

INTRODUCTION

The first written mentions of the Baltic tribes go back to the early Middle Ages.¹ However, the first reference to Žemaitija in written sources is associated with a note in the Hypatian Codex, dated to the late 13th century. In 1219, the Žemaitijan dukes, together with other Lithuanian dukes 'by God's word', according to the chronicler, signed a peace treaty with the Principality of Volhynia.² The source lists only a few Žemaitijan dukes who joined the envoys of the Lithuanian dukes sent to the Grand Princess of Volhynia, who at the time was ruling on behalf of her young sons. This is how the written history of Žemaitija begins. It entered sources later than many nearby lands did. For instance, written records of Lithuania begin with a note in Latin dating from 1009 in the 'Quedlinburg Annals' about the murder of St Bruno (or Boniface) of Querfurt on the border of Rus' and Lithuania (*in confinio Rusciae et Lituae*).³

The relationship between Žemaitija and Lithuania, the first mentions of which are separated by a gap of a couple of hundred years, is a distinct and broad question. Although Žemaitija began to integrate into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL) in the 13th century, it preserved its own cultural and social structures from the 14th to the 18th centuries. The fact that Žemaitijans sent envoys to Volhynia with the Lithuanian dukes in 1219 shows that the Žemaitijan and Lithuanian dukes actively cooperated since the time historians call the confederation of the Lithuanian lands. This is also evidenced by later facts: Žemaitijan dukes belonged to the family of Mindaugas, the first King of Lithuania, who was crowned in the summer of 1253. After his previous wives, Mindaugas married Martha (Morta), the widow of Vismantas, the Duke of Šiauliai (included in Žemaitija⁴). All this shows that Žemaitijan dukes of Lithuania listed in the treaty could have formed one *patronimia* (ruling clan),⁵ whereas Žemaitijan dukes (either before 1219 or soon after) became relatives of this ruling clan.

We can argue whether Žemaitija was part of the GDL in the 13th and 14th centuries, or, especially after the war broke out between Lithuania and the Teutonic Order in Prussia, merely an (un-)distinguished ally.⁶ In any case, there is no doubt that historic

¹ For more, see: IVINSKIS, Zenonas. *Lietuvos istorijos šaltiniai* (Acta Historica Universitatis Klaipedensis, t. III). Sud. Alvydas NIKŽENTAITIS, S. C. ROWELL, Vladas ŽULKUS. Klaipėda, 1994, p. 77–115.

² Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei. T. 2: Ipat'evskaia letopis'. Podg. Aleksei SHAKHMATOV. Izd. 2-e. S.-Peterburg, 1908, st. 735. Cf. recent edition: Halyts'ko-Volyns'kyĭ litopys. Ed. Mykola KOTLIAR. Kyïv, 2002, s. 84.

³ 1009 metai: Šv. Brunono Kverfurtiečio misija (Fontes Ecclesiastici historiae Lithuaniae, vol. 5). Sud. Inga LEONAVIČIŪTĖ. Vilnius, 2006, p. 72–73.

⁴ GUDAVIČIUS, Edvardas. *Mindaugas*. Vilnius, 1998, p. 171.

⁵ Ibid., p. 122.

⁶ Cf. SAVIŠČEVAS, Eugenijus. Žemaitijos savivalda ir valdžios elitas 1409–1566 metais. Vilnius, 2010, p. 13.

Žemaitija, the land between Prussia, Livonia and the Trakai voivodeship, was governed in an unusual way, as is evidenced by the specific status of eldership (duchy) in the GDL. At the same time, the Lithuanian grand dukes gave this land to the Teutonic Order many times during the struggle with the Order, whereas the Teutonic Order claimed it up to 1422.

