THE PROFILES OF POLITICAL SOLIDARITY AND CULTURAL AWARENESS IN THE LATE MEDIEVAL GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA

by

Nerijus Udrenas

from

Vilnius, Lithuania

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies at the Central European University, Budapest

Accepted as conform with the standards of the CEU

....
(Chair)

....
(Thesis supervisor)

....
(Head, Dep. of Medieval Studies)

....
(External examiner)

Budapest, August, 1994

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I, the undersigned candidate for M. A. degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others and no part of the thesis does infringe on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, August, 1994

Nerijus Udrenas

...profiles - always only a beginning
of clear contour painting,
still rather dark, dim shadows.
But they are no longer opaque,
a cloudy nightfall without even stars.
Profiles are always in some light,
and they can help us to move further...

Abstract

The thesis deals with the cultural and political awareness of the Ruthenian nobility in the sixteenth century Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Its core is the chapter on Jeulaševski's, subjudex of Nowgorodek, (1546-1619) and Cadrouski's (1617-1682) identities from their memoirs. In 1983 Jeulaševski's memoirs were newly published after a manuscript was recently found. The memoirs are rich in material and I focused on them, using Cadrouski's memoirs for comparison. The memoirs had not previously been analysed from the point of view of the political and cultural awareness of the Ruthenian nobility in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Two chapters on Alexander Chodkeviè (1457-1549) and Constantine of Ostrog (1526-1608) are also intended for comparison. These two noblemen represent the extremes of the policies of the nobility: of integration to and separatism from the political community. Furthermore, this section shows how their political orientation influenced their cultural orientation and policy.

The famous representative of the Chodkeviè family, John Christopher Chodkeviè (1560-1621) has been rather well investigated. One can not say the same about the early generations of the family, though it was Alexander Chodkeviè who was the source of the family's success. The material from the Archives of the Chodkeviè family, as well as published collections of documents and scholarly articles, served to draw the profile of Alexander Chodkeviè. Constantine of Ostrog and the problem of the Church Union were investigated from the religious point of view, and this helped to establish the relationship between the political and religious policies of Constantine of Ostrog.

I conclude that the religious conversion of the Ruthenian noblemen was one of the consequences of the growth of political solidarity among the Ruthenian nobility of the GDL.

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*Acta unji Polski z Litwa (1385-1791) (*AUPL) [The Acts of Lithuanian-Poland Union]

*Akty otnosjašèiesja k istorii Zapadnoj Rossii (*AZR).

Archeografièeskij sbornik dokumentov (ASD)

Archiv Jugo Zapadnoj Rossii (AJZR)

Archiv Zapadno Russkich uniatskich mitropolitov (AZRUM)

Archiwum M³ynowskie Chodkiewiczów (AMCh).

Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti (CeXV)

Codex epistolaris Vitoldi, magni ducis Lithuaniae (CEV)

Kwartalnik Historyczny (KH)

Lietuvos TSR Istorijos Šaltiniai (LIŠ) (The Sources of the Lithuanian SSR history)

Lietuvos TSR Mokslu Akademijos darbai, Serija A (MADA)

Monumenta medii aevi rex gesta Poloniae illustrantia (MoMP)

Muzeum Narodowe, Kraków (MNK).

Polnoje Sobranije Russkich Letopisej (PSRL)

Polski S³ownik Biograficzny (The Polish biographical lexicon) (PSB)

Zapiski Historyczne (ZH)

INTRODUCTION

Political solidarity and awareness of belonging to the state, regarded in the terms of political community,   was spread among the nobility of the late medieval Grand Duchy of Lithuania (further the GDL). Both Lithuanian and Ruthenian[1] noblemen tended to think of themselves as one common nation and the GDL as a common, separate and integral state. Eustachij Valoviè, a Ruthenian born Vice-chancellor of the GDL, exclaimed in 1569, when the palatinates of Kiev, Volhynia, Podliasie and Braclav were torn away from the GDL before the Union of Lublin and annexed to Poland: "what will happen now with our Lithuanian nation"? [2]

The political community of the GDL, however, was not homogenous culturally, which ought to have been, following the idea of common descent.[3] It consisted of Catholic Lithuanians and Orthodox Ruthenians. Their languages differed as well. Such a situation of striking cultural heterogeneity within a political community, could not last for ever. It was contradictory from an ideological point of view and

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[1]What do I understand by the name Ruthenian? Byelorussians, Ukrainianians, Ruthenians, Moscovians, Russians -which term to denote the Slavic orthodox population living in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards? I choose *Ruthenians*, since that term was ussually applied in Latin texts. The Slavic territories of the former Kiev' Rus after its dissolution was divided between the kingdom of Poland, the GDL and the Grand Duchy of Moscow. The Slavic population of the GDL continued to refer to themselves as "Ruthenians", "Rusini", "Russians" and identified with Orthodox Christianity, whereas Slavs of the Grand Duchy of Moscow were called Moscovians.

[2] J u r g i n i s J., Lukšaite I., 1981, *Lietuvos kulturos istorijos bruozai (Feodalizmo epocha) iki XVIII a*. [The features of the Lithuanian cultural history (Feudalism period) until the eighteenth century], Vilnius, 56.

[3] R e y n o l d s S. 1983. "Medieval origines gentium and the community of the realm", *History*, 68:375,: "Myths of the common origin of a people served to increase or exspress its sense of solidarity".

raises the question: how did such a problematic situation influence the political and cultural awareness of Ruthenian noblemen in the late medieval GDL? I will try to answer this question by analysing the political and cultural awareness of several Ruthenian noblemen from the point of view of solidarity within the political community. I will focus on three persons: T. Jeulaševski (1546-1619), Alexander Chodkeviè (1457 - 1549) and Constantine of Ostrog (1526-1608).

Before going into more detail I need to present two issues: first, to explain the terms which I use (political solidarity, cultural awareness) and my approach towards ethnicity and nation (political and cultural awareness issue is related with ethnicity problem), and second, to provide an outline of political and ideological development in the late medieval GDL, in order to establish the framework of investigation, and to present the environment in which these three persons lived and acted.

CONTEMPORARY TRENDS IN RESEARCH OF ETHNICITY AND THE PROBLEMS OF TERMINOLOGY

I need to survey the different traditions of thought behind the development of nations and subjects related to that in order to make my framework clear. I have divided my focus roughly into two parts. First, I will survey scholars who make general statements, create models, schemes, present theories, and who are in my selection predominantly western scholars writing in English; and, secondly, present the paradigms used in medieval and early modern research of ethnicity by several East-Central European scholars.

It is possible to divide scholars of ethnicity roughly into three major groups - primordialists, modernists and evolutionists. A currently fashionable group, the inventionists, belong to the modernists. Primordialists[4] and modernists[5] are on the two extremes of the discourse. Each has a different view of how history is lived and "reproduced" - one side assumes primordiality of its grounding forms; the other

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[4] S h i l s, E., 1957, "Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil Ties", *British Journal of Sociology,* 8:130-145. For more see: G e e r t z, C., 1963, "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civic Politics in New States", in G e e r t z, C., ed., *Old Societies and New States.* New York.; I s a a c k s, H., 1975, *Idols of the Tribe: Group Identity and Political Change*. New York: Harpers.; V a n d e r B e r g h e, P. L., 1987, *The Ethnic Phenomenon.* New York: Praeger.; S t a c k, J. F., ed. 1986. *The Primordial Challenge,* New York: Greenwood.

[5] For example W. Connor argues, that "national consciousness is a mass, not an elite, phenomenon and the masses, until quite recently semi- or totally illiterate, were quite mute with regard to their sense of group identity (ies)". Thus he argued that, for example, only at the end of nineteenth century can one speak about the French nation. C o n n o r, W., 1990, "When is a Nation?", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 13.1:3

accentuates the historicity of history and emphasises its self-conscious, constructed, invented quality. [6]

The theories mentioned above are thought provoking, and the authors have explicated certain aspects of modern nations and nationalism. The arguments, however, which tend to leave out the premodern times in ethnicity research or overemphasise primordial ties are not convincing. The view of A.D. Smith is different in this instance, though also debatable. Smith offered a theory, which distinguished different stages of ethnic development. He identified seven features of a nation:

1. cultural differentiae;

2. territorial contiguity with free mobility throughout;

3. a relatively large scale;

4. external political relations of conflict and alliance with similar groups;

5. considerable group sentiment and loyalty;

6. direct membership with equal citizenship rights;

7. vertical economic integration.

He then defined tribe, ethnic group ("ethnie") and nation in terms of the above features as follows: [7]

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[6] G e l l n e r, E., 1964, *Thought and Change.* London:Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 169,: "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness, it invents nations where they do not exist." A n d e r s o n, B., (1983, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso Editions and New Left Books, 12.) says that the nation is an imagined politcal community. His theory is based on the argument that printing changed the apprehension of the world and time, so that masses of people could imagine and experience community simultaneously.

[7] S m i t h, A.D., 1971, *Theories of nationalism.*2nd ed, 1983, London: Duckworth and New York: Harper & Row, 186-7
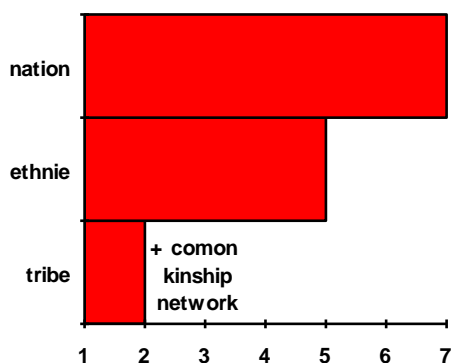
His argument that no nation can become a nation without the period of "ethnie" speaks for his evolutionary approach. Many aspects of Smith's theory are arguable.[8] But what is important for me in Smith's theory is that he distinguishes, in the case of Europe, modern nation from medieval ethnie (that is he did not just ignore the problem of ethnic identity in premodern times).

Šmahel, Zientara, Scücz, Gudaviėius - all Central European scholars - also differentiated several stages of ethnic development. Problems for scholars of this region arose from the multiethnic character of the medieval and early modern states, where ethnic manifestations were rather numerous, so that they could not avoid considering them. The Hussite revolution was especially striking for its ethnic character. Šmahel analysed it trying to oppose those who saw in the Hussite revolution the birth of a modern Czech nation. He agreed that "the problem of the constituting of a modern Czech nation is, however, in the present state of research, one attended with great difficulties".[9]

Thus Šmahel distinguished the modern nation from the medieval ethnic group, a distinction based on the articulators and bearers of national consciousness, arguing for the depth of ethnic sentiment in the society. His second distinguishing point was

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[8] His definition of nation (features 6 and 7) relies too heavily on state features. Moreover, Smith's attitude is too objectivistic and materialistic. Smith excludes from his definition of "nation" those communities, which do not have political organisation, but wish to acquire it. Thus the imaginative aspect of the political community and the role of awareness is too neglected.

[9] Š m a h e l, Fr., 1969, "The idea of the Nation in Hussite Bohemia"; *Historica,* 16:194.

the place of ethnic sentiment in the personal hierarchy of values. Dealing with the Hussite revolution, Šmahel came to conclusion that, "the principle of faith ranked higher both in Hussite and in anti-Hussite ideology and propaganda than the principle of nation and native country, which does not imply a denial of the latter's existence, but only indicates its place in the hierarchy of generally recognized and accepted values".[10] Šmahel, rejecting the idea of the birth of modern Czech nation in the Hussite Revolution, did not present his own paradigm of ethnic development and, borrowing his terminology from the descriptions of modern nationalism - "national consciousness", "national question" and "nationalism" - did not make the distinction between modern times and the Hussite period clear.

The problems of terminology accounted for the appearance of many peculiar terms to designate ethnie: medieval nation, feudal nation, precapitalist nation.[11] Zientara, in discussion with Szücz, rejected the term "nationality" to designate the difference between the medieval and the modern nation and argued that the differences between modern nation and former stages of ethnicity were more quantitative than qualitative. Instead he favoured the term "political nation", which became rather popular in writing on East Central European history. According to Zientara, the late medieval elite which was the conscious part of the ethnic group, gained the chance to influence state destiny due to the estate system and regarded

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10 Though this conclusion was difficult to make, since ethnic factor was very important as agreed Šmahel himself in one of the statements regarding the reasons of Hussite revolution: "The demographic growth of the Czech population on the one hand and the decisive influence of the wealthiest German citizens in the administration of the Old Town, on the other, were enough in themselves to create considerable friction." Š m a h e l, F., 1969, 160.

11 for critic on some of them: J a w o r s k i, R., 1979, "Zur Frage vormodernen nationalismen in Ostmitteleuropa", *Geschichte und Gesellschaft,* 5: 398-417.

themselves as the nation.[12] That was possible due to the fact that, "the breadth of national consciousness was related with the participation in political life".[13] However, it seems, that the term "political nation" was used by Zientara to denote the particular phenomenon of community in the development of states of late medieval Central Europe. The nobility of a particular state regarded itself as a community of nation, since the spread of national consciousness was solely among the elite of society. The elite of the ruling estate created or applied different descent myths to distinguish them from the peasantry. This was closely related with the change of state structure and Zientara explained it as follows: "In the historic development of nations, states were the frames for the emerging nation. The state claimed the ultimate loyalty of its subjects and organised various ties, binding the inhabitants with its symbol - the ruler and dynasty and thus managed to mobilise their feelings around its purposes, especially when there was fighting with an enemy different in language and customs. The role of the ruler was in time overtaken by the noble estate, which claimed to be the nation, to, in turn, later give away power under pressure from the masses to elites arising from the masses".[14]

Summing up the survey of different paradigms and approaches, the opinion of mine is that a distinction between modern nation and late medieval ethnic group is

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[12] Z i e n t a r a B. 1985. *Œwit narodów europejskich: powstatnie œwiadomoœci narodowej na obszarze Europy pokarolinskiej* (The dawn of the European nations: the rise of the national consciousness on the territory of the post-Carolingian Europe). Warszawa. p. 16. Z i e n t a r a, B., 1977, "Struktury narodowe œredniowiecza. Próba analizy terminologii przedkapitalistycznych form œwiadomoœci narodowej" ("Medieval national structures. The probe of the analysis of the precapitalist forms of the national consciousness"), *Kwartalnik Historyczny* (KH),84:287-309.

[13] Z i e n t a r a, B., 1983, "Korzenie nowoczesnego narodu" (The roots of the modern nation"), *KH*, 90:187.

[14] Z i e n t a r a, B., 1985, 15.

needed. The distinction is assumed on the breadth of community awareness in the society, that is from a social point of view. To make the distinction more clear one has to apply different terms and I applied the term "political nation" in referring to the late medieval GDL. Under the term "political nation" I assume a group of people, nobility estate members, linked with the broadly conceived interests of the state and capable of articulating and formulating national (political community) awareness. The distinguishing criteria for this should be the consciousness of belonging to a community thought of having a right to political existence. The distinction between nation and ethnie, however, was made from the point of view of who could produce and experience national consciousness, which meant that I had to leave aside the consciousness of the peasantry and townspeople.[15]

Still more about the difference between nation and ethnie. Šmahel pointed to the system of values, that ethnicity in modern times has become the highest value. There is a difference between the Middle Ages and modern times in the place of ethnic sentiment within the framework of values, but not so big to fully disclaim an ethnic factor in the Middle Ages. An ethnic argument was used by the nobility, members of the political nation. It was important for them, and therefore one can not avoid considering it. Let me explain now the relation of political community awareness to cultural awareness within the political nation.

I assume cultural awareness occupies part of the national (or political community) awareness. National awareness is a phenomenon in the sphere of social psychology and is shaped under the impact of a feeling of having a common language

[15] Towns in GDL were rather weak and very much depended on government and seigneurial policies. Townsmen did not acquire estate representation in the Diet of the GDL. In *Archiv Jugo Zapadnoj Rossii* (AJZR), 1859. Kiev,1:133, is given the table of towns in the year 1551, listing the tax they had to pay to the treasury: Vilnius 500 "kop grošej", Kaunas 100, Gardin - 51, Belsk - 100, Kiev - 100, Luck - 60, Vitebsk - 100, Polotsk - 100., which means that only Vilnius was a bigger town.

and historical tradition, religion, of a need for having a common hero, a common territory and state. The state is important in the sense that people identified themselves with the political community--state-- they belonged to. There was a belief in the existence of given objective communities which were political units.[16] Cultural awareness on the other hand, is based on a feeling of having a common language and alphabet, religion and customs. The state (territorial institutionalised unit of government and power) provided the frame for clear cut political (national) awareness while boundaries of culture and cultural awareness is dangerous and difficult to define. For example, both the Orthodox and Catholic religions occupied more than one country. Also, language could be spoken in more than one state. Therefore such cultural vagueness does not contradict that cultural awareness forms part of political (national) awareness, since clearly defined concepts and forms of political entities makes for clearer distinction.

