

# MARTIN III, BISHOP OF MEDININKAI, ARCHDEACON AND CANON OF VILNIUS: THE LAWYER BISHOP

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## ABSTRACT

Bishop Martin III (Johannis) of Medininkai is the first Žemaitian ordinary of whose activities we know more than merely a few facts. Unfortunately most of what is written about him is false: he did not have a surname (*Lintfari* is a scribal error for *Lituani*); he did not hold canonries in Liège, Louvain or Poznań, let alone ‘work’ in Flanders or Poland. This article reviews diverse known sources for Martin’s life and career and provides new information from the Gniezno Consistory Court record and other manuscripts which reveals how his career formed in the Roman Curia before he returned to Lithuania as bishop of Medininkai and reflects his concerns for the affairs of Church and State. An appendix provides five new sources from manuscripts in Cracow and Gniezno along with a new edition of Martin’s will from the earliest surviving copy.

KEY WORDS: Medininkai, Žemaitija, Bishop Martin, papal provision, Vilnius, canon, Jewish conversion, parish foundation.

## ANOTACIJA

Medininkų vyskupas Martynas III (Jonaitis) – pirmasis istorikams gana gerai pažįstamas žemaičių ordinaras; deja, didesnė dalis to, ką mes žinome apie jį, tebėra klaidinga: Lintfaras yra ne jo pavardė, o popiežiaus raštininko klaidingas žodžio *Lituanus* (lietuvis) variantas; jis nėjo Lježo, Leuveno arba Poznanės kanauninko pareigų; nei Flandrijoje, nei Lenkijoje nedirbo. Straipsnis peržiūri įvairius istorikams žinomus Martyno gyvenimą ir darbą atskleidžiančius šaltinius bei teikia naujos medžiagos iš Gniezno arkivyskupijos teismo bylų ir kitų raštų, iš kurių aiškėja, kaip Martyno karjera susiformavo Romos kurijoje iki jam grįžtant Lietuvon, idant eitų vyskupo pareigas; matyti, kaip jis dirbo Bažnyčios ir valstybės labui. Priede publikuojami penki tekstai iš Gniezne ir Krokuvoje saugomų rankraščių kartu su nauja vyskupo testamentu redakcija.

PAGRINDINIAI ŽODŽIAI: Medininkai, Žemaitija, vyskupas Martynas, popiežiaus prekonizacija, Vilnius, kanauninkas, žydų konvertitas, parapijų fundacijos.

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The year 1492 in Lithuania and Poland was a period of leadership change among the higher echelons of society. In June Grand Duke King Casimir died in Grodno to be replaced on the throne in Vilnius by his son Alexander; in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania three new bishops were appointed: Albert Tabor became bishop of Vilnius, Archdeacon John (Andryschewycz, Andriušaitis) acceded to the see of Lutsk and Martin (Johannis) assumed command of the diocese of Medininkai. In certain respects these three men were much of a kind<sup>1</sup>. All (probably) were university graduates (the first two certainly studied at the University of Cracow) and all (undoubtedly) were legal experts. Albert and John were both canons of Vilnius Cathedral and were active in law cases in the diocese and also further afield in the ecclesiastical provincial capital Gniezno. They were also involved closely in the domestic political life of the Grand Duchy. Martin is a little different. He was the son of John, a ‘German’, presumably Livonian or Prussian burgher of Vilnius (Andriušaitis too was of Vilnius burgher stock) and had spent most of his adult life *outside* the Grand Duchy, in

<sup>1</sup> *Lietuvos katalikų dvasininkai XIV–XVI a.* Ed. V. ALIŠAUSKAS, T. JASZCZOLT, L. JOVAIŠA, M. PAKNYS [*Baznyčios istorijos studijos* II]. Vilnius, 2009, [LKD] Nos 58, p. 27–28; 737, pp. 127–128; 1257, pp. 225–226.

Italy. He was armigerous – his Merawa device, the head of a dog with a six-pointed star, which he claims to have belonged to his ancestors, is of neither Lithuanian nor Polish origin - and may have been of noble descent (being a city-dweller and even involved in trade does not rule out gentle birth). Insofar as he established himself first in foreign parts before becoming a close collaborator of Alexander Jagiellończyk, Martin bears at least a passing resemblance to the notorious Ruthenian-Tatar prince and royal favourite, Mikhail Glinsky<sup>2</sup>. Martin appears neither to have enjoyed nor to have developed any solid clientèle of his own in Lithuania, unless one counts his cathedral subordinates. All three men played an important role in the Grand Duchy at a time which saw the rise of three monarchs: Alexander of Lithuania, John Albert of Poland and Sigismund the Old of Lithuania-Poland. In this article we shall use material from ecclesiastical emoluments, papal bulls, the Lithuanian *Metrica* and the records of the Gniezno Consistorial Court to survey the political and religious activities of the bishop.

The traditional short *curriculum vitae* composed for Martin by the seventeenth-century Lithuanian Jesuit antiquarian Albertas Vijūkas-Kojalavičius [Wijuk-Koiałowicz] asserts that he was a Lithuanian of German origin, the son of a Vilnius merchant, who studied for thirty years in Italy and was most renowned for his legal knowledge; he was selected for high ecclesiastical office by Casimir I and IV as bishop of Medininkai<sup>3</sup>. While much about the bishop remains conjecture or unknown, we may be tempted by the sources surviving from his time, which appear to say more of him than contemporary evidence does of any of his predecessors, to examine his activities in closer detail. Certain, however, we may be that Martin was a man without (in so far as we can tell) a patronage network in the Grand Duchy even among the burghers of Vilnius.

Before proceeding to examine what we know of Martin before his return to Lithuania in 1492 and his activities after his accession to the bishop's throne in Medininkai, it appears expedite to state who he was *not*. Grzegorz Błaszczyk proposed identifying Martin with the Canon Martin, a man of foreign birth who was parish priest of St John's in Vilnius and a canon of Vilnius Cathedral, flourishing between 1463 and 1487<sup>4</sup>. We know the exact date on which our Martin was admitted first to a canon's stall in the Lithuanian capital (1493 – see below) and that until 1492 he was resident in the papal Curia. One much more attractive candidate for our cleric is a Vilnius scribe, active in the city between 1484 and 1504, and in Gniezno (where he presented evidence in a matrimonial case heard first in Medininkai by Bishop Martin II of Žemaitija in 1492-1494), Martinus Iohannis de Posnania.<sup>5</sup> This candidate would seem perfect: the name and patronymic coincide and the Poz-

<sup>2</sup> ROWELL, S. C. 'Nolite confidere in principibus: Mikhail Glinsky, Sigismund the Old and the Council of Lords', *Faworyci i opozycjoniści: król a elity polityczne w Rzeczypospolitej XV-XVII wieku*, red. M. MARKIEWICZ, R. SKOWRON (Cracow, 2006), pp. 77-100; SZULC, D. *Michał Gliński namiestnikiem wielkksiążęcy w Uciebie. Mało znany epizod z życia kniazia w latach 1499-1500*, *Wschodni Rocznik Humanistyczny*, 5 (2009), pp. 27-50.

<sup>3</sup> Albertas Vijūkas-Kojalavičius, *Lietuvos istorijos įvairenybės*, ed. D. ANTANAVIČIUS, II. Vilnius, 2004, p. 189. The standard modern accounts of his life are given by BŁASZCZYK, G. *Diecezja żmudzka od XV wieku do początku XVIII wieku. Ustrój* (Poznań, 1993), pp. 47-49, which introduced the erroneous actual attribution of Polish and Flemish benefices to Martin; and P. Rabikauskas, 'Žemaičių vyskupai (1417-1609)'. *Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos metraštis* 10, 1996, p. 35-37. Rabikauskas rightly supports the rejection of *Lintfari* as the bishop's surname as an error from the papal chancellery, *Liphani* ("Lithuanian"). He appears to accept modern pedantry for renumbering Martin III (established, albeit perhaps faulty tradition dating at least as far back as the seventeenth century) as Martin II on the grounds that Martin I of Luokė (1435? 1453?) was a figment of local historical imagination – see *ibid.*, p. 31. One does not renumber cleverly the Edwards of England even though Edward I, Malleus Scotorum (1272-1307) obviously was not the first English king to bear that name.

<sup>4</sup> BŁASZCZYK, G. *Diecezja żmudzka...*, p. 48.

<sup>5</sup> *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry i diecezji wileńskiej*. Ed. J. FIJAŁEK, W. SEMKOWICZ. Cracow, 1948. [KDKDW] Nos 340, p. 395 (Vilnius, 1484); 348, p. 411; 390, p. 449; 431, p. 505; 445, p. 520; 455, p. 534; 575, p. 693 (1504).

nań connection would refer to our Martin's alleged holding of a canonry in the city. The connection with the Law and with Bishop Martin II (1483-92) would make him an excellent choice for the Medininkai mitre. Unfortunately Martinus Iohannis de Posnania appears as scribe and notary public (titles our Martin *never* used of himself either before or after 1492) in the same period as Bishop Martin III flourished in Medininkai, Vilnius and Cracow.

### Activities before 1491

Almost no details survive of Martin's first four decades or so. If he did study at Cracow (although of him the university matriculation records make no mention) it would have been in the 1450s, -early 1460s which would make him a (near) contemporary of the noble Polish prelate and diplomat Uriel z Górki (among others, of course) and slightly older than both Albert Tabor and Jonas Andiušaitis. Like Uriel he moved to Italy<sup>6</sup>. No known source survives which would explain when this happened. It is known that several missions involving Lithuanians were sent to Italy during the reign of Casimir IV. Thus, in 1459 a group of Lithuanian youths took part in a Jagiellonian embassy to the Council of Mantua and in 1477 Jurgis Goštautas acted as courier for Casimir's deliberations on pan-European policy against the Turk in Venice and Rome<sup>7</sup>. The king's diplomatic activities at the Curia intensified after the Tatar sack of Kiev in 1482 and support was offered for a crusade against the Ottomans<sup>8</sup>. Such then is the diplomatic background which would explain how and why Martin *could* have found his way to the Curia and made a career there.

It is at the papal court in September 1483 that Martin appears for the first time in the surviving written record, when Pope Sixtus IV granted him provision for a Polish benefice, the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary in St Nicholas' church in Kalisz, which had fallen vacant when its presumed holder Stanislaw of Wielun died in the Roman Curia<sup>9</sup>. Stanislaw had held the post, or at least a provision for it since 1458<sup>10</sup>. The provost of this church was a key figure in the collection of papal

His copy of documents of Bp Martin II of Žemaitija, Bishops Andrew and Albert Tabor of Vilnius were presented before the Gniezno Consistory Court in the appeal of Kotryna Kybartaitė-Sirtautaitienė against Pac Sirtautaitis - Archiwum Archidiecezjalne w Gnieźnie, [AAG] Acta Consistorii A 60 fos 74v-75, 76v, 78r-v, 79, 81, 82, 109v, 112v, 137v-138, 141v, 143; Acta Con. A61 [1493] fos 16v, 51v, 54, 55, 64v-65; Acta Con. A 62 [1494] fos 17r-v, 43, 46, 49v, 78v. See also GAŚSIOROWSKI, A. *Notariusze publiczni w Wielkopolsce schyłku wieków średnich. Katalog admisji w Gnieźnie i Poznaniu 1420-1500* Poznań, 1993, No 314, p. 40 (perhaps the same as No 313, active in 1470).

<sup>6</sup> For the career of Uriel of Górka, see DEMBIŃSKI, P. *Poznańska kapituła katedralna schyłku wieków średnich. Studium prozopograficzne 1428-1500* (Poznań, 2012), pp. 682-85.

<sup>7</sup> SMOŁUCHA, M. J. *Polityka Kurii Rzymskiej za pontyfikatu Piusa II (1458-1464) wobec Czech i krajów sąsiednich. Z dziejów dyplomacji papieskiej w XV wieku* (Cracow, 2008), p. 175-91; for Jurgis Goštautas, see GARBACIK J., *Kallimach jako dyplomata i polityk* (Cracow, 1948), p. 57.

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem, p. 79. Casimir sent Bishop Uriel of Poznań to Venice and Rome and later his envoy Jan Franciszek *Gazzoldo* was dispatched to the prelate.

<sup>9</sup> KDKDW No 328, p. 385. The index to KDKDW, compiled by T. GLEMMA, Z. PLEZIOWA and A. VETULANI, and prepared for publication in Cracow in 1994 by W. FILIPCZYK, p. 67, mistakenly attributes this office to Martinus Iohannis de Posnania. The Kalisz benefice was listed alongside others in Alexander VI's 21 Nov. 1492 appointment of Martinus Iohannis (de Vilna) as bishop of Medininkai - *Acta Camerae Apostolicae, volumen IV. Annatae e Regno Poloniae saeculi XV (1421-1503)*, ed. M. D. KOWALSKI [*Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, X] (Cracow, 2002), [Annatae] No 964, p. 400-401.

