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The Nomination Procedure of the Officials of the City of Polotsk in 1498–1563*

Key words: Magdeburg Law, the City Council, Grand Duke of Lithuania, the palatine

At the turn of the 16th century Polotsk was one of the biggest cities in the north of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (hereafter GDL). On 4 October 1498 Grand Duke of Lithuania Alexander Jagiellon (1492–1506) issued to Polotsk the Magdeburgian charter. This event predetermined many important changes in this city. One of them was birth of new local officials – the "voigt", "landvoigt", burgomasters, councilors and benchers.

The historiography related to the social history of Polotsk and the application of Magdeburg Law in the 15th-16th centuries is rather abundant.² However, there are no researches in which the officials of the city of Polotsk were researched using the prosopographical method. It is not surprising because such research would need an enduring and thorough work with written sources. Belarusian historian Vasili Varonin started this work and prepared the list

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¹ Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga nr. 5 (1427–1506). Užrašymų knyga 5, par. Algirdas Baliulis, Artūras Dubonis, Darius Antanavičius, Vilnius 2012 (further cit. LM 5), pp. 109–111. In this publication the Magdeburgian charter which was issued to Polotsk by Grand Duke of Lithuania Alexander Jagiellon is dated incorrectly – on 7 October 1498. However, it was issued on 4 October 1498 (Krzysztof Pietkiewicz, Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie pod rządami Aleksandra Jagiellończyka. Studia nad dziejami państwa i społeczeństwa na przełomie XV i XVI wieku, Poznań 1995, pp. 179, 183; Polotskiye gramoty XIII – nachala XVI veka, t. 2, red. Anna Leonidovna Кноковнкеvich, Moskva 2015 [Полоцкие грамоты XIII – начала XVI века, т. 2, ред. Анна Леонидовна Хорошкевич, Москва 2015] (further cit. Polotskiye gramoty, t. 2), p. 219).

² See the list of printed material in *Polotskiye gramoty*, t. 2.

of the officials of the city of Polotsk in 1498–1563.³ However, he did not use collected material to implement a detailed research of these officials.

The object of this article is structure and evolution of the stratum of the officials of the city of Polotsk during the time when Magdeburg Law had been valid in this city. The end of this period can be dated 1563 when Polotsk was occupied by the Grand Duke of Moscow Ivan the Fearsome's army. The aim of this article is to find out what kind of persons had been the officials of the city of Polotsk during the period of 1498–1563, what was the legal practice of implementing authority in this city and how this practice worked in reality. For the purpose of this aim we have prepared the list of the officials of the city of Polotsk which is based on data of our empirical research (see Appendix). When doing this research we have replenished and corrected the proofs of V. Varonin's aforementioned list. We have done this after looking over the newest publications of documents and the earlier ones which had not been used by V. Varonin. Moreover, we used the data of archival documents which have not been publicated before.

The article is divided in two parts. In the first part we analyse the significance of giving Magdeburg Law to the city of Polotsk, the formal (legal) aspects of it. In the second part we focus on the officials' personalities and the practical use of Magdeburg Law in daily life.

³ Vasiliy Alekseyevich Voronin, *Magdeburgskoye pravo v Polotske v 1498–1563 gg.*, [in:] *Drevneyshiye goroda Belarusi. Polotsk*, gl. red. Aleksander A. Kovalenya, Minsk 2012 [Василий Алексеевич Воронин, *Магдебургское право в Полоцке в 1498–1563 гг.*, [in:] *Древнейшие города Беларуси. Полоцк*, гл. ред. Александр А. Коваленя, Минск 2012], pp. 240–243.

 $^{^4}$ True, when Grand Duke of Lithuania Stefan Batory's army won Polotsk back in 1579, he issued to Polotsk the Magdeburgian charter.

⁵ Among such publications very important are the books of the Lithuanian Metrica which are being publicated every year, also a new edition of documents related to the history of Polotsk (*Polotskiye gramoty XIII – nachala XVI veka*, t. 1, red. Anna Leonidovna Кноковнке VICH, Moskva 2015 [Полоцкие грамоты XIII – начала XVI века, т. 1, ред. Анна Леонидовна Хорошкевич, Москва 2015] (further cit. *Polotskiye gramoty*, t. 1)).

⁶ For example, there are many references of the officials of the city of Polotsk in the account books of the court of Alexander Jagiellon which were publicated in 2007 (*Lietuvos didžiojo kunigaikščio Aleksandro Jogailaičio dvaro sąskaitų knygos* (1494–1504), par. Darius Antanavičius, Rimvydas Petrauskas, Vilnius 2007 (further cit. *DSK* (1494–1504))). Besides, V. Varonin probably did not notice a very important list issued by Grand Duke of Lithuania Sigismund the Old on 31 July 1522. According to this list, the office of "landvoigt" in Polotsk was confirmed to the "voigt" of the city of Trakai Jakob Klimovič (*Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga nr. 12* (1522–1529). *Užrašymų knyga 12*, par. Darius Antanavičius, Algirdas Baliulis, Vilnius 2001 (further cit. *LM 12*), p. 128).

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF GIVING MAGDEBURG LAW TO POLOTSK

On 4 October 1498 Grand Duke of Lithuania Alexander Jagiellon gave to the city of Polotsk Magdeburg Law which in the ruthenian written privilege is called "право немецкое маидеборское". This event changed the legal situation in Polotsk significantly. Earlier in Polotsk, like in all the biggest ruthenian cities of the GDL, questions of administration were usually discussed by all local inhabitants who had a personal freedom (i.e. not only citizens). They used to gather in meetings which in ruthenian language were called "vieche". Such kind of tradition was a part of the customary law of Kievan Rus.'8 Meanwhile introduction of Magdeburg Law settled a dispersion of more determined and stated in written form model of self-government. We have already mentioned that one of the biggest changes after giving Magdeburg Law to Polotsk was birth of new Magdeburgian officials – the "voigt", "landvoigt", burgomasters, councilors and benchers.

The nomination procedure and prerogatives of the most of these officials were discussed in the privilege of 4 October 1498. According to it, the "voigt" became Grand Duke's representative in the city of Polotsk. It should be noted that there is written about a repeated establishment of the office of "voigt". Polish historian Juliusz Bardach took it into account and stated that the office of "voigt" had appeared in Polotsk before Grand Duke of Lithuania Alexander Jagiellon issued to Polotsk the Magdeburgian charter, but did not manage to remain. So, Alexander Jagiellon had to resume this office. However, it is hard to confirm such a statement. The first known "voigts" in the city of Polotsk are mentioned in written sources only after 1498 (see Appendix).

According to the privilege of 4 October 1498, the "voigt" of the city of Polotsk was obliged to take part in forming the local administration. This officer had to choose 20 councilors, half of whom had to be catholics and the other half – orthodox believers. Every year the "voigt" and the councilors had to select among themselves two burgomasters – one catholic and one orthodox

⁷ LM 5, p. 109.

