

VILNIUS UNIVERSITY
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**SAMOGITIA'S CHRISTIANISATION AND
THE PAGANISM FACTOR (15th–16th c.)**

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VILNIAUS UNIVERSITETAS
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**ŽEMAITIJOS CHRISTIANIZACIJA IR
PAGONYBĖS VEIKSNYS (XV–XVI a.)**

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1. Introduction

1.1. Relevance of the problem under investigation

The theme of the relationship between paganism and Christianity is not new in the history of Lithuania – it was and still is one of the central problems in the history of Lithuanian culture, which has been considered since the very beginning of Lithuanian historiography. The social relevance of the theme is determined by the 600th anniversary of the baptism of Samogitia, which at the same time means that Samogitia is the region of the last baptism in Europe. In this way the baptism of the Samogitians is an ideological topical issue not only for Lithuania but also for the whole of Europe, especially if we remember the idea formulated by the historian W. Conze that the formation of Europe was completed around 1400, thus – during the epoch of the baptism of Lithuania and Samogitia.

The scientific relevance of the work has been determined by the fact that transition from a pagan to Christian society is one of the most fundamental transformations in the medieval epoch. This is how modern historiography treats this problem, which refuses chronicle accentuation of the events characteristic of historicism and a “celebratory” assessment of history typical of confessionally oriented historiography.

The tradition of Lithuanian historiography, however, is determined by empirical historiography of the events concentrating its all attention on the campaigns of baptism and thus most often exhausting the entire scope of the problem. Hence, Christianisation of Lithuania is often reduced merely to the “baptism” events in 1387, from the point of event-based view refusing to interpret not only the baptism of Jogaila and his environment in 1386 but also the baptism of Samogitia, let alone an even further process of Christianisation.

1.2. Objectives and goals of the work

The main objective of the work is to elucidate Christianisation of Samogitia as a process of overcoming paganism or depaganisation by assessing the role of the paganism factor.

The goals are as follows: to adapt the model of conversion / Christianisation existing in Western or Polish historiography to Samogitia’s case. On the basis of a

theoretical model to show the main phases of Samogitia's Christianisation – mission Christianisation, the official conversion (encompassing exclusively the ruler's environment and the political elite), as well as conversion in a broad sense (on the basis of which it is no longer a politician who becomes the main figure but an ecclesiastical institution). To bring out a different factor of paganism and depaganisation during different phases of the Christianisation process; during the "mission phase" of Christianisation paganism secured the last victory; at the turning point of the "official conversion" the pagan factor manifested itself in the pagan reaction; during the process of conversion in the broadest sense (Germ. "Bekehrung in weiterem Sinne") it was sought to discern the factor of paganism and to determine the end of Samogitia's transformation from a pagan to Christian society. The last phase of "inner Christianisation, as no longer related to the process of depaganisation (the issue is moved to the level of the parish - the Dean and the believer) remains beyond the scope of this investigation.

1.3. Theoretical approaches and methods

The first survey of literature on the theory of Christianisation enabled the supposition to be made that something was wrong in historiography of Lithuania's Christianisation, from that aspect alone that Western historiography did not accentuate and give prominence to separate Christianisation events, unless it is a baptism of the ruler and his environment, which is interpreted as the beginning of the turning point in this process. Thus the "event-based" conception of baptism could be regarded as a merely "celebratory" conception of Christianisation created on the public's order. The conception of "baptism" in western historiography (Engl. baptism, Germ. Taufe) is applied only to specific campaigns of baptising people and has only an empirical rather than symbolic meaning.

Meanwhile in Lithuanian historiography the problem of Lithuania's Christianisation most often is limited to a search for a single date of "baptism": not only the mass baptism carried out by Jogaila in 1387 but also the baptisms of Mindaugas in 1251 and even Netimer's baptism in 1096 are ranked alongside in the history of baptisms

of Lithuania. Hence, one date of baptism is suffice for some countries (Russia, Poland) whereas in Lithuania as many as several baptisms claim to that date.

