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INFLUX OF THE “OUTSIDE” NOBILITY INTO SAMOGITIA
IN THE 16TH CENTURY*

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The Grand Duke speaks. In 1542 at the Vilnius Sejm, representatives of Samogitia’s nobility presented the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania Sigismund I a petition in which, aside from other matters, they asked that attention be drawn to the fact that, “ижъ над права и прывилья их Литве и Руси, и Ляхом влады тивунгства сум[ь] розданы, чого за предьковъ его м[и]л[о]сти г[о]с[по]д[а]рских не бывало, а ихъ брат[ь]и а тамошгнимъ родичом и обывателемъ за их прозбою, за кимъ бы они просили, мели быт[ь] влады там в Жомойти роздаваны” [“in contravention of our rights and privileges, the bailiff [lith. *tijūnas*, pol. *ciwun*] positions are being handed out to Lithuanians, Rus’ians and Poles, something which was not done during the times of His Grace’s ancestors, as official positions there, in Samogitia, had to be allocated to [...] our brothers [i.e., to fellow Samogitians], local people born there”]. The king replied that he desired to uphold the set rights and privileges, but that it was not his fault that foreigners were becoming entrenched in Samogitian official positions, but the fault of the Samogitians themselves¹. It is not clear just what the king had in mind. He was probably blaming the Samogitians for selling their lands to foreigners. Obviously, the king’s response did not satisfy the Samogitians, as almost ten years later, at the regular Vilnius Sejm of 1551, they posed the same question to the young king, Sigismund II. Announcing the king’s will to the Samogitians, his representative simply replied: “Ижъ хочеть его королевская милость ведать, кому бы тамъ, въ Жомойти не оселому, врьдъ который былъ данъ, – абы есте то повелили” [“His Royal Grace wishes to know which non-Samogitian landowner

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¹ *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 231. (1540–1543). 12-oji Teismų bylų knyga*, parengė Irena VALIKONYTĖ, Neringa ŠLIMIENĖ, Saulė VISKANTAITĖ-SAVIŠČEVIENĖ, Lirija STEPONAVIČIENĖ, Vilnius 2007, pp. 210–211, no. 246.

was made a bailiff? Tell us?”². This answer also failed to satisfy the Samogitians, so in 1554 a request was again given at the sejm: “тежъ просили его королевской милости, абы влады въ земли Жомойтской не были даваны ни Литве ани Руси и неоселымъ, едно Жомойти, которые зъ отъцовъ и з родичовъ своихъ суть тамошние обыватели оселые, и то за прычыною старосты, тивуновъ, шляхъты” [“you also asked Your Royal Grace, that official positions in Samogitia would not be allocated to either Lithuanians, nor Rus’ians nor non-local landowners, but only to Samogitians, whose fathers and forefathers were born here, are local landowners, and [even] then only at the request of the elder, the bailiff, or nobility”]. A specific case that had offended the Samogitians was added. “Докладаете тежъ у прозьбахъ вашихъ, жалуючы на Юръчинского, ижъ онъ, будучы не тутошнего панства человекомъ, оберучы личъбы отъ васъ и слугъ вашихъ, з дворовъ и тивуновъ державъ вашихъ, васъ самыхъ, и слугъ вашихъ сормотить и никоторое бачъности на васъ, вьрядниковъ его королевское милости, не маеть, а безъ подарьку не отъправуетъ и личъбы слухати не хочеть, и просите, абы его королевская милость кого иньшого, обывателя того панства, Великого Князьства, на то установить розказать рачыль” [“In addition [...], you complain about Jurczinski, that he being a man not of this state, when collecting taxes from you and your men’s estates [...] offends you and your mens, and shows no respect towards you as His Royal Grace’s officials; nor does he allow you to pay your dues without leaving additional gifts, whilst rejecting the dues [actually being presented]. You also asked that His Royal Grace would order the appointment of some other bailiff of this state, the Grand Duchy, to that position”]. This time they received a no less clear answer: “То господарь его милость хоче опатровати по тому, яко за отца его милости славное памети и вжо за шчастливого панованья его королевское милости бывало” [“As far as this matter is concerned, His Royal Grace would like to act in the same manner as in the times of His Grace’s honourable father, and as was done during the joyous reign of His Royal Grace”]. In regards to the injustices being conducted by Jurczinski, the king recommended the claimants appeal to the grand duke’s court (that is, the court of the same Sigismund II)³. Unsurprisingly, at the sejm of 1559 the Samogitians were forced to repeat their questions: “Просили тежъ есте его королевской милости, жебы Ляхове и Русь, которымъ надъ прывилья ваши влады въ земли Жомойтской подаваны, зложоны з урядовъ были и впередъ абы чужоземъцомъ влады не даваны, одно вамъ, обователемъ земли томашнее” [“You asked His Royal Grace that regardless of any privileges, Poles and Rus’ians holding official positions in Samogitia would be cast out from those positions and that in future, foreigners would not be appointed as bailiffs, but [that these positions be granted only to] you, the indigenous landowners of this land”]. Just how

² *Русская историческая библиотека* (further: РИБ), т. 30: *Литовская Метрика*, отдел первый–второй, ч. 3: *Книги публичных дел*, ред. Иван Лаппо, Юрьев 1914, р. 200.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 256, 257.

far the process of foreigners’ entrenchment in Samogitia had gone was demonstrated in another petition made by the Samogitian nobility that same year: “Ешче просили есте [...] жебы его милость господарь [отъ] Ляховъ, Немъцовъ, Угровъ, которимъ въ земли Жомоитской оселости подаваны, рачыль вамъ дозволити скуповати, кгда же ся вамъ отъ нихъ великое утиснен[ь]е дееть” [“You also asked [...] that His Grace the ruler would allow you to buy back the lands in Samogitia granted to Poles, Germans and Hungarians, as this appeared to you as a great injustice”]. The king’s response was given in the already familiarly convoluted legal speak: “Его королевская милость рачыль [...] ижъ, яко на прошломъ сойме [...] около врядовъ постановлено, по тому жъ и васъ его королевская милость въ томъ заховати хочеть” [“His Royal Grace wishes that it would be as per the decision reached regarding bailiffs from the previous [...] seym”]. Meanwhile an even more confusing answer was received about the allocation of lands: “Господарь его милость рачыль розказати на то вамъ поведити: же его милость отъкладаеть то до постановенья, которое кгда во въсемъ паньстве его милости, Великомъ Князстве Литовьскомъ, вчынено будеть, по тому жъ и въ земли Жомойтьской заховати ся мають” [“His Grace deigns to reply that a decision on this matter will be postponed until its resolution in the entire state of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania...”]⁴. The king was simply shirking the issue and buying himself some time.

But let us leave the conversations of this proud grand duke, then still a patrimonial ruler in Lithuania, about legal prerogatives to historians of law. However some things are worth noticing. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th century, friction over official positions, incomes and the allocation of domains between the monarchy on the one side, and the regional communities of the nobility on the other was commonplace. These communities that lived on the peripheries had tried to cadge assurances from the grand dukes of Lithuania since the 15th century that local resources would be administered by locals, not by people sent in from elsewhere. However, not a single Lithuanian region, apart from Samogitia, in their dialogue with the centre ever used ethnic lexis to describe foreigners. Probably most important to note here is that Samogitians unreservedly included not only considered Hungarians, Germans and Poles as foreigners, but also Rus’ians and Lithuanians, that is, citizens of Lithuania. This particular understanding of what constituted a foreigner had a concrete legal source – a privilege granted to Samogitia no later than 1441. This document was validated by each ruler taking the throne of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania until the very end of the 17th century⁵. Thus the privilege was a functioning part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania’s legal system. Although historians have showed most interest in the articles of this privilege that reveal the autono-

⁴ Ibid., pp. 281–283.

⁵ *Žemaitijos žemės privilegijos XV–XVII a. Privilegia terrestria Samogitiensia saec. XV–XVII* (Historiae Lituaniae Fontes Minores, vol. 6), comp. Darius ANTANAVIČIUS, Eugenijus SAVIŠČEVAS, Vilnius 2010.

mous status of Samogitia, nevertheless, in Samogitians' relations with the ruler the most critical role is played by the privilege's first article that declares that Samogitia was never conquered, but became a territorial entity of Lithuania by the free will of the grand dukes⁶. Precisely this fact suggests that in the early 15th century, Lithuania's grand dukes were only creating their patrimonial rights in Samogitia. Their weak standing is revealed in other articles of the privilege in which the ruler promises not to interfere in the proceeds of the Samogitians' courts⁷ or expand his network of domain estates⁸. Yet in the long history of the application of this privilege, we can assume that the monarchy abided by its promises only as far as they coincided with its intentions. Probably the best reflection of this situation is the "missing" article from the text of the privilege from the times of Sigismund I, regarding the Samogitians' right to freely use their forests. Despite their long protests this right was never actually returned to the Samogitians, even though after some time the "missing" article found its way back into the privilege⁹.