⁸ Zigmantas Kiaupa, Miestai, [in:] Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos kultūra. Tyrinėjimai ir vaizdai, sud. Vytautas Ališauskas, Liudas Jovaiša, Mindaugas Paknys, Rimvydas Petrauskas, Eligijus Raila, Vilnius 2001, p. 354; Christophe v. Werdt, Stadt und Gemeindebildung in Ruthenien. Okzidentalisierung der Ukraine und Weißrusslands im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. (Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte, Bd. 66), Wiesbaden 2006, p. 162.

⁹ Jūratė Kiaupienė, Rimvydas Petrauskas, *Lietuvos istorija*, t. 4: *Nauji horizontai: dinastija*, visuomenė, valstybė. *Lietuvos Didžioji Kunigaikštystė 1386–1529 m.*, Vilnius 2009, p. 304.

 $^{^{10}}$ LM 5, р. 109: "Ино подлуг того ж права маидеборского в месте выше реченом воитовство знову уставляем и через тот лист тое воитовство Полоцкое надаваем".

¹¹ Juliusz Bardach, *Ustrój miast na prawie magdeburskim w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim do połowy XVII wieku*, [in:] idem, *O dawnej i niedawnej Litwie*, Poznań 1988, p. 89.

believer.¹² The councilors and the burgomasters formed the most important institution of the city of Polotsk – the Council. In Magdeburgian cities it usually controlled trade, tax collecting, declared new acts, tried civil cases.¹³

When the Magdeburgian charter was issued to Polotsk, all the citizens of this city became subordinate to the Magdeburgian courts and officials. Meanwhile the clergy and nobility of Polotsk were in a different situation. The noblemen, just like earlier, remained subordinate to the vicegerents (till 1503) and palatines (since 1503) of Polotsk who were nominated by Grand Dukes of Lithuania. The privilege of 4 October 1498 can be assessed as Alexander Jagiellon's attempt to unite various social groups in one combined stratum of citizens. However, it was hard to achieve. So, Grand Duke of Lithuania had to determine the jurisdiction of the Magdeburgian courts more precise with additional documents. In spite of this, all available data show that most of the Magdeburgian officials appeared in Polotsk soon after 1498. The "voigt", the burgomasters and the councilors of Polotsk were mentioned in the summer of 1499. The "voigt's" deputy "landvoigt" was mentioned for the first time in 1501. Meanwhile the first benchers (officers who solved criminal cases) were mentioned for the first time much later – only in 1532.

During the period of 1498–1563 Magdeburgian institutions of Polotsk had experienced some very important changes. One of them is related to Grand Duke of Lithuania Sigismund the Old's (1506–1544) list of 27 August 1510 which confirmed Magdeburg Law to the city of Polotsk.¹⁸ The number of the councilors was increased from 20 to 24. They had to be selected by the "voigt" and the burgomasters (one half of the councilors had to be catholics and the other half – orthodox believers). Moreover, there was added a provision that

¹² LM 5, p. 111. In some other Magdeburgian cities of the GDL (e.g. Drohiczyn, Minsk) the local administration had been formed in a similar way (Iwo Jaworski, *Przywileje miejskie na prawo niemieckie w Wielkiem Księstwie Litewskiem*, [in:] *Rocznik Prawniczy Wileński. Organ Wydziału Prawa i Nauk Społecznych Uniwersytetu Stefana Batorego w Wilnie oraz Tow. Prawniczego im. Daniłowicza*, r. 3, red. Wacław Komarnicki, Wilno 1929, p. 13).

¹³ J. Kiaupienė, R. Petrauskas, op.cit., p. 305.

¹⁴ К. PIETKIEWICZ, op. cit., p. 184; Maksim MAKARAŸ, Ad pasada da magdeburgii: pravavoye stanovishcha nasel'nitstva mestaў Belaruskaga Padzvinnya ў XIV – pershay palove XVII st., Minsk 2008 [Максім Макараў, Ад пасада да магдэбургіі: прававое становішча насельніцтва местаў Беларускага Падзвіння ў XIV – першай палове XVII ст., Мінск 2008], pp. 70–73; Polotskiye gramoty, t. 2, pp. 240–241.

¹⁵ LM 5, p. 140; Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga nr. 6 (1494–1506). Užrašymų knyga 6, par. Algirdas Baliulis, Vilnius 2007 (further cit. LM 6), p. 212.

¹⁶ DSK (1494-1504), p. 194.

 $^{^{\}rm 17}$ Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas (further cit. LVIA), Vilnius, MKF-2 (Lietuvos Metrika) (further cit. MKF-2), kn. 35, fol. 61v.

¹⁸ Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga nr. 8 (1499–1514). Užrašymų knyga 8, par. Algirdas Baliulis, Romualdas Firkovičius, Darius Antanavičius, Vilnius 1995 (further cit. LM 8), pp. 382–386.

the councilors have to be appropriate people – "God-fearing, smart, without thinking about any kind of presents". The provision of the privilege of 4 October 1498 that the "voigt" and the councilors have to select among themselves two burgomasters (one catholic and one orthodox believer) also was declared in the list of 27 August 1510.

During the first half of the 16th century the number of the burgomasters had increased as well as the number of the councilors. Even four burgomasters are mentioned in 1552.²⁰ It is not known why and when exactly the number of the burgomasters had doubled. It was probably necessary in order to make the administration of the city of Polotsk more efficient.

Another important change was related to the post of the "voigt". Between the years 1514 and 1519 Grand Duke of Lithuania Sigismund the Old decided to give this post to the palatine of Polotsk who had not been connected with self-government of the city of Polotsk before that. So, the prerogatives of both posts were concentrated in one person's hands. Grand Duke made such a decision in order to solve the conflicts between the palatines of Polotsk and the local citizens. However, this decision had unforeseen consequences. The opposite between the palatines and the citizens did not disappear and the lead of self-government of the city of Polotsk was *de facto* taken by the "voigt's" deputy "landvoigt".

The documents of Magdeburg Law and other sources allow us to research the stratum of the officials of the city of Polotsk at theoretical level. In historiography the officers of Magdeburgian cities are often called "patricians" or "elite". The differences between these two scientific terms have already been discussed by Lithuanian historian Aivas Ragauskas. ²² The term of "patricians" implicates officials' inheritable power and juridical legitimization of such power. None of the aforementioned documents and other known sources legitimated inheritable power of the officials of the city of Polotsk. So, they should not be called "patricians". Meanwhile the term of "elite" implicates authority which is not necessarily inheritable and in the case of Polotsk is not at variance with infor-

 $^{^{19}}$ Ibid., р. 385: "А мают на тот вряд обирати людеи годных – набожъных, смысльныхъ, бес каждых даров под сумненемь".

 $^{^{20}}$ *Polotskaya reviziya 1552 goda*, k izdaniyu prigotovil Ivan Ivanovich Lappo, Moskva 1905 [Полоцкая ревизия 1552 года, к изданию приготовил Иван Иванович Лаппо, Москва 1905], pp. 15, 31–33.

²¹ Vasil' Varonin, *Voyt-vayavoda i myashchane ў kanfliktse 1558 goda ў Polatsku*, Sotsium. Al'manakh sotsial'noï istoriï, vip. 7, Kiïv 2007 [Васіль Варонін, *Войт-ваявода і мяшчане ў канфлікце 1558 года ў Полацку*, Соціум. Альманах соціальної історії, вип. 7, Київ 2007], р. 60; V. A. Voronin, *Magdeburgskoye pravo v Polotske*, pp. 239, 240.

