

MEASURING THE READING OF INSCRIPTIONS ON TOMBSTONES IN THE PAST: THEORETICAL APPROACH

Kšištof Tolkačevski | Vilnius University, Faculty of Communication,
Department of Book Science and Publishing
Universiteto g. 3, LT-0513, Vilnius, Lithuania
E-mail: ksistof.tolkacevski@kf.vu.lt

If you own a book, it doesn't mean at all that you have read it. Thus how the reading activity that took place in the past could be analysed and measured? And what methods could be used in case of extraordinary reading material, such as inscriptions on tombstones? In this article the author aims to show the possibility of investigating and measuring the process of reading inscriptions on tombstones in the past by applying Paul Connerton's social theory on memory. Connerton's model was tested on tombstones from Catholic cemeteries in Vilnius from the 19th century, the theoretical approach of applying this model is described in this article.

KEYWORDS: *epitaph, epigraphy, measuring the process of reading, history of communication.*

INTRODUCTION

In the 20th century, book scientists and social historians tried to analyse the history of reading from an empirical point of view by examining very large amounts of reading material (e.g. Rolf Engelsing¹, Rudolf Schenda², Erich Schön³ etc.). This is a good way to reach such a goal when we are speaking about *book culture*⁴. Many theories were developed through the study of

1 ENGELSING, Rolf. *Der Bürger als Leser: Lesergeschichte in Deutschland, 1500–1800*. Stuttgart, 1974.

2 SCHENDA, Rudolf. *Volk ohne Buch. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der populären Lesestoffe 1770 bis 1910*. Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1970.

3 SCHÖN, Eric. *Verlust der Sinnlichkeit, oder, die Verwandlungen des Lesers: Mentalitätswandel um 1800*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1987.

4 *Book culture*, according to Paul Raabe, includes everything that is related to books: writing (registering thoughts, cognition, innovation and

statistics and details drawn from empirical sources. *Micro-level* research (on a single book) and *macro-level* research (on a representative amount of reading material such as personal and public libraries, the whole of the press, etc.) made it possible to reveal the reading habits of society and to capture the reading revolution that took place in Europe in the 18th century, identify the most popular book genres, and so on. In the case of atypical reading sources, however, such as inscriptions on tombstones or other objects like tools, coins, paintings, etc., when there is an obvious lack of written sources about these objects, another – theoretical – approach has to be found.

The aim of this article is, by applying Paul Connerton's social theory on memory, to show the possibility of investigating and measuring the process of reading inscriptions on tombstones in the past. Given the author's experience in the 19th-century epigraphy, Connerton's model was tested on tombstones found in Vilnius Catholic cemeteries dating to that period, and the theoretical approach applied is described in this article.

WERE TOMB SCRIPTS READ AT ALL?

Speaking about the ancient period, historians noticed that the production of inscriptions in the Roman Empire was not constant over time, but rose over the first and the second centuries A.D. and fell in the third⁵. Epitaphs were the most common epigraphical sources in the western part of Roman Empire in that period. The historian Ramsay MacMullen pointed this with the conclusion that there had to be a "sense of audience"⁶, which made major impact on developing large amount of written sources (so called "the epigraphic habit").

Elizabeth A. Meyer analyses the "sense of audience" from a pragmatic point of view *of the common people of the towns involved, the status of colonia was far preferable for a town to have, for through it all free inhabitants, not just the magistrates and decurions, received full Roman citizenship*⁷. That is why the name of the deceased in epitaphs from the colonial part of the Roman Empire is given in the Roman form, the acquisition or possession of the Roman citizenship is announced, and tombstone inscriptions in many parts of the empire were made in Latin⁸. All this reveals the importance of this link to the Roman practice, the pursuit and acquisition of Roman status⁹, put into the hidden meaning of epitaph. And this phenomenon would not be functioning without the audience, which gave it major meaning. Inscriptions were an important medium intended to be seen and to communicate¹⁰.

In medieval Christian Europe epitaphs were collected and published in single books with the intention to be preserved and, possibly, to be read¹¹. More

evidence about reading inscriptions came from the Early modern period in written sources left by noblemen, especially those who travelled abroad. Sometimes they left notes with different inscriptions from famous places etc. For example, it is known that Prince Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł (1549–1616) during his journey to Jerusalem (on the way he visited Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Crete, Cyprus, Italy, and Greece) in 1582–1584 visited several sacred and famous places. While visiting them he also showed interest in ancient inscriptions. He tried to read tombscripts in Church of the Holy Sepulchre, one inscription he successfully rewrote into his notes¹². Moreover, he observed the ancient stone with an inscription in Greek for Cicero in Zakynthos¹³ (modern Greek island in the Ionian Sea), the Egyptian hieroglyphs inside the pyramids¹⁴, as well as inscriptions on the “Pompey’s Pillar,”¹⁵ which was an independent monument erected to commemorate Diocletian’s siege of Alexandria.