The three-decade-long dialogue between the Samogitians and the king over foreigners ceased in the 1560s. In the surviving petitions from 1563, 1566 and 1568 made by the Samogitian nobility, the foreigners issue was no longer raised. The dialogue chronology between 1543 and 1563 shows that at precisely this time, a kind of breakthrough eventuated in Samogitian society. For the time being we can say that the differences in opinion and goals between the monarch and the Samogitians observed at the sejms of the mid-16th century naturally arose from the incompatibility of the provisions present in the Samogitians' privilege and the monarch's patrimonial rights. The monarch won! As a result, a large part of the responsibility for the entrenchment of foreigners in Samogitia falls on his shoulders. But, are foreigners such an unquestionable evil?

⁶ "Item nullus illis obicere debet, quod gladio et armis essent expugnati ad nostramque reducit obedientiam, sed quia nobis benivole adhaeserunt" (*Žemaitijos žemės privilegijos*, p. 41). This particular provision is associated not so much with the privilege granted by Grand Duke Casimir Jagiellon in 1441, but with a tradition that had become established back in Vytautas' times that is presented in the documents of Benedictus de Macra's commission: "Item dicimus, quod ab annis X, XX, XXX, XL, L, C et per tantum tempus, cuius contrarii memoria hominum non existit in terra Samaytharum non fuit aliquis princeps et dominus terre, sed erat una comunitas sub certis legibus, gubernacionibus et iure gencium vivens, usque ad tempora predictorum dominorum regis Polonie et ducis Lithwanie, quorum gubernacioni propter certos inimicorum insultus, non tamquam obnoxii, sed liberi, quamdum ipsis placuisset se submiserunt" (*Lites ac res gestae inter Polonos Ordinemque Cruciferorum*, ed. Ignacy ZAKRZEWSKI, vol. 2, Poznań 1892 (2nd edition), p. 150).

⁷ "Item ministeriales alias *dzieckie* ultra fluvium Niewieza (Nevėžis) mittere non debemus" (*Žemaitijos žemės privilegijos*, p. 42).

⁸ "Curiae nostrae novae in ipsorum districtibus per nos non sunt erigendae aut aedificandae nisi illae, quae tempore ducis Vitovdi erant ab antiquo, reficiendae et reformandae" (ibid. p. 43).

⁹ Eugenijus SAVIŠČEVAS, *Žemaitijos savivalda ir valdžios elitės 1409–1566 m.*, Vilnius 2010, pp. 134–142.

Polonization and migration. The approach of Lithuanian historiography¹⁰. The forefather of Lithuanian historiography, Samogitian Simonas Daukantas (Szymon Dowkont) (1793–1864), considered the most painful phenomenon in Lithuania's history to be the Polonization of the nobility. His attitude was quite popular amongst Lithuanians for a long time. It goes without saying that, in compliance with Daukantas' positions, it would be stated without any hesitation that Polonization was wrong and a major injustice for Lithuanians. In contemporary Lithuanian historiography a more differentiated view is being taken at cultural Polonization¹¹. Obviously, the more mature Polish culture alternative stopped the more intensive development of Lithuanian culture in its tracks. But it is also rather obvious that the Polish cultural mediation contributed to Lithuania's Europeanization¹².

In order to gain a deeper insight into cultural Polonization, it is worth noticing that it did not take place evenly in Lithuania and in Samogitia. In Lithuania, the major driving force of Polonization was the grand duke's court, which was usually also the court of the king of Poland. The magnates that in the 15th century was still almost entirely of Lithuanian origins was led towards Polish culture by the Church, and in the 16th century this process was accelerated *via* the more frequent marriages to Polish ladies. However, in Samogitia matters unfolded quite differently. The ruler's court was a great distance away. The Samogitians in effect did not really have their own magnates that could be considered to have been close to the throne. That is why it is thought that the Church contributed most towards the expansion of Polish culture.

In recent years, the history of Christianity in Samogitia has been widely researched in numerous studies¹³. From them I would draw attention to two impor-

¹⁰ By highlighting Lithuanian historiography I by no means intended to say that the input of Polish colleagues has not been valuable. In the contrary, the studies by Jan Jakubowski, Przemysław Dąbrowski, Maria Barbara Topolska, Marcei Kosman, Jan Jurkiewicz and other historians clearly enrich our research. However, they are not necessarily the most significant source of information when we are speaking about the Samogitian case.

¹¹ Rita Regina TRIMONIENĖ, *Polonizacija*, [in:] *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos kultūra. Tyrinėjimai ir vaizdai*, Vilnius 2001, pp. 492–507.

¹² The concept of Europeanization has been made overly significant in Lithuanian historiography. The basis of this concept was formed by Edvardas Gudavičius, see: idem, *Lietuvos europėjimo kelias. Istorinės studijos*, Vilnius 2002. For more on the predominance of this concept in the science of Lithuanian history see: Jūratė KIAUPIENĖ, Rimvydas PETRAUSKAS, *Lietuvos istorija*, vol. 4: *Nauji horizontai: Dinastija, visuomenė, valstybė. Lietuvos Didžioji Kunigaikštystė 1386–1529*, Vilnius 2009.

¹³ Naturally, first we should speak about research on the history of the Reformation: Vacys VAIVADA, *Katalikų bažnyčia ir Reformacija Žemaitijoje XVI a.: esminiai raidos bruožai*, Klaipėda 2004. The wave of studies on the position of the Catholic Church started somewhat later. Interestingly, several bodies of research have not been released as books, yet we do have three defended dissertations: Liudas JOVAIŠA, „The Catholic Reform in the Dioceses of Samogitia“ (Doctoral Dissertation), Vilnius 2004; Reda BRUŽAITĖ, „Parish Clergy in the Dioceses of Vilnius and Samogitia in the 15th–3rd Quarter of the 16th Century“ (Doctoral Dissertation), Vilnius 2012; Mangirdas BUMBLAUSKAS, „Samogitia's Christianisation and the Paganism factor (15th–16th c.)“ (Doctoral Dissertation), Vilnius 2014 (all three are in Lithuanian but there are English summaries). In addition, there is sufficient prosopographical material collected: Vytautas ALIŠAUSKAS, Tomasz JASZCZOŁT, Liudas JOVAIŠA,

tant things. First of all, the collected data about the clergy of 16th-century Samogitian parishes shows that here, until the last quarter of the 16th century, Poles made up a significant but not dominant percentage – from 31 to 42 percent of the clergy¹⁴.

On the other hand it is clear that the impact of Polonization on society that emerged *via* the Church's structures was not a rapid process. As studies show, the parish network in the Diocese of Samogitia was too sparse to have been able to implement its mission – to evangelize the Samogitians. Mangirdas Bumblauskas who researched the collision between Catholicism and the remains of paganism believes that Samogitia's parish network assured the Christianization of Samogitians only at the turn of the first and second quarters of the 17th century¹⁵. That means that we can hardly claim that in the 16th century the diocesan organization was a strong Polonizing force in Samogitian society.

The spread of Polish culture is reflected in research on the history of the nobles' estate in Samogitia. Polonization is rarely mentioned here, instead discussions of separate cases of the migration of foreigners are common. In this regard Rita Regina Trimonienė can be credited most for her detailed research on the destinies of foreigners in Samogitia in the second half of the 16th century to the first half of the 17th century. Her carefully assembled material from the Lithuanian Metrica and the Samogitian courts books shows that during the century mentioned above, around 350 foreigners who were held as the nobility settled in Samogitia for a shorter or longer period. Almost 80 percent were Poles. Around 200 of them settled in Samogitia in the second half of the 16th century. No less important is that according to the author, the arrivals from Poland, Prussia, and Livonia established themselves amongst the region's economic and political elite¹⁶. Trimonienė did not analyze reasons why foreigners in Samogitia appeared to move from the peak of the social pyramid. She was more interested in the ways foreigners acquired real estate property, which made it possible for them to become naturalized citizens. According to the historian, this was made possible thanks to the ruler's charters, the acquisition of land *via* marriage and purchase. All the same, R.R. Trimonienė gave a somewhat modern concept of "foreigners" in Samogitia, relating it only to those who were not Lithuanian citizens. As we saw, Samogitians in actual fact protested against not just the latter, but also against Rus'ians and Lithuanians. It appears the author based her approach on Mečislovas Jučas' thesis, that the latter

Mindaugas PAKNYS, *Lietuvos katalikų dvasininkai XIV–XVI a.* (Bažnyčios istorijos studijos, [vol.] 2), Vilnius 2009; Liudas JOVAIŠA, *Žemaičių vyskupijos dvasininkai 1601–1650 m.* (Bažnyčios istorijos studijos, [vol.] 5), Vilnius 2012, pp. 99–208.