²² Aivas RAGAUSKAS, Vilniaus miesto valdantysis elitas XVII a. antrojoje pusėje (1662–1702 m.), Vilnius 2002, pp. 10–13.

mation of sources. So, we think that the officials of the city of Polotsk should be called "the ruling elite".

It is also important to find out how the officials of the city of Polotsk were related to other local officials. Contemporary historians suggest that before Grand Duke of Lithuania Alexander Jagiellon gave to the city of Polotsk Magdeburg Law the city and the land (i.e. region) of Polotsk had been functioning as a unified social structure.²³ As mentioned earlier, all free inhabitants of Polotsk had a right to participate in discussing the questions related to the city. So, there is no reason to talk about a separate ruling elite of the city of Polotsk before 1498. There was a common ruling elite of the city and the land of Polotsk. The vicegerents of Polotsk had been the most important officers and leaders of this common ruling elite since the reign of Grand Duke of Lithuania Vytautas (1392-1430). Lower officers of Polotsk (e.g. "bobrovnichy", "choruzhy", "gorodnichy", "kliuchnik", "mostovnichy", "tiun") usually belonged to the stratum of local nobility and were subordinate to the vicegerents (till 1503) and palatines (since 1503) of Polotsk. After giving Magdeburg Law to Polotsk these officers became a separate ruling elite that represented the interests of local nobility and was not related to Magdeburgian institutions. ²⁴ So, there formed two separate centres of power which were symbolized by a "castle" (administrative jurisdiction of the vicegerent/palatine) and a "city" (administrative jurisdiction of the Magdeburgian officials), also by separate legal (the land and the city) and judicial (the castle and the Magdeburgian courts) systems.²⁵

²³ Stefan ROHDEWALD, "Vom Polocker Venedig". Kollektives Handeln sozialer Gruppen einer Stadt zwischen Ost- und Mitteleuropa (Mittelalter, frühe Neuzeit, 19. Jh. bis 1914). (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa, Bd. 70), Stuttgart 2005, p. 167; Ch. WERDT, op.cit., p. 164; М. Макараў, op.cit., p. 68.

²⁴ It is mentioned in Grand Duke of Lithuania Alexander Jagiellon's judgement of 12 July 1499 that cases which belong to administrative jurisdiction of the vicegerent of Polotsk have to be tried together with "the supreme noblemen" ("старшие бояре") (*LM 6*, р. 210). According to information of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica (e.g. *Belaruski arkhiÿ*, t. 2 (*XV–XVI st.*), padrykhtavaÿ Z'mitro Daÿgyala, Mensk 1928 [*Беларускі архіў*, т. 2: (*XV–XVI ст.*), падрыхтаваў Зьмітро Даўгяла, Менск 1928) not only the officials of Polotsk ("bobrovnichy", "choruzhy", etc.) but also other influential noblemen were called "the supreme noblemen". This group can be interpreted as the local noblemen's elite which was much bigger than the ruling elite (i.e. officials) of Polotsk. Besides, in the same judgement of 12 July 1499 is mentioned another group – "the supreme citizens" ("старшие мещане") (*LM 6*, р. 211). This group can be interpreted as the local citizens' elite which consisted not only of the officials of the city of Polotsk.

 $^{^{25}}$ Separate administrative jurisdictions of the vicegerent/palatine and Magdeburgian officials of Polotsk are well represented in the aforementioned judgement of 12 July 1499 (LM 6, p. 210: "Вырок албо постановене промежы бояр и мещан полоцких з стороны судов и иншых порядковъ etc. Сам Александръ, Божю милостью. Смотрели есмо с Паны Радою нашою промежи бояр полоцких и мещан о томъ деле, што есмо дали мещаном полоцкимъ и путным людем право немецкое речоное маитбарское и выняли их с права городского,

In the 2^{nd} decade of the 16^{th} century the palatine's of Polotsk situation became special. We have already mentioned that Grand Duke of Lithuania Sigismund the Old decided to give the post of the "voigt" to the palatine of Polotsk. So, the palatine joined the ruling elite of the city of Polotsk. Nevertheless, separate judicial systems of the castle and the Magdeburgian courts, as well as two ruling elites, remained.

Of course, real life is much more complicated than theoretical models created by historians. The history of Polotsk is no exception. So, in order to understand better the evolution of the city of Polotsk we have to take into account its officials' personalities and careers.

THE OFFICIALS' OF THE CITY OF POLOTSK PERSONALITIES

According to our collected data (see Appendix), 46 persons had become the officials of the city of Polotsk during the period of 1498–1563. Such a quantity can be interpreted as small, since there had to be solely 20–24 councilors in Polotsk at the same time. The problem is that there are few sources related to the institutions of the city of Polotsk left. We do not know any documents with detail list of all city officials. Lack of such documents can be only in part compensated by the books of the Lithuanian Metrica and solitary documents which are scattered in various collections of documents and archives. However, even fragmental data provide us with valuable information.

The period of 1498 – the 1st decade of the 16th century is exclusive because all the officials' at that time (Bogdan, Jakob, Kerstan, Jakob Kezmark, Radion, Sidko and Tvorovski) origin is not known. Such a situation is determined by the fact that almost all these officials, with the exception of Jakob Kezmark, are mentioned only by names in sources and we do not know their patronymics or surnames. However, some officials' names allow us to predict their origin. E.g. councilor of Polotsk in 1507 Kerstan, judging from his name, must have been German. ²⁶ Meanwhile two first "voigts" of Polotsk Radion and Tvorovski could have been Poles. Such presumption can be made considering their

и дали им воита, которыи же мает их судити з бурмистры и з радъцы тым правомъ маитбарскимъ, вынявшы земляного права, што ся тычет земли, того есмо въ их право не вписали, абы их воит судил о земляном деле, и о иных члонкохъ, которыи прислухают к городскому праву наместника нашого полоцкого, которыи от насъ город держить"). Other sources allow us to relate these two jurisdictions directly with separate areas of the "castle" and the "city" of Polotsk (LM 5, p. 150: "Постановене промежи замком и местом Полоцкимъ [...]"; Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga nr. 14 (1524–1529). Užrašymų knyga 14, par. Laimontas Karalius, Darius Antanavičius, Vilnius 2008 (furhter cit. LM 14), p. 98: "А которыи мешчане [...] домы мають в замъку и в месте Полоцкомъ, [...]"). See also S. Rohdewald, op.cit., pp. 179–183.

013111/0 grumoty, t. 2, p. 201.

²⁶ Polotskiye gramoty, t. 2, p. 261.

names and tendency, when Poles used to become the first "voigts" in many ruthenian cities of the GDL.