It is also known that King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania Stanisław August Poniatowski (1732–1798) during his voyage to eastern territories of Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth in 1787 used to visit churches and read epitaphs. His companion during this voyage Adam Stanisław Naruszewicz (1733–1796), bishop of Smoleńsk, stresses in his book that the King himself desired to view tombstone for the poet Jan Kochanowski (1530–1584) in the Catholic church of the Holy Cross in Zwolen¹⁶. Later on in the place called Piotrowin the King took a special interest in examining “ancient inscriptions” in the church¹⁷.

knowledge), ideas for books and their realization, everything related to authors and authorship. The essence of book culture is the production, distribution and consumption of books and all the activity of book producers. It includes everything related to the book market as well as to reading. (RAABE, Paul. Die Bedeutung der Buchkultur für Europa. *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 2001, p. 27–32).

5 MEYER, Elizabeth A. Explaining the Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire: The Evidence of Epitaphs. *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 1990, Vol. 80, p. 74.

6 MACMULLEN Ramsay. The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire. *The American Journal of Philology*, 1982, Vol. 103, No. 3 (Autumn), p. 246.

7 MEYER, Elizabeth A. Explaining the Epigraphic Habit..., p. 79.

8 Ibidem, p. 83.

9 Ibidem, p. 95.

10 HÄUSSLER Ralph. Resta, viator, et lege: thoughts on the epigraphic habit. *Papers from the Institute of Archeology* 9, 1998, p. 31.

11 TOLKAČEVSKI, Kšištof. Epigrafinių memorialinių įrašų publikavimo patirtys Lietuvoje XIX amžiuje. *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra*, 2015, t. 39, p. 114–132.

12 RADZIWIŁŁ, M. K. *Pielgrzymka do Ziemi Świętej*. Tłóm. przez A. Wargockiego. Wrocław: nakładem Zygmunta Schlettera, 1847, p. 50–51.

13 Ibidem, p. 15.

14 Ibidem, p. 149.

15 Ibidem, p. 179.

16 NARUSZEWICZ, Adam. *Dziennik podróży Króla Jegomości Stanisława Augusta na Ukrainę i do innych ziem koronnych roku 1787 dnia 23 lutego rozpoczęty a dnia 22 lipca zakończony*. W Warszawie, 1788, p. 50.

17 Ibidem, p. 52–53.

Speaking about inscriptions on the tombs found in Catholic cemeteries¹⁸, it is important to recall the first guide to Vilnius¹⁹, which was published in 1856 and reprinted in 1859. This book was handy and extremely popular. Several interesting routes were offered to the readers by the author Adam Honory Kirkor (1818–1886). Some of them included sightseeing in Catholic, Evangelical and Orthodox cemeteries. What is more, Kirkor included quotes of several tomb scripts from the Rasos, Bernardinų and Evangelical urban cemeteries. The cited epitaphs are peculiar, usually involving stories somehow related to the persons interred. To illustrate the point, an example could be given of a woman named Nowicka (the first name is not known) whose sad story he mentions, how she was murdered by her husband the surgeon.²⁰ It is also known that many romanticists had the habit of spending time in cemeteries, as did artists, who would depict gravesites, the sunset in cemeteries, and so on. Presumably, they were looking for the inspiration. Moreover, cemeteries that were newly established in the 19th century²¹ often reminded one of parks, as they had many trees, paths and benches. While the creation of epitaphs in Lithuania (originally the Great Duchy of Lithuania) date back to the 17th century, these details indicate that cemeteries as well as individual tombs were visited, and epitaphs were read, in the 19th century.

THEORETICAL APPROACH

But how can the reading of tomb scripts be measured? There is almost no written evidence of that, aside from some small “crumbs” like those mentioned above. And that is not enough to conduct research. Thus a different approach is needed.