¹⁴ R. BRUŽAITĖ, *op.cit.*, p. 153. Fluctuation of this percentage depends on whether we count the Christians originating from Podlasie, which belonged to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, as Lithuanians or as Poles.

¹⁵ M. BUMBLAUSKAS, *op.cit.*, pp. 153–167, 224.

¹⁶ Rita Regina TRIMONIENĖ, *Svetimšalių ir svetimtaučių bajorų imigracija į Žemaitiją XVI a. antroje pusėje – XVII a. pirmojoje pusėje. Imigracijos kultūriniai veiksniai ir įtakos Žemaičių visuomenei*, [in:] *Rytų Europos kultūra migracijos kontekste: tarpdalykiniai ryšiai*, Vilnius 2007, pp. 491–514.

should be treated not as foreigners, but as those who are foreign-born¹⁷. We can in part agree with this, but in the general context of migration, the value of this exception is not so great. Probably what is most important is that Trimonienė did not consider the migration of Lithuanians that was so pressing to the Samogitians at the time.

Historians studying case studies of specific families in the broader field of the history of Polish migration have made a different contribution. Two particular detailed case studies stand out: the case researched by Jonas Drungilas about the Gružewski family, and Raimonda Ragauskienė's study about the Skaszewski family¹⁸. Both studies offer material pointing to the motivation behind migrants' movements and the canals they took. In both cases the determining role of Lithuanian magnates, specifically the Radziwills (Radvilos), is demonstrated. It was in their interest, that is, the administration of allocated domains (both their own and elderships temporarily under their control), that encouraged magnates to expand their clientele base, sending their most reliable elements to their allocated domains. In the end, the most merited clients would earn a nobleman's support in acquiring land and status in regional Samogitian society. Generalizing these observations, there are grounds to claim that in the 16th century, the flood of “foreigners” into Samogitia would have been mostly encouraged by the functioning of the larger privately-owned land complexes. Both the grand dukes in managing their domains, and Lithuania's magnates usually acquiring lands by inheritance in Samogitia would administer them from Lithuania, exploiting the clientele that for the most part was from Lithuania also.

With this we could end the presentation of Lithuanian historiography's achievements, but it would nevertheless be worthwhile to return to a value assessment of the migration problem. As was already mentioned, Lithuanian historiography traditionally accepted Polonization in a negative light, along with the outcomes of the migration of foreigners. The latter were seen as intentionally spreading Polish culture, to the detriment of Lithuanian culture. However the situation was not so black-and-white. Drungilas gave a good example of this in his research. Jan, a second-generation representative of the Gružewski family that had settled in Samogitia, was fluent in Lithuanian and even had publications released in the Lithuanian language¹⁹. Without making any forced conclusions, we should nevertheless note that the integration of foreigners into Samogitian society did not necessarily denote the complete rejection of Samogitian (Lithuanian) culture. Without a doubt,

¹⁷ The article by Rita Regina TRIMONIENĖ, *Konfesinės problemos Žemaitijoje: stačiatikiai XVI a. II-oje pusėje*, *Lituanistica*, vol. 54: 2008, no. 2, pp. 1–13. See also: Mečislovas JUČAS, *Lietuvos ir Lenkijos unija (XIV a. vid. – XIX a. pr.)*, Vilnius 2000, pp. 214–222.

¹⁸ Jonas DRUNGILAS, *Etnosocialinis mobilumas Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje. Gruževskių giminės pavyzdys (XVI a. antroji pusė–XVIII a. pradžia)*, *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis*, 2004, no. 2, Vilnius 2005, pp. 53–75; Raimonda RAGAUSKIENĖ, *Klientelė Reformacijos verpetuose: bajoro Skaševskio biografijos tyrimas*, *Darbai ir dienos*, vol. 44, Kaunas 2005, pp. 189–210.

¹⁹ J. DRUNGILAS, op.cit., p. 62.

gradually integrating into the local community, the descendants would become more Lithuanian and at the same time gave an impulse to the development of Lithuanian culture.

Rex benefactor. Correcting the migration concepts for the 16th century in Samogitia that have been proposed in studies, it appears that signifying the dichotomy between “our own” (i.e., the Samogitians) and “the others” would be most important. Neither foreigners (migrants from the Kingdom of Poland or Livonia), nor foreign nationals – Rus’ians, Germans or Hungarians (with their own distinct confessional subtext) – are valid concepts as they do not take into account the Samogitian-Lithuanian distinction. To the Samogitians, Lithuanians were neither foreigners, nor foreign nationals, but simply “outsiders”, i.e., they had a different status to Samogitians in Samogitia. The latter difference arises from a separate Samogitian indigenate code that had its foundations in the Samogitian privilege. However, as we noted, the implementation of the privilege’s provisions did not depend on certain rights or codes, but more on the powers held by those actually in government. If we combine this issue with the problem of migration and migrants, then it would also be worth remembering that none of the ways of settling in Samogitia that are mentioned in historiography (*via* the benefaction of the ruler, the purchase of land or inheritance) could be considered legitimate without the approval of the grand duke. Especially until the Second Statute of Lithuania (1566) came into force.

Thus migration processes can be studied by analyzing the benefice policies of the grand dukes of Lithuania, which by no means would always synchronize with the aspirations prevailing among the regional communities of the nobility to stop the monarch from portioning out the region’s resources (land ownership, official positions, income and the like) amongst individuals who were not the indigenous inhabitants. Research of the benefice policies of the Lithuanian grand dukes from the first half of the 15th century (Vytautas, Sigismund Kiejstutowicz and Casimir Jagiellon) shows that at this time, the Lithuanian ruler’s prerogatives and the objectives of the Samogitian nobility did not intercross one another. During this period, the rulers of Lithuania quite intensively distributed benefices almost without exception only to the descendants of the Samogitian aristocracy²⁰. Sources from the second half of the 15th century are rather scarce, that is why our knowledge of aspects of the benefice policies of Casimir Jagiellon are not all that well known. It appears that as this ruler of Lithuania was often in Poland, the Kęsgaila magnates, who were of Lithuanian origin and held established positions as Samogitian elders, naturally handled matters concerning land ownership reallocation. Four generations of this particular family held onto their positions as elders of Samogitia. The

²⁰ See: Eugenijus SAVIŠČEVAS, *Polityka nadań wielkich księząt litewskich na Żmudzi w pierwszej połowie XV wieku*, *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne*, vol. 141: 2014, no. 2, pp. 479–508.

benefices they issued could have been retracted or left unauthorized by the ruler, but apparently, Casimir hardly paid any attention to these matters²¹. Of course, the benefices issued by the Kęsgailas, at least nominally, were related to the fluctuating will of the ruler (known as a temporary benefice – *do woli hospodarskoje*). However, as practice showed, these kinds of benefices would usually later be authorized by the ruler, giving them a longer period of rule (*do żywota*) or transferring ownership altogether (*na wiecznost*’).

In other words, the issue of benefices was almost always initiated by those who wished to be its recipients (the receiving side). That is why the access of those requesting benefices was markedly more feasible in Samogitia, simply making one’s appeal to the elder, and not the ruler. The grand duke encountered some legal-practical obstacles in his allocation of land in Samogitia. The provision in the Samogitian privilege that restricted the ruler’s right to create new manors also foresaw that apart from the former domain manors found on the banks of the Nemunas River, in the region the grand duke did not have any officials who would represent his interests, and as a result there was no quantitative record of the land or peasants there. Meanwhile, the privilege did not ban the elder from expanding his manors or from having a wide circle of servants who would defend his interests. The problem was made even more complicated by the false nature of the eldership of Samogitia (*Samogitia capitaneatus*). The eldership was created after a conflict with the Teutonic Order that ended with the Treaty of Melno (1422) which foresaw that a very large territory that had hitherto not been populated by Samogitians ended up being joined to the Samogitians’ Samogitia. So as to avoid confusion distinguishing between these territories, I suggest calling the territory inhabited by Samogitians in the 13th–14th century as Samogitia Minor whilst the part that was joined *via* diplomatic means should be called Greater Samogitia. Based on its area, Samogitia Minor comprised around a third of the eldership of Samogitia that was created in the beginning of the 15th century²². Colonization commenced in Greater Samogitia in the second half of the 15th century, a move that was pushed ahead by the Kęsgailas. Meanwhile the grand duke and his administration had absolutely no control over this process. In a legal sense, the status of the lands adjoined to Samogitia should have been *terra nullius*, and should have potentially belonged to the grand duke, but in fact, due to the mentioned promises made to the Samogitians, he could not have direct control over them. This ambiguity was resolved in the 16th century.