Most of the aforementioned officials had been connected with the court of Grand Duke of Lithuania Alexander Jagiellon. Burgomasters Bogdan and Jakob, "landvoigt" Jakob Kezmark and "voigt" Radion are mentioned in the account books of the court of Alexander Jagiellon.²⁷ There is no doubt that all these officials had managed to get posts in Polotsk because of their relations with the court of Grand Duke of Lithuania. Besides, Alexander Jagiellon was concerned with a smooth formation of Magdeburgian institutions in Polotsk. So, it was important that the officials of the city of Polotsk had the possibility to maintain connections with the court of Grand Duke of Lithuania.

The sources of the 2nd decade of the 16th century – 1563 provide us with much more abundant information. We managed to find 40 persons who had been the officials of the city of Polotsk during this period.²⁸ Most of them were local citizens. 22 officials undoubtedly belonged to this group. It was Havrila Aleksiejevič, Sava and his sons Jakov and Semion Saviči Berniščovy, Pietr Fidiajev, Ivan Kuchta, Grigori Michajlovič, Ivan Matfiejevič Migun, Michna and Stepan Ovsianikovy, Davyd, his son Maksim Davydavič and Fiedor Pankovy²⁹, Ivan Pietraškovič, Ivan Poriadnia, Spirid Savič, Tiška Antusov Silvestrovič, Jeska Skorina, Ivan and Pietr Stanovskies, Havrila Ščiuka and Levon Onikijevič

²⁷ DSK (1494–1504), pp. 40, 194, 196, 206.

²⁸ Havrila Aleksiejevič, Olchromiei Andriejevič, Fiedor Apanka, Stanislav Grigalovič Astikovič, Sava and his sons Jakov and Semion Saviči Berniščovy, Stanislav Stanislavovič Dovoino, Pietr Fidiajev, Pietr Fiedorovič, Albert Martinovič Gaštold, Fedko Gvozd, Jan Jurievič Hlebovič, Jakob, Pietr Stanislavovič Kiška, Jakob Klimovič, Ivan Kuchta, Jakob Lavski, Stanislav Indrichovič Lodia, Prokop Medvedica, Ostaška Meleškovič, Grigori Michajlovič, Ivan Matfiejevič Migun, Michna and Stepan Ovsianikovy, Davyd, his son Maksim Davydavič and Fiedor Pankovy, Ivan Pietraškovič, Mitka Pietrovič, Ivan Polujan, Ivan Poriadnia, Spirid Savič, Tiška Antusov Silvestrovič, Jeska Skorina, Ivan and Pietr Stanovskies, Martin Truchonovič Ščit, Havrila Ščiuka and Levon Onikijevič Volk. Burgomaster of Polotsk Jakob, reckoned in this group, had been working as burgomaster in the previous period (1498 – the 1st decade of the 16th century) as well.

²⁹ It is thought that this family had been descended not from Polotsk, but from the land of Kiev (Vasil' Alyakseyevich Varonin, *Testament polatskaga burmistra Davyda Pankova 1559 g.*, [in:] *Gistoryya i arkhealogiya Polatska i Polatskay zyamli. Materyyaly IV Mizhnarodnay navukovay kanferentsyi*, Polatsk 2002 [Васіль Аляксеевіч Варонін, *Тэстамент полацкага бурмістра Давыда Панкова 1559 г.*, [in:] *Гісторыя і археалогія Полацка і Полацкай зямлі. Матэрыялы IV Міжнароднай навуковай канферэнцыі*, Полацк 2002], pp. 32–33). However, Pankovy managed to adapt to the inhabitants of Polotsk and in sources are often called local citizens. We consider this circumstance to be much more important than implied descent from elsewhere.

Volk.³⁰ One official – Stanislav Indrichovič Lodia – was local nobleman.³¹ Information about three officials – Ostaška Meleškovič, Mitka Pietrovič and Martin Truchonovič Ščit – is discrepant. They were either local citizens or noblemen.³² The palatines and "voigts" of Polotsk Stanislav Grigalovič Astikovič, Stanislav Stanislavovič Dovoino, Albert Martinovič Gaštold, Jan Jurievič Hlebovič and Pietr Stanislavovič Kiška were illocal noblemen. Meanwhile parentage and social status of Olchromiei Andriejevič, Fiedor Apanka, Pietr Fiedorovič, Fedko Gvozd, Jakob, Jakob Klimovič, Jakob Lavski, Prokop Medvedica and Ivan Polujan are not clear.

Religion of the officials of the city of Polotsk is as much important in our research as their parentage and social status. There is no doubt that most of the inhabitants of Polotsk in the first half of the 16th century were orthodox believers.³³ But it was mentioned in the documents issued by Alexander Jagiellon and Sigismund the Old that half of the councilors and the burgomasters in Polotsk must be catholics. It is impossible to find out whether such a provision was really put into practice because officials' religion in written sources is not mentioned. According to the officials' names, at the turn of the 16th century a catholic person actually had the possibility to become a burgomaster or councilor in Polotsk. But since the 2nd decade of the 16th century sources show domination of natives in the ruling elite of the city of Polotsk (apart from the "voigts"). It enables to presume that catholics probably did not have the pos-

³⁰ Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga nr. 523 (1528). Viešųjų reikalų knyga 1, par. Algirdas Baliulis, Artūras Dubonis, Vilnius 2006 (further cit. LM 523), p. 140; Belaruski arkhiy, t. 2, pp. 163, 164, 178, 199, 218, 227, 251, 263, 275, 287; Polotskaya reviziya 1552 goda, pp. 9, 16–18, 21, 23, 26, 32–34, 36, 38, 39, 43, 44, 155.

³¹ Belaruski arkhiÿ, t. 2, pp. 198, 241–245, 249. In contemporary history one can find a presumption that Stanislav Indrichovič Lodia's father Indrich Lodiata was Czech and settled down in Polotsk at the turn of the 16th century (*Polotskiye gramoty*, t. 2, p. 248). However, even if this presumption is true, Stanislav Indrichovič Lodia undoubtedly adapted to the noblemen of Polotsk.

³² In the case of Ostaška Meleškovič compare the references of noblemen and citizens of Polotsk who had patronymic Meleškoviči in *LM 523*, p. 139; *Belaruski arkhi*ў, t. 2, pp. 268, 269; *Polotskaya reviziya 1552 goda*, p. 42. In the case of Mitka Pietrovič compare the references in *LM 8*, p. 215; *LM 523*, p. 139; *Polotskiye gramoty*, t. 1, p. 426–427, 571. In the case of Martin Truchonovič Ščit compare the references in *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga nr. 49 (1566–1572). Užrašymų knyga 49*, par. Eglė Deveikytė, Vilnius 2014 (further cit. *LM 49*), p. 29; *Belaruski arkhi*ў, t. 2, pp. 163, 164, 178, 227, 278–280, 287.

³³ Viktar Uladzimiravich Үакubaў, *Mizhkanfesiyanal'nyya kanflikty ў Polatskim vayavodstve (1550–1618 gg.)*, Studia historica Europae Orientalis. Issledovaniya po istorii Vostochnoy Yevropy. Nauchnyy sbornik, vyp. 2, Minsk 2009 [Віктар Уладзіміравіч Якубаў, *Міжканфесіянальныя канфлікты ў Полацкім ваяводстве (1550–1618 гг.)*, Studia historica Europae Orientalis. Исследования по истории Восточной Европы. Научный сборник, вып. 2, Минск 2009], р. 176.

sibility to get half places in the Council of Polotsk. Besides, in the middle of the 16th century a significance of Protestantism in this city came to light.³⁴ This could have influenced the structure of the ruling elite of the city of Polotsk, although sources do not confirm that directly.