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem, No 574, p. 212; apparently he won his case against Stanislaw Pleszczewski, canon of Poznań for possession of these benefices - *Bullarium Poloniae, VI (1447-1464)*, ed. I. SUŁKOWSKA-KURAŚ, S. KURAŚ et al. (Rome-Lublin, 1998), Nos 1180, p. 246; 1212, p. 253; 1240, p. 258-59. Canon Stanislaw still claiming the benefices in November that year - *ibid.* No1317. See DEMBIŃSKI, P. *Poznańska kapituła...*, p. 658-59. The canon's provision was *si neutri* (he would obtain it only if neither candidate had a legal right to it).

taxes in the surrounding deaneries of Wielkopolska<sup>11</sup>. Serving in the Roman curia as a fixer for Polish secular and ecclesiastical clients (from the king to much more humble supplicants) appears to have been a model for creating a virtual, and occasionally a real career in the Polish Church during the late fifteenth century<sup>12</sup>. Joining this evidence together with the claim made by the seventeenth-century antiquarian Kojalavičius (that Martin spent time in Italy, was very learned in the Law, and was appointed by Casimir), knowledge that Martin was endowed with the archdiaconate and a canonry in Vilnius by a *motu proprio* of Pope Innocent VIII, and evidence of a strong feeling for Rome from the bishop's 1512 testament, we might have grounds for suspecting that Martin was involved in some kind of diplomatic mission on the king's behalf at the Holy See<sup>13</sup>. In this he may have been connected with Bishop Uriel of Poznań. One should also not forget that such provisory documents were not issued *gratis* but incurred suitable charges from the Curia based on annual income expected from the benefice.

### Appointment to Medininkai

In 1491 Pope Innocent VIII issued a nomination *motu proprio* (a new and lucrative form of papal endowment created by this pope for the first time in 1484) for Martin to the office of archdeacon of Vilnius (held by John Andriuszewicz (Andriušaitis) until October-December 1491<sup>14</sup>). The office of archdeacon, the most junior of cathedral prelacies, presupposes suitable legal and administrative qualifications. Innocent also reserved the see of Medininkai for Martin whilst his predecessor Martinus II de Samogittia was still alive, as we can infer from Pope Alexander VI's bull of 8 October 1492<sup>15</sup>. The pope lays great emphasis on fulfilling the provision of his predecessor and upholding the right of the Holy See to appoint to bishoprics which have already been reserved by the pope for a given candidate. He is also impressing his authority over the new grand duke. It would seem that this message was taken to heart in Vilnius, for during discussions between the Lithuanian and Polish ruling elites in Cracow in 1499 concerning Union matters, the Lithuanian embassy headed by Bishop Martin and Jonas Zaberezinskis sought to ensure that Polish representatives at the Curia would not connive with the papal authorities to impose a candidate from outside the Grand Duchy on any vacant Lithuanian see. It remains unclear whether this concern was provoked by Martin's

<sup>11</sup> *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae...*, ed. A. THEINER (Rome, 1861) [VMPL], No 224, pp. 183, 184, 188-89, 191, 192, 197, collections of Peter's Pence for the deaneries of Kalisz, Uniejów and Wielun during the office of Uriel of Górká, 1476-84.

<sup>12</sup> DEMBIŃSKI, P. 'Trudna droga do prebendy. Finansowe i społeczne aspekty zabiegów o beneficja katedralne przedstawicieli późnośredniowiecznej rodziny szlacheckiej z Wielkopolski', *Kościół i duchowieństwo w średniowiecznej Polsce i na obszarach sąsiednich*, ed. R. BISKUP, A. RADZIMIŃSKI (Toruń, 2013), pp. 53-71.

<sup>13</sup> Neither Smolucha nor Garbacik mention Martin in their studies, but he was perhaps too small a fish to be caught in their research net. It is worth noting that Casimir's diplomacy with Rome during the pontificate of Innocent VIII with relation to the Turkish threat and his dynastic ambitions in Hungary flourished. In 1488 Innocent appointed the king's son Frederick *motu proprio* to the see of Cracow: BACZKOWSKI, K. 'Państwa Europy środkowo-wschodniej wobec antytureckich projektów Innocentego VIII (1484-1492)', *Polska i jej sąsiedzi za Jagiellonów* (Cracow, 2012), pp. 265-94 (reprinted from *Nasza Przeszość* 74 (1990), p. 207-235.

<sup>14</sup> 1491 motum proprium – see Appendix No 1. John Andrysskiewicz is mentioned in an appeal case brought by Nicholas Tolsthi and Martinus Jangelewicz, citizens of Vilnius, before the Gniezno Consistory on 24 March 1491 as archidecanum et officialem Vylnensem. On March 19 1492 he is called episcopum Luceoriensem: AAG Acta Cons. A 59, A. Cons. A 60 fo 36v. Innocent VIII made provision for him as bishop on 2 Dec. 1491 – KDKDW No 371, p. 435.

<sup>15</sup> *Codex Mednicensis seu Samogitiae dioecesis*, I, ed. P. JATULIS (Rome, 1984) [CM] No 75, p. 127: bone memorie Martino episcopo Medincensi regimini ecclesie Medincensis presidente, felicis recordationis Innocentius papa VIII, predecessor noster, cupiens eiodem ecclesie cum vacaret per Apostolice Sedis providentiam utilem et ydoneam presidere personam...

case or perhaps the more recent appointment of Bartłomiej Soloznicki to the see of Kiev (1495). In a second bull of 8 October 1492 the Borgia pope refers to Martin as a canon of Liège and a priest most learned in letters. Martin held a provision on canonries in Liège and Poznań, the parish church of Parzno (Gniezno Diocese, Szadek Deanery) and a perpetual chantry in St Nicholas's parish church in Kalisz (Gniezno diocese) but he was not in actual possession of them (*quod non possides*) and he was already, or was likely to become involved in litigation over them (*tunc certis modis successive vacantibus canonice provisum fuerit, quos non possides, sed super archidiaconatu, canonicatu et prebenda ecclesie Posnanienis ac ecclesia ville Parzno et capellania prefatis contra tuos adversarios litigas*)<sup>16</sup>. The Holy See pledged to defend Martin in disputes over these *beneficia litigosa* and permitted him to accumulate the said benefices in order to compensate for the poverty of his bishopric<sup>17</sup>. The tax or annate due on his Lithuanian appointment was set at 33 and one third florin, the lowest required, as was traditional in the case of Medininkai, and Martin was freed from the obligation to pay it<sup>18</sup>. Any deduction made from these data that Martin actually held ecclesiastical office in the dioceses of Gniezno, Liège (and certainly not Louvain) and Poznań is false. Martin does not feature in the most recent definitive study of the late-mediaeval chapter of Poznań and no mention is made of these alleged benefices in later documentary evidence<sup>19</sup>. Martin received possession of his supernumerary canonry and archdeaconate of Vilnius along with his stall in choir and the right to vote in chapter based on his letters apostolic of Innocent VIII and Alexander VI on 17 August 1493<sup>20</sup>. He would not obtain his full canonry with a prebend until the death of Canon Andrius Svyriškis in 1508, which gave rise to a suitable vacancy. It would take the bishop a considerable effort to obtain the payments due to him from the chapter as a prebendary canon, involving long legal battles in Vilnius and Gniezno between 1510 and 1512.

### Political adviser

Holding the rank of second most senior prelate within the Grand Duchy, following the bishop of Vilnius, Martin as bishop of Medininkai would be expected to feature in the political record, as in fact he does from 1496 to 1506 as an envoy and counsellor of Grand Duke Alexander. Indeed Martin's indulgence for the Vilnius Franciscans in 1493 was issued probably during a Vilnius sejm following the election of Alexander Jagiellonczyk and it was during political discussions between the grand duke's brothers concerning the inheritance of Sigismund that Martin was co-opted onto a slew of indulgences for the Franciscan Church of St Nicholas in Vilnius, the parish church in Maisagala and several parish priests within the diocese of Vilnius granted by Cardinal Frederick and his fellow Lithuanian bishops in 1495<sup>21</sup>. It was traditional for Lithuanian clerics to 'catch' visiting prelates (local and foreign bishops and archbishops) during official visits to obtain indulgences for

<sup>16</sup> CM No 76 p. 130. The case in the Curia was under the care of Cardinal Giovanni Baptista Ursini – *ibid* No 78, p. 131. On 21 Nov. 1492 Martin obliged himself to pay 25 silver marks on income from the archdeanery of Vilnius, the canonries and prebends of Liège and Poznań, the parish church at Parzno and the chantry altar in St Nicholas' Church Kalisz, *que beneficia non possidet et que reservantur eidem domino Martinendo* [sic!] – *Annatae*, No 964, p. 400-401.

<sup>17</sup> CM No 77 p. 130, 78, p. 131.

<sup>18</sup> CM Nos 79-81, pp. 132-133; *Annatae e regno*, No 964 p. 400-401. On annates and how they reflect the poverty (or perceived poverty) of Lithuanian and Ruthenian sees, KOWALSKI, M. D. *Proventus Camerae Apostolicae debiti. Oplaty duchowieństwa polskiego na rzecz papieżstwa w latach 1417-1484* (Cracow, 2010), p. 67, 77, 78, 118, 119, 205, 220.

<sup>19</sup> DEMBIŃSKI, P. *Poznańska kapituła...*

<sup>20</sup> See Appendix No 1.

<sup>21</sup> KDKDW Nos 404, p. 467 (1493); 426, p. 494 (St Nicholas, 1495); 427, p. 495 (Maisagala, 1495); 428, p. 495 (Diocesan priests, 1495). On indulgences in fifteenth-century Poland and Lithuania in general, see SZYMBORSKI, W.



their churches<sup>22</sup>. Thus, the first grand-ducal charter witnessed by Martin was Alexander's donation of Szypiany to Albert Tabor in recognition of services rendered. Martin is referred to as a *consiliarius* and listed after Bishop John of Lutsk but before the secular lords in this Vilnius-issued document of 7 March 1495<sup>23</sup>. It was the following year that Martin became involved in more serious dynastic issues. During the Sejm of Vilnius (exact date unknown) he along with other members of the Council of Lords confirmed at Alexander's request that they would uphold the union with Poland according to the Treaty of Horodlo and elect as next grand duke, should Alexander die without legitimate issue, a member of the House of Jogaila from Poland with the agreement of the Polish lords<sup>24</sup>. At the end of May 1496 in Trakai Alexander granted the bishop lifetime tenancy of the grand ducal estate at Josvainiai and confirmed the duties owed by Josvainiai boyars to their new landlord<sup>25</sup>. Within two years the grand duke would have to intervene in a dispute over duties involving local Josvainiai boyars<sup>26</sup>.

At Grodno on 9 January 1499 Martin and Jonas Zaberezinskis [Jan Zabrzeziński], palatine of Trakai were appointed as envoys of the grand duke and the Council of Lords to King John Albert, empowered to discuss matters relating to the future mechanisms of the Union and appointments to bishoprics in Lithuania (that Polish representatives at the Roman Curia should support candidates proposed by the grand duke rather than the king for sees within the Grand Duchy) and a week later the bishop along with Bishop Tabor, Chancellor Mikalojus Radvila and the starosta of Žemaitija witnessed Alexander's settlement of disputes in Kiev and Slutsk<sup>27</sup>. Three weeks later on 7 February 1499 Martin and Jonas Zaberezinskis were presented with the outline of what they were to discuss with the Polish authorities<sup>28</sup>. The response of the king to the envoys' proposals was given in Cracow on 6 May 1499, followed a week later on 14 May by the reaction of the Polish Council of Lords, who claimed to be unable to find a copy of a previous Union treaty and so would issue a new document to incorporate it<sup>29</sup>. While in the Polish capital the bishop was party to a rather strange act of religious politics, namely the ennoblement of a Trakai Jew (Karaite), Stanislaw Ožeika by the king *motu proprio* and his formal adoption of the bishop's family's coat of arms, *Merawu* or a dog's head and six-pointed star<sup>30</sup>. The reason given for this act of 13 May 1499 was the services rendered by Ožeika to the grand duke and Alexander's wish to have him so rewarded. Jews had been expelled from the Grand Duchy in 1495 if they did not accept Catholic baptism and would be readmitted only in 1503. The fraternal adoption of the neophyte by the bishop's family

*Odpusty w Polsce średniowiecznej* (Cracow, 2011). On negotiations concerning the future of Sigismund, see KOLANKOWSKI, L. *Dzieje Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego za Jagiellonów*, I: 1377-1499 (Warsaw, 1930), p. 425.

<sup>22</sup> Cf Rowell, S. C. 'XV a LDK vyskupų atlaidos raštai Vilniaus katedrai bei miestui. Tekstas ir kontekstas'. *Lietuvos pilys* 3 (2008), p. 94-104.

<sup>23</sup> KDKDW No 423, p. 491.