Answering the question what Žemaitija was, and how it was described in the earliest surviving sources, is not as easy as might seem at first glance. When asked, historians often quote Grand Duke Vytautas (Alexander), who expressed himself to the Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg in 1420 in the following way: 'Žemaitija is lower than the land of Lithuania, which is why it is called Žemaitija, for this is "a lower land" in Lithuanian. And the Žemaitijans call Lithuania "Aukštaitija", that is, from the Žemaitijan point of view, a higher land.⁷ We will not dwell on how much of this saying is geography and how much is politics. That is a separate issue. However, what is obvious in Vytautas' letter is the desire to consider Žemaitijans as an integral part of Lithuania, only living a little differently to the Lithuanians. Eventually, this 'little difference' became the leitmotif of the whole peculiarity of Žemaitija: a different life compared to the GDL, different dialects, a slightly different order in the Diocese of Žemaitija, slightly more nobles than elsewhere, more free peasants, and so on. It is only a paradox, but this peculiarity also determined the image of Žemaitija as an unknown land, which continued up to the 19th century. For instance, in a short story, the French writer Prosper Mérimée described a Žemaitijan nobleman, Mykolas Šemeta, who behaved like a bear, and even ripped his bride's throat, because he was born to a mother who had been frightened by a bear. We can find a similar image of Žemaitija, a land of beautiful forests, wild animals, and supposedly uncouth people, who enjoy rough entertainment and drinking, as early as in the writings of the 15th-century Polish chronicler Jan Długosz.⁸

However, this is not the only explanation for the words 'unknown land' in the title of this publication. The title emphasises that even for present-day researchers (not to mention wider society), Žemaitija is still little known, and its history is not sufficiently covered, despite the fact that various aspects of the Žemaitijan past seem to have been written about more than once.⁹ The historiography of Žemaitija began in the mid-19th century, when a historian from Žemaitija, Simonas Daukantas, published his work 'The Way of Ancient Lithuanians, Highlanders and Lowlanders' (1845)

⁷ *Baltų religijos ir mitologijos šaltiniai*. T. I. Sud. Norbertas VĖLIUS. Vilnius, 1996, pp. 528–529.

⁸ Ibid., p. 580–583.

⁹ Cf. recent research: Žemaitijos istorijos virsmas iš 750 metų perspektyvos. Sud. Antanas IVINSKIS. Vilnius, 2004; SAVIŠČEVAS, E. Žemaitijos savivalda ir valdžios elitas...; Žemaitijos žemės privilegijos XV–XVII a. = Privilegia terrestria Samogitiensia saec. XV–XVII (Historiae Lituaniae Fontes Minores, t. 6). Parengė Darius ANTANAVIČIUS, Eugenijus SAVIŠČEVAS. Vilnius, 2010; BUMBLAUSKAS, Alfredas; BUMBLAUSKAS, Mangirdas. Žemaitijos krikštas. Christianizacijos procesas XV–XVII amžiuje. Vilnius, 2018; DRUNGILAS, Jonas. Erelis lokio guolyje. Lenkų bajorai Žemaitijoje. Migracija, kalba, atmintis. Vilnius, 2019.

in St Petersburg.¹⁰ Another book, 'Žemaitijan History', the most important work by this pioneer of the modern historiography of the Lithuanian nation, was completed around 1835, but was not published until the end of the 19th century.¹¹ Several larger works devoted to the history of the Diocese of Žemaitija, which at that time covered the entire Kovna (Kaunas) province of the Russian Empire, were also written in the 19th century. Their authors were Motiejus Valančius, the Bishop of Žemaitija, who wrote his 'Diocese of Žemaitija' in 1847,¹² and Canon Vincentas Juzumovičius, who completed the manuscript 'Medininkai, or a Description of the Ancient Diocese of Medininkai (or Diocese of Žemaitija), supplemented with an appendix of various content' in 1899 (it was not published until 2013).¹³ The history of the Diocese of Žemaitija has also become the object of further research that goes up to the end of the 20th century,¹⁴ whereas the Christianisation of Žemaitija, its specifics and significance in the context of the Christianisation of Lithuania, has been emphasised by many researchers.¹⁵ However, the academic 'A History of Žemaitija' was published relatively recently, in 1997.¹⁶ This was probably not because no one cared about the history of Žemaitija, but for other reasons: neither in the period of the Republic of Lithuania from 1918 to 1940, nor later, after the Second World War, did the distinct region of Žemaitija become an independent subject for research. Its history only appeared in various contexts of Lithuanian history. Just as researchers into the history of the GDL in Lithuania usually limited themselves to the ethnographic territory of Lithuania, avoiding covering all the lands of the former GDL, so did Lithuanian researchers often view the history of Žemaitija as an integral part of Lithuanian history which did not require attention on a micro or local historical level. Even if expressed, this attention covered 'minor' historiographical issues.