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16 R e y n o l d s, S., 1984, *Kingdoms and communities in Western europe, 900-1300.* Oxford:Clarendon. §6.

THE RISE OF THE LITHUANIAN POLITICAL NATION

Speaking about the rise of the Lithuanian political nation one has to first analyse state development, which provided the frame for the emergence of the political nation. State is a unit of government and power on a certain territory. It has to delineate borders, where its power ends. The existence of borders speaks for the territorialisation of power.

The border of Lithuania was mentioned in 1009 for the first time. Missionary bishop Bruno of Querfurt was assassinated, according to the Annals of Quedlinburg, on the border between Lithuania and Russia.[17] The year 1009 therefore may refer to the first mentioned territorial entity among the tribes of Balts, who already had the hereditary rulership.[18] The military campaign of Jaroslav, duke of Kiev, most likely wiped out this and other possible "rulerships", since for almost two centuries there are no references to territorial entities among the tribes of Balts, who plundered a vast area stretching from Karelia to Little Poland.[19] Archaeologist R. Kulikauskiene described the allegiance of Lithuanian tribes as one of the strongest among the Baltic peoples. The allegiance of Lithuanian tribes slowly absorbed neighbouring and related Baltic tribes and expanded not only its territory of dominance, but also deeply

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[17] *Scriptores rerum prussicarum*. 1861, Leipzig, 1:237,: "Sanctus Bruno, qui cognomitatur Bonifacius, archiepiscopus et monachus II suae conversionis anno in confinio Rusciae et Lituae a paganis capite plexus cum suis 18, 7 Id. Martii petiit ceolos".

[18] *Monumenta Poloniae historica*, 1960, Warszawa, 1:327-329; G u d a v i è i u s, E., 1983, ""Lietuvos" vardas XI a. - XII a. I. p. šaltiniuose" ("Name "Lithuania" in the 11th- I part of 12th century sources")*; Lietuvos TSR Mokslu Akademijos darbai, Serija A* (MADA)*,* 3 (84):84.

[19] G u d a v i è i u s E. 1983, 85.

influenced the life of those tribes.[20] Thus the state of Mindaugas (in Polish -Mendog) (1236-1263), in the middle of the thirteenth century, emerged from an allegiance of a few very close, linguistically and culturally mixed, Lithuanian tribes. In the treaty in 1219, drawn up between several Lithuanian princes and the duchy of Halicz-Volhynia, a linguistic similarity of Lithuanian princes can be seen.[21] From it one can apprehend at least two Lithuanian tribes - Lithuanians and Samogitians. The names of princes suggests that there was a linguistic similarity between them. Both Lithuanian and Samogitian names are very similar in grammatical form and sound. However, the linguistic similarities alone did not yet produce the common consciousness of one community. The emergence of the state brought fourth a breakthrough. The grouping of tribes, seen in a horizontal arrangement, transformed itself into a hierarchical class society in which a narrow ruling group undertook the task of integration and unification of the tribes for its own purposes into a society with an outlined division of labour and consumption.[22]

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20 *Lietuviu etnogeneze (The Ethnogenesis of the Lithuanians),* 1987, Vilnius, 78.

21 "Lithuanian princes sent a peace proposal to the great duchess Romanova, as well as Danila and Vasilka. The names of the Lithuanian princes were as follows: the senior - Živinbudas, Daujotas, Dausprungas, his brother Mindaugas, Vilikaila brother of Daujela, and Samogitian prince Erdivilas, Vykintas, and Ruškavièiai - Kintibutas, Vambutas (Vombut), Butautas, Vyžeikis and his son Vislis, Kitenis, Plikosova, and the Bulevièiai - Vismantas (Visimut), who, along with his brother, Mindaugas murdered and took his wife, Edivilas, Sprudeika, and these princes from Deltuva - Judikis, Pukeikis, Biksis, Ligeikis (Likiik). They all concluded peace and so it was". *Lietuvos TSR Istorijos Šaltiniai* (LIŠ) (The sources of the Lithuanian SSR history), 1955. Vilnius, 1:34; *Polnoje Sobranije Russkich Letopisej* (PSRL), 1908, Ipatjevskaja Letopis. Sankt Peterburg, 2;735-736.

22 G i e y s z t o r, A., 1972. "WiêŸ narodowa i regionalna w polskim œredniowieczu" ("The national and regional ties in the Polish Middle Ages"), *Polska dzielnicowa i zjednoczona. Pañstwo -*

Mindaugas, already present during the treaty, was the man who succeeded in overthrowing his rivals and relatives, and establishing rule over the territory, which embraced many former tribal principalities.[23]   Mindaugas' state was only the beginning of the integration of these principalities. But similarity of language and common enemies made it easier. In the fourteenth century greater integration within the borders of Mindaugas' state was achieved. Gudavièius considers the fragmentation of old districts as an indirect indicator for emergence of Lithuanian ethnie out of former tribes. In the thirteenth century for example Nalšia was a big district, whereas in the fourteenth century this name is applied only to small local area. District fragmentation corresponded to the establishment of the net of Grand Ducal castles.[24] The net of the castles represented the network of political power, and constantly reminded people of their rulers.[25]

In the fourteenth century the GDL's rulers expanded their hegemony up to the Black sea and Moscow. These territories were populated by a Slavic Orthodox population. The GDL thus consisted of pagan Lithuanians and Orthodox Ruthenians. In 1387 part of the pagan population of the GDL was baptised, while the Ruthenian

spo³eczeñstwo - kultura ("The divided and united Poland. The State - Society - Culture.) , Warszawa, 22.

[23] "While acting as a prince in Lithuania, Mindaugas began to murder and expel his brothers and cousins to rule alone on the whole Lithuanian land.", *LIŠ*, 1:34.

[24] *Lietuviu etnogeneze*, 1987, 123.; N i k ž e n t a i t i s, A., 1987, "Rašytiniai šaltiniai apie lietuviu piliu sistem¹ XIII a. pabaigoje - XIV a.pr." ("Written sources about the system of Lithuanian castles in the end of 13th, beginning of 14th century"), *MADA*, 3(96):51-62.

[25] Peter of Duisburg mentioned many times the power of Grand Dukes of Lithuania. Petras Duisburgietis, 1985, *Prusijos zemes kronika, (The Chronicle of Prussia),* Vilnius.

principalities and Orthodox population were permitted to retain "religion of theirs".[26] However, the privileges issued by Jogaila (1387) on this occasion show that superiority in the state rested with the Catholics, i.e. Lithuanians.[27]

Liubavskij noticed certain features of teritorial organisation in the GDL. In his work he discerned a broader GDL from a narrower, calling the latter "Lituania propria". "Lituania propria" comprised of ethnic Lithuania without Samogitia, and the stretch of Ruthenian territories beside it - Minsk, Volkovysk, Breslauja, Gardin. Other former Ruthenian principalities were annexes. Annexes had separate privileges.[28] Thus, Ruthenian provinces were not united and subject to Vilnius as one unit, but every province by individual threads. Moreover, the provinces, after the reform of Vytautas (the end of the fourteenth, begining of the fifteenth century), were governed by ducal viceroys, who replaced most hereditary princes.[29] As Ochmanski pointed out, despite this structural divergence, "noblemen of the whole country were interested in improving the state apparatus and in keeping the state united."[30] Noblemen aimed to ensure their right towards land property, and to their social status. The nobility on the Ruthenian periphery wanted to live as the nobility of

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[26] K u r c z e w s k i, J., 1912, *Biskupstwo wilenskie (The bishopric of Vilnius)*,165: "When some Ruthenian would like to be baptised, he can do so, but if he does not desire it, he can stay with his own religion."

[27] *Codeks diplomaticus ecclesiae cathedralis necnom dioceeseas Vilnensis*, 1931, Kraków, ed. J. Semkowicz, 1:13, N.6.

[28] Such different own privileges had Polotsk, Vitebsk, Kiev, Podliasie and Volhynia provinces.

[29] L i u b a v s k i j, M., 1901, *Litovsko-Russkij Seim (The Lithuanian-Russian Diet)*, Moskva,10.

[30] O c h m a n s k i, J., 1982, *Historia Litwy (The History of Lithuania)*, Wroclaw, 111.

"Lituania propria" lived. For example, in the privilege of 1501 in Volhynia, the Ruthenian nobility requested that noble rights apply to the whole country.[31]

The Grand Dukes of Lithuania sought to transform the structure of society to make it politically useful to the state. As a result of their endeavours the core of the political nation throughout the fifteenth century was a group of people (so called lords) from ethnic Lithuania and Samogitia, and the ruler personified the unity of the state and political community.[32] Suchocki J. analysed the social as well as ethnic structure of the Lithuanian political nation in the fifteenth century, and came to the conclusion that princes, nobility and clergy composed those social layers, which constituted the political nation. The dynamism of ethnic composition in the

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[31] *AJZR*, 1863, 1:27-28; N.36,:"a to im maem vse deržati tye tèlenki, što v vsem našom liste verchu stoit napisannym, do tych èasov, polij prava statuty v sej zemli otèizne našoi V.X.L. vstavim, a koli pravo statuta u v otèizne nasei ustavim, togdy vi zemli naši odnogo sy prava deržati majut a odnim pravom sužony budut, podle statutu".

[32] The first to express and employ the ethnicity argument in political bargaining was Vytautas.: "Sentetiastis enim et pronunciastis in terra Samaytarum, que set hereditas et patrimonium nostrum ex legitima attavorum et avorum nosrrorum successione, quasi et nunc possidemus, qui eciam est et semper fuit unum et idem cum terra Lithwaniae, nam unum ydeoma et uni homines. Sed quod terra Samaytarum est terra inferior ad terram Lythwanie, ideo Szomoyth vocatur, quod in lythwanico terra inferior interpretatur. Samayte vero Lythwaniam appellant Auxtote, quod est terra superior respecta terre Samaytarum. Samagitte quoque homines se Lythwanos ab antiquis temporibus et nunquam Samaytas appelant, et propter talem ydeptitatem in ttitulo nostro nos de Samagicia non scribimus, quia totum unum est, terra un et homines uni.", *LIŠ*, 1:91;, *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi, magni ducis Lithuaniae* (CEV) (1376-1430), A. Prochaska, ed., *Monumenta medii aevi rex gesta Poloniae illustrantia* (MoMP), 1882, 6:466-467.

Lithuanian political nation could be best described in the following table, drawn from the data given by Suchocki[33]:

Period	1385-1413	1413-1447	1447-1492	1492-1529	1529-1569
Total number of families constituting Lith.pol. nation	**59**	**56**	**54**	**93**	**65**
Number of families from Ruthenian areas	2	11	20	38	27
Percentage of families from Ruthenian areas	3,4 %	19,6 %	37 %	41 %	41 %
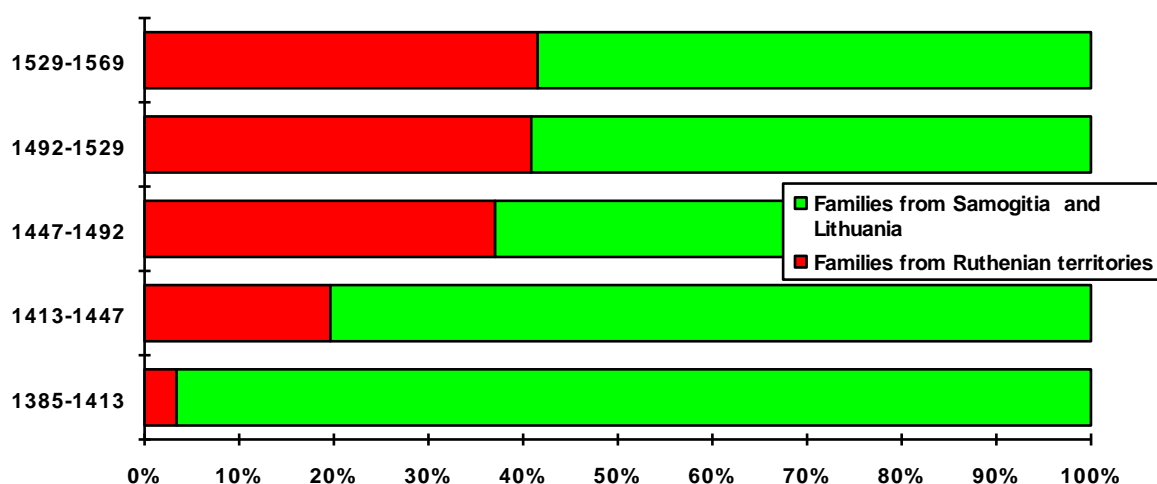
33 S u c h o c k i, J., 1983, "Formovanie sie i sklad narodu politycnego w Wielkim Ksiêstwie Litewskim póŸnego œredniowiecza"("The formation and the content of the political nation in the late medieval Grand Duchy of Lithuania"), *Zapiski Historyczne* (ZH). 48/1-2:30-79. Suchocki analysed state chancelery documents as well as chronicles and looked for the mentions of families, which were present while the Grand Duke issued privileges, sent letters, signed treaties. He regarded the noble in the environment of the Grand Duke as a member of the political nation.

The interaction of the Lithuanian and Ruthenian components shows the steady growth of a Ruthenian element in the Lithuanian political nation. The influx of the Ruthenian element into the Lithuanian political nation was due to the civil war in the years following the death of Vytautas. Both competing parties wished to obtain support from the Ruthenian nobility. In these circumstances Sigismund (1432-1440) granted the privilege of 1434 for Orthodox nobility and assured the same liberties for Orthodox as for Catholic noblemen.[34] Ruthenian noblemen filled the places of a number of Lithuanian lords, who died in the course of the civil war. Moreover, when Sigismund established his rule, he disfavoured former companions of Vytautas and killed the rebels.[35] The hatred against Sigismund consolidated both Lithuanian and Ruthenian lords. Sigismund was murdered in 1440 in a plot organised by Orthodox Ruthenian prince Iwan Czartoryski and two Lithuanian lords: Daugirdas, palatine of Vilnius and Leliuša, palatine of Trakai.[36] The quick growth of the Ruthenian element in the political nation, however, with time, created unease in the Lithuanian elite, which feared losing its superior position. The will of Lithuanians to secure superiority clashed with the need for consolidating of the political community. The attitude towards Orthodox noblemen became more rigid through the successful efforts of Albertas Goštautas (1511-1539), chancellor of the GDL and palatine of Vilnius. Since 1522 Albertas Goštautas rivalled Constantine of Ostrog, who was the lay patron of the GDL Orthodox church and, being the palatine of Trakai, occupied the highest post of lay magnates in the Council of Lords. This conflicted with

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34 *LIŠ*, 1:68, *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti* (CeXV), 1876, ed. Sokolowski, J., Szujski, J., Lewicki, A., 3:529-531.,in *MoMP*, 1894, 14.

35 *PSRL*, 17:532-33.

36 *PSRL*, 17:533-4, S u c h o c k i, J., 1983. p. 34-59., S u c h o c k i, J., 1987, "Geneza litewskiej legendy etnogenetycznej. Aspekty polityczne i narodowe" ("The genesis of the ethnogenetic Lithuanian legend. Political and ethnic aspects"), *ZH*, 52/1:28-9.

Horodle Act of 1413, which said that the main offices of the state were reserved for Catholics.[37] Despite the privilege of Sigismund in 1434, which ensured the same liberties for Orthodox as for Catholics, the Lithuanian nobility based their claims for political superiority on the Horodle Act. Goštautas, besides military demonstrations and lobbying, launched a propaganda campaign, reffering to the Horodle Act and previous practice, to establish Catholic Lithuanians as uppermost in the state.[38] He sent a memorial in 1525 to queen Bona, where he reproached the King of Poland and the Grand Duke of Lithuania for the evil done to Lithuanians.[39] The king, Sigismund the Senior, in 1529 had to promise in the future never to appoint Orthodox into the highest state offices without the consent of the Council of Lords.[40] This suggests that the solidarity of the nobility outweighed religious affiliation, and the king confirmed the principle of political solidarity.

[37] In the Horodle union act (1413) we see that only Catholic could be elected to the local administration. *Acta unji Polski z Litwa (1385-1791) (*AUPL) [The Acts of Lithuanian-Poland Union], 1932, ed. Kutrzeba, St., Semkovicz, W., Kraków, 61-69.

[38] In Goštautas's environment and under his influence was compiled the broadest version of Lithuanian "letopisi", the so-called Bychovc chronicle, which drew a concise history of Lithuania, elaborating the myth of Roman descent together with the cult of Vytautas and the battle of Žalgiris.

[39] G o š t a u t a s, A., 1972, "Albertas Goštautas, Vilniaus vaivada, Bonai Sforcai, Lenkijos karalienei, prieš kunigaikšti Konstantin¹ Ostrogiški ir prieš Radvilas" ("Albertas Goštautas, the palatine of Vilnius, to Bona Sforca, the queen of Poland, against the prince Constantine of Ostrog and Radvila' family"), *Mokslines bibliotekos metraštis,* Vilnius.