<sup>24</sup> *Codex Epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti*, ed. A. LEWICKI (Cracow, 1894) III [CEXV] Nos 422, 423, pp. 437-39, 440-41.

<sup>25</sup> *Lietuvos Metrika, kn. 6 (1494-1506)* Ed. A. BALIULIS. Vilnius, 2007. [LM6] Nos 185-186, pp. 141-142. It is almost certain that the foundation charter for the parish church in Šėta, dated Abelė (Šėta) 2 Feb. 1499 is a seventeenth-century forgery - Vilnius, MAB, F256 b 2980.

<sup>26</sup> LM6 No 282, p. 186.

<sup>27</sup> 9 Jan. 1499 - CEXV No 441, p. 458-59, AUPL No 71, p. 119-20; Ruthenian issues - *Lietuvos Metrika, kn. 5 (1427-1506)*. Ed. A. BALIULIS, A. DUBONIS, D. ANTANAVIČIUS. Vilnius, 2012. [LM5] Nos 187-188, p. 115-116.

<sup>28</sup> LM5 Nos 576-577, pp. 391-93, CEXV 442-444, pp. 459-63.

<sup>29</sup> CEXV Nos 448-449, p. 465-67; AUPL Nos 72-75, pp. 121-25.

<sup>30</sup> MICHTA, J. Nobilitacje Żydów litewskich w XV-XVIII wieku. In *Miasta, ludzie, instytucje, znaki. Księga jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesor Bożenie Wyrozumskiej w 75. Rocznice urodzin*, ed. Z. PIECH, Kraków, 2008, p. 380, 387-389. The heraldic significance of this act is discussed in E. RIMŠA, 'Horodlės aktai ir Lietuvos kilmingųjų heraldika', *1413 m. Horodlės aktai*, p. 190 n. 80 (Polish tr.). Ibidem, p. 231.

and approval of the action in Poland too (in accordance with the procedure outlined by the Treaty of Horodło) was a convenient implementation of the basis of the Union discussed during Martin's embassy to Cracow.

Martin was back in Vilnius by 17 June when he issued an indulgence for the parish church of Luokė, later complemented by Albert Tabor and Bishop Bartholomew of Kiev, probably during negotiations over Union policy.<sup>31</sup> On 22 July, he witnessed the grand duke's confirmation of endowments to the Cathedral's Vytautas altar, and he was still present in the capital two days later when on 24 July the Council of Lords headed by the bishops of Vilnius, Lutsk and Medininkai confirmed the agreement approved at Horodlo in 1413 by the Lithuanian lords.<sup>32</sup> The groundwork laid down by Martin and Zaberezinskis set the way for broader discussions concerning the Union which resulted in the 1501 Treaty of Melnik.<sup>33</sup> Although Martin was not appointed among Alexander's envoys at Grodno on 27 August 1501 ('his' place was taken by Bishop Tabor of Vilnius, the Grand Duchy's most senior prelate) he along with the bishops of Kiev and Lutsk and the Council of Lords did confirm the envoys powers on 9 September at Bielsk.<sup>34</sup> Alexander's embassy to his brother Władysław in the Moravian city of Kromeriz in 1502 recalled the contribution made by Martin to Union negotiations.<sup>35</sup> Martin features quite regularly during sejms and at court in Vilnius for the rest of Alexander's reign. Notably he witnessed a charter for Smolensk issued at Brest in March 1505 which was in keeping with the monarch's largesse to the Orthodox nobility. The act appears to have been ignored by Bishop Tabor and Jonas Zaberezinskis and supported by Mikhail Glinsky's associates<sup>36</sup> When the Tabor brothers, first and foremost Bishop Albert, fell out of Alexander's favour in 1505 Martin was awarded the grand-ducal estate at Surviliškės on the banks of the Nevežis river, where the previous tenant had been Bartholomew Tabor.<sup>37</sup> Later in the year Alexander granted Bartholomew Izbliany in exchange for Surviliškės, because apparently the latter had no fortifications.<sup>38</sup> During the Radom Sejm in May 1505 Martin was one of several Lithuanian lords who witnessed Polish charters.<sup>39</sup> In March 1503 Martin purchased a house in Vilnius from the former canon, now bishop of Plock, Erasmus Ciołek for 230 golden florins.<sup>40</sup> Martin was resident in Vilnius during the summer of that year, when he witnessed several charters issued by Grand Duke Alexander for ecclesiastical foundations within the diocese of Vilnius, viz. Kaunas, Vitebsk,

<sup>31</sup> See Appendix No 2. Bartholomew was in Vilnius in May of that year too – KDKDW No 462, p. 541.

<sup>32</sup> Vytautas altar – KDKDW No. 464, p. 545; Horodlo confirmation – AUPL No 76, pp. 126-30; on Horodlo and its later confirmations, see *1413 m. Horodlės aktai (Dokumentai ir tyrinėjimai) / Akty Horodelskie z 1413 roku (Dokumenty i studia)*, ed. J. KIAUPIENĖ, L. KORCZAK (Vilnius-Cracow, 2013).

<sup>33</sup> ROWELL, S. C. Dynastic bluff? The Road to Mielnik 1385-1501, *Lithuanian Historical Studies*, Vol. 6, 2001, p. 1-22.

<sup>34</sup> *Akta unji Polski z Litwą. 1385-1791*, ed. S. KUTRZEBA, W. SEMKOWICZ. (Cracow, 1932) [AUPL] Nos 77-78, pp. 130-34.

<sup>35</sup> *Akta Aleksandra króla polskiego, Wielkiego Księcia Litewskiego i t. d. (1501-1506)*, ed. F. PAPÉE (Cracow, 1927), No 69, pp. 74-87, esp., p. 76 § a.

<sup>36</sup> Vilnius, 25 July 1503 (LM5 no 259, p. 167), 1 Aug. 1503 (LM5 No 548, p. 364-66); Cracow, 26 Sept. 1504 (LM6 no 6, p. 57), Grodno, 15 Dec. 1504 (LM6 No 536, p. 318); 7 March 1505 (LM5 No 561, p. 379), Brest 13 March 1505 (LM6 No 531, p. 314). On the Brest act see FINKEL, L. *Elekcja Zygmunta I* (Cracow, 1910), p. 109.

On 20 Feb. 1505 at Brest Martin, along with other dignitaries including Glinsky, witnessed Alexander's settlement of the dispute between Stanisław Korczewski and his sister Fethka, wife of Andrius Davainaitis, lord lieutenant of Drohiczyn over possession of three manors in Podlasie – Rudka, Mordy and a third unnamed estate – MAB F1-40.

<sup>37</sup> CM No 103, KDKDW No 591, pp. 703-704, LM6 no. 6, p. 57, Cracow, 26 Sept. 1505.

<sup>38</sup> KDKDW No. 592, p. 704-705.

<sup>39</sup> FINKEL, L. *Elekcja Zygmunta*, p. 110-112; PIETKIEWICZ, K. *Wielkie księstwo litewskie pod rządami Aleksandra Jagiellończyka* (Poznań, 1995), p. 121 and n. 314.

<sup>40</sup> CM No 99.

Krasne Siolo, Daugai and Ramigala.<sup>41</sup> After Alexander Jagiellończyk died in 1506 Martin supported the accession of Sigismund to the Lithuanian and Polish thrones and he appears as a witness to the new monarch's charters in Mielnik and Vilnius in 1507.<sup>42</sup> The precarious nature of a career at court may be reflected in Martin's appeal for confirmation of the grand duke's bounty by the pope. On 14 April 1507 Julius II issued bulls confirming Martin's rights to Surviliškės and the advowsons granted him by the late Grand Duke-King Alexander's charter of XXX 1503<sup>43</sup> However, after the political restructuring introduced in the aftermath of the Glinisky Uprising Martin fades somewhat from the political scene. Even though Martin obtained his prebendary in 1508 his fellow canons denied him the income he was due from his office in chapter. He was present along with Bishop Albert Radvila at the Vilnius Sejm on 16 January 1509 but he seems to have withdrawn from matters of state (or at least we have very little evidence of his continuing contribution to political life) afterwards.<sup>44</sup> On 15 September 1513 he was the sole lord spiritual present at Sigismund the Old's treaty with the tsar of the Perekop Tatars in Vilnius.<sup>45</sup> In the last year of his life we see him at court once more witnessing Sigismund's confirmation of Jonas Sapiega's purchase of land at Točiškės in the Vilnius powiat.<sup>46</sup>

### Church activities

It is of course impossible to separate the religious from the secular in much of the activity of a lord spiritual such as the bishop of Medininkai. Appearances at court provided an opportunity to obtain royal support for the Church in general, as we have noted above. In general Martin has a good press in historical studies as an excellent pastor and builder of churches. It is unclear whether this reputation is based on evidence no longer extant or on pious commemoration and comparison with his successors who were singularly inadequate pastors. We know from the surviving official record of the Vilnius Chapter that ex officio as canon of Vilnius Martin oversaw the publication of three papal privileges for the chapter in 1501 concerning the right to enjoy the same privileges as the canons of Cracow.<sup>47</sup>

In effect the episcopate of Martin III coincides with a notable increase in ecclesiastical foundations in Žemaitija. It seems that of 27 or 24 churches in the diocese in 1514, nine or ten were founded during Martin's time (1493-1514). This coincided with a period where gentry income had risen to such an extent that there was more free cash to allow donations for church-building and chantry

<sup>41</sup> Kaunas – KDKDW No. 556, p. 659 (13 July 1503); Vitebsk – Nos 558, p. 663 (1 Aug. 1503), 563, p. 676 (17 Aug. 1503); Krasne Siolo – No 559, p. 665 (1 Aug. 1503); Daugai – No 562, p. 671 (14 Aug. 1503); Ramigala – No 564, p. 679 (7 Sept. 1503).

<sup>42</sup> Melnik 5 Jan. 1507 (*Lietuvos Metrika, kn. 8 (1499–1514), Užrašymų knyga 8*, ed. A. BALIULIS, R. FIRKOVIČIUS, D. ANTANAVIČIUS (Vilnius, 1995), no. 189, p. 188); Vilnius 11 July 1507. Ibid. Nos 222, p. 203, 404, p. 304.

<sup>43</sup> CM No 97, CM No 107, CM No 108.

<sup>44</sup> MAKSIMEIKO, N. A. *Seimi litovsko-russkago gosudarstva po Liublinskoi unii 1569 g.* (Kharkov, 1892), Prilozhenie, p. 11.

<sup>45</sup> MALINOVSKII, I. *Sbornik materialov, otnoshiashchikhsia k istorii Panov Rady Velikogo Kniazhestva Litovskogo* (Tomsk, 1901), Pribavlenie XI, p. 482-83. Ibidem, Chast' tret'ia, No XII, p. 294 notes Martin's presence at a dispute between a German merchant, Stepan, and Stanislav Glebovich over the export of silver and wax on Friday 16 July (no year).

<sup>46</sup> *Lietuvos Metrika, kn. 7 (1506–1539) Užrašymų knyga 7*, ed. I. ILARIENĖ, L. KARALIUS, D. ANTANAVIČIUS (Vilnius, 2011) [LM7] No 342, p. 563-64, Vilnius 3 Feb. 1514.

<sup>47</sup> KDKDW, Nos 495, pp. 595-96 (23 June 1501); 496, pp. 597-98 (23 June 1501); 525, p. 628 (10 Nov. 1502); KURCZEWSKI, J. *Kościół zamkowy czyli katedra wileński w jej dziejowym, liturgicznym, architektonicznym i ekonomicznym rozwoju cz. III* (Vilnius 1912), 4, a summary of the Chapter manuscript. Vilnius, Lietuvos Mokslo Akademijos Vrublevskio bibliotekos rankraščių skyrius, Vilniaus Kapitulos Aktai, F. 43 210-1 fos. 2-4.



foundations<sup>48</sup> Given the chaos which accompanied a similar rise in gentry foundations in the Vilnius diocese during the same period, it will be worth noting how far the ordinary remained in control of developments within his see. It appears that during Martin's episcopate the juridical post of official was founded (nearly seventy years later than in Vilnius) and so were the offices of mansionary, for which he issued a (lost) emolument granting them 18 sexagenas annually.<sup>49</sup> His activities in his own diocese should be divided into at least three overlapping categories, namely his direct personal foundations, the foundations made by others during his episcopate and his administration of the see.

Of personal foundations were know only two examples. On 8 January 1507 Martin established an emolument (four tithes and two serfs with their land and families) to maintain a chapel in Medininkai cathedral, which had been founded without a charter by his predecessors.<sup>50</sup> Martin also purchased fisheries on the Veiviržas and Šalpė rivers from the Petraševičiai in 1501.<sup>51</sup> Judging by the will of Jurgis Gedkanaitis (6 October 1505) Martin was able to attract direct funding from pious gentlemen. During a period of plague in Medininkai Jurgis left his whole fortune to the bishop and his chapter, while selecting the cathedral as his last resting place.<sup>52</sup> We must suspect that he had some close connection with the church.