The conception of the turning point in Christianisation has been established in Western historiography for quite a long time. This period of a sudden change encompassing the whole programme of political actions of the rulers in consolidating Christianity is often referred to as “conversion” (Germ. *Bekehrung*). However, there exists an even broader conception of conversion, which separates the period of a “political” turning point of Christianisation as the “official conversion” from the phase of Christianisation that succeeds it, which can be called the “conversion in a broad sense” (obviously not only in the sense of political events). Though discussions about the conception of “conversion” are still going on in science, and it is often used interchangeably as a synonym to the conception of “Christianisation”, nonetheless the meaning of “conversion” as transformation from one state into another implies a completed process. The criteria of the end of “conversion” being formulated prevent it from turning into a never-ending process as is often the case with the conception of “Christianisation”. The definition of “conversion” given by L. Milis as “social control of the external behaviour” enables this phase to be separated from “inner Christianisation”.

The criteria of the end of the Christianisation process according to the “fundamental structures” the most important of which is the density of the network of parishes formulated in historiography of neighbouring Poland are in line with the latter definition of the conversion process. Since the thousandth anniversary of the baptism of Poland (1966) an entire trend in the investigations into Christianisation that has moved away from both the event-based conception and the conception of Christianisation as a period of sudden political changes and seeing the entire process of the phenomena lasting for several centuries until Christianity “descends” to the lowest strata of society, formed in historiography of Poland. Such authoritative researchers as H. Łowmiański or J. Kłoczowski who applied their conceptions to the whole region of Central Eastern Europe emerged. It was the Polish theoretical thought that formulated the criteria of the density of the network of parishes for separate phases of Christianisation most consistently and most accurately in a mathematical sense.

Alongside the processional conception of Christianisation (obtained from the history of Christianisation and medieval studies) another approach is of great

significance to our problems – religious studies of the intersection of paganism and salvation religion. A theoretical alternative to the fate of paganism after the introduction of Christianity was formulated by Gintaras Beresnevičius in his conception of “two sisters”, that is, the choice between Christianity and paganism in the mentality has not taken place completely in Lithuania. Nonetheless it seems that it is necessary to supplement Beresnevičius’ approach of religious studies with Max Weber’s typology of religions in which a distinction between salvation religions (“Erlösungsreligion”) and magic religiousness (“Magische Religiosität”) is formulated. The “garden of magic” (“Zaubergarten”) is characteristic of pre-salvation religions – prevalence of magic and rituals, whereas salvation religions are more or less rationalised through “disenchantment” (“Entzauberung”), they are farther from magic. Hence, this conception encompasses both the process of depaganisation that is of interest to us and the later phenomena of a fight against magic and witchcraft, which is no longer considered to be the remains of paganism. It is true, trials of witches (like Reformation) came to Lithuania almost without delay (in the 16th century) and chronologically intertwined with the process of depaganisation that had not been completed yet, however, nobody attributes trials of witches to the conversion in Western culture, and in the best case – to the last phase of the Christianisation process (“inner Christianisation”), which is not considered in the present thesis as it oversteps the chronological boundaries defined in the work.

Hence, conceptions of processional Christianisation form the theoretical basis for the investigation – both from the aspect of political events (the “official conversion”) and from the aspect of conversion as a fundamental transformation of society from a pagan into Christian one (the broad conception of conversion). From these theories the conception of depaganisation as a conception of an essential level of the Christianisation process (alongside Evangelisation), and the periodisation of the Christianisation process in which the conception of overcoming paganism in the “conversion” (in a broad sense) epoch forms an essential part, is obtained.

1.4. Overview of basic conceptions

Though historiography is immense, it can be stated that the process of Christianisation and depaganisation in Samogitia is still wrapped in obscurity, in a shroud of controversial testimonies and interpretations.

Though the events of the baptism of Samogitia as the beginning of Christianisation is discussed in great detail in the work by Marija Andziulytė-Ruginienė and a further process of Christianisation of Samogitia was carefully studied by such authors as Zenonas Ivinskis or Marcelis Kosmanas, it turned out that in the most general sphere even the general conception of the Christianisation process, its phases and chronology further remain problematic, which means that investigations into the process of Samogitia's Christianisation further remain a topical issue in science.

