



CLERGYMEN ON THE MOVE: JOURNEYS BY VILNAN CANONS AND PRELATES IN THE 16TH CENTURY

Wioletta Pawlikowska-Butterwick

ABSTRACT

Mobility and journeys were an integral part of the life of intellectual elites, including the clergy, in the Early Modern Period. Taking to the road was often the outcome of the functions they performed: arrival at the destination was the main aim. In the case of pilgrimages, both the destination and the route were important. Itinerant clergy in search of sustenance became a disciplinary problem for their superiors. This article is based on records of journeys undertaken by canons and prelates of Vilnius Cathedral.

KEY WORDS: journeys, Cathedral chapters, Vilnius, mobility, Early Modern Period, ecclesiastical history.

75

ANOTACIJA

Ankstyvaisiais naujaisiais laikais mobilumas ir keliavimas buvo intelektualinio elito gyvenimo sudėtinė dalis. Ne išimtis ir dvasininkai. Išvykimas kelionėn dažnai būdavo pasekmė tų funkcijų, kurias jie atlikdavo: atvykimas į galutinę kelionės vietą buvo pagrindinis tikslas. Piligrimų atveju buvo svarbūs tiek kelionės tikslas, tiek kelias, kuriuo keliauta. Pragyvenimo ieškanti keliaujanti dvasininkija jos vyresniesiems tapo disciplinos problema. Straipsnis paremtas duomenimis apie Vilniaus katedros kanauninkų ir prelatų keliones.

PAGRINDINIAI ŽODŽIAI: kelionės, katedrų kanauninkai, Vilnius, mobilumas, ankstyvieji naujieji laikai, Bažnyčios istorija.

Wioletta Pawlikowska-Butterwick, dr., adjunct, Polish Academy of Sciences, Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History, Rynek Starego Miasta 29/31, PL 00-272 Warszawa, Poland. Email: wiolettap@tlen.pl.

In memory of the Rev Jan Kracik (1941-2014)

Among early modern Catholic clergymen, whether recruited from peasant, burgher, noble or even princely families, the reasons for mobility and travel were mainly practical.¹ Taking to the road was usually the necessary response to situations. This applied, for example, to diplomatic journeys, in which travel was not undertaken for the sake of travelling, but in order to carry out clearly defined tasks, either at the journey's end or en route. Europe's highways and by-ways were always full of travelling students, teachers, medics, musicians and diplomats.² Among them were clergymen whose benefices linked them to the cathedral chapter of Vilnius.

76

Mobility was an integral part of early modern social life, and an essential element in its development.³ It became an instrument of social, economic, cultural, religious and intellectual integration, at both regional and European levels.⁴ It would also appear, however, that the problem can be approached from another angle. Research carried out recently allows us to discern that a high degree of mobility could also contribute to processes of disintegration.⁵ It certainly did not favour the formation of closed communities, but it did create various possibilities for advancement and careers.

Political and ecclesiastical factors affected mobility and journeys among the senior clergy of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland. So did the need to manage the common property of chapters, prestimonial estates and personal properties. Public duties connected with carrying out functions at royal, episcopal and aristocratic courts also required travel. Some ecclesiastical dignities, such as that of archdeacon, required their bearers to traverse dioceses and to visit its parishes. Some clergymen in royal service (remaining at the king's side) were dispensed by royal privileges from the obligation of permanent residence by cathedrals. As a result, some senior clergymen did not reside by any of their cathedrals, as they were employed at court or on diplomatic missions.

Among the factors influencing mobility among clergymen was the accumulation of benefices (or pluralism), which in the 16th century was a general social phenomenon across Europe. It sometimes provoked scandal, and had the potential to cause chaos in the daily

¹ This paper is part of a research project 'Church and Commonwealth, 1569-1795', funded by the Mateusz B. Grabowski Foundation.

² KLEINSCHMIDT, H. *People on the Move: Attitudes toward and Perceptions of Migration in Medieval and Modern Europe*. London, 2003; *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe*. Ed. by Th. BETTERIDGE. Aldershot, 2007.

³ We use the term mobility in the geographical sense, meaning the ability to move or be moved freely and easily; a change in the place of residence.

⁴ PETRAUSKAS, R. Europa późnego średniowiecza a rozwój społeczeństwa i kultury Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. *Zapiski Historyczne*, 2013, t. 78, z. 3, s. 43.

⁵ RADZIMIŃSKI, A. Modele prawne, społeczne i kulturowe kleru kapitulnego w Polsce średniowiecznej w kontekście jego religijności. In RADZIMIŃSKI, A. *Kościół i duchowieństwo w średniowieczu. Polska i państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach*. Toruń, 2012, s. 31-50.

functioning of the Catholic Church. This was because it prevented the fulfilment of one duty of a canon or prelate – residence – which was a condition for the performance of most of the other duties.⁶ There are at least two reasons why the accumulation of benefices can be considered as a phenomenon that favoured mobility and travel. First, ‘when several churches were gathered by one person, for whom the servicing of them all was a physical impossibility, it was absolutely necessary to reach for substitute priests – clerical mercenaries and arendators.’⁷ In this way, ecclesiastical aims were joined to those of social estate, as long as ‘a substitute lacking personal stability could meet them.’ Many posts were thus opened up to itinerant clergymen (*clerici vagi*).⁸

The causes of migration among the lower clergy could also be, as Jan Kracik has written, their extremely difficult material situation, which forced them to take to the road in search of bread.⁹ This motive seems to have been overlooked by Kazimierz Nasiłowski, who judged that the main reason for vagabondage among the clergy was the pursuit of ecclesiastical and courtly patronage, earnings, and also the desire for an unrestricted lifestyle. Immoral behaviour also inclined some clergymen to travel; in some cases, they were fleeing from the punishments they could expect to receive from ecclesiastical courts in their own dioceses.¹⁰ It was not only the lower clergy who sought to escape justice in this manner. It seems that this was the case in the abandonment of Vilnius Cathedral by Canon Joannes Ostrowski († after 1579), whose conduct while holding the office of procurator did not meet the standards of the chapter. The first accusations against him are recorded for 13 February 1569. The cathedral vicars reported that before departing for Lublin, Ostrowski had dispensed money from the lease on a tavern in Vitsebsk (Віцебск) (belonging properly to the vicars) without the knowledge and consent of the chapter.¹¹ During the following months, further charges followed, this time from the chapter. Ostrowski’s debt to the chapter reached the sum of 716 Lithuanian schocks (*kopy*) and 20 *grosze*. After many reprimands and reminders, he gave back only part of this large sum. At some time before 16 October 1573, abandoning his house, he left Vilnius.¹² Despite

⁶ Cf. DOLA, K. *Wrocławska kapituła katedralna w XV wieku. Ustrój – skład osobowy – działalność*. Lublin, 1983, s. 162-163; WIESIOŁOWSKI, J. Środowiska kościelne i kultura. In *Kultura Polski średniowiecznej XIV-XV w.* Red. B. GEREMEK. Warszawa, 1997, s. 261.

⁷ NASIŁOWSKI, K. Samowolne migracje kleru w świetle polskiego prawa kościelnego przed soborem trydenckim. *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*, 1959, t. 11, z. 1, s. 12-13.

⁸ KRACIK, J. Kler wędrowny w Małopolsce XVI-XVIII wieku. Problem źródeł i metod. *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne*, 1981, t. 28, z. 4, s. 58.

⁹ *Ibid.*, s. 56.

¹⁰ NASIŁOWSKI, K. *Op. cit.*, s. 47.

¹¹ *Acta Capituli Vilnensis*, 7 vols (hereafter ACV, I-VII), constitute Fondas 43, no. 210/1- 216 of the manuscript collection of the Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Vilnius (hereafter *Wróblewski Library*). Here at ACV, IV, f. 190; HERBURT, Mamert. Wypisy z Aktów czyli dziejów kapituły katedry wileńskiej z siedmiu pierwszych tomów od 1501-do 1600 r. (hereafter HERBURT), no. 3516 of the manuscript collection of the Czartoryski Library, Cracow. Here at HERBURT, § 599-600, f. 183.

¹² HERBURT, § 356-358, f. 219.

the fact that on 27 May 1577 the chapter decided to deprive him of his canonry,¹³ two years later (in 1579) Ostrowski still appeared as a canon of Vilnius in the clerical community of Cracow.¹⁴

It should be noted that whereas *clerici vagi* or *clerici peregrini* migrated without any authority but their own, in the case of wealthy pluralists we can usually speak of mobility with the knowledge and consent of their superiors. Moreover, their mobility usually involved a departure from a place where they had been staying for some considerable period of time, and often involved a return to that place.

This requirement of the statutes certainly did not prevent pluralists from participating in the sessions of other chapters. Entries in the metrica of various chapters testify that clergymen also travelled in order to manage their prebendal estates – conferred by their membership of different chapters. The move of a canon or prelate for a longer period of time, either to another cathedral or collegiate corporation, or to a country estate, or even to one of their beneficed parishes, necessarily involved the moving of servants and indispensable items, and establishment in a new residence.