During the Trakai sejm in summer 1493 Martin collaborated with Starosta Stanislovas Jonaitis Kęsgaila over to support Simon of Grodno, parish priest of the Church of All Saints in Luokė, in his request for the grand duke to confirm damaged parish charters. In 1499 Martin along with the bishops of Vilnius and Kiev granted All Saint's and Corpus Christi indulgences.<sup>53</sup> Three years later during the Vilnius sejm Martin asks Alexander to confirm earlier charters and allow the local priest to obtain income from the local market and taverns, a good deed which was recalled once more in a 1566 charter.<sup>54</sup> At the same time Alexander acknowledged that the local advowson belonged to the bishops of Žemaitija. The Šemeta-Davainaitė altar of Our Lady at Šaukėnai (issued at Hniezno in the Volkovysk District in 1497) seems to have no connection with Martin, nor does the 1498 grand-ducal donation of Potumšiai to support a cathedral prebendary (witnessed by the starosta of Žemaitija).<sup>55</sup> Similarly the 1498 foundation of the parish church of the Assumption and Immaculate Conception of Our Lady, Holy Cross, SS Nicholas, Bartholomew, Stanislaw and George by Mikalojus Jaugelavičius at Kurtuvėnai does not involve the bishop directly.<sup>56</sup> On 8 March 1503 Kotryna Mykolienė of Žeimiai (now in the Kėdainiai District) founded the church at Linkuva, granting its priest land which had once belonged to the Jacowiczi, who had killed her son. The emoluments were witnessed by the official and other cathedral clergy. Clearly the bishop's administration had its finger on the pulse of religious life in the diocese.<sup>57</sup> In 1503 Alexander granted Martin and his successors the grand-ducal right of presentation to all canonries and prebends in Medininkai and a further seven Žemaitijan parishes in perpetuity, viz. Veliuona, Raseiniai, Viduklė, Šiauliai, Varniai, Kaltinėnai and Betygala.<sup>58</sup> It may be significant that the benefices of Veliuona, Raseiniai and Kaltinėnai

<sup>48</sup> VAIVADA, V. *Katalikų bažnyčia ir Reformacija Žemaitijoje XVI a.: esminiai raidos bruožai* (Klaipėda, 2004), p. 78–119.

<sup>49</sup> BŁASZCZYK, G. *Diecezja żmudzka...*, p. 93. The mansionaries were granted an annual stipend from the bishops estate at Surviliškės, as recorded in his will. – CM 114, p. 178 and below, appendix.

<sup>50</sup> CM No 105, p. 163–64.

<sup>51</sup> CM No 93, p. 146–147.

<sup>52</sup> CM No 104, p. 162–63

<sup>53</sup> CM No 82, p. 134–35. For Luokė indulgences, see appendix 1, 2.

<sup>54</sup> CM No 87, p. 138–38 (Vilnius, 13 Aug. 1496), mentioned in Sigismund Augustus' confirmation, Vilnius, 6 Feb. 1566, *ibid.* No 250, p. 360.

<sup>55</sup> CM No 88, p. 140–141, 89, p. 141–42.

<sup>56</sup> CM No 90, p. 143–44.

<sup>57</sup> CM No 98, p. 152–53.

<sup>58</sup> The charter of Alexander which mentions the seven parish churches does not mention the cathedral benefices. These are noted in Pope Julius II's 1507 confirmation of the advowsons.

were held by canons during Martin's episcopacy. Father Nicholas of Varniai was among the witnesses to Martin's will in 1512. Canon John (1504-1507) was also priest in Šiauliai in 1507.<sup>59</sup> No data are available for Betygala and Viduklė when Martin was bishop and presenter to the livings. Nonetheless, it would appear that Martin did make some suitable appointments. By way of comparison, in 1501 the grand duke granted Bishop Albert Tabor of Vilnius the advowson of 28 parishes, one prebendary in Trakai and four cathedral prebendaries for the bishop's life time only.<sup>60</sup>

During Martin's reign Betygala appears to have been a prominent centre of devout gentry. In Gniezno we find noblemen from the area acting as couriers of court documents; in June 1504 Valentinus and Bartholomew Jurgievičiai confirmed their parents' chantry foundation in Betygala parish church of St Nicholas. Four months later one Mila Visginaite made her will bequeathing three tithes to the Betygala chantry priest Paul. The document was presented to Bishop Martin in Medininkai by the Jurgievičiai chantry priest, Albert, for confirmation, also present were the keepers of Kražiai, Utena and Ariogala.<sup>61</sup> In June 1504 Bagdonas Mastvilas founded a chantry in Raseiniai parish church, the emolument being recorded in the home of the parish priest Canon Nicholas.<sup>62</sup> A church of the Holy Trinity, the Annunciation and St Bartholomew and a parish school was founded by the Bartoševičiai in Tauragė in 1507 in collaboration with Bishop Martin. Błaszczyk and later Rabikauskas doubted the authenticity of the foundation but given the nature of the copy the objections raised against it are not completely credible and the counter arguments in favour of deformed authenticity put forward by Vacys Vaivada are valid, there is no reason to strike Tauragė of the list of early-sixteenth-century foundations.<sup>63</sup>

At Pašakarniai on 21 May 1509 Mikalojus Jonaitis Kešgaila, son of the former starosta of Žemaitija, Jonas, founded and endowed the parish church of St James in Švėkšna not far from the Prussian border.<sup>64</sup> In return the parish priest was to say three Masses a week in eternity (of the Holy Trinity, Our Lady and St James) in the celebration which they were to be obliged by the local bishop. Ten days later at Kražiai Mikalojus' brother Stanislovas, castellan of Trakai and starosta of Žemaitija founded and endowed the Church of the Holy Trinity, the Nativity of Our Lady, St Anne, the Three Kings, SS Stanislaw, Nicholas, Catherine and Barbara in Batakliai, 20 km n.e. of Tauragė. Stanislovas appoints John as parish priest, reserving the advowson for himself and his successors. In return the incumbent rector is to offer Mass on Sundays, Mondays (Holy Trinity), Tuesdays (St Anne), Wednesdays and Fridays (for the souls of dead kin), Thursdays (All Saints) and Saturdays (Nativity of Our Lady). The bishop is not mentioned in this foundation which was witnessed by Kražiai clerics, Albert Goštautas and the latter's chaplain.<sup>65</sup> The demands made by starosta of his priest at Batakliai are without equal in Lithuanian parish churches in that they extend to the whole week.

Three years later, in May 1512 one Albertas Gruzdavičius with his wife Tabitha and sons, Stanislovas and Jonas obtained the 'special consent' of Bishop Martin to erect and endow an altar in Kelmė parish church which they dedicated to SS Anne, Albert (Wojciech) and George. With the bishop's consent they present a Medininkai mansionary priest, Andrew, to the benefice, requiring two Masses a week. The document was probably drafted in Medininkai, for it was witnessed by the

<sup>59</sup> LKD No 781, p. 132.

<sup>60</sup> KDKDW No 507, p. 616-17, Mielnik, 18 Sept. 1501.

<sup>61</sup> CM No 100 p. 155-56, 102, p. 158-59.

<sup>62</sup> CM No 101, p. 156-58, Savišcevas, p. 329.

<sup>63</sup> VAIVADA, V. *Katalikų bažnyčia...*, p. 42-53.

<sup>64</sup> CM No 111, p. 171-74.

<sup>65</sup> CM No 112, p. 174-75.

bishop, the canon-official and other members of the cathedral clergy and the bishop's household.<sup>66</sup> The fashion among the lesser gentry for founding family altars continued in Viduklė in June 1512, where three affines (Elżbieta Valatkienė-Šakienė, Martynas Petrašaitis and Micko Jurgaitis) joined together in Milžuvenai to endow the altar of Our Lady, SS Anne and George in Viduklė in the presence of cathedral clergy.<sup>67</sup>

In the north-east corner of the diocese at Saločiai (formerly Pamūšis) a new parish church was erected and endowed in 1514 by a lady, Barbora sister of Petras-Petka, and two gentlemen, Lutka Baldanas and Lutka Baltas, dedicated to Our Lady, SS Peter, Paul, Nicholas and Anne. The founders do not specify any service to be rendered by the parish priest, Stephen, and his successors, but they do retain the advowson for themselves and their heirs. The act, penned by Laurencius Benjamin Wolff, was witnessed in Bishop Martin's Vilnius residence by John of Sokolniki and Martin of Sokolniki, the bishop's legal officers. It was in Medininkai in the presence of Stanislovas, rector of the cathedral choir, in October 1514 that Mikalojus and Barbora Butrimavičiiai founded the church of SS Anne and Nicholas at Šiaulėnai in return for three weekly Masses (on Sundays, on market days [Tuesday] St Anne, and on Friday for the souls of the founders and their ancestors). The bishop was intended to make sure that the parish priest kept his side of the bargain. The document was penned by John, mansionary priest of Medininkai.<sup>68</sup>

Given the (relative) increase in the foundation of churches and chantries during Martin's episcopacy, it might come as a surprise to find that towards the end of his life the bishop was chided by King Sigismund the Old for obstructing the presentation of priests to (unspecified) vacant parishes in his diocese. In October 1514 the monarch threatened to report Martin to the archbishop of Gniezno and the pope in Rome, if he continued to thwart the presentation of clergy to parishes and chaplaincies by Stanislovas Jonaitis Kešgaila, the starosta of Žemaitija.<sup>69</sup> It is difficult to understand what provoked the wrath of the bishop towards Sigismund's lord lieutenant. We have noted that the 1509 foundation of Batakiai does not mention the bishop (unlike the contemporary foundation of Švėkšna by Mikalojus Jonaitis Kešgaila), but this is hardly relevant here. It may be that the lord lieutenant tried to impose his candidate in parishes which had been transferred to the bishop's advowson by Grand Duke Alexander, or that he was pressurising the bishop in other ways. Certainly this Kešgaila was willing to pursue his family's interests in presenting clergy to their parishes, as we know from his long-lasting dispute with Stanislovas Petraitis Kiška over the Deltuva advowson which left the parish without a priest for more than a decade.<sup>70</sup> A month later Sigismund himself asked the bishop to grant an unnamed benefice to John Siculus Amatus.<sup>71</sup> What became of this request is unknown. We do know, however, that in October 1515 the learned Sicilian priest appealed to the papal legate for permission to hold two incompatible benefices.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>66</sup> CM No 113, p. 175-77. The editor gives Kelmė as the place of writing, but the document makes no mention of place. The rubric note, Kielmy 1512 refers to the site of the altar, not the place of writing.

<sup>67</sup> CM No 115, p. 181-83.

<sup>68</sup> Saločiai – CM No 116, p. 183-85; Šiaulėnai – CM No 117, p. 185-87. John, the parish priest of Švėkšna was a mansionary in 1512 – see Appendix No 6.

<sup>69</sup> CM No 118, p. 187-88 (9 Oct. 1514).

<sup>70</sup> See Appendix, n. 17 and the continuation of the dispute – MAB RS F 43 b 204, fo 169r-v. PIETKIEWICZ, K. *Kieżgajlowie i ich latyfundiūm do połowy XVI wieku* (Poznań, 1982), p. 34-40. Sigismund tended to side with Kešgaila in disputes with gentry and clergy over his turning the duchy into a personal fiefdom because of the support Stanislovas afforded him when he became king-grand duke.

<sup>71</sup> CM No 119, p. 188 (13 Nov. 1514).

<sup>72</sup> *Acta Tomicianae* III (Poznań, 1852), No 573, p. 426. In general on John see LKD No 786, p. 133-34.

The foundations of churches and chantries made or remade during Martin's episcopacy were concentrated more on the south-western and north-eastern borders of the diocese close to Prussia and the Palatinate of Trakai and in more central parts of the see, to the east, mainly south-east of Varniai. While chantry altars might appear to be less significant than parish churches, they should not be underestimated. They reflect the increase in local devotion and a consolidation of the mother foundation. In some parishes a chantry might possess essential liturgical equipment which was lacking from the church's central altar, as in the case of the chantry priests in Švenčionys and Lentupis (Vilnius Diocese) who possessed chalices and chasubles while the main foundation had nothing (insofar as we can tell from the Visitation Records of 1522).

As might be expected, Martin was familiar with the geography of his see. In the summer of 1508 as war against Muscovy ravaged Martin answered a query raised by his brother bishop Henry Basedow of Courland concerning the territories of Dania (Dame) and Pressel in the Amboten District of Livonia. After consulting his own people and grand-ducal officials Martin noted that although these two rivers flow in Žemaitija, he does not know where their sources are. He does, however, know that the territories of that name belong to the diocese of Courland.<sup>73</sup>

As a diocesan administrator, Martin paid considerable attention to his finances. We know almost nothing of his income and expenditure, except that the former was almost certainly meagre. Medininkai was one of the poorest sees in the province of Gniezno, judging by papal tax records and the permission he was granted to hold multiple benefices, in effect two in Vilnius cathedral. In the Gniezno appeal court he brought two cases involving his income and spending. He bought the chapter of Vilnius to court for refusing the paying him the income from property and stipends which he was owed as a prebendary canon, and he prosecuted the Vilnius goldsmith Wolfgang for failing to return to him half a mark (125 g) of silver scraps from a sculpture he had commissioned (whether for a church or himself remains unknown). The court found in the artisan's favour, having established that it was the custom, tradition and practice to allow craftsmen to keep such off-cuts (*ex labore ex sculptura*)<sup>74</sup>

### **Martin's Last Will and Testament**

We might hope to learn something of Martin's character when he became aware that he was dying. Martin dictated his will to his faithful servant, lawyer and canon, Martin of Sokolniki in the white room to the right hand side of the entrance to the Episcopal palace in Medininkai on Monday 13 August 1512 almost three years before he died and three and a half months after the definitive sentence was pronounced in his favour in his appeal in Gniezno against the actions of the Vilnius Chapter. The testament survives in two copies of Canon Martin's notarial act, the older dating from 4 May 1515, when the executors had it registered in the acts of the Gniezno Chapter, the more recent being the seventeenth-century copy made by Fr M. Babinowski. The two copies differ in only one major respect, namely the confusion of St Peter's Basilica in Rome with the Church of St Peter in Varniai. The making of the will was encouraged by a deterioration in the bishop's health; Martin was suffering from syphilis, the French disease. In this he was not alone among the Catholic hierarchy of early-modern Lithuania. His contemporary, cardinal Frederick Jagiellończyk was also a syphilitic.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup> CM No 109, p. 169-70 (Medininkai, 18 July 1508), 110, p. 170-71 (Medininkai, 15 Aug. 1508).

<sup>74</sup> See Appendix, Nos 3 and 4, and 5 respectively.

<sup>75</sup> NOWAKOWSKA, N. *Church, State and Dynasty*, in *Renaissance Poland: The Career of Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellon* (1468–1503). Aldershof-Burlington: Ashgate, 2007, p. 155-62. The allegation against Frederick was also



Martin's will is clearly a public act. The beneficiaries include some of the men who witnessed its dictation (perhaps to confirm their loyalty with pledges of future benefaction?). In its notarial form it is similar to the 1490 testament of Canon Matthias of Medininkai.<sup>76</sup> The arena is the same as that of Matthias and the pious gentleman Jurgis Gedkantaitis (see above). The bishop commends himself to God, His Immaculate Mother and the whole Company of Heaven, before setting out his bequests. He does not specify his burial place [in his bridal church of Medininkai] until the end of the text, while the layman Jurgis names his burial site before outlining his gifts.

First of all Martin bequeathed the estate he had received for faithful services rendered from Alexander Jagiellonczyk at Surviliškės as confirmed by Pope Julius II (in 1507) to the cathedral and chapter of Medininkai, reserving 18 sexagenas annually from its income for the upkeep of the cathedral mansionaries. The house in Vilnius which he had purchased from Erasmus Ciolek, a purchase he had confirmed by Grand Duke Alexander, he bequeathed to future bishops of Medininkai, asking his executors to pay off his small, but honourable household.

This concern for his staff is reflected in Martin's instructions for the disposal of his movable property (gold, silver, money, jewels, rings, clothing, horses, furniture, cattle, livestock, corn and other materials) according to the wishes of the canons not for the fabric of the church or the purchase of chalices, crosses, chasubles, bells and other movables but for the income of the canons and mansionaries so that, released from cares to provide themselves with necessities they might better pray for the Church's benefactors. In this care for his servants and colleagues and his disdain for the enrichment of the sacristy Martin stands apart from his fellow clergy and gentry patrons. In comparison with the effects of other prelates and lawyers both canon and civil, the absence of *books* from the list of Martin's possession is striking. After all, Martin was an accomplished lawyer and, according to Alexander Borgia's cliché, *literarum scientia predictus*.<sup>77</sup>

As executors of his will he selected cathedral officers and canons (Paul of Przasznisz the Official, Paul parish priest of Kaltinenai, Nicholas parish priest of Raseiniai, Benedict, Bartholomew and Gregory), instructing that if there be any legal problems with the will these be amended in codicils and that the document be kept in Medininkai Cathedral. If his wishes were not respected then all the legacies should go to St Peter's Church in the Roman Curia (*ad maiorem ecclesiam Sancti Petri in curia Romana*). Concern over the implementation of the will was shared by the executors after Martin died. On 4 May 1515 through the notary Laurence Benjamin Wolff the will was registered with the Consistory Court in Gniezno. We know from later complaints that the executors or at least the canons handed over Martin's movables, gold and silver to his successor, Bishop Nicholas Radvila, on loan and the prelate never handed the treasure back.<sup>78</sup>

The will was witnessed by the cathedral mansionaries Nicholas, parish priest of Varniai, John parish priest of Sveksna, Paul, Matthias and Gregory; Stanislaw the Chaplain, Mathias the chantry priest, and the nobles Grigalius Daugvilas, Mikalojus Buidovicus, Baltramiejus Stanevicius,

directed at King John Albert, and other Polish bishops. For a new study of how the French Disease developed – ARRIZABALAGA, J., HENDERSON, J., FRENCH, R. *The Great Pox: The French Disease in Renaissance Europe* (New Haven-London, 1997).

<sup>76</sup> Cf Appendix, No 6 with CM No 73, pp. 122-26.

<sup>77</sup> The cases of Canon Matthias, Vilnius Canon Adam of Kotra, Albert Gostautas spring to mind: Canon Matthias of Medininkai' will, 8 Nov. 1490 – CM No 73, p. 124-25; Adam of Kotra – LKD No 12, p. 20-21; for Goštautas' collection, see GUDMANAS, K. 'Alberto Goštauto biblioteka ir Lietuvos metraščiai', *Knygotyra*, 41 (2003), pp. 1-16. All of these pale into significance in comparison with the Ukmergė parish priest Jokūbas Šivočina, who bequeathed 53 volumes of theology and canon law to his parish before 1522 – LKD No 598, p. 113. Alexander VI's commonplace description of Martin – 8 Oct. 1492, CM No 76, p. 130.

<sup>78</sup> CM No 159, p. 242, 1531.

Jonas Jucevicius, Jonas Stanevicius, Jokubas Mikalojevicius. The date of Martin's death remains unknown to scholarship. We know that his will was enrolled posthumously in Gniezno by his executors on 4 May 1515 and this represents the earliest date ante quem we have, replacing 6 July 1515, the date on which Pope Leo X makes provision for Nicholas Radvila to assume the see of Medininkai and makes reference to bone memorie Martino episcopo. Błaszczyk makes an erroneous reference to the provision of the see for Radvila on 29 March 1515. The document he cites inaccurately dates from 29 May. Nevertheless, it seems likely that sometime in March 1515 would be close to the actual day of the bishop's death.

## Conclusion

In his career Martin III is both a traditional and an innovatory figure. He was one of the last Lithuanian burgher bishops, but one who studied not in Cracow but in Italy. The next generation of prelates had more men who studied law in Italy – Paul Alšėniškis (bishop of Lutsk and Vilnius), Albertas Radvila (Bishop of Vilnius), Mikalojus Radvila (bishop of Žemaitija). It was not uncommon for canons of Vilnius to gain a bishop's mitre in the Lithuanian dioceses; Martin was a bishop who received a Vilnius canonry. While he owed his position to none but the pope and the grand duke, his lack of an established local gentry network to support him seems to have limited the range of his influence when his Jagiellonian master died (the leading boyars of Žemaitija were clients of the starosta rather than the bishop, and for some reason Sigismund the Old did not favour him). He seems to have understood his clergy and sought to strengthen the material circumstances of his cathedral clergy with confirmation of their rights and property. In this he seems to have been a 'reforming' bishop more effective than his contemporary Tabor of Vilnius. Martin kept in touch with developments in his diocese through them and maintained control over parish foundations. Unlike Tabor he did not lament to Rome the uncontrollable gentry zeal for independent parish formation, but there again his whole diocese had fewer churches than the 29 Vilnius parishes, the advowson to which Grand Duke Alexander surrendered to Albert in 1501. During his time new parishes were built on the south-western and north-eastern boundaries of his see and central foundations were consolidated with the endowment of chantries made with his consent or requesting his implementation of clerical duties. His issuing of indulgences encouraged the faithful to aid parish churches materially and to visit them on high holidays (a basic type of pilgrimage). Martin was also active in public life at a national and international (*accuratius*, dynastic) level during the reign of Alexander and for this he was rewarded by the monarch. His attendance at sejms, court or on embassies also provided opportunity for spiritual service (again the issuing of indulgences, the witnessing of parish foundations). He appears to have understood the precariousness nature of royal favour and sought to gain papal acknowledgment of the gifts he had received (Surviliškės, the advowsons to grand-ducal foundations) and indeed his last will and testament, which ordained that all his property go as a contribution to the rebuilding of St Peter's Basilica, if his local bequests were not respected, reflects his personal affection and (misplaced?) confidence in the Roman Curia, where his career began. Nevertheless, even though his executors registered the will with the Consistory Court in Gniezno, they were powerless to keep the predatory paws of the new Radvila bishop off their inheritance.

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## MEDININKŲ VYSKUPAS MARTYNAS III LIETUVIS, VILNIAUS ARKIDIAKONAS IR KANAUNINKAS

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### Santrauka

Naudojant ligšiol istorikams plačiai neprieinamus šaltinius iš Gniezno arkivyskupo teismo ir peržiūrint publikuotus bei nepublikuotus raštus iš įvairių archyvų, straipsnyje nagrinėjamas Medininkų vyskupo Martyno III Lietuvio gyvenimas ir karjera. Galima teigti, kad Martynas – vos ne paskutinis iš miestiečių kilmės LDK vyskupų, vienas pirmųjų Italijoje studijavusių ordinarų. Jis buvo ne tradicinis vyskupu tapęs Vilniaus kanauninkas, o į kanauninkus išrinktas Medininkų vyskupas. Jo karjerą rėmė net keturi popiežiai ir LDK valdovai Kazimieras Jogailaitis bei pastarojo sūnus Aleksandras. Idant apsaugotų jam suteiktas dovanas, nekilnojamuosius pirkinius, valdovo suteiktas privilegijas, Martynas siekė gauti jų patvirtinimą Romoje arba Gniezne. Atėjęs į sostus Žygimantui Senajam, vyskupas ne visai pasitikėjo vietine valdžia ir jos biurokratija (Lietuvos Metrika). Berods, jam trūko savų žmonių aplinkos LDK aukštuomenėje, o paramą sau jis susikūrė tarp Medininkų katedros dvasininkų ir mažesniųjų žemaičių bajorų. Jis rūpinosi savo kunigų gerove bei privilegijomis ir pagaliau savo turtais. Jam vyskupaujant Medininkų vyskupijos parapijų tinklas išsiplėtė prie jos pietvakarių ir šiaurės rytų pasienio ruožų. Martynas – vyskupas reformatorius, kruopščiai domėjęsis savo vyskupijos fundacijomis, siekęs plėsti vyskupo teisę skirti parapijoms kunigus ir ginti ordinaro interesus prieš ponų kišimąsi į Bažnyčios gyvenimą, prieštaraudamas žemaičių seniūno Stanislovo Jonaičio Kęsgailos pastangoms valdyti dvasininkų paskyrimus (*collationes*).

## APPENDIX

Documents relating to the activities of Bishop Martin III of Žemaitija, 1496-1515 from the Prekier Collection (Jagiellonian Library, Cracow) and the Gniezno Consistory Court. Jan Prekier was a nineteenth-century Kaunas antiquary who collected and also copied ecclesiastical muniments from the Diocese of Medininkai. Two volumes of documents are held by the University of Cracow (Mss 6321, 6322), a microfilm copy is held in the Polish National Library in Warsaw and a film was made in 1981 of Volume II for the University of Vilnius, the whereabouts of which are now unknown. These volumes include original parchments, activated excerpts from the records of the Medininkai Consistory Court and copies made by Prekier himself. The documents date from the XV-early XIX centuries.

1

### 10 November 1496, Medininkai

*Martin Jodowicz, his wife Anna and son John, heirs to Dirvonėnai found and endow the Altar of SS John the Baptist, Martin and Anne in the Church of All Saints in Luokė*

C – Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Ms 6321, Zbiór Prekiera, I, fo. 87-88, seventeenth-century copy by Stanisław Moscicki of a 13 June 1508 register copy of 10 Nov. 1496 original Fo 88v has a seventeenth-century inscription: *Wypis aktowania fundusza przez Księdza Stanisława Moscickiego<sup>1</sup> proboszcza datą roku 1508 Juniy 13 d.* Fo 88r bears two seals under paper; fos 87-88 are one piece of paper, folded in half.

