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LITHUANIAN GRAND-DUCAL DEMESNE PLEDGES
(FROM THE 1500S TO MID-1520S): GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS*

Zarys treści: Problematyka zastawu dóbr wielkiego księcia litewskiego w XVI w. jest praktycznie nieobecna w historiografii, a aspekty geograficzne i kartograficzne w ogóle nie były przedmiotem zainteresowania historyków. Celem niniejszego artykułu jest analiza geografii zastawów domeny wielkiego księcia litewskiego w pierwszych trzech dziesięcioleciach XVI w. W badaniach omówiono pojęcie domeny władcy Litwy, jej wielkość i granice, a także zarejestrowano i zanalizowano dane geograficzne i statystyczne. Na podstawie zebranych dla potrzeb badań danych sporządzono mapę zastawionych dóbr, a także krótko scharakteryzowano umowy na zastaw oraz zawierające je strony.

Content outline: The pledging policy by the grand dukes of Lithuania in the sixteenth century has not been practically under research; historians have not given the geographical and cartographical aspects of this problem any attention. This article aims to research the geography of the pledges of the grand-ducal demesne from the 1500s to mid-1520s. This article discusses the concept of the demesne of Lithuanian sovereigns, its size and limits, and we analyse the geographical and statistical information about its composition. We have created a map of pledged estates and properties using the data collected and characterised the most important pledge deeds and pledgees.

Słowa kluczowe: Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie (WKL), dobra wielkiego księcia litewskiego, domeny, zastaw, terytorium, geografia

Keywords: Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL), grand-ducal demesne, dominions, pledges, territory, geography

* This article was prepared as a result of a joint Lithuanian-Polish research project “Financial capacity of Jagiellonian states in the 16th century in the comparative perspective”. The project was financed by the Research Council of Lithuania (LMT), agreement No S-LL-18-5, and performed in cooperation with the University of Białystok.

Introduction

The medieval concept of the state implied a strong identification of the ruler with the state. This meant that the personal treasury of the ruler and state funds for a long time were common. However, in the sixteenth century, the differences between the needs of the state and the ruler and the ways to satisfy and administer these needs became apparent. The dividing line between the ruler's personal money and the state's income in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL) gradually became evident. Between the 1560s and the 1580s, the sovereign and state treasuries became wholly separated. Until that period, the ruler's domain played a vital role in forming the state budget. One way to guarantee the ruler some amounts of revenue was by pledging demesne holdings.

The Lithuanian grand-ducal demesne pledging in the sixteenth century is an especially under-researched topic; the geographical and cartographic aspects of the subject have not received the attention of historians so far. Although some researchers have already addressed specific issues, there has been no extensive research devoted to analysing the financial use of the entire ruler's demesne and, more specifically, its representation from the geographical perspective. In this context, research on the grand-ducal demesne in Podlasie focusing on the ruler's demesne pledging practices and credit system could be mentioned.¹ The history of finances and treasury of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the second half of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been researched more extensively. For example, the Lithuanian historian Antantas Tyla, who studied the issues of state treasury from a variety of perspectives, provided an extensive panoramic overview of the topic.² The GDL treasury history of the same period is presented in the

¹ A.A. Бондаренко, "Состав владений Боны Сфорца в Великом Княжестве Литовском", in: *Ministri historiae: pagalbiniai istorijos mokslai Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės tyrimuose*, ed. Z. Kiaupa, J. Sarcevičienė, Vilnius, 2013, pp. 213–227; A. Sucheni-Grabowska, *Odbudowa domeny królewskiej w Polsce 1504–1548*, Wrocław, 1967 (2nd edn: 2007); ead., *Monarchia dwu ostatnich Jagiellonów a ruch egzekucyjny*, part 1: *Geneza egzekucji dóbr*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, 1974; J. Maroszek, *Pograniczne Litwy i Korony w planach króla Zygmunta Augusta. Z historii dziejów realizacji myśli monarszej między Niemnem a Narwią*, Białystok, 2000; K. Pietkiewicz, "Procesy królowej Bony z Mikołajem Pacem w 1537 r.", in: *Wokół Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego i jego tradycji*, ed. B. Manyś, M. Zwierzykowski, Poznań, 2016, pp. 37–54; W. Pociecha, *Królowa Bona 1494–1557: czasy i ludzie Odrodzenia*, vol. 3, Poznań, 1958; E. Wroczyńska, "Eksploracja lasów na Podlasiu w XVI w.", in: *Studia nad społeczeństwem i gospodarką Podlasia w XVI–XVIII w.*, ed. A. Wyczański, Warszawa, 1981, pp. 145–171.

² A. Tyla, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės iždas: XVI amžiaus antroji pusė –*

work of Anna Filipczak-Kocur. She focused on the aspects of treasury projects, the functioning of the treasury and war commissions, the formation of the system of credit and administration of customs.³ Research by various authors devoted to the economic history of Lithuania is also significant for the current work as the provided insights present the pivotal aspects of state treasury formation. For example, the fundamental work by Mitrofan Dovnar-Zapolskiy,⁴ research by Henryk Łowmiański,⁵ and other authors⁶ have been valuable for understanding the analysed problem.

XVII amžiaus vidurys, Vilnius, 2012; id., *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės išdas per dvidešimtmetį karą (1648–1667)*, Vilnius, 2010; id., “Gardino konvokacija: Lietuvos išdo ir valstybės gelbėjimas”, *Lituanistica*, 2008, no. 1, pp. 1–18; id., “Rola podymnego w strukturze dochodów skarbu ziemskiego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w latach 1649–1667”, in: *Litwa w epoce Wazów*, ed. W. Kriegeisen, A. Rachuba, Warszawa, 2006, pp. 175–189; A. Tyla, “Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės išdo destrukcija XVII a. viduryje”, *Lituanistica*, 2006, no. 1, pp. 1–10; id., “XVI a. pirmosios pusės Žemaitijos valstiečių ir miestelėnų prievolių surašymas”, in: *Konstantinas Jablonskis ir istorija*, Vilnius, 2005, pp. 215–224; id., “Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės išdo įplaukų regioninė sklaida ir regionų reikšmingumas (XVII a. vidurys)”, *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis*, 2, 2002 (2004), pp. 27–42.

³ A. Filipczak-Kocur, “Finanse litewskie za podskarbiego Hieronima Kryszpina Kirszenszteina 1663–1676”, *Studia z Dziejów Państwa i Prawa Polskiego*, 14, 2011, pp. 41–85; ead., “Materiały do dziejów skarbu litewskiego za podskarbiostwa Hieronima Kryszpina-Kirszenszteina (z poszukiwań archiwalnych w Kijowie)”, in: *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. 2, ed. W. Walczak, K. Łopatecki, Białystok, 2010, pp. 281–289; A. Filipczak-Kocur, “Cła litewskie 1630–1634 (z dziejów skarbu Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego za podskarbiostwa Stefana Paca)”, *Studia z Dziejów Państwa i Prawa Polskiego*, 11, 2008, pp. 87–100; ead., *Skarbowość Rzeczypospolitej, 1587–1648: projekty, ustawy, realizacja*, Warszawa, 2006; ead., “Pośmiertne problemy podskarbiech litewskich Ławryna Wojny i Jana Hlebowicza”, in: *Litwa w epoce Wazów...*, pp. 69–84; ead., “Litewskie komisje wojskowo-skarbowe w XVII wieku”, *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 109, 2002, no. 3, pp. 97–117; ead., “Poland-Lithuania before Partition”, in: *The Rise of the Fiscal State in Europe c. 1200–1815*, ed. R. Bonney, Oxford, 1999, pp. 443–479.