Firstly, it is important to grasp the essence of the epigraphical script. The most basic feature of epigraphical sources is that they are made on solid material which is long-lived and hard to destroy. The reason for the hard surface is a need to preserve the idea the object embodies and the text that is written on it. This is unlike the writing of an idea as a text in a codex, which can be damaged by inappropriate use or preservation. Moreover, epigraphical scripts are usually inscribed on objects that are accessible to a large audience – under the open sky, in places of social intensity. The toughness and accessibility of the material in question gives added importance to the object with the inscription. Its long-lasting character makes it a memory carrier. In the case of a tomb script, the main function of such an inscription is to preserve the memory of the person who is buried.

Speaking theoretically, the process of remembering consists of three steps: 1) to memorize; 2) to keep in memory; and 3) to remember. As Jan Assmann has noted, things do not “have” a memory of their own, but they may remind us, trigger our memory, because they carry memories which we have invested into them.²² One action is taken while reading an epitaph for the first time – the information is acquired and placed in our mind. Something else happens when for a special reason the epitaph is read to invoke reminiscences. Thus the tomb and the inscription written on it invoke reminiscences from the memory of the person who is reading/visiting it at the moment. The conclusion is that keeping something important in memory requires periodic confrontation of both a person and an object (e.g., a tomb).

From such a point of view, reading habits can be revealed more precisely. An approach that seems adoptable and quite universal is Paul Connerton’s theory on how society remembers. Connerton is a British social anthropologist who draws significantly on the social theory of Emile Durkheims. He has opened the discussion of collective memory (per Maurice Halbwachs and others) to include bodily gestures – finding in clothing, manners, musical performance, and other socially negotiated practices *loci* where memory is “silted” (to use his verb) into human corporeal consciousness and praxis. Connerton claims that the knowledge of past is conveyed and supported during rituals through sense experience. The transmission of memory in the context of rituals involves three main factors:²³

- a) *Time* – a kind of measurement expressed through the calendar (memory researchers call the calendar the first stage of collective memory²⁴) which contains a certain life order. Gathering together and acting in the same way leads to a reawakening of possessed memory and unites the group, accenting their identity as group members.

18 In late Eighteen and at the beginning of the Nineteenth centuries, in Europe a wave of establishing new cemeteries beyond the cities appeared. For more see: ARIES, Phillippe. *Mirties supratimas Vakarų kultūros istorijoje*, Vilnius, 1993.

19 KIRKOR, Adam Honory. *Przechadzki po Wilnie i jego okolicach...* Wilno, 1856.

20 For more see: TOLKAČEVSKI, Kšištof. Epigrafių memorialinių įrašų publikavimo patirtys Lietuvoje XIX amžiuje. *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra*, 2015, t. 39, p. 114–132.

21 ARIES, Phillippe. *Mirties supratimas Vakarų*

kultūros istorijoje. Vilnius, 1993, p. 197.

22 ASSMANN, Jan. Communicative and Cultural Memory. In *Cultural Memory Studies*. Eds A. Erll, A. Nünning. Berlin; New York, 2008, p. 111.

23 CONNERTON, Paul. *Jak społeczeństwa pamiętają*. Przekład i wstęp Marcin Napiórkowski, Warszawa, 2012, p. 12.

24 NOYES, Dorothy; ABRAHAMS, Roger D. From Calendar Custom to National Memory: European Commonplaces. In *Cultural Memory and the Construction of Identity*. Ed. by Dan Ben Amos and Liliane Weissberg. Detroit, 1999, p. 79.

- b) *Space* – a physical area is necessary to provoke a certain sensation (mood) that helps to better remember a memorized experience. The “power” of the space awakens the meaning of the memorial and by such physical expression connects it with the reality.
- c) *An object* – the object (in our case – the tomb) performs an essential function as a memory carrier. Authors (those who develop the idea of the tomb and its inscription, who order the monument, etc.) usually put their memories into the object by giving it a meaning. Once the monument is finished, it performs several functions: it preserves the information encrypted on it, communicates that information, and identifies and unites its creators as a group (family, work colleagues, patriots, etc.).

Investigation of the three factors mentioned above can be conducted on the basis of information from written historical sources as well as from the inscriptions.

CONNERTON’S MODEL IN PRACTICE

Connerton’s model was tested on tomb scripts from the 19th century. The research covered seven Catholic cemeteries in Vilnius: the Rasos, Bernardinai, St. Peter and Paul’s, St. Stephen’s, St. Philip and James, and Discovery of the Holy Cross cemeteries.