According to Lithuanian historian Rimvydas Petrauskas, in Magdeburgian cities of the GDL the burgomasters, councilors and benchers used to exercise their functions until death. So, institutions of such cities had become oligarchic, all power was concentrated among small groups of the richest merchant families.³⁵ But according to our collected data, situation in the city of Polotsk was different. Most of the local officials had been the only members of their families in the ruling elite of the city. Only few local citizen families had more than one member who had become Magdeburgian official in Polotsk. Among such families were Berniščovy, Ovsianikovy, Pankovy and Stanovskies. But information about these families do not show that their members were able to inherit local posts. The most influential citizens of Polotsk were called "the supreme citizens" ("старшие мещане").36 This group was not constant and changed during the time. It means that influential citizens' children not always managed to become the officials of the city of Polotsk. On the contrary, some of the officials had not belonged to "the supreme citizens" before getting local posts. It is mentioned in one document that nobleman of Polotsk Martin Truchonovič Ščit came to the city of Polotsk and took care of getting the posts of burgomaster and councilor because he had become impoverished.³⁷ It looks like he managed not only to get these posts but also to adapt to the citizens of Polotsk because he is mentioned among them in written sources very often.³⁸

We have already mentioned that according to the documents which were issued by Alexander Jagiellon and Sigismund the Old the burgomasters and the councilors of the city of Polotsk had to be periodically elected. However, sources do not provide us with information whether this provision was really put into practice. It is also hard to tell whether any of the officials of the city of Polotsk managed to exercise their functions until death. E.g. Davyd Pankov and Tiška Antusov Silvestrovič had been mentioned as burgomasters in sources for a very long time – a couple of decades (see Appendix). But it is not clear whether they had been the burgomasters permanently or had been elected periodically.

³⁴ Ibid

³⁵ J. Kiaupienė, R. Petrauskas, op.cit., p. 306.

³⁶ *LM* 6, p. 211.

³⁷ LM 49, p. 29.

³⁸ Belaruski arkhiy, t. 2, pp. 163, 164, 178, 227, 278–280, 287.

A more detailed analysis of Davyd Pankov's career allows to presume that both periodical election of officials and exercise of their functions permanently (maybe even until death) was possible. Periodicity of tenure can be traced at the beginning of Davyd Pankov's career. On 18 March 1533 he was mentioned as the burgomaster of the city of Polotsk, on November 26 – as the councilor, on December 15 – as the "landvoigt". So, in a very short period of time Davyd Pankov had held three posts one after another. Other known officials of the city of Polotsk also held only one post at the same time. This circumstance allows to presume that it was forbidden to hold more than one post in the administration of the city of Polotsk. It was possible only to move on from one post to another. Such a restriction, if it was really put into practice, was logical because accumulation of posts in one person's hands could have been threatening to self-government of the city of Polotsk.

According to data of sources, since the end of 1533 Davyd Pankov's career had become more stable. He had been the "landvoigt" of Polotsk at least until 3 July 1534. 40 Meanwhile since 27 December 1536 until 16 December 1559 he had been mentioned in sources as the burgomaster of Polotsk. 41 As mentioned before, it is not clear whether Davyd Pankov had been the burgomaster permanently or had been elected periodically. But it looks like he had not got any other posts during that time.

Information about the nomination procedure of the "voigts" and "land-voigts" of the city of Polotsk is much more abundant. These two officials, contrary to all the rest Magdeburgian officials, were not elected, but nominated by Grand Dukes of Lithuania or the palatines of Polotsk. We have already mentioned that between the years 1514 and 1519 Grand Duke of Lithuania Sigismund the Old decided to give the post of the "voigt" to the palatine of Polotsk. Since then every new palatine automatically got the post of the "voigt". However, the lead of self-government of the city of Polotsk was *de facto* taken by the "voigt's" deputy "landvoigt".

According to V. Varonin, the post of the "voigt" was given to the palatine of Polotsk after the local citizens and the "voigt" Mitka Pietrovič had come into conflict with the palatine Albert Martinovič Gaštold (1513–1519). The Council of Lords of GDL court solved this conflict and decided that Gaštold was right. Grand Duke of Lithuania Sigismund the Old took into account these

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 115, 222, 227.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 251.

⁴¹ Davyd Pankov had been mentioned as the burgomaster of the city of Polotsk four times during that period: on 27 December 1536, 15 March 1538, 9 March 1552 and 16 December 1559 (see Appendix).

events and decided to give the post of the "voigt" to the palatine of Polotsk. Meanwhile Mitka Pietrovič was given the post of the "landvoigt".⁴²

Such a reconstruction of events, suggested by V. Varonin, seems to be logical. However, there are no data that Grand Duke of Lithuania would have issued any documents concerning giving the post of the "voigt" to the palatine of Polotsk and giving the post of the "landvoigt" to Mitka Pietrovič. About such decisions we can only find out from contextual information, first of all, mentions of Mitka Pietrovič as the "voigt" and the "landvoigt" (see Appendix). Concrete conditions concerning giving the post of the "landvoigt" to him remain unknown.

Documents of the Lithuanian Metrica provide us with more information about appointment of two later "landvoigts" of the city of Polotsk – Jakob Klimovič and Stanislav Indrichovič Lodia. The case of Klimovič is especially interesting because at the time the post of the "landvoigt" was confirmed to him (on 31 July 1522) he was also the "voigt" of the city of Trakai. However, Grand Duke of Lithuania allowed Klimovič to keep both posts for only one year. After that time he had to refuse one of the posts. ⁴³ Data show that after one year had passed Klimovič remained the "voigt" of the city of Trakai and lost the post of "landvoigt" in Polotsk. On 17 October 1524 he was mentioned only as the "voigt" of the city of Trakai. ⁴⁴

Data show that Jakob Klimovič had not been deeply connected with the city of Polotsk. So, he was probably born somewhere else. He must have been given the post of "landvoigt" of this city due to his connections with the court of Grand Duke of Lithuania. No later than March 1525 Grand Duke Sigismund the Old gave this post to Stanislav Indrichovič Lodia who was also connected with his court. 45 By the way, when giving the post of "landvoigt" to Lodia Sigismund the Old, according to his words, took care of the citizens' of Polotsk interests and smooth effect of Magdeburg Law. 46

There is no doubt that such Grand Duke's opinion was very important to the citizens of Polotsk. Data of sources show that Stanislav Indrichovič Lodia tried to do the work of the "landvoigt" well and together with the citizens, the burgomasters and the councilors of the city of Polotsk defended the interests of the city when the citizens got in conflicts with the palatine and the "voigt" Pietr

⁴² V. A. Voronin, *Magdeburgskoye pravo v Polotske*, p. 239.

⁴³ LM 12, p. 128.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 340.