Meanwhile investigations into paganism in Lithuanian historiography have been in the pre-scientific stage for a long time. They were like that in romantic historiography. Later positivistic historiography (both Polish – A. Brückner, and Lithuanian – Zenonas Ivinskis) rejecting any ideas of Romanticism denied the factor of paganism. A scientific rebirth of Lithuanian investigations into paganism started at the end of the 20th century with the works by Algirdas Julien Greim, Vladimir Toporov, Norbertas Vėlius, and it was Gintaras Beresnevičius who introduced it to the world context of religious science first of all substantiating the fact that Lithuanian paganism was of equal value with other Indo-European religions – “the primary nugget”, which did not even turn into either Greek or Roman “degradation” (with temples, god idols, mythological literature and institutional bureaucracy). These researchers based the conception of the existence of paganism at the level of a village or several villages in the 15th – 16th centuries (at that time gods of the middle layer of the pantheon were still worshiped), whereas in the 17th – 18th centuries paganism was maintained only at the family level.

The contours of the problem were naturally drawn by the difference in the conception, which should be regarded as the end of Christianisation. This difference in conceptions could be called a 500-year old chronological discrepancy between Vytautas and Valančius period. According to the extreme version, Lithuania and Samogitia met the standards of medieval Christianity as far back as the 16th century. Another extreme is that Lithuania and Samogitia were non-Christian right until the 19th century. It should be noted that consideration of this problem depended, and still depends, on the adherence to one of the two ideological approaches: “pagan” and “Christian”. The aspiration of the “pagan” approach is to show as long persistence and perhaps even authenticity of paganism as possible right until the 19th century, whereas for the “Christian” approach it is important to substantiate the idea that we are real, or at least not worse Christians than

others in the late Middle Ages already. The “Christian optimism” is inclined to consider that Christianisation of Samogitia (and Lithuania) took place incomparably faster than it did anywhere else – within a century (until the middle of the 16th century), half a century (until the middle of the 15th century), and by the most radical definitions – even within some single day during the baptism of Samogitia. Unfortunately, this camp disregards the thesis said by the priest Jan Fijałek half a century ago (1914) that “there are no miracles” in Christianisation. Such distinguished investigators as Zenonas Ivinskis or Mark Kosman did not look for miracles, and they found the turning point in the second half of the 18th century only. Gintaras Beresnevičius made an even more radical statement as he saw relics of paganism even in the 19th century.

When making historiographic positions more concrete, four absolutely different answers to the question about until when paganism continued to exist in Samogitia and when the Samogitians became Christians can be distinguished. Only the following conceptions are going to be mentioned here: 1) the beginning of the 15th century (Eugenijus Svetikas), 2) until the middle of the 16th century (Zenonas Ivinskis in his later years, a part of contemporary historiography), 3) in the first part of the 17th century (R. Krasauskas; K. Górski), 4) at the end of the 18th century (Mark Kosman) or even in the middle of the 19th century, in the times of the Bishop Motiejus Valančius (the earliest conception of Zenonas Ivinskis about Samogitia becoming “holy” and Lithuania becoming the “country of crosses and Sorrowful Christ”, and also Gintaras Beresnevičius).

The authors of one and the other extreme did not only fail to look for theoretical contexts in Western historiography, but they did not react to the application of the models of Christianisation of Polish historiography to Lithuania and Samogitia (J. Kłoczowski, K. Górski, M. Kosman) at all.

If the supporters of the late chronology who put off the end of Christianisation to after the Reformation and the Council of Trident or even to the Enlightenment period, it seems they should take the reproaches for paying too little attention to the achievements of Christianisation, then the conception of the chronology of early Christianisation does not raise the question about in what way it was possible to make such a revolutionary leap of Christianisation within such a short time as a century or a century and a half in

Lithuania, which took it several centuries in the countries of the West, and Central, North and East Europe.

It is not always that these approaches only optimistically hasten their value-based phenomenon, and delay and devalue the opposite one. One can discern the disappearance of the divide between “pagan” and “Christian” optimisms. We have in mind a growing closeness between the assessment of the religious situation of Samogitia in the 16th century in Gintaras Beresnevičius’ conception of “enclave paganism” and Leonas Jovaiša’s conception of “spot Christianity”.

