

'RUDIS ILLA NACIO ET PANNOSA': CONCERNING JAN DŁUGOSZ'S DESCRIPTION OF LITHUANIA'S 1387 CONVERSION IN HIS ANNALS

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Abstract

In his famous *Annals*, the 15th-century chronicler Jan Długosz provided a wealth of information on the way of life of the Lithuanians in pagan times, as well as in the period immediately following their conversion in 1387. In drawing attention to the consumption of material goods such as food, clothing and shelter, Długosz portrayed the pagan Lithuanians as a people who could not satisfy even their most basic material needs. After their conversion to Christianity, their faith nevertheless wavered for a long time, and so their needs were only met thanks to the help of the Polish king, Władysław II Jogaila (Jagiełło), whom the chronicler held up as the 'apostle' of Lithuania. Długosz's description of the way of life of the Lithuanians is rich in theological themes, based on the Gospels and the writings of the Prophets. The author examines the reliability of Długosz's account on the way of life of both pagan and converted Lithuanians. Key words: Lithuania, paganism, conversion, way of life.

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Anotacija

Savo garsiuosiuose „Analuose“, parašytuose XV a., lenkų kronikininkas Janas Długoszas, pateikė daug duomenų apie pagonių lietuvių gyvenimo būdą ir papročius, informaciją tiesiogiai siedamas su 1387 m. lietuvių krikštu. Atkreipdamas dėmesį į materialines gėrybes, pvz., maistą, drabužius, būstą, Długoszas vaizdavo pagonis lietuvius kaip tautą, kuri negalėjo patenkinti elementarių savo buitinių poreikių. Po lietuvių atsivertimo į krikščionybę lietuvių tikėjimas vaizduotas kaip „banguojantis“, ir tik Lenkijos karaliaus Vladislovo Jogailos, kurį kronikininkas vaizdavo kaip „Lietuvos apaštalą“, dėka tikėjimas įgijo gilesnę prasmę. Długoszo lietuvių gyvenimo būdo aprašymuose galime išvelgti daug teologinių siužetų, taip pat perimtų iš pranašų ir Evangelijų. Straipsnyje nagrinėjamas pasakojimo, kurį Janas Długoszas pateikė tiek apie lietuvių pagonių, tiek apie apkrikštytų lietuvių gyvenimo būdą, patikimumas. Pagrindiniai žodžiai: Lietuva, pagonybė, atsivertimas (konversija), gyvenimo būdas.

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In October 1386, Poland's new king, Władysław II Jogaila (Jagiełło), left for Lithuania in order to carry out the act of converting to Christianity his homeland (*patria*), country (*region*) and people (*gens*), as Jan Długosz put it.¹ Historians have long argued over the reliability of the information about the conversion of Lithuania in 1387 that Długosz included in his *Annals*. More than three decades ago, Urszula Borkowska expressed the view that the chronicler adhered to a dichotomous world-view that sharply contrasted the ecumene of the Christians to that of pagans, and that he was not put off by 'political utilitarianism'. The image Długosz sketched of primitive paganism in Lithuania was meant to serve to 'portray the salvific role of Poland towards Lithuania [...] In his message, the chronicler skipped over everything that might indicate the growing missionary efforts under way in that country before the baptism of Jogaila. Against the background of the "pagan darkness" cloaking Lithuania, Poland's role shone all the brighter.'² Darius Baronas and Stephen C. Rowell, two leading experts on Lithuania's Christianisation, recently appraised Długosz's account similarly: 'Jan Długosz was the writer who produced the first comprehensive account on how Lithuanian pagans were converted to the Roman Catholic faith. The conversion was accomplished through the good offices of King Władysław Jogaila of Poland and his Polish collaborators, spiritual and lay alike. In an attempt to show what glorious deeds were then carried out Długosz depicted pre-conversion Lithuania as an absolutely pagan land [...] That is why it is impossible to find in his *Annals* any meaningful traces of Christian presence, let alone activity of Christian missionaries, in Lithuania prior to the year 1387.'³

In 14th-century Lithuania, there was no longer anything resembling 'a unitary faith of Old Lithuanians', according to Baronas and Rowell. However, Late Medieval Lithuanian paganism remained, a lifestyle or a way of life, and this lifestyle/way of life differed regarding different groups. Christianity brought new models of both individual and collective behaviour.⁴

It seems that these scholars treat the concepts of 'lifestyle' and 'way of life' as synonyms. Sociology, however, specifies that the concept of 'lifestyle' concerns differentiation within a given collective. The concept of 'way of life', in turn, relates to

¹ [DŁUGOSZ, Jan]. *Joannis Dlugossi Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae. Liber X: 1370–1405*. Ed. Danuta TURKOWSKA, Maria KOWALCZYK, Sbigneus PERZANOWSKI. Varsaviae, 1985 (hereafter, *Annales*, X), p. 159.

² BORKOWSKA, Urszula. *Treści ideowe w dziełach Jana Długosza. Kościół i świat poza Kościołem*. Lublin, 1983, s. 132.

³ BARONAS, Darius; ROWELL, S. C. *The Conversion of Lithuania. From Pagan Barbarians to Late Medieval Christians*. Vilnius, 2015, pp. 266–267.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 231, 236, 277–278, 294; see also BARONAS, Darius; JOVAIŠA, Liudas; PAKNYŠ, Mindaugas; RAILA, Eligijus; STREIKUS, Arūnas. *Christianity in Lithuania*. Vilnius, 2002, pp. 45–47.

the entirety of human behaviour in a given collective; that is, to what is common to that collective.⁵ These scholars distinguish the way of life of warriors, peasants and burgers, rather than the lifestyles of those social groups. About the great princes, however, they write of lifestyle.

One way or another, the case put by Darius Baronas and Stephen C. Rowell merits examination. And so we shall address certain strands of information on the way of life of both pagan Lithuanians and converted Lithuanians as provided by Jan Długosz in his *Annals*.⁶ What we are most interested in pertains to the consumption of material goods, for the literature has so far neglected to devote sufficient attention to this matter.

II

In Jan Długosz's account of the Christianisation efforts of Władysław Jogaila in Lithuania in 1386 and 1387, written down about 80 years after the events, of special note is the information that the pious and generous king gave each baptised native (*popularis*), both from the folk (*populus*) and the upper classes (*militares; natu maiores*): *'ex panno de Polonia adducto novas vestes, tunicas et indumenta. Qua quidem provida liberalitate et largicione effecit, ut rudis illa nacio et pannosa, lineis in eam diem contenta, fama huiusmodi liberalitatis vulgata, pro consequendis laneis catervatim ad suscipiendum baptismum ex omni regione accurreret.'*⁷ In another passage, the chronicler informs us that the clothing of the pagan Lithuanians was short,⁸ and that Lithuanian women wove various materials from flax (linen).⁹

The information Długosz supplied about the clothing that King Władysław distributed among the neophytes is treated in literature as reliable. For instance, Karol Szajnocha explains that Lithuanian converts received clothing made from broadcloth: 'For in having thus won over the entirety of Lithuania with cloth, that sacramental gift contributed meaningfully to determining the fate of Lithuanian idolatry [...] Each newly baptised person received a white, woollen gown. This elegant costume, opulent in Lithuanian eyes, brought happiness to pagan misery.'¹⁰ It is

⁵ See, e.g., SICIŃSKI, Andrzej. Styl życia – problemy pojęciowe i teoretyczne. In *Styl życia. Koncepcje i propozycje*. Red. Andrzej SICIŃSKI. Warszawa, 1976, s. 16–17.

⁶ In fact, the matter of lifestyle is only of marginal importance to us.

⁷ *Annales*, X, p. 160–161.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 169: *'Femine eorum [...] in procurandis [...] omniphariorum staminum, que ex lino texuntur, magno studio et cura callent'*.

¹⁰ SZAJNOCHA, Karol. *Jadwiga i Jagiełło 1374–1413. Opowiadanie historyczne*. T. III. Wyd. 2. Lwów, 1861, s. 219–220, 233. In this regard, the author expressed the view that the 'moist nature of the ground and

not clear, however, why that scholar held that the cloth given out by the king was white in colour. If it was indeed made from broadcloth, it had the natural colour of wool: white, grey, brown, or even black. For products made from undyed wool were typical of Polish textiles in the late Middle Ages.¹¹ Fr Jan Fijałek was also of the opinion that the king gave out woollen clothing.¹² Marcelli Kosman, in turn, believed he gave 'white linen gowns'.¹³ Other scholars wonder about the colour of the clothing, avoiding the question of the material from which it was made. In the view of Zenonas Ivinskis, 'as a sign of having regained innocence, each baptised person received a white gown.'¹⁴ Paulius Rabikauskas¹⁵ and Fr Marian Banaszak¹⁶ also cite white clothing.

Nor do Jadwiga Krzyżaniakowa and Jerzy Ochmański express any reservations concerning the reliability of Długosz's account of King Władysław distributing clothing.¹⁷ In the view of Fr Marek T. Zahajkiewicz, however, in order to properly understand the information of interest to us, we need to bear in mind the theories at work in Late Medieval missions: 'It is sometimes said that the mission to Lithuania succeeded thanks to the gifts of clothing distributed among those who were baptised [...] No doubt that "material" motive did exist among certain Lithuanians [...] But was an attempt not made to provide the requisite truths of the Christian faith, as well?'¹⁸ Fr Marian Banaszak takes a wholly different view of the matter: inasmuch as 'material self-interest [was made] the primary motive for accepting Christianity', there can be no talk of an authentic conversion of the Lithuanians.¹⁹ This understanding prompts reservations inasmuch as clothing protecting from the cold, as we see in Długosz's account, was vitally important for the Lithuanians, and only through baptism could they come to possess such goods (see below). The phrase quoted in the title of this paper, '*rudis illa nacio et pannosa*', expresses wonderfully this dependency.²⁰ For that matter, Marcelli Kosman, quoted above,

the complete lack of broadcloth, which was too artificial and costly in Lithuanian eyes, made linen and hemp the primary crop, and the primary focus of domestic work and ingenuity': *Ibid.*, s. 186.

¹¹ See, e.g., POPPE, Danuta. Przemysł włókienniczy. In *Historia kultury materialnej Polski w zarysie*. T. II: *Od XIII do XV wieku*. Red. Witold HENSEL, Jan PAZDUR. Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, Gdańsk, 1978, s. 119.

¹² FIJAŁEK, Jan. *Uchrześcianienie Litwy przez Polskę i zachowanie w niej języka ludu*. Kraków, 1914, s. 27.

¹³ KOSMAN, Marcelli. Początki i rozwój chrystianizacji Litwy (cz. 2). *Nasza Przeszość. Studia z dziejów Kościoła i kultury katolickiej w Polsce*, 2010, t. 113, s. 27.

¹⁴ IVINSKIS, Zenonas. Litwa w dobie chrztu i unii z Polską. In KŁOCZOWSKI, Jerzy; IVINSKIS, Zenonas; FIJAŁEK, Jan; WOJTKOWIAK, Zbysław. *Chryścianizacja Litwy*. Kraków, 1987, s. 62–63.

¹⁵ RABIKAUSKAS, Paulius. Die Taufe Litauens. *Analecta Cracoviensia*, 1987, t. 19, s. 99.

¹⁶ BANASZAK, Marian. Chrzest Żmudzi i jego reperkusje w Konstancji. In *Chrzest Litwy. Geneza, przebieg, konsekwencje*. Red. Marek T. ZAHAJKIEWICZ. Lublin, 1990, s. 68.

¹⁷ KRZYŻANIAKOWA, Jadwiga; OCHMAŃSKI, Jerzy. *Władysław II Jagiełło*. Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, Gdańsk, Łódź, 1990, s. 115.

¹⁸ ZAHAJKIEWICZ, Marek T. Chrzest Litwy. Wprowadzenie. Problem chrztu Litwy w historiografii. In *Chrzest Litwy...*, s. 35.

¹⁹ BANASZAK, M. *Op. cit.*, s. 68–69.

²⁰ The word '*rudis*' here is a synonym for 'pagan' – cf. BORKOWSKA, U. *Op. cit.*, s. 124–125.

writes: 'Whereas [...] an effort was made to acquaint the wealthy more closely with the principles of the Catholic faith, in the aim of persuading the common folk, the effort was made not by verbal abstractions, but by matters concrete [...] [This involved] distributing gowns to those who agreed to the first sacrament [...] Jogaila of Lithuania in late 1385 carried off the enormous riches which he had amassed in his treasury. One year later, he returned from Poland with gowns for his subjects [...] [This] clothing was attractive, and was something new for the inhabitants of Lithuania.'²¹ It is not clear why this author is of the opinion that the (only) recipients of clothing were neophytes from the masses, for Długosz's account offers no basis for that conclusion. There are, however, reasons to believe that the clothing was distributed only among the wealthy.

Indeed, according to the delegates from the Teutonic Order who spoke out at the Polish-Teutonic trial held at the Council of Constance in 1416: '*aliquibus baptizandis qui ceteris reputabantur meliores dabantur tunice, reperti fuerunt aliqui bis baptizati, ut duplices tunicas mererentur et alia donaria que eis tunc dabantur.*'²² What draws our attention here is that only the *meliores* received clothing and other gifts; the term *tunice* is to be understood as a tunic for either men or women. There is not a single word about the type of cloth from which the tunics were made. Of course, Długosz also lists *indumenta*. This term may be taken to mean cloaks. The chronicler no doubt intended to stress that, together with accepting baptism, the Lithuanians received (for the first time) a complete set of clothing, woollen clothing, moreover, which had not been available earlier. Paulius Rabikauskas believes that the king gave out cloaks.²³ However, the statement by the Teutonic Knights cited above, with its mention of tunics, seems trustworthy.²⁴ We also need to recognise as trustworthy the Teutonic Knights' information that these tunics, along with other gifts, were offered only to *meliores*.²⁵ These *meliores* were members of the Lithuanian nation. It does not seem possible (or necessary) for Władysław Jogaila to grant gifts to all neophytes. The tunics they received were a symbol of the radically

²¹ KOSMAN, Marcei. *Drogi zaniku pogaństwa u Bałtów*. Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, Gdańsk, 1976, s. 28.

²² *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi magni ducis Lithuaniae 1376-1430* (Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia, t. VI). Ed. Antonii PROCHASKA. Cracoviae, 1882, appendix VI, p. 1030.

²³ RABIKAUSKAS, P. Op. cit., s. 99: '*wohl eine Art von Umhangmänteln*'.

²⁴ Karol Szajnocha has written about tunics – SZAJNOCHA, K. Op. cit., t. III, s. 233. The Teutonic Knights were well aware of the situation in Lithuania – see BARONAS, D.; ROWELL, S. C. Op. cit., p. 343.

²⁵ Cf. in this regard, Długosz's account of the Christianisation of the Samogitians: '*Notabiliiores itaque eorum [...] baptizantur. Universis autem, qui fidem Christianam et baptisma susceperant, Wladislaus rex pannos optimos, equos, vestimenta, pecunias et alia munera in fidei sancte favorem liberaliter largitus est, ut ceteri ad suscipiendum religionem orthodoxam forent proniores*' – [DŁUGOSZ, Jan]. *Joannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*. Liber XI: 1413-1430. Ed. Danuta TURKOWSKA, Stanislaus A. SROKA. Varsaviae, 2000 (hereafter, *Annales*, XI), p. 24. The term '*universi*' used here probably refers to wealthy Samogitians, and the term '*ceteri*' to the people. It is not clear whether or not the description '*panni optimi*' signifies coloured broadcloth. For a description of Długosz's account of events in Samogitia as 'pious fiction' see BARONAS, D.; ROWELL, S. C. Op. cit., pp. 342-347.

changed way of life among the converted Lithuanians: in washing away the sins of paganism in the water of baptism, they discarded their old self, and donned a new self 'created on God's principles' (Eph 4: 22–24). After the wealthy, Lithuanians from the masses also underwent baptism, in keeping with variously understood forms of solidarity,²⁶ and not because of the desire to receive a tunic. It remains an open question just what material the tunics were made of. After all, neither the time of year when the baptisms took place (winter of 1387), nor the rite in which it was performed, give us any real certainty.²⁷ We shall return to the question of the material later.