Conditions for the development of regional history changed in Lithuania around 1990. Three volumes of the publication 'Žemaičių praeitis' (The Past of Žemaitija) appeared at that time (1990–1994), and in 1993, the publication started of the se-

¹⁰ [DAUKANTAS, Simonas] ŁAUKYS, Jokyb's. Budą senowęs-lėtuwiû kalnienû ir źamajtiû. Petropilie, 1845.

DAUKANTAS, Simanas. Lietuvos istorija. Kn. 1–2. Plymouth, PA, 1893–1897. The most recent issue: DAU-KANTAS, Simonas. Istorija Žemaitiška. Kn. I–II. Parengė Birutė VANAGIENĖ. Vilnius, 1995. For more information on the manuscript and its corrections, see: SUBAČIUS, Giedrius. Simono Daukanto redagavimas: vėlesnieji "Istorijos žemaitiškos" (1828–1834) taisymai. Darbai ir dienos, 2017, t. 67, p. 69–103.

¹² WOŁONCZEWSKIS, Motiejus. Źemajtiu wiskupistę. D. 1–2. Wilniuj, 1848. Reissued as VALANČIUS, Motiejus. Raštai. T. 2. Parengė Birutė VANAGIENĖ. Vilnius, 1972; recent issue: VALANČIUS, Motiejus. Raštai. T. 6: Žemaičių vyskupystė. Vilnius, 2013.

¹³ JUZUMAS, Vincentas. Žemaičių vyskupijos aprašymas. Parengė Mindaugas PAKNYS. Varniai, 2013.

¹⁴ BŁASZCYK, Grzegorz. Diecezja żmudzka od XV wieku do początku XVII wieku: Uposażenie. Poznań, 1992; BŁASZCYK, Grzegorz. Diecezja żmudzka od XV wieku do początku XVII wieku: Ustrój. Poznań, 1993.

¹⁵ ANDZIULYTĖ-RUGINIENĖ, Marija. Žemaičių christianizacijos pradžia. Kaunas, 1937; KOSMAN, Marceli. Drogi zaniku pogaństwa u Bałtów. Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, Gdańsk, 1976. The most recent study is BUMBLAUSKAS, A.; BUMBLAUSKAS, M. Op. cit.

¹⁶ BUTRIMAS, Adomas; ŽULKUS, Vladas; NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas; VAIVADA, Vacys; ALEKSANDRAVIČIUS, Egidijus. Žemaitijos istorija. Sud. Alvydas NIKŽENTAITIS. Vilnius, 1997.

ries 'Žemaičių žemė' (The Land of Žemaitija). A little earlier, the first research into Žemaitijan society and its structure appeared in Poland.¹⁷ Coinciding with the regional history momentum that began in Lithuania, they presented the distinct features of the region, and reflected on specific social institutions that distinguished Žemaitija in the history of Lithuania (and the GDL).¹⁸ Much has been achieved so far on this topic. In addition to issues of land tenure, the peasants and the management of estates,¹⁹ historians have studied the formation of the Žemaitijan political elites, and their participation in the affairs of the GDL.²⁰ They have also delved into the confusing issue of Žemaitija as a property of the Teutonic Order in Prussia in the second half of the 14th and the early 15th century.²¹ Further research into the Žemaitijan nobility²² and the Reformation and Catholic Revival in Žemaitija²³ has opened up the prospect of a deeper understanding of society in the region. But many questions on the social history of Žemaitija remain unanswered.

All this shows that we are not wrong to argue that the history of Žemaitija remains a terra incognita. Any new attempt to make it relevant is therefore meaningful, even as humble an attempt as this publication, many of whose articles merely highlight prospects for further research.

The articles in the publication are divided into three thematic sections. The first section 'Reference Points and their Contexts' goes deep into the background of a range of important aspects of Žemaitijan history. Laima Bucevičiūtė has undertaken to establish the earliest mention of Žemaitija on ancient maps, and to analyse the forms of the name of Žemaitija and their transformations in cartographic documents. She shows how Samogitia, the Latinised form of the name Žemaitija, emerged in the works of cartographers and their followers after its first appearance on 15th-century

¹⁷ One of the first works written in this direction: BŁASZCZYK, Grzegorz. Żmudź w XVII i XVIII wieku: zaludnienie i struktura społecna. Poznań, 1985.