- a) *Time*. The best way to record and keep track of the events of one’s lifetime is to use the calendar. Each year from 1808 to 1840, a new edition of the “Housekeepers’ Calendar” (*Kalendarz gospodarski*²⁵) was published in the Polish language in Vilnius. From 1840 to 1863 it was published in the Russian language, both in Vilnius and Grodno.²⁶ Briefly, from 1819 to 1823, the Polish-language “Lithuanian Housekeepers’ Calendar” (*Kalendarz gospodarski litewski*²⁷), aimed at or Catholics as well as Orthodox, was published. Much other interesting information was also published. From 1802 to 1823, the so-called “Political Calendar” (*Kalendarzyk polityczny*²⁸), targeting in particular the staff of Vilnius University, was published. There was also another calendar for Vilnius University employees – *Kalendarz adresowy dla Wydziału Uniwersytetu Imperatorskiego Wileńskiego*²⁹.

In all these calendars, the date of the 2nd of November was marked as important. It is All Souls Day. Its purpose was to serve as a reminder that the Church consists of the Church here on earth, the Church in heaven and the Church in purgatory. Purgatory is the place where the souls of the deceased await God’s mercy so they can be purified and enter into heaven. That is why

the whole Church was to pray for those souls. Thus on the 2nd of November it was important for Catholics to pray for their relatives, friends, co-workers and so on who had died and offer to God small mortifications. It was also important to visit their graves (even if the day was not a public holiday). This obligation encouraged people to periodically visit cemeteries, pray for the deceased and at least partially read the epitaphs. Note that in the nineteenth century, the surname and often the first name of the dead were written in different fonts than the rest of the text.³⁰ That made this information easier to see.

There were more occasions when Catholics were to pray for the deceased: on the day of their funeral, during daily Mass and on the anniversary of their death. The latter was especially important: there are many inscriptions on the tombs that were renewed which add a few words about those who made the renovation and when. This demonstrates that graves were in fact visited, especially when death anniversaries of the people buried here were observed.

- b) *Space*. Until the beginning of the 19th century, urban cemeteries had been traditionally situated around churches, in the churchyard. According to the historian Vida Girininkienė, almost all of the churches in Vilnius had a cemetery in the churchyard.³¹ Because of this tradition, a cemetery was something normal and familiar. Townspeople often visited cemeteries, at least once a week – on Sundays and holy days – when they went to Mass, since going to church meant passing through the cemetery. Moreover, Catholics felt their duty to look after graves. So lay people must have interacted quite a lot with graves and tombstones. Such interactions were probably interrupted at the end of the 18th century, when new cemeteries were established outside the city and the old ones were closed down and even

25 *Kalendarz gospodarski...* W Wilnie, [1808–1840]. Leidimo vieta 1831–1834 m.: Wilno i Grodno.

26 *Месяцеслов хозяйственный...* = *Kalendarz gospodarski...* Вильно; Гродно, [1841–1863]. Leid. vieta 1858 m.: Вильно.

27 *Kalendarz gospodarski litewski na rok... zawierający w sobie dni 366, oraz święta rzymskie i ruskie, z oznaczeniem dni galowych, wschodu i zachodu słońca, odmian xiężycy, powietrza tudzież innych ciekawych i pożytecznych wiadomości gospodarskich.* W Wilnie, 1819–1823.

28 *Kalendarzyk polityczny na rok...* dla Wydziału Uniwersytetu Imperatorskiego Wileńskiego. W Wilnie, 1802–1827.

29 *Kalendarz adresowy dla Wydziału Uniwersytetu Imperatorskiego Wileńskiego na rok...* Wilno, 1807–.

30 TOLKAČEVSKI, Kšištof. Rusiški epigrafiniai memorialiniai XIX amžiaus įrašai Vilniaus katalikiškose kapinėse. *Knygotyra*, 2016, t. 66, p. 281–310.

31 GIRININKIENĖ, Vida. *Vilniaus kapinės*. Vilnius, 2004, p. 54–61.

demolished.³² As a result, cemeteries became more distant. Visiting graves demanded more time and effort, therefore they were visited mainly on special occasions.

- c) *An object.* Naturally, beautiful or strange things usually attract more attention than ordinary things. The same holds true in cemeteries. A tomb's form and the place where it is situated play a major role in the extent to which its inscriptions are read. For example, tombs located along a footpath were more noticeable to visitors. It is interesting to note that newly established cemeteries in the 19th century had cobblestone paths, not only to make walking more comfortable but also to direct people's movement. Thus the inscriptions on tombs along the pathways had better chances of being read. Moreover, all the cemeteries typically feature some more remarkable tombs that are placed on higher ground, have a more distinct form, include sculptures, and so on. Those also were more likely to be read. Furthermore, at the three cemeteries (Bernardinai, Rasos and St. Stephen's) columbariums were built – large roofed edifices full of niches for coffins. After a funeral, the coffin would be placed inside and closed off with a marble or granite plate with inscriptions. Places in a columbarium were much more expensive, and usually only the nobility could afford that. They could also afford a gorgeous memorial plate, often adorned with carved coats of arms and other ornamentation. Letters were usually painted with gold. It seems natural visitors would pay more attention to such columbariums and their inscriptions than to ordinary tombs.

Conclusions

- 1) The study's results illuminate an issue that until now has not been addressed in historiography – the reading of epigraphical inscriptions. For the epigraphic record to function in the society, it must be periodically read (so that the process of remembering continues). Most often, the main readers of inscriptions were those who created them. The traditions of the Catholic Church designate fixed days as sacred for visiting the tombs of relatives and praying. This tradition helped the community to come in contact with tombs and their inscriptions more often, and to read them at least partially. This means that time was specially managed in a way that promoted the process of remembering. One of the tools for managing time was the calendar, which usually indicated specific days for visiting cemeteries. As long as cemeteries were located in churchyards, their inscriptions were *encountered* (and read?) by churchgoers at least once a week. When restrictions were

placed on burial in churchyards, many of those cemeteries were closed until the end of the 19th century. From that point onwards, the deceased were visited mainly on All Souls Day and on the anniversaries of their death.

- 2) Although from a theoretical point of view inscriptions on tombs are regarded as historical sources, the action of reading is a social process and so must be investigated using methods applied in the social sciences. One sound method is a theoretical approach through the perspective of memory research (where the tomb is seen as a monument built for mnemonic purposes). This article demonstrates the advantages of using Paul Connerton's social memory model.
- 3) Although in this article Connerton's model has been applied to tombstones from Catholic cemeteries in Vilnius from the 19th century, the same approach could be used to investigate the process of the reading of tomb scripts from different periods. The main elements of such research would be: a) time management (frequency of coming into contact with the object); b) the context of the area where the object is placed; and c) the physical features of the object.

Literature and sources

1. ARIES, Phillipe. *Mirties supratimas Vakarų kultūros istorijoje*. Vilnius, 1993.
2. ASSMANN, Jan. Communicative and Cultural Memory. In *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Eds A. Erll, A. Nünning. Berlin; New York, 2008, p. 109–118.
3. CONNERTON, Paul. *Jak społeczeństwa pamiętają*. Przekład i wstęp Marcin Napiórkowski, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2012.
4. ENGELSING, Rolf. *Der Bürger als Leser: Lesergeschichte in Deutschland, 1500–1800*. Stuttgart, 1974.
5. GIRININKIENĖ, Vida. *Vilniaus kapinės*. Vilnius, 2004.
6. *Kalendarzyk polityczny na rok... dla Wydziału Uniwersytetu Imperatorskiego Wileńskiego*. W Wilnie: nakł. i drukiem J. Zawadzkiego, 1802–1827.
7. *Kalendarz adressowy dla Wydziału Uniwersytetu Imperatorskiego Wileńskiego na rok...* Wilno: nakł. i druk. Józefa Zawadzkiego, 1807–.
8. *Kalendarz gospodarski...* W Wilnie, [1808–1840]. (Druk. Imperatorskiego Wileńskiego Uniwersytetu). Leista kasmet, išleidimo vieta 1831–1834 m.: Wilno i Grodno.
9. *Kalendarz gospodarski litewski na rok... zawierający w sobie dni 366, oraz święta rzymskie i ruskie, z oznaczeniem dni galowych, wschodu i zachodu słońca, odmian księżyca, powietrza tudzież innych ciekawych i pożytecznych wiadomości gospodarskich*. W Wilnie: [s.n.], 1819–1823 (w Wilnie: w Drukarni XX. Pijarów u Alexandra Żołkowskiego). Nuo 1821 m.: w Drukarni na ulicy

32 Most churchyard cemeteries were closed and destroyed after 1795 when Lithuania was incorporated into the Russian Empire because of the expanding of the city and a Russian policy against

local memory (from 1864 known as *Program of Restoration of Russian Beginnings*, led by Mikhail Nikolayevich Muravyov and Ivan Petrovich Kornilov).

- Święto-Janskiey pod N. 431.
10. KIRKOR, Adam Honory. *Przechadzki po Wilnie i jego okolicach przez Jana ze Śliwina*. Wilno: Drukarnia A. Marcinowskiego, 1856.
11. NOYES, Dorothy; ABRAHAMS, Roger D. From Calendar Custom to National Memory: European Commonplaces. In *Cultural Memory and the Construction of Identity*. Ed. by Dan Ben Amos and Liliane Weissberg. Detroit, 1999, p. 77–98.
12. RAABE, Paul. Die Bedeutung der Buchkultur für Europa. *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 2001, p. 27–32.
13. SCHENDA, Rudolf. *Volk ohne Buch. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der populären Lesestoffe 1770 bis 1910*. Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1970.
14. SCHÖN, Eric. *Verlust der Sinnlichkeit, oder, die Verwandlungen des Lesers: Mentalitätswandel um 1800*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1987.
15. TOLKAČEVSKI, Kšištof. Epigrafinių memorialinių įrašų publikavimo patirtys Lietuvoje XIX amžiuje. *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra*, 2015, t. 39, p. 114–132.
16. TOLKAČEVSKI, Kšištof. Rusiški epigrafiniai memorialiniai XIX amžiaus įrašai Vilniaus katalikiškose kapinėse. *Knygotyra*, 2016, t. 66, p. 281–310.
17. *Месяцослов хозяйственный...* = Kalendarz gospodarski... Вильно; Гродно, [1841–1863] (Вильно : Типография Зимеля и Манеса Ромма). Leista kasmet. Leid. vieta 1858 m.: Вильно.

ANTKAPINIŲ ĮRAŠŲ PRAEITIS SKAITYMO TYRIMAI:

TEORINIS POŽIŪRIS

Kšištof Tolkačevski

Santrauka

Kad kažkas turi knygą, dar nereiškia, kad ją yra skaitęs. Ji gali būti puošybos, gero įvaizdžio kūrimo elementas ar pan. Taigi, kaip gali būti matuojamas skaitymo veiksmas? Kaip dar didesnis metodologinis iššūkis atrodo skaitymo, įvykusio praeityje, matavimai. Nors tokių tyrimų, paremtų gausia empirika ir būta, jų metu atskleistas skaitymo revoliucijos fenomenas, įvykęs XVIII amžiuje. Tačiau kokiais metodais galima būtų išmatuoti netradicinių rašto paminklų, tokių kaip antkapiniai įrašai (ir visi kiti įrašai netradicinėse laikmense), skaitymo ypatybes?

Šiame straipsnyje autorius aptaria Paulo Connertono socialinės atminties teorinio modelio taikymą netradicinių rašto šaltinių skaitymo tyrimams atlikti. P. Connertonas tyrinėjo socialinių grupių atmintį ir nustatė, kokie dėmenys yra svarbūs atsiminimo procese (erdvė, laikas, objektas). Kadangi raštas neabejotinai yra susijęs su atmintimi, jis atlieka mnemoninę funkciją ne tik per patį įrašo turinį, bet ir per patį save kaip per atsiminimo proceso tarpinį (P. Connertono kalba kalbant – per objektą). Nustačius pagrindinę šaltinio įrašo adresatų grupę (tuos, kam tas įrašas yra skirtas ir kažką reiškia) ir pritaikius minėtus tris dėmenis (erdvė, laikas, objektas), galima nustatyti preliminarų įrašų skaitymo dažnį, aplinkybes ir susiformuoti platesnį istorinės tikrovės vaizdinį.

P. Connertono modelis šiuo atveju buvo išbandytas praktiškai taikant jį XIX a. katalikų kapinėse buvusių antkapinių įrašų skaitymui tirti. Aptarta kapinių erdvės (išsidėstymo) reikšmė

skaitymui tuometinio Vilniaus kontekste. Taip pat ištirti tuo metu vilniečių apyvartoje buvę kalendoriai, leidę nustatyti akistatos su antkapiais dažnį. Galiausiai buvo aptarta pačių įrašų specifika, turėjusi poveikį skaitymo procesui. Panašiai šį modelį galima taisyti kitų netradicinių įrašų arba kitų laikotarpių skaitymo procesui tirti.

REIKŠMINIAI ŽODŽIAI: epitafija, epigrafika, skaitymo proceso matavimas, komunikacijos istorija.

Įteikta 2018 m. balandžio 3 d.

Priimta 2018 m. balandžio 10 d.