This natural difference in historiographical assessments determined by the ideological (or perhaps even by religious) preconditions has not been brought to light thus far though the modern theory of history would insistently require that (J. Rüsen). The theory requires both logical consistency and correctness of conceptions, and we miss it not only in old historiography but also in new one. Therefore we think that it is necessary to propose new theoretical solutions.

1.5. Sources

Sources of the Christianisation process can be divided into two blocks – sources testifying to paganism and Christianisation, and to be more exact, those on the basis of the levels of the Christianisation process: depaganisation and evangelisation. When grouping roughly, it can be said that a large part of testimonies of paganism is found in the sources collected by Norbertas Vėlius *Baltų religijos ir mitologijos šaltiniai* (Sources of Baltic Religion and Mythology), and direct evidence of the Christianisation process is found in *Codex Mednicensis seu Samogitiae Dioecesis* compiled by Paulius Jatulis (it is true, this is a source recording the activities of the Catholic Church only and it does not include any problems of the Protestant Church). Since we do not seek to study the process of evangelisation – a new trend of research is being formed in modern historiography for this purpose – we based ourselves on the sources testifying to this process (all the documents on the church activity: visitations of bishops, resolutions of the Synods, funding of parishes) as much as they provided data about the condition of paganism (for example, Tarkvinijus Pekulas’ visitation of the Samogitian diocese in

1579) or on systematic or potentially systematic data about the condition of the network of parishes contained in them that was of interest to us.

If the Christianisation process is perceived as dialectics of the relations between paganism and Christianity, according to Algirdas Gurevičius, the following question is to be raised: how to hear the illiterate “silent majority”? We could say that it can be heard in direct recordings of its voices since there are more of them in Samogitia than in Europe of that time, – this is natural because the periods of conversion were completed there a long time ago – and more than in Europe during those periods of Christianisation when relics of paganism had to continue to exist there. Meanwhile in Samogitia the voice of the pagans – their debates with the Christians – was heard during all phases of Christianisation in the 15th – 16th centuries: 1) during the mission phase of Christianisation – Jeronimas Prahiskis’ story of his mission among the pagans in Lithuania at the beginning of the 15th century where the Samogitians report on Jeronimas Prahiskis to Vytautas recorded in Enėjus Silvijus’ work *Apie Europą* (About Europe) 2) during the phase of the narrow conversion – polemics of the Samogitians with Jogaila about the creation of the world (in 1413 the plot was presented by Jan Długosz), 3) during the period of the broad conversion – the peasants’ polemics with the land surveyor J. Laskovski in the middle of the 16th century (described by J. Lasickis), as well as the debates of the Samogitians about the god of rye upon seeing the Crucified being flogged (described by M. Strijkovski).

All these sources are related to the direct and broadest testimonies about the cults and customs of paganism: Jeronim Prahiskis’ story of four cults of pagans, Jan Długosz’s story of three pagan cults of the Samogitians and their destruction, Jonas Lasickis’ list of Samogitian gods with descriptions made up according to the information presented by Jokūbas Laskovskis, Motiejus Strijkovskis’ list of Lithuanian and Samogitian gods and the descriptions of customs. Testimonies about manifestations of paganism (cases of worship of gods) were also recorded in Martynas Mažvydas’ letters, Merkelis Giedraitis’ letters, descriptions of the results of the missions of the Jesuits, catechisms of the Catholics and protestants (worship of gods is mentioned as a sin in them), descriptions of journeys across Lithuania and Samogitia by the travellers.

Sources of the “official conversion” of Samogiti form a separate block of sources. These are documents of the political history: privileges granted by the rulers of Lithuania

to the Catholic Church, mutual correspondence between the rulers of Lithuania and the Pope, the Church council and the Emperor on the issues of the baptism of Samogitia. The inside epistolary of the Teutonic Order reflected not only the facts of conversion but also its “non-festive” side – the revolt of the Samogitians in 1418. Propagandist and polemic official letters of that time are also attributed to the block of sources of the “official conversion”: the mention of pagans in the descriptions of the battle of Grunwald, problems of the existence of pagans in the propagandist writings of Vytautas and the Teutonic Order prior to the Battