¹³

A person drafting their last will was aware of the fact that it would be heard and, most importantly, would contain what they said, and this did not often happen in their mediocre life. The last will deed served as evidence that, saying goodbye to their earthly life, a person left an orderly and organised world according to their own choice. They could then die in peace, certain of the value of their achievements.¹⁴

Last will deeds were drafted in the form of a notary instrument: they could be issued privately or by the authorities of a given city, e.g. a council or a jury or combined city

4 LE GOFF, J. *Kultura średniowiecznej Europy*. Warszawa 1970, 190.

5 ARIÈS, P. *Człowiek i śmierć*. Warszawa 2011, 197.

6 ROK, B. *Zagadnienie śmierci w kulturze Rzeczypospolitej czasów saskich*. Wrocław 1991, 67.

7 MORAWSKI, J. *Droga przed Bogiem śmierć świętych albo dysposycja na śmierć dobra, nauka S. Theologii, i pobożnemi z Pisma Świętego, i z Oyców SS mianowicie Świętego Augustina affektami [...]*. Poznań 1698, 47.

8 Wyrażało się to też m. in. skróceniem lub całkowitym pominięciem kwestii religijnych. W ślad za tym zmieniła się też inwokacja. Coraz częściej pojawiał się wyłącznie znak krzyża w miejsce rozbudowanej niegdyś tytułatury, see In: POPIOŁEK, B. *Woli mojej ostatnie...*, 34.

9 ARIÈS, P. *Człowiek...*, 196.

10 DĄBKOWSKI, P. *Prawo prywatne II*. Lwów 1911, 76-77; *Cui contingit...*, 8.

11 „Akt osobny zawierający wszystko, co do handlu obydwóch Państw kontraktujących stosować się może”. *Volumina Legum VIII*. Petersburg 1860, (artykuł XII) 45-46, (artykuł VII) 57.

12 MORAWSKI, J. *Droga przed Bogiem...*, 46.

13 JAKSON, W. Człowiek wobec śmierci w XVII – XVIII w. Poradniki dobrego umierania. In *Bibliotekarz Lubelski* (38) 1993, 24.

14 HUSZAŁ, G. Przygotowanie do śmierci w XVII. In *Roczniki Humanistyczne* (31) 1983, 2, 123.

authorities. At the heirs' or executors' request, a relevant body authenticated the last will deed, entering it to the jury, council and even voivode records.¹⁵ The city chancellery in Kraków kept separate testament records.¹⁶ Old-Polish testaments had a fairly uniform set layout and sequence of successive points. In Polish literature on the subject, the issue of the testament form was described, for example, by Leszek Tymiakin,¹⁷ Sister Małgorzata Borkowska,¹⁸ Urszula Sowina,¹⁹ Bożena Żmigrodzka²⁰ and Bożena Popiołek.²¹ It was comprised of several basic parts.

Outline of a sample testament form:

- Devotional invocation,
- Titling,
- Promulgation,
- Arenga,
- Funeral instructions,
- Management of property held,
- Farewell to the family,
- Nomination of executors,
- Witness testimonies with signatures,
- Date and place of drafting,
- Signature of the testator.²²

Old-Polish guidebooks presented ready samples of last will deeds. A fragment of one sample spiritual testament is presented below:

*„In the presence and in the name of the omniscient Holy Trinity, the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit, in the presence of the Holy Virgin Mary and the entire Celestial Court, being of sound body and mind and in control of my wits, I, the undersigned, voluntarily draft this testament and state that this is my last and unchanged will, which I do not wish to alter with any contrary deed, but in every moment of my future life and at the time of my last breath, I wish to renew and confirm it, as I do now, for the last moment of life renew and confirm [...]”.*²³

It has to be noted that not only professional city scribes or public notaries used the ready samples while drafting testaments.²⁴ As indicated by Agnieszka Bartoszewicz, it is highly probable that a burgher who drafted the testament himself or ordered this task to a scribe could also have a sample document, e.g. last will deeds drafted by his relatives, and this would indicate the possession of private archives. When examining the chancellery of the town of Kurowo, after the analysis of 166 testaments from the end of the 17th century and the

15 BARTOSZEWICZ, A. *Piśmienność mieszczańska w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce*. Warszawa 2012, 251-252.

16 WYROZUMSKA, B. *Kancelaria średniowiecznego Krakowa*. Kraków 1995, 92-93; Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie (APKr., The State Archive in Krakow), AMK, 772-784.

17 TYMIAKIN, L. O formułach w XVII-wiecznym testamencie przemyskim. In *Rocznik Przemyski* (29) 1990, 141-145.

18 BORKOWSKA, M. *Dekret w niebieskim...*, 11-17.

19 SOWINA, U. Najstarsze testamenty mieszczańskie z początku XVI w. Analiza źródłoznawcz. In *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* (40) 1992, 1, 3.

20 ŻMIGRODZKA, B. *Testament jako gatunek tekstu*. Katowice 1997.

21 POPIOŁEK, B. *Woli mojej...*, 31-32.

22 Ibidem

23 MORAWSKI, J. *Droga przed Bogiem...*, 52.

24 This was, among others. in Przemysły; compare to: KROCHMAL, J. Przemyskie testamenty staropolskie. In *Rocznik Historyczno-Archivalny* (VI) 1989, 137.

entire 18th century.²⁵ Janusz Łosowski noticed that 102 documents had identical contents. The testament protocol form usually consisted of 8 clauses. It was first used by one of the scribes (Andrzej Kordowski), and later it was taken up by other city scribes.²⁶

According to Piotr Borek, a testament had its own poetics, which gradual changed in the course of the 17th and 18th centuries. In the Baroque period, the decisions of the Council of Trent increased the importance of prayer formulas that could, of course, be found earlier though usually in the form of a very short confession of faith. In the 17th century, they constituted the basic part of the last will deed. It is most likely associated with the „sacralisation“ of actions related to managing material property as the necessary condition of a „good death“. The command of reconciliation with earthly affairs and treatment of material objects as „vanity“ was promoted by theological writings, poetry and paintings. These ideas deeply permeated the common awareness and became visible, for example, in extended initial fragments of testaments.²⁷ In my paper, I will focus on devotional invocations included in testaments to emphasise the particular importance of their words. This was included in last will deeds to testify to the religious nature of the testament as a prayer and examination of conscience.²⁸ The invocation's place in the form was not regular, but it was usually written at the beginning of the last will deed. Sometimes it was preceded by the sign of the Cross or date. It was written in Polish, less frequently in Latin (either the entire testament was drafted in this language²⁹ or the invocation itself) or, rarely, in German (but only when the deed itself was also drafted in this language³⁰).

This short prayer formula could be attributed various functions. It can be interpreted as reference to the sacrum sphere acting as a short manner of statement of the author's religious adherence, and, with regard to the text itself, as emphasis of its importance and seriousness. It can also manifest that both the text and the action executed by its agency are undertaken in the presence of God and in the name of God. The meta-textual initial prayer formula also serves as a kind of magical incantation to enhance the illocutionary power of the following act of bequest and guarantee the enforcement of the testator's decisions included in the text and the eternal memory of them. This is particularly clearly stressed in the form of the extended formula, although in the previously quoted incipits, one can also discern similar meanings that were not stated explicitly (unless one assumes the constant realisation of the meaning of Amen, i.e. „so be it“).³¹

The testators addressed God, Jesus Christ, the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, patron saints and angels. Devotional invocation could be of great importance to the person drafting their testament. This turned the last will into a spiritual testament. The reference to God or patron saints was to help the testators at the time of death, but also to ensure additional legal

25 BARTOSZEWICZ, A. Testament jako źródło do badań nad piśmiennością mieszczańską w późnym średniowieczu. In *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* (LIX) 2011, 3-4, 298.

26 ŁOSOWSKI, J. Dokument i księga wpisów w społecznościach małych miast okresu staropolskiego. Problem funkcji, w: *Kultura piśmienna średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych. Problemy i konteksty badawcze*. In *Res Historica* 1998, 3, 154.

27 BOREK, P. O kompozycji XVII-wiecznych testamentów mieszczańskich przemyskich. In *Rocznik Przemyski* (XIV) 2008, 3, 58.

28 SOWINA, U. *Najstarsze testamenty...*, 7.

29 For example the will of Kazimierza Tauter, Kraków councillor, of 1715, Biblioteka Naukowa PAU i PAN w Krakowie (BPAN/PAU w Krakowie), rkps 428, 293.

30 For example the will of Antoni Kromer 12 March 1779, APKr., AMK 783, 353.

31 ŻMIGRODZKA, B. *Testament jak...*, 73-74.

protection of the testament and which allowed the author to hope that the Lord's care should guarantee its inviolability and compliance of the heirs' actions with the testator's wishes.³²

For the purposes of the paper, I used a group of 297 selected manuscript testaments of Kraków burghers from the 17th and 18th centuries that can be found mostly in the city records.³³ I examined testaments by women and men, both married and widowed, who adhered to various professions, such as councillors, jurors, freelancers, merchants and craftsmen, e.g. brewers, bakers, butchers, brick-layers, card makers and fustian makers. The examined testaments opened with various invocations. I will present some of the most popular invocations with source examples below. It is worth noting that the analysed group also included testaments without invocations or ones opening only with the sign of the Cross.³⁴

One can distinguish several kinds of invocations:

Invocations to the Holy Trinity:

Simple:

Dorota Betza, widow: „W imię Trójcy przernajświętszej. Amen”.³⁵ („In the name of the Most Holy Trinity. Amen“.)

Adam Nagoth, Kraków councillor: „W imię P[ana] Boga a Ojca, Syna, Ducha Świętego”.³⁶ („In the name of the Lord, the Son and the Holy Spirit“.)

Jerzy Bombek: „W imię Ojca i Syna i Ducha Świętego. Amen”.³⁷ („In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen“.)

Extended:

Jan Sinkler, merchant: „W imieniu Boga Ojca i Syna i Ducha Świętego Pana Boga w Trójcy Świętej jedyne, który niech będzie wspomóżenie moje pomoc iratunek”.³⁸ („In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit of our Lord, One in Trinity, let Him be my succour, help and rescue“.)

Józef Bartłomiej Gherardini: „W imię Trójcy Przenajświętszej, Ojca i Syna i Ducha Świętego trzech w prawdzie Ojca, lecz jednego samego Boga”.³⁹ („In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, those three in the Father's truth, but one and the same God“.)

Franciszka primo voto Skorcińska Jaraczowska: „W imię Boga Wszchemogącego, który mnie stworzył, w imię Syna Bożego, który mnie odkupił krwią swoją przernajświętszą, w imię Ducha Świętego, który mnie oświecił łaską swoją najświętszą”.⁴⁰ („In the name of God Almighty, who created me, in the name of God's Son, who redeemed me with His most sacred blood, in the name of the Holy Spirit, who enlightened me with His most holy grace“.)

Antoni Wróblewski, city sub-delegate: „W imię Ojca i Syna i ducha Świętego Amen”. („In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen“.) „W Imię Trójcy Przenajświętszej nigdy nierozdzielnej, która jest troista w Bóstwie jednaka, niechże będzie cześć i chwala teraz i na wieki, wieków. Amen”.⁴¹ („In the name of the Most Holy Trinity that is never separate,

32 POPIOŁEK, B. *Woli mojej...*, 34.

33 Of course, these are not all the regulations last will of the period.

34 BPAN/PAU w Krakowie, rkps 428, 273. The will of Jadwiga Madternia 28 July 1701.

35 APKr., AMK 773, 60. The will 27 February 1619.

36 APKr., AMK 772, 729. The will 13 September 1621.

37 CC. REL. 125 B, 3207. The will 29 June 1698.

38 APKr., AMK 781, 1. The will 14 April 1711.

39 APKr., AMK 781, 253. The will 17 May 1735.

40 APKr., AMK 782, 273. The will 20 February 1776.

41 APKr., AMK 782, 447. The will 1 June 1781.

consists of three but is one in divinity, may They be worshipped and glorified forever and ever. Amen".)

In Latin:

Jakub Czimmerman, Kraków councillor: „In nomine Patris et Fili et Spiritus Sancti.⁴² Amen".

Invocations to the Lord:

In Polish:

Wincenty Łyskowic: „W imię Pana Boga Wszechmogącego".⁴³ („In the name of God Almighty".)