One further matter must be added to the above doubts connected with interpreting Jan Długosz's account of the distribution of clothing among fresh converts in Lithuania. This concerns the chronicler's statement that until the arrival of King Władysław's Christian mission, the Lithuanians did not know what broadcloth was, and contented themselves exclusively with linen. This seems completely improbable. First of all, Długosz himself informs us that sheep were raised in Lithuania (more below). It can hardly be surmised that in pagan times the Lithuanians did not know how to spin wool and weave broadcloth. Secondly, from the middle of the 13th century, and all the more in the 14th century, the Lithuanians conducted far-reaching trade with cities of the Hanseatic League (such as Riga and Toruń), and also with Ruthenian cities (Polotsk, Vitebsk, Pskov, Smolensk and Great Novgorod). Colonies of German craftsmen and traders appeared in the cities of Lithuania (Vilnius), along with Ruthenian traders, too. Of course, there were also Lithuanian traders and craftsmen. The trade in broadcloth must have been an important item in transactions by those traders.²⁸

Jan Długosz leaves no doubt that the Lithuanians needed warm clothing. For in his *Annals* we read that the Lithuanians (just like the Samogitians) inhabited the very coldest regions of the north, where for ten months of the year there were such icy

²⁶ Cf. BARONAS D.; ROWELL, S. C. Op. cit., p. 355.

²⁷ According to Długosz, the baptism took place via sprinkling (*conspersus*) – *Annales*, X, p. 161; according to the account of the Teutonic Knights at the Council of Constance by dunking (*mersio*) ('*nec grave eis erat aquis mergi, quia ea gens a iuventute sua balneis est assunta*') – see *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi...*, appendix VI, p. 1030. Scholars take into purview sprinkling, pouring and dunking, see, e.g., FIJAŁEK, J. Op. cit., s. 20–24; KOSMAN, M. *Drogi zaniku pogaństwa...*, s. 27; ZAHAJKIEWICZ, M. T. Op. cit., s. 48–49; BŁASZCZYK, Grzegorz. *Dzieje stosunków polsko-litewskich*. T. II: *Od Krewa do Lublina*, cz. I. Poznań, 2007, s. 211.

²⁸ IVINSKIS, Z. Op. cit., s. 69; КЯУПА, Зигмантас; КЯУПЕНЕ, Юрате. Европейские контакты купцов Вильнюса в XV–XVI вв. In *Цивилизация Северной Европы. Средневековый город и культурное взаимодействие*. Ред. Аделаида СВАНИДЗЕ. Москва, 1992, с. 96–107; ROWELL, S. C. *Lithuania Ascending. A pagan empire within east-central Europe, 1295–1345* (Cambridge studies in medieval life and thought. Fourth series, 25). Cambridge, 1994, pp. 69, 72–79, 227, 289, 294–295; KIAUPA, Zigmantas; KIAUPIENĖ, Jūratė; KUNCEVIČIUS, Albinas. *The History of Lithuania Before 1795*. Vilnius, 2000, pp. 73, 75–78; ГУДАВИЧЮС, Эдвардас. *История Литвы*. Т. I: *С древнейших времен до 1569 года*. Москва, 2005, с. 91–92.

temperatures that many people froze to death, or lost their noses (at least).²⁹ Karol Szajnocha had no reservations about Długosz's description of the climate in Lithuania and Samogitia.³⁰ However, Aleksander Brückner looked askance at Długosz's claims, rightly labelling them as 'exaggerated'.³¹

It was no accident that the chronicler provided a juxtaposition of information: on one hand about Lithuania's severe climate, and on the other about the meagre garb of the majority (if not all) of the country's inhabitants. Of course, he also conceded that Lithuanian women '*in procurandis [...] omniphariorum staminum, que ex lino texuntur, magno studio et cura callent*'.³² However, the reader of his chronicle was aware that clothing made of linen (and which, we recall, was quite short) could not protect wearers from the cold. After all, as early as in Antiquity, linen was described as having cooling attributes.³³ Jan Długosz desired to bring into sharp relief the radical change in the life of the Lithuanian people that was carried out together with the arrival of the Christianising mission led by King Władysław, who '*non immerito Lithuanice gentis conversor et apostolus possit censeri*'.³⁴ For in having led the Lithuanians to their conversion, the king opened up before them the prospect of eternal life among the saved. And in having given them warm clothing in order to overcome the threat of the lethal cold, he opened up before them the prospect of earthly life. Between the two manifestations of life, there is an obvious link: for eternal life begins in earthly life.

In connection with this matter, we should also consider the symbolism of linen (flax) and wool. In early Christianity, flax was considered a symbol of life and immortality, for it grows out of earth, which is not subject to death.³⁵ In the High Middle Ages,

²⁹ *Annales*, X, p. 165–168, here p. 166: '*Tam Lithuanice autem quam Samagittice gentes gelidissimum septemtrionis axem magna ex parte spectant, adeoque imbre et frigore rigescunt, ut plerosque vis algoris extinguat, multos nasis, quod illic maior videtur inesse humor, in quem agat, mutilet. Duobus tantummodo mensibus in utraque regione sentitur magis quam habetur estas; reliqua anni tempora frigore rigent*'; cf. *Ibid.*, XI, s. 21–22. Baronas and Rowell fittingly call attention to the Biblical inspirations concerning the images Długosz offers of the northern countries – BARONAS, D.; ROWELL, S. C. *Op. cit.*, p. 357. It is interesting that in Renaissance historiography on Lithuania, which portrayed the country's pagan past in heroic colors, Lithuania is held up as 'an Arcadian land' – DROŹDZIEL-LITWINOWICZ, Małgorzata. *O starożytnościach litewskich. Mitologizacja historii w XIX-wiecznym piśmiennictwie byłego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego* (Biblioteka Literatury Pogranicza, t. 17). Kraków, 2008, s. 16.

³⁰ SZAJNOCHA, Karol. *Jadwiga i Jagiełło 1374–1413. Opowiadanie historyczne*. T. II. Wyd. 2. Lwów, 1861, s. 181–182.

³¹ BRÜCKNER, Aleksander. *Starożytna Litwa. Ludy i bogi. Szkice historyczne i mitologiczne*. Oprac. i wstępem poprz. Jan JASKANIS. Wyd. 2. Olsztyn, 1985, s. 95. Jan Jaskanis, who published the work of Brückner in Długosz's defence argued that 'in the 15th century the climate was more severe than today's' – *Ibid.*, s. 227, note 82. However, Długosz by no means intended to describe the factual climate of pagan Lithuania!

³² *Annales*, X, p. 169.

³³ Cf. BURGHARDT, Walter J. Cyril of Alexandria on "Wool and Linen". *Traditio*, 1944, vol. 2, p. 484.

³⁴ *Annales*, X, p. 170. Concerning how Długosz highlighted the person of the king, see: BŁASZCZYK, G. *Op. cit.*, s. 209–210; BARONAS, D.; ROWELL, S. C. *Op. cit.*, pp. 278–279.

³⁵ BURGHARDT, W. J. *Op. cit.*, pp. 485–486.

in turn, flax was seen as a symbol of Christ's body.³⁶ Clothing from linen reflected marvellously the meaning of baptism as a sacrament that offered a role in the life of the Risen Christ. And when it came to wool, it was believed that wool was somehow imbued with death, for it comes from animals destined to die. That is why woollen clothing was deemed inappropriate for the sacrament of baptism.³⁷ Długosz's account speaks (indirectly) of a reversal among Lithuanian pagans of the symbolic meanings of the two fabrics. Linen, which for Christians is a symbol of life, for pagans signifies death; whereas wool, which for Christians symbolises death, is for pagans a symbol of life. Thus, with regard to the symbolism of linen and wool, it seems doubtful that King Władysław gave out woollen tunics to the wealthy. Most likely, they were linen tunics.

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In the event, as concerns the way of life of pagans and Christians, the important element to which Jan Długosz draws attention is that of consuming material goods. For Lithuanian pagans dressed in a manner that in no way protected them from the climate in their country. And yet Lithuanian women zealously attended to preparing clothing. The formula which Długosz used about the pagan Lithuanians '*rudis illa nacio et pannosa*' contains a thought about the existence of a dependency between care for the heavenly kingdom and experiencing material well-being. For the Lithuanians took care of their dress as pagans, '*gentes mundi*', that is, without the will of God. And yet, as we may surmise, they should have attended to their dress in accordance with the words of Jesus as directed to His disciples: '*Nolite solliciti esse [...] corpori quid induamini [...] Verumtamen quaerite primum regnum Dei, et iustitiam eius: et haec omnia adiicientur vobis*' (Luke 12: 22, 31).³⁸ Thus, Długosz described how King Władysław, who was the instrument of God,³⁹ provided all newly baptised Lithuanians with warm clothes.

³⁶ FUCHS, Franz. Wolle oder Leinen. Zum Streit um den rechten Habit in der Regularkanonikerbewegung des 12. Jahrhunderts. In *Regula Sancti Augustini. Normative Grundlagen differenter Verbände im Mittelalter* (Publikationen der Akademie der Augustiner-Chorherren von Windesheim, Bd. 3). Hrsg. von Gert MELVILLE, Anne MÜLLER. Paring, 2002, S. 225, 229; RICHTER, Jörg. *Linteamina*. Leinen als Bedeutungsträger. In *Beziehungsreiche Gewebe. Textilien im Mittelalter*. Hrsg. von Kristin BÖSE, Silke TAMMEN. Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bern, Bruxelles, New York, NY, Oxford, Wien, 2012, S. 311.

³⁷ BURGHARDT, W. J. Op. cit., pp. 485–486. In the High Middle Ages, wool was interpreted as a symbol of penitence and renunciation of the world; linen, in turn, was a symbol of humility, purity, piety, and imitation of Christ, see: FUCHS, F. Op. cit., S. 225, 229; RICHTER, J. Op. cit., S. 311; SEEBERG, Stefanie. Monument in Linen: A Thirteenth-Century Embroidered Catafalque Cover for the Members of the Beata Stirps of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary. In *Dressing the Part: Textiles as Propaganda in the Middle Ages*. Ed. by Kate DIMITROVA, Margaret GOEHRING. Turnhout, 2013, pp. 81–94.

³⁸ *Biblia Sacra vulgatæ editionis Sixti V Pont. Max. iussu recognita et Clementis VIII auctoritate edita*. Ed. Michael HETZENAUER. Ratisbonæ, Romæ, 1914, p. 1024.

³⁹ Cf. BORKOWSKA, U. Op. cit., s. 132–133.

III

With regard to the information about linen clothing among the pagan Lithuanians, clothing which did not afford them protection from the cold, what draws our attention is the fact that, prior to accepting baptism, the Lithuanians practised paganism in the Roman way, with 'burnt offerings of sheep and calves', in order to appease Satan, who disfigured those who tried to chop down the sacred groves.⁴⁰ Moreover, Długosz reports that at the beginning of October, after the harvest, 'for three days [the Lithuanians] made burnt offerings to their home gods,' and this included oxen, rams, calves and other animals.⁴¹ What is more, these animals (and horses, too) were burned on pyres, together with the bodies of their deceased owners.⁴² Thus, the chronicler unequivocally lets it be understood that domesticated animals in pagan Lithuania entered the sacred realm as offerings to Satan (i.e., the pagan gods). However, he does not mention that they were used in other ways, too: as draft animals, as raw material for articles of clothing to protect against the cold (wool for making broadcloth; leather, above all from sheep, for fur coats and boots), and as foodstuffs. There can be no doubt that Długosz's account that domestic animals were used foremost or even exclusively for sacral purposes is entirely unreliable.⁴³

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Whatever the case, in keeping with Długosz's description, the quantitative extent of the sacrifices was enormous, and utterly out of proportion to what the Lithuanian common people were used to receiving from their gods. For instance, thanksgiving sacrifices were made for harvests in the form of unripe grain.⁴⁴

Noteworthy in Długosz's tale of Lithuanian paganism is the silence concerning communion sacrifice. He states clearly that the Lithuanians first made sacrifices in thanksgiving for the harvest, and then feasted for three days.⁴⁵ Thus, there can be no talk of any covenant whatsoever between the Lithuanian people and their gods.

⁴⁰ *Annales*, X, p. 165. About Długosz's identification of Satan with the pagan gods see BORKOWSKA, U. Op. cit., s. 126–128; about animal sacrifices see, e.g., ROWELL, S. C. Op. cit., pp. 122–124.

⁴¹ *Annales*, X, p. 165: 'Erat [...] Lithwanis ex patrio ritu consuetudinarium et cerimoniale [...] sub principio mensis Octobris [...] diis patriis boves, arietes, vitulos et cetera animalia per triduum in holocausta et victimas offerre'. Cf. *Ibid.*, XI, p. 22. According to the authors of the critical commentary to the *Annals*, 'Długosz wrote down a contemporary oral tradition that was still very much alive' – GAWĘDA, Stanisław; SIERADZKA, Krystyna; RADZISZEWSKA, Julia; STACHOWSKA, Krystyna. *Rozbiór krytyczny Annalium Poloniae Jana Długosza*. T. I: z lat 1385-1444 (Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych, nr. 7). Red. Jan DĄBROWSKI, Krystyna PIERADZKA. Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, 1961, s. 19.

⁴² *Annales*, X, p. 166: 'Adiungebantur autem cremando corpori queque pociora: equus, bos, vacca'. Concerning burial practices among the pagan Lithuanians see, e.g., BARONAS, D.; ROWELL, S. C. Op. cit., pp. 300–303.

⁴³ Cf. *Annales*, X, p. 67, where farmers and their stock (hogs and cattle) are mentioned.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 166: 'Coguntur proinde male matura frumenta igne torrere et artificioso calore illis maturitatem conferre.'

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

Rather, there was a one-sided dependence of the people on the gods. Nor can there be any talk of how the gods strengthened the community between those taking part in the feasts.⁴⁶

Długosz implicitly juxtaposes pagan sacrifice with Christian sacrifice. The Eucharist unites Christians with Jesus Christ, and Christians with each other. In this sacrifice, it is not quantity but quality that holds meaning. Sacrifices are made to God that are 'not raw materials that exist in nature, but products [...] of [human] labour'. Therefore, 'not heads of corn, but bread; not [...] [bunches] of grapes, but wine [...] All of this is blessed and transubstantiated during the Eucharistic sacrifice.'⁴⁷ And so the pagan Lithuanians did not sacrifice the fruit of their labour as an offering that was the outcome of their being in thrall to Satan and the pagan gods. It entailed far-reaching consequences concerning the pagan Lithuanian way of life, namely, the economic resources they possessed were not transformed into means of production.⁴⁸ The lack, or shortage, of means of production, such as land and capital, made it impossible for another factor, labour, understood as 'human action undertaken in a free and deliberate way, to emerge.'⁴⁹ What persisted was unfree labour on behalf of the princes and the wealthy (more below). Thus, Lithuanian pagans suffered from want not only in the case of clothing, but also in the case of nourishment.

As regards the last, we need to bear in mind that the land in Lithuania was infertile, and that Lithuania was so very despised, dismissed and belittled that the Ruthenian princes, '*sub quorum imperio annis prope mille veluti servile vulgus fuere*', knowing what an impoverished and naturally barren land Lithuania was, demanded as a fief only bast (*subera*) and brushes made from oak branches (*perizomata*) to use in saunas.⁵⁰ In evaluating the symbolism of this tribute, we need to consider two matters. First, oaks symbolise the power of pagans. The Ruthenians should have knocked the oaks down and then let the seeds sown by the word of God sprout in the clearing (cf. Isa 2: 13; 6: 13; Zech 11: 2; Amos 2: 9). However, the Ruthenian-schismatics were not capable of chopping down the oaks. The fact that, as Długosz writes, the Lithuanians '*imperent nunc Ruthenis*' can be interpreted as a divine curse on the Ruthenians. But the information about tribute in oak branches is important in another regard; namely, the tribute does not have the element of human labour.

⁴⁶ Brückner did not discern this aspect – BRÜCKNER, A. Op. cit., s. 84–85, 175–176.

⁴⁷ GNIADK, Jacek. *Ekonomia Boża i ludzka. Kazania wolnorynkowe*. Warszawa, 2013, s. 88–90.

⁴⁸ Ivinskis noted: 'The medieval crusaders believed that pagans did not make use of earthly goods in divine praise, as was demanded by then-reigning Christian views (St Augustine). Thus, everything that the pagans 'illegally' possessed, could be freely taken and destroyed.' – IVINSKIS, Z. Op. cit., s. 68–69. Długosz was not a crusader; nonetheless, he did pay attention to the moral aspects of the allocation of resources among pagan Lithuanians. Borkowska overlooked this issue – BORKOWSKA, U. Op. cit.

⁴⁹ GNIADK, J. Op. cit., s. 90.

⁵⁰ *Annales*, X, p. 166, 169. About the meaning of the word '*perizomata*' see: *Słownik łaciny średniowiecznej w Polsce*. T. 7, z. 3 (54). Współpr. Aleksandra BAŚ-KULBIKA et al. Kraków, 1993, s. 390.

Such labour could appear and put down roots in Lithuania only after the felling of those 'oaks of Bashan' (Isa 2: 13; Zech 11: 2). There is a similarity between the sacrifices made by the Lithuanians to their gods and the tribute they paid to the Ruthenians: such sacrifices, just like the tribute, were made up of raw materials existing in nature.

Karol Szajnocha deemed the description of the pagan Lithuanian economy, as found in Długosz's *Annals*, to be trustworthy: 'The most perfect link between man and the earth, that is, agricultural work, gives almost no sign of its existence. The wild lands of Lithuania posed too imposing an obstacle, and hence the people felt no desire to try and overcome the difficulties.'⁵¹ Today we know that the basis of the Lithuanian economy in the 14th century was agriculture, and that it was subject to a process of modernisation regarding cultivation and tools. Grain and flax were produced, and horses were bred, on peasant farms and on the properties of boyars. Hunting and fishing had a secondary meaning.⁵²

We need to put Długosz's comments on the diet of Lithuanians against the background of this information on the status of the agricultural economy. It was modest both quantitatively and qualitatively, and was based on flour. Only for guests and newcomers (*pro hospitibus et advenis*) were sumptuous feasts organised.⁵³ On the other hand, Lithuanian women '*in procurandis cibarium et victualium [...] magno studio et cura callent*'⁵⁴ Despite these efforts, the needs of the pagan Lithuanians as far as nourishment goes were not met.⁵⁵ And if they encountered foreign cuisine, they degenerated.⁵⁶ In interpreting this set of information, we may, as in the case of clothing, hearken to the words Jesus addressed to his disciples on the topic of setting one's heart on eating and drinking: '*Et vos nolite quaerere quid manducetis, aut quid bibatis: et nolite in sublime tolli: haec enim omnia gentes mundi quaerunt. Pater autem vester scit quoniam his indigetis. Verumtamen quaerite primum regnum Dei, et iustitiam eius: et haec omnia adiicientur vobis*' (Luke 12: 29–31).⁵⁷

⁵¹ SZAJNOCHA, K. Op. cit., t. III, s. 184–187, quotation s. 184. Prochaska takes a similar view: '*Lithuania was great in terms of extent; but the country cannot be ascribed with absolute greatness and power, as most historians do, deceived as they are by appearances [...] for those territories were under-inhabited, full of virgin forests and wilderness [...] The population inhabiting those spaces was given to hunting, fishing, beekeeping, and finally cattle-raising more than agriculture. Moreover, we have numerous mentions by contemporary historians and diarists about the vast forests and abundant game encountered nowhere else in Europe.*' – PROCHASKA, Antoni. *Król Władysław Jagiełło*. T. I. Kraków, 1908, s. 12–13.

⁵² KOLANKOWSKI, Ludwik. *Dzieje Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego za Jagiellonów*. T. 1: 1377-1499. Warszawa, 1930, s. 2; IVINSKI, Z. Op. cit., s. 68; ROWELL, S. C. Op. cit., pp. 49–50, 73, 80; KIAUPA, Z.; KIAUPIENĖ, J.; KUNCEVIČIUS, A. Op. cit., p. 73.

⁵³ *Annales*, X, p. 169: '*Cibus genti parvus et castigatus, pascedis et ollis ex farina formatis coctus, igne magis quam aqua torritus.*'

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*, XI, p. 22.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, X, p. 166: '*Qui a peregrinis voluptatibus excepti contagione et alimento degenerant.*'

⁵⁷ *Biblia Sacra...*, p. 1024.

IV

Jan Długosz states that not only were the domestic animals mentioned above burnt together with the bodies of deceased Lithuanians, but so were valuable items of property, such as cloaks, weapons and finery.⁵⁸ This is how the body of Grand Duke Gediminas (the grandfather of King Władysław Jogaila), who died *'in gentilitatis errore'*, was burnt.⁵⁹ Długosz writes: *'In cerimoniais et ritibus ad curam rerum divinarum pertinentibus, proceribus et satrapis gentis precipua cura, vulgo tenuis est.'*⁶⁰ The figure of King Władysław Jogaila shines all the more brightly as the 'apostle' of his homeland against the backdrop of these *proceres et satrapae*, the promoters of paganism in Lithuania.

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Długosz tells us that the source of the grand duke's wealth (and that of the *meliiores*) was mainly robbery. He explains that the predilection of Lithuanians for robbery stems from the features of the country they inhabit, covered as it is in forests, and having such a harsh climate; and especially because of their mixing and coexisting with the Ruthenians: *'Terre autem, quas inhabitabant, et celi, sub quo aluntur, proprietas, gentis quoque Ruthenice convictus et comixtio, veterem illorum et priscam commutavit in plerisque, non tamen in totum sustulit, indolem.'*⁶¹ The second source of the wealth of the duke and the elite was slavery. As Długosz informs us, slavery existed in Lithuania on a large scale, and in fact it was growing. There were slaves by birth, by debt (via overdue levies or court fines), by being taken or sold into slavery; usually, however, slavery was the result of violence and lawlessness. Slaves were never (or only very seldom) freed. The severity of the Lithuanians towards their slaves was worse than among the barbarians.⁶² The toil of slaves was the source of accumulated wealth. Slaves built homes and carried out household tasks.⁶³ The majority of soldiers in the army were slaves.⁶⁴ Moreover, the Lithuanian masters themselves were burdened with levies, services and heavy duties on behalf of the duke, and in a way no different than *'empticii et sclavi'*.⁶⁵ Of course, all Lithuanians had lived for a thousand years under the rule of Ruthenians *'veluti servile vulgus'*.⁶⁶

⁵⁸ *Annales*, X, p. 166, 169; XI, p. 22.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, X, p. 166: *'cum equo optimo, ioppula margaritis et gemmis intexta, veste ostro et auro superba, balteo argenteo deauratoque amictus, exustus est.'* Cf. GAWĘDA, S.; SIERADZKA, K.; RADZISZEWSKA, J.; STACHOWSKA, K. *Op. cit.*, s. 19. *'Ioppula'* is a kind of jacket, *'vestis'* may be understood as a cloak.

⁶⁰ *Annales*, X, p. 169.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁶² Concerning the term 'barbarians' in the works of Jan Długosz, see: BORKOWSKA, U. *Op. cit.*, s. 124–126.

⁶³ *Annales*, X, p. 166.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 167–169.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, XI, p. 14.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, X, p. 169.

Karol Szajnocha commented on this information as follows: 'Paganism is captivity. Pagan Lithuania is a horde of slaves. From the highest of the lords to the lowest of the country's subjects [...] wound an unbroken chain of slavery.'⁶⁷ And yet elsewhere we know that the description of Lithuania as a horde of slaves does not conform to reality. The power of the grand duke was not absolute. Lithuanian boyars, in possessing patrimonial landed estates, served the grand duke, created a local elite, and took part in the grand ducal council. They supported themselves by military forays and the cultivation of the land. Alongside them were numerous petty gentry with small farms. The Lithuanian peasants, in turn, enjoyed personal freedom, although they had to shoulder arbitrary duties to the state. Of course, there were also free people, who worked in particular in the homes and on the farms of the boyars, but this group did not define the character of Lithuanian society.⁶⁸ It may be that the term 'slave' in Długosz's description of pagan Lithuania not only has a legal meaning, but also a theological one. The chronicler might have meant to bring into relief the view that the pagan who was closed to God could not be open to his fellow man.

In the light of what Długosz reports, the consequence of paganism in Lithuania included the fact that members of the ruling class (the duke and the wealthy) were not interested in accumulating the means of production. The powerful elite takes from the Lithuanian people all available resources and uses them exclusively for its own consumption. The treasury of the elite's accumulated wealth does not depend on their 'success in service to others in a social system of the division of labour'. Their attitude to the people is not a consequence of 'a harmonious inequality sanctioned by God',⁶⁹ but rather a consequence of imposing upon the people a condition of captivity. The character of relations between the pagan Lithuanian people and the duke and the wealthy, and the character of relations between the pagan Lithuanians and their gods, is sketched similarly. The severity of the wealthy towards the people was paralleled by the severity of Satan and the gods to all Lithuanians. The elite was, after all, the promoter of the pagan cult. The focus of the elite was on consuming luxury goods as swiftly as possible: this desire was expressed in extreme fashion by the pyres on which they burned the bodies of the dead *miliores* along with the material wealth they had accumulated.⁷⁰ Długosz, in fact, relativises that 'wealth and property, which Lithuania never had'.⁷¹

⁶⁷ SZAJNOCHA, K. Op. cit., t. III, s. 189; see also s. 190.

⁶⁸ ROWELL, S. C. Op. cit., pp. 59–67, 73, 80; KIAUPA, Z.; KIAUPIENĖ, J.; KUNCEVIČIUS, A. Op. cit., pp. 74–75; BARONAS, D.; ROWELL, S. C. Op. cit., pp. 280, 324, 329.

⁶⁹ GNIADK, J. Op. cit., s. 152.

⁷⁰ Szajnocha interpreted this passage literally: '*pagan Lithuania was a truly impoverished country. In the country's ducal spheres the glitter of wealth and opulence shone, but the general lot of people lived in misery.*' – SZAJNOCHA, K. Op. cit., t. III, s. 216.

⁷¹ *Annales*, XI, p. 254: '*divicias aut opes, quas Lithuania nunquam habuit.*'

V

Urszula Borkowska noted that 'the issue of the pagans in the works of Długosz occupies much space.'⁷² She highlighted the conflict between Christianity and paganism in the spirit of the crusades. However, Jan Długosz was interested in other aspects of the pagans, also; if only to mention the way of life of pagan peoples.

In Długosz's *Annals*, the key indicator of the way of life of the Lithuanian pagans is the consumption of material goods such as food, clothing and shelter. This point of view has its basis in the Bible. For in the Wisdom of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus), which, as it seems, was our chronicler's inspiration, we read: '*Initium vitae hominis aqua et panis, et vestimentum, et domus protegens turpitudinem*' (Sir 29: 28);⁷³ and also '*Initium necessariae rei vitae hominum, aqua, ignis, et ferrum, sal, lac, et panis similagineus, et mel et botrus uvae, et oleum, et vestimentum*' (Sir 39: 31).⁷⁴ These goods, the prophet tells us, fully satisfy a person's material needs for life, and he/she should not surrender to the temptation to seek additional goods.

The Lithuanian pagans, as Długosz shows, even at this basic level, did not satisfy their material needs for life. Water had a secondary meaning in the course of preparing meals.⁷⁵ In the life of the Lithuanians, it was present throughout most of the year, above all in the form of threatening ice. Fire served for roasting unripe grain.⁷⁶ It is intriguing that, despite the availability of water, fire and grain/flour⁷⁷ in pagan Lithuania, which Długosz does stress, bread was unknown. The lack of any mention of this basic staple, which is synonymous with 'food' itself, indicates that pagan Lithuania was wracked by famine. What is also intriguing is the comparison of that information with the description of the diet of the Samogitians. According to Długosz, they ate modestly: they enjoyed bread and meat, and usually drank water (seldom honey or beer), and did not know wine, fish or snacks.⁷⁸

About clothing, Długosz explains that the pagan Lithuanians did not meet their own needs here, either. Although they cultivated flax, the linen clothing they made was short. The description 'short' means simply that in pagan times the Lithuanians did not possess the most basic element of clothing, tunics. Moreover, their short linen clothing was also worn in winter, and this resulted in death or maiming.

⁷² BORKOWSKA, U. Op. cit., s. 123–124.

⁷³ *Biblia Sacra...*, p. 648.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 657.

⁷⁵ *Annales*, X, p. 169: '*Cibus [...] igne magis quam aqua torritus.*'

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 166: '*Coguntur proinde male matura frumenta igne torrere et artificioso calore illis maturitatem conferre.*'

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 169: '*Cibus [...] ex farina formatis coctus.*'

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, XI, p. 22: '*gens [...] parco et castigato victu de pane aut carne contenta, sitim suam raro medone aut cerevisia, sed communis unda sedare solita [...] vini, piscium et pulmentorum expers et ignard.*'

Długosz writes very little about the homes of the Lithuanians in pagan times. He mentions that they kept in their homes vipers or other snakes as penates.⁷⁹ He also states that all buildings (*edificia*) were constructed by slaves.⁸⁰ Nonetheless, these homes did not assure Lithuanians suitable protection, for in the winter they froze to death. For comparison, it is worth noting what our chronicler has to say about the homes of the Samogitians: they are smokehouses which, despite everything, offer their residents protection from the freezing cold, along with their livestock.⁸¹

What Długosz writes about the consumption of material goods in pagan Lithuania is an illustration of the truth contained in the Wisdom of Sirach about 'the prime needs' for human life: '*Haec omnia sanctis in bona, sic et impiis et peccatoribus in mala convertentur*' (Sir 39: 32).⁸² Until 1387, the Lithuanians had at their disposal only some of 'the prime needs', and even these caused them misery. With their conversion in 1387, the time came for the Lithuanians to encounter the truth that '*Omnia opera Domini bona, et omne opus hora sua subministrabit*' (Sir 39: 39).⁸³ Now, with baptism, the hitherto unavailable things necessary for life, which would serve the good, could appear among the Lithuanians.

However, our chronicler relativises the extent of that transformation in the access the freshly converted Lithuanians had to 'the prime needs'. In the description of the events surrounding the war between Vytautas and Władysław Jogaila in the years 1390 to 1392, we read of the 'food shortages' rampant in Lithuania, and of 'barren, uncultivated lands'.⁸⁴ During Jogaila's siege of the castle in Grodno in the early spring of 1390, the Polish, Lithuanian and Ruthenian knights survived on just coarse bread, and the horses were fed leaves and old straw from roofs.⁸⁵ When Jogaila entered Lithuania in the late autumn of 1390, he brought with him a large amount of broadcloth, clothing and food.⁸⁶ After returning to the Kingdom of Poland, in turn, he sent

⁷⁹ Ibid., X, p. 160: '*aspides [...] et serpentes, que et qui in singulis domibus velut penates dii reperiabantur*'; see also p. 168.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 168.