⁴⁵ See Belaruski arkhiÿ, t. 2, p. 249; LM 14, p. 84.

 $^{^{46}}$ LM 14, р. 84: "Жикгимонт etc. [...]. Што есмо дали лентвоитом дворанина нашого Станислава Лодю, мещаномъ места нашого Полоцкого, абыс справовали водле права своего маитъборъского".

Stanislavovič Kiška (1521–1532).⁴⁷ But there is no information that the citizens of Polotsk wanted Stanislav Indrichovič Lodia to become the "landvoigt". It could have been because Lodia was not a citizen, but nobleman.

Meanwhile the "landvoigts" of the city of Polotsk in the 4th decade of the 16th century Semion and Jakov Saviči Berniščovy and Davyd Pankov were local citizens. Semion Savič Berniščov is mentioned in one document as the palatine Pietr Stanislavovič Kiška's "landvoigt".⁴⁸ It means that the palatine of Polotsk started to nominate "landvoigts" by himself.

It is not known why Grand Duke of Lithuania stopped nominating "landvoigts". In any case, these changes gave some good results because the "landvoigts" and citizens' conflicts with the palatines settled down for a while. The palatine of Polotsk Pietr Stanislavovič Kiška must have decided to give the post of "landvoigt" to influential local citizen Semion Savič Berniščov in order to fix his relations with all the local citizens. Maybe this obstacle induced the later palatine of Polotsk Jan Jurievič Hlebovič (1532–1542) to give the post of "landvoigt" to local citizens as well. It was Jakov Savič Berniščov and Davyd Pankov. However, exact circumstances of their appointment are not known.

It is known that the palatines nominated the "landvoigts" not only in the 4th decade of the 16th century but later as well. Jakob Lavski was the "landvoigt" of Polotsk in 1558–1559 and was appointed by the palatine of that time Stanislav Stanislavovič Dovoino.⁴⁹ Both of their actions caused the citizens' of Polotsk dissatisfaction and forced them to appeal to the court of Grand Duke of Lithuania Sigismund Augustus (1544–1572) in 1558. It means that in the end of the 6th decade of the 16th century the "landvoigt" did not represent the local citizens' interests. Lack of data about Jakob Lavski allows to presume that he was not a citizen of Polotsk (contrary to the "landvoigts" of the 4th decade of the 16th century). So, the palatines' of Polotsk right to nominate the "landvoigts" had turned against the local citizens eventually.

There is not much information about the benchers of the city of Polotsk. They were mentioned for the first time in sources much later than other local officials – in 1532.⁵⁰ In Magdeburgian cities the benchers court was usually formed from the local citizens and its chairman was the "voigt".⁵¹ At least a part of the benchers of the city of Polotsk also were local citizens. But data of sources show that these officials in Polotsk were related with the "landvoigt" much more than with the "voigt". The "landvoigt" Jakob Lavski and the benchers of

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 97-99.

⁴⁸ Belaruski arkhiÿ, t. 2, p. 178.

⁴⁹ LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 249, fol. 126, 126v, 128.

⁵⁰ Ibid., kn. 35, fol. 61v.

⁵¹ J. Kiaupienė, R. Petrauskas, op.cit., p. 305.

the city of Polotsk participated when Davyd Pankov made one's will in 1559.⁵² There is no additional data about competence of the benchers and their exact relations with the "landvoigt". We can only add that the benchers together with the councilors and the burgomasters of the city of Polotsk expressed their dissatisfaction with the palatine's of Polotsk actions.⁵³ It means that the benchers were concerned to preserve self-government of the city.

Conclusions

The main aspects of putting Magdeburg law into practice in Polotsk were described in the documents issued by Grand Dukes of Lithuania Alexander Jagiellon in 1498 and Sigismund the Old in 1510. These documents regulated the election system, competence and number of some officials of the city of Polotsk – the "voigt", burgomasters and councilors. But the posts of "landvoigt" and benchers were not discussed.

In order to make Magdeburg law in Polotsk more efficient it had to be coordinated with the previous practice of self-government and correspond to the local citizens' interests. It was hard to achieve. So, it is very likely that not all norms of the forementioned documents were really put into practice. One of such norms could have been sustaining equal number of catholics and orthodox believers in the Council of Polotsk. Moreover, there was a constant need to change some aspects of the documents of 1498 and 1510. The most important changes were giving the post of the "voigt" to the palatine of Polotsk and doubling the number of the burgomasters.

The research showed that most of the officials of the city of Polotsk during the period of 1498–1563 were local citizens. The local noblemen also had the possibility to get the posts in this city but they make only a small number of all the officials. The palatines of Polotsk, who were also the "voigts" since the 2nd decade of the 16th century, were illocal noblemen. Illocal persons had the possibility to get other posts in the city of Polotsk as well. But it is impossible to find out exact number of illocal and local persons who had been the officials of the city of Polotsk because some of their parentage is not known. In some cases it can only be predicted according to officials' names.

The research also showed that the posts in the city of Polotsk were not inheritable, the officials did not become patricians. Data show that it was possible for a local citizen only to inherit influence of one's parents. But such influence not always guaranteed that a person will definitely become the local official. Not only a person's parentage, but also connections with the court of

⁵² V. A. VARONIN, Testament polatskaga burmistra, p. 37.

⁵³ LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 249, fol. 133-133v.

Grand Duke of Lithuania and the palatines' of Polotsk patronage could affect career in the city of Polotsk.

APPENDIX

THE OFFICIALS OF THE CITY OF POLOTSK IN 1498–1563⁵⁴

I. "Voigts", "Landvoigts" and Benchers

"Voigts"

Radion

5 June 1499 (*LM 5*, p. 140) **14 July 1499** (*LM 6*, p. 212)

Tvorovski

1501–1506⁵⁵ (Belaruski arkhiy, t. 2, p. 247)

Mitka Pietrovič

7 **March 1514** (*Lietuvos Metrika*. *Knyga nr. 9 (1511–1518*). *Užrašymų knyga 9*, par. Krzysztof Pietkiewicz, Vilnius 2003, p. 227)

Between the years 1514 and 1519 the post of the "voigt" was given to the palatines of Polotsk

Albert Martinovič Gaštold

after 7 March 1514⁵⁶

5 March 1519 (*Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga nr. 1 (1380–1584*). *Užrašymų knyga 1*, par. Algirdas Baliulis, Romualdas Firkovičius, Vilnius 1998 (further cit. *LM 1*), p. 76)

 $^{^{54}}$ In this Appendix we indicate all known to us mentions of the officials which are dated exactly or at least allow us to determine approximately the time when the officials held their posts. We make an exception only for the palatines of Polotsk who were also "voigts" since the $2^{\rm nd}$ decade of the $16^{\rm th}$ century. In the case of these officials we indicate only the dates when they were mentioned as the palatines of Polotsk for the first and the last time.

 $^{^{55}}$ Approximate date can be determined by the time when Alexander Jagiellon was King of Poland

 $^{^{56}}$ Albert Martinovič Gaštold was the "voigt" of Polotsk later than Mitka Pietrovič, i.e. after 7 March 1514.