¹⁸ For more on one of the most important privileges for the Žemaitijan nobility in the 15th century, see: ROWELL, S. C. Rusena karas Žemaičiuose: keletas pastabų apie 1442 m. privilegijos genezę. Žemaičių praeitis, 1998, t. 8, p. 5–28.

¹⁹ Cf. ŻYTKOWICZ, Leonid. Rozwarstwienie chlopstwa a gospodarka na Żmudzi w 2 polowie XVII i w XVIII wieku. In *Społeczeństwo staropolskie: studia i szkice*. T. 2. Red. Andrzej WYCZAŃSKI. Warszawa, 1979, s. 229–314; TRUSKA, Liudas. Żemėvaldos ir feodalų klasės struktūra Lietuvoje XVIII a. pabaigoje (2. Żemaitija 1775–1790 m.). *Lietuvos TSR mokslų akademijos darbai, serija A*, 1982, t. 4 (81), p. 71–81; TRUSKA, Liudas. Žemaičių vyskupystės bažnyčių žemėvalda XVII–XVIII a. *Istorija*, 1987, t. 28, p. 54–68; KIAUPIENĖ, Jūratė. *Kaimas ir dvaras Žemaitijoje XVI–XVIII a*. Vilnius, 1988.

²⁰ Cf. NIKŽENTAITIS, Alvydas. Žemaičių kunigaikščiai. Žemaičių praeitis, 1993, t. 2, p. 77–82; SAVIŠČEVAS, Eugenijus. XV a. pirmosios pusės žemaičių aristokratijos socialinė transformacija. In Konstantinas Jablonskis ir istorija. Sud. Edmundas RIMŠA. Vilnius, 2005, p. 171–196; SAVIŠČEVAS, E. Žemaitijos savivalda ir valdžios elitas...

²¹ ALMONAITIS, Vytenis. Žemaitijos politinė padėtis 1380–1410 metais. Kaunas, 1998.

²² OCHMAŃSKI, Jerzy. Szlachta żmudzka w XVII wieku. In OCHMAŃSKI, Jerzy. Dawna Litwa. Studia historyczne. Olsztyn, 1986, s. 198–212.

²³ VAIVADA, Vacys. Katalikų bažnyčia ir Reformacija Žemaitijoje XVI a.: esminiai raidos bruožai. Klaipėda, 2004; JOVAIŠA, Liudas. Šiaurės Indija Žemaičių žemėje: katalikiškoji reforma Žemaičių vyskupijoje. Vilnius, 2013.

maps. She reveals why the name of Žemaitija often varied, and what entities (administrative and ethnic) cartographers tried to show. According to Bucevičiūtė, the forms of the name Žemaitija and the visual information behind it on maps changed over time. It was only in the 17th and 18th centuries that the depiction of Žemaitija became more precise, focusing on the demonstration of its integrity in the state and its neighbourly relations.

In the north, Žemaitija bordered with Žemgala, also known as Semigallia,²⁴ which was conquered quite early by the Teutonic Order. Historians emphasise the tribal proximity of the Žemgalians and the Žemaitijans, and even their common origin,²⁵ but so far relatively little is known about the individual lands and society of Žemgala in the Medieval period.²⁶ Marius Ščavinskas makes an attempt to fill the gap by looking at new questions of the structure and functioning of Žemgalian society. Focusing on an episode in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, about how the Žemgalians of Mežuotnė addressed the Bishop of Riga in 1219 asking for military assistance against the Lithuanians and other Žemgalians, the author describes the Žemgalian social structure. It should be noted that the event near Mežuotnė depicted by Henry took place the year the Lithuanian and Žemaitijan dukes sent envoys to Volhynia. Despite Ščavinskas' attempt to compare individual layers of society in 1219 in Žemaitija and Žemaitija, it should be borne in mind that they were not homogeneous per se.