⁸¹ Ibid., XI, p. 23. Borkowska noted that Długosz located geographical and climatic factors 'among determining causes' – BORKOWSKA, Urszula. Historiograficzne poglądy Jana Długosza. In *Długossiana. Studia historyczne w pięćsetlecie śmierci Jana Długosza*, cz. II (Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, vol. DCCII, Prace Historyczne, z. 76). Red. Stanisław GAWĘDA. Warszawa, Kraków, 1985, s. 54. However, it seems that the chronicler perceived the etiological power of those factors to be relative. Koczerska, in turn, holds that Długosz viewed nature (the fertility of the land, climate, afforestation) as an economist or good steward. – KOCZERSKA, Maria. Mentalność Jana Długosza w świetle jego twórczości. *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 1970, t. XV, s. 112.

⁸² *Biblia Sacra...*, p. 657.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ *Annales*, X, p. 180: '*propter victualium penuriam et defectum*'; '*propter regionis sterile et incultum*'.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 182: '*In ea autem obsidione tanta obsidentes Poloni, Lithwani et Rutheni milites premebantur vexabanturque fame, ut nonnisi grosso et atro panis edulio se ipsos, equos vero foliis et frondibus arborum aut veteri palea ex domorum tuguriis detracta et vix in quatuordecim miliaribus reperta reficerent*'.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 189.

food and other items to the castle in Vilnius.⁸⁷ Elsewhere, our chronicler states that, throughout his battles with Vytautas, King Władysław went on sending to Lithuania and Ruthenia monthly supplies of *'frumenti, lardi, peccoris, milii ceterorumque victualium magnam vim'*, for without these provisions the Lithuanians, both knights and villagers, would have fled the country to avoid starvation.⁸⁸ Długosz informs us about a tragic famine in Lithuania around the year 1408, and about twenty large ships loaded with grain that King Władysław sent.⁸⁹ The remark Długosz ascribes for the year 1409 to Ulrich von Jungingen, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, is noteworthy here, as it contains the threat of war with the Kingdom of Poland instead of Lithuania: *'caput potius petam quam membra, terram possessam potius quam desertam et opida atque villas quam nemora, guerram et arma contra Lithuaniam destinata in Regnum Polonie conversurus. Plus enim me et Ordinem meum iuvat [...] culta quam deserta agros quam silvas et dumeta impetere.'*⁹⁰

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Therefore, Długosz continues to portray post-conversion Lithuania, like pagan Lithuania, as a wasteland covered in forests. The 'prime needs' are shipped there by King Władysław Jogaila from Poland.⁹¹ On the other hand, our chronicler tells us that King Władysław ordered that in Lithuania *'silvas [...] que sacrosancte putabantur, succidi et lucos earum confringi'*.⁹² In earlier scholarly literature, this information was deemed reliable.⁹³ Today, we know that the desacralisation of the forests was under way in Lithuania (and in Samogitia) even before the official conversion of these countries, and without compulsion at the hands of the ruler. The scope and tempo of the phenomenon is difficult to determine, however.⁹⁴

Let us now take a comparative glance at the description of the clearing of the forests in Samogitia. Długosz informs us that King Władysław Jogaila ordered the sacred groves to be chopped down, together with virgin forests and smaller woods.⁹⁵ We also find that the Samogitian people, despite its initial wavering in the Christian faith *'sub brevi dierum spacio plenarie ad fidem religionemque catholicam accedens [...] silvas*

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 193.

⁸⁹ [DŁUGOSZ, Jan]. *Joannis Dlugossi Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae. Libri X–XI: 1406–1412*. Ed. Danuta TURKOWSKA, Christophorus BACZKOWSKI, Franciscus SIKORA. Varsaviae, 1997, p. 21–22.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 30.

⁹¹ Szajnocha commented on this as follows: *'The impoverished Lithuania required help both in peace and in war; of course, even more after the war the during the fighting.'* – SZAJNOCHA, Karol. *Jadwiga i Jagiełło 1374–1413. Opowiadanie historyczne*. T. IV. Wyd. 2. Lwów, 1861, s. 37. Łowmiański, in turn, wrote: *'Długosz imputed Jogaila with having used the resources of Poland to support Lithuanian matters.'* – ŁOWMIAŃSKI, Henryk. *Polityka Jagiellonów*. Wyd. 2. Poznań, 2006, s. 60.

⁹² *Annales*, X, p. 160; concerning the new forestry regime, see: BARONAS, D.; ROWELL, S. C. Op. cit., pp. 291–292.

⁹³ Szajnocha wrote: *'The land, cloaked hitherto in the darkness cast by thousands of sacred groves, now being chopped down and felled, began to show ever larger fields to the sun, ones that commended themselves to fertile agriculture.'* – SZAJNOCHA, K. Op. cit., t. III, s. 240.

⁹⁴ BARONAS, D.; ROWELL, S. C. Op. cit., p. 356.

⁹⁵ *Annales*, XI, p. 21, 23.

quas sanctas putaverat, in uberem culturam redegit.⁹⁶ The Samogitians set in motion the resources for means of production, as a consequence of which, we may assume, they had at their disposal an even greater range of basic goods necessary for life than during pagan times. Moreover, the land of Samogitia was fertile, in contrast with the barren soil of Lithuania.⁹⁷

In the mention of the conversion of Samogitian forests into fertile fields, we have a thought about the existence of a direct link between the availability of basic goods necessary for life and the status of the Christian faith. The example of Samogitia was necessary for Długosz, in order to indirectly express the following perspective: the Lithuanians' wavering in the faith was so great that their country remained a wasteland covered in forests.⁹⁸

Nonetheless, Długosz could also ascribe to certain pagan peoples broad access to goods of 'prime need'. Indeed, in the times of the legendary pagan ruler Lech and his heirs, the Poles satisfied themselves '*simplici alimento [...] humilique vestitu [...] sitim undis, esuriam frumento, carne, pisce, melle, lacte et olere*'. They used iron, built thatched roofs, and slept on the bare ground. In summary, they lived in such well-being '*ut etas illa [...] aurea verius quam Lechitica possit vocitari*'.⁹⁹ Stanisław Gawęda drew from this description the mistaken conclusion that, for Długosz, 'the ideal person was an ascetic fighting against his own passions'.¹⁰⁰ However, our chronicler (who no doubt hearkened to the model for consuming material goods presented in the Wisdom of Sirach) portrays very positively the degree of satisfying life's needs among the pagan Poles. They even made use of iron, which pagan Samogitia did not have.¹⁰¹ According to Długosz, even back in pagan times, we can see the superiority of the way of life of the Poles over that of the Lithuanians (and Samogitians). This resulted from the fact that Długosz's general view of the Lithuanians was 'unfavourable to the utmost', and his view of the Poles was (in the main) positive.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 26.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 22.

⁹⁸ According to Gawlas, '*this thoughtless wavering was for Długosz a national characteristic of the Lithuanians*.' – GAWLAS, Sławomir. Świadomość narodowa Jana Długosza. *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 1983, t. XXVII, s. 48. Długosz also charged the Samogitians with a wavering faith (*Annales*, XI, p. 24: '*Samagitas fluxe fidei homines*'), although he did present them in a more favourable light than the Lithuanians.

⁹⁹ [DŁUGOSZ, Jan]. *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*. Libri I–II. Ed. Ioannes DĄBROWSKI, Vanda SEMKOWICZ-ZAREMBA, Cristina PIERADZKA, Bożena MODELKA-STRZELECKA. Varsaviae, 1964, p. 114–116.

¹⁰⁰ GAWĘDA, Stanisław. Ocena niektórych problemów historii ojczystej w „Rocznikach” Jana Długosza. In *Długossiana. Studia historyczne w pięćsetlecie śmierci Jana Długosza* (Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, vol. DLXI, Prace Historyczne, z. 65). Red. Stanisław GAWĘDA. Warszawa, 1980, s. 197.

¹⁰¹ *Annales*, XI, p. 22.

¹⁰² GAWLAS, S. Op. cit., s. 48, 52–55.