[40] J u r g i n i s, J., L u k š a i t e, J.,1982, 84. In the same time the delegation to pope Klement VII concerning the separate Lithunanian church province was sent. As one of the requirements to the head of the province was, that he had to be Lithuanian and know Lithuanian language. K u Ÿ m i n s k a, M., 1926/27, 38.

Still, from the statistics one can not detail the qualitative change in the opinions and consciousness of the Ruthenian nobility. Lenard, who investigated the GDL chronicles from the end of the fourteenth until the early sixteenth century, applying the method of content analysis, reached the conclusion that "the closer we are to the sixteenth century the more frequent the ascribing of ethnic-state features to the rulers and other objects connected with the state (e.g. army, the clergy, towns), the tendency to emphasize the domination of objects with Lithuanian ethnic-state traits over alien ones increases".[41] It suggests the increase of Lithuanian political consciousness. This context raises the question of how participation in the Lithuanian political nation influenced the cultural awareness of Ruthenian noblemen? Did they relish complete solidarity in the Lithuanian political nation? What were the means towards integration into the political community?

Grand Dukes wished to integrate the Ruthenian community by means of a Church Union.[42] Jogaila (1377-1434), Vytautas (1392-1430), Švitrigaila (1430-1432) increased the control over the Orthodox hierarchy by placing "their men" in the seat

[41] L e n a r d E. 1990. "Panstwoœæ i narodowoœæ w kronikach litewskich od konca XIV do pocz¹tku XVI w. Próba analyzi treœæi" ("Statehood and ethnicity in the Lithuanian chronicles from the end of fourteenth until the beggining of sixteenth century. The attempt of content analysis."), *Panstwo, naród, stany w œwiadomoœæi wieków œrednich (State, nation, estates in the medieval consciousness)*, Warszawa, 130-147.

[42] By 1396 Vytautas and Jogaila, together with Kiprijon, prepared the Church Union, but their plans were opposed by the patriarch of Constantinople. In 1406, when Kiprijon died, the Greek Fotij, who was against Vytautas' plans, was appointed to the Kiev metropolite. Vytautas again had to disassociate the Orthodox Church of the GDL from the influence of Moscow. The nephew of Kiprijon, Gregory Camblak, was elected the metropolite of Lithuania in 1415 at the meeting of the GDL Orthodox bishops, which took place in Nowgorodek. P f i c n e r i s, J., 1989, *Didysis Lietuvos kunigaikstis Vytautas kaip politikas ("Vytautas, Grand Duke of Lithuania, as politician")*, Vilnius, 235.

of the Kiev metropolite. They also managed to diminish the influence on the Orthodox hierarchy from without, but further efforts to bring the Orthodox population of the GDL into the Church Union failed.[43] However, in the second part of the fifteenth century, the issue of the Church Union was taken over by the Ruthenian nobility and Orthodox hierarchy trying to realise the decisions of the Florence Union. Here one of the most important persons was Alexander Soltan.[44] In 1467-68 Soltan made an impressive journey to the Holy Land, visited the pope and became an active supporter of the Union.[45] He sent letters to pope Sixtus IV, together with a number of Ruthenian noblemen. In the letter of 1476 the Ruthenian nobility agreed to acknowledge the superiority of the pope on the condition that they permitted to retain their liturgy. However, these relations with papacy did not bear fruit.[46] However, this did not stop the Soltan family from pursuing uniatic orientation.[47]

43 The missions of Camblak and Gerasim in the Congress of Constance the Congress of Bazel (1431-1449) were not succesful, respectively. *PSRL,* 17:61.

44 He originated from Slonim, and was a personal treasurer of Casimir Jogailaitis

45 T r i m o n i e n e, R., 1991, "A.Soltanas - XV amziaus piligrimas" ("A. Soltan - the pilgrim of the fifteenth century"), *Mokslas ir Gyvenimas*, 2:12-13. On his return he paid a visit the Habsburg Frydrich III and to the king of Sicily, Ferdinand of Aragon, and to pope Paul II, as well as Castily with Portugal, and Burgundy with England, avoiding France. In 1471, together with the brother Ivaska, he visited pope, and in 1473 sent a letter to pope Sixtus IV through his envoy Bonumbre, on his return from Moscow. In 1476 Kiev metropolite Misail sent a letter to pope, which was signed by many Ruthenian noblemen, among them A. Soltan, Iwan Chodkeviè, Fedor Bielskij, Michael Olelkovic.

46 Catholic hierarchy of the GDL did not want Church Union, since that would have mean the loss of the missionary position towards lands of schismatics. M a t u s a s, J., 1938, *Švitrigaila - Lietuvos didysis*

The orientation of Ruthenian nobility towards the GDL, and the growth of their number in the Lithuanian political nation, threatened the superior position of the Catholic Lithuanians in the state. As early as the second part of the fifteenth century, the dominant Lithuanian nobility applied a myth of Roman descent to themselves for ideological purposes, which established the frame of collectivity and which applied language as one of the criteria for delineating the boundaries of community membership. The break-up of dynastic unity after the death of Vytautas in the years of civil war (1432-1436), its short reestablishment (1436-1440), and the bloody overthrow of Sigismund in 1440 raised the urgent need for ideological consolidation of territories and nobility other than through a dynastic process. The descent myth of the political community was the solution. Why was the Roman descent myth applied, and not something else? There were several possible legends for selection. Foreign chroniclers writing about Baltic tribes originated them from different ancient societies, as Alans, Getae (mixing with Goths), Greeks.[48] Peter of Duisburg and Michael Jeroshin - two German order chroniclers were the first to mention Lithuanian ties with Rome.[49] They thought the name of the Baltic tribes' cult center, Ramove, derived from Rome. The pagan rites of Lithuanians resembled that of ancient Romans. The resemblance came, most likely, not through form, but by the

kunigaikštis (Švitrigaila - the Grand Duke of Lithuania), Kaunas.; L e w i c k i, A., 1899. *Unia Florenska w Polsce. (TheUnion of Florence in Poland),* Krakow.

[47]A. Soltan founded a monastery for the Bazylian order (which became the stronghold of the uniatic church after the union of Brest in 1596). His son continued to support this monastery, while the grandson of Alexander Soltan became Kiev metropolite of uniatic orientation, known as Josif II Soltan. B e l e c k i j, A.V., 1895, *Rodoproizchoždenje Josifa II Soltana (The origins of Josif II Soltan),* Vilno.; *Archeografièeskij sbornik dokumentov* (ASD) 1870, S. Petersburg, 9:12.

[48]R o è k a, M.,1988, *Mykolas Lietuvis (Nicholas the Lithuanian),* Vilnius, 30-67.

[49]S u c h o c k i, J., 1987, 37.

fact that Lithuanians were heathens and worshipped fire. Dlugoss produced a wider version of the legend. The legend was not novelty for Dlugoss, who wrote about it in the year 1464. Always feeling hatred to Lithuania, stressing its barbarity and backwardness, the Polish chronicler would not create an honourable myth, and yet three times mentioned the legend.[50] Foreign chroniclers did not intend to polish the legend and make it consistent. J. Dlugoss mentioned the legend three times with slight differences.[51] The main features, according to which Dlugoss considered Lithuanians descendants of Romans, were similarities between the Lithuanian and

[50] *Ioannis Dlugossii, Annales seu Chronicae incliti regni Poloniae,* 1964, Warszawa. 1-2, (lib. II, AD 997, p. 215-6, lib X, AD 1387, p. 470-472, lib X AD. 1387 p. 472-475.) for example in the second book Dlugoss wrote (1:215-6): "Origo Lithuanorum et Prutenorum moresque, et quomodo beatus Adalbertus in Prussis martyrium passus sit. Fuit autem pro ea tempestate Pruthenorum gens seva et crudelis ydolatrie et cultui demonum et tam ceco patenti et caliginoso dedita errori, ut solem lunam, stellas, bestias, aves, ignem et cetera creata pro diis coleret et quasdam silvas, lacus et aquas, quas neque piscatu, venatu aut incisione contingere liceret, sacratas putarent, **speciale habens ydioma, a Latino tamen aliquantulum derivatum et quod cum Lythwanico habet concordanciam aliquam et paritatem,** eosdemque pene does, ritus et sacra eadem, unum verum et eundem summum sacrorum pontificem aput civitatem eorum pro metropoli habitam, Romove vocatam, residentem, a Roma intitulatam, cuius iusa a singulis non obedienter impleri capitale erat, et qui Criwe eorum lingua appelatus est. Unius enim et moris et lingue cognacionisque Prutheni, Lythwani et Samogitte fuisse dinoscuntur et bellis civilibus in Italia inter Cezarem et Pompeium exortis, flagrante Italia, veteribus sedibus desertis, in has, quas modo incolunt, oras venisse, sedesque suas in nemoribus et desertis locis, fluminibus stagnis et paludibus obsitis posuisse, ad instar quoque Rome civitatem principalem Romove condidisse et summum sacrorum suorum antistitem illic locasse. Et quamvis gentes ipse in verborum prolacione differunt, quemadmodum Poloni, Bohemi et Ruteni, nichilominus in multis conveniunt."

[51] What is interesting is that he considered Prussians, Samogitians and Lithuanians as sharing the same language, customs and faith, that is comprising one Lithuanian entity.

Latin languages, pagan rites and the name of Lithuania, which was thought derived from "Italia" adding "l" at the beginning - "L'italia". "L'italia" gradually became "Lituania".[52]

In their interests the Lithuanian political elite was to produce its own, concise version of the legend. Involved in the creation of such a version were the families of Goštautas, princes Giedraièiai, Rackovièiai, princes Svirskiai, princes Alšeniškiai, Taborovièiai and Sapiega.[53] The broadest, most accurate version, from the point of chronology, was completed in the environment of Goštautas at the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century.[54]

The myth of Roman descent thus satisfied paradoxical aims. Such myths, tracing the history of community, attempted to consolidate the community of state against foreign enemies and internal discourse. However, the basic elements of the Roman myth - similarity of language and pagan rites, which then was followed by Catholic baptism - put a demarcation line between Catholics and Orthodox - or Lithuanians and Ruthenians. In the myth itself clearly showed that the pagan Lithuanians were descendants of Romans, and Catholic baptism followed paganism. Thus the demarcation did not vanish even in the myth.[55]

In 1521 Casimir, the future patron saint of Lithuania, was granted the title "divus". Zoccaria Ferreri[56] stressed his descent from the glorious Romans and

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[52] R o è k a, M. 1988, 74.

[53] S u c h o c k i, J., 1987, 39.

[54] J u è a s, M., 1968, *Lietuvos metrašèiai (The Lithuanian Chronicles),* Vilnius, 56.

[55] *PSRL*,32:129,: A potom kniaz velikij Kiernius y Gimbut, chotiaèy otèizny rozmnožyti i sobravšy sily swoj litowskije i žomoitskije y poudut na Rus, ku Braslavsku y ko Polocku...; *PSRL,* 35:128-130.

[56] Leo X appointed the papal legate Zoccaria Ferreri, Bishop of Guardalfiera, the Archbishop of Guesen and the Bishop of Przempl to investigate the life and miracles of Casimir. Casimir was canonised in

pointed out that Casimir ought to be sainted since he, among other deeds, overcame the schismatic faith of Ruthenians in the GDL.[57] This somehow characterises the political climate of the time in the GDL, which was becoming less and less favourable to the Orthodox. Despite the fact that the rights of Orthodox and Catholics recieved equal political validity in 1563, due to the difficulties in the war with Moscow, the attitude towards Orthodox became more strict. Orthodox noblemen themselves conceived that Orthodoxy could no longer satisfy spiritual or political needs. Thus the religion, part of a cultural awareness package, opposed integration of the community under the lead of Catholic Lithuanians.

All the mentioned questions determine the issue I wish to investigate with more scrutiny. Was the political solidarity so desireable, that it could force a Ruthenian noble to change his religion in order to be fully integrated into the Lithuanian political nation? I assume that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries emerged a Lithuanian political nation consisting of Ruthenian and Lithuanian nobility, which had a consciousness of political solidarity and a feeling of commonness - "We, Lithuanians".[58] However this political consciousness included two or even more types of cultural awareness -- Catholic Lithuanian and Orthodox Ruthenian -- which caused problems for the ideological and spiritual integrity of the political community. Since the political community, following the logic of the descent myth, could only be homogenous, when a sincere claim for political existence could be forwarded. The dualistic situation produced certain problems and by analysing three sixteenth century Ruthenian noblemen political solidarity and cultural awareness puts a broader perspective on the behaviour and orientation of

the 1602, and pope Clement VIII named March 4 as his feast day (the date of his death), *Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 8: 402.

[57] F e r r e r i, Z., "Vita S. Casimiri", *Acta Sanctorum* I, 2:347.

[58] 23 X 1501 Mielnik diet, AUPL, 134-149.

those times. For this reason I choose the problem of Alexander Chodkevič, mentioned by several scholars as being the first Ruthenian Orthodox, who converted to Catholicism. Also I choose Jeulaševski as a representative of lesser nobility, to compare the importance of political solidarity to cultural awareness, and what effect it had on political and religious identifications. Jeulaševski was related to Chodkevič family as well - he served the grandson of Alexander Chodkevič - John Jerome Chodkevič. Another reason I chose him relates to the source material. He is the first writer whose written memoirs survived, and which are extensive and problematic enough to get the answers on his identifications. The last chapter is concerned with a second type of cultural awareness development, where identification with Orthodox religion, among other reasons, caused the emergence of a separate political programme, originating from the endeavours of Constantine of Ostrog.

ALEXANDER CHODKEVIÈ (1457-1549) - STATE AND FAMILY POLICY

There are several problems concerning Alexander Chodkeviè (1457-1549) and his family. First of all accounts of their descent are surrounded by many obscurities and versions.[59] The long life of Alexander Chodkeviè causes problem as well. It is questionable whether two Alexanders existed: son and father, both palatinates of Novgorodek.[60] Whether Alexander Chodkeviè in the last years of his life changed his religion from Orthodox to Catholic is also not clear.[61] My visit to the Chodkeviè

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[59] Niesecki (N i e s e c k i, K., 1776, *Herbarsz Polski (The book of the Polish coat of arms)*, 3:50-62), considered Chodkeviè as originating from fourteenth century Boreiko, but that was opposed by Boniecki (B o n i e c k i, A., 1883, *Poczet rodów (The list of the families),* Kraków, 3) and Radziminski (R a d z i m i n s k i, Z.L., 1926/7. "Sprawa odrêbnego pochodzenia Chodkiewiczów litewskich i bia³oruskich" ("The question of the different origin of the Lithuanian and Byelorussian Chodkeviè' family") , *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego.* Lwow. 8:110) who argued that Chodkeviè's origin from Boreiko is a legend, and actually that the surname Chodkeviè came from the name *Fiodor* then *Chodor*, which transfered to *Chodka* and then *Chodkeviè.* They identified Chodko Jurjevic as progenitor of the family.

[60] Nesiecki (N i e s e c k i, K., 1776) thinks that Alexander Chodkeviè had three sons: Hrehory, Alexander and Jerome, while O ž a r o v s k i (Centrinis Valstybinis istorijos Archyvas (The Central State Historical Archives), f. 1282/3/112) three: Gregory, Jerome, Jurij, and B o n i e c k i, M., (1883, 3:29.) and D w o r z a c z e k, W., 1957, found four -Hrehory, Jerome, Iwan and Jurij.

[61] K o s s a k o w s k i, S.K., (1876, *Monografie historyczno-genealogiczne niektórych rodzin polskich (The historical-genealogical monographies of some Polish families)*, 1:44) and U r u s k i, S., (1905. *Rodzina. Herbarz szlachty Polskiej (The family. The book of coat of arms of the Polish nobility)* Warsawa. 2:209) firmly held that Chodkeviè converted to Catholicism before death. The testament of Alexander Chodkeviè did not survive and it is unlikely that it was written at all, since after the death

family archives in Cracow[62] did not clarify these issues. Nevertheless, I shall try to trace the cultural orientation as well as political inclination of Alexander Chodkeviè from available material.

The family of Chodkeviè takes its beginning from Jurij Chodzko in the first part of the fifteenth century, who descended from the area around Kiev and who was Orthodox and Ruthenian - the name itself speaks for that. His son Iwan Chodkeviè (+1484) was already firmly established among the members of the royal circle. Iwan Chodkeviè's wife was related with royal dynasty.[63] In 1470 Iwan Chodkeviè became court marshal.[64] In 1474 he took part in the joint campaign of Poland and the GDL against the king of Hungary, Mathias, by leading a military unite. In 1476 Iwan Chodkeviè became deputy ("namiestnik") of Vitebsk and in 1478 starosta of Luck. [65]

In 1480 he succeeded Martynas Goštautas in the office of the Kiev palatine.[66] South - eastern borders of the Duchy were most dangerous at that time and could be entrusted only to a well experienced and reliable person. However, this appointment provoked dissatisfaction of a relative of the Grand Duke - the Ruthenian prince Michael Olelkoviè, who regarded the Kiev palatinate as his patrimony. The prince summoned his relatives, Fedor Bielskij and Iwan Alseniškis, and organised an

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his sons divided the land themselves with the acknowledgment of their mother. *Archiwum M³ynowskie Chodkiewiczów* (AMCh), 20.

[62] Wojewodskie Archiwum Panstwowe w Krakowie, *Archiwum M³ynowskie Chodkiewiczów* (AMCh)

[63] The fourth wife of Jogaila was Zofia Alseniskyte, the aunt of Agnieska, wife of Iwan Chodkeviè, U r u s k i, S., 1905, 2:208.

[64] R a d z i m i n s k i, Z.L.,1926/27, 128

[65] *Polski S³ownik Biograficzny* (The Polish biographical lexicon) (PSB), 1937.Kraków. 3:361.

[66] R a d zi m i n s k i, Z.L., 1926/27,128.

unsuccessful plot. To discover the plans of these rebels helped Iwan Chodkeviè very much, though one of the rebels, Fedor Bielskij, was his brother-in-law.[67]

In 1483 Tartars unexpectedly seized Kiev and captured Iwan Chodkeviè, together with his family, and brought them into horde.[68] He soon died there, around the year 1484, while, with the assistance of Casimir, Grand Duke of Lithuania and king of Poland, was paid a large ransom for his wife, son Alexander and daughter. Casimir was generous and did not forget his relatives and those who helped him retain power. After the return of the Chodkeviè family from Tartar captivity, Grand Duke Alexander returned their property and took Alexander Chodkeviè to his court. Chodkeviè claimed the lands of Fedor Bielskij on the ground of his mother's rights, but did not get all he wanted.[69]

Thus, by marrying the cousin of the Grand Duke Casimir Iwan Chodkeviè distinguished himself as protecting the dynasty and state from external and inernal

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[67] *PSB*, 3:361.

[68] W o l f f, J., 1885, *Senatorowie i dygnitarze Wielkiego Ksiêstwa Litewskiego 1386-1796 (The Senators and dignitaries of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania)*, Kraków, 19. *Skarbiec dyplomatów papieskich, cesarskich, królewskich, ksi¹¿êcych, uchwal narodowych, postawieñ róŸnych w³adz, urzêdów posluguj¹cych do krytycznego wyjaœnienia dziejów Litwy, Rusi Litewskiej, i oœciennych im krajów. (Collected documents of popes, emperors, kings, dukes and other rules concerning the history of Lithuania, Lithuanian Russia and territories under its authority)*,1860, ed. D a n i l o w i c z, J.,Wilno, 2:2018.

[69] U r u s k i, S., 1904, 2:209, maintained, that Alexander Chodkievic recieved many lands of Fedor Bielskij, while B o n i e c k i, M., 3:23, argued otherwise, that he did not recieve them despite his efforts. Semion Bielskij, brother of Fedor, did not support him in the revolt and did not escape to Moscow. Therefore, Casimir granted him the main bulk of Fedor's possesions. Grand Duke Alexander, under the claim of Alexander Chodkevic, reviewed the issue and came to conclusion that Casimir's decision was valid. *AMCh* 37.

enemies. What was his religious orientation then in this perspective? He was one of those who supported the decisions of the Florence Church Union in the lands of the GDL and undersigned the letter together with his brother Pawel to pope Sixtus IV in 1476 concerning the implementation of Florentine decisions into reality.[70] This fact speaks for his uniatic orientation.[71] This orientation might account for his relation to the royal dynasty and involvement in state matters.

Was Iwan Chodkeviè's policy continued by his son? Alexander Chodkeviè (1457 - 1549) was one of the richest and most influential dignitaries in GDL in the first part of the sixteenth century. He started his political career in the court of Grand Duke of Lithuania, Alexander. In 1502 he became royal court equerry and in 1506 marshal of the court. Moreover, during his life he was the holder of the royal districts: Punsk (1501 - 11), Ostryn (1518-22), Vilkija (1522-44), Knyszyn (1530 - 44), Uzelkiu (1536) and was starosta of Brest (1529-49) and palatine of Nowgorodek (1544-1549). His political and familial policy, I assume, depended on the political system of the GDL. For that reason the sketch of the political system of the GDL in the beginning of the sixteenth century is needed.

The Lithuanian political system at the end of fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century could be described as a shifting balance between several magnate families and their alliances. At the very beginning of the sixteenth century there was a confrontation of the two groups. One faction was lead by John Zaberezinski, another by Michael Glinskij, favourite of the Grand Duke Alexander. When Sigismund the Senior became the ruler in 1506, Zaberezinski managed to diminish the influence of Glinskij on the new king. Glinskij was so dissatisfied that

[70] AMCh 1285.

[71] The Chodkeviè family was in touch with the Soltan family, which pursued many uniatic activities.

he revolted.[72] Alexander Chodkeviè was suspected of supporting Glinskij and after the failure of the revolt he, together with Albertas Goštautas (an obvious Catholic), Martin and Fedka Chreptoviè and prince Polubinski, was put under house arrest.[73]

The outcome of the revolt was that Radvila family, who supported Zaberezinski, gained more influence in the state, and Sigismund the Senior, asked by Lithuanian and Polish lords, and perhaps willing to restore the balance, repealed formal home detention in 1511 (during which Goštautas could travel from the GDL to Poland) for both Goštautas and Chodkeviè.[74] They actively resumed their political activities in the GDL, especially due to the war with Moscow. In 1513 Alexander Chodkeviè, together with Albertas Gostautas travelled to Poznan to Sigismund the

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[72] The revolt was of personal character, though Choroškeviè looked at a revolt under the joint Orthodox program with separatist aims. C h o r o š k e v i è, A. L., 1982, "O meždunarodnich aspektach religioznoi politiki Velikogo kniazestva Litovskogo vremeni Pervogo Litovskogo Statuta 1529 g."("On the International Aspects of Religious Policy of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the time of the first Lithuanian Statute"); *I Lietuvos Statutas*, Vilnius,34., compare, B a c k u s, O., 1957, *Motives for WestRussian nobles in Deserting Lithuania for Moscow 1377-1514,* Lawrence, Kansas. However, the revolt was not supported by the majority of orthodox noblemen, K u Ÿ m i n s k a, M, 1927/28, "Olbracht Marcinowicz Gasztold" ("Albert Martinoviè Goštautas"), odbitka z *Ateneum Wilenskie* 4-5, 10.

[73] K u Ÿ m i n s k a, M., 1926/27, 12 Albertas Goštautas and Alexander Chodkeviè were possibly related to the Glinskij party, since they are listed in several Grand Duke Alexander's privileges as being present together. *Muzeum Narodowe*, Kraków (MNK) 540/10. Such a mild punishment suggests, that there was not enough evidence to prove their collaboration, but it was a good chance to push political rivals aside.

[74] *Acta Tomiciana*, 1857. Posen, 1, N.156.

Senior asking him to return to the GDL with military aid from Poland.[75] In 1514, when Moscow seized Smolensk, the Diet of the GDL again sent Chodkeviè to Poland for military aid.[76] Being at the Polish Diet in Piotrkow Chodkeviè managed to persuade the Polish gentry to postpone negotiations concerning the union of the GDL and Poland until the end of the war with Moscow and received substantial military aid, which was sent immediately to the GDL.[77] Later he avoided discussing the Union, but took part in the commissions concerning the border delineation between Poland and GDL in 1516, 1532, 1537.[78]

In 1522, after the death of Nicholas Radvila, palatine of Vilnius, Goštautas was nominated to the office and his positions became stronger, despite the confrontation with Constantine of Ostrog.[79] Strengthening Goštautas positions meant strengthening of Alexander Chodkeviè's. In 1524 and 1525 Sigismund granted

[75] K u Ÿ m i n s k a, M., 1927/28, 14.; H a l e c k i, O., 1919, *Dzieje Unii Jagielloñskiej (The history of the Jagellonian Union),* Warszawa, 2:59.

[76] H a l e c k i, O.,1919, 2:61.

[77] H a l e c k i, O.,1919, 2:62, M a l i n o v s k i j, I.,1901, *Sbornik materialov otnosiašèiesia k istorii panow rady (The Collection of materials relating to the history of the Lords Council)*, Tomsk, 150.

[78] *PSB*, 3:354.

[79] Bona, queen of Poland, Grand duchess of Lithuania wished to secure the throne of Poland to her new born child Sigismund August. The practice until then was that the Polsih side used to elect the rulers of the GDL to the throne of Poland. Therefore, she decided to arrange the nomination of the child to the throne of GDL. Gostautas welcommed this step because of his GDL separatistic policy. However Constantine of Ostrog, although nominated to the palatinate of Trakai (even contrary to Horodle act) seeking his acknowledgement, was against breaking ties with Poland. Therefore former companions A. Goštautas and Constantine became severe enemies. Dynastic and Goštautas' party interests won and 3 years old Sigismund August was declared Grand Duke of Lithuania in 1522. K u Ÿ m i n s k a, M., 1927/28, 18.

several possessions near Zabludov to Alexander Chodkeviè, due to "the loss of family property during the Tartars captivity", and Goštautas was the person who had to measure out and introduce granted possessions to Alexander Chodkeviè.[80] In 1529 Alexander Chodkeviè was nominated starosta of Brest, which, according to the importance of state offices, was ninth.[81] The military index of 1528 shows that Goštautas was the second wealthiest person in the GDL, while Alexander Chodkeviè eleventh (see appendix). In 1544 Alexander Chodkeviè was raised to the palatinate of Novgorodek,[82] at the same time his son Gregory became chamberlain ("podkomorzy"), while another his son Jerome was appointed castellan of Trakai and, in 1545, starosta of Samogitia.[83]

The family of Chodkeviè was granted a big part of the possessions formerly belonging to Goštautas.[84] (Goštautas family died out and through the marriage of Barbora Radvilaite, wife of the last Goštautas, Stanislaus, Goštautas possessions

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[80] AMCh 35.

[81] K o l a n k o w s k i, L., 1923, *Zygmunt August (Sigismund August),* Lwów, 190-191.

[82] J a s n o w s k i, J. 1937, *Miko³aj Czarny Radziwi³³ (Nicholas Radvila "the Black"),* Kraków, 3.

[83] *PSB*, 3:358-359.

[84] The family of Chodkeviè was granted Goštautas' former possessions: Bychov, H³usk, Lachowièi, (K u z m i n s k a, M., 1927-8. *see map.*) Szklow (T o p o l s k a, M. B., 1969, *Dobra szk³owskie na Bia³orusi Wschodniej w XVII -XVIII wieku (The Szklow manor in the eastern Byelorussia in the 17th-18th centuries),* Warszawa, 14.). These possesions were very large. Around the year 1650 in Bychow were counted around 2000 households, in Szklow 500, Mysz - 764, Cimkowièi 123, Hniezn - 139, (T o p o l s k a, M. B., 1969,14.) Chodkeviè's possesions in Samogitia were also very big: in Skuodas in 1597 they had 1318 households, Kretinga - 619, (B ³ a s z c z y k, G., 1985, "Fundacje i fundatorzy klasztorów diecezji ¿mudzkiej w XVII i XVIII wieku" ("The foundations and the founders of the monasteries of the Samogitian diocesy in the 17th and 18th centuries"); *Lituano -Slavica Posnaniensia*, Poznan, 1: 118.

came under royal administration.) The dynamism of the Chodkeviè possessions suggests the tendency of the family to accumulate property in "Lituania propria" or near it. The father of Alexander Chodkeviè came from around Kiev, whereas Alexander Chodkeviè chose Suprasl as his residence, which was relatively near Vilnius, almost in the center of the state (though he had bought a house in Vilnius in 1501 as well[85]). To have possessions in the Kiev area or somewhere else near borders would have been insecure due to the military attacks of Tartars and wars with Moscow. In 1549 his sons divided their father's property,[86] and it is possible to observe that the property extended from the border with Poland, in the west, through the palatinates of Novgorodek, Slonim, up to Vitebsk.

With which families did Alexander Chodkeviè try to intermarry his children? He himself was married to Wasylisa Jaroslawiczowna Holowczinska.[87] Gregory was married to Catherine Wisniowecka, who originated from a traditional Orthodox family; Jerome married Ann Šemetaite, daughter of the influential Samogitian magnate, who was obviously Catholic. Jurij married twice, with Eugenia Hornostajowna and Sofia from Sluck, both Orthodox; daughter Alexandra (Olena) married Pawel Sapieha, Orthodox, whereas Sofia married Stanislaus Kêsgaila, representative of the richest family in the GDL, a family from the allegiance of

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[85]AMCh 35

[86] Jerome took the castle of Bychow and Mysz, manor of Lebioda, while Gregory - the manors of Brzostovica, Troscienica, Ros, Wolna and Kat, Jurij - the castle of Suprasl, manor of Zabludov together with Chorœæ, Doilidy, Karakuly and Supraæl forest. *AMCh 28.,* P e ³ e s z o w a, S., 1976, *Dzieje rodu i dobr Chodkiewiczów. Inwentarz Archiwum M³ynowskiego Chodkiewiczów (The history of the family and the manors of the Chodkeviè family. The inventory of the Chodkeviè Archives of M³ynów).* Krakow, 6. Jurij later acquired Kolno, Turzec and Petrykow, while son of Jerome already possessed large estates in Samogitia - Skuodas, Kretinga, Šaukenai. (B ³ a s z c y k, G., 1985,119.)

[87]B o n i e c k i, M., 1883, 3:23.

Goštautas[88], whose main possesions were in Samogitia and was Catholic. Her second husband was Jerome Korycki, Orthodox.[89] As seen from the genealogies of the sixteenth century, noble families were intermarried often in accordance with their political behaviour and alliances.   From the combined marriage policy and possession's dynamism a dualistic strategy can be observed. The possessions of Alexander Chodkeviè were situated in the middle of the state, in or immediate to "Lituania propria", between linguistically Lithuanian and Ruthenian areas. The marriages of his children suggested a dualistic strategy to retain the middle, manoeuvring between Catholic and Orthodox families. Catholic marriages were followed by the accumulation of property in central parts of "Lituania propria". It corresponded as well with Vilnius's nomination to the state offices in the Lithuanian part of the GDL, such as castellan of Trakai, or starosta of Samogitia. In the perspective of the succeeding generations the Catholic choice was more successful from the political careerist point of view. John Jerome and his son, John Carol Chodkeviè, became the leaders of the GDL politics in the second part of the sixteenth and the first quarter of the seventeenth century, whereas their cousins did not play that important role.

In the given political, marital and property policy, what religious policy did Alexander Chodkeviè pursue? He continued his father's uniatic orientation. Alexander Chodkeviè founded a monastery of the Bazylian order in 1498,[90] which was also supported by donations from the Kiev metropolite Josif II Soltan, known as uniatic.[91]   The monastery chronicle documented a close collaboration between

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[88] K u Ў m i n s k a, M., 1927/28, 14.

[89] D w o r z a c z e k, W., 1957, *Genealogia (The Genealogy)*, 2: table N. 162.

[90] AMCh 35, ASD, 1870, 9:1.

[91] B o n i e c k i, M, 1883, 3: 331., B e l e c k i j, A.V., 1895.; *ASD*, 9:12.; M a k a r i j, 1879. *Istorija russkoj cerkvi (The history of the Russian church),* Sankt Peterburg, 9:123.

Alexander Chodkeviè and Josif II Soltan, as well as the practical attitude of Chodkeviè towards religion. At first, the monastery was grounded in Gorodek, near the palace of A.Chodkeviè. After two years monks asked to move the monastery into a more peaceful place.[92] The new place for the monastery was selected in the forest near Suprasl.[93]

Despite the fact that Alexander Chodkeviè, prince of Sluck Jurij, and Iwan Hornostaj, after the death of Constantine of Ostrog in 1530, were called patrons of Kiev metropolite,[94] the Chodkeviè family, not rejecting Orthodoxy founded Catholic churches in Berestovica and Choroœæ.[95]   The son of Alexander Chodkeviè, Gregory, patronised the Suprasl Bazylian monastery, which became one of the centres of Church Union, and this Orthodox order - the main uniate order.[96]

It is difficult to prove that Alexander Chodkeviè converted to Catholicism before death, because he did not leave a testament. The expert of the Chodkeviè

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[92] Probably, they could not stand constant interference with their private lives, since they received a promise, with the assistance of Josif II, that neither A.Chodkeviè nor his servants would enter the monastery.

[93] *ASD*, 9:2, Josif II Soltan donated large amount of land to the monastery in 1506. (*ASD,* 9:6) A.Chodkeviè donated Choroœæ in 1510 (*MNK* 541/1, *AMCh* 35) and Chwosty, Pozglovo an Klevino in 1529 (*MNK* 542/9), but he took away Choroœæ in 1533, since many pubs appeared, which "disturbed the life of monks"(*ASD*, 9:41), but could raise a good profit for him.

[94] K o l a n k o w s k i, L., 1923, 235.; *AZR*, 2:65.

[95] B u m b l a u s k a s, A., 1987, *Reformacijos geneze LDK (The genesis of the Reformation in the GDL)*; ist.m.kand. disertacija, vad. prof. S.Lazutka. Vilnius, 118. Gregory Chodkeviè in 1563 founded the catholic and orthodox church in Zabludov, *ASD*, 4 : N.114.

[96] New archimandrit of Suprasl selected by J. Chodkeviè took an oath for Churh Union of 1596. *Archiv Zapadno Russkich uniatskich mitropolitov* (AZRUM),1897, S.Petersburg, 1:N. 263.

archive, Pe³eszowa, thinks that he converted. Alexander Chodkeviè was burried in the Suprasl Orthodox church, but Pe³eszowa cites the example of Jan-Mikolaj Chodkeviè, from the eighteenth century, who was Catholic and yet burried in the Suprasl church as well, and therefore rejected the burial evidence for his Orthodoxy. It is irrespective whether Alexander Chodkeviè became Catholic before death or not, his confirmation of his father's uniatic orientation, patronage of both Catholic and Orthodox churches, marrying children with Catholic and Orthodox families, accumulation of property in "Lituania propria" show his efforts to be integrated into the Lithuanian political nation at the expense of his cultural awareness. He performed service for the state, being a member of Goštautas political party. Goštautas, as previously shown, suppoted the superiority of Catholics in the Lithuanian political nation and Chodkeviè did not counter that. He favoured a process, that, in the context of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation movements, guaranteed that his family would become Catholics and occupy the leading positions in the political community of the GDL.[97]

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[97] *Dnevnik Liublinskogo Sejma 1569 g.* (The Diary of the Lublin Diet of 1569), 1869, Peterburg, 77; John Jerom Chodkeviè resisted the Union with Poland and addressed the Diet: "What profit for us, dear lords, from the offices, which Lithuanians would not be able to get?! We know that in the kingdom (of Poland) there are palatinates, hetmans and treasurer. That all we have from the ancient times as well, and to govern (these offices) we would not allow to others but for our ruler and our nation..."

JEULAŠEVSKI (1546-1619) AND CADROUSKI (1617-1682)
IDENTITIES (FROM THEIR MEMOIRS)

Why did I choose Jeulaševski's memoirs for investigation? Theodor Jeulaševski, subjudex of Novgorodek, wrote his memoirs in the year 1604. Siekierski suggests that Jeulaševski was inspired to write his memoirs by the example of Christopher Radvila, who visited Palestine in 1582-84 after his conversion in 1567 back to the Catholic faith and wrote "The travel to Jerusalem".[98] This idea is feasible, since Jeulaševski served him. But Jeulaševski's memoirs are outstanding, since he wrote about life and important events from his point of view and for the personal use, not for the public. These memoirs were secular and aimed at his children. Therefore, the memoirs are rich with material, personal thoughts, presented in a natural way, without special ideological motivations. It is a reliable source fo looking at what Jeulaševski thought and imagined. As of yet, Jeulaševski has not been explored regarding his political and cultural awareness, though scholars agree, that the memoirs is very important source for life in the GDL in the second part of the sixteenth century.[99] Jeulaševski was born in an Orthodox family and acted in the Nowgorodek district, which was substantially populated by Orthodox and later became Calvinist - the common conversion in that period. That is why, through his perception, identifications and orientations it becomes possible to imagine the common way (pattern) of thinking of the middle size *szlachta*.[100] To verify the

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[98] S i e k i e r s k i, M., 1979, "Pamiêtnikarz Fedor Jewlaszewski w œwietle nowych Ŷróde³" ("The memoirist Theodor Jeulaševski in the light of the new sources'), *Studia Ŷródloznawcze*, Warszawa, Poznan, 24:180.

[99] *Hrestamatija po drevnej russkoj literature XI-XVII vekov (The overview of the ancient Russian literature of 11th-17th centuries),* 1962, ed., G u d z i j, N.K., Moskva.

[100] Szlachta - I use this word to designate the GDL gentry of 16-17 centuries, who was not influential in comparison to magnates.

pattern a comparative analysis helps very much. I tried to apply a comparative approach as much as possible. Therefore, I took the memoirs of Cadrouski, a nobleman of Ruthenian origin, who lived and acted in the same area as Jeulaševski and wrote his memoirs in 1682. They were shorter and not so many subjects were discussed there, nevertheless they reflect certain changes in thinking of the szlachta in the period of 80 years.

I looked into Jeulaševski's cultural awareness, which I understand in a broad sense: both religion and language are parts of it. Then I tried to establish Jeulaševski perception of political community; how did he describe the state he lived in and tried to correlate awareness of political commmunity with the changes in cultural orientation.

There were several publications of the Jeulaševski memoirs. In 1860 there was a Polish translation made from the original Ruthenian manuscript.[101] In Kiev in 1886 W. Antonoviè published the text of the memoirs, which, however, was based not upon the original, but on a copy.[102] The English translation by A. Nadson was based on the Kiev edition.[103] I used the latest publication in the original made by A. Koršunov,[104] based on the original manuscript, found by M. Siekerski in the Warsaw

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[101]   *Pamiêtnik Teodora Jewlaszewskiego nowogrodzkiego podsêdka 1546 -1604 (The memoirs of Theodor Jeulaševski, subjudex of Nowogródek)*, 1860, ed., T. X-ze L.[ubomirskij], Warszawa. Translated Ci e m n i e w s k i, E.

[102]   A n t o n o v i è, V., 1886, "Dnevnik novgorodskogo podsudka Fedora Jevlaševskogo (1564-1604 goda)"(The diary of the Theodor Jeulaševski, subjudex of Novgorodok), *Kievskaja starina*, god piatyj, 14:124-160.

[103]   N a d s o n, A., (translated and annotated), 1968, "The Memoirs of Theodore Jeulašeuski Assessor of Navahrudak (1546-1604)", *The Journal of Byelorussian Studies* 1 /4:269-348.

[104]   *Pomniki memuarnai literatury Belarusi XVII st. (The monuments of the memuaristic literature of Byelorussia in the 17th century),* 1983, ed., K o r š u n o v, A.F., Minsk.

Public Record Office (Archivum Główne Akt Dawnych) among Potocki's of the
Radzyn Papers (nr. 143a).[105] Concerning the text of the memoirs one has to mention
that there are a lot of Polish words, and Byelorussian scholars about that agree as
well.[106] Moreover, as it can be deduced from the text, the introductory part and the
passage concerning the years 1596-1602 is missing.[107]

Who was Theodor Jeulaševski as a personality? He was born in 1546[108] in
Liachovièi into an Orthodox Ruthenian family and was given the name following a
"Ruthenian saint" naming ("ime vedlug sviata ruskogo"). Being five years old he
began learning "Ruthenian science" ("bavitj naukoju ruskoju"), though he admits, he
knew "Polish" science ("nauku") as well. Science ("nauka") meant the ability to write
in these languages. He was familiar with Hebraic writing as well. [109]

Being 18 year old he was introduced to war,[110] which he disliked. From that
time he avoided military units and preferred a non military career. In 1566, 20 year
old Jeulaševski came to Vilnius, where he was deeply influenced by Protestants and
adopted Calvinism, and until his death remained Calvinist. However, in Vilnius he
got to know the canon of Vilnius, Jan Makovieckij, who began a good relationship
with Jeulaševski and introduced him to many important persons. He was even on the

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[105]   S i e k e r s k i, M.,1979, 24:177-180.

[106]   *Hrestamatija pa gistorii belarusskaj movy (The overview of the history of the Byelorussian
language)*, 1961, ed., A v a n e s o v, R. I., Minsk.

[107]   S i e k e r s k i, M., 1979, 24: 178.

[108]   S i e k e r s k i, M.,1979, 24:177-180, thinks, that he was born in 1540, but in the text is
written 1546.

[109]*Pomniki memuarnai literatury Belarusi XVII st*., 1983, 32.

[110]Jeulaševski took part in the famous battle on the river Ula, a victory for the GDL against the
Moscovian duke (kniaz) Ivan IV.

service of king Sigismund August (1548-1572),[111] though this service disgusted Jeulaševski. This service probably had some connections to the love affairs of the king.[112]

From 1572 he served the duke Nicholas Christopher Radvila (Radziwill) "The Orphan".[113] When the king, in 1572, exchanged Svisloè possession to Liachovièi with John Jerome Chodkeviè, Jeulaševski appeared in the bacground of this the very influential figure. As a result of this Jeulaševski started service to him. While managing part of the Chodkeviè family property, Jeulaševski became rich.[114] He basically served two families - the Radvila and the Chodkeviè, though in 1574 appeared also at the court of Constantine of Ostrog, palatine of Kiev.[115]

Jeulaševski performed public service as well - representing the szlachta of Novgorodek district in the Diet of Commonwealth, and in 1592, was elected subjudex of the Novgorodek district, whom he remained up to the day he wrote the memoirs. Until very recently scholars believed that he died soon after finishing his memoirs. Siekierski and Wojtkowiak found documents composed by the hand of Jeulaševski up to 1619.[116]

Jeulaševski stands out in his memoirs as a modest, peaceful, tolerant and sincere person. He disliked the war, since there was no profit neither for him, nor for people or state. He remembered with nostalgia his young days, when lived peacefully

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[111]*Pomniki memuarnai literatury Belarusi XVII st*., 1983, 36

[112] *Pomniki memuarnai literatury Belarusi XVII st*., 1983, 75.

[113]ibid., 37.

[114]ibid., 45. John Jerome Chodkeviè was Grand Marshal of Lithuania, administrator of Livonia.

[115]ibid., 39.

[116]W o j t k o w i a k, Z., 1985. rec. on Siekierski, M., 1977. *Theodore Jeulaševski and his memoirs*. London. *Lituano-Slavica Poznaniensis*, 1: 208-210.

coexisting people of different religion, and he did not accuse anybody of changing situation. He tolerated his parents' and wife religion, who remained Orthodox. Jeulaševski knew that he came from the lesser nobility and did not make strict judgements concerning high politics. For instance, he did not expand his account on political problems between the GDL and Poland after the death of Sigismund August in 1572, since many others had written about it.

As a personality Cadrouski was different. He was more emotional and very painfully expressed the Jesuit repression of Calvinists. The emotional nature of Cadrouski perhaps was due to the stormy life he had experienced. Jan Cadrouski (1617-1682) was born in Pohošè near Sluck and studied at the Universities of Königsberg, Krakow and afterwards was given into the service of Boguslav Radvila. Cadrouski, in the company of Boguslav Radvila, travelled to Germany, Denmark, Holland, France, England, Italy. In 1642 Cadrouski became the manager of Old Village (Stara Vesc), Radvila's possession, in Podliasie. When the army of Moscow invaded the palatinate of Minsk in 1655, Cadrouski moved to Samogitia. Because of the Swedish military campaign in Samogitia, he returned to the Minsk palatinate, and was sent by szlachta to the Moscovian Tsar, asking not to build a military fortress in Minsk, but to secure noble liberties. Cadrouski nine times was sent from his palatinate to the Diet and took part in the electoral Diet of the king, Jan III, in 1674. Two times he was a judge in the tribunal of the GDL representing the palatinate of Minsk. His private life was stormy too - he was married three times, and his wives were Calvinists.

Both Jeulaševski and Cadrouski discussed the following themes: family, relations and war with Moscow, performance of service to the magnates, relations with Poland, regal and state affairs, the deaths of known or related people, travel accounts, life in the district and palatinate, epidemics, dreams and miracles. I investigated these memoirs in three different aspects - familial, political and religious-cultural. Rather often these aspects may interrelate and overlap. I

combined both statistical and semantic approaches, since the context analysis gives very interesting hints at the evolution of the milieu, to which Jeulaševski and Cadrouski belonged. Why did I take family aspect too? I consider family as the environment of cultural traditions. Thus the attitude towards family influenced one's openness to new cultural orientations.

I divided the key syntax relating to these main aspects into several groups. The familial theme will represent the words: farther, mother, son, wife and so on. To the religious-cultural aspects refer the words: God, church, nomination of the religious groups, ecclesiastical offices and cases where he uses the adjectives - "Ruthenian" ("ruskaja cerkv"), "Polish". The third group of chosen words represent the political aspect: the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, references to Lithuania, Moscow, Fatherland and persons whom he describe as "our" ("naši).

For both Jeulaševski and Cadrouski the theme of <u>family</u> was very important. From the selected four themes familial matters occupy aproximately a quarter to one third of the whole text. Naturally, they both wrote memoirs for the recollections of their children, so that they could know about their father's past and follow his advice in the future. The highest concern was paid to father, wife and sons - Jeulaševski mentioned them most frequently, while Cadrouski referred to his sons less, since they died young. Here is given the table of word frequency.

Table Nr.1

	father	mother	sons	daughter	wife	sisters, brothers
Jeulašeuski	9	4	19	5	10	6
Cadrouski	6	4	6	6	14	6

There is no extensive information about the father of Jeulaševski, as opposed to the father of Cadrouski. One can characterise the father of Cadrouski as a dynamic and flexible man. He was the deputy from the district to the Warsaw Diet in 1626, also to the electoral Diet of 1632, and became judge in *judicum compositum* (which

had the right of the last sentence), and in 1634 was appointed to the tribunal of the GDL treasury. He sent his sons to study at the university of Königsberg and later at the university of Cracow and arranged service for his son Jan Cadrouski to Boguslav Radvila.[117] The difference between Jeulaševski and Cadrouski on that theme is that Jeulaševski began his memoirs with reference to his parents, in contrast to Cadrouski who started immediately with "I". The first passage of Jeulaševski's memoirs did not survive, but he mentioned, that he "was born in the family of previously mentioned parents".[118] I assume it is very important how one starts memoirs or a biography.[119] The beginning speaks for the central issue on one's perception, thus, the central issue for Jeulaševski were parents, while for Cadrouski, himself. This suggests that Jeulaševski was more traditional, conservative and embedded in familial setting. Jeulaševski, acting on a higher level than his father did and already having escaped the immediate family environment to adopt Calvinism, did not try radically to change his former Orthodox environment - did not convert his wife or brother into Calvinism, arranged the seat of bishop for his father in Orthodox bishopric of Pinsk and buried them all according to their last will in the Orthodox churches, excepting his son Jeulaševski, buried in his own Calvinist chapel.

He emphasised the love of his mother, so that when Jeulaševski became ill on the trip home and had to stay in the little town, "she had been able, with her mothers heart, to feel his illness, and she was so worried that she became sick."[120] Her health

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117   Boguslav Radvila (1620 -1669) - calvinist. He supported his brother Janus (1612 -1655), grand hetman of Lithuania and palatine of Vilnius in his fight against Cossacks and signed the treaty of Kedainiai with Sweden in 1655, which meant dissolution of union with Poland.

118 *Pomniki memuarnai literatury Belarusi XVII st.*, 1983, 32.

119 K a v o l i s, V., 1992, *Moterys ir vyrai lietuviu kulturoje (The women and men in the Lithuanian culture)*, Vilnius, 63.

120 *Pomniki memuarnai literatury Belarusi XVII st.*, 1983, 36.

became so poor, that she died after a while in 1572. Jeulašeuski was very sorry about her death, because she left her husband and children orphaned.[121] Jeulašeuski was already 26 years old! Her death influenced Jeulašeuski's plans very much, since instead travelling abroad to visit different countries and peoples, he stayed at home to help his father take care of his brothers and sisters. Despite the love of his mother, he converted to Calvinism at 20, when his mother was still alive. His mother's tradition of Orthodoxy did not stop him.

The <u>political</u> perception of Jeulaševski and Cadrouski can be seen from the following aspects: the usage of the term "our" ("naši"), the idea of fatherland and his attitude towards the GDL magnates, who distinguished themselves by defending the GDL's independence (from the description of funerals). Speaking about state matters Jeulaševski very often mentioned the king, regarded as the main political actor on the state level. Jeulaševski most probably distinguished the two concepts - "king of Poland" and "Duke of Lithuania" (King of Poland and the Grand Duke of Lithuania was the same person). Sigismund III Vasa (1587-1632) had to come to Lithuania[122] ("na Litve") to repeat his oath, because he was crowned "without us" ("bez našich koronovan").[123] But since the rank of king is higher than Grand Duke, Jeulaševski applied only "king".