The third article in the first section, although it goes beyond the temporal limits declared in the title of the book, takes us to another reference point, the period when Žemaitija did not yet exist, but when man left his first traces in its future territory, between the tenth and the third millennium BC. The author Tomas Rimkus seeks to reexamine information about the earliest settlement of Žemaitija. His article presents findings based on the systematic search for Stone Age sites in Žemaitija that began in 2016. Until now, archaeological research into the Palaeolithic period in Žemaitija has been carried out mainly in the central Žemaitijan highlands and on the Baltic coast. The author investigates the material legacy of the earliest inhabitants of the southern section of the Žemaitijan highlands, which have so far not been researched, and revises data about the appearance of the first human beings in the final Palaeolithic, and their technologies in the subsequent Mesolithic and Neolithic periods.

The articles in the second section 'Žemaitija as an Area of Contact and Interests between the Teutonic Order and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania' discuss a few lesser-

²⁴ Editorial comment: In Lithuanian, this region is called both Žemgala and Žiemgala. We deliberately do not overide the author's choice of which title to use, but we express an editorial preference by providing only one version in English, Žemgala.

²⁵ TAUTAVIČIUS, Adolfas. Žemaičių etnogenezė (archeologijos duomenimis). In *Iš lietuvių etnogenezės*. Ats. red. Regina VOLKAITĖ-KULIKAUSKIENĖ. Vilnius, 1981, p. 29–32.

²⁶ Cf. VASILIAUSKAS, Ernestas. Žiemgalių žemės XII–XIII a. In Kryžiaus karų epocha Baltijos regiono tautų istorinėje sąmonėje. Sud. Rita R. TRIMONIENĖ, Robertas JURGAITIS. Šiauliai, 2007, p. 34–64.

known aspects of the earliest stage of the existence of the Duchy of Žemaitija. They are shown through the attitude of the Grand Duke of Lithuania towards Žemaitija, and through the prism of strategic military decisions. Tomas Baranauskas begins the section with an article examining the relations between Lithuania (and especially Žemaitija as a part of it) and Žemgala from the beginning of the Žemgalian uprising of 1279 against the Teutonic Order to the reign of Grand Duke Gediminas of Lithuania. Based on an analysis of the facts of cooperation, the author proposes considering that the integration of Žemgala into Žemaitija actually happened.²⁷ Most of Žemgala became the property of Grand Duke Gediminas, which is why his titles included that of Duke of Žemgala, whereas that part of Žemgala later remained in Lithuania for a long time. However paradoxical it may sound, southern Žemgala, which was included in Žemaitija in the 14th century, lost its name precisely after it become part of Lithuania.

Two more articles in the section deal with other aspects of the struggle against the Teutonic Order, in which Žemaitija became the arena. Vytenis Almonaitis makes another attempt to unravel the mystery of the location of Bayerburg (Bavarian) Castle, built by the Teutonic Order on the banks of the River Nemunas. This question is important, because it is still unclear whether Grand Duke Gediminas (or his son) died near Bayerburg, somewhere in the vicinity of Veliuona.²⁸ As a witness to important military encounters of Medieval Lithuania, Bayerburg Castle was to become the capital of Lithuania if the Teutonic Order, supported by the Emperor Louis IV (the Bavarian), conquered it. By analysing the Chronicle of Wigand of Marburg and other sources, the author challenges the hypothesis put forward in 2004 that Bayerburg Castle was at Plokščiai hill-fort. What Almonaitis proposes is actually a return to the previously offered explanation, which located Bayerburg at Veliuona.

Darius Baronas examines specific aspects of the power of the Grand Duke of Lithuania in the strategic communication sites of the River Nemunas along the southern border of Žemaitija from the late 13th century to the beginning of the 15th century. By analysing the adoption of military innovations and changes in defence strategy in response to military action against the Teutonic Order in Prussia, the author reveals important strategic decisions in the defence policy of the Grand Duke of Lithuania. In terms of river defence, fortifications and armaments, they raised the defence of the GDL to a new level.

²⁷ For the history of this argument, see: GUDAVIČIUS, Edvardas. Žemgalių istorijos bruožai. Žiemgala, 1992, nr. 8–9, p. 2–5; GUDAVIČIUS, Edvardas. Paskutinis žiemgalių sukilimas. In Žiemgala (Žiemgalos krašto praeitis, [d.] 2). Sud. Vytautas DIDŽPETRIS. Kaunas, 1999, p. 31–43; DUBONIS, Artūras. *Lietuvos didžiojo kunigaikščio leičiai. Iš Lietuvos ankstyvųjų valstybinių struktūrų praeities*. Vilnius, 1998, p. 60–63; DUBONIS, Artūras. *Traidenis. Monarcho valdžios atkūrimas Lietuvoje 1268–1282*. Vilnius, 2009, p. 136–138, 182–183.