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„*RUDIS ILLA NACIO ET PANNOSA*“: APIE JANO DŁUGOSZO „ANALUOSE“ PATEIKTĄ
1387 M. LIETUVOS KRIKŠTO APRAŠYMĄ

Marian Dygo

Santrauka

Savo žymiuose „*Analuose*“, Janas Długoszas skyrė nemažą dėmesį lietuvių pagonių gyvenimo būdui aprašyti. Lietuvių krikšto 1386–1387 m. aprašymas Długoszo „*Analuose*“ pasirodė beveik po 80-ies metų. Šiame aprašyme kronikininkas ypatingą vaidmenį suteikė karaliui Vladislovui Jogailai: labai pamaldus ir dosnus karalius krikšto proga apdovanojęs tiek paprastus žmones neofitus (*populus*), tiek ir kilminguosius bei kariauninkus (*militares, natu maiores*).

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Vienas iš svarbiausių gyvenimo būdo rodiklių šiame aprašyme tapo buitinių gyvenimo sąlygų aptarimas. Kronikininkas mus informavo, kad pagonybės laikais lietuviai ne tik nesugebėjo tenkinti savo elementarių buitinių poreikių, tačiau teigė esą gyvybiškai svarbiausios prekės jiems buvo faktiškai neprieinamos. Pateikdamas tokią pagonių lietuvių buitį, kronikininkas, matyt, naudojosi Senojo Testamento Išminties knygomis (*Ecclesiasticus*), kur pateikiami gyvybiškų žmonių poreikių teisingo tenkinimo pavyzdžiai, priešpriešinami netinkamam pagoniškam gyvenimo būdui. Długoszas nurodo tiesioginį ryšį tarp pagonių lietuvių gyvenimo būdo, netikrų jų dievų (jie pristatomi kaip šėtono parankiniai) ir pačių lietuvių nenoro gerinti savo gyvenimo buitį, t. y. lietuviai pristatomi kaip pagonybės propaguotojai. Ir atvirkščiai, vos tik lietuviai priima krikštą 1387 m., iki tol jiems nebūtinės ir nežinotos prekės, gerinančios kasdienę gyvenimo buitį, įgauna reikšmę ir ima sparčiai plisti.

Długoszo informacija apie karaliaus Vladislovo Jogailos dovanotus drabužius konvertitams istoriografijoje traktuojama kaip patikima. Lietuvių drabužiai, naudoti pagoniškuoju laikotarpiu, kronikininko buvo pristatyti kaip reikalingi dėl nelabai palankių gyventi klimato sąlygų. Kronikininkas priduria, kad moterys Lietuvoje aktyviai prisidėjo prie drabužių siuvimo.

Turint omenyje kontekstą (lietuvių krikšto aprašymą), kuris pateiktas „*Analuose*“, Długoszo interpretaciją dėl krikšto metu dalintų drabužių reikėtų vertinti atsargiai. Antai kronikininkas teigė, kad iki karaliaus Vladislovo Jogailos krikšto akcijos lietuviai nežinoję vilnionių drabužių, o nešioję tik šiurkštesnius lininius rūbus. Bet tai atrodo mažai tikėtina. Pirmiausia pats Długoszas kitose „*Analu*“ vietose rašęs, kad lietuviai auginę avis. Todėl vargu ar galima sutikti su kronikininko pateikta nuomone, kad pagonybės laikais lietuviai nežinoję, kaip apdirbti vilną ir pasigaminti vilnionių drabužių.

Antra, nuo XIII a. vidurio, o ypač per visą XIV a., lietuviai aktyviai prekiaavo su Hanzos miestų sąjungos centrais (išskirtini Rygos ir Torunės miestai) bei rusėniškais prekybos centrais, kuriuose prekiauta ir vilna. Pagaliau Długoszas teigė, kad lietuviai laikę įvairius naminius gyvulius, o kai kuriuos jų, kartu su ginklais, papuošalais, namų apyvokos daiktais, sudegindavę laidotuvių metu. Tarp apyvokos daiktų minimi ir drabužiai.

Długoszas rašė, kad kunigaikščių ir kitų kilmingųjų svarbiausias gerovės šaltinis buvo ne iš ūkio gaunama nauda, o plėšimas. Tokį lietuvių polinkį plėsti ir grobti kronikininkas aiškino pagonių lietuvių nepalankiomis gyvenimo sąlygomis – atšiauriu klimatu ir laukiniu gyvenimu tarp miškų bei lietuvių maišymusi su rusėnais. Iš kitų aprašymų žinome, kad teiginiai apie lietuvius kaip apie visur siautėjusias vergų ir plėšikų ordas neatitinka tikrovės. Žinoma, didžiojo kunigaikščio valdžia Lietuvoje nebuvo absoliuti. Bajorai, turėję patrimonines valdas, tarnavo didžiajam kunigaikščiui, o virš jų iškilęs vietos elitas buvo įtrauktas į valdovo tarybą. Vietos elitas išsilaikė iš valdomų žemių ir karinių antpuolių. Šalia jų daug smulkesnių ūkių turėjo įvairūs žemės savininkai. Tad spėtina, kad Długoszo vartojamas terminas *vergas* lietuvių krikšto aprašymo kontekste turėjo ne socialinę, o teologinę prasmę. Kronikininko manymu, pagonys lietuviai nebuvo laisvi žmonės, nes buvo pagonybės nelaisvėje, taigi neatviri Kūrėjui ir savo artimam.

Kaip aiškina Długoszas, net ir būdami pagonys, lietuviai nebuvo patenkinti savo skurdžia materialine buitimi. Antai vanduo maistui virti buvo naudojamas retai, nes didžiąją metų dalį Lietuvoje vyravęs atšiaurus klimatas, ir lietuviai vietoje vandens naudoję ledą. Dėl atšiauraus klimato neva nespėdavę sunokti grūdai, todėl jie būdavo nokinami kūrenant ugnį. Tai kronikininko pasakojime intriguojanti detalė, iš kurios aiškėja, kad, nepaisant vandens, ugnies, grūdų, taigi ir miltų paminėjimo, lietuviai nežinoję duonos ir jos gaminių. Vardydamas maisto produktus, kronikininkas konstatavo, kad jie sunkiai prieinami lietuviams, todėl Lietuvoje dažnai buvo badas. Pateikiamas ir kitas įdomus aprašymas apie žemaičius, kuriuos Długoszas „priverčia“ laikytis „amžinos“ dietos: jie valgę labai kukliai, truputį mėsos, duonos, gėrę tik vandenį (labai retai midų ir alų) ir nežinoję nei vyno, nei žuvis, nei jokių kitokių užkandžių.

Iki krikšto kronikininkas Žemaitiją vaizdavo apaugusią didelėmis giriomis, bet pradėjęs platinti krikščionybę miškus imta kirsti, jų vietoje pradėti arti laukai, auginti javai, o tai užtikrino maisto atsargas ir kėlė materialinį pragyvenimo lygį. Žemaitijos atvejis Długoszu padėjo kaip lietuvių svyravimo dėl krikščionybės priėmimo pavyzdys: vis delsiant priimti krikščionybę, šalis apaugo miškais ir išplito dykvietės.

1387 m. priėmus krikščionybę, anot kronikininko, lietuviams neprieinamos arba nežinomos prekės ir maisto ištekčiai iš karto pradėjo plisti po kraštą. Tačiau šios gėrybės buvo ne lietuvių darbo „produktai“, o atsiųsti iš Lenkijos karaliaus Vladislovo Jogailos, kuris vaizduotas kaip lietuvių apaštalas, įsakymu. Tad ligtolinis gėrybių ir maisto produktų trūkumas Długoszo buvo vaizduojamas kaip svyravimo dėl tikėjimo padarinys. Toks šališkas „Analuose“ pateiktas kronikininko požiūris į lietuvių kasdienį gyvenimo būdą, viena vertus, kyla iš nusistatymo prieš aprašomus žmones. Kita vertus, Długoszas savo pasakojimą didaktiškai perteikė per krikščionišką gėrio ir blogio, gerovės ir vargo santykį, kurį vaizdavo remdamasis krikščioniška pasaulėžiūra.