Participation in the affairs of other chapters, or in the life of royal or other courts, contributed to the scale and frequency of mobility and travel among higher clergymen. Canons and prelates who more or less permanently resided in one place were in a distinct minority among their confrères. Most belonged to a social group which was continually – but not continuously – on the move. Sometimes they would stay for a longer or shorter period at one of their cathedral or collegiate churches, at royal, episcopal or aristocratic courts, or in one of their prebendal or personal estates. Much of the clergy, rich and poor, belonged to the mobile minority in early modern European society. Bishops certainly belonged to this group, partly because of the state and court functions they so often performed, and partly because ‘the office of bishop by its nature excluded [...] *stabilitas loci*,’ as ‘the shepherd of the flock was obliged constantly to monitor and care for the faithful across the territory submitted to his canonical authority.’¹⁵

Nevertheless, during the itinerant lives of cathedral clergymen, there were longer or shorter stops in one place. Sometimes, during such periods, there would be the opportunity or the need to undertake a journey with the aim of returning to the same place. In some cases, the appearance of an ordinary journey may have served clergymen as cover for migratory aims, which were revealed only later.

¹³ HERBURT, § 626-628, f. 241.

¹⁴ URBAN, W.; LŪŽYS, S. *Cracovia lithuanorum saeculis XIV-XVI = Lietuvių Krokuva XIV-XVI amžiais*. Vilnius, 1999, p. 230, no. 404.

¹⁵ WÓŁKIEWICZ, E. *Episcopus ambulans. Formy i organizacja podróży biskupów wrocławskich w późnym średniowieczu*. In *Samotrzeć, w kompanii czy z orszakiem? Społeczne aspekty podróżowania w średniowieczu i w czasach nowożytnych*. Red. M. SACZYŃSKA, E. WÓŁKIEWICZ. Warszawa, 2012, s. 83.

The widespread accumulation of benefices in early modern Europe allows us to speak of mutual relations between churches – cathedral, collegiate and parish churches.¹⁶ The observed movements of clergy between cathedrals, other churches, universities and royal, episcopal and aristocratic courts testify to clergymen's membership of state, ecclesiastical and intellectual elites that criss-crossed diocesan, provincial and secular territorial boundaries in early modern Europe.

When we look more closely at where Vilnan canons and prelates possessed other benefices, we discover that the great majority were in the metropolitan province of Gniezno, with smaller numbers in the province of L'viv and elsewhere in Europe. The sources and the literature tell us that clergymen beneficed in Vilnius also passed through cathedral and collegiate chapters in Chełm, Frombork, Głogów, Gniezno, Kalisz, Kam'en'ets Podills'kyi, Kielce, Cracow, Kruszwica, Lublin, Łęczyca, Łowicz, Lutsk, Sącz, Skalmierz, Środa, Płock, Poznań, Przemyśl, Pułtusk, Sandomierz, Siemradz, Varniai, Warsaw, Wiślica, Wojnicz, Wolborz and Wrocław. We also know that Georgius Fabius was, until his death, canon of Loreto, archdeacon of Cluj-Napoca (Koložsvár in Hungarian), and, more generally, canon of the '*ecclesia Transsilvanæ*'.¹⁷ He resigned his canonry of Vilnius within three years of taking possession of the abbey of Sulejów.¹⁸ Another canon of Vilnius, Johannes Jussoila, was also vicar and prepositus of *Pärnu* (Parnava).¹⁹

This list is an indication of the dense web of connections between cathedral and collegiate chapters, that crossed the frontiers of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland. It also suggests the flow of people in various directions. Cathedral and collegiate benefices were supplemented by parochial ones, not to mention personal chaplaincies. Vilnan prelates and canons also played significant roles in the theatres of state and diplomacy, and in the cultural and intellectual fields. Many were active participants in court life. Without conducting in-depth research, it is exceptionally difficult to identify the place of residence of early modern clergymen who held several (sometimes over a dozen) benefices and offices simultaneously. The presence of canons by their cathedrals may sometimes be probable, but it is not obvious unless the records of the sessions of all their respective chapters are checked. We can already state that some of the clergymen linked by their benefices to Vilnius did not reside there. For example, the doctor and royal secretary Rev

¹⁶ Cf. BIENIAK, J. Wzajemne powiązania osobowe kapituł wrocławskiej i kruszwickiej w średniowieczu. In *Duchowieństwo kapituł w Polsce średniowiecznej i wczesnonowożytnej. Pochodzenie i funkcjonowanie elity kościelnej*. Red. A. RADZIMIŃSKI. Toruń, 2000, s. 53-68.

¹⁷ PAWLIKOWSKA, W. The Challenge of Trent and the Renewal of the Catholic Church in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: The Clergy of Vilnius and the Problems of Plural Benefices and Residence in the Sixteenth Century. In *Church history between Rome and Vilnius: Challenges to Christianity from Early Modern Ages to the 20th century* (Bažnyčios istorijos studijos. t. 4). Ed. by A. STREIKUS. Vilnius, 2011, p. 50.

¹⁸ BORKOWSKA, M. *Dzieje cystersów sulejowskich*. Kraków, 2008, s. 108-112.

¹⁹ PAWLIKOWSKA, W. *The Challenge...*, p. 50.

Stanislaus Fogelweder, the author of many works on medical subjects published in Cracow, only appeared in Vilnius occasionally. My research has shown that Fogelweder spent most of his time with the king, wherever the monarch happened to be, or else travelling on diplomatic missions on the monarch's behalf. He therefore rarely resided by the churches in which he was beneficed. And he had at least 12 of them.

It follows that, although we are not yet able fully and precisely to establish the itineraries of all the prelates and canons of Vilnius when they were not in or near the city, we can, however, by analysing the protocols of the sessions of the cathedral chapter, state who did and did not reside there, and for how long they were present or absent. Among the habitual residents of Vilnius we can count the brothers Makowiecki, Joannes and Thomas. This was despite the fact that besides being custodian of Vilnius Cathedral, Joannes Makowiecki possessed at least seven benefices. He was presented to the chapters of Vilnius and Poznań by the king. It is no doubt pertinent that he was a scribe to Queen Bona Sforza (recorded for 9 January 1556),²⁰ and from 15 April 1557²¹ to his death in 1569 he was scribe of the Lithuanian Treasury.²² Sources testify that between 2 March 1558 and 3 March 1569, he filled the function of royal secretary.²³ In 1563 he was appointed by King Sigismund Augustus as a commissioner for the royal manors in Podlasie.²⁴ But at the same time, from 1563 to 1567, he was appointed to and was annually reappointed as procurator of the Vilnius chapter. So despite his royal duties, he seems to have spent most of his time either in Vilnius or inspecting the chapter's estates.

'In general, the members of the chapter of Vilnius in the second half of the 16th century can be divided into three groups:

- non-residents or occasional residents: *circa* 52 per cent;
- temporary residents: *circa* 18 per cent;
- residents: *circa* 30 per cent.²⁵

These figures suggest that the chapter of Vilnius, like other chapters in this period,²⁶ encountered serious problems of non-residence. The consequence was a fairly loo-

²⁰ *Lietuvos Metrika*. Knyga Nr. 52: 1569–1570. *Užrašymų knyga 52*. Pareng. A. BALIULIS, R. FIRKOVIČIUS, Vilnius, 2004, p. 47, Nr. 35.

²¹ *Urzednicy centralni i dostojnicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XIV–XVIII wieku*. Spisy. Oprac. H. LULEWICZ, A. RACHUBA. Kórnik, 1994, s. 112, no. 780.

²² *Album armorum nobilium Regni Poloniae XV–XVIII saec. Herby nobilitacji i indygenatów XV–XVIII w.* Ed. B. TRELIŃSKA. Lublin, 2001, p. 159–160, no. 334–336.

²³ *Księga ekspedycji kancelarii nadwornej 1559–1572: Materiały do dziejów dworu królewskiego*. Oprac. I. KANIEWSKA, Kraków, 1997, s. 147, no. 191.

²⁴ JABŁONOWSKI, A. *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*. T. 6: *Podlasie*, Cz. 3 (Źródła dziejowe, t. 17, cz. 1). Warszawa, 1908, s. 247.

²⁵ PAWLIKOWSKA, W. *The Challenge...*, p. 53n.

²⁶ Cf. ZIMMERMANN, G. *Das Breslauer Domkapitel im Zeitalter der Reformation und Gegenreformation (1500–1600)*. Weimar, 1938, s. 149.

se connection between some clergymen and the corporation. On the face of things, this had a negative effect on its functioning. This is at least the first conclusion that springs to mind. However, some aspects of non-residence were more positive than the negative effect on worship in the cathedral.

Clergymen counted as 'non-residents' or 'occasional residents' had the opportunity to represent the interest of the Vilnius chapter at, for example, the royal court or the Tribunals of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Polish Crown²⁷. They could by the same token represent the royal interest in the chapter. The system of plural benefices enabled the additional rewarding of persons who worked in royal chancelleries.²⁸ However, among the greatest advantages of clergymen's participation in court and political life were the opportunities to become acquainted with the milieu, and to make contacts and converse informally with some of the most influential people in the Commonwealth. It should be recalled that in the 16th century the royal court remained, to a significant degree, an itinerant institution and community, although Cracow was the most common place of residence for the Polish-Lithuanian monarchs²⁹.

The group of clergymen identified by my research as 'residents' comprised those members of the chapter who, together with the bishops, contributed to the fortunes of the city and the diocese through their work. The fact that they tended to accumulate significantly fewer benefices than the 'non-residents' meant it was easier for them permanently (or with fewer and shorter breaks) to stay in and around Vilnius. This allowed them active participation in the decisions made by the chapter. It should be noted that among the 'residents' and 'temporary residents' (that is, clergymen who spent longer periods of their adult lives in Vilnius, sometimes dying there) were those who came from the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the borderland of Podlasie, but significantly more came from the Polish Crown: Mazovia, Great Poland and Little Poland, while some came from as far afield as Italy.³⁰

Among the clergymen counted as 'temporary residents' were those usually delegated by the chapter to the royal court, local and national parliamentary sessions, provincial synods and to the Roman Curia. The costs of these missions are known from capitular sources.

²⁷ PAWLIKOWSKA, W. *The Challenge...*, p. 53n.

²⁸ RADZIWIŃSKI, A. Społeczne funkcje prebend kanonickich w Polsce późniejszego średniowiecza. In *Homines et Societas. Księga Pamiątkowa Prof. A. Gąsiorowskiego*. Poznań, 1997, s. 322.

²⁹ PAWLIKOWSKA, W. *The Challenge...*, pp. 53-54.

³⁰ PAWLIKOWSKA-BUTTWERWICK, W. A 'Foreign' Elite? The Territorial Origins of the Canons and Prelates of the Cathedral Chapter of Vilna in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century. *Slavonic and East European Review*, 2014, vol. 92, no. 1, pp. 44-80. In this period, the Apennine peninsula consisted of independent republics and principalities; nevertheless, because of the difficulty in identifying the territorial origins of canons described in the sources as, for example, 'Italus', it has been necessary to use 'Italy' as a wider territorial category. Cf. TYGIELSKI, W. *Włosi w Polsce XVI-XVII wieku*. Warszawa, 2005, s. 17-22.

For the late medieval and early modern periods, a substantial quantity of sources, including some of a narrative character, provide evidence for a picture of widely understood travel by prelates, canons, and in a few cases, of future bishops. Information on journeys undertaken by clergymen in the name of their ecclesiastical corporations, in diocesan affairs or sometimes on general Church business, is found in chapter *metrica*. These records tell us about the aim of the journey and the funds allocated to cover the expected expenses; sporadically we discover the actual, or perhaps the reclaimed, costs incurred. Occasionally the fact of a canon departing for private purposes was noted in the *metrica*.³¹

82

Capitular envoys leaving Vilnius were guaranteed the continued payment of their daily allowance, the *refectio*, by the statutes. They were also entitled to other forms of income during their absence,³² for example, money from Mass offerings. Otherwise, such money would have been divided between the canons and prelates who remained in residence at Vilnius Cathedral.³³ This part of the statutes was reworded towards the end of the 16th century. On 9 September 1592, the period of guaranteed *refectio* payments to members of the chapter was defined more precisely. Canons and prelates who were staying outside Vilnius, even on their own prestimonial estates, would lose their *refectio* after four weeks' absence. This was extended to six weeks in the case of prestimonial estates located some distance from the city. This regulation was intended to encourage members of the chapter to reside by the cathedral.³⁴

A voyage undertaken on capitular business freed the envoy from the obligation to attend general sessions of the chapter.³⁵ The corporation was obliged to cover the costs of its delegate. These costs depended not only on the distance to be traversed by the envoy, and the duration and character of his mission, which would seem to be obvious,³⁶ but also on personal factors, social position and the function fulfilled. The amount of recompense could also be affected by the financial situation of the chapter and the bishopric. Bishops, canons, and their servants all journeyed in different styles, while the manner of travel of a humble vicar was different again. It is possible to imagine daily life during such journeys from the description of the journey made by the Bishop of Vilnius, Paulus Holszański, to Pinsk (Пінск), Stańków (Станькава), Szeszole (Šešuoliai) and Vilnius, in 1538 and 1539. During his journey, Holszański spent money on food, including seasoning, drink, accommodation, and

³¹ DEMBIŃSKI, P. Koszty podróży kanoników poznańskiej kapituły katedralnej w XV wieku. In *Samotrzeć...*, s. 143.

³² *Wróblewski Library*, F43-155, ff. 19-19v.

³³ *Wróblewski Library*, F43-155, f. 22.

³⁴ *ACV*, VII, ff. 194-195.

³⁵ *Wróblewski Library*, F43-155, ff. 22-22v.

³⁶ Cf. DEMBIŃSKI, P. Op. cit., s. 144.

servicing his carriage and horses. An analysis of the document allows us to state that during the Vilnan stage of his journey, he spent about 13 *grosze* daily on food and drink. Of this, ten *grosze* daily went on alcohol (beer, wine, mead). In Pinsk, however, he spent only six *grosze* daily. His overall expenses were almost two and a half times greater than in Vilnius, and he spent over twice as much daily.³⁷ For a poor cleric, on the other hand, the chief problem would have been to obtain (and maintain) suitable ecclesiastical attire.³⁸

Journeys by canons and prelates on behalf of the chapter can be divided into routine ones, undertaken fairly systematically, usually in order to manage the common 'table lands' of the chapter, or in co-operation with the bishop; and occasional journeys, undertaken exceptionally and irregularly, depending on the ecclesiastical and political needs of the moment. While the first type usually involved shorter distances and lower outgoings, the second usually necessitated longer absences and higher costs. The allowable expenses included bribes (or 'presents') with which business could be expedited. For example, when delegates of the chapter informed the king of their choice of a bishop-ordinary from among those candidates recommended by the monarch, they bore him gifts as well as news.³⁹

Because longer and further journeys could involve danger, they could also bring opportunities for monetary gain. It was probably for this reason that the survey of capitular estates in Ruthenia was carried out by additional canons and visitors.⁴⁰ At the session of the Vilnius chapter on 25 August 1572, Canon Nicolaus Koryzna significantly stated that he could undertake a journey to Vitsebsk (lying near the border with hostile Muscovy) only if the chapter would provide him with 100 Polish złotys (40 schocks of Lithuanian *grosze*). Otherwise, there was no way of travelling to such dangerous parts.⁴¹ Nearly two years later, on 18 June 1574, the chapter resolved to delegate the custodian, Melchior Giedroyć, to travel to Vitsebsk, assigning him the significantly smaller sum of 24 schocks of Lithuanian *grosze*, assuring him that it would continue to make payments due to him during his absence from Vilnius. The same sum was allocated for the journey of Canon Laurentius Wolski, who was delegated to go to the capitular estates of Strzeszyn, Kamieniec and Worsicze.⁴² However, on

³⁷ *Археографический сборник документов, относящихся к истории Северо-Западной Руси, издаваемый при управлении Виленского учебного округа*. Т. 7. Вильна, 1870, с. 17–24. See also ŚLIŹ, N. Wędrówki Pawła Holszańskiego, biskupa wileńskiego w latach 1538-1539. In *Podróżnicy, fundatorzy, święci*. Red. T. RATAJCZAK. Poznań, 2008, s. 52-56.

³⁸ KRACIK, J. Op. cit., s. 66.

³⁹ Until the end of the 15th century, envoys travelling with gifts for the king asked him to allow them to freely elect their bishop. Over time, the rich presents given to the monarchs became part of the fiscal contributions made by chapters, GRZYWACZ, J. *Nominacja biskupów w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*. Lublin, 1960, s. 9, 69; DEMBIŃSKI, P. Op. cit., s. 145.

⁴⁰ OCHMAŃSKI, J. *Biskupstwo wileńskie w średniowieczu. Ustrój i uposażenie*. Poznań, 1972, s. 29.

⁴¹ ACV, V, ff. 73-74.

⁴² ACV, V, ff. 145v-146; HERBURT, § 429-431, f. 225.

23 May 1584, the chapter decided to provide the suffragan bishop, Cyprianus, with 40 shocks for his journey to Strzeszyn and Kamieniec.⁴³ His companion, Paulus Ciecierski, was assigned only six schocks.⁴⁴ Not much more was allocated by the chapter on 26 June 1581 to the servant of the procurator Laurentius Wolski, who was instructed to visit Kamieniec and Strzeszyn on the way back from distant Kyiv, who obtained ten schocks for his journey.⁴⁵ This was increased to 15 schocks on 20 October 1581, but he was in addition instructed, while en route, to hand over two jugs of unrefined honey to the castle scribe of Ovrutsk, N. Rabsztyński.⁴⁶ The difference in the sums allocated should be attributed to the differences in social rank. Servants travelled without drawing attention to themselves. Several years later, on 17 April 1592, Canon Niedźwiecki, delegated to Kamieniec in order to collect rent from the estates, was given just 20 schocks.⁴⁷ On 28 June 1596, Canon Jurgiewicz was assigned twice as much, 40 schocks, in order to travel to the estates at Kamieniec and Strzeszyn.⁴⁸

When a canon or prelate travelled on behalf of both the chapter and the bishop, the chapter and bishop were expected to divide the cost in half. A delegation solely on episcopal business was the bishop's responsibility, while a canon or prelate who accompanied a bishop of his own will was expected to pay the costs himself. Either way, he lost his right to his *refectio*. During periods of *sede vacante*, the journeys of members of the chapter in the business of the bishopric were paid for out of episcopal revenues⁴⁹.