For Cadrouski the figure of ruler is not so relevant. That corresponded to the contemporary situation - John Casimir (1648-1668) was a weak and poor ruler, and magnates were the main political actors. Their scene of action was still the GDL and not the whole Commonwealth, or so it was perceived by Cadrouski. When speaking about his lord, Boguslav Radvila, or about other magnates, who occupied state

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[121] ibid., 37.

[122]   Jeulaševski used the term Lithuania as synonymous to GDL - he thought about Lithuania from the political point of view.

[123] *Pomniki memuarnai literatury Belarusi XVII st*., 1983, 53.

offices, Cadrouski wrote their office name in full, for example, hetman of the GDL, and therefore was very repetitive. That is, these magnates for Cadrouski were inseparable from their political activity in the GDL.

Although Jeulaševski wrote about the Union of Lublin in the retrospect of 35 years, he still remembered the exact dates when the three palatinates of the GDL - Podliasie, Volhynia and Kiev were "torn away from Lithuania" ("po jednej zemi ot Litvy uryvajuèi ... cnadnej odervane")[124] and united with Poland. Jeulaševski, in this case, showed his emotions, and was definitely negative about the reduction of Lithuania territory. He applied the name Lithuania in designating the whole GDL, which suggests that he thought in the political categories, when concerned foreign relations. This can be illustrated by the example of the Cossacs rebelion in today's Ukraine. He wrote that Nalivaiko, with his Cossacks, after plundering Turkish fortresses, returned to "Poland", and then acted in the area of Luck,[125] which was in Volhynia, one of the palatinates annexed to Poland. On the other hand, Cadrouski did not mention the union of Lublin - it was already an old fact and contemporary events were more important.

Jeulaševski did not mention the term "fartherland" explicitly, and from the text it seems that the perception of fatherland was ambiguous. Jeulaševski wrote that envoys of Poland and Lithuania ("A iz Litvy:...") informed the duke of Moscow about "our Union".[126] His meaning here is unclear - whether he meant the joint state (the Commonwealth), or that the GDL was a participant in this union. In another place, Jeulaševski regretted the war with Moscow, which caused him only harm, and concluded that these wars did not bring a big fortune to the Commonwealth ("Reèi

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124 ibid., 35.

125 ibid., 57.

126 ibid., 36.

Pospolitoj").[127] In this case "Reèi Pospolita" does not neccesarily mean the Commonwealth of Poland and the GDL, since this name can be used reffering to the single state also.

Cadrouski used the word "fatherland" twice, which could be interpreted differently depending on context. In one place I tend to infer that he assumed the GDL to be his fatherland, in other case - Poland. Cadrouski left his memoirs to his children, that they should know, how he had served for "his palatinate and gentle fatherland" ("mojemu vojevodstvu i miloj otczyzne").[128] In the following sentence Cadrouski wrote that he represented the palatinate of Minsk twice in the Tribunal of the GDL. It means, that he was writing in the context of the GDL's affairs. Thus I assume that in this instance the fatherland he most probably meant was the GDL. Yet, writing about Lious XIV, Cadrouski condemned the treaty between the French and the Turks, which was a "treaty to ruin our fatherland" ("gubic našu otczyznu").[129] Having in mind that the GDL did not have at that time direct borders with Turkey, and Turks were a direct threat to the Polish part of the Commonwealth, I assume, here, Cadrouski meant his fatherland the whole Commonwealth. Two observed cases suggest, that the term "fatherland" became more flexibly used, and the concept became not so strictly defined.

Like Jeulaševski, Cadrouski referred the GDL as Lithuania. Lithuania as a political unit in his perception was homogenous, though he distinguished different areas within it, for example describing the range of famine in Samogitia, Livonia and Byelorussia.[130] These areas, however, were administrative units or geographical areas. While the usage of the term "Commonwealth" ("Reèi Pospolita") in

[127] ibid., 32.

[128] ibid., 130.

[129] ibid., 124.

[130] ibid., 128.

Cadrouski's writing can be understood ambiguously too. Lord Jan Christopher Padoskij wanted in advance to come to Minsk before Moscovian troops came and "in this way to serve for the Commonwealth".[131] In another place Cadrouski wrote that both the king and the Commonwealth were angry with Pac, hetman of the GDL and the palatine of Vilnius, when he organised the attack on Calvinists in 1682.[132] It is difficult to make sharp conclusions, especially having in mind that the GDL had already been united with Poland for 100 years at the time of his writing. However, Cadrouski, most probably had in mind the society of the GDL using the word "Reèi Pospolita", since he was using these words in the context of events in the GDL.

The usage of the term "naši" also puts light on political perceptions. One can distinguish several occurrences of the word "our" - "naš", "naši" and so on used by Jeulaševski. On the first level the use is familial. He spoke about the marriage and people feeling envy about the happy life of "ours" ('naše"). God protected them from their enemies.[133] Another level recalls when he spoke about his local district, where he performed duties as subjudex of Novogrodek.[134] He addressed district representatives to the Diet of the Commonwealth as "ours" ("naši").[135] The troops of the district which marched against the revolted Cossacks were also called "our".[136] Being five years old he had to learn "Ruthenian" and "Polish science", because in that time any other "sciences" were not available in "our country" ("v našei

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[131] ibid., 129.

[132] ibid., 134.

[133] ibid., 42.

[134] ibid., 53, 61.

[135] ibid., 59.

[136] ibid., 58.

strone").[137] In this case "in our country" could be both his immediate vicinity and the whole GDL.

The highest level of Jeulaševski's usage of the term "our" ("naši") is connected with the political community of the GDL. Noblemen of the GDL were "ours" for Jeulaševski. The most frequent denomination "our" ("naši") is met describing the wars with Moscow. The battle on the river Ula was successful for "us" ("našim sèasliva nad moskvoju").[138] Another battle was not succesful for the GDL troops, and Jeulaševski said - "pobito našich ot Moskvy".[139] In the other battle there was so huge a Moscovian army, that "many of ours were killed" ("liudi našich sila poginulo").[140]

That "our" ("naš") for Jeulaševski corresponded to the GDL noblemen can be seen from the relations with Poland. Describing the Diet in Varsaw in 1578 Jeulaševski found it necessary to emphasise that the marshal of the meeting had been "our Lithuanian" ("naš litvin").[141] Very informative is the passage about the coronation of Sigismund the III in 1588, that he had to come to Lithuania and repeated the coronation oath, since he was crowned "without us" ("Zigmont tretij, krolj polskij, na Litve prisegu povtoril, bovem byl bez našich koronovan").[142] Describing the delegation to Moscow in 1570, even after the Union with Poland was

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[137] ibid., 32.

[138] ibid., 32.

[139] ibid., 44.

[140] ibid., 49.

[141] ibid., 44.

[142] ibid., 53.

ratified, he listed separately persons who came from Poland and Lithuania ("A iz Litvy:...").[143]

Speaking about events after the death of the king and the Grand Duke, Sigismund August, in 1572, he described Polish fears that Lithuania would separate from the Commonwealth and independently come to terms with Moscow ("Nemnej rozorvanja z Litvoju obovialise, aby se Litva z moskovskim (kniazem) ne porozumeli").[144] However, he did not elaborate, saying that enough was written about this issue.

Interestingly, once he nominated a tartar as "ours"[145] ("naš tatarin"), who was prepared to translate the speech of Turkish envoys.[146] There is the indication that, for him, "our" corresponded to the nobility of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, not discriminating their religion, but considering their membership in the light of political community. The analysis of mentions of "our" in Cadrouski's memoirs does not present a clear picture. Cadrouski travelled a lot, and "naš" for him could be both the ship on which he was travelling, or the crew of the ship. The usage of the term "naš" in the context of the GDL suggests the growing importance of the palatinate in relation to the state. Cadrouski reffered szlachta as "naši" ("nas, szlachtu"),[147] which could mean the whole nobility of the state, although the context was of palatinate. Cadrouski was concerned, that szlachta of Minsk, "his", palatinate could retain the former legal right to elect own judges. In another place Cadrouski wrote, that they

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[143] ibid., 35.

[144] ibid., 38.

[145] Grand duke Vytautas (1392-1430) settled in Trakai area and around Vilnius a number of karaims and tartars.

[146] *Pomniki memuarnai literatury Belarusi XVII st.*, 1983, 37.

[147] ibid., 128,129.

gathered in Minsk under the lead of "their" leader Padoski.[148] The expression "our palatinate", referring to the nobility of the palatinate, Cadrouski also used in the several places.[149]

Jeulaševski percieved that the fate of the state depended upon the leaders of the political community. He shared political solidarity with the leaders and was emotional about them, as seen from the description of the death of two noblemen, and the special epithets he used in this case. In his memoirs he mentioned the deaths of quite a few magnates of the GDL (for example, prince Jurij of Sluck, prince Constantine of Ostrog, Dmitrij Polubenskij), but he especially marked two - who distinguished themselves defending the independence of the GDL - Jan Chodkevič and Janus Radvila. In 1579 John Jerome Chodkevič, starosta of Samogitia, castellan of Vilnius, died[150] "with a great sorrow for people", and his deeds, according to Jeulaševski, were "equal to the monarch" ("umarl on, velikij pan a monarchom spravami svoimi rovnyj Jan Chodkevič, pan Vilenskij, starosta Žomoitskij, z velkoi žalostei liudu pospolitomu").[151]

The death of Christopher Radvila "the Thunder", the grand hetman of the GDL, in 1603, was perceived very tragically - "died, or one can say collapsed, the pillar of the Lithuanian state" ("umarl, a možne reč, upal stlup panstva Litevskego").[152] Jeulaševski's emotional attitude may be explained that he was embedded in the state structures. He served the king and other state officials, he represented his district

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[148] ibid., 129.

[149] ibid., 131.

[150] He was the leader of the GDL delegation in the Lublin Diet discussing the grounds of union. His diplomacy secured legally equal position of GDL with Poland in the Commonwealth.

[151] *Pomniki memuarnai literatury Belarusi XVII st*., 1983, 45.

[152] ibid., 63.

szlachta in collaborations writing on the Statute of the Tribunal of the GDL.[153] The subjudex position obliged Jeulaševski to be loyal to the GDL.. In any case, Jeulaševski thanked God for career successes.

Jeulaševski was thankful for <u>God</u> for the protection in all the dangerous events he took part. Usually, he ended paragraph with reference to God, and that is why mentions of God are very numerous - 40 times.

Table Nr.2

	God		Calvinists, priests		Catholics		"Ruthenian faith"		Uniates		Other	
	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	Nr	%	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	N	%
Jeulaševski	40	**53**	6	**8**	14	**19**	10	**13**	0	**0**	5	**6**
Cadrouski	5	**17**	16	**62**	4	**16**	0	**0**	1	**4**	0	**0**
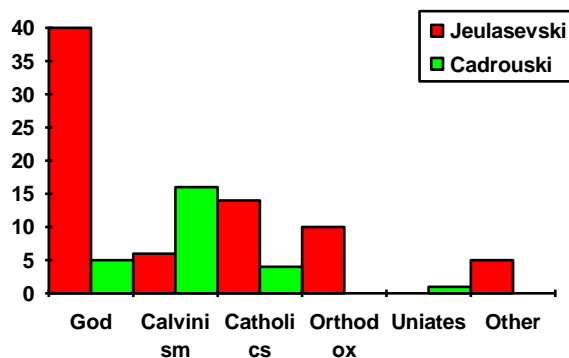
Jeulaševski became Calvinist remote from his parents in Vilnius. He was not very fierce follower of Calvin, but rather preferred tolerance between religions and wished to live in a world order, where a careful pope would rule all Christians like a father.[154] Jeulaševski remembered the "golden age", when the difference in confession was not an obstacle to friendship. The inconsistency in the religious life

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153ibid., 45.

154ibid., 33.

of the sixteenth century GDL was usual,[155] when a person did not arrange his religious beliefs in a consistent system, making personal and kinship ties more important.[156] For example, Calvinist Radvila "The Red" was concerned about the ecclesiastical career of George Radvila (he became a cardinal), and George tolerated Calvinist communities in his possessions until they hindered his ecclesiastical career.[157]

Jeulaševski knew the canon of Vilnius, Jan Makoveckij, who introduced him to many needful persons. Another canon, Baltromej Nedvickij, found a place for Jeulaševski at the dinner table together with Catholic servants of a cardinal (later Pope Klement) and informed the Italians, after signs of their discontent, that "the difference of confession did not play such a big role, and people of various religions were friends in "our state" ("v nas")". Then Italians praised such a good system, saying that God was living among them, and condemned their home customs.[158] The bishop of Vilnius, Valerian Protaseviè (the same person who invited Jesuits to Lithuania) also accepted the status quo of "religious tolerance", and "loved Vasilij Rogaèovskij like his son", who was the manager of the Nedsvedièi possesion, although Vasilij was Orthodox and burried in the Orthodox church.[159]

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[155]   B u m b l a u s k a s, A., 1987, 129.

[156]   K o s m a n, M., 1973, *Tolerancja wyznaniowa na Litwie do XVII wieku (The religious tolerance in Lithuania until the 17th century).* **series**: Odrodzenie i reformacja w Polsce, T.18. Warszawa, 110.

[157]   K o s m a n, M. , 1973, 112-113; K o s m a n, M., 1980, *Protestanci w Polsce (do po³owy XX wieku) (The Protestants in Poland (until the mid-20th century).* Kraków,58-60.

[158]*Pomniki memuarnai literatury Belarusi XVII st.,* 1983, 33.

[159]ibid., 43.

Jeulaševski himself accepted the fact that his wife was Orthodox. He even bought the seat of Orthodox bishopric of Pinsk for his father, which shows us the state of ecclesiastical affairs in the GDL Orthodox hierarchy. The spiritual inclination was not so important as it later became - the problem was money, and Jeulaševski was happy to find the neccesary amount. After the death of his father, mother, brother and wife, he all burried them in the "Ruthenian (Orthodox) church" ("v cerkvi russkoj"). The relation, however, to the persons of the shared religion was closer - Jeulaševski used very warm epithets for Vojtech Perško, a Calvinist.[160]

The status quo between different religious groups, regarded by some scholars as tolerance, temporally existed in the GDL. It is worth noting that, in a situation where different religious groups lived side by side on tolerant terms, religious boundaries were not so strict and open to mutual influence. If in a such situation one group became stronger and more robust, the other religious groups were more vulnerable unless they mobilised themselves. In the case of the GDL, Orthodox were not able to respond quickly and adequately to the Reformation and Counterreformation, and easily abandoned Orthodoxy. The leaders of the Orthodox hierarchy were interested in the Church Union themselves. In a growing confrontation, affiliation to a religious group, able to withstand the attack, increased.

Cadrouski was more consistent in his religious orientation because religious tolerance ended in his times and because he inherited Calvinism from his father. Cadrouski described, with great sorrow, the attack of Jesuits and students on the Calvinist priest and church in Vilnius, ruining it and the houses, where Calvinists lived. This passage was the last of his memoirs, which conclude that Pac, hetman of the GDL and palatine of Vilnius, suddenly died because of God's punishment, for his order to ruin the Calvinist community.

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[160]ibid., 63.

He was consistent in a way, that all members of the Cadrouski family were buried in Calvinist chapels, and his children baptised by Calvinist priests. However, from the table Nr.2, can be seen that Cadrouski generally referred less to God, though was exclusively concerned about Calvinists. Emotionally, he was negative about Catholics and Jesuits. Importantly, he did not mention the Orthodox at any time, only once neutrally mentioning the Uniatic church.[161] His writing in Polish and not in Ruthenian also shows that he was already remote form his forefather's religion and culture.

Jeulaševski used as synonyms two concepts to define an Orthodox church: Orthodox church and Ruthenian church. Orthodoxy for him was the "Ruthenian faith". Although "the Ruthenian faith" was not solely the faith of Orthodox in the GDL, rather in a broader sense it came from the Kiev Rus times. For example, Jeulaševski referred Orthodox churches where his family members were buried as "Ruthenian" ("ruskaja"). Moscovians, in his memoirs, visited Orthodox churches - or "Ruthenian" churches - as well. Thus, from the point of view of religion, Jeulaševski did not differentiate Orthodox religion in the GDL and in Moscow. However, he explicitly and importantly distinguished people coming from the GDL and Moscow. Jeulaševski described the fight between Vlodimir Zabolockij, the refugee from Moscow, and Christopher Radvila, the great hetman of the GDL. Zabolockij intended to visit an Orthodox church, when he was packed in the crowd. Vlodimir was definitely not "Ruthenian" - he was "Moscovian" ("moskvitin").[162] His servants were also "Moscovians", irrespective that Vlodimir Zabolockij escaped to the GDL. In another place Jeulaševski again distinguished "Moscovian": one of Jeulaševski neighbours, Mikhail Zverov, was "Moscovian".[163] Jeulaševski found important to

[161]ibid., 129.

[162]ibid., 46-47.