²⁸ Cf. GUDAVIČIUS, Edvardas. Kas žuvo prie Bajerburgo? *Lietuvos TSR mokslų akademijos darbai, serija A*, 1984, t. 4 (89), p. 92–100.

The third and last section 'Approaches towards Žemaitijan Society of the Early Modern Period' sheds a new light on issues of the Christianisation of Žemaitija, the structure and communication of closed local communities, and the traditions of the nobility's adoption of heraldry. For some time, the relatively wide field of research into the Christianisation of Lithuania and Žemaitija has been characterised by wellestablished patterns of research, which often prevent historians from entering new fields or offering rational solutions to issues. By reflecting a set of sources from ecclesiastical courts that have so far been poorly researched by Lithuanian scholars, S.C. Rowell examines the rooting of Catholic customs in Žemaitijan society in the second half of the 15th and the first half of the 16th century. Unlike other researchers who have studied the Christianisation of Žemaitija,²⁹ the author not only sees no point in looking for the end of the conversion of Žemaitijan society, but also refuses to interpret the factor of geographical distance as an obstacle to the formation and spread of the parish network in Žemaitija. Instead, he draws attention to other recent research that has shown that already in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, Žemaitijan nobles adopted names which could be treated only as signs of the new religion, not the old one.³⁰ Although Rowell does not deny that in Žemaitija, like in other dioceses of the GDL, people retained old spiritual customs, he shows the operation of ecclesiastical structures, public involvement, manifestations of piety and other facts that testify to the rather consistent rooting of both the practices and ideas of Christianity in Žemaitijan society as early as the 16th century.

In another article, Rita Regina Trimonienė returns after many years to one of the largest communities in Žemaitija in the 17th century, the Crown lands of the Grand Duke of Lithuania, the Šiauliai Economija. Focusing on the issue of social communication, she shows that the pattern of governance of the Economija, which was characterised by a fairly clear horizontal principle of community, and a vertical hierarchical organisation of appointed officials, formed as early as the 17th century. The local community could in theory use this pattern to communicate with the highest state administrators and the ruler himself, but rarely did so in practice. Although the managers of the royal estates rarely came in person to the Economija in Žemaitija, the established pattern of administration made it possible to maintain a balance within the Economija, allowing for the successful and quite efficient management of internal affairs.

The third section of the publication ends with research into Žemaitijan heraldry. With the exception of Poland, the group of coats of arms brought or taken over

²⁹ Cf. BUMBLAUSKAS, A.; BUMBLAUSKAS, M. Op. cit.

³⁰ VAIVADA, Vacys. Christianizacijos plėtra Žemaitijoje XV a. pabaigoje – XVI a. pirmojoje pusėje remiantis asmenvardžių duomenimis: Karšuvos valsčiaus pavyzdys. In Kultūra – ekonomika – visuomenė: sąveika ir pokyčiai viduramžiais ir ankstyvaisiais naujaisiais laikais Baltijos rytinėje pakrantėje: mokslinių straipsnių rinkinys. Sud. Marius ŠČAVINSKAS. Klaipėda, 2015, p. 205–219.

from other countries has so far received very little attention. The article by the heraldry researcher Gabrielė Jasiūnienė analyses trends in the emergence and spread of coats of arms of Polish origin and imported or taken from other countries, and identifies individuals or families who influenced the spread of this heraldry. She establishes that at the beginning of the 16th century, Polish coats of arms recorded in Žemaitija were taken over by individual unrelated families or individuals. The more pronounced spread of heraldry from other countries can be traced back to the 17th century, but due to the poor sources, it remains unclear whether this type of heraldry influenced the heraldic traditions of Žemaitijan nobles.

Of course, the nine articles published here do not answer many questions. However, we hope that this publication will contribute to making this unknown land better known to some, and even for others to discover it for the first time.

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