Michał Biling, merchant: „Niech będzie pochwalone Imię Stwórcy Boga Najwyższego".⁴⁴ („Praised be the name of God, the Most High Creator".)

In Latin:

Jan Cyrus, Kraków councillor: „In nomine Domini. Amen".⁴⁵

Stanisław Rabb, Kraków councillor: „Deus in nomine tuo".⁴⁶

Invocations to Jesus Christ:

In Polish:

Barbara Cezara, Kraków printer, widow: „W imię Pańskie. Amen".⁴⁷ („In the name of the Lord. Amen".)

Kasper Knorowski: „W imię Pana i zbawiciela naszego Jezusa Chrystusa, w którego rękach i mocy wszystkie momenta życia śmiertelnego a osobliwie godzina śmierci jest złożona...".⁴⁸ („In the name of Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, in whose hands and power rest all the moments of our mortal life and, singularly, the hour of our death...")

Helena Nieśniewska, widow: „Niech będzie pochwalony Pan nasz Jezus Chrystus teraz zawsze i na wieków. Amen".⁴⁹ („Praised be Our Lord, Jesus Christ, now and forever and ever. Amen".)

In Latin:

Anna Jabłońska, wife of Wojciech, Kraków pedlar: „In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Amen".⁵⁰

Michał Brudziński, scribe to Kraków governors: „Laudetur Jesus Christus".⁵¹

Invocations to patron saints:

Teresa Kleczeńska, widow: „(Jezus, Maria) Józef".⁵² ((Jesus, Mary) Joseph".)

Mixed invocations:

Anna Janusowicowa, widow of Councillor Stanisław: „W imię Trójcy przenantwójszej Ojca, syna i Ducha Św. pod opiekę świętych patronów moich Dominika, Franciszka, Stanisława, Jacka, Józefa, Jana Chrzciciela i Ewangelisty [nieczytelny wyraz] i wielu innych świętych pańskich osobliwie przez najświętszą Bogarodnicę grzeszników orędowniczkę i Anioła Pańskiego stróża

42 APKr., AMK 772, 105. The will 13 October 1614.

43 APKr., AMK 772, 673. The will 12 January 1604.

44 APKr., AMK 781, 561. The will 20 June 1755.

45 APKr., AMK 773, 51. The will 27 February 1625.

46 APKr., AMK 773, 75. The will June 1630.

47 APKr., AMK 773, 200. The will 23 December 1665.

48 APKr., AMK 781, 703. The will 14 April 1760.

49 APKr., AMK 781, 347. The will 15 February 1740.

50 BPAN/PAU w Krakowie, rkps 428, 163. The will 23 May 1620.

51 APKr., AMK 781, 317. The will July 1735.

52 APKr., AMK 781, 133. The will 19 January 1721.

mojego".⁵³ („In the name of the Most Holy Trinity of the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit, to the care of my patron saints: Dominic, Francis, Stanislaus, Hyacinth, Joseph, John the Baptist and Evangelist [illegible word] and many other saints of the Lord, and particularly to the Most Holy Mother of God, the sinners' intercessor and my Guardian Angel".)

Jan Zaleski, Kraków councillor: „Jezus, Maria, Józef". („Jesus, Mary, Joseph"). „W imię Trójcy przernajświętszej. Jedynego i Wiecznego Boga".⁵⁴ („In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, the One and Only Eternal God".)

Jan Chrystie: „W imię Ojca i Syna i ducha Świętego Amen. Niech będzie pochwalony C[hrystus] J[ezus]".⁵⁵ („In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen. Praised be J[esus] C[hrist]".)

Cecylia Jaworska, widow: „W imię Trójcy przernajświętszej i najświętszej Panny Marii Niepokalanie poczętej. Amen".⁵⁶ („In the name of the Most Holy Trinity and Our Virgin Mary of Immaculate Conception. Amen".)

Katarzyna primo voto Molecka, secundo voto Wiśkowska: „W imię Trójcy Przernejświętszej Ojca, Syna i Ducha Świętego. Amen. Laudetur Jesus Christus in secula Seculorum".⁵⁷ („In the name of the Most Holy Trinity of the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen. Laudetur Jesus Christus in secula Seculorum".)