Significantly more writs of benefice from the reign of Alexander Jagiellon have survived to our times²³ which suggest the reinstatement of the grand duke’s prerogative to allocate lands in Samogitia. However even the benefice policies of this

²¹ Idem, *Žemaitijos savivalda*, pp. 146, 147.

²² Ibid., pp. 35–39.

²³ Krzysztof PIETKIEWICZ, *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie pod rządami Aleksandra Jagiellończyka*, Poznań 1995, pp. 54–57.

ruler were not really met with great opposition from the Samogitians. On the one hand, it appears this was the case because non-local nobles were usually granted lands from the grand duke's domains. It was the establishment of the middle-sized and larger manors in these territories that lay the foundations for the phenomenon known in Lithuanian history as the castles along the banks of the Nemunas River. In this way in 1502 Alexander Jagiellon allocated duke Timofiej Kapusta Ratulaukis to the Veliuona district (*wolost*), from which Seredžius Manor later developed²⁴. That same year the Zapyškis lands in the Vilkija district were granted to Jan Sapieha, who back in the times of Casimir Jagiellon had already received Gelgaudiškis in Zaniemoń²⁵. In 1506 an expanse of forest several square miles in area in Zaniemoń was donated to the grand duke's master of the kitchen (*magister coquinae curiae*) Piotr Olechnowicz, as his lands in the Rus'ian territories had been decimated by the Muscovites and Tatars²⁶.

The fate of the lands allocated by Alexander Jagiellon in the northern part of Samogitia evolved quite differently, though a scandal was avoided. After marriage to the Princess of Muscovy Helen, the grand duke granted her an apanage of the entire district of Dirvėnai, Beržėnai and Viešvėnai²⁷. Such a means of the allocation of land was indeed a novelty. In truth, the Samogitians of course did not oppose the monarch's will. Perhaps this was because the mentioned apanages continued to be administered by the local bailiffs. The events that followed later nevertheless show that a degree of friction was unavoidable. In order to ensure effective administration, the Grand Duchess Helen sent her own people to Samogitia²⁸. One such individual was Slowik Iwaszkowicz, who, it appears, coordinated the administration of all the grand duchess' Samogitian lands, lived in Vilkija where he soon purchased (1503) some land²⁹, whilst later Helen donated him 5 peasants in that same district³⁰. Helen tried to implement the same mechanism of entrenching her people in the Dirvėnai district, where she granted 20 peasants' farms to the noble Baltramej Stankewicz who had lost his lands in Polotsk. However, unlike

²⁴ *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 6. (1494–1506). Užrašymų knyga 6*, comp. Algirdas BALIULIS, Vilnius 2007, p. 286, no. 487.

²⁵ *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 25. (1387–1546). Užrašymų knyga 25*, comp. Darius ANTANAVIČIUS, Algirdas BALIULIS, Vilnius 1998 (further: *Lietuvos Metrika*, kn. 25), pp. 154–155, no. 95; *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 8. (1499–1514). Užrašymų knyga 8*, comp. Algirdas BALIULIS, Romualdas FIRKOVIČIUS, Darius ANTANAVIČIUS, Vilnius 1995, pp. 180–182, no. 182.

²⁶ *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 5. (1427–1506). Užrašymų knyga 5*, comp. Egidijus BANIONIS, Vilnius 1993, p. 388, no. 573.

²⁷ E. SAVIŠČEVAS, *Žemaitijos savivalda*, pp. 154, 247.

²⁸ Raimonda RAGAUSKIENĖ, *Lietuvos didžiosios kunigaikštienės Elenos (1476–1513) patronatas*, [in:] *Lietuvos didysis kunigaikštis Aleksandras ir jo epocha*, sud. Daiva STEPONAVIČIENĖ, Vilnius 2007, pp. 99–112.

²⁹ РИБ, т. 27: *Литовская Метрика*, отдел первый, ч. 1: *Книги записей*, Санкт-Петербург 1910, pp. 844, 845.

³⁰ *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 224. (1522–1530). 4-oji Teismų bylų knyga*, comp. Stanislas LAZUTKA, Irena VALIKONYTĖ [et al.], Vilnius 1997, p. 273, no. 330.

Slowik Stankewicz, the latter was not able (!) to access his lands. Sources mention that Stankewicz refused the designated lands after receiving direct threats from the Samogitians³¹.

The beginning of the reign of Sigismund I did not bring anything new until 1524. During that time the monarch had granted at least 40 benefices. Of these 24 were granted to the Samogitians, 8 to the servants and clients of the elder of Samogitia, and another 8 went to various individuals under the protection of the ruler (they included several escapees from Smolensk: Michna Polianski, Iwan Jurlew)³². Interestingly, all the representatives from the last category were granted lands in the district of Vilkija and Veliuona, i.e., in the domains of the grand duke.

The calm coexistence of Sigismund I and the Samogitians came to an end in April, 1524 when the grand duke granted the entire district of Šiauliai to his illegitimate son, the Vilnius Bishop John. We can learn of the subsequent events from the notice of Sigismund I to the Samogitians dated June 1524: “Што есте присылали къ намъ братю свою [...] о томъ, ижъ есмо волость н[а]шу Шовленъскую дали кн[я]зю Яну, бискупу Виленъскому, и всказывали есте къ намъ черезъ нихъ, велико собе обътежаючи, иже быхъмо братю в[а]шу, шляхъту н[а]шу звечную, у повете Шовленъскомъ кня[з]ю бискупу с тою волостью дали. Ино мы шляхъты н[а]шое у повете Шовленъскомъ кня[з]ю бискупу николи не давали, а заховали есмо ихъ такъ, какъ кн[я]жат и панять и всю шляхъту у Великомъ Кн[я]зстве Литовскомъ и въ земли Жомоитскои. И всказывали есте к намъ черезъ тыхъ пословъ своихъ, если бы кн[я]зь бискупъ [...] къ той волости ехаль, вы хочете его на Невяжи поткати и того ему боронити” [“You sent us your brothers ... [to announce] that we had given the Šiauliai district to the bishop of Vilnius Duke John. And *via* them you told Us that you were greatly upset that your brothers from the Šiauliai *powiat*, Our nobles from the earliest of times, had been granted to the bishop-duke along with the district. However we have by no means given our nobles from the Šiauliai *powiat* to the bishop-duke, rather, they have the same rights as all the other lords and nobles in the lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Samogitia. And you also told us *via* your envoys that if the bishop-duke [...] is still determined to go to that district [then] you wish to meet him on the banks of the Nevėžis and stop him from crossing over”]³³.

The monarch felt that his interests were offended and he warned them in all seriousness that “he knows how to deal with the Samogitians”. It appears that was enough. In the end the Vilnius bishop became established in the huge district of Šiauliai, that until the beginning of the 15th century had been joined to Samogi-

³¹ *Lietuvos Metrika*, kn. 25, pp. 222–227.

³² *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 9. (1511–1518). Užrašymų knyga 8*, comp. Krzysztof PIETKIEWICZ, Vilnius 2003, no. 96, 432.

³³ *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 7. (1506–1539). Užrašymų knyga 7*, comp. Inga ILARIENĖ, Laimontas KARALIUS, Darius ANTANAVIČIUS, Vilnius 2011, p. 446, no. 247.

tia Minor and that had earlier been ruled by the elder of Samogitia³⁴, Stanislaw I Kęsgaila³⁵.

In historiography the period of reign of Sigismund I has been viewed as an era of the recreation of the ruler's domains, a process in which Queen Bona played an important role. Historians most often note traces of her intense activities in Podlasie. In fact, equally active moves towards the recreation of the ruler's domains can be seen in Samogitia in the 1520s–1530s. The start of this process is cloaked in a mist of uncertainty but its leitmotif is quite well known. In the Vilnius sejm in 1522 the Samogitians' bailiffs appealed to the grand duke asking him to preside over their argument with the elder. The bailiffs accused him of breaking the provisions outlined in the Samogitian privilege and instead appointing and retracting bailiffs' positions at his own whim. In addition, in the grand duke's chancellery this accusation came in a somewhat different shade, saying that in this way the elder was appropriating the grand duke's rights. Speaking in his own defence, the elder Stanislaw I Kęsgaila tried to prove that he had every right to appoint bailiffs in all the districts in Samogitia except for four manors (Vilkija, Veliuona, Skirsnemunė, Josvainiai) and the Šiauliai district. For the time being Sigismund I left the situation as it was, but promised that after the death of the current elder, he would review the administrative procedures of Samogitia³⁶. He did just that after the elder's death: in 1527 the grand duke took over the administration of 15 districts, and left 8 in the hands of the elder's administration³⁷. This meant that the grand duke regained the right to nominate bailiffs, and thus *via* them to dispose of lands in the districts.

The scale of the changes that loomed ahead in Samogitia became apparent on another front as well. The conflicts of 1522 and 1524 clearly showed the monarchy that its problems in Samogitia could be related to the entrenched hegemony of the Kęsgaila family³⁸. The Samogitian nobles had the right to elect their elder, but confirmation still had to come from the grand duke. Upon the death of Stanislaw I Kęsgaila the Samogitians elected his son in his place, who was also named Stanislaw (II) Kęsgaila³⁹. The grand duke authorized him as the elder in April, 1527. It appears that some kind of negotiation had already taken place by then between

³⁴ *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 1. (1380–1584). Užrašymų knyga 1*, comp. Algirdas BALIULIS, Romualdas FIRKOVIČIUS, Vilnius 1998 (further: *Lietuvos Metrika*, kn. 1), p. 99.

³⁵ This is how I have called Kęsgaila, who is known as Stanisław Janowicz Kieżgajło in Polish historiography.

³⁶ *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 11. (1518–1523). Įrašų knyga*, comp. Artūras DUBONIS, Vilnius 1997, p. 134, no. 140.

³⁷ *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 12. (1522–1529). Užrašymų knyga 12*, comp. Darius ANTANAVIČIUS, Algirdas BALIULIS, Vilnius 2001 (further: *Lietuvos Metrika*, kn. 12), pp. 487–489, no. 638.

³⁸ Zygmunt Wojciechowski believed that Sigismund I's relations with Stanislaw I Kęsgaila went sour back during the times of the war between Poland and the Teutonic Order (1519–1521) when Kęsgaila maintained suspicious ties with the Order (Zygmunt WOJCIECHOWSKI, *Zygmunt Stary (1506–1548)*, Warszawa 1979, p. 163).

³⁹ This is how I have called Kęsgaila, who is known as Stanisław Stanisławowicz Kieżgajło in Polish historiography.

Kęsgaila and the monarch, in which Queen Bona had an undirect role, probably acting to defend the interests of the still young Sigismund Augustus⁴⁰. In October, 1529 Stanislaw II Kęsgaila, in thanking the ruler for his benefaction, signed over the huge expanse of land called Plateliai (located between the banks of the Minija River, the border with Livonia, and the shores of the Baltic Sea) and a castle to prince Sigismund Augustus, who immediately wrote back saying he [Kęsgaila] should rule over these lands until the end of his days⁴¹. This agreement has always seemed suspicious to historians. It is estimated that during their rule over the Plateliai area that lasted over 70 years, the Kęsgailas had colonized the wide surrounds of this manor without the ruler’s approval. That is why, in order to avoid the checking of all his land ownership documents, Stanislaw II Kęsgaila refused Plateliai so that he could keep the other lands for his heirs⁴².

In this way between April, 1527 and October 1529 it was not only the monarchy’s rights that were reinstated, but its domain was also expanded. In the beginning of 1529 the ruler announced the provisions to land owners in Samogitia’s districts, where for the first time the income received from each district was described, as well as its division amongst the monarch and the local administration⁴³. In 1530 the Jurbarkas forests came under this description, and Bona’s legate, certainly not a Samogitian, Stanislaw Steckowicz, was given the seat of Jurbarkas Manor⁴⁴. After the death of Stanislaw II Kęsgaila in 1532, S. Steckowicz was transferred to Plateliai⁴⁵. Finally in 1537 the census of the Lithuanian grand duke’s Samogitian manors, district peasants and town residents took place⁴⁶, after which, but no later than in 1551, the measurement of the ruler’s lands in wallachs commenced. Nevertheless, these changes empowered the monarchy to rationally dispose of this region’s resources.

Thus, during the remainder of the 16th century, Lithuania’s grand dukes had a good idea of how much and what they could allot to people who had earned their credit, whilst the Samogitians’ grumbling could always be countered in the same way that Sigismund II responded to the Samogitians’ displeasure over the measurement of land in wallachs at the sejm of 1551 – “не бачыць яго королевская

⁴⁰ This can be anticipated from the privilege in which Stanislaw II Kęsgaila is authorized as the elder, where Queen Bona and prince Sigismund Augustus are mentioned as Kęsgaila’s intercessors and intermediaries (*Lietuvos Metrika*, kn. 12, pp. 487–489, no. 638).

⁴¹ *Lietuvos Metrika*, kn. 1, pp. 102, 104, 127, no. 489, 490, 500, 628.

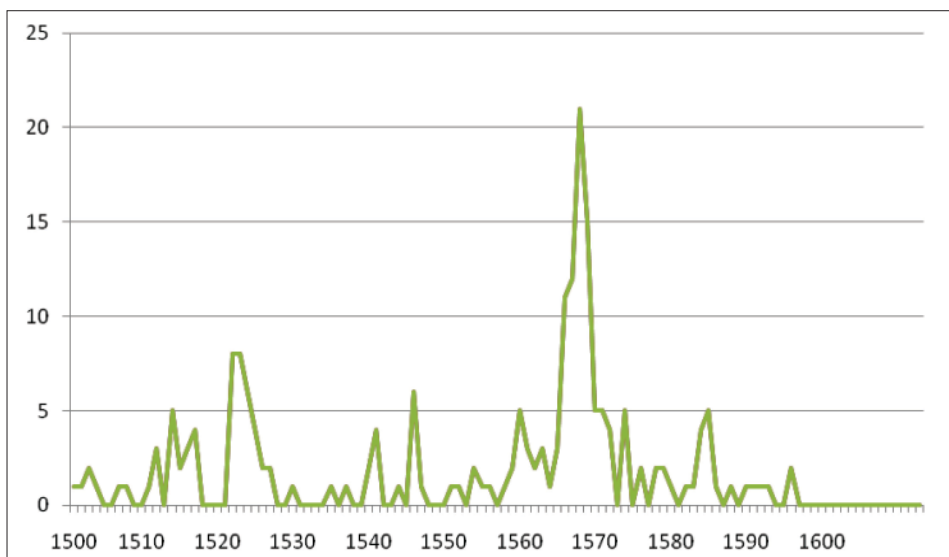
⁴² Krzysztof PIETKIEWICZ, *Kieżgajłowie i ich latyfundiūm do połowy XVI wieku*, Poznań 1982, pp. 85–86.

⁴³ Irena VALIKONYTĖ, Stanislovas LAZUTKA, *Lietuvos didžiojo kunigaikščio nuostatai Žemaitijos žemei*, [in:] *Lietuvos Metrikos studijos*, Vilnius 1998, pp. 17–53.

⁴⁴ *Lietuvos Metrika*, kn. 1, p. 105, no. 504; *Documenta ex Archivo Regiomontano ad Poloniam spectantia XXII pars Ostpr. Fol.*, vol. 42, 43, 48, 49, 1529–1531, ed. Carolina LANCKOROŃSKA (*Elementa ad fontium editiones*, vol. 52), Romae 1981, p. 147.

⁴⁵ E. SAVIŠČEVAS, *Žemaitijos savivalda*, p. 291.

⁴⁶ *Žemaitijos valsčių surašymas 1537–1538 m.*, text by Konstantino JABLONSKIS, prepared for publication by Algirdas BALIULIS, Vilnius 2003.

Diagram 1. The number of benefices in Samogitia in the 16th century

милость, абы тою померою волочъною мели прывилъя и вольности ваши въ чомъ нарушоны быти, кгда жъ его королевская милость не на вашихъ земляхъ ани межи вашими подъядаными тую померу волочную постановити рачиль, але межи своими подъядаными и на своихъ земляхъ [...]” [“His Royal Grace does not see that the wallach measurement would have somehow infringed on your privileges or freedoms, as His Royal Grace has not intended to conduct this measurement on your lands or apply it to your subjects, but to his subjects and in his lands [...]”]⁴⁷. So what was the policy regarding the issue of benefices?

We can see its numerical expression in Diagram 1. It shows data from the Lithuanian Metrica and the Samogitia Land Court books about the benefaction of over 200 plots of land and inns. Of course, there could have been considerably more benefices. Data about them could be in the Metrica and court books from the 17th century that were not looked at. On the other hand, there are some problems with the dating, as due to the already mentioned issue of benefice mechanism, in reality the recipients would receive their lands earlier than they could be certified by the ruler. Another circumstance complicating the evaluation of the diagram’s data is that the recipients rather frequently did not become established in the lands set out in their benefices. Such cases are very difficult to check.

When explaining the fluctuation in benefices issued, three intervals of time should be distinguished: 1) from the beginning of the reign of Sigismund I (1506) to the beginning of the measurement of land in wallachs (1550); 2) the end of the reign of Sigismund II (1551–1572); and 3) the periods of reign from the late 16th century (1574–1600).

⁴⁷ РИБ, т. 30, р. 201.

There are 65 benefices from the first interval. Of these, 34 were granted to Samogitian nobles (although various errors are possible here). The others were granted to Rus'ians and Lithuanians (the Beinart, Naruszewicz, Wiekowicz and Szukewicz families) most of whom were often married to Samogitians. The only potential Pole who had been granted a benefice was Jurij (sic!) Danowski⁴⁸, who firstly received his lands from Queen Bona, and later received authorization for these lands from Sigismund II. The distinguishing feature of this entire period are that the benefices were small in scale. Often 1–10 peasants or some uninhabited land. A clear exception from this interval in the already mentioned granting of Šiauliai district to the Vilnius bishop and the consignment of Batakiai Manor to the Lithuanian carver (*dapifer*) Stanislaw III Kęsgaila⁴⁹.

In the second period a total of 99 benefices were issued. Of them only 12 were give to Samogitians. The jump noticed in 1566–1569 (59 benefices) stands out in particular, on the eve of the formation of the union between Poland and Lithuania. Over these four years large areas of land were distributed: 116 wallachs in the Gandinga stewardship to the wallach land-surveyor Jokub Laszkowski, 158 wallachs to the Minsk castellan Mikołaj Talwosz; 86 wallachs in the Gandinga district to Mikołaj Dorohostaiski, 162 wallachs to Jurij Zenowicz, 200 wallachs to the Livonian clerk (*pisar*) and *Rittmeister* Wojciech Stabrowski⁵⁰; and finally the entire towns of Grüstė and Gintališkės, the town of Mosėdis (with 62 villages) and somewhat later in 1572 the district of Kretinga all went to the elder of Samogitia, Jan Chodkiewicz. All of the beneficiaries mentioned here, plus a majority of those that have not been mentioned, were of Polish, Lithuanian or Rus'ian origins. In total they received around 2,260 wallachs of land, not including the enormous plots of land granted to Jan Chodkiewicz that were in essence difficult to calculate⁵¹.

During that same four-year-period, only six Samogitians were acknowledged in a similar way. Four received the right to establish inns, whilst the only one to receive a more significant benefice was the bailiff of Ariogala and *Rittmeister* Mikalaj Stankiewicz Billewicz who was awarded 49 wallachs in Tendziogala and 31 wallachs in Ariogala⁵². Thus, not just in terms of quantity, but also in the quality of the benefices, the foreign nobles outdid the Samogitians.

It is unlikely that finding an unambiguous answer as to why the “foreigners” acquired so much land in this period. There was probably more than one reason. However, a majority of the beneficiaries were somehow associated with the Livonian War. This can be understood from the number of *Rittmeisters* present in the

⁴⁸ Метрыка Вялікага Княства Літоўскага. Кніга запісаў 30 (1480–1546). Кніга запісаў № 30 (копія канца XVI ст.), падрыхтаваў Валерый С. Мянжынскі, Мінск 2008, pp. 107–108, no. 37.

⁴⁹ *Lietuvos Metrika*, kn. 1, p. 103, no. 496. This is how I have called Kęsgaila, who is known as Stanisław Mikołajewicz Kieżgajło in Polish historiography.

⁵⁰ E. SAVIŠČEVAS, *Žemaitijos savivalda*, pp. 372–376.

⁵¹ Genutė KIRKIENĖ, *LDK politikos elito galingieji. Chodkevičiai XV–XVI amžiuje*, Vilnius 2008, p. 163.

⁵² E. SAVIŠČEVAS, *Žemaitijos savivalda*, pp. 373–375.

list of recipients (M. Talwosz, M. Jacynicz, L. Swrski, W. Swiderski, M. Billewicz, G. Wojna, W. Stabrowski, B. Lukomski, M. Dorohostaiski, J. Zenowicz, M. Solohub, J. Zembocki, K. Przychmenski). In addition, the war emptied the treasury and forced the king to pawn off certain districts. That is how in 1566 Mikołaj Dorohostaiski was pledged the entire district of Gandinga⁵³; in 1568, 4 (or even 6) *wojtownstwo* [lesser administrative units] in the Pajūris district that had been pledged to the duke Aleksandras Polubenskis were reclaimed, and so on⁵⁴. In many cases, such lands never returned to the jurisdiction of the bailiff and later functioned as manors that would be distributed by the grand duke.

In the third period there were 31 benefices, of which only three went to Samogitians. As in the second period, the lands distributed to the Samogitians were incomparably smaller than those that went to the “foreigners”. But in general in the third period, compared to the second, the size of the lands granted was significantly smaller. A special characteristic of this period was that relatively frequent recipients happened to be Muscovites.

So, in summary, the dynamics of the grand duke’s benefices shows that the influx of “foreigners” peaked on the eve of the Union of Lublin. One of the most important reasons for this was that the treasury was incapable of returning its dues to the mercenaries and creditors who participated in the Livonian War. Samogitians did not feature prominently either as the commanders of troops of mercenaries or as creditors. Perhaps their weak positions of wealth were to blame for this. But it is just as likely that the Samogitians did not have reliable canals leading to the grand duke who was the primary distributor of wealth. Finally it is worth noticing that in the stand-out second period, and in the third period, Poles did not dominate amongst the beneficiaries. How does this compare to the conclusions of Trimonienė’s research?

Two counts. In 1545, following the death of Queen Bona’s man in Samogitia, Jurij Billewicz, the Samogitians wanted to see “their own” Count of Kražiai Stanisław III Kęsgaila as the new elder. This candidate was not met with the approval of the monarchy and instead the “foreigner” Jeronim Chodkiewicz was thrust upon the Samogitians. After the latter’s death, the Samogitians elected his son Jan to be their elder. And thus the Chodkiewicz family continued as per the Kęsgailas, transforming themselves from “foreigners” into “one of the locals”. Some time later Sigismund II granted Jan Chodkiewicz the title Count of Szklów and Mysza.

In the mid-16th century, these two counts and the two families that stood behind them marked the system of a changeover between two patronages. The first operated from around the beginning of the 15th century, whilst the second functioned

⁵³ Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas [Lithuania State Historical Archives], The Lithuanian Metrica mikrofilms (further: LVIA LM), Book of Inscriptions no. 47, fol. 50, 66.

⁵⁴ Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 531. (1567–1569). *Viešųjų reikalų knyga 9*, comp. Lina ANUŽYTĖ, Algirdas BALULIS, Vilnius 2001, p. 101, no. 96.

in the years 1545–1579. I have already mentioned the people from the Kęsgaila and Chodkiewicz households⁵⁵, so I won't repeat myself again here. But I would like to draw attention to the differences between these two patronage systems and their different impact on Samogitian society. The most important question to ask would be – where did the elders select their clients from? Most likely, their clientele base was “inherited”, whilst “additions” would emerge under different circumstances. As such, these “inherited” people would often be settled in the lord's lands⁵⁶. Thus the magnates' clienteles developed from the magnate's family's “nest” and spread in accordance with his latifundia.

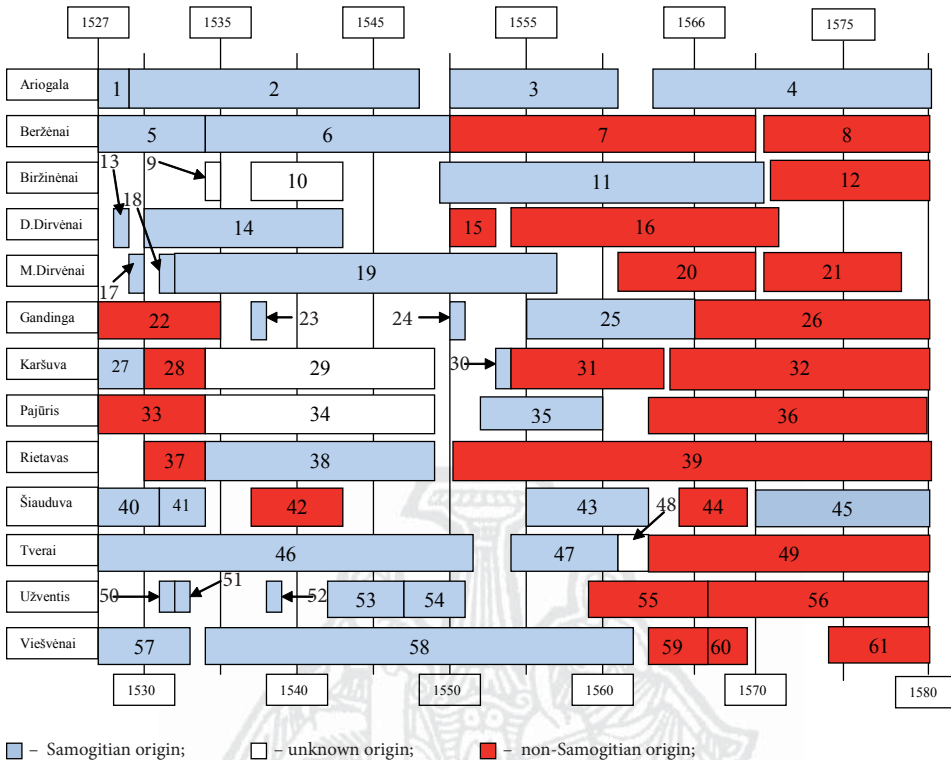
In this regard the Kęsgailas who originated from Deltuva, and expanded their lands in Samogitia and only then in the Ruthenian lands, were quite different from the Chodkiewicz family, whose origins are associated with Podlasie's Suprasl. In other words, amongst the Kęsgailas from early on there were quite a number of Lithuanians (e.g., the Beinarts), Samogitians (the Dirmas) and only later were there more Ruthenians (Maczochin) and Poles (Oleński). Let us not forget that the Kęsgailas reached the magnate category in the second half of the 15th century, whereas the Chodkiewicz' could only be counted amongst the magnates from the middle of the 16th century. So it is not odd that in 1545 when Jeronim Chodkiewicz received the position of elder of Samogitia, in order to become established in this post he relied on his father's (e.g., Duke Jurij Borowski) and his own (Jan Borichowski) servitors and Lithuanian relatives (Malcher and Stanislaw Szemet). That is why on the model level, we could say there was an unequal patronage in these two families in terms of the Samogitians. Kęsgaila's clientele was more open to Samogitians, though this did not mean that it was solely Samogitian in nature. Quite the opposite, already in the entourage of Stanislaw I Kęsgaila we notice more Ruthenians than Samogitians. However this clientele developed over a long period and over time some of its non-local elements completely assimilated in Samogitia (e.g., the Chrzęstowski family).

More importantly, back in the times of the Kęsgailas almost all the bailiffs were Samogitians. The Chodkiewicz' clientele started to develop in Samogitia when the region's official positions were still held by people under the influence of the Kęsgailas. Over time they retreated, leaving their positions to the Chodkiewicz' people. This turning-point is most clearly visible when we look at bailiffs. In Diagram 2 we can see that between 1555 and 1565 an overbalance of nobles of non-local origins became evident in the bailiffs corps. A majority of them started their careers under the Chodkiewicz'. During the entire remainder of Jan Chodkiewicz'

⁵⁵ Eugenijus SAVIŠČEVAS, *Kęsgailų Žemaitija. Kelios pastabos apie Kęsgailų valdymą Žemaitijoje (1442–1527)*, *Lituanistica*, vol. 50: 2004, no. 2, pp. 1–21; idem, *Tarnybininkai XVI amžiaus Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje bajorų (didikų) dvaro socialinėje organizacijoje*, [in:] *Žemaitijos ir Klaipėdos krašto dvarų bruožai*, Vilnius [2010] [Digital book; http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter/w5_show?p_r=7131&p_d=94573&p_k=1].

⁵⁶ In the case of the Kęsgailas we can see this from the lands of Mscibohow. See: K. PIETKIEWICZ, *Kieżgajłowie*, pp. 112–114.

Diagram 2. The grand duke's bailiffs (ciwuns) and the period of their official service in 1527–1580



1. Jurij Wołodkiewicz; 2. Szymko Mitkowicz; 3. Mikołaj Szymkowicz (Poszuszwiański); 4. Mikołaj Stankiewicz Billewicz; 5. Andrzej Rukowicz; 6. Jan Stankiewicz Billewicz; 7. Malcher Szemet; 8. ks. Łukasz Swirski; 9. Andrzej Michajłowicz; 10. Florjan Bartoszewicz; 11. Sebastian Kestort; 12. Mikołaj Talwosz; 13. Piotr Billewicz; 14. Jan Stankiewicz Billewicz; 15. Mikołaj Tretjak; 16. Jan Gradowski; 17. Szymko Mitkiewicz; 18. Stanisław Wołodkiewicz; 19. Bogdan Mitkowicz; 20. Wojciech Szemet; 21. Mikołaj Oleknowicz; 22. Ławryn Szukowicz; 23. Jakub Juszkwowicz; 24. Bogdan Mitkowicz; 25. Jan Burba; 26. Mikołaj Dorohostaiski; 27. Stanisław Wołodkiewicz Kozak; 28. Mikołaj Szukowicz; 29. Adam Hanusowicz Bejnart; 30. Stanisław Mostwil; 31. ks. Jurij Borowski; 32. ks. Michał Borowski; 33. Mikołaj Szukowicz; 34. Adam Hanusowicz Bejnart; 35. Stanisław Januszewicz (Rodowicz); 36. Stanisław Szemet; 37. Marcin Wiekowicz; 38. Szymko Mitkowicz (Poszuszwiański); 39. Marek Wnuczko; 40. Juszko Stankowicz; 41. Jakub Juszkwowicz; 42. Tyszko Fiodorowicz; 43. Marcin Czechowicz; 44. Iwan Ilgowski; 45. Wojciech Billewicz; 46. Micko Sutilowicz; 47. Mikołaj Stankiewicz Billewicz; 48. Iwan Oleksejewicz; 49. Andrzej Ilgowski; 50. Stanisław Orwid; 51. Andrzej Michajłowicz; 52. Andrzej Billewicz; 53. Stanisław Rosiajński; 54. Mikołaj Sirewicz; 55. Stanisław Guba; 56. Siemion Wojna; 57. Micko Jurgiewicz; 58. Kasper Billewicz; 59. Stanisław Guba; 60. Jan Chorużyc; 61. Jan Stabrowski.

service as elder in Samogitia (until 1579), amongst the 13 bailiffs of the grand duke only two were of Samogitian origins (Mikołaj Stankiewicz Billewicz and his distant relative Wojciech Billewicz). From this we can notice something of interest. Firstly, of the remaining 11 bailiffs, 10 were Ruthenians and only one (Jan Gradowski) was most likely of Polish origins.

So even after a very rough comparison of the two patronage mechanisms, we can state that during the Kęsgailas' times, a Lithuanianization and Ruthenianization took place at the level of Samogitian bailiffs (i.e., at the regional political elite level). During the times of the Chodkiewicz' there was a Ruthenianization with a small portion of Lithuanianization (the Szemet family and the M. Dorohostaiski). We would notice a somewhat different view if we were to take a few steps down the heirarchical ladder and take an interest in just who the elder directly appointed as the 8 bailiffs of the Samogitian *wolosts*. A majority of them, at least based on their anthroponymics, could have been of Polish origin (Jan Odachowski, Jakub Żicki, Marek Czajewski, Szymon Wituński)⁵⁷. So if we were to return to the figures determined by Trimonienė we could say that we have reached only a slight correlation.

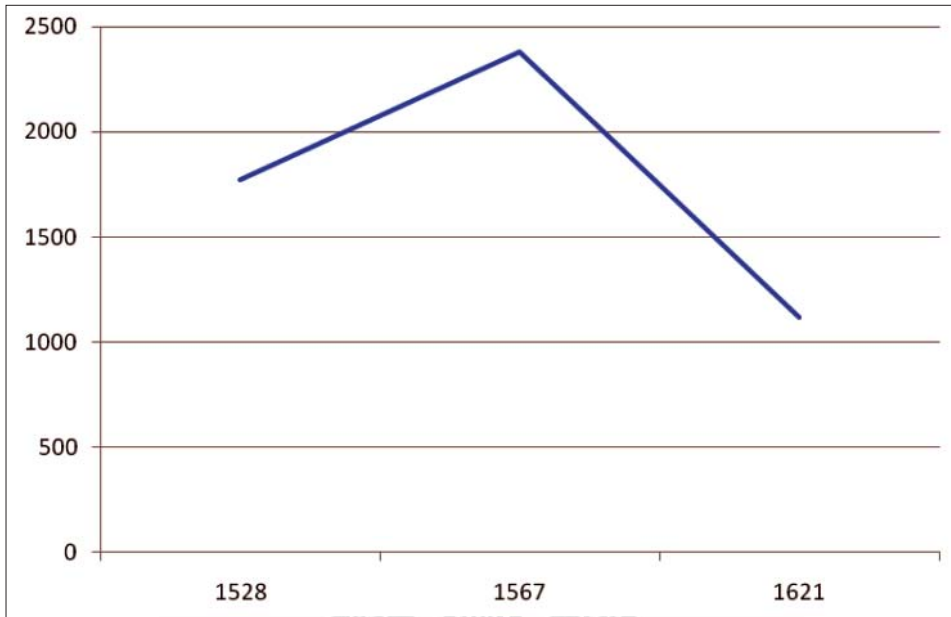
A unique kind of additional explanation could be the research of the clientele of other Lithuanian magnates. As the latter period's historiography shows, this is a promising task, but one left for the future. The Radziwill case study was already mentioned briefly, but there are also the case studies of the Kražiai count and the failed magnate Stanislaw III Kęsgaila, who in the year of his failed election campaign to the post of elder of Samogitia distributed several of his larger lands to his servitors, incidentally, all of whom were Poles (M. Radzimiński, M. Nowicki, A. Babrownicki)⁵⁸. There is also the case of Leo Sapieha, where B. Prystanowski received the seat of Josvainiai for his services. Not to mention the Hlebowicz', Wojnas, Polubenski' and other cases. Including all their servants and servitors we would probably end up reaching the same numbers that Trimonienė found.

A final hypothesis, last argument and question for the future. In the early stages of the New Ages, in Samogitia, as in all of Europe, the situation of the ordinary nobles in society depended on their service. However this concept changed in the 15th century. For a long time the Lithuanian grand duke was the main figure calling others into military service, encouraging the nobility to dutifully serve under the supervision of his appointed legates, but eventually he became disappointed in the quality of service he was receiving from the nobility. Mercenaries or troops made up of the aristocracy who were selected not based on their inherited right to bear arms, but according to their individual ability to act purposefully on the battle field were of greater value. The Samogitians' problem was that their society had still not raised its own generation of *Rittmeisters*. The change in dynasties taking the position of elder that occurred at an inopportune time also contrib-

⁵⁷ See prosopography of bailiffs in: E. SAVIŠČEVAS, *Žemaitijos savivalda*, pp. 299–360.

⁵⁸ LVIA LM, Book of Inscriptions no. 35, fol. 191, 193, 202.

Diagram 3. The number of Samogitian nobles prepared for military service based on census data from 1528, 1567 and 1621



uted to this disadvantage. The new elders came with their clientele that had been formed far away from Samogitia. First of all this prompted the Samogitian nobility to demonstrate their traditional desire to serve their ruler. However the ruler no longer trusted this desire. That is why everything ended in colder mutual relations. I believe the best display of this worsening of relations is the dynamics of the quantity of Samogitian army recruits between 1528 and 1621⁵⁹. This calculation did not take into account the size of the noble's household (and thus economic status), but the actual fact of the noble's military service, even when he presented for duty without a horse and with just a stick in his hand.

It looks like the wave of desire for Samogitians to serve the grand duke crashed into the unmerciful cliff of reality.

To conclude, I'd like to add a few words directed at researchers of the future. I would say that it would probably be wise to stop counting the number of foreigners in Samogitia. A better idea could be to find out whether the children of the Lithuanians, Ruthenians and Poles who settled there became Samogitians.

Translated by Albina Strunga

⁵⁹ РИБ, т. 33: *Литовская Метрика*, отдел третий, ч. 3: *Книги публичных дел. Переписи Литовского войска*, ред. Станислав Л. Пташицкий, Петроград 1915; Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (Warszawa), Archiwum Radziwiłłów, Section VII, no. 85. I extend a genuine Samogitian thank-you to Jonas Drungila for the opportunity to use photocopies of the 1621 census of Samogitian soldiers.

NAPŁYW OBCEJ SZLACHTY DO ŻMUDZI W XVI WIEKU

Streszczenie

Słowa kluczowe: migracja, Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie, szlachta, polonizacja, beneficjum, klientela

Najnowsze badanie nad migracją w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim ukazują napływ obcej szlachty do Żmudzi w drugiej połowie XVI w. Niniejszy artykuł podejmuje próbę wyjaśnienia trzech, jak dotąd niezbadanych, acz bardzo ważnych okoliczności tego zjawiska.

1. Rola polskiej migracji – bez wątpienia Polacy stanowili większość emigrantów. W tym okresie niezadowolenie mieszkańców Żmudzi było skierowane przeciwko polskim, ruskim, niemieckim, węgierskim oraz litewskim (!) emigrantom. Emigracja Litwinów na Żmudź nie została jeszcze zbadana. Z tego względu prawdopodobne jest to, że liczba polskich emigrantów została niesłusznie zawyżona.
2. W XVI w. migracja szlachty z jednego obszaru do drugiego nie była sprawą oczywistą. Miała ona miejsce w sytuacji, kiedy władca nagroził zasłużonych szlachciców przez nadanie im ziemi oraz chłopstwa z jego posiadłości książęcych, które zostały reaktwowane w czwartej dekadzie XVI w. Dopiero wtedy władca mógł nadawać beneficjum. Badania nad dynamiką ich nadawania w XVI w. pokazują, że liczba nadań ziemi szlachcie spoza Żmudzi znacznie wzrosła w ostatnich latach panowania Zygmunta Augusta. Częściowo mogło to być spowodowane tendencją władcy do nagradzania rotmistrzów zasłużonych w wojnie o Inflanty.
3. Oprócz polityki władcy także patronat litewskich magnatów miał znaczący wpływ na migrację szlachty.

W połowie wieku XVI rodzina Chodkiewiczów, która wywodziła się z Rusi, osiadła na Żmudzi. Klientelę Hieronima Chodkiewicza stanowiła szlachta ruskiego i polskiego pochodzenia, która przeniosła się na Żmudź. Fakt ten doprowadził do wypierania szlachty żmudzkiej z kręgów elity lokalnej.

DER ZUSTROM VON „AUSWÄRTIGEN“ ADELIGEN NACH SCHAMAITEN
IM 16. JAHRHUNDERT

Zusammenfassung

Schlüsselbegriffe: Migration, Großfürstentum Litauen, Adel, Polonisierung, Benefizien, Klientelwesen

Jüngste Studien zur Migration im Großfürstentum Litauen belegen die Zuwanderung fremder Adelige nach Schamaiten in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Der vorliegende Artikel versucht drei bislang unerforschte, aber sehr bedeutsame Umstände dieser Migration zu erhellen. 1. Die Rolle der polnischen Migration. Zweifellos bildeten Polen die größte Gruppe unter den Migranten. Zu jener Zeit richtete sich die Unzufriedenheit der Schamaiten gleichermaßen gegen polnische, deutsche, ungarische und litauische (!) Migranten. Die Einwanderung von Litauern nach Schamaiten wurde bislang nicht untersucht. Daher erscheint es wahrscheinlich, dass die Zahl der polnischen Einwanderer im Kontext der Gesamtmigration unangemessen übertrieben wurde. 2. Im 16. Jahrhundert war der Umzug eines Adelige von einer Region in eine andere keine Alltäglichkeit. So etwas geschah in der Regel, wenn der Herrscher herausragende Adelige mit Land und Bauern von seiner Domäne belohnte. Die großfürstliche Domäne in Schamaiten war gerade im vierten Jahrzehnt des 16. Jahrhunderts wieder hergestellt worden. Erst danach gab der Herrscher Benefizien aus. Die Untersuchung der Dynamik der Gütervergaben während des 16. Jahrhunderts zeigt, dass die Landverteilung an Adelige mit nicht-lokaler Herkunft während der letzten Jahre der Regierungszeit Sigismund Augusts deutlich anstieg. Teilweise kann dies durch den Wunsch des Herrschers erklärt werden, verdiente Rittmeister aus dem Livländischen Krieg zu belohnen. 3. Ergänzend zur Gütervergabepolitik des Herrschers besaß die Klientelpolitik der litauischen Magnaten ebenfalls erheblichen Einfluss auf die Adelsmigration. In der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts etablierte sich die aus Ruthenien stammende Familie Chodkiewicz in Schamaiten. Die Klientel von Hieronimus Chodkiewicz setzte sich zusammen aus Adelige ruthenischer und polnischer Herkunft, welche nach Schamaiten zogen. Dieser Umstand führte dazu, dass der aus Schamaiten stammende Adel aus der regionalen Elite verdrängt wurde.