Stanislav Grigalovič Astikovič

after 5 March and before 9 September 1519⁵⁷

Pietr Stanislavovič Kiška

16 July 1521 (*Lietuvos Metrika*. *Knyga nr. 10 (1440–1523)*. *Užrašymų knyga 10*, par. Egidijus Banionis, Algirdas Baliulis, Vilnius 1997, p. 85; *Litovskaya Metrika*, t. 1: *Knigi sudnykh del* (Russkaya istoricheskaya biblioteka, t. 20), Peterburg 1903 [*Литовская Метрика*, т. 1: *Книги судных дел* (Русская историческая библиотека, т. 20), Петербург 1903] (further cit. *RIB*, т. 20), column 1053) **until 10 November 1532** (*Lietuvos Metrika*. *Knyga nr. 15 (1528–1538)*. *Užrašymų knyga 15*, par. Artūras Dubonis, Vilnius 2002 (further cit. *LM 15*), p. 256)

Jan Jurievič Hlebovič

11/20 November 1532 (*LM 15*, p. 150–151; *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga nr. 17* (*1530–1536*). *Užrašymų knyga 17*, par. Laimontas Karalius, Darius Antanavičius (tekstai lotynų kalba), Vilnius 2015, p. 282)

before 24 May 1542 (*Metryka Vyalikaga Knyastva Litoўskaga. Kniga 28* (1522–1552). *Kniga zapisaў 28*, Padrykhtoўka tekstaў da druku i navuk. aparat: Valery Myanzhynski, Uladzimir Svyazhynski, Mensk 2000 [*Метрыка Вялікага Княства Літоўскага. Кніга 28* (1522–1552). *Кніга запісаў 28*, Падрыхтоўка тэкстаў да друку і навук. апарат: Валеры Мянжынскі, Уладзімір Свяжынскі, Менск 2000] (further cit. *MVKL 28*), pp. 141–142)

Stanislav Stanislavovič Dovoino

24 May 1542 (*MVKL 28*, pp. 146, 147–148)

15 February 1563⁵⁸

"LANDVOIGTS"

Jakob Kezmark

1501 (*DSK* (*1494–1504*), p. 194) **28 June 1505** (*LM* 6, p. 56) **no earlier than 1506**⁵⁹ (*LM* 14, p. 103)

⁵⁷ Approximate time when Stanislav Grigalovič Astikovič was the palatine and "voigt" of Polotsk can be determined by the last mention of Albert Martinovič Gaštold as the palatine of Polotsk (*LM 1*, p. 76) and the earliest mention about Stanislav Grigalovič Astikovič's death (*Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga nr. 11 (1518–1523). Įrašų knyga 11*, par. Artūras Dubonis, Vilnius 1997, p. 97).

⁵⁸ Stanislav Stanislavovič Dovoino had been the "voigt" of Polotsk until 15 February 1563, when Polotsk was occupied by the Grand Duke of Moscow Ivan the Fearsome's army.

 $^{^{59}}$ Approximate date can be determined by the beginning of Grand Duke of Lithuania Sigismund the Old's ruling.

[641]

Sidko

2 July 1507 (*Polotskiye gramoty*, t. 1, p. 567)

Mitka Pietrovič

around 27 March – 2 May 1522?⁶⁰ (*RIB*, т. 20, column 1065) **before 14 October 1524**⁶¹ (*LM 12*, p. 335)

Jakob Klimovič

31 July 1522 (LM 12, p. 128)

Stanislav Indrichovič Lodia

27-31 March 1525 (*LM 14*, p. 296)

26 March 1526 (*LM 14*, p. 84)

10 April 1527 (*LM 14*, p. 97)

12 April 1527 (*LM 14*, p. 103)

Semion Savič Berniščov

1532?62 (Belaruski arkhiy, t. 2, p. 171, 178)

Jakov Savič Berniščov

11 June 1533 (Belaruski arkhiÿ, t. 2, p. 163, 164)

16 June 1533 (*Belaruski arkhi*y, t. 2, p. 169)

19 August 1533 (*Belaruski arkhi*ў, t. 2, p. 187)

Davyd Pankov

15 December 1533 (Belaruski arkhiy, t. 2, p. 227)

29 April 1534 (Belaruski arkhiy, t. 2, p. 246)

3 July 1534 (Belaruski arkhiy, t. 2, p. 251)

Jakob Lavski

16/29 April 1558 (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 249, fol. 126, 126v, 128)

16 December 1559 (V. A. Varonin, *Testament polatskaga burmistra*, pp. 37, 40)

BENCHERS

Martin Truchonovič Ščit

9 July 1532 (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 35, fol. 61v)

 $^{^{60}\,\}text{Approximate}$ date is guessed according to the documents in $\it RIB,$ t. 20, columns 1064–1065, 1068–1069.

⁶¹ Judging from the mention, Mitka Pietrovič died before 14 October 1524.

⁶² The date is guessed according to V. A. VARONIN, *Magdeburgskoye pravo v Polotske*, p. 241.

Fedko Gvozd

9 July 1532 (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 35, fol. 61v)

Ostaška Meleškovič

9 July 1532 (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 35, fol. 61v)

Stepan Ovsianikov

18 November 1538 (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 35, fol. 62)

Ivan Polujan

16/29 April 1558 (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 249, fol. 133)

Ivan Matfiejevič Migun

16/29 April 1558 (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 249, fol. 133v)

Ivan Kuchta

16 December 1559 (V. A. Varonin, *Testament polatskaga burmistra*, p. 37)

Ivan Poriadnia

16 December 1559 (V. A. Varonin, Testament polatskaga burmistra, p. 37)

Spirid Savič

16 December 1559 (V. A. Varonin, *Testament polatskaga burmistra*, p. 37)

II. THE COUNCIL (BURGOMASTERS AND COUNCILORS)

BURGOMASTERS

Bogdan

1501 (*DSK* (1494–1504), p. 196)

Jakob

1502 (*DSK* (1494–1504), p. 206)

2 July 1507 (*Polotskiye gramoty*, t. 1, p. 567)

20 October 1524 (*LM 12*, p. 338)

Sava Berniščov

15 October 1524 (*LM 12*, p. 334)

30 March 1527 (*LM 14*, p. 371)

27 May 1527 (*LM 14*, pp. 370, 371)

Havrila Ščiuka

9 July 1532 (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 35, fol. 61v)

18 November 1538 (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 35, fol. 62)

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Davyd Pankov

- **18 March 1533** (*Belaruski arkhi*y, t. 2, p. 115)
- **27 December 1536** (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 21, fol. 46v)
- **15 March 1538** (*Belaruski arkhi*y, t. 2, p. 274)
- **9 March 1552** (*Polotskaya reviziya 1552 goda*, pp. 15, 31)
- **16 December 1559** (V. A. Varonin, *Testament polatskaga burmistra*, p. 37)