Wojciech Mystowski: „W Imię Przernejświętszej i nierozdzielnej Trójcy, Ojca, Syna i Ducha Świętego. Amen. Niech będzie cześć i chwata Temu, który jest w osobach Trojaki w Bóstwie Jednaki teraz i na wieki wieków Amen. Przy protekcji Najświętszej Panny Mari Matki Boskiej Niepokalanie Poczętej i świętych Patronów moich, których w życiu moim wzywałem tudzież przy asystencji Ś[więtego]. Anioła Stróża mego zaczynam testamentową dyspozycję"⁵⁸ („In the name of the Most Holy and Inseparable Trinity of the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen. Worship and praised be Him who is in Persons Three but One in Divinity now and forever and ever. Amen. With the protection of the Virgin Mary, Mother of God of Immaculate Conception, and my patron saints, whom I have called upon in my life, and with the assistance of my Guardian Angel, I hereby open my testament instructions".)

What could lie behind the choice of certain invocations, and could they act as a sign of piousness? Some invocations included in the examined last will deeds presented their authors as deeply believing Christians, full of religious zeal. Therefore, it must have been a conscious choice. These invocations could become quite extensive and frequently present⁵⁹ great literary value. As rightly noticed by Andrzej Karpiński, it needs to be remembered that the invocation itself does not help to determine the frequency of pious practices and intensity of individual experiences.⁶⁰ But whenever „rich invocations" appeared, one can observe more religious considerations and more pious bequests to churches or brotherhoods further in the text.

53 BPAN/PAU w Krakowie, rkps 428, 187. The will 27 May 1652.

54 Ibidem, 243. The will 6 September 1693.

55 Ibidem, 343. The will 1 June 1740.

56 APKr., AMK 781, 627. The will 29 July 1757.

57 APKr., AMK 782, 3. The will 21 December 1761.

58 Ibidem, 93. The will 30 March 1765.

59 Invocation devotional passages were sometimes form of prayer or religious phrases. They are, so text will be placed in another text, and as such, therefore, perform a metalinguistic functions, see in: JAWOR, G. State formuły w testamentach polskich. In *Rozprawy Komisji Językowej 12*. Wrocław 1981, 222.

60 KARPIŃSKI, A. *Kobieta w mieście polskim w drugiej połowie XVI i XVII wieku*. Warszawa 1995, 248.

In other cases, it cannot be excluded that the choice followed certain customs or ready expressions from the form provided by the testament scribe.⁶¹ The majority of analysed testaments strongly emphasised the conviction about the unity and indivisibility of God arising from the dogma on the Holy Trinity.⁶² Most testaments opened with this exact invocation (143 testaments). Another popular invocation was the reference to Jesus Christ or Our Lord with „Praised be ...” (107 testaments). The figure of the Mother of God rarely appeared in the invocation itself. Overall, the Marian cult in Baroque religiosity occupied a vital position (this could be confirmed by references to the Mother of God later in the examined testaments). Thus, in 1713 Henryk Antoni Stefani wrote: „My soul that I received from God, I hereby return to His most sacred wounds and Our Virgin Mary”.⁶³ In 1714, Katarzyna Puczkowa, a merchant’s wife, called on the „Mother of my Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, Virgin Mary of the Immaculate Conception, with my humble prayers”,⁶⁴ while in 1731, Katarzyna Bystrowska wrote in her testament: „To Mary, Our Lady and my particular benefactress, and my very first patroness after Our Lord”.⁶⁵ This was one of the key aspects of religiosity of society of that time. The reality following the Council of Trent observed a great transformation of the Marian cult. At times of threat, society considered it as a feeling of safety and guarantee of eschatological and existential hopes coming true. The Blessed Virgin Mary was begged for her assistance with so-called social needs, triumph in religious wars and fights against the faithless and rescue from elementary disasters, and personal affairs were often remembered. For this reason, we can speak of the cult of the Mother of God, the Procruess, the Guardian and the Intercessor.⁶⁶