[163]ibid. 49.

note that his wife was related with Antoni Boloto, who almost a century ago escaped from Moscow.[164] Nevertheless, she was and remained of the Ruthenian faith after the marriage ("y v vere ruskoj trvala"). It seems, that common religion with Moscovians was of less importance for Jeulaševski and rather vague idea, while political affiliation was clearly stressed. Moreover, Jeulaševski was definitely negative about Moscow' attacks and rather neutral about the refugees from Moscow, seeing the difference between them and native people.

Jeulaševski's relation to Moscovians in comparison to Cadrouski's was not so antagonistic, but it was negative. He could not stay emotionally neutral writing about the battles with Moscow: he was happy when the battle was successful for "Lithuanians" and regretted defeats. Cadrouski was even more negative about Moscow, since he had suffered a lot from the war, and had to move constantly throughout the country, protecting his family.

Jeulaševski gave an account on the war with Moscow, where can be discerned the dualistic composition of the GDL. He wrote that in 1581 Moscow attacked the "Ruthenian lands" ("ruske zeme").[165] The military activities at that time were around Pskov and Polotsk.[166] Jeulaševski described his wife in relation to her brother Danila, who was "from Ruthenia" (but not from Moscow, since previously it was clearly stated that Antoni Boloto had escaped from Moscow) ("iz Rusi"). It is not possible to know from the memoirs, where her brother Danila lived exactly, but the relatives were living in the Szklov area. What then could be the "Ruthenian lands", "Ruthenia" ("ruske zeme") for Jeulaševski? I think that such different nomination was due to the dualistic organisation of the GDL, that is "Lituania propria" and

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164 ibid. 42.

165 ibid.,49.

166   D u n d u l i s, B., 1970, *Lietuvos užsienio politika XVI amžiuje* (The foreign policy of Lithuania in the sixteenth century), Vilnius, 67.

annexes.[167] It may suggest that for Jeulaševski "Ruthenian lands" was part of the GDL, but it was beyond the boundaries of the "Lituania propria". In this case the adjective "Ruthenian" was applied to specify the geographic area. It was a concrete concept and did not have the same general meaning like in the case of the "Ruthenian faith": "Ruthenian land" was opposed to Moscow.

Cadrouski applied the term "Ruthenian" ("ruskij") three times and used it to refer to the territorial, but not ethnical or religious quality. All three mentions are connected with the "Ruthenian" palatine Èarneckij ("russkij vojevoda"),[168] since this Polish noblemen was appointed in 1657 to the palatinate of "Red Ruthenia", which was in today's Ukraine, and which was part of Poland even before the Lublin Union.

Taking everything into account it is possible to conclude that Jeulaševski was born in the GDL (in the "Lituania propria") into the Orthodox family and later changed his religion to Calvinism. He enjoyed the political solidarity of the Lithuanian political nation. Jeulaševski distinguished the GDL from the Commonwealth and Moscow and regarded the GDL as a separate state and as "his" state. His awareness of belonging to the state was given preference over religious affiliation. Jeulaševski regarded Moscovians as strangers, though both Ruthenians living in the GDL and Moscovians were Orthodox. Cossacks, who lived without the GDL were also strangers and enemies, despite their Orthodox religion. He devoted much attention to the Cossack rebellion, and was happy when Cossacs were defeated.

Cadrouski lived in the same area as Jeulaševski, serving the Lithuanian magnates. Cadrouski, being a second generation Calvinist, did not care about the Orthodoxy. In relation to the neighbouring states, he was very negative about Moscow, while union with Poland might already have influenced his concept of

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[167]   L i u b a v s k i j, M., 1901, 10.

[168]*Pomniki memuarnai literatury Belarusi XVII st*., 1983, 131.

"Fatherland", which became more ambigous: applicable both to the GDL and to the whole Commonwealth.

Both Cadrouski's and Jeulaševski's cultural awareness was influenced by the fact, that they experienced political solidarity within the community of the GDL. They had positive emotions towards the noblemen of the GDL. Loyalty towards the state and state officers, together with their personal career interests, created favourable circumstances to convert from one religion to the other, as seen in the case of Jeulaševski. This conversion in time did not regress, but was firm and strengthened as Cadrouski's case illustrates.

CONSTANTINE OF OSTROG (1526-1608) AND UNION OF CHURCHES IN BREST

Constantine of Ostrog lived long and his life was full of events both personal and political. He lived in the sixteenth century, when many changes occurred both in Poland and the GDL: administrative and legal reform, the Land reform in the GDL, Reformation and Counterreformation, Union with Poland, wars with Moscow. Constantine of Ostrog, being one of the richest and influential figures, occupied an important, often separate, place. His desire to secure exclusive place was grounded on religious policy. He employed the Church Union issue to strengthen his political positions. When that failed Constantine of Ostrog became an eager protector of Orthodoxy with the same aim: to secure certain separatism. He mobilised to his purposes the lesser nobility, which continued separatist religious policy after his death, and Constantine became one of the symbols of the seventeenth century Ukrainian identity.

The father of Constantine of Ostrog, Constantine Iwanowicz[169] (1460-1530) created both a material[170] and political background for his son. Constantine Iwanowicz, hetman of the GDL, proved loyal to the state by organising the defence against Moscow and supressing the revolt of Glinski. He was imprisoned in Moscow, but managed to escape back to the GDL, where he recovered former and was granted new offices. He was the lay patron of the GDL Orthodox church, and due to his military achievements, was treated on exceptionally good terms, knowing that he was Ruthenian and Orthodox.[171] Being castellan of Vilnius, Constantine Iwanowicz

169 He was also named Constantine of Ostrog, but in order to avoid misunderstanding, we spare the name Constantine Iwanowicz to denote father of Constantine of Ostrog.

170 According to the military index of 1528, Constantine Iwanowicz was the fifth richest noblemen in the GDL(see appendix).

171 *PSB*, 29:489.

received an exceptional permission to build Orthodox churches in Vilnius,[172] built in the Gothic style.

His son, Constantine of Ostrog (1526-1608), was also acquainted with western culture, and, being a lay patron of the GDL Orthodox church,[173] wanted to improve its miserable internal position by western cultural influxes. The situation of the Orthodox church in the GDL and Poland in the second part of sixteenth century was becoming catastrophic. Many Orthodox magnates and szlachta converted at first to Protestantism and then to Catholicism. The king regarded lands of Orthodox bishoprics as state property. Lay persons were often nominated to the seat of bishoprics, although church canons demanded that only clergymen who took a monastic vow could be appointed. Laymen, who became bishops, were not in a hurry to take a monastic vow, regarded their bishopric as patrimony and were least

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[172] (It was forbidden to built new Orthodox churches in Lithuania) In 1511 he was allowed to reconstruct "the Sobor of Preèistoj Bogorodicy" and in 1514 to built orthodox churches of "S. Trinity" and "S. Michael". What is interesting from the architectural point of view, that these churches were built in the Gothic style, which suggests that Constantine was acquainted and influenced by the Western traditions of architecture. J a n k e v i è i e n e, A., 1991, "Gotycka architektura sakralna Litwy i Bia³orusi" ("Gothic sacral architecture of Lithuania and Byelorussia"), *Lituano-Slavica Posnaniensia, Studia Historium Artium,* 5:17-47., *Lietuvos TSR istorijos ir kulturos paminklu savadas (The register of the historical and cultural monuments of Lithuania),* 1988, Vilnius, N. 148, 156, 368. The architecture of cult is very important because it forms particular World perception, where exists particular language of symbols and spaces. V a g n e r, G.K., 1990, *Iskustvo myslitj v kamne, (The art of thinking in the stone),* Moskva, 5-28.

[173] Z a i k i n, V., 1930, *Uèastije svetskogo edlementa v cerkovnom upravlenii, vybornoje naèalo i sobornost' v Kiejevskoj metropolii v XVI-XVII v.v*. (The participation of the lay element in the rule of church, the electoral beginning and the conciliarism in the Kiev metropoly in the 16th-17th centuries) Warszawa, 75.

concerned about the church problems. The metropolite, actually, did not have real power. His position was similar to bishops: he was simply regarded as senior among them.[174] The Orthodox brotherhoods of Vilnius and Lwov, getting the right of stauropigy from the patriarch of Constantinople (that is they were directly subordinate only to patriarch), interfered in Church affairs. However, the emergence of brotherhoods was due to the Catholic church's influence and they became a "Protestant element" in the second part of the sixteenth century.[175] The ecclesiastical reform was needed and Constantine of Ostrog started it having the political aim.

Constantine of Ostrog had clearly expressed a hereditary princely consciousness.[176] His political aspirations were based on the traditions of local

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[174]G i r k o n t a s, R.,1993, "Brastos Unija ir LDK staciatikiu bažnyèia" ("The union of Brasta and the orthodox church of the GDL"), *Naujasis Židinys*, 7-8:58. L i t w i n, H., 1987, "Catholicisation among the Ruthenian Nobility and Assimilation Processes in the Ukraine during the years 1569 -1648", *Acta Polonia Historica,* 55:62: 'Directly after the union of Lublin the orthodox church sinking into inertia brought the orthodox schools to a state of decline. Such being the case, the Jesuits came to monopolise the sphere of education. Even the most ardent othodox believers sent their children to jesuit institutions."

[175] Z a i k i n, V., 1930, 28; Brothers Zizanii were the ideological leaders of brotherhoods and their ideology was near arianism - the most radical current of Reformation, R o z o v, A.,1881, *Otnošenije pravoslavnych zapadnoi i južnoi Rusi k protestantam v XVI veke i pervoi polovine XVII veka (The relation of orthodox of Western and Southern Ruthenia towards Protestants in the 16th and the first part of the 17th centuries)*. Vilna,4.

[176] L i u b a v s k i, M., 1896, *O razpredelenii vladenij i ob otnošenijach velikich i drugich kniazej Gediminovogo roda v XIV-XVI vv (On the division of possesions and on the relationship of Grand and other dukes of Gediminas family in the 14th-16th centuries)*. Moskva. The hereditary aspect in the principality was broader investigated by E.Gudavièius and A. Nikžentaitis. G u d a v i è i u s, E., 1985, "Po povodu tak nazyvajemoj diarchii v Velikom Kniažestve Litovskom"("Concerning the so called

principalities within the GDL, when the status of prince was hereditary. Constantine of Ostrog also wished to occupy an extraordinary position as his father did. He even called himself before the Union of Lublin: "*dei gratia in Volinia dux Ostrocensis*."[177] Plochij depicted him "as the biggest Ukrainian magnate, factual ruler in his lands, bearer of separatist ideas towards the Commonwealth."[178] After the Union of Lublin, however, Kiev and Volhynia were annexed to Poland. These territories, being loosely connected into the common socio-political structure of the GDL, were political foundations of Constantine of Ostrog. In Poland these areas became a far province on the right of the palatinate and the influence of the prince diminished.

In order to strengthen his extraordinary princely position, Constantine of Ostrog started to aid Orthodox church more substantially, because a weak Orthodox church weakened Constantine himself. He collected aid from western European cultural traditions. In his court in Ostrog he gathered a circle of intellectuals and in the year 1580 he established a school, where Meletij Smotrickij, Jov Boretskij, Gerasim Smotrickij, the future patriarch of Constantinople Cyril Lucaris, lectured.[179] He invited qualified intelectuals irrespective their Religion to the school- both

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diarchy in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania", *Feodalisms Baltijas regiona:Zinatnisko zaksto krajums*. Riga.; N i k ž e n t a i t i s, A., 1989. *Gediminas.* Vilnius.

177 *PSB*, 29:495.

178 P l o c h i j, S.M., 1989, *Politika Rimskoj kurii na ukrainskich zemliach v XVI -XVII vv (The policy of papal curia in the Ukrainian lands in the 16th-17th centuries),* Kiev, 12.

179 T r e a d g o l d, D.W., 1973, *The West in Russia and China*, Cambridge, 1:30.

Protestants and Catholics.[180] In Ostrog the circle of translators translated the Bible, which was published by Fiodorov in 1581.[181]

Constantine of Ostrog had two ways to strengthen his position from the point of restructuring the hierarchy of Orthodox church: either to get a patriarchal status for the Kiev metropoly or introduce the Church Union retaining an extraordinary status guaranteed by the leadership in the Union process.[182] The idea of patriarchy had to be abandoned, when Moscow established the patriarchy in 1589. Thus Constantine of Ostrog settled on the issue of Church Union.

Jesuits Herbest, Skarga and Possevin grounded the idea of the Church Union from the Catholic side.[183] Constantine of Ostrog joined the discussions on the Union approximately at the end of the eighth decade, since Skarga dedicated to him in 1577 the book "About the Union of Churches". From that time contacts between Constantine of Ostrog and Skarga were established and Skarga had the authorisation of the pope.[184] In 1581- 1584 Constantine of Ostrog together with Jurij, prince of Sluck, negotiated about the union with Possevin and Bolognetto, papal envoys to

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180 M y c k o, I.Z.,1985, "Ostrožskij - prosvetitelnyj centr" ("The Ostrog enlightening center") ; *Fedorovskije ètenija (The Fedor' readings)*, Moskva,64.

181 D v o r n i k, F., 1962, *The Slavs in European History and civilisation,* New Jersey, 308.

182 Being the lay head of the Orthodox church Constantine thought, that he would lead the union process as well.

183 P l o c h i j, S.M., 1989, 12.

184 M a r a š, J. I., 1963, "Rolj Vatikana v podgotovke i utverždenii Brestkoj unii 1596 g." ("The role of Vatican preparing and establishing the Brest union of 1596"), *Voprosy istorii religii i ateizma (The questions of the history of religion and atheism),* Moskva, 232.

Poland.[185] With the introduction of the Gregorian calendar a new obstacle for negotiations appeared and they interrupted.[186]

Because of the frequent changes of popes and the interregnum in the Commonwealth, negotiations were resumed only in 1590. Orthodox bishops took an initiative from the Orthodox side this time. Constantine of Ostrog emerged directly in the negotiations in 1593, but before that he strengthened his Orthodox church patron positions considerably,[187] recieving the privilege from Sigismund III Vasa. The king promised not to appoint anybody into the highest positions of the Orthodox hierarchy without the consent of Constantine of Ostrog.[188] In 1593, relying on this right Constantine appointed Potij, castellan of Brest, as the bishop of Vladimir.[189] Potij became one of the main negotiators in the process of the Union.

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[185] L e w i c k i, K.,1933, *Ksi¹¿e Konstanty Ostrogski a unia Brzeska 1596 r*. (The prince Constantine of Ostrog and the Union of Brest of 1596), Lwów, 45.

[186] Calendar, according to O.Halecki, was one of the main reasons, which stopped many people from the union.Halecki, O., 1935, "Dzieje unji koœcielnej w Wielkim Ksiêtwe Litewskim (do 1596)" ("The history of the Church Union in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (until 1596)"), *Pamiêtnik VI Powszechnego zjazdu historyków polskich w Wilnie*, Lwów,1.

[187]Constantine of Ostrog was acting actively in 1589 during the trip of patriarch Jeremiah, when he was returning from Moscow through the GDL and Poland to Constantinople. Jeremiah, with the advice of Constantine of Ostrog, appointed Ragoza as Lithuanian metropolite, and Terleckij as his envoy (egzarch). K o j a l o v i è, M., 1859-1865, *Litovskaja cerkovnaja unija (The Lithuanian Church Union)*. S.Peterburg. 1:60-64.

[188] *AZRUM*, 1897,1:66.

[189] *AJZR*, 1/1:406.

In the letter to Potij, on 23rd of June in 1593, Constantine of Ostrog listed the conditions of the union,[190] which evidence his political aspirations. He demanded:

1. To retain liturgy,

2. Do not convert Orthodox churches into Catholic,

3. Do not accept Greek religion people into Latin one,

4. For metropolite and bishops (not all) to secure places in the Senate and district diets of the Commonwealth.

5. To agree about the Union with Moscow and Valachia.

The last point propounds, that Constantine oriented himself on the international level. The condition, to allow some bishops to get seats in the Senate, suggests his will to create the basis of power in the government of the Commonwealth. However, in his statement of 1595 July 25, Constantine declared that he will stay loyal to the Orthodoxy?

What made him make such a desicion? The most probable reason was that he was loosing his leadership position in the Union process due to the policy of Jesuits diminishing the influence of lay persons on the Orthodox hierarchy. This strategy resulted in the Sinod of Brest, where the Church Union was officially acknowledged by the Orthodox clergy.[191] Constantine of Ostrog chose to support Orthodoxy, since that saved his exclusive position. He decided somehow to aid Orthodoxy, founding typographies in the monasteries of Dermansk and Kiev.[192] Moreover, he organised a broad polemical campaign against the Brest Sinod decisions.

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[190] *Akty otnosjašèiesja k istorii Zapadnoj Rossii (*AZR), 1846, St. Peterburg, 4:N.45.