*God' ot Narozhenia Syna Bozhogo tysecha pech sot usmogo mtsa iunia trynad'zatogo dnia...*

In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis amen. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam; quia presentis evi lubrica conditio cunctas hominum actiones plerumque in oblivionis abyssum demergere consuevit, nisi apicibus litterarum et testimonio fidelium fuerint in perpetuum roborate, eatenus ego Martinus Jodowicz cum Anna mea legitima conthorali et Johanne nato meo, heredes de Dirwiony<sup>2</sup> prefatum perpendentes huiusmodi statum fore mortalem et caducam, volentesque caduca et mortalia pro eternis commutare, sperantesque post vite presentis occasum ad vitam transferri eternam, significamus tenore presentium, quibus expedit universis, quia in ecclesia parochiali Omnium Sanctorum in Lukniki<sup>3</sup> altare ad latus dextrum versus meridiem situm ad laudem et honorem sanctorum videlicet Joannis Baptiste, Martini episcopi confessoris gloriosi, et Anne matris Marie pro || remedio predecessorum nostrorumque peccaminum salutari fundavimus et ereximus. Cui quidem altari ego Martinus Jodowicz cum Anna mea legitima

<sup>1</sup> Stanisław Moscicki, provost of Luokė, 1609-21, Medininkai cathedral cleric from 1595 and later canon – LKD No 2383, p. 392.

<sup>2</sup> Dirvonėnai (previously Didieji Dirvėnai and Mažieji Dirvėnai), village in Telšiai District, valsčius, whose keeper (tįūnas) resided in Luokė.

<sup>3</sup> Luokė, small town in Žemaitija, 21 km s.e. of Telšiai. The parish church of All Saints was founded in the fifteenth century, according to disputed tradition in 1417; its emoluments were confirmed by Grand Duke Alexander in 1493 (CM 82, pp. 133-35). Bishop Bartholomew of Medininkai issued an indulgence for those visiting and aiding the church in Vilnius in October 1471 – BUJ, Zbiór Prekiera I fo.79r-v.



conthorali et Joanne nato meo, heredes predicti, manu coniuncta dedimus, assignavimus, adiunximus, incorporavimus inperpetuumque contulimus presentibus damus, conferimus, assignamus, adiungemus et incorporamus perpetue et in evum unum incolam dictum Lelunas cum ipsius tota terra penes ecclesiam iacentem. Item decimas de omnibus curiis nostris, primam de curia Dyrwiany, secundam de Zemele, tertiam de Girkowthow, quartam de Sielany, quintam de Bewgapi de omni grano et de ortis, videlicet de rapis, kanapis, coepris, caulibus etc, nihil penitus in prefatis decimis excipiendo, et pro tunica septem ulnas panni alias *Koltryszu* et pellicem de agnellis, tres porcos impinguatos et unum bovem; hec omnia prescripta singulis annis rectoribus prefati altarii damus perpetue et in evum adscribimus nunc vero per discretum Laurentium altaristam nomine nuncupatum et suos legitimos successores supra dicta manu coniuncta pacifice assignata, ascripta, habendum, tenendum et fruendum pacifice et quiete inperpetuum possidendum, nihil iuris et domini in prefatis donatis et predicto altari totaliter ascriptis nobis et nostris successoribus imposterum reservando. De quibus donatis et donandis prefatum discretum Laurentium altaristam nuncupatum in trium missarum officiis et suos legitimos successores in qualibet hebdomada obligamus unam pro peccatis, secundam pro sanitate et tertiam pro defunctis ut igitur prefatorum omnium et singulorum nostra libera donatio perpetuis temporibus maneat incorrupta.

Et in maius testimonium presentes literas sigillo<sup>4</sup> reverendo in Christo patris et domini, Domini Martini Dei gratia episcopi Mednicensis sigillavimus et roboravimus. Datum ex Medneki decimo mensis Novembris, anno Domini millesimo quadragentesimo nonagesimo sexto. Presentibus ibidem Reverendo in Christo patre et domino Martino Dei gratia episcopo Mednicensi necnon honorabilibus nobiles et discretis Bartholomeo plebano de Worni, Joanne de Wittygolla [Betygola?], Joanne de Bolemono, Joanne de Vorni, Nicolao Miedzwiadzicki presbyteris, Chlerico de Witemblo, Martino tenentario de Vorni, Simone etc testibus circa premissa existentibus.

Et me Adam Alberti de Starcevo, clerico Plocensis diocesis sacra auctoritate imperiali publico notario etc. Cui quidem altari Dominus Joannes Marcinowicz una cum predicta conthorali sua Anna addidit decimam de curiola sua Poschili dicta de omni grano et kmitonem dictum Dopsthus || Elzatoytis super predictum altare per ipsum erectum perpetuis temporibus. Et in eo predicta omnia propter maius robur sigillo suo inferius penso quod iam acquisivit, communivit in fidem et testimonium omnium premissorum

## 2

### 17 June 1499, Vilnius

*Bishop Martin of Medininkai issues a 40 days indulgence for those aiding and visiting the Church of Corpus Christi and All Saints in Luokė. This indulgence was complemented by Bishop Albert Tabor of Vilnius and Bishop Bartholomew of Kiev.*

C – Cracow, BUJ 6321, Zbiór Prekiera, I, fo 80r-v, nineteenth-century copy of indulgences issued by various bishops for Luokė, 1471-1521 (fos 79-83r).

MARTINUS Dei et apostolice sedis gratia episcopus Mednicensis Universis et singulis sexus utriusque christifidelibus presentium noticiam habituris salutem in Domino sempiternam. Pia Mater Ecclesia de fi-

<sup>4</sup> The court scribe noted (in 1508) that two seals were attached to the original document, presumably those of the bishop and the notary.

liorum, quos spiritualiter genuit salute solvita nec indulgentiis nec peccatorum remissionibus nec quique aliis piis allectieris ad devotionem invitare consuevit certe quanto crebrius honorem Deo et sanctis Eius ac sedibus sacris debitam famulatam impendierint, tanto celerius suorum remissionem mererentur obtinere peccatorum. Ut igitur ecclesia parochialis in Luknyky nostre diocesis ad laudem et gloriam Omnipotentis Dei Eiusdem genitrici Marie intemerate ac in honorem Sacratissimi Corporis Christi et omnium sanctorum constructa et edificata existit et a Christifidelibus in suis structuris et edificiis adaugeatur, decoretur et operose conservietur et reparetur, ac ut christifideles cofrequencius ac devocione confluant, qui ibidem uberius dono celestis gratie conspexierint se refectos, omnibus et singulis sexus utriusque christifidelibus, contritis et cofessis ad dictam ecclesiam parochialem in Lukniky accesserint [... ..] messis, predicationibus, matutis, vespers et aliis divinis officiis in festivitibus precipuis videlicet Nativitatis, Ressionectionis, Ascensionis, Pentecostes, Sancte Trinitatis, Corporis Christi, Tranfigurationis ac in anniversario dedeicationis ecclesie eiusdem et per octo dies immediate sequentes necnon Annunciationis, Visitationis, Nominationis<sup>5</sup>, Assumptionis, Nativitatis, Conceptionis, Presentationis, Trium Regum et Purificationis Beatissime Marie Virginis et diebus apostolorum omnium et evangelistarum sanctorumque Stanislai, Adalberti, Laurentii, Venceslai, Ladislai, Decem milia martirum, Johannis Baptiste, Cosme et Damiani martirum Georgiique et sanctorum Martini, Nicolai, Gregorii, Ambrosii, Heronimi, Augustini, Valentini et Leonardi confessorum ac sanctorum Katherine, Dorothe, Margarite, Barbare et Othilie virginum, Anne matris Marie, Hedvigis et Helisabeth [... ..] et omnium patronorum eiusdem quorum et quarum relique [... ..] prefatam ecclesiam visitaverint divinaque officia in eadem audiverint, oracionem dominicam cum archiangelica salutacione corde contrito et genu flexo pro pace ecclesie ac feliciter [... ..] regnorum christianorum devote oraverint. Quique pro fabrica et reparatione dicte ecclesie ac ornatibus, libris, calicibus et aliis apparatibus et necessariis de bonis piis a Domino Deo collatis manibus ipsorum qualibet porrexerint adiutrices totiens, quotiens premissa seu aliquid premissos cum devocione fecerint totiens de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia || et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum Eius auctoritate confessis quadragesima dies indulgentiarum de iniunctis eis penitentiis misericorditer in Domino relaxamus et impartimur presentibus perpetuis et futuris temporibus duraturis, volentes nihilominus et tenore presencium licenciam concedimus ut alie indulgentie per quoscunque venerabiles in Christo patres dominos archiepiscopos et episcopos eidem ecclesie concesse et concedende robur obtineatur firmitatis. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nostrum est presentibus subappensum. Datum Vilne xvii mensis junii, anno Domini millesimo quaquingesimo nonagesimo nono.

Et nos Albertus<sup>6</sup> Vlnensis, Bartholomeus<sup>7</sup> Kioviensis eadem gratia episcopi ecclesiarum omnibus et singulis sexus utriusque christifidelibus premissa adimplentatur contritis et confessis de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum Eius auctoritate confisi de iniunctis eis penitentiis per quadraginta dies misericorditer in Deo relaxamus et perpetuis temporibus [... ..] impartimur. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus subappensum. Datum Vilne

<sup>5</sup> This is nonsense; there is no feast of the Nomination of Mary; the feast of the Holy Name of Mary (12 Sept.) was established after the defeat of the Turks by Jan III Sobieski before Vienna in 1683.

<sup>6</sup> Bishop Albert Tabor of Vilnius (fl. 1475-1507), LKD No 58, p. 27-28.

<sup>7</sup> Bishop Bartholomew Soloznicki of Kiev (fl. 1495-1512), LKD No 326, p. 68.

## 3

**13 October 1511, Gniezno**

*The Official of Gniezno, Wincenty z Łagiewnik proclaims an interlocutory sentence in the case of Martin of Medininkai versus the Chapter of Vilnius, stating that the canons acted illegally in their dealings with the bishop of Medininkai. Costs will be awarded at the end of the trial.*

R – Gniezno, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne, Acta Consistorii, C3, fo 187.

Episcopi Mednicensis

Cristi nomine invocato in causa et causis que primum coram venerabilibus dominis prelati et canonicis totoque Capitulo ecclesie Vlnensis in prima et nunc<sup>8</sup> coram nobis in secunda versate sunt et vertuntur instanciis inter reverendissimum in Cristo patrem Dominum Martinum episcopum Mednicensem, archidiaconum et canonicum Vlnensem ex una, et prefatum Capitulum Vlnense partibus ex altera pro, de et super senio distributionibus quotidianis et aliis rebus in actis cause huiusmodi laciis descriptis et illorum occasione interloquendo dicimus, decernimus et pronunciamus per prefatos dominos de Capitulo Vlnensi male fuisse et esse processum in eadem causa pro parteque domini episcopi Mednicensis huc ad sanctam sedem metropolitanamque ecclesiam Gneznensem bene et iuste fuisse et esse promotum et appellatum et ide i in ipsa et punctis in quibus mansit indecisa procedere mandamus; expensas ad finem litis reservamus.

Anno Domini 1511 lune tredecim Octobris per venerabilem Dominum Vincencium de Lagiewnyki<sup>9</sup> canonicum et officialem Gneznensem oblata.

## 4

**28 April 1512, Gniezno**

*Definitive sentence pronounced in Gniezno Consistory Court by Official Wincenty of Łagiewniki in the appeal case of Bishop Martin of Medininkai against the Chapter of Vilnius.*

B – Gniezno, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne, Acta Con. C3, fos 201v-202v

Diffinitiva Reverendissimi Domini Martini Episcopi Medincensis ||

Cristi nomine invocato pro tribunali sedens et Ipsum solum pre oculis habens per hanc nostram diffinitivam sententiam, quam de iuris peritorum consilio et assensu maturaque inter nos deliberatione prehabita

<sup>8</sup> The earliest record of the appeal is from Friday 4 July 1511 – AAG Acta Con. A 78 fo 48; proceedings continue – fos 48v, 50, 53v (bishop's messenger cannot arrive on time because of bad weather and poor roads), 57, 59v, 60, 63, 66v (interlocutoria), 67v-68, 68v-69 (court finds no fault in Martin's case), 70v, 84v (10 Dec. duplicaciones), 100 (28 Jan. 1512), 102, 104v, 106v, 109v, 117r-v, 121v, 123v, 130.

<sup>9</sup> Wincenty z Łagiewnik (+1525), canon, official and later archdeacon of Gniezno – KORYTKOWSKI, J. *Pralaci i kanonicy katedry metropolitalnej Gnieźnińskiej od roku 1000 do dni naszych II* (Gniezno, 1883), pp. 493-98.

ferimus in his scriptis. In causa appellationis inter reverendissimum in Cristo patrem dominum Martinum Dei Gratia episcopum Mednicensem appellansem ex una, et venerabiles dominos Magistrum Bernardum de Wylna<sup>10</sup>, Johannem de Dobrzynycze<sup>11</sup>, Casparum de Warschovia<sup>12</sup>, Magistrum Adam de Cotra<sup>13</sup>, Albertum de Rossan<sup>14</sup> et Johannem Albinum<sup>15</sup> ceterosque prelatos et canonicos ac totum capitulum ecclesie cathedralis Vilnensis pro, de et super sententia optionum domorum, quottidianis distributionibus, visitatione bonorum aliisque rebus in articulis cause huiusmodi laicius deductis et expressis et illorum occasione appellante partibus ex altera. Per ea, que in presenti causa vidimus, dicimus, decernimus et pronunciamus prefato reverendissimo domino Martino Mednicensi episcopo per felicis recordacionis sanctissimum in Cristo patrem Dominum Innocencium papam Octavum<sup>16</sup> de anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo primo de Archidiaconatu et canonicatu in ecclesia Vilnensi supernumerario motu proprio cum plenitudine iuris canonici provisum fuisse et esse iuxta tenorem et constitutionem bulle apostolice desuper confecte; deinde anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo tercio, die decima septima mensis Augusti vigore earundem literarum apostolicarum per prelatos et canonicos totumque Capitulum prefate ecclesie Vilnensis capitulariter tunc congregatum, servatis eorum consuetudinibus et statutis, memoratum Dominum Martinum episcopum Mednicensem in archidiaconum et canonicum creatum recepisse et admisisse, stallum in choro, vocem et locum in Capitulo necnon possessionem realem et corporalem prefati archidiaconatus cum plenitudine iuris canonici, nemine contradicente, cum effectu assignasse et designasse; deinde successive prebendam per mortem et obitum olim venerabilis Andree Swyrzsky<sup>17</sup> canonici Vilnensis de corpore canonicatum et prebendam et non supernumerariam et provisione ordinaria per prefatum dominum Martinum tempore assecucionis ultime prebende episcopum Mednicensem archidiaconumque Vilnensem assecutum fuisse et esse. Et propter huiusmodi assecucionem prebende predictae denique vocem et locum in capitulo, optionem domorum, visitationem bonorum et alia omnia ex senio proveniencia et discendencia a tempore receptionis pecunie minime accessisse prefatosque viros dominos prelatos et canonicos totumque capitulum ecclesie Vilnensis denique huiusmodi vocem et locum in capitulo, visitationem bonorum, medietatem fructuum et proventuum ex prebenda ultimo assecuta indebite et iniuste contra Deum et iusticiam ipsi domino episcopo dare recusasse, spoliasse et restituere contradixisse || ac se opposuisse ipsisque talia minime facere licuisse neque licere et propterea prefati reverendo domino Martino episcopo archidiaconoque et canonico Vilnensi a tempore receptionis, promissionis et creacionis in canonicum et inde secute receptionis pecunie cum plenitudine iuris canonici ac prebende vacatura ius habendi stallum in choro, vocem et locum in Capitulo senium et omnia alia et singula ex senio dependencia ac iura canonicalia que actu prebendalis canonicis debentem in dicta ecclesia Vilnensi adiudicamus, pposicans recusaciones, molestaciones et impedimenta per prefatos dominos prelatos et canonicos totumque Capitulum ipsi Reverendissimo domino Martino episcopo Mednicensi,

<sup>10</sup> Bernardas Jokūbaitis Vilnietis (fl. 1492-1521), son of Vilnius wójt, canon of Vilnius 1492-1521 – LKD No 385, p. 79-80.

<sup>11</sup> Jan of Dobrzeńce (Mazovia), (fl. 1501-1512), canon of Vilnius in 1501, procurator in 1503 – LKD No 769, p. 131.

<sup>12</sup> Caspar of Warsaw (fl. 1497/1501-1514) canon of Vilnius (1497?, 1501), official (Aug. 1510-1512) – LKD No 1089, p. 198.

<sup>13</sup> Adomas Jokūbaitis of Kotra (fl. 1496-1517), born in Vilnius, studied at cathedral school, studied in Cracow along with Duke Andrius Svyriskis, canon of Vilnius by 1507, later official Dec. 1512-15), kept a roll of parish emoluments, royal secretary and legal expert – LKD No 12, p. 20-21.

<sup>14</sup> Albertas Rožanietis, parish priest of Anykščiai, canon of Vilnius (1510-29); in Vilnius had a house opposite the goldsmith Wolfgang – LKD No 77, p. 30-31.

<sup>15</sup> Jan Albin of Cracow (1510-25), canon of Vilnius (1511-25), Visitor of Žemaitija (1518) and Vilnius (1522), associate of Abp Jan Łaski – LKD No 792, pp. 134-35.

<sup>16</sup> On Monday 15 Sept. 1511 the parish priest of Veliuona, Joannes Sokoliczszki responds to certain additional matters raised in the terpicaciones of the case; he produces the provision issued by Innovent VIII – AAG Acta Con. A 78, fo 60. John was still in Martin's service in 1514 – CM 116, p. 184. Cf. LKD No 801, p. 137.

<sup>17</sup> Duke Andrius Petkaitis Svyriškis (fl. 1491-1508), student in Cracow (1476), canon of Vilnius, parish priest of Vormiany – LKD No 194, pp. 49-50; TEŃGOWSKI, J. *Rodowód kniaziów Świrskich do końca XVI wieku* (Wrocław, 2011), p. 61-64, 97.



archidiacono et canonico Vilnensi factas et illatas ac facta et illata fuisse et esse temerarias et temeraria illicitas iniquas, indebitas et iniustas temerariaque illicita iniqua indebita iniusta et de facto presumpta et presumpta necnon de et super premissi perpetuum silencium imponendum fore et imponimus prefatos dominos et prelatos canonicos totumque Capitulum in omnibus damnis interesse se que prefatus reverendissimus dominus Martinus ratione huiusmodi senii perpassus est condemnamus quarum delacionem medio corporali iuramento eidem domino episcopo decernimus restitutionemque medietatis fructuum et proventuum ex prebenda ultimo assecuta, ex eo quod prefati domini canonici totumque Capitulum Vilnense suam intencionem non probarunt adiudicari necnon in expensis ipsos dominos canonicos totumque Capitulum Vilnense ipsi domino Martino episcopo in causa et lite coram nobis legitime factis condemnamus, quarum taxationem nobis inposterum reservamus.

Anno Domini millesimoquingentesimo duodecimo die vero mercurii vicesima octava mensis Aprilis per venerabilem dominum Vincencium de Lagwuniky canonicum et officialem Gneznesem generalem data et in his scriptis pronunciata.

## 5

### 1512 post 18 November, Gniezno

*Sentence in the case of the Vilnius goldsmith Wolfgang against Bishop Martin.*

R: Gniezno, AAG Acta Con. C3, fo 207.

#### Volgangi aurifabri sentencya

Christi nomine invocato pro tribunali sedens et solum Deum pre oculis habens per hanc nostram sententiam diffinitivam, que de iuris peritorum consilio et intra nos matura deliberatione prehabita ferimus in hiis scriptis. In causa appellacionis inter Reverendissimum dominum Martinum Dei gratia Mednicensem episcopum appellentem ex una, et honestum Volfgangum<sup>18</sup> Aurifabrem de Vilna occasione certorum fragmentorum argenti appellatum partibus ex altera, que primo coram venerabili domino Casparo canonico et officiali Vilnensi in prima et nunc coram nobis in secunda vertitur instanciis, per ea, que in presenti causa vidimus et cognovimus, dicimus, decernimus, pronunciamus et diffinimus fragmenta argenti ex sculptura cadencia et proveniencia ex usu, more et consuetudine ad ipsos aurifices spectare et pertinere, et propterea fragmenta, que ex sculptura duodecim marcum in certis piceris per prefatum Volfgangum eidem domino episcopo sculptorem provenient dicto Volffgango adiudicanda fore, prout adiudicamus. Molestaciones vero vexaciones et impedimenta per prenomatum dominum episcopum eidem Volffgango occasione dictorum fragmentorum factas et prestitas fuisse et esse temerarias et illicitas ac iniustas temerariaque illicita et iniusta, ac de facto presumptas et presumpta. Dictoque domino episcopo super premissis perpetuum silencium imponendum fore. Et imponimus, condemnamus nichilominus eundem dominum episcopum in expensis, quam taxationem nobis inposterum reservamus.

<sup>18</sup> Wolfgang Stigel (fl. 1510-36), citizen of Vilnius, goldsmith, brother of Vincent Stigel (fl. 1500-19), also goldsmith, over whose legacy he fought in the Lithuanian courts – *Lietuvos Metrika, kn. 7 (1506-1539) Užrašymų knyga 7*, ed. I. ILARIENĖ, L. KARALIUS, D. ANTANAVIČIUS (Vilnius, 2011), Nos 88.5, p. 200, 680; 304, p. 528, 732-33. For a brief summary of their careers, see BŁASZCZYK, G. 'Pochodzenie złotników wileńskich do końca XVI wieku', *Lituanoslavica posnaniensia. Studia historica*, 11 (2005), p. 134. In 1510 famatus Vincentius aurifaber civis Vilnensis sued the Vilnius Chapter before the Consistory Court in Płock – Archiwum Diecezjalne w Płocku, EP 6/9, pp. 100-101, 114, 116.

## 6

**4 May 1515, Gniezno**

*Confirmation and registration of Bishop Martin of Medininkai's last will and testament of 30 August 1512 in the Gniezno Consistory Court by a notary public, Laurencius Beniamin Wolff of Gniezno on behalf of the will's executors*

B – Gniezno, AAG, Acta Con. A80 (1513-1515), fos 216v-218; C – Babinowski Codex (1619), Vilnius University Library.

E – CM No 114, pp. 177-80.

Confirmatio testamenti olim episcopi Mednicensis

In causa exequentium testamenti Reverendissimi in Christo patris, domini Martini Dei gratia episcopi Mednicensis contra omnes et singulos seu communiter vel divisim interesse presentatam Andreas de Rymanow<sup>19</sup> procurator venerabilium dominorum Pauli officialis<sup>20</sup>, Pauli Coltinensis<sup>21</sup>, Nicolai Rosseniensis<sup>22</sup>, Benedicti<sup>23</sup>, Bartholomei<sup>24</sup> et Gregorii<sup>25</sup> canonicorum ecclesie cathedralis Mednicensis, exequentium testamenti dicti Reverendissimi in Cristo olim patris Domini Martini Dei gratia episcopi Mednicensis, pro-

<sup>19</sup> Andrzej of Rymanów, procurator in the Gniezno Consistory Court, who represented Bishop Martin. He acted for Lithuanian appellants regularly from 1504 until 1522-23: for Nicholas (LKD No 1430, p. 251), one time parish priest of St John's in Vilnius against his rival Leonard (LKD No 1184, p. 216) [1504 – A71, fos 202, 210, 223v, 233v-234, 237, 271, 293v; 1505 – A72 fos 56, 66v] for Grzegorz of Lwówek [LKD No 487, p. 97] against Matthias Olechnowicz, citizen of Vilnius (A72 fos 155, 158, 159, 165, 168, 174, 177); 1511 – for Stanislovas Jonaitis Kešgaila against Stanislovas Petraitis Kiška over Deltuva advowson (A78 fos 79v, 80, 81, 82v, 85, 86v-87, [1512] 99v, 103, 105, 108, 110v, 139, 140v, 142, 146r-v, 147, 153v-154, 155, 158, 165, 169, 169v, 171, 172, 174, [1513] A79 fos 3, 4, 8, 12, 31v, 38); for Steponas Kijevietis, Vilnius mansionary (LKD Nos 2406, 2407, 2414, pp. 396, 397 – the same man) against Kiška (A78 fos 52v, 56, 65, 81v, 83v, 84v, 86v, 87, [1512] 108, 110v, 112, 114, 115v, 116, 123v, 125v, 128, 131v, 132, 135v, 139v, 141v, 171v, 172r-v, 186v (scribe confuses Kešgaila for Kiška), 187v, 188; [1513] A79 fos 5v, 25, 32, 35v, 47v-48); for Jokūbas Davainaitis against Stanislovas, parish priest in Kruopa (1513 – A79 fos 5v-6, 6v, 7v, 8v); for the executors of Peter Barička's will against Leonard of Vilnius (1513 – A79 fos 53v, 54, 55, 55v, 56v, 57, 75r-v; [1514] 88v, 90v, ); 1514 – for Christopher Syenyak of Vilnius against Hirbel of Vilnius (A79 fos 87v, 88r-v, 90v, 91v, 116, 119, 119v); 1518 – for Bishop Albert Radvila of Vilna against Leonardas (A81 fos 30, 61v; case forwarded to Rome); 1518 – for Grzegorz of Lwówek and Jurgis Taliatas, parish priest of Salakai in case brought by Stanislovas priest in Vorki (A81 fos 82v-83, 84, 99v, 101v, [1519] 133v); 1520 – for Grigalius of Kaunas against Canon Solomon of Medininkai (A82 fos 31, 33r-v, 37, 38, 38v, 40); 1521 – for Paul, the cantrifusor of Vilnius against the apothecary Bernard (A82 fos 196v, 199v, 201, 202, 205, 206v, 208, 213v; [1522] A83 fos 3, 5v, 6v, 7r-v, 41, 68, 68v [1523] 88v, 94); 1523 – for Nicholas priest of Varnionys [LKD No 1506, pp. 262-63] against Stanislovas, parish priest of Lentupis [LKD No 2212, p. 366] (A83 fos 89, 89v, 146, 147, 148, 148v-149); 1523 – for Nicholas of Varnionys against Luke [of Księzopole], parish priest in Švenčionys [LKD No 1212, 1214, p. 219-20] (A83 fos 94 (March), 96v, 140v (Nov.; Luke now priest in Bielsk)); 1523 – for Stanislovas, parish priest in Giedraičiai [LKD No 2255, p. 373], against the noble Laurencius Juskowicz (A83 fo 141v). The latter dispute was resolved by Sigismund the Old in 1528 – MABRS F1- 528.

<sup>20</sup> Paul of Przasnych (Mazovia), canon and official of Medininkai (fl. 1490-1515) – LKD No 1871, p. 320.

<sup>21</sup> Paul, parish priest of Kaltinėnai, canon of Medininkai (fl. 1512-15).

<sup>22</sup> Nicholas, parish priest of Raseiniai, canon of Medininkai (fl. 1504-16) – LKD No 1444, p. 253.

<sup>23</sup> Benedict, canon of Medininkai (fl. 1509-22), parish priest of Kaltinėnai in 1522 – LDK No 375, p. 76. According to CM 115, p. 183 Benedict was official in 1514. This is probably a scribal error, for Paul was still official when Martin's will was registered in May 1515.

<sup>24</sup> Bartholomew, canon of Medininkai (fl. 1512-15) – LKD Nos 328, 332, p. 68.

<sup>25</sup> Gregory, canon of Medininkai.

ducto mandato ad causam signo et subscriptione solitis discreti Laurentii Beniamyn Wolff de Gnezna<sup>26</sup>, clerici Gneznensis diocesis apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarii publici consignato, oblataque cittance in vim credentie debita exequata accusavit contumaciam omnium et singulorum sua communiter vel divisim interesse putantium cittatorum et non comparantium. In quorum contumaciam petivit Testamentum dicti olim Reverendissimi in Cristo patris Domini Martini Dei gratia episcopi Mednicensis prefati in omnibus punctis, articulis et capitulis confirmari, ratificari et approbari. Et dominus surrogatus expectatis eisdem cittatis ultra horam Audiencie solitam nec tamen compaetibus ipsisque contumacibus reputatis prenarratum Testamentum in eorum contumaciam in omnibus ipsius punctis, articulis et capitulis confirmavit, ratificavit, approbavit et in deffensionem et immunitatem ecclesiasticam recepit per suumque robur perpetue firmitatis habere decrevit, cuiusquidem Testamenti tenor de verbis ad verbum sequitur et est talis:

In Nomine Domini Amen. Quoniam egritudinis vehemencia corporalis solet plerumque a rationis tramite in tantum mentem avertere, quod ne dum de temporalibus, verum eciam de se ipso et de anima quispiam disponere, ordinare seu providere non valet, propter quod, dum in mente sobrietas est, in corpore quies, melius et salubrius disponitur ac eciam ordinatur ultime iudicium<sup>27</sup> voluntatis. Et quia nemo in ratione possit viam ultimi iudicii evitare, in quo quilibet eciam<sup>28</sup> de factis<sup>29</sup> propriis redditurus est rationem. Ideo de Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo duodecimo, indictione quindecima, pontificatus sanctissimi in Cristo patris et domini nostri Domini Julii<sup>30</sup> divina providencia pape secundi anno ipsius nono, die lune tricesima mensis Augusti, Mednyki in alba stuba intrando curiam reverendissimi ad manum<sup>31</sup> dextram, in mei notarii publici et testium infrascriptorum presencia Reverendissimus in Cristo pater et dominus, Dominus Martinus Dei et apostolice sedis gratia epsicopus Mednicensis, archidiaconus et canonicus Wilnensis, per Dei gratiam sanus mente et compos rationis existens, licet fracturis aliquantulis detentus in corpore per morbi gallici olim infirmitatem, considerans quod nichil certius morte et nil incertius nisi hora mortis, volens salubri premeditatione<sup>32</sup> diem extremum sue peregrinacionis prevenire ac in bonis suis a Deo collatis dispositionem facere salutarem omnibus melioribus modo, via, iure, forma, cum stillo et ordine<sup>33</sup> quibus melius et efficacius potuit et debuit, fecit et condidit et dicavit, ordinavit suum verum<sup>34</sup> certum et legitimum Testamentum seu ultimam voluntatem in hunc, qui sequitur, modum.

In primis animam suam Altissimo Creatori et Sue Genitrici illibate Marie et toti celesti Curie commendando legavit et generose asscripsit<sup>35</sup> hereditatem seu curiam in districtu Szassie Szurvylyliski<sup>36</sup> dictam, quam a serenissimo domino et domino Alexandro Dei gratia Rege Polonie, Magno Duce Lithuanie, Russie Prussieque etc pro suis fidelibus servitiis acquisivit, adeptus est et possedet cum omnibus et singulis utilitatibus et fructibus et universis proventibus iuxta prefati illustrissimi domini, domini Regis Alexandri super eam<sup>37</sup> obtentas literas et per sanctissimum dominum et dominum divina favente gracia Julium

<sup>26</sup> Laurentius Beniamin Wolff of Gniezna, notary public (fl. 1506-22) – LKD No 1148, p. 208.

<sup>27</sup> E: *medium*.

<sup>28</sup> E: *quilibet eciam* illegible in C.

<sup>29</sup> E: *peccatis*.

<sup>30</sup> Pope Julius II (della Rovere) 1443-1513, pope 1 Nov. 1503-21 Feb. 1513.

<sup>31</sup> E: *manum* omitted.

<sup>32</sup> E: *salubriter in meditatione*.

<sup>33</sup> E: *ordinationibus*.

<sup>34</sup> *Condidit... verum*, E: *conclusit et decrevit pronunciari primum veluti*.

<sup>35</sup> E: *gratiose asseruit*.

<sup>36</sup> On 20 Feb. 1505 at Brest Martin, along with other dignitaries including Glinsky, witnessed Alexander's settlement of the dispute between Stanisław Korczewski and his sister Fethka, wife of Andrius Davainaitis, lord lieutenant of Drohiczyn over possession of three manors in Podlasie – Rudka, Mordy and a third unnamed estate – MAB F1-40.

<sup>37</sup> E: *iure iam*.

papam secundum modernum confirmatas obtinet<sup>38</sup>, sue sanctitatis litere pro episcopatu seu mensa episcopali Mednicensi perperue et in evum, exceptis tamen eince octodecem sexagenis census annualis, quas prius pro mansionariis annuatim dandas sua Reverendissima paternitas ascripsit iuxta privilegium mansionariorum.

Ceterum curiam seu dominium in civitate Wilnensi sub castro inferiori, quam apud dominum Erasmum<sup>39</sup> sua paternitas emit iuxta literas prefati domini Erasmi a regia maiestate super eam editas, ac cum aliis omnibus munimentis et utilitatibus, prout sua reverendissima paternitas eam possidet, nichil iuris et domini pro sua paternitate reservando post mortem sue paternitatis reverendissime pro dominis episcopis pro tempore existentibus Mednicensibus ad Sanctum Petrum donavit et legavit, ac insuper familiam, quam non multam tamen honestam sua paternitas habuit et gerebat<sup>40</sup>, peciit ac rogavit sua paternitas reverendissima per dominos exequutores expediendam.

Postremo quia de rebus omnibus sue paternitatis reverendissime singillatim fuisset dudum deliberandum, scribendum et memorandum, quare omnes res ac omnia bona sua mobilia, que sunt et reperientur post mortem sue reverendissime paternitatis in auro videlicet et argento, pecuniis, lapidibus, annulis, vestimentis, equis, suppellectilibus, peccoribus, peccudibus et frumentis et ceteris omnibus voluntati dominorum canonicorum, quas et que post mortem sue paternitatis reverendissime invenient, commisit dispensanda non pro fabrica ecclesie, non pro calicibus, non pro crucibus, non pro ornamentis, non pro<sup>41</sup> campanis neque aliquibus rebus mobilibus, sed pro augmentandis tum canonicorum tum mansionariorum suorum redditibus ut paupertate liberati et de vite necessariis missa cura tum Deo servire tum pro benefactoribus ecclesie orare commodius valeant.

Et hec faciendo, ne post mortem paternitatis sue reverendissime in prefatis bonis spolia et deceptiones committerentur aut fierent, idcirco nominavit, deputavit et elegit sua reverendissima paternitas suos veros, certos et legitimos exequutores huiusmodi testamenti bonorumque suorum suprascripturum factores et dispensatores ac fidei commissarios videlicet venerabilem Paulum officialem, Paulum Coltinensem, Nicolaum Rosseinensem, Benedictum, Bartholomeum, Gregorium et pro tempore existentes canonicos ecclesie cathedralis Mednicensis predictae, hortando et rogando eosdem quatenus hoc omnes suscipere et exequi non dedignarentur<sup>42</sup>, dans vero et concedens ipsis plenam potestatem predicta sua bona post mortem sue paternitatis reverendissime regere et secundum voluntatem sue paternitatis reverendissime superius descriptam dispensare, protestans nichilominus quod si et in quantum dictum testamentum iure testamenti propter<sup>43</sup> aliquam iuris solemnitatem in ea omissam<sup>44</sup> non valeret, saltem iure codicillorum valere possit. Ac alias excipiendo sua reverendissima paternitas voluit et affectavit ut hoc testamentum pro eadem ecclesia pauperima Mednicensi reveretur. Quod si absit ut ipsum quispiam infringere voluerit aut tenere minime iuraverit, ex tunc omnia legata in ipso suprascripta<sup>45</sup> ad maiorem ecclesiam Sancti Petri in curia Romana<sup>46</sup> defferri sua paternitas voluit et postulavit sepulturam sibi vero elegit in ecclesia Mednicensi cathedrali sua sponsa.

<sup>38</sup> For donation of Surviliškės by Grand Duke Alexander and confirmation of grand-ducal gifts by Pope Julius II, see above, p. 48.

<sup>39</sup> Erazm Ciołek, canon of Vilnius, grand-ducal secretary, later bishop of Płock (fl. 1498-1522) – LKD No 420, p. 84-86. In 1503 Martin purchased his house in Vilnius – see above, p. 48.

<sup>40</sup> E: *ut abscedat*.

<sup>41</sup> E: *super campanis*.

<sup>42</sup> E: *predicte... dedignarentur* reads *optandos et rogandos, etsi ut hoc onus non gravamen susciperent*.

<sup>43</sup> E: *propter* missing.

<sup>44</sup> E: *solemnitatem amissum*.

<sup>45</sup> E: *omnia suprascripta*.

<sup>46</sup> The greater Church of St Peter in the Roman Curia was being reconstructed by command of Pope Julius II. E has *in curiam Worny*, which makes no sense.

De et super quibus omnibus et singulis premissis a me notario infrascripto sua reverendissima paternitas petiit fieri publicum et publica instrumentum et instrumenta. Et hoc presens publicum instrumentum. Acta fuerunt hec anno, indictione, pontificatu, die, loco quibus supra, presentibus circa premissa honorabilibus Nicolao plebano Worniensi<sup>47</sup>, Joanne<sup>48</sup> plebano Swiexoriensi<sup>49</sup> et mansionario Mednicensi, Paulo, Mathia, Gregorio mansionariis Mednicensibus, Stanislao capellano, Matthia altarista eciam Mednicensi, nobilibus Georgio Dauszecz, Nicolao Odwydowycz, Bartholomeo Stanyewicz, Joanne Juryowycz, Joanne Stanowicz, Jacobo Mikolayewicz, testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

Et ego Martinus Nicolai de Sokolnyki<sup>50</sup> clericus plocensis diocesis, sacra apostolica et imperiali auctoritate notarius publicus...

<sup>47</sup> Nicholas, parish priest of Varniai (fl. 1512) – LKD No 1453, p. 256, which makes erroneous deductions on the basis of the corrupt Babinowski transcript of this text.

<sup>48</sup> John, parish priest of Švėkšna and mansionary priest of Medininkai, unknown from other sources.

<sup>49</sup> E: *Wornensi et (administratori in) Viexny*.

<sup>50</sup> Martin of Sokolniki (fl. 1507-33), notary public, later canon of Medininkai, protégé of Bishop Martin – LKD No 1273, p. 228.