This article is only an introduction and is to present a narrow section of research on the piousness of the burghers of 17th and 18th century Kraków. It is a kind of prelude to broader studies on the subject within the above-stated timeline. Already at this stage of research, one can observe certain regularities. The testaments with extensive devotional invocations were usually characterised by longer provisions of a religious nature later in the text, e.g. in formulas closing the testaments with various advice and life teachings addressed to the testator’s family. Therefore, it can be said that devotional invocations serve as a manifestation of the religiosity of burghers of that time. But this issue requires further analysis. In the 17th and 18th centuries, invocations were dominated by a call on the „Holy Trinity” in the various forms that I have presented above. Since the 1730s, the “Praised be...” formula prevailed. The invocations addressed to Jesus, Mary and Joseph were used mostly by women. The examined group of testaments did not include any invocations addressed to patrons of the Kingdom of Poland (saints: Adalbert, Bishop Stanislaus, Wenceslaus and Florian) or Saint Barbara⁶⁷, who

61 For comparison, I present Catholic population invocations of Przemyśl: „W imię Trójce Ś[więtej], Ojca i Syna i Ducha Ś[więtego]” („In the name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit”), „W imię Ś[więtej] Trójce, jedynego Pana Boga. Amen” („In the name of the Holy Trinity, the One God. Amen”), „W imię Trójce Przenajś[więtszej], Ojca, Syna i Ducha Ś[więtego]. Amen” („In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Amen”), (BOREK, P. *O kompozycji XVII-wiecznych...*, 59) and the townspeople from the Sandomierz.: W imię Ojca i Syna i Ducha Ś[więtego]. Amen” („In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit”), „In nomine Domini. Amen”, „In nomine Sanctissimae et Individuae Trinitatis” (JUSTYNIARSKA-CHOJAK, K. *Testamenty i inwentarze...*, 32. You will notice very strong similarities to the invocation of the wills of Kraków.

62 POPIOŁEK, B. *Woli mojej...*, 35.

63 APKr., AMK 781, 11.

64 Ibidem, 19.

65 Ibidem, 231.

66 WITKOWSKA, A. *Sancti Miracula Peregrinationes*. Lublin 2009, 376-377.

67 See in: SCHENK, K. W. Kult ś[więtych w Polsce. Zarys historyczn. In *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne* (13) 1966, 4, 85-89.

appeared in the testaments of Kraków nobility compiled, for example, by Alicja Falniowska-Gradowska⁶⁸).

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68 This does not mean that such invocations did not appear in the testaments of the Cracow burghers. This subject requires further research as well, as it also seems that testators had specific reasons for including particular patron saints in their invocations. Saints reminded the people of that time that death was indeed a gate leading to heaven. The purpose of earthly life was, above all, to deserve eternal life in the kingdom of God. The dying needed someone to help them in this final journey. Saints were to make this task easier. In the post-Tridentine period, the worship of patron saints was very widespread, they were perceived as intermediaries between people and God. Baroque guides to good death offered a choice of executors of the last will. Nevertheless, the main pleading was for a good death. Its first patron was the Mother of God, then St. Michael the Archangel, St. John the Baptist, St. Joseph, St. Barbara, the Guardian Angel, and each person's patron saint. Therefore, after an invocation to the Holy Trinity, these invocations were the most common. Furthermore, the patron saints were executors of the last will and guardians of the testator's soul at the moment of their death. St. Michael, commander of the heavenly army and victor over the dragon of hell, was a protector and defender against devil invasion at the moment of death, the aforementioned Guardian Angel was a guide to heaven, St. Joseph was to help with "na przypomnienie i wzbudzenie pobożnych affektów do Pana Jezusa i Najświętszej Panny" ("evoking and inspiring pious affection towards Jesus Christ and the Holy Virgin"). St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier were patrons of „dyspozycji do skonaniam” ("the instructions for dying"). St. Madeleine's role was to ensure „na opatrzanie sakramentu pokuty i prawdziwej skruchy za grzechy” ("the observance of the sacrament of penance and true repentance for the sins"). St. Barbara was responsible for „na opatrzanie najświętszego sakramentu, jakowiatyku” ("ensuring the holy sacrament as well as the viaticum"). (Viaticum is the Eucharist administered to a person ending their earthly existence and preparing for passing on to eternal life). Blessed Stanislaus Kostka and Blessed Aloysius were to assist in the Holy Communion, while St. Lawrence was protector against the fires of purgatory. See In: MORAWSKI, J. *Droga przed Bogiem...*, 61.

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