[191] *Monumenta Ucrainiae Historica*, (1075-1623), ed.Šeptyckij, A., 1:170.

[192] Treadgold, D.W., 1973, 28.

Apart from ideological measures Constantine mobilised political means of influence. He came into the coalition with the leader of the GDL's Protestants, his son-in-law, Christopher Radvila, and mobilised the lesser Ruthenian nobility in the southern palatinates of today's Ukraine. For example, in the antisinod of Brest, Constantine of Ostrog was supported especially by the lesser Volhynian nobility, which is not surprising, since his main dominions were in this palatinate.[193] The content of the Brest antisinod shows that szlachta came predominantly from the territories of today's Ukraine.

From the diets of 17 districts in the GDL, only seven mention the issue of the Union, and only Minsk and Slonim diets appealed to depose the bishops and the metropolite of the Uniates.[194] While in the district' diets of the Ruthenian palatinates of today's Ukraine there was a broad appeal to depose the uniatic bishops.[195] That territorial division between the GDL and southern palatinates is also seen in the

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[193] To the Brest antisinod prince Constantine arrived with son Alexander, palatine of Volhynia and Alexander Polubenskij, orthodox senator, castellan of Nowogrodek. The szlachta sent their representatives from these palatinates: Kiev -3 persons, Volhynia - 10, Braclav -2, "Russia" (Galicia) - 2, Peremysl province - 2, district of Pinsk - 1. Moreover, representatives came from towns: Vilnius, Lvov, Pinsk, Belsk. Brest, Halicz, Podgajec, Kiev, Skoki, Braclav, Kamenec-Podolsk, Vladimir, Minsk, Sluck, Luck. Representatives of the orthodox brotherhoods in Vilnius and Lvow arrived separately. Ž u k o v i è, P., 1901, *Sejmovaja borba pravoslavnogo zapadnorusskogo dvorianstva s cerkovnoj unijej (do 1609 g.) (The fight of western Ruthenian nobility against the Church Union in the Diets (until 1609))*. S.Peterburg , 224.

[194] Ž u k o v i è, P., 1901,239.

[195] South Ruthenian szlachta showed in the Diet of 1596 and before it their resolution to defend orthodoxy, and Ž u k o v i è cited "Apokrisis" "that in most Soth Ruthenian diet instructions in the first place was requested to depose the Uniatic bishops, and their offices to give to the Greek bishops". Ž u k o v i è, P., 1901,243

factual work of representatives from South Ruthenia in the Diet of 1597: the representatives of Kiev raised the Union issue, and it was supported by the Volhynian representative Guleviè. Volhynian szlachta raised the initiative to bring Potij and Terleckij to trial.[196] Even the main diet of the GDL in 1597 in Slonim also discussed the dissolution of the Union of Brest, but that was achieved by the efforts of Constantine of Ostrog and Palatine of Vilnius, son-in-law of Constantine, Christopher Radvila.[197]

Remembering that already before 1595 Constantine was married to a Catholic, that only the youngest of his three sons, Alexander, remained Orthodox, the others converted to Catholicism, while both daughters were married with Protestants, it seems likely, that the prince fought against the Union not because of the religious interests, but because of personal political aspirations. Then his attempt to make the union between Protestants and Orthodox is no surprise, having in mind that the leader of Protestants was his son-in-law Christopher Radvila.

Constantine, in contrast with Alexander Chodkeviè policy half a century ago, did not try to homogenise himself with the political community. Rather he tried to pursue an independent policy. The fact that South Ruthenian palatinates in 1569 became included into Poland, threatened and weakened his separate position in the Commonwealth. Constantine political aspirations, based on religious arguments, helped the Ruthenian nobility and Cossacs formulate an identity of separateness and

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196 Ž u k o v i è, P., 1901, 316-318.

197 Ž u k o v i è, P., 1901, 246. Whereas the palatine of Novgorodek Theodor Skumin Tiskevic, the second person among the orthodox after Constantine, in the Diet of 1597 eagerly defended uniates. (Ž u k o v i è, P., 1901, 266.) Former orthodox noblemen like Leo Sapiega and Chodkevièi, who converted to Catholicism and stood firmly for Union. J.Chodkevic donated archimandrite of Sluck to Potij in 1599. *AZR*, 4: N.147. New archimandrit of Suprasl selected by J. Chodkeviè sweared to the Union. *AZRUM*, 1: 263.

fostered their struggle for political institutionalisation. In the milieu of the Ukrainian szlachta in the middle of the seventeenth century there was formed a myth about Constantine - the defender of Orthodoxy.[198] Chynczewska provided a great amount of material, which shows that Constantine was held up as a national Ukrainian hero and defender of the othodoxy.[199]

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[198] However interesting, that uniates also expressed him their sentiments, calling him "the very foremost leader accepting Union". C h y n c z e w s k a - H e n n e l, T., 1985, *Œwiadomoœæ narodowa szlachty ukraiñskiej i kozaczyzny od schy³ku XVI do po³owy XVII w. (The national consciousness of the Ukrainian nobility and Cossacs from the end of the 16th until the middle of the 17th centuries),*Warszawa. 124.

[199]C h y n c z e w s k a - H e n n e l, T., 1985, 127.

CONCLUSION

The observation of the three profiles in the cultural and political awareness of Ruthenian noblemen suggests changes which occured during the fifteenth and sixteenth century in the consciousness of the Ruthenian noblemen, which I imagine graphically as follows.

At the end of the fourteenth, beginning of the fifteenth century, the Grand Dukes of Lithuania completed the expansion, collecting the territories of former Kiev Rus, populated by Orthodox. From the beginning of the fifteenth century the centralisation policy of the state was launched, which marked the rise of the Lithuanian political nation consisting of Catholics Lithuanians and Orthodox Ruthenians. The picture bellow illustrates that in the fifteenth century two types of cultural awareness coexisted within the political community of the GDL.

The beginning of the 15th century

Political community

Catholic (Lithuanian)

Orthodox (Ruthenian)

cultural awareness
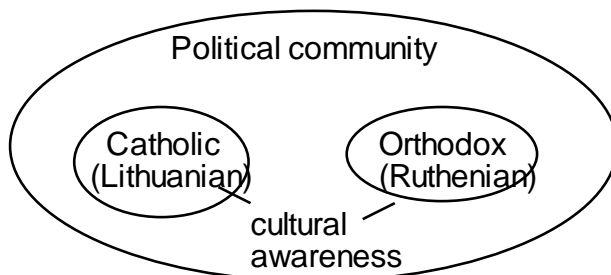
The interest of the Ruthenian nobility was to ensure for themselves the same noble liberties as that of Catholics Lithuanians. Ruthenian noblemen were concerned about their political career. However, the need for consolidating the political community under the lead of Catholic Lithuanians and the growth of the Ruthenian element in the Lithuanian political nation was one of the reasons why Catholic Lithuanian nobilty applied the myth of Roman descent. The elaboration of the Lithuanian origin myth, among political restrictions, placed the following dillema in front of the Ruthenians: to adopt the Catholic (or later Protestant) cultural awareness

or to formulate political claims on the base of the Orthodox Ruthenian identity. The Roman legend, a myth of Catholic Lithuanians, tended to confirm the superiority of the Catholic Lithuanians upon the Orthodox Ruthenians, showing that it would not allow Ruthenians' overtaking the leader's role. Loyalty to the dynasty and political solidarity was not a sufficient reason any longer in the middle of the sixteenth century to be admitted into the political elite. Ruthenian nobility willing to ensure their political career had to confirm their loyalty by converting to the Catholicism or Protestantism.[200]

Ochmanski compared military indexes of the years 1528 and 1567 in four districts of the "Lituania propria", where a considerable number of population was Orthodox. He looked under which name, Catholic or Orthodox, noblemen registered in the indexes.[201]

	Sclachta in total		From them Catholic		Percentage of szlachta with Catholic names	
	1528	**1567**	**1528**	**1567**	**1528**	**1567**
Nowogrodek	256	353	41	85	15 %	24%
Slonim	87	219	34	65	40%	30%
Wolkowysk	219	279	75	142	34%	50%
Gardin	238	642	72	235	30%	36%
total	800	1493	222	527	28%	35%

From the table can be seen, that in three districts out of four the percentage of the noblemen with Catholic names increased. In total in those four districts the number of noblemen with Catholic names increased 7 %. Why? There are two alternatives for explanation. Either it was Catholics colonisation or Ruthenians

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[200] K a m i e n s k i, A., 1989, "Kariera rodu Siemaszkow"("The career of the Siemaszko family in the 15th-17th centuries"), *Lituano-Slavica Posnaniensia,* 3:179-202.

[201] O c h m a ñ s k i, J., 1983, *Litewska granica etniczna na wschodzie (od epoki plemiennej do XVI w.)* (The Lithuanian ethnic frontier in the East (from the period of tribal organisation until the 16th century), Poznañ, 82.; Litovskaja Metrika, Perepisi vojska litovskogo, *Russkaja istorièeskaja biblioteka,* 1915, Petrograd, columns 32-37, 90-99,673-711, 809-873.

changing their cultural orientation. Both alternatives imply the erosion of the Ruthenian Othodox element and cultural awareness.

Reformation and Counterreformation movements quickened and easened the process of changing religious orientation for the Orthodox nobility. From the content of the Senate of the Commonwealth in the year of 1569 can be seen, that most of the GDL Orthodox senators became Protestants. Schram used the data of Šujskij, and according to his list, from the 20 lay senators from the GDL 15 were Protestants.[202] If one add the great treasurer and the court marshal, which were not included in his list, one sees that out of 22 senators - 17 were Protestants. (The two senators not included were M. Naruševic and Nicholas Christopher Radvila ("the Thunder") - obvious Protestants.[203] Out of these 17 Protestants - 9 came from Catholic families, 8 - from Orthodox.[204] In the Orthodoxy remained Constantine of Ostrog, the families of Èartoriskij and Sanguška, and the prince of Sluck.[205] The process towards conversion was illustrated in the case of Alexander Chodkeviè. The case of Jeulaševski and Cadrouski illustrated the adoption of Protestantism and its strenghthening in relation to political solidarity.

The interest of the Ruthenian nobility was to integrate themselves into the Lithuanian political nation, though not all wished to do that at the expense of their

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202   S c h r a m, G.,1965. *Der polnishe Adel.und die Reformation 1548-1607*. Wiesbaden, 146-152.

203   M e r c z y n g, H., 1904, *Zbory i senatorowie protestanccy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej (The Protestant Communities and the Protestant Senators in the ancient Commonwealth),* Warszawa, 130.

204 For more see: D w o r z a c z e k, W., 1962, "Oblicze wyznaniowe senatu Rzeczypospolitej polskiej w dobie kontrreformacji" ("The religious affiliation of the Senate of the Polish Commonwealth during the Counterreformation), *Munera Litteraria*. Poznan, 42-56.

205 B u m b l a u s k a s, A., 1987, 153-156.

cultural awareness. Thus the picture shows the two directions of Orthodox Ruthenians - one towards cultural integration with Catholics and the other - retaining their separate cultural identity.

The middle of the 16th century
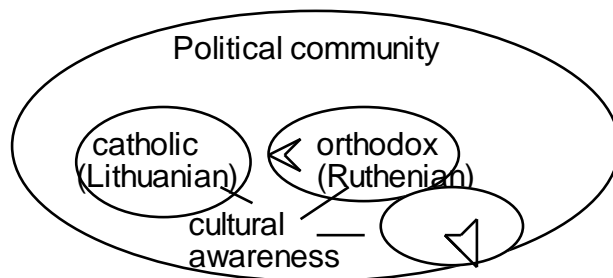
In the southern palatinates of the GDL, loosely connected into the central structures, stronger cultural awareness existed. After the Union of Lublin, when the palatinates of Braclav, Kiev, Volhynia and Podliasie were detached from the GDL and united with Poland, Constantine of Ostrog employed Ruthenian cultural awareness for separatist political aspirations.

The end of the 16th - beginning of the 17th century
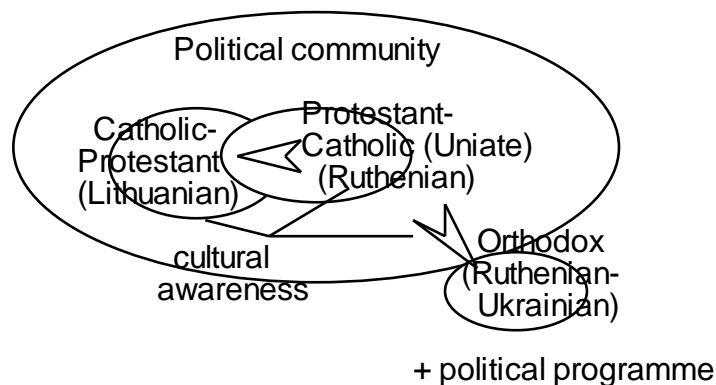
At first, Constantine of Ostrog, being the lay patron of the Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy, wished, through the Church Union, to stregthen his political

positions. However, the development of the Union process dissatisfied his plans and he became an eager supporter of the Orthodoxy. His endeavours, mobilising the Ruthenian noblemen against the Church Union, created his heroic image and symbolised the rise of the political identity of the Ruthenian -Ukrainian community on the base of Orthodoxy.

However, in the GDL the Church Union was succesfully applied to integrate the community on the level of lesser Ruthenian nobility and peasantry.[206] Orthodox noblemen converted to Protestantism and Catholicism, but for conservative clientele and peasantry, they needed the Church Union. Therefore, former Orthodox magnates, for instance Sapiega, Pac, Tiškeviè, were supporters of the Church Union, which was very succesful in the GDL. The seventeenth century saw a creation of a vast net of parishes and Uniate churches.[207]

The leading families of former Orthodox Ruthenians crowned the conversion to Catholicism by adopting the Lithuanian Roman descent legend to their genealogies. The Pac family was believed to have a Roman genealogy, having allegedly been related to Florentine Pazzis. Sapiegas also claimed Roman ascentry. They traced their origin back to Gedymin, a descendant of Prospero Collona, who had come from Italy.[208] Thus one can conclude that the adoption of Catholicism or

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[206] S i e k i e r s k i, M., (ed. and introduction) 1985, *Society and Religion in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania* (A reprint of the 1754 Nieœwie¿ edition of "Pe³na piêknej jak ksiê¿yc, lask promieniami œwiatu przyœwiecaj¹ca"), Berkeley, California, 10.

[207] G a u è a s, P., 1984, "O vostoènych i južnych granicach litovskoj etnièeskoj teritorii v srednevekovje" ("On the Eastern and Southern frontiers of the Lithuanian ethnic territories in the Middle Ages"), *Sbornik Nauènych Trudov Vuzov Litovskoj SSR, Geografija,* 24:50-59.

[208] K u l i c k a, E., 1980, "Legenda o rzymskim pochodzeniu Litwinów i jej stosunek do mitu sarmackiego ("The legend about the Roman Origin of the Lithuanians and its Relation to the Sarmatian Myth")", *Przegl¹d historyczny*, 71/1:1-21.

Calvinism was not the cause, but the ultimate consequence, of experiencing political solidarity.

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nr	family	person	horsemen	households
1	**Kêsgaila**		768	12288
		Stanislaus of Stanislaus	371	
		wife Elzbieta Astikaite	246	
		Nicholas of Nicholas	151	
2	Radvila		760	12160
		Nicholas, bishop of Samogitia	79	
		George of Nicholas, castellan of Vilnius	261 + 60 in the Lipsk district	
		John of Nicholas	61	
		Stanislaus	39	
		Elzbieta of Nicholas	260	
3	**Goštautas**	Albertas	466	7456
4	Olelko	prince Jurij	433	6928
5		**Constantine of Ostrog**	426	6816
6	Astikas		338	5408
		Gregory of Gregory	117	
		George of Gregory	131	
		Elzbieta, widow of Gregory Stanislaus	90	
7	Hlebovièi		279	4464
		Jan Jurij	148	
		wife	88	
		Jan of Stanislaus	12	
		Nicholas of Stanislaus	31	
8	Zaberezinski		258	4128
		John of John	197	
		Helena from Solomerecki wife of Nicholas Jurjewicz	61	
9	Jogailaitis(Jagellonian)	John, bishop of Vilnius	236	3776
10	Kiška	Peter	224	3584
11	**Chodkeviè**	Alexander	201	3216
12	Sanguška		170	2720
13	Iljinièe		160	2560
14	Sapiegos		153	2448
15	Bohotynovièi		138	2208
16	Zenoviwièe-Korsakowie		138	2208
17	Korsakowie		137	2192
18	Zenowièe		136	2176
19	Kostewièe		126	2016
20	Alšeniškis	Paul	122	1952
21	Niemirovièi		115	1840
22	Chrebtavièi		112	1792
23	Pacewiè	Nicholas	97	1552
	total		5993	9588