These questions were complicated when the same person held offices on behalf of both the bishop and the chapter. It was and is not always possible to distinguish between capitular, episcopal and general ecclesiastical interests. Canon Laurentius Wolski was the chapter's procurator, while simultaneously being employed by the bishop.⁵⁰ On 30 August 1577, he was sent to Warsaw. The capitular acts do not specify the purpose of his journey. We only know that he travelled to Warsaw in order to meet the papal nuncio. Nevertheless, initially the acts record that he went on episcopal business.⁵¹ Later, however, episcopal interests were joined to capitular ones. The delegation coincided in the second half of September with the general sessions of the chapter. As procurator, Wolski was obliged to attend and to present the chapter

⁴³ ACV, VI, pp. 355-357; HERBURT, § 269-270, f. 265.

⁴⁴ ACV, VI, pp. 361-364; HERBURT, § 276-278, f. 266.

⁴⁵ ACV, VI, pp. 157-160; HERBURT, § 126-127, f. 254.

⁴⁶ ACV, VI, pp. 182-183.

⁴⁷ ACV, VII, ff. 186v; HERBURT, § 401-403, f. 310.

⁴⁸ ACV, VII, ff. 270v-271; HERBURT, § 715-716, f. 329.

⁴⁹ In this context it is interesting that in the same period the *szlachta* did not wish to pay *strawne* or *poselskie pieniądze* to their parliamentary envoys. ZAKRZEWSKI, A. B. *Sejmiki Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XVI-XVIII w. Ustrój i funkcjonowanie: sejmik trocki*. Warszawa, 2000, s. 139.

⁵⁰ See PAWLIKOWSKA, W. Prokuratorzy wileńskiej kapituły katedralnej w drugiej połowie XVI wieku. *Wschodni Rocznik Humanistyczny*, 2009, t. 6, s. 62.

⁵¹ HERBURT, § 644-645, f. 242.

with his accounts. The corporation, aware that Wolski could not carry out his duties in this regard, decided on 7 September 1577 that because of the 'transaction' by Wolski of capitular business, it would not deprive him of his due *refectio*.⁵² On another occasion, when the prelates Joannes Jarczewski and Benedictus Woyna, together with Bishop Georgius Radziwiłł (Radvila), were to attend a *sejmik* (dietine) at Vawkavysk (Ваўкавыск), they received financial assistance from the chapter: 20 schocks of Lithuanian *grosze*. The chapter nevertheless emphasised to its procurators that this was a one-off grant.⁵³

One of the furthest and most expensive journeys undertaken by canons and prelates on capitular business was to the Roman Curia. Usually, the journey from Cracow to Rome was divided into 50 stages. From Vilnius, this would have been proportionately more.⁵⁴ The lack of records concerning particular legations means that we cannot calculate precisely the actual costs involved in a journey from Vilnius to Rome, or the conditions in which it was undertaken. While the travel diary of Georgius Radziwiłł, the future bishop of Vilnius, has survived for his journey from Budziwiszki (Budziszki/Būdiškės) near Vilnius to Italy, he was only 18 years old at the time. The style in which this young aristocrat travelled (for educational purposes) was hardly comparable to that of middle-aged canons and prelates on their way to transact business with the Holy See.⁵⁵ Radziwiłł made his way to Rome unhurriedly, pausing to see the sights; for example, he stayed eight days in Vienna. His journey lasted 58 days.⁵⁶ Undoubtedly, the food, accommodation and bribes ensured it was an expensive expedition.⁵⁷ From the acts of the Vilnius chapter, we know only that on 26 November 1593 the chapter decided to delegate Canon Ambrosius Beynart to travel to the See of Peter in the business of the (vacant) bishopric of Vilnius. He was given 200 Hungarian ducats from episcopal funds with which to cover his expenses.⁵⁸ Several years later (on 10 April 1598), Beynart was sent back to Rome. This time, he was instructed to

⁵² HERBURT, § 644-645, f. 242.

⁵³ HERBURT, § 149-151, f. 256.

⁵⁴ See KOWALSKI, M. D. Rationes Iacobi de Rubeis, collectoris in Regno Poloniae (1426-1434): Rachunki Giacomina Rossiego, papieskiego kolektora generalnego w Polsce. *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 2011, t. 49 (2011), s. 61-96; KOWALSKI, M. D. Między Italią a Polską. Podróże kolektorów papieskich w XV wieku'. In *Samotrzcęć...*, s. 133-142.

⁵⁵ BARYCZ, H. Dziennik podróży do Włoch biskupa Jerzego Radziwiłła w 1575 r. *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 1935, t. 49, s. 340-356; ULČINAITĖ, E. Kardinalas Jurgis Radvila: dvasininkas, politikas, literatas. In *Jurgis Radvila, Kelionė į Italiją: 1575 metų dienoraštis*. Vilnius, 2001, p. 15-29; ANTANAVIČIUS, D. Jurgio Radvilo pirmosios kelionės į Italiją dienoraščio originalas. *Senoji Lietuvos Literatūra*, 2005, Kn. 19, p. 201-241.

⁵⁶ From earlier editions of the diary, it transpires that the journey lasted from 11 October to 7 December: ANTANAVIČIUS, D. Op. cit., p. 233, reference 152, established that the journey ended on 8 December.

⁵⁷ See RADZIMIŃSKI, A. Duchowny w kurii papieskiej. Sprawozdanie Alberta Krummedieka, kanonika lubeckiego z jego podróży do Rzymu w 1462 r. In *Prusy, Polska, Europa*. Red. A. RADZIMIŃSKI, J. TANDECKI. Toruń, 1999, s. 93-107; MANIKOWSKA, H. *Jerozolima – Rzym – Compostela. Wielkie pielgrzymki u schyłku średniowiecza*. Wrocław, 2008, s. 214; DEMBIŃSKI, P. Op. cit., s. 154-155; KOWALSKI, M. D. Między Italią a Polską..., s. 133-142.

⁵⁸ ACV, VII, ff. 210v-211.

travel via Warsaw, and was assigned 250 Hungarian ducats from the revenues of the bishopric.⁵⁹ Given that at the end of the 16th century a Hungarian ducat cost two Polish złotych, these were considerable sums, equivalent to 160 and 200 schocks of Lithuanian *grosze*.⁶⁰

Last but not least, canons and prelates made pilgrimages to faraway sanctuaries.⁶¹ Darius Baronas, having analysed Roman sources (the *Liber fraternitatis Sancti Spiritus*), has established that among the pilgrims were one Roman Catholic bishop, Bartholomeus of Kiev, one canon of Vilnius Cathedral chapter, Stanislaus, one parish priest, Nicolaus of Shchuchin, and one cleric, Alexius. It is more interesting that Canon and Custodian Stanislaus intervened in the Fraternity on 4 June 1501 *cum famula* [...] *Dorothea*.⁶² Almost a century later, in 1591, the aforementioned Canon Beynart, as part of his penance for some abominable act, was sent by the Vilnius chapter on a pilgrimage to Rome.⁶³

A further reason for prelates and canons travelling – or escaping – from their cathedral city was pestilence.⁶⁴ During the period in question it afflicted the inhabitants of Vilnius on several occasions.⁶⁵ However, despite the danger to life, the corporation never left the church, and perhaps especially the treasury of the cathedral, unguarded. In 1562 the chapter decided to reward Petrus from Kaunas, a youth who during the most recent attack of the plague had looked after the cathedral church and treasury.⁶⁶ This youth, a student in Cracow, received seven gold thalers.⁶⁷ Similarly, on 22 September 1571, all the resident canons and prelates decided to leave Vilnius, along with their bishop. Only the sub-dean of the cathedral, Jacobus Młyński from Chęciny,⁶⁸ the sub-custodian and a servant of the procurator Laurentius Wolski – Benedictus Stara-

⁵⁹ ACV, VII, f. 318.

⁶⁰ See LIPIŃSKI, E. *Studia nad historią polskiej myśli ekonomicznej*. Warszawa, 1956, s. 52-53.

⁶¹ *Peregrinationes. Pielgrzymki w kulturze dawnej Europy*. Red. H. MANIKOWSKA, H. ZAREMSKA. Warszawa, 1995; MANIKOWSKA, H. Źródła wrocławskie (i wrocławian dotyczące) do "wielkiego pielgrzymowania" u schyłku średniowiecza. *Sobótka*, 2006, s. 45-59; JOVAIŠA, L.; KORZENIEWSKA, K. Pilgrimystė. In *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos kultūra. Tyrinėjimai ir vaizdai*. Sud. V. ALIŠAUSKAS, L. JOVAIŠA, M. PAKNYNS, R. PETRAUSKAS, E. RAILA. Vilnius, 2001, p. 464-478, and most recently SACZYŃSKA, M. Z Bogiem do Boga – obrzęd błogosławienia pielgrzymów w pontyfikałach krakowskich z XV wieku. In *Samotrzcę...*, s. 111-132.

⁶² BARONAS, D. Pilgrimai iš Lietuvos – Romos Šv. Dvasios brolijos nariai 1492-1503 m. *Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos metraštis*, 2014, t. XXXVIII, p. 15-28. I offer my thanks to Dr Darius Baronas for sharing this text with me before it was published.