Ivan Stanovski

27 December 1536 (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 21, fol. 46v)

Tiška Antusov Silvestrovič

- **18 November 1538** (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 35, fol. 61v)
- **29 November 1551** (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 35, fol. 60, 62)
- **9 March 1552** (*Polotskaya reviziya 1552 goda*, pp. 15, 33)
- **20 May 1558** (*Lietuvos Metrika* (1555–1558). 37-oji Teismų bylų knyga (XVI a. pabaigos kopija), par. Irena Valikonytė, Lirija Steponavičienė, Vilnius 2010, p. 155)
- **18 February 1563** (Konstantin Baranov, Zapisnaya kniga Polotskogo pokhoda 1562/63 goda, Russkiy diplomatariy, vyp. 10, Moskva 2004 [Константин Баранов, Записная книга Полоцкого похода 1562/63 года, Русский дипломатарий, вып. 10, Москва 2004], р. 146; Rukopisnyye pamyatniki, vyp. 9: Kniga polotskogo pokhoda 1563 g. (Issledovaniye i tekst), nau. red. G. P. Yenin, Sankt-Peterburg 2004 [Рукописные памятники, вып. 9: Книга полоцкого похода 1563 г. (Исследование и текст), нау. ред. Г.П. Енин, Санкт-Петербург 2004 (further cit. Rukopisnyye pamyatniki, vyp. 9), р. 73)

Olchromiei Andriejevič

18 January 1539⁶³ (*Polotskiye gramoty XIII – nachala XVI vv.*, t. 3, sost. Anna Leonidovna Khoroshkevich, Moskva 1980 [Полоцкие грамоты XIII – начала XVI вв., т. 3, сост. Анна Леонидовна Хорошкевич, Москва 1980], р. 41)

Martin Truchonovič Ščit

- 4 December 1551 (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 242, fol. 207v)_
- **9 March 1552** (*Polotskaya reviziya 1552 goda*, pp. 15, 32)

Ivan Pietraškovič

- **9 March 1552** (*Polotskaya reviziya 1552 goda*, pp. 15, 32)
- **16 January 1553** (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 35, fol. 127v, 128)

⁶³ About this date see V. A. VARONIN, *Magdeburgskoye pravo v Polotske*, p. 241.

Levon Onikijevič Volk

24 April 1554 (Russko-yevreyskiy arkhiv. Dokumenty i materialy dlya istorii yevreyev v Rossii, t. 2: Dokumenty i regesty k istorii Litovskikh yevreyev (1550–1569)), sob. i izd. Sergey Aleksandrovich Bershadskiy, S.-Peterburg 1882 [Русско-еврейский архив. Документы и материалы для истории евреев в России, т. 2: Документы и регесты к истории Литовских евреев (1550–1569), соб. и изд. Сергей Александрович Бершадский, С.-Петербург 1882], р. 41)

16 December 1559 (V. A. Varonin, *Testament polatskaga burmistra*, p. 40)

Pietr Fiedorovič

16/29 April 1558 (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 249, fol. 133v)

Pietr Stanovski

16/29 April 1558 (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 249, fol. 133v) **29 July 1561** (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 256, fol. 779)

Maksim Davydavič Pankov

9 May 1561 (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 41, fol. 254, 254v; V. A. Varonin, *Testament polatskaga burmistra*, p. 37)

10 May 1561 (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 41, fol. 255v)

Pietr Fidiajev

18 February 1563 (K. Baranov, op.cit., p. 146; *Rukopisnyye pamyatniki*, vyp. 9, p. 73)

Councilors

Kerstan

2 July 1507 (*Polotskiye gramoty*, t. 1, p. 567)

Davyd Pankov

26 November 1533 (*Belaruski arkhi*y, t. 2, p. 222)

Martin Truchonovič Ščit

26 November 1533 (*Belaruski arkhi*y, t. 2, p. 222)

Ivan Stanovski

26 November 1533 (*Belaruski arkhi*y, t. 2, p. 222)

Fiedor Pankov

18 November 1538 (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 35, fol. 62)

Michna Ovsianikov

18 November 1538 (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 35, fol. 62)

www.zapiskihistoryczne.pl

Jeska Skorina

19 February 1553 (Russko-livonskiye akty, sobrannyye K. Ye. Nap'yerskim. Izdany Arkheograficheskoyu komissiyeyu, Sanktpeterburg 1868 [Русско-ливонские акты, собранные К. Е. Напьерским. Изданы Археографическою комиссиею, Санктпетербург 1868] (further cit. RLA), p. 381)

Havrila Aleksiejevič

19 February 1553 (*RLA*, p. 381)

Fiedor Apanka

16/29 April 1558 (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 249, fol. 133v)

Prokop Medvedica

20 November 1559 (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 253, fol. 27v)

Grigori Michajlovič

16 December 1559 (V. A. Varonin, *Testament polatskaga burmistra*, p. 40)

Ivan Matfiejevič Migun

29 July 1561 (LVIA, MKF-2, kn. 256, fol. 779)

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Porządek nominacji urzędników miasta Połocka w latach 1498–1563

Streszczenie

Słowa kluczowe: prawo magdeburskie, rada miejska, wielki książę litewski, wojewoda.

W artykule przedstawiony został problem nominacji urzędników miasta Połocka w latach 1498–1563. Wielki książę litewski Aleksander Jagiellończyk w 1498 r. nadał Połockowi prawo magdeburskie, co spowodowało powstanie urzędów samorządowych: wójta, landwójta, burmistrzów, rajców oraz ławników. Osoby je sprawujące reprezentowały interesy mieszczaństwa. Podstawowe aspekty wprowadzenia prawa

magdeburskiego w Połocku (w tym porządek nominacji urzędników miejskich) zostały przedstawione w wydanych przez Aleksandra Jagiellończyka i Zygmunta Starego w latach 1498 i 1510 przywilejach hospodarskich. W okresie 1498–1563 widać jednak wyraźne przemiany całego systemu samorządu miejskiego, wynikające nie tylko z wielkoksiążęcych przywilejów, lecz także będące wynikiem praktyki ich stosowania.

Nominierungsverfahren der Beamten der Stadt Polazk in den Jahren 1498–1563

Zusammenfassung

Schlüsselwörter: Magdeburger Recht, Stadtrat, Großfürst von Litauen, Woiwode

Der Beitrag schildert die Problematik des Nominierungsverfahrens der Beamten der Stadt Polazk in den Jahren 1498–1563. Großfürst von Litauen, Alexander der Jagiellone, verlieh Polazk 1498 das Magdeburger Recht, was zur Entstehung neuer Ämter der Selbstverwaltung wie Vogt, Landvogt, Bürgermeister, Ratsherren und Schöffen führte. Wer sie bekleidete, vertrat das Interesse des Bürgertums. Die grundlegenden Aspekte der Einführung des Magdeburger Rechtes in Polazk (darunter das Nominierungsverfahren der Stadtbeamten) wurden in den 1498 und 1510 von Alexander dem Jagiellonen und Sigismund I. herausgegebenen Gospodarprivilegien dargestellt. Zwischen 1498 und 1563 lassen sich jedoch deutliche Veränderungen des ganzen Systems der städtischen Selbstverwaltung erkennen, die nicht nur aus den großfürstlichen Privilegien resultierten, sondern auch die Folge ihrer Anwendung waren.

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