⁴ М.В. Доўнар-Запольскі, *Дзяржаўная гаспадарка Вялікага княства Літоўскага пры Ягелонах*, Мінск, 2009, 2013; id., *Государственное хозяйство Великого Княжества Литовского при Ягеллонах*, Киев, 1901.

⁵ H. Łowmiański, *Zaludnienie państwa litewskiego w wieku XVI*, Poznań, 1998.

⁶ М.К. Любавский, *Областное деление и местное управление Литовско-Русского государства ко времени издания первого литовского статута*, Москва, 1892; id., *Литовско-русский сейм: Опыт по истории учреждения в связи с внутренним строем и внешней жизнью государства*, Москва, 1900; J.T. Lubomirski, *Trzy rozdziały z historii skarbowości w Polsce 1507–1532*, Kraków, 1868; J. Wimmer, “Wojsko i skarb Rzeczypospolitej u schyłku XVI i w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku”, *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*, 14, 1968, no. 1, pp. 3–91; A.K. Urmański, “On efforts to improve the condition of the treasury of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the times of Sigismund

The Lithuanian *Metrica* (Lith.: *Lietuvos Metrika*) has been used as the most important source of research.⁷ The Inscription, Record, and Court Books of Lithuanian *Metrica* include much information on pledge deeds, the geographical information of the pledged properties and specific sums of money borrowed by the state. The collected data was evaluated using analytical and statistical methods; domain boundaries and land pledging geography in the analysed period were visualised cartographically. Analytical tools of historical geography helped identify the boundaries of administrative units, place names and other geographical data.⁸

This article aims to discuss the demesne pledging of the Grand Duke of Lithuania from a geographical perspective from the beginning of the sixteenth century till the mid-1520s and to discuss the most crucial pledge deeds. To achieve this aim, it is necessary to define the boundaries of the ducal demesne in the sixteenth century and to register and analyse the geographical-statistical data. The geographical survey of financial utilisation of the demesne of the Grand Duke of Lithuania will provide new data in the research field. In contrast, cartographic visualisation will make it possible to identify the geographical coverage, density and directions of the pledged properties.

The first part of the article is devoted to the concept, size, and boundaries of the grand-ducal demesne. The second part analyses the

the Old and the period of management by Jonas Jonaitis Zaberezinskis in Užnemunė”, *Lithuanian Historical Studies*, 20, 2015 (2016), pp. 53–78.

⁷ *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 1 (1380–1584). Užrašymų knyga 1*, ed. A. Baliulis, R. Firkovičius, Vilnius, 1998 [hereinafter: LM 1]; *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 6 (1494–1506). Užrašymų knyga 6*, ed. A. Baliulis, Vilnius, 2007 [hereinafter: LM 6]; *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 7 (1506–1539). Užrašymų knyga 7*, ed. I. Pliarienė, L. Karalius, and D. Antanavičius, Vilnius, 2011 [hereinafter: LM 7]; *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 8 (1499–1514). Užrašymų knyga 8*, ed. A. Baliulis, R. Firkovičius, and D. Antanavičius, Vilnius, 1995 [hereinafter: LM 8]; *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 9 (1511–1518). Užrašymų knyga 9*, ed. K. Pietkiewicz, Vilnius, 2002 [hereinafter: LM 9]; *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 10 (1440–1523). Užrašymų knyga 10*, ed. E. Banionis, A. Baliulis, Vilnius, 1997 [hereinafter: LM 10]; *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 11 (1518–1523). Įrašų knyga 11*, ed. A. Dubonis, Vilnius, 1997 [hereinafter: LM 11]; *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 15 (1528–1538). Užrašymų knyga 15*, ed. A. Dubonis, Vilnius, 2002 [hereinafter: LM 15], p. 289; *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 224 (1522–1530). 4-oji Teismų bylų knyga (XVI a. pabaigos kopija)*, ed. S. Lazutka, I. Valikonytė, Vilnius, 1997 [hereinafter: LM 224].

⁸ *Вялікі гістарычны атлас Беларусі*, vol. 1, Мінск, 2009; *Атлас гісторыі Беларусі ад старажытнасці да нашых дзён*, ed. Г.Р. Шыкунова, Л.У. Языковіч, Мінск, 2004; J. Jakubowski, *Mapa Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w połowie XVI w.*, 1: Część północna, skala 1:1 600 000, Kraków, 1928; *Tablica historyczna: obraz historii Polskiej i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, ed. L. Sawaszkiewicz, [n.p.], 1828; *Lietuvos istorijos atlasas*, ed. P. Gaučas, E. Manelis, G. Pošius, Vilnius, 2001.

geographical and statistical data of demesne pledges. The third part briefly discusses the most extensive pledge agreements and the parties involved.

Definition, size and boundaries of the grand-ducal demesne in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania

Research on the territorial formation of the Lithuanian state reveals that the medieval territorial structure of Lithuania was not homogeneous. Three levels can be distinguished in the medieval territorial structure of the state. The first and the most important level was the demesne of the grand duke standing as the foundation of the state. The surrounding lands had strong connections with this demesne. The second level included territorial areas of secondary importance to the state, seen as the ruler's property. Despite their similar ethnic and genetic background, their relationship with the domain was not as strong. These territories could have been used for various purposes depending on the ruler's needs. In the Lithuanian case, specifically Samogitia can be regarded as the territory matching the description of the second level of the territorial state structure. The third level included lands with no or weak ethnic ties. Their use depended on political, social and economic factors. Typically, these lands had a lower population density than the state's core or were completely uninhabited in some cases.⁹

The core of the Lithuanian state formed during the rule of Mindaugas and included the eastern part of ethnic Lithuania and certain parts of the Black Ruthenia (present-day territories of Eastern Lithuania and Western Belarus). The region, referred to as *Lithuania propria*, was also the cradle of the main demesnes of the Gediminaičiai (Gediminids) dynasty.¹⁰ The developed network of castles and estates

⁹ The territorialisation processes of medieval Lithuania have been extensively presented in the works of Tomas Čelkis: T. Čelkis, "Teritorijos samprata ir teritorinės valstybės formavimasis Lietuvoje XIV–XVI a.", MA thesis, Vilnius, 2007, pp. 24–29, 32–35, 56; id., "Valdžia ir erdvė: Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės teritorizacijos procesas XIV–XVI a.", PhD dissertation, Vilnius, 2011, pp. 68–76, 267–277; id., *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės teritorija: sienų samprata ir delimitaciniai procesai XIV–XVI amžiuje*, Vilnius, 2014, pp. 77–86, 128–133.

¹⁰ See: E. Gudavičius, *Mindaugas*, Vilnius, 1998, pp. 139, 152; H. Łowmiański, *Studja nad początkami społeczeństwa i państwa litewskiego*, Wilno, 1932, vol. 2, pp. 107–110; V. Volungevičius, "Pilis ir jos sociopolitinės transformacijos Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje XIV–XVI a. pirmoje pusėje", PhD dissertation, Vilnius, 2014, pp. 59–60.

helped to ensure the income of the ruler and nobility, and guarantee the stability of political activities and economic situation. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania structure, this territory was central in the state management system.¹¹

The boundaries and size of the *Lithuania propria*, the ruler's demesne, are defined differently by researchers. For example, Oskar Halecki claims that *Lithuania propria* consisted of Vilnius and Troki (Lith.: Trakai) palatinates except for Podlasie. The author maintains that *Lithuania propria* also included the land of Brest, the so-called Black Ruthenia with Grodno and Nowogródek, and Minsk with lands at the Berezina River, the middle Dnieper region, and the upper Sozh (Pol.: Soż) lands, which were cut from the Smolensk, Seversk and Kiev lands.¹² Halecki maintained that Samogitia became an integral part of Lithuania after receiving a regional privilege in 1441.¹³ A different definition of the *Lithuania propria* is provided by the Polish historian Jerzy Ochmański. According to the researcher, *Lithuania propria* consisted of two ethnic palatinates (Vilnius and Troki), and Braśław (Belarus.: Браслаў, Lith.: Breslauja), Minsk, Nowogródek (Belarus.: Navahrudak, Lith.: Naugardukas), as well as Black Ruthenia (Wołkowysk [Belarus.: Ваўкавыск, Lith.: Valkaviskas], Słonim, and Kamieniec) and Grodno. As opposed to Halecki, Ochmański did not include the middle Dnieper or other Ruthenian regions in *Lithuania propria* except for Minsk.¹⁴ Also, he did not consider Samogitia an integral part of the state. The historian Jūratė Kiaupienė supports Halecki's understanding of *Lithuania propria* with more Ruthenian territories included. She claims that at the end of the fourteenth century, the discussed lands of the core Lithuania were already functioning as one administrative, legal and economic unit. In the fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries, the ruler's lands were concentrated in the defined areas.¹⁵

¹¹ R. Petrauskas, "Ankstyvosios valstybinės struktūros Lietuvoje XIII amžiuje – XV amžiaus pradžioje", *Lietuvos istorijos studijos*, 16, 2005, pp. 19–30; V. Volungevičius, "Pilis Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės žemėse: statusas ir pavaldumas", *Lietuvos pilys*, 6, 2010, pp. 5–15.

¹² O. Halecki, *Litwa, Ruś, Żmudz jako części składowe Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, Kraków, 1916, pp. 3–5.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 40–41.

¹⁴ J. Ochmański, "Lietuvių etninė siena nuo padermių epochos ligi XVI amžiaus", in: *Rytų Lietuva. Istorinių ir etnografinių studijų rinkinys*, ed. A.M. Budreckis, Chicago, 1980, vol. 4, pp. 121–211; J. Ochmański, *Litewska granica etniczna na wschodzie od epoki plemienniej do XVI wieku*, Poznań, 1981, p. 192.

¹⁵ J. Kiaupienė, "Teritorinės, administracinės ir ūkinės naujovės Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės vidaus erdvėje", in: *Lietuvos istorija*, vol. 4: *Nauji horizontai: dinastija*,

In view of the discussion, it can be claimed that in 1413, the first palatinates of Troki and Vilnius, established based on Polish administration, encompassed specifically the core area of Lithuania (*Lithuania propria*) and coincided with the boundaries of Vilnius and Troki duchies in times of Olgierd (Lith.: Algirdas) and Kiejstut (Lith.: Kęstutis).

Vilnius palatinate, consisting of five districts (Vilnius, Oszmiany [(Lith.: Ašmena), Lida, Wilkomierz [(Lith.: Ukmergė, originaly Vilkmergė) and Brasław), was not homogeneous. To the south from the river Neris, the Vilnius palatinate consisted of Miedniki (Lith.: Medininkai), Oszmiany, Krewo, Lida, and Markowo volosts with estates and the Niemież (Lith.: Nemėžis) estate. The Vilnius district had a particular position. Especially important were the estates of Vilnius, Niemenczyn (Lith.: Nemenčinė), Święciany (Lith.: Švenčionys) and Dzisna (Lith.: Dysna). The lands of on the right bank of the Neris River, called in Lithuanian Użneris – Kierniów (Lith.: Kernavė), Mejszagola (Maišiagala), Wilkomierz, Onikszy (Anykščiai), Użpol or Uszpole (Užpaliai), Uciańa (Utena), and Brasław – were also a part of the Vilnius palatinate and were under the jurisdiction of Vilnius *tivunus*. The eastern part of the Vilnius palatinate included the volosts of the former lands of Vitebsk: Mohylew (Belarus.: Магілёў, Lith.: Mogiliavas), Kniażyce (Kniazhychi), Teterin, Oboleńsk. From a military perspective, the Vilnius palatinate was in charge of the Sluck and Kleck principalities in the south, and the lands of Mścisław, Zasław (Belarus.: Заслаўе), Druck (Belarus.: Друцк), and Sołomerecze (Belarus.: Саламарэчча) in the east. As a former centre of the duchy, Nowogródek had an exceptional status and managed four volosts. However, this structural unit was reorganised in 1507, and Nowogródek became a palatinate. In the area near the Dnieper, half of the Bobrujsk, Gorwal and Luboszany volosts were assigned to the Vilnius palatinate, while the rest of the territory belonged to the Troki palatinate.¹⁶

The Troki palatinate was the second largest in the GDL after Vilnius in terms of area and rank, with a complex administrative structure. Jan Jakubowski described the boundaries of the Duchy of Troki in great detail on the basis of Jagiełło's privilege for Skirgiełło Olgierdowicz in 1387.¹⁷ The research is especially important for identifying the boundaries

visuomenė, valstybė. Lietuvos Didžioji kunigaikštystė 1386–1529, ed. J. Kiaupienė, R. Petrauskas, Vilnius, 2009, pp. 62–63.

¹⁶ E. Gudavičius, *Lietuvos istorija*, vol. 1, Vilnius, 1999, pp. 95, 383, 390–397; J. Kiaupienė, op. cit., p. 66.

¹⁷ J. Jakubowski, “Opis księstwa Trockiego z roku 1387: przyczynek do badań nad ustrojem Litwy przedchrześcijańskiej”, *Przegląd Historyczny*, 5, 1907, no. 1, pp. 22–46.

of the palatinate established later. Research on the development of the Troki palatinate shows that the border between Vilnius and Troki structural units remained the same or at least similar to the late fourteenth century borders of Vilnius and Troki duchies.¹⁸ The core of the palatinate consisted of the Troki district, Kaunas and Grodno starosties (Polish: *starostwa*), and Upita (Lith.: Upytė) and Kurkle (Lith.: Kurkliai) volosts. Also, the Troki palatinate included half of Bobrujsk, Gorwal, Luboszany and Świsłocz volosts. The military leadership of the province was also in charge of the principalities of Kobryń, Turow, and Pińsk.¹⁹

Podlasie, Słonim, Wołkowysk districts and the Kamieniec estate were subordinate to the military leadership of the Troki palatinate. Lands called Podlasie in the middle of the Bug, Narew, and Bebrza Rivers and their main centres – Drohiczyn (Lith.: Drohičinas), Mielnik, Bielsk, and Suraż were a constant object of disputes between Lithuania and Poland. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Podlasie was conquered by Gediminas (Polish: Giedymin). After his death, the lands between the Bug and Narew Rivers were inherited by Kęstutis (Polish: Kiejstut), and, later – Vytautas (Polish: Witold). In 1391, King Jagiello of Poland gave the lands of Drohiczyn, Melnik, Suraż, and Bielsk to Duke Janusz I of Masovia. However, these castles and the surrounding territories did not become part of the Duchy of Masovia, and the dispute over Podlasie between Lithuania and Poland continued. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the territories mentioned above were reclaimed by Vytautas, who rightfully argued that they were his patrimony, and in 1413, Podlasie was annexed to the newly established Troki palatinate. However, the dispute was not resolved, and in 1440, the territory was taken back by Poland. A year later, in 1441 at Parczew, this issue provoked fierce Polish-Lithuanian debate, and from 1444, the whole of Podlasie once again became a part of Lithuania. In 1513, it was separated from the Troki palatinate by forming the Podlasie palatinate consisting of Bielsk, Drohiczyn, Mielnik, Brest and Kamieniec poviats.²⁰

¹⁸ A. Pakštalis, “Trakų vaivadijos genezė”, *Darbai ir Dienos*, 44, 2005, p. 48.

¹⁹ E. Gudavičius, op. cit., pp. 383, 390–397.

²⁰ The history of Podlasie has been extensively analysed by historians. Further on, some of the most recent works are provided. See: D. Michaluk, “Granice województwa podlaskiego i postrzeganie obszaru Podlasia w latach 1513–2013”, in: *Podlasie nadbużańskie. 500-lecie województwa podlaskiego*, ed. O. Łatyszonek, Ciechanowiec, 2013, pp. 169–191; D. Michaluk, *Ziemia mielnicka województwa podlaskiego w XVI–XVII wieku. Osadnictwo, własność ziemska i podziały kościelne*, Toruń, 2002; id., “Między Koroną a Litwą. Kształtowanie się terytorium ziemi mielnickiej w XVI–XVII wieku”, in: *Granice i pogranicza. Historia codzienności i doświadczeń*, vol. 1, ed. M. Liedke,

Concerning the concept of the grand duke's domain, the specific situation of Samogitia should be considered. The administrative, territorial and social structures of Samogitia have been extensively examined by Eugenijus Savišcevas. His research revealed that Samogitia was characterised by a specific sociocultural model, which determined its relatively poor integration into the state.²¹ This is evidenced by the underdeveloped network of castles and estates in Samogitia.²² However, other trends can also be identified: the grand duke was also trying to expand the boundaries of his domain at the expense of Samogitia.

In Samogitia, the grand duke owned part of the estates with volosts (Wielona [Lith.: Veliuona], Jurbork [Jurbarkas], Wilkiszki [Vilkija], Jaswojnie [Josvainiai], Skirstymoń [Skirsnemunė], including Rosienie [Raseiniai] and Szawle [Šiauliai] provinces). The assigned starosty (*tenutarius*) administrated the territories in the same way as the ruler's estates in Troki and Vilnius palatinates.²³ Other estates with volosts (Botoki [Batakiiai], Telsze [Telšiai], and Plótele [Plateliai], as well as the later formed Połaga [Palanga], Gruste [Grūstė], and Gorzdy [Gargždai]) remained private domains of the nobility and were administered by assigned representatives.²⁴ In Samogitia, the direct rule of the grand duke did not exist until the late 1520s. According to Tomas Čelkis, examples from the end of the fourteenth century, when Samogitia was transferred to the Teutonic Order, testify on several occasions that the ruler of this territory did not consider it closely related to his domain.²⁵ The ruler was gradually increasing his power in the region. The first signs of his strengthening authority can be traced back to 1509 with the

J. Sadowska, J. Trynkowski, Białystok, 1999, pp. 36–54; D. Michaluk, "O możliwościach badań struktury etnicznej ludności Podlasia w XVI wieku", *Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne*, 17, 2002, pp. 57–62; A. Pytasz-Kołodziejczyk, *Przemiany społeczno-gospodarcze na Podlasiu w XV–XVI wieku*, Olsztyn, 2012; ead., "Podlasie w świetle współczesnych badań nad geografiami historyczną Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego (do 1569 r.)", *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie*, 303, 2019, no. 1, pp. 3–24; A.C. Dobroński, "Obraz historyczny Podlasia. Pytania badawcze", in: *Podlasie nadbużańskie...*, pp. 9–23; T. Jaszczółt, "Osadnictwo Podlasia nadbużańskiego w XV i początkach XVI wieku", in: *Podlasie nadbużańskie...*, pp. 73–168; J. Maroszek, *Pogranicze Litwy i Korony w planach króla Zygmunta Augusta. Z historii dziejów realizacji myśli monarszej między Niemnem a Narwią*, Białystok, 2000.

²¹ E. Savišcevas, *Žemaitijos savivalda ir valdžios elitas 1409–1566 metais*, Vilnius, 2010, p. 224.

²² V. Volungevičius, "Pilis Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės"..., pp. 9–10.

²³ E. Savišcevas, *Žemaitijos savivalda...*, p. 16.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17; id., "Žemaitija ir Lietuva XII–XVI amžiuje: regioninės (provincinės) savivaldos spindesys ir skurdas", *Lietuvos istorijos studijos*, 23, 2009, p. 104.

²⁵ T. Čelkis, "Teritorijos samprata"..., p. 33.

introduction of a new tax, “Samogitian Fines”, imposed on public and private estates.²⁶ In 1526, the privilege granted by King Sigismund I the Old weakened the power of the starosties and strengthened the position of the Lithuanian ruler in Samogitia. The grand duke reaffirmed his rights to the domain estates in Samogitia and took over the control of Berżany (Lith.: Beržėnai), Užwenty (Užventis), Dyrwiany (Dirvėnai), Birżyniany (Biržinėnai), Wieszwiany (Viešvėnai), Telsze, Twery (Tverai), Retów (Rietavas), Szadów (Šėduva), Gandinga, Pojurze (Pajūris), Ejragoła (Ariogala), and all Karszów (Karšuva) (including Koltyniany [Kaltinėnai] and Poszyle [Pašilė]) volosts.²⁷ The horse ploughshare tax introduced in 1529 further emphasised the direct rule of the grand duke. To ensure the influx of income into the state budget and control it, a census of state peasants was conducted in 1537.²⁸ In the 1560s, the ruler strove to fully control Samogitian administrative units – patrimonies (*tijūnija*) in the same manner as he controlled grand-ducal volosts.²⁹ However, legally, the Samogitian provinces subordinate to the grand duke were not fully integrated with the sovereign’s demesne, as *tivunus* in charge of the Samogitian volost was still an electable official, according to separate Samogitian privileges.

Thus, the demesne boundaries of the grand duke of Lithuania in the sixteenth century largely coincided with the borders of Troki and Vilnius palatinates providing the most critical foundations of economic and military power. It is true that due to certain factors and circumstances (such as *iure caducum*) some grand-ducal lands were outside the discussed territorial structures, but the central holdings were still concentrated in Troki and Vilnius palatinates. The grand duke aimed to organise his economic base in Samogitia and Podlasie as well. In the sixteenth century, the ruler’s influence changed dramatically in the territories mentioned above, also changing the concept and boundaries of the domain. The geography of the pledged ruler’s holdings of the sixteenth century reflects the transformations of the domain and resulting consequences.

²⁶ E. Savišėvas, *Žemaitijos savivalda...*, p. 47.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

²⁸ A. Mackavičius, *Žemaitijos valsčių surašymas 1537–1538 m.*, ed. K. Jablonskis, Vilnius, 2003.

²⁹ E. Savišėvas, *Žemaitijos savivalda...*, pp. 48, 159; *id.*, “Žemaitija ir Lietuva XII–XVI amžiuje”..., p. 104.

Geography of pledging the demesne

The Lithuanian grand-ducal demesne pledging was not a chaotic phenomenon without reason. Obviously, a shortage of treasury revenue in the state encouraged the duke to seek additional resources. The chronology of pledges correlates with the political and administrative processes of the country and the international situation.

The first border war between the GDL and the Grand Duchy of Moscow took place between 1487 and 1494. However, the sources do not provide any records for this particular period. Thus, the possible and probable facts of the grand-ducal demesne pledging in the late fifteenth century are not reflected. This war was just the first step in a prolonged military conflict. Territorial competition with Moscow acquired a permanent character starting from the next century.

The first decades of the sixteenth century are characterised as a period of intense wars with the Grand Duchy of Moscow. The wars took place in 1500–1503, 1507–1508 and 1512–1522.³⁰ It was a time when the state was in short supply of funds for the organisation and administration of military actions. The grand duke was forced to seek funds for military financing in his personal holdings. The chronology of the grand-ducal demesne pledges correlated with the chronology of the military conflicts of the first decades of the sixteenth century.³¹

The Lithuanian *Metrica* mentions approximately 38 properties in the Troki palatinate, which were pledged during the first and the second decades of the sixteenth century. Some properties were pledged more than once. Another characteristic feature was regular pledges when the same property was pledged for the same person, i.e. by extending the financial contract. The pledged property often did not return to the ruler's domain. Due to the lack of funds, the grand duke was forced to allow the

³⁰ The chronology, development and consequences of the GDL and Moscow wars at the end of the fifteenth and the first decades of the sixteenth centuries have been extensively depicted by a number of researchers. For example: М.М. Кром, *Меж Русью и Литвой. Пограничные земли в системе русско-литовских отношений конца XV–первой трети XVI в.*, Москва, 2010; В.Н. Темушев, “Формирование московско-литовской границы в XV – начале XVI в.”, *Studia Historica Europae*, 2008, pp. 56–77; id., “Літоўска-маскоўская граніца ў другой палове XV – пачатку XVI ст.”, in: *Ягелоны: дынастыя, эпоха, спадчына: матэрыялы Міжнароднай навукова-практычнай канферэнцыі*, Мінск, 2007, pp. 325–340; id., *На восточной границе Великого княжества Литовского (середины XIV – первая половина XVI в.)*, Смоленск, 2014.

³¹ See: L. Šedvydis, “‘In these times of great need’: Pledging the grand duke's demesne in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from 1502 to 1522”, published in this volume.

property to be held indefinitely as compensation, thereby extinguishing his debt. The majority of those properties were the ruler's estates. However, individual cases of towns, castles, starosties, volosts, individual manor farms (Polish: *folwarks*) and villages were pledged too. The peak of pledging during this period was reached in 1518.³²

For example, the estate of Wasiliszki (Lith.: Vosyliškės) was pledged four times. Wasiliszki was mentioned for the first time on 29 December 1515 when a pledge agreement worth 500 sexagenas was made with Marshal Jan Szczytowicz.³³ On 8 December 1516, the pledge was sold to Jan Niemirowicz, the starosty of Dauga (Lith.: Daugai) (from 1518) and Luboszany (for life from 1520), for 600 sexag.³⁴ The agreement lasted for a year and on 18 December 1517, the Wasiliszki estate was pledged once again to the equerry and *tenutarius* of Olkieniki (Lith.: Valkininkai) and Lejpuny (Lith.: Lieponys) estates, Jakub Kuncewicz, for 600 sexag.³⁵ On 12 December 1518, the pledge agreement with Kuncewicz was extended. In total, property pledge deeds with him amounted to 1000 sexag.³⁶

There were also other properties of the Troki palatinate pledged more than once during the discussed period. On 13 September 1508, for 400 sexag., the Dauga estate was pledged to Bohusz Michał Bohowitynowicz, the *tenutarius* of Żyźmory (Lith.: Žiezmariai) estate and the secretary and treasurer of Alexander I Jagiellon for 400 sexag.³⁷ During the first and second decades of the sixteenth century, Bohowitynowicz was one of the most important political figures of the GDL. His rise was related to the suppression of Mikhail Glinsky's rebellion and confiscation of his possessions.³⁸ On 1 January 1514, the pledge deed was extended for 600 zlotys.³⁹ On 4 July 1518, the estate owner changed: Dauga was pledged to Jurgis Nemira for 700 sexag.⁴⁰

The castle of the grand duke, Niemonajcie (Lith.: Nemunaitis), underwent extensive transformations at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by becoming a ruler's important castle and an object

³² W. Pocięcha, op. cit., pp. 55–56.

³³ LM 9, no. 472, pp. 273–274.

³⁴ Ibid., no. 580 (40), p. 321; T. Jaszczolt, "Ród Niemiry z Wsielubia – Niemirowiczowie i Szczytowicze herbu Jastrzębiec do połowy XVI wieku", in: *Unia w Horodle na tle stosunków polsko-litewskich*, ed. S. Górzyński, Warszawa, 2015, pp. 222–225.

³⁵ LM 9, no. 722 (105), p. 383.

³⁶ LM 1, no. 189, p. 54; LM 10, no. 26, pp. 49–50; LM 11, no. 40, pp. 67–68.

³⁷ LM 8, no. 450, pp. 331–332; no. 504, pp. 365–366.

³⁸ V. Volungevičius, "Pilis ir jos sociopolitinės transformacijos"..., p. 313.

³⁹ LM 9, no. 209, pp. 173–174.

⁴⁰ LM 10, no. 12, p. 41.

of pledge several times. On 5 July 1506, Niemonajcie was pledged for 300 sexag. to the Grand Marshal and starosty of Grodno, Jan Juriewicz Zabrzeziński.⁴¹ After Jan Juriewicz was murdered by Mikhail Glinsky,⁴² his son Jan Janowicz Zabrzeziński inherited the pledge.⁴³ In the privilege issued by King Sigismund I the Old on 23 December 1515, Jan Janowicz Zabrzeziński was granted Niemonajcie and Metele (Lith.: Meteliai) for his merits and service.⁴⁴

Another castle of the grand duke near the Neman River, Birsztany (Lith.: Birštonas), had been an important hunt estate since the fifteenth century. The estate was not excluded from the duke's financial operations, either. On 12 May 1518, Birsztany was pledged to Matwiej Mikitynicz Rapalowski, the founder of the Hołowczyński family.⁴⁵ The pledge was worth 2500 sexag. Mikitynicz agreed to write off 100 zlotys every year, becoming the *tenutarius* of Birsztany.⁴⁶ An additional agreement for 200 sexag. was confirmed in December of the same year.⁴⁷

Other holdings in the Troki palatinate, such as: Olita (Lith.: Alytus),⁴⁸ Merecz (Merkinė),⁴⁹ Punia,⁵⁰ Skidziel,⁵¹ Żołudek (Zhaludok),⁵² Słonim (Slanim),⁵³ Kormiałów (Karmelava),⁵⁴ Stokliszki (Stakliškės),⁵⁵ Żyźmory,⁵⁶ Dorsuniszki (Darsūniškis),⁵⁷ Orany (Varėna) and Ejszyszki (Eišiškės),⁵⁸ Simno (Simnas),⁵⁹ Metele,⁶⁰ Kaunas and Rumszyszki (Rumšiškės),⁶¹

⁴¹ LM 6, no. 29, pp. 69–70. See also: A.K. Urmański, “Zaberezinskių giminė XV–XVI a. LDK politinio elito gretose”, PhD dissertation, Kaunas, 2017, p. 107.

⁴² R. Petrauskas, *Lietuvos diduomenė XIV a. pabaigoje – XV a.: sudėtis, struktūra, valdžia*, Aidai, 2003, p. 309; id., *Galia ir tradicija: Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės giminių istorijos*, Vilnius, 2016, pp. 268–272.

⁴³ LM 1, no. 17, p. 25.

⁴⁴ Ibid., no. 176, pp. 51–52.

⁴⁵ A.K. Urmański, “Zaberezinskių giminė”..., p. 115.

⁴⁶ LM 11, no. 14, pp. 50–51.

⁴⁷ Ibid., no. 50, p. 73.

⁴⁸ LM 1, no. 295, p. 71.

⁴⁹ LM 10, no. 13, pp. 41–42.

⁵⁰ LM 1, no. 293, p. 70.

⁵¹ LM 9, no. 210, p. 174; LM 10, no. 67, pp. 76–77.

⁵² LM 9, no. 216, p. 178; LM 11, no. 52, p. 74.

⁵³ LM 1, no. 291, p. 70.

⁵⁴ LM 8, no. 279, pp. 230–231.

⁵⁵ LM 11, no. 46, p. 71.

⁵⁶ Ibid., no. 78, pp. 95–96.

⁵⁷ Ibid., no. 34, pp. 63–64.

⁵⁸ LM 9, no. 473, pp. 274–275.

⁵⁹ LM 1, no. 295, p. 71.

⁶⁰ Ibid., no. 17, p. 25.

⁶¹ Ibid., no. 292, p. 70.

Olkieniki and Lejpuny (Lieponys),⁶² Wysoki Dwór (Aukštadvaris),⁶³ Nowy Dwór,⁶⁴ Koniawa (Kaniava) and Dubicze (Dubičiai),⁶⁵ Drohiczyn,⁶⁶ Jezioro (Belar.: Азёры, Lith.: Ežeronys) and Krynki (Krinkai),⁶⁷ Ostryna (Belarus.: Астрына, Lith.: Astryna),⁶⁸ Grodno,⁶⁹ Zharaslaika,⁷⁰ Kamieniec,⁷¹ Raduń, Hoża and Przełom (Belarus.: Пералом, Lith.: Pérlamas),⁷² as well as Brest⁷³ were pledged one or two times during the discussed period.

The chronology of financial contracts in the Vilnius palatinate was identical to the one in Troki. During the first decades of the sixteenth century, twelve estates of the Vilnius palatinate were pledged. However, the extent of exploitation of demesne holdings was significantly lower. Only Świsłocz,⁷⁴ Oszmiany,⁷⁵ Mejszagoła,⁷⁶ Markowo,⁷⁷ Luboszany,⁷⁸ and Mohylew⁷⁹ were pledged twice. On the other hand, in the cases of Mejszagoła and Markowo, the contracts were only extended, and the interested parties remained the same. For example, on 3 December 1517, the Mejszagoła estate was pledged for 565 sexag. for the starosty of Grodno, Jerzy Radziwiłł “Hercules”. Within less than a year, on 28 July 1518, the sum in the contract increased to 200 sexag.⁸⁰ In two months (October–November 1518), the Markowo estate was pledged to the palatine of Nowogródek Jan Janowicz Zabrzeziński⁸¹ for 1200 sexag. Other objects of immovable property of the grand duke in Użpol and Pieniany

⁶² LM 9, no. 306, p. 213.

⁶³ LM 224, no. 13, p. 52.

⁶⁴ *Описание Рукописного отделения Виленской публичной библиотеки*, vol. 3, Вильна, 1898, pp. 53–54.

⁶⁵ LM 9, no. 653 (34), pp. 355–356.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 230, pp. 183–184; LM 11, no. 57, pp. 76–77.

⁶⁷ LM 10, no. 17, pp. 43–44.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 64, p. 74.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 68, pp. 77–78.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 67, pp. 76–77.

⁷¹ LM 7, no. 356, pp. 575–577; also see: LM 11, no. 15, pp. 47–78.

⁷² LM 1, no. 299, p. 71.

⁷³ LM 10, no. 21, p. 46.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 14, pp. 42–43; no. 25, pp. 48–49.

⁷⁵ LM 1, no. 155, p. 49; LM 11, no. 117, pp. 121–122; W. Pocięcha, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁷⁶ LM 9, no. 702, pp. 376–377; LM 10, no. 17, pp. 43–44.

⁷⁷ LM 10, no. 18, pp. 44–45; LM 11, no. 39, pp. 66–67.

⁷⁸ LM 10, no. 38, pp. 57–58; LM 11, no. 73, pp. 86–87.

⁷⁹ LM 7, no. 351, p. 570; LM 10, no. 39, p. 58.

⁸⁰ LM 9, no. 702, pp. 376–377; LM 10, no. 17, pp. 43–44.

⁸¹ LM 10, no. 18, pp. 44–45; LM 11, no. 39, pp. 66–67.

(Lith.: Pienionys),⁸² Uciana,⁸³ Onikszy,⁸⁴ Wiłkomierz,⁸⁵ and Krzyczew⁸⁶ were pledged once during the discussed period.

In Samogitia, grand-ducal demesne pledges during the first decades of the sixteenth century were not common. Only the cases of Jurbork and Skirstymoń can be mentioned. On 23 December 1502, the Jurbork volost was pledged to the duke's secretary Iwan (Jan) Sapieha for 583 sexag.⁸⁷ Skirstymoń with the castle of Vladimir was transferred to the governor of Lutsk Fedko Januszewicz (Januszkowicz).⁸⁸

The statistical and geographical analysis of the data shows that the territories of the grand duke of Lithuania in the Troki palatinate were exploited the most intensively as both the maximum number of the pledged property and the relatively largest number of financial contracts have been identified. Specific differences in the distribution of the pledged properties within the territory can be observed. For example, in Upita, no estates were pledged. According to Arvydas Pakštalis, Upita was not fully integrated into the demesne of the grand duke,⁸⁹ which might have determined its role in the ruler's financial policy. Upita's economic potential was an important pillar of the ruler's economy, so its integrity was maintained. The holdings of the Radziwiłłs of Birże and Dubinki (Lith.: Biržai-Dubingiai line) as well as the property of other noble families were also situated in the Upita poviat. Obviously, this influenced the status of the territory. It is also noticeable that attempts were made to protect the borders of the demesne as the ruler's borderlands were not pledged. Conversely, the lands in the Troki palatinate, including the lands of the future Olita and Grodno economies, were most frequently pledged (see the map).

In the Vilnius palatinate, the property was pledged two times less frequently, and the number of pledges was also significantly lower. It is likely that the capital Vilnius and the surrounding areas financed the daily needs of the court of the Lithuanian grand duke, and efforts were made to preserve them intact.

During the discussed period, three properties were pledged beyond the borders of Troki and Vilnius palatinates. On 6 April 1503, the castle

⁸² LM 8, no. 479, pp. 348–349.

⁸³ LM 9, no. 544 (6), p. 301.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 304, pp. 211–212.

⁸⁵ LM 1, no. 250, p. 61.

⁸⁶ LM 11, no. 72, p. 86.

⁸⁷ LM 1, no. 481, p. 101.

⁸⁸ LM 8, no. 187, pp. 185–186.

⁸⁹ A. Pakštalis, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

of Volodymyr (with Skirstymoń) was pledged for the tenentarius of Lutsk Fedko Januszewicz (Januszkowicz) for 770 sexag.⁹⁰ On 8 July 1506, Brahin (Lith.: Braginas) was pledged to Daniło Dedkowicz for 230 sexag. as compensation for the costs incurred during his diplomatic mission to the Crimean Khanate.⁹¹ On 19 January 1519, Mozyrz (Belarus.: Мазыр), together with Mozyrz and Ptycz (Belarus.: Птыч) townships, was pledged to the Vilnius palatine and starosty of Mozyrz, Olbracht Gasztołd, for 2500 sexag.⁹² A lack of available sources hinders a more detailed explanation of the pledge circumstances of these lands.

Some remarks on the owners of the largest properties

During the first decades of the sixteenth century, there were many transactions where the ruler borrowed from representatives of the nobility. However, certain dominant magnates who participated in more than a single pledge can be distinguished.

In the discussion of the geographical aspects of demesne pledging, two representatives of the Zabrzeziński family have been mentioned: the starosty of Grodno Jan Juriewicz Zabrzeziński and his son, the palatine of Troki and Land Marshal Jan Janowicz Zabrzeziński. A number of Polish historians has studied the history and individual biographies of this family. The most recent research has been done by Antoni Kazimierz Urmański,⁹³ who discusses the circumstances and extent of the Zabrzeziński family's land ownership. During the rule of Alexander I Jagiellon, Zabrzeziński was pledged, and later sold Olita and Simno.⁹⁴ During the reign of Sigismund the Old, the family's properties significantly increased. Between 1506 and 1522, Zabrzeziński family members controlled what were previously grand-ducal estates of Olita, Simno, Niemonajcie, Merez, Markowo and Oszmiany.⁹⁵ The complex of estates in the Olita and Merez areas was especially compact.

⁹⁰ LM 8, no. 187, pp. 185–186.

⁹¹ LM 6, no. 32, p. 71.

⁹² LM 11, no. 64, p. 80. See V. Volungevičius, "Pilis ir jos sociopolitinės transformacijos"..., p. 333.

⁹³ A.K. Urmański, "Zaberezinskių giminė"..., id., "On efforts to improve"..., pp. 53–78; id., "Kelios pastabos apie Jono Jurgaičio Zaberezinskio karjerą", *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis*, 2, 2014 (2015), pp. 35–60.

⁹⁴ Id., "Zaberezinskių giminė"..., p. 107.

⁹⁵ According to Urmański, in 1518, not only Markowo, but also Dauga estate were pledged to Jan Janowicz Zabrzeziński; A.K. Urmański, "Zaberezinskių giminė"..., p. 106.

The family was based in the Oszmiany powiat in Zabereże, from where the family took its name. This is why it is no surprise that Jan Janowicz Zabrzeziński bought out a pledge which was previously held by Wojciech Nosiłowski, as it was a purposeful policy of extending the influence and power of this family close to one of its seats of power.⁹⁶

Jerzy Radziwiłł “Hercules”, who occupied important state positions, was also involved in several transactions during the period in question.⁹⁷ In essence, all property pledge deeds between Sigismund the Old and one of the leaders of the Radziwiłł family were conducted from 1516 to 1520. The magnate was pledged Skidziel, Jeziory, Zhara-slaika, Grodno, Krynki, and Mejszagola (the total pledge value was 5746 sexag.).⁹⁸ Similarly, the land consolidation efforts could be seen in this case: Grodno, Skidziel, Zhara-slaika, Jeziory, and Krynki formed a compact area controlled by a single family near Grodno.⁹⁹

Stanisław Ościk and Jerzy Grzegorz Ościk, the sons of the palatine of Troki Hrehory (Grzegorz) Stanisławowicz Ościk, used the pledges to expand their power and reach in Troki and Vilnius palatinates. Between 1440 and the end of the fifteenth century, members of the Ościk family were nominated as *tenutarius* of Onikszty and owned land in the nearby areas.¹⁰⁰ Since the mid-century, members of Ościk and Radziwiłł families were appointed to the same office in Użpol and Pieniany.¹⁰¹ In the early sixteenth century, these lands were administered by Grzegorz Ościk. According to Rimvydas Petrauskas, the land ownership of this family was compact, situated in the territory between Kierniów and Wilkomierz. The most important estates were Użpol, Daubiszki (Lith.: Dauklibiškiai),

⁹⁶ The Oszmiany estate loan of Wojciech Nosiłowski was transferred; LM 1, no. 155, p. 49; LM 11, no. 117, pp. 121–122; LM 12, no. 130, pp. 193–194.

⁹⁷ In 1509, the cupbearer of the GDL, in 1511–1514 – palatine of Kiev, since 1514 – *starosta* of Grodno; since 1521 Lithuanian court hetman; G. Błaszczuk, “Radziwiłł Jerzy h. Trały (ok. 1480–1541), kasztelan wileński, hetman w. lit.”, *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 30, 1987, pp. 225–229; H. Lulewicz, “Jerzy Mikołajewicz Radziwiłł, starosta grodzieński, hetman dworzański (1514–1522/23?)”, in: *Radziwiłłowie w służbie Marsa*, ed. M. Nagielski, K. Żojdź, Warszawa, 2017, pp. 13–32.

⁹⁸ LM 9, no. 210, p. 174, no. 702, pp. 376–377; LM 10, no. 17, pp. 43–44, no. 67, pp. 76–77, no. 68, pp. 77–78.

⁹⁹ Pursuing the policy of demesne reclaim, Queen Bona Sforza bought the property from Jerzy Radziwiłł “Hercules” in 1533; W. Pociecha, op. cit., pp. 202–204.

¹⁰⁰ Z. Wojtkowiak, “Urzednicy zarządu lokalnego na Litwie. Tytulatura zarządców powiatowych przed reformą administracyjną z lat 1565–1566”, *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 24, 1979, p. 150.

¹⁰¹ R. Petrauskas, “Ponas savo žemėje: Lietuvos pareigūnai XIV a. pabaigoje – XV amžiuje”, *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis*, 1, 2001 (2002), p. 16, 18.

Owanta (Lith.: Alunta or Alanta), Upniki (Upninkai), Mušniki (Musninkai), Szeszołe (Šešuolė), Szyrwinty (Širvintos), and Beržai.¹⁰²

In 1510–1518, the pledges controlled by the Ościk family also reflected the local land consolidation policy. Two brothers lent money and gained control of Pieniany, Użpol, and Uciana. The value of the pledges was 3000 sexag.¹⁰³ The Ościks also aimed to own grand-ducal estates in the Troki palatinate. In 1518, Stanisław Ościk was pledged Merecz¹⁰⁴ for 1000 sexag., whereas Jerzy Grzegorz Ościk was pledged Dorsuniszki¹⁰⁵ for 600 sexag. In total, in 1510–1518, the contracts between Sigismund the Old and the Ościks were worth 4600 sexag.

In 1516–1517, Sigismund the Old pledged Oszmiany, Onikszty and Wilkomierz for a combined sum of 1850 sexag. to Mikołaj Stanisławowicz Kieżgajło (Lithuanian: Mikalojus Stanislovaitis Kęsgaila).¹⁰⁶ According to historiographic sources, during the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century, the Kieżgajło family became the factual rulers of Samogitia.¹⁰⁷ However, it is evident that family representatives expanded their lands beyond the borders of Samogitia for particular reasons: Mikołaj Kieżgajło married the daughter of Grzegorz Ościk – Elżbieta.¹⁰⁸

During the first decades of the sixteenth century, the grand-ducal demesne pledging reflects conscious land manipulation trends. Magnates who held more than one grand-ducal estate purposefully tried to concentrate their lands in small areas, possibly as close as possible to the family seats. The Lithuanian *Metrica* provides a number of records of solitary financial contracts between the grand duke and specific individuals. In such cases, it is difficult to speak of systematic land accumulation.¹⁰⁹

Conclusions

In the early sixteenth century, most of the grand-ducal demesne was within the borders of Troki and Vilnius palatinates – the most important economic and military base for the ruler. The analysed material

¹⁰² R. Petrauskas, *Galia ir tradicija...*, pp. 212–213.

¹⁰³ LM 8, no. 479, pp. 348–349; LM 9, no. 544(6), p. 301; LM 11, no. 34, pp. 63–64.

¹⁰⁴ LM 10, no. 13, pp. 41–42.

¹⁰⁵ LM 11, no. 34, pp. 63–64.

¹⁰⁶ LM 1, no. 250, p. 61; LM 9, no. 304, pp. 211–212; W. Pocięcha, op. cit., p. 56.

¹⁰⁷ E. Savišėvas, *Žemaitijos savivalda...*, pp. 142–157.

¹⁰⁸ R. Petrauskas, *Galia ir tradicija...*, p. 221.

¹⁰⁹ For more, see: M. Sirutavičius, “Pledges as state financing deeds in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the early sixteenth century”, in the present volume.

does not reflect the demesne pledging practice at the end of the fifteenth century. Throughout the first to the middle of the second decades of the sixteenth century, during the rule of Kings Alexander I Jagiellon and Sigismund the Old, 55 properties were pledged: 38 properties were pledged in the Troki palatinate, 12 in the Vilnius palatinate and only two in the Samogitian starosty. Three were pledged beyond the borders of the palatinates mentioned above. Some of these estates were pledged more than once. By the end of the second decade of the sixteenth century, the rule and influence of the grand duke in Samogitia were weak, which is why the amount of pledges is statistically insignificant concerning the whole context of pledged properties.

Lands in the Troki palatinate were extensively exploited, with the largest number of pledged properties and pledges. The distribution of pledged properties is uneven across the territory. In Upita, the ruler's estates were practically not pledged. Efforts were made to protect the state's security by avoiding pledges of the grand-ducal properties situated along the borders. The Troki palatinate, with areas of the future economies in Olita and Grodno (established in 1589), was the most frequently pledged area. The capital of Vilnius and the areas around it were likely left to finance the daily needs of the grand duke of Lithuania, and efforts were made to preserve them, as the number of pledges in the Vilnius palatinate was significantly lower. Members of the nobility who were *tenutariuses* and pledgees at the same time attempted to pursue a policy of concentrating landholdings in the narrowest possible area, thus ensuring that the pledged and assigned landholdings and their family estates were geographically as close as possible. However, most pledgees only held a single pledge and did not pursue systematic land accumulation. These trends could be explained by the fact that relatively many pledgees were administrators of the pledged properties before the deed of the pledge. It could also be observed that some of the pledgees were previously administrators of the grand-ducal properties that they were pledged later.

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Lithuanian grand-ducal demesne pledges (from the 1500s to mid-1520s):
 Geographical aspects
 (Summary)

This article explores the geography of the pledges from the grand-ducal demesne of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 1500s – mid-1520s and discusses the most important pledges. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, most of the grand-ducal demesne was within the borders of Troki and Vilnius palatinates – the most important economic and military base for the ruler. The practice of pledging grand-ducal estates is absent from the fifteenth-century sources. During the reigns of Alexander I Jagiellon and Sigismund I the Old

55 properties were pledged, 38 of them in the Troki palatinate, 12 in the Vilnius palatinate, and only two in the Samogitian starosty. Only three properties were pledged outside the limits of Vilnius and Troki palatinates. Until the late 1520s, the power and influence of the grand duke was weak in Samogitia, therefore the number of pledges is statistically insignificant within the wider framework of the pledging policy. The Troki palatinate was most exploited in terms of pledging. Magnates who possessed more than one grand-ducal property as a pledge attempted to purposefully concentrate the grand-ducal lands in a compact area, close to their private lands or seats (e.g. the Zabrzezińskis or Jerzy Radziwiłł “Hercules”). Pledges were often issued to persons who were grand-ducal administrators of the estate in question prior to the pledge.

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