⁶³ ACV, VII, ff. 173v-174. About the Beynart family see most recently: BŁASZCZYK, G. *Herbarz szlachty żmudzkiej*. T. 1, Warszawa, 2015, s. 143.

⁶⁴ About the social, religious and cultural consequences of epidemics see KARPIŃSKI, A. *W walce z niewidzialnym wrogiem: epidemie chorób zakaźnych w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVIII wieku i ich następstwa demograficzne, społeczno-ekonomiczne i polityczne*. Warszawa, 2000, s. 223n.

⁶⁵ See WALAWENDER, A. *Kronika klęsk elementarnych w Polsce i w krajach sąsiednich w latach 1450-1586*. 1: Zjawiska meteorologiczne i pomory; 2: Zniszczenia wojenne i pożary. Lwów, 1932-1935.

⁶⁶ ACV, IV, f. 35-35v.

⁶⁷ ACV, IV, ff. 35v, 54v.

⁶⁸ ACV, V, f. 47.

chowski – remained in place.⁶⁹ Unfortunately we are unable to say anything about the places in which prelates and canons took refuge from ‘pestilential air’. We do know, however, that looking after the cathedral could be well rewarded. On 12 October 1588 the chapter decided to pay an additional 12 Lithuanian *grosze* per week to those canons who had remained in residence during the last outbreak.⁷⁰

It might seem that the chapter’s expenses connected with delegating canons and prelates to provincial synods were fairly stable. These journeys usually involved a short stay at the venue of the synod. On 3 February 1561, Archdeacon Stanislaus Narkuski was assigned 20 schocks in order to attend a provincial synod held in Warsaw.⁷¹ Thomas Makowiecki received the same just over ten years later (on 23 December 1572), when he was likewise delegated to participate in a provincial synod in Warsaw (he was assured of his *refectio* for the entire period).⁷² It is noteworthy that the allowance paid for a synod in Warsaw equalled that granted on 21 January 1583 to Dean Jarczewski in order to go to Riga (Rīga).⁷³ Whereas the expenses for most such journeys were reckoned at 20 schocks, on 4 August 1589, Bishop Suffragan Cyprianus was allocated 50 schocks as the chapter’s delegate to a provincial synod in Piotrków.⁷⁴ The difference in sums allocated to a canon or prelate and a bishop probably resulted from their respective positions in the chapter and ecclesiastical hierarchy.

After the Union of Lublin, the nobility of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Kingdom of Poland held general *sejmy* (diets) involving the king, the senators and noble envoys elected at *sejmiki*.⁷⁵ From 1569, representatives of the Vilnius chapter were fairly regularly sent to attend and observe the *sejmy* of the Commonwealth, assemblies known as the Lithuanian convocations and general assemblies, and also to attend general *sejmiki* at Vaūkavysk and Slonim (Слoнiм).⁷⁶ According to Andrzej Rachuba, the basis for delegations to the general *sejm* was the statutes of the Vilnius chapter.⁷⁷ My research casts a somewhat different light on this problem. The statutes mention *nuntius*, meaning nuncios, envoys or delegates. They do not do so in the narrow sense of envoys to the *sejm*, but refer to legates in the general sense and to their travel expenses. The statutes are far more precise about the prerogatives appertain-

⁶⁹ ACV, V, f. 49-49v.

⁷⁰ ACV, VII, f. 107v.

⁷¹ ACV, IV, f. 2v.

⁷² ACV, V, f. 85v.

⁷³ ACV, VI, p. 263-265.

⁷⁴ ACV, VII, k. 122v.

⁷⁵ KARBOWNIK, H. Udział przedstawicieli kapituły w sejmach i sejmikach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej (w XV-XVIII wieku). *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*, t. 22, z. 2, s. 171. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania the *sejmiki* system was normalized in 1565, see ZAKRZEWSKI, A. B. Op. cit., s. 131n.

⁷⁶ RACHUBA, A. Udział kapituły wileńskiej w życiu parlamentarnym Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XVII wieku. In *Środowisko kulturotwórcze i kontakty kulturalne Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do XIX wieku*. Red. U. AUGUSTYNIAK. Warszawa, 2009, s. 153.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, s. 154-155.

ing to representatives of the chapter.⁷⁸ The 1515 statutes continued to apply until at least the middle of the 17th century. It also seems that one of the tasks of capitular delegates to *sejmy* was to add 'splendour to the bishop's travelling retinue' (*orszak*).⁷⁹ The chapter acts contain no records of similar delegations before the Lublin *sejm* of 1569, but probably some canons and prelates of Vilnius accompanied their bishop when he participated in sessions of the Council of Lords and other gatherings of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, at his or their own expense.

It seems that the chapter of Vilnius linked the number of its delegates to the *sejm* or *sejmiki* to current needs. Similar factors seem to have resulted in the irregular presence, as observers, of Vilnian canons and prelates at the *sejmy* of the Commonwealth. Especially given that at the joint Polish-Lithuanian *sejm* there was no place for delegates of chapters.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, members of the Vilnius chapter were present at the *sejm* which concluded the Lublin Union. Their presence does not, however, indicate that they were there as representatives of the Vilnius chapter. It was the same at royal elections (as Andrzej Rachuba points out), in which members of chapters appeared not as delegates of the chapter, but as nobles possessing electoral rights.⁸¹ The question of the participation of individual or corporate bodies of clergymen complicates the fact of plural benefices in various chapters. Without further and deeper archival research, it will not be possible to establish the way in which the chapter was represented by a given clergyman. This question can be resolved by referring to information on the travel expenses paid by various chapters. From my research, a picture emerges of clergymen, who in participating in diverse sessions and assemblies, whether actively or as observers, first and foremost looked after their own interests and the interests of the corporation which had delegated them. Finally, we can also discern traces of the engagement of the cathedral clergy in defending the general property of the Catholic Church. The cathedral clergy reacted with considerable solidarity to the limitations placed by Trent on the accumulation of benefices. In the current state of research, it is fairly difficult to decide whether a clergyman possessing several or more than a dozen benefices scattered over the entire Commonwealth looked after the interests of the Catholic Church in Lithuania or the Crown.

When in 1565, in the aftermath of the Council of Trent, the Gniezno chapter sent a petition to Rome regarding the accumulation of benefices, it justified its request on the grounds that 'canons should have richer endowments to cover the costs of their maintenance, as they must accompany their bishops to *sejmy*, serving them with counsel and assistance.'⁸² Such records are best interpreted as a kind of conventional expres-

⁷⁸ *Wróblewski Library*, F43-155, f. 19.

⁷⁹ RACHUBA, A. *Udział...*, s. 154-155.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, s. 154.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, s. 157.

⁸² KARBOWNIK, H. *Udział...*, s. 174.

sion, arising from the general expectation that chapters should support bishops with advice and help. Closer acquaintance with the organisation, activities, statutes and customs of capitular corporations, may cause us to doubt that chapters decided to send delegates to the *sejm* at capitular expense only to increase episcopal splendour. They were there to observe the proceedings and to lobby the active participants (the king, senators and envoys) in the interests of the chapter, but not always officially.

Both in the late medieval and early modern periods, finances were the cause of many tensions between bishops-ordinary and chapters, those of Vilnius included. Bishops usually wished to appear in an appropriately pontifical manner, whereas chapters had an interest in limiting excessive expenditure on display by episcopal courts.⁸³ And so canons and prelates gladly took advantage of opportunities to reduce the costs of travel.

One means of lowering costs during journeys was the right of capitular officials and delegates to quartering on episcopal estates (which we propose to call the right of *stacja*).⁸⁴ The statutes of the Vilnius chapter bear witness to the practice of securing quarters in places on regularly used routes. The Bishop of Vilnius, in accordance with the customary law of hospitality, assured members of the chapter that whenever their journeys took them through episcopal properties, they would have a 'pleasant reception' from the estate managers. The bishop thus assured the canons and prelates of access to every comfort that could be accorded to them.⁸⁵ Without doubt, a stopover in a property belonging to the bishop, the chapter or a fellow canon or prelate, was the most convenient way of travelling, and helped to keep costs down.

On another occasion, to save the cost of a separate journey, the Vilnius chapter decided to make use of Canon Ludovicus Fulgineus, who was travelling on other business to Italy. He was asked to deliver a letter and 50 Hungarian ducats in Rome.⁸⁶ Sending this substantial sum, the Vilnius chapter wished to support the efforts of the Cracow chapter to obtain a dispensation from the Tridentine prohibition on the accumulation of benefices.⁸⁷

⁸³ Cf. WÓŁKIEWICZ, E. Op. cit., s. 98.

⁸⁴ Until now in historiography, the *stacja* has been used to describe the duty to feed the monarch and his court on estates, without charge, during their journeys around the country. It was sometimes the case that the population made these contributions in the form of wheat, animals for slaughter, etc. In the Grand Ducal period, the duty applied to all ecclesiastical properties, and Jogaila/Władysław Jagiełło, for example, made frequent use of it. With time, many of these properties were freed from the obligation by individual privileges issued by monarchs. GAŚSIOROWSKI, A. *Itinerarium króla Władysława Jagiełły 1386-1434*. Warszawa, 1972, s. 11; KARBOWNIK, H. *Ciężary stanu duchownego w Polsce na rzecz państwa od roku 1381 do połowy XVII wieku*. Lublin, 1980, s. 68. On the duty in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, see WYSŁOUCH, S. *Posługi komunikacyjne w miastach W. Ks. Litewskiego na prawie magdeburkiem do połowy XVI w.* Wilno, 1936, s. 63.

⁸⁵ *Wróblewski Library*, F43-155, f. 7.

⁸⁶ HERBURT, § 38-40, f. 278.

⁸⁷ See PAWLIKOWSKA-BUTTERWICK, W. *Opór wobec modernizacji. Biskupi i kapituła wileńska a reforma trydencka w XVI w.* (forthcoming).

The presence of clergymen at *sejmiki* and *sejmy* should be linked to the need to advance particular interests, but not only in the short term.⁸⁸ Chapters sent delegates to these assemblies, and also to the royal court, in order to meet movers and shakers, and make contacts which could serve the chapter well in the future. These were effectively diplomatic missions, during which canons and prelates could also transact official and legal business. They obtained the confirmation of old privileges and the issue of new ones. Canons and prelates also looked after their personal interests. The scale and complexity of the mechanisms of patronage at court is well illustrated by the relationship between Chancellor and Hetman Jan Zamoyski and King Stephen Báthory. Zamoyski was the monarch's principal counsellor in the selection and promotion of personnel. His role was so prominent that some aspirants 'paid as much court to him as to the king'.⁸⁹ The king in turn had more offices and benefices at his disposal than anybody else. So the support of the person closest to the king could have a decisive influence on a clergyman's career.⁹⁰

Delegating two prelates, Custodian Woyna and Archdeacon Joannes Ryszkowski, on 8 February 1589, to attend the general *sejm* in Warsaw, the chapter allocated them 80 schocks of Lithuanian *grosze* for their journey. For the period of the *sejm*, they were also assured half of their usual *refectio*.⁹¹ However, just one year later (16 February 1590), the same *viaticum* (provision for a journey) was promised to just one delegate to the *sejm* in Warsaw, Prelate Woyna.⁹² Dean Jarczewski obtained the same sum, as well as his entire *refectio*, for a similar voyage two years later (28 August 1592).⁹³ A general *sejm* in Cracow meant a longer journey, so Prelate Nicolaus Dicus was granted 100 schocks, in addition to his *refectio*, by the chapter on 13 January 1595.⁹⁴

A year later, on 14 February 1596, the chapter delegated Custodian Woyna, who was also the administrator of the vacant bishopric, and Canon Matthias Kłodziński, to go to the *sejm* in Warsaw. Woyna, who was asked to visit Slonim en route to Warsaw, was granted 100 schocks, from the episcopal revenues; whereas Kłodziński, who was to travel directly to Warsaw, was promised 80 schocks from the general contribution of the diocesan clergy. Both were guaranteed their *refectio* in their absence.⁹⁵ It looks as though the additional cost of a journey via Slonim was reckoned at 20 schocks. This is borne out by the fact that a few years later, when Nicolaus Pac

⁸⁸ RACHUBA, A. *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie w systemie parlamentarnym Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1569-1763*. Warszawa, 2002, s. 94.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, s. 147.

⁹⁰ TYGIELSKI, W. *Listy. Ludzie. Władza. Patronat Jana Zamoyskiego w świetle korespondencji*. Warszawa, 2008, s. 146-147.

⁹¹ ACV, VII, f. 110-111.

⁹² ACV, VII, f. 125v-126.

⁹³ ACV, VII, f. 192 -192v.

⁹⁴ ACV, VII, f. 232.

⁹⁵ ACV, VII, f. 255v.

was sent to attend the general assembly of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at Slonim, he was allocated 20 schocks for his expenses. Half this sum was to come from capitular, and half from episcopal funds.⁹⁶

The estimated costs of travel to Slonim and Warsaw continued at this level at the turn of the century. On 21 January 1600, delegating Woyna and Gregorius Świącicki to attend the *sejm* in Warsaw, the chapter decided that the administrator of the diocese would be representing the bishop, and so would pay for his travel out of episcopal funds, at his own discretion. On the other hand, Świącicki was instructed to visit Slonim en route, for which he was assigned 20 schocks from the general contribution of the clergy, in addition to the 80 designated for his journey to Warsaw.⁹⁷ Two months later, when Dean Dicus was sent to Warsaw on episcopal business, he received 50 schocks from the funds of the bishopric, while retaining his *refectio* to reflect his increased expenses.⁹⁸

The chapter acted quite benevolently towards the administrator of the diocese, Benedictus Woyna. Although his journey to the Warsaw *sejm* of 1598 was to be covered from the episcopal funds at his disposal, the chapter (on 27 February 1598) assured him of his continued right to his *refectio*.⁹⁹ However, when on 30 July 1599, Canon Nicolaus Górnicki was sent to Borodnicze on capitular business, he was told that he had to travel at his own expense.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps the generosity of the chapter towards Woyna resulted from its expectation that Woyna would soon become the new bishop-ordinary. In that case, he disposed of funds that would in any case be coming to him before long.

Shortly afterwards, on 12 December 1600, Woyna's successor as custodian, Eustachius Wołłowicz, was allocated just 40 schocks for his journey to the Warsaw *sejm* on behalf of the chapter.¹⁰¹ In the first years of the 17th century, a decline in the provision for travel expenses can be observed.¹⁰² Perhaps lower sums resulted from the rule of a new bishop after a vacancy of several years? The chapter became significantly less wealthy after it lost that part of the episcopal revenues which it had enjoyed during the period of *sede vacante*, in return for administering the episcopal latifundium.¹⁰³

It is not entirely clear from the capitular records whether the promised *viaticum* tended to be paid, in whole or in part, before the delegate's departure, or after his return. Sometimes sums were certainly paid after journeys had taken place. On 27 No-

⁹⁶ ACV, VII, f. 315-315v.

⁹⁷ ACV, VII, f. 343-343v.

⁹⁸ ACV, VII, f. 351v-352.

⁹⁹ ACV, VII, f. 317; HERBURT, § 903-905, f. 338.

¹⁰⁰ ACV, VII, f. 338v; HERBURT, § 1000-1002, f. 343.

¹⁰¹ ACV, VII, f. 364v; HERBURT, § 1089-1091, f. 349.

¹⁰² RACHUBA, A. Udział ..., s. 157-158.

¹⁰³ PAWLIKOWSKA-BUTTERWICK, W. 'Lithuanians', 'Foreigners' and Ecclesiastical Office: Law and Practice before and after 1569', paper presented to the international symposium *Culture and Union. A Comparison of the British/Irish and the Polish-Lithuanian unions, 1386-1863* (The Burn, Edzell, University of Aberdeen, 5-7 September 2014).

vember 1592, referring to the statutes (probably the article on the prerogatives of envoys despatched on capitular business), the chapter resolved to pay Benedictus Woyna 80 schocks in recompense for the expenses he had incurred during his journey to the general *sejm*.¹⁰⁴

Vilnan prelates and canons sometimes travelled to their own parishes. Although these journeys served ecclesiastical aims, the chapter did not reimburse the costs involved. They were the duties attached to the benefices in question, not to membership of the chapter. Only occasionally do we find exceptions, probably gestures of recognition and goodwill, such as the decision on 18 June 1573 to give Canon Laurentius Wolski 12 bowls of unrefined honey when he departed for his parish of Drohiczyn in Podlasie.¹⁰⁵

92

All members of the chapter, whatever the reasons for their journeys, were expected to look after the interests of capitular properties, especially if they were departing for longer periods of time. They had to ensure a manager (*ekonom*) was in place in a prestimonial village, who could, if necessary, serve the cathedral procurator as his lord.¹⁰⁶ If a canon's turn to lead prayers at the high altar during canonical hours or *hebdomada* fell during his absence from Vilnius, then his appointed vicar had to arrange a substitute.¹⁰⁷ The vicar could not deputise for his employer himself, because capitular Mass at the high altar could only be said or sung by members of the chapter. The choice of substitutes was often limited.¹⁰⁸

Most of this paper has concentrated on senior clergymen, canons and prelates, most of whom rarely resided by their cathedral and who enjoyed the simultaneous tenure of several benefices. It is this phenomenon of pluralism which links their relatively frequent need to travel to the migratory journeys undertaken by many of the poorest, unbeneficed clergy, the *clerus vagus*. This is the term most often used to describe vagabond clerics in Lithuania and Poland in this period, although we also find '*clerici alienigeni*' as in the Vilnan diocesan statutes of 1527 and 1528.¹⁰⁹ This term unequivocally indicates that these were not ordinary travellers, but migrants in the full sense of the word.

¹⁰⁴ ACV, VII, f. 202v-203; HERBURT, § 450-451, f. 313.

¹⁰⁵ ACV, V, f. 109-110; HERBURT, § 334-337, f. 218.

¹⁰⁶ *Wróblewski Library*, F43-155, ff. 18v-19.

¹⁰⁷ *Wróblewski Library*, F43-155, f. 21.

¹⁰⁸ *Wróblewski Library*, F43-155, f. 20v.

¹⁰⁹ *Concilia Poloniae. Źródła i studia krytyczne*. T. 2: *Synody diecezji Wileńskiej i ich statuty*. Red. J. SAWICKI. Warszawa, 1948, s. 119, § 3. Diocesan synods passed numerous resolutions and instructions designed to limit and then eliminate the 'institution' of vagrant priests, KAKAREKO, A. *La riforma della Vita del clero nella diocesi di Vilna dopo il Concilio di Trento (1564-1796)* (Tesi Gregoriana. Serie Diritto Canonico, 6). Roma, 1996, p. 150.

The entire Catholic world was affected by these uncontrolled journeys within and between dioceses. The Council of Trent followed its ecumenical predecessors in trying to respond to the problem. The Tridentine decrees contain regulations and penal sanctions against vagabonds. The fact that clergymen of all kinds, secular and religious, with varying degrees of ordination, were involved in such migratory journeys is borne out by the use of the generalised term *clerici* in synodal statutes.

If the problem of mobility was found at both ends of the clerical scale, so were attempts to reduce it. Synods laid down punishments for vagabond clerics, while the statutes of the chapter of Vilnius, in order to encourage its members to reside by the cathedral, provided a reward in the form of the daily *refectio*. Only in specific, authorised circumstances were non-resident canons and prelates allowed to keep their entitlement.

This outline of the problem of the travels of clergymen belonging to the Vilnius cathedral chapter, based on an analysis of the capitular metrica, allows us to conclude that clerical mobility resulted far more frequently from administrative and political needs than from pastoral ones. As they ascended the ecclesiastical hierarchy, Catholic clergymen increasingly served the state. This political role of Vilnan canons and prelates came at the expense of communal life within the corporation, and their liturgical and pastoral duties. Many of the most lucrative ecclesiastical benefices served to reward and endow men who principally worked for the Polish-Lithuanian monarch in administrative and other capacities. The mobility arising from non-residence, a phenomenon intrinsically linked to the plural tenure of benefices, may be considered one of the main factors leading to the disintegration of groups at a local level. These groups included cathedral chapters. Widespread non-residence also profoundly affected the role and social functions of clergymen. Its consequences had to include neglect in the performance of liturgical and pastoral duties, which were assigned to substitutes, deputies and vicars, who often lacked the necessary motivation or preparation.

Clergymen who enjoyed several benefices took an active part in the government of both Church and state in late medieval and early modern Europe. Performing various functions at royal, episcopal and aristocratic courts, they acquired experience and political expertise. As such, they belonged to the power elites of their times. Many made their mark as patrons of the arts and learning, bibliophiles and legal reformers. This means that many individual members of the Vilnius chapter helped to form the intellectual elites of their country, Lithuania and Poland, and, in some cases, of Christendom as a whole. The significance and position of these men, some of whom would become bishop-senators, in the power structures of Church and state, are confirmed not only by the pattern of their careers, but also by what we know of their travels.

List of published sources

- Album armorum nobilium Regni Poloniae XV–XVIII saec. Herby nobilitacji i indygenatów XV–XVIII w.* Ed. Barbara TRELIŃSKA. Lublin, 2001.
- Concilia Poloniae. Źródła i studia krytyczne. T. 2: Synody diecezji Wileńskiej i ich statuty.* Oprac. Jakub SAWICKI. Warszawa, 1948.
- Księga ekspedycji kancelarii nadwornej 1559-1572: Materiały do dziejów dworu królewskiego.* Oprac. Irena KANIEWSKA, Kraków, 1997.
- Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 52: 1569–1570. Užrašymų knyga 52.* Pareng. Algirdas BALIULIS, Romualdas FIRKOVIČIUS, Vilnius, 2004.
- URBAN, Waclaw; LŪŽYS, Sigitas. *Cracovia lithuanorum saeculis XIV–XVI = Lietuvių Krokava XIV–XVI amžiais.* Vilnius, 1999.
- Urzednicy centralni i dostojnicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy.* Oprac. Henryk LULEWICZ, Andrzej RACHUBA. Kórnik, 1994.
- Археографический сборник документов, относящихся к истории Северо-Западной Руси, издаваемый при управлении Виленского учебного округа. Т. 7. Вильна, 1870, с. 17–24.*

94

List of previous studies quoted in the article

- ANTANAČIUS, Darius. *Jurgio Radvilo pirmosios kelionės į Italiją dienoraščio originalas. Senoji Lietuvos literatūra*, 2005, Kn. 19, p. 201–241.
- BARONAS, Darius. Pilgrimai iš Lietuvos – Romos Šv. Dvasios brolijos nariai 1492–1503 m. *Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos metraštis*, 2014, t. XXXVIII, p. 15–28.
- BARYCZ, Henryk. *Dziennik podróży do Włoch biskupa Jerzego Radziwiłła w 1575 r. Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 1935, t. 49, s. 340–356.
- BINIENIAK, Janusz. Wzajemne powiązania osobowe kapituł wrocławskiej i kruszwickiej w średniowieczu. In *Duchowieństwo kapitulne w Polsce średniowiecznej i wczesnonowożytnej. Pochodzenie i funkcjonowanie elity kościelnej*. Red. Andrzej RADZIMIŃSKI. Toruń, 2000, s. 53–68.
- BŁASZCZYK, Grzegorz. *Herbarz szlachty żmudzkiej. T. 1.* Warszawa, 2015.
- Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe.* Ed. by Thomas BETTERIDGE. Aldershot, 2007.
- BORKOWSKA, Małgorzata. *Dzieje cystersów sulejowskich.* Kraków, 2008.
- DEMBIŃSKI, Paweł. Koszty podróży kanoników poznańskiej kapituły katedralnej w XV wieku. In *Sa-motrzeć, w kompanii czy z orszakami? Społeczne aspekty podróżowania w średniowieczu i w czasach nowożytnych.* Red. Monika SACZYŃSKA, Ewa WÓŁKIEWICZ. Warszawa, 2012, s. 143–158.
- DOLA, Kazimierz. *Wrocławska kapituła katedralna w XV wieku. Ustrój – skład osobowy – działalność.* Lublin, 1983.
- GAŚSIOROWSKI, Antoni. *Itinerarium króla Władysława Jagiełły 1386-1434.* Warszawa, 1972.
- GRZYWACZ, Jerzy. *Nominacja biskupów w Polsce przedrozbiorowej.* Lublin, 1960.
- JABŁONOWSKI, Aleksandr. *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym. T. 6: Podlasie, Cz. 3 (Źródła dziejowe, t. 17, cz. 1).* Warszawa, 1908.
- JOVAIŠA, Liudas; KORZENIEWSKA, Kotryna. Piligrimystė. In *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos kultūra. Tyrinėjimai ir vaizdai.* Sud. Vytautas ALIŠAUSKAS, Liudas JOVAIŠA, Mindaugas PAKNYNS, Rimvydas PETRAUSKAS, Eligijus RAILA. Vilnius, 2001, p. 464–478.
- KAKAREKO, Andrzej. *La riforma della Vita del clero nella diocesi di Vilna dopo il Concilio di Trento (1564-1796)* (Tesi Gregoriana. Serie Diritto Canonico, 6). Roma, 1996.
- KARBOWNIK, Henryk. *Ciężary stanu duchownego w Polsce na rzecz państwa od roku 1381 do połowy XVII wieku.* Lublin, 1980.
- KARBOWNIK, Henryk. Udział przedstawicieli kapituł w sejmach i sejmikach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej (w XV–XVIII wieku). *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*, t. 22, z. 2, s. 169–176.

- KARPIŃSKI, Andrzej. *W walce z niewidzialnym wrogiem: epidemie chorób zakaźnych w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVIII wieku i ich następstwa demograficzne, społeczno-ekonomiczne i polityczne*. Warszawa, 2000.
- KLEINSCHMIDT, Harald. *People on the Move: Attitudes toward and Perceptions of Migration in Medieval and Modern Europe*. London, 2003.
- KRACIK, Jan. Kler wędrowny w Małopolsce XVI–XVIII wieku. Problem źródeł i metod. *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne*, 1981, t. 28, z. 4, s. 53-76.
- KOWALSKI, Marek Daniel. Między Italią a Polską. Podróże kolektorów papieskich w XV wieku'. In *Samotrzeć, w kompanii czy z orszakiem? Społeczne aspekty podróżowania w średniowieczu i w czasach nowożytnych*. Red. Monika SACZYŃSKA, Ewa WÓŁKIEWICZ. Warszawa, 2012, s. 133-142.
- KOWALSKI, Marek Daniel. Rationes Iacobini de Rubeis, collectoris in Regno Poloniae (1426-1434): *Rachunki Giacomina Rossiego*, papieskiego kolektora generalnego w Polsce. *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 2011, t. 49 (2011), s. 61-96.
- LIPIŃSKI, Edward. *Studia nad historią polskiej myśli ekonomicznej*. Warszawa, 1956.
- MANIKOWSKA, Halina. *Jerozolima – Rzym – Compostela. Wielkie pielgrzymki u schyłku średniowiecza*. Wrocław, 2008.
- MANIKOWSKA, Halina. Źródła wrocławskie (i wrocławian dotyczące) do "wielkiego pielgrzymowania" u schyłku średniowiecza. *Sobótka*, 2006, s. 45-59.
- NASIŁOWSKI, Kazimierz. Samowolne migracje kleru w świetle polskiego prawa kościelnego przed soborem trydenckim. *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*, 1959, t. 11, no. 1, s. 9-51.
- OCHMAŃSKI, Jerzy. *Biskupstwo wileńskie w średniowieczu. Ustrój i uposażenie*. Poznań, 1972.
- PAWLIKOWSKA, Wioletta. The Challenge of Trent and the Renewal of the Catholic Church in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: The Clergy of Vilnius and the Problems of Plural Benefices and Residence in the Sixteenth Century. In *Church history between Rome and Vilnius: challenges to Christianity from Early Modern Ages to the 20th century* (Bažnyčios istorijos studijos, t. 4). Ed. by Arūnas STREIKUS. Vilnius, 2011, pp. 37-55.
- PAWLIKOWSKA, Wioletta. Prokuratorzy wileńskiej kapituły katedralnej w drugiej połowie XVI wieku. *Wschodni Rocznik Humanistyczny*, 2009, t. 6, s. 51-64.
- PAWLIKOWSKA-BUTTWERWICK, Wioletta. A 'Foreign' Elite? The Territorial Origins of the Canons and Prelates of the Cathedral Chapter of Vilna in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century. *Slavonic and East European Review*, 2014, vol. 92, no. 1, pp. 44-80.
- PAWLIKOWSKA-BUTTWERWICK, Wioletta. *Opór wobec modernizacji. Biskupi i kapituła wileńska a reforma trydencka w XVI w.* (forthcoming)
- Peregrinationes. Pielgrzymki w kulturze dawnej Europy*. Red. Halina MANIKOWSKA, Hanna ZAREMSKA. Warszawa, 1995.
- PETRAUSKAS, Rimvydas. Europa późnego średniowiecza a rozwój społeczeństwa i kultury Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. *Zapiski Historyczne*, 2013, t. 78, z. 3, s. 39-57.
- RACHUBA, Andrzej. Udział kapituły wileńskiej w życiu parlamentarnym Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVII wieku. In *Środowisko kulturotwórcze i kontakty kulturalne Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do XIX wieku*. Red. Urszula AUGUSTYNIAK. Warszawa, 2009, s. 153-163.
- RACHUBA, Andrzej. *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie w systemie parlamentarnym Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1569-1763*. Warszawa, 2002.
- RADZIMIŃSKI, Andrzej. Duchowny w kurii papieskiej. Sprawozdanie Alberta Krummedieka, kanonika lubeckiego z jego podróży do Rzymu w 1462 r. In *Prusy, Polska, Europa*. Red. Andrzej RADZIMIŃSKI, Janusz TANDECKI. Toruń, 1999, s. 93-107.
- RADZIMIŃSKI, Andrzej. Modele prawne, społeczne i kulturowe kleru kapitulnego w Polsce średniowiecznej w kontekście jego religijności. In RADZIMIŃSKI, Andrzej. *Kościół i duchowieństwo w średniowieczu. Polska i państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach*. Toruń, 2012, s. 31-50.
- RADZIMIŃSKI, Andrzej. Społeczne funkcje prebend kanonicznych w Polsce późniejszego średniowiecza. In *Homines et Societas. Księga Pamiątkowa Prof. A. Gąsiorowskiego*. Poznań, 1997, s. 311-342.

- SACZYŃSKA, Monika. Z Bogiem do Boga – obrzęd błogosławienia pielgrzymów w pontyfikatach krakowskich z XV wieku. In *Samotrzeć, w kompanii czy z orszakiem? Społeczne aspekty podróżowania w średniowieczu i w czasach nowożytnych*. Red. Monika SACZYŃSKA, Ewa WÓŁKIEWICZ. Warszawa, 2012, s. 111-132.
- ŚLIŹ, Natalia. Wędrowni Pawła Holszańskiego, biskupa wileńskiego w latach 1538-1539. In *Podróźnicy, fundatorzy, święci*. Red. Tomasz RATAJCZAK. Poznań, 2008, s. 52-56.
- TYGIELSKI, Wojciech. *Listy. Ludzie. Władza. Patronat Jana Zamoyskiego w świetle korespondencji*. Warszawa, 2008.
- TYGIELSKI, Wojciech. *Włosi w Polsce XVI-XVII wieku*. Warszawa, 2005.
- ULČINAITĖ, Eugenija. Kardinalas Jurgis Radvila: dvasininkas, politikas, literatas. In *Jurgis Radvila, Kelionė į Italiją: 1575 metų dienoraštis*. Vilnius, 2001, p. 15–29.
- WALAWENDER, Antoni. *Kronika kłesk elementarnych w Polsce i w krajach sąsiednich w latach 1450-1586*. 1: *Zjawiska meteorologiczne i pomory*; 2: *Zniszczenia wojenne i pożary*. Lwów, 1932-1935.
- WIESIOŁOWSKI, Jacek. Środowiska kościelne i kultura. In *Kultura Polski średniowiecznej XIV-XV w.* Red. Bronisław GEREMEK. Warszawa, 1997, s. 236-295. WÓŁKIEWICZ, Ewa. Episcopus ambulans. Formy i organizacja podróży biskupów wrocławskich w późnym średniowieczu. In *Samotrzeć, w kompanii czy z orszakiem? Społeczne aspekty podróżowania w średniowieczu i w czasach nowożytnych*. Red. Monika SACZYŃSKA, Ewa WÓŁKIEWICZ. Warszawa, 2012, s. 83-109.
- WYSŁOUCH, Seweryn. *Posługi komunikacyjne w miastach W. Ks. Litewskiego na prawie magdeburskiem do połowy XVI w.* Wilno, 1936.
- ZAKRZEWSKI, Andrzej B. *Sejmiki Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XVI-XVIII w. Ustrój i funkcjonowanie: sejmik trocki*. Warszawa, 2000.
- ZIMMERMANN, Gerhard. *Das Breslauer Domkapitel im Zeitalter der Reformation und Gegenreformation (1500-1600)*. Weimar, 1938.

DVASININKŲ JUDUMAS: VILNIAUS KANAUNINKŲ IR PRELATŲ KELIONĖS XVI AMŽIUIJE

Wioletta Pawlikowska-Butterwick

Santrauka

Mobilumo ir kelionių klausimas straipsnyje analizuojamas pasitelkus Vilniaus katedros kanauninkų ir prelatų pavyzdį. Jų kelionės galima priešpriešinti pragyvenimo tikslais savo apylinkės lankiusios žemosios dvasininkijos kelionėms, kurias jos vyresnieji traktavo kaip disciplinos problemą. Tiek turtingesni, tiek vargšai dvasininkai galėdavo imtis piligrimystės, kurią dažniausiai skatindavo dvasinės priežastys ir noras sekti reikšmingumo prisotintais keliais. Visgi daugeliu atvejų Vilniaus prelatai ir kanauninkai keliaudavo dėl politinių ir bažnytinių veiksnių, įskaitant kapitulos (bendrosios ir prestimoninės) ir privačios žemės nuosavybės valdymą. Judumą taip pat skatino įsipareigojimai, kurių buvo reikalaujama iš užimančiųjų pareigas karališkuosiuose ir kituose dvaruose. Kai kurie bažnytiniai dignitoriai, kaip antai, arkidiakonai, buvo įpareigoti keliauti, pvz., vizituojant diecezijas. Be kitų veiksnių, klerikų judumą skatino ir tarnyba keliose parapijose. Daugelį bažnytinių beneficijų valdę klerikai kartu dažnai būdavo įsitraukę į Bažnyčios ir valstybės valdymą. Eidami įvairias pareigas karaliaus, vyskupo ar bajorijos dvaruose, jie įgydavo politinės patirties ir erudicijos.

Daugelis jų pateko ir į Lenkijos-Lietuvos Respublikos valdžios elitą. Nemažai jų pasižymėjo kaip menų patronai, bibliofilai ar teisės reformatoriai. Visa tai liudija, kad Vilniaus katedros kanauninkai ne tik priklausė vietiniam intelektualiniam elitui; daugelis jų veikė Respublikos, o tam tikrais atvejais, ir visos Europos intelektualinio elito gretose.

Dvasininkai, kurie gali būti laikomi „laikiniais gyventojais“, taip pat buvo tie, kurie būdavo dažniausiai deleguojami į karališkojo dvaro kapitulą, parlamentus, vietinius bajorijos seimelius, provincijos sinodus ar į Romos kuriją. Žinoma ir dauguma tokių misijų išlaidų. Kelionėn siunčiamam kapitulos nariui, išvykstančiam iš Vilniaus, buvo užtikrinami kišenpinigiai jo kasdieniam pragyvenimui, *reflectio*, taip pat kitos pajamos, kurias jie būtų galėję gauti tuo laikotarpiu, kai būdavo išvykę. Maža to, keliavimas kapitulos reikalais atplaiduodavo delegatus nuo jų pareigos dalyvauti kapitulos visuotiniuose susirinkimuose. Kapitula buvo įpareigota padengti savo pasiuntinių kelionės išlaidas. Jos priklausė ne tik nuo delegato kelionės ilgio, kelionei skirto laiko ar misijos pobūdžio. Konkreti vyskupijos ar kapitulos finansinė padėtis taip pat lėmė, kokia pinigų suma galėjo būti skirta kelionei. Tačiau esminis veiksnys buvo delegato socialinis ir bažnytinis statusas: vyskupai, kanauninkai, tarnautojai ir vikarai – visi keliaudavo jiems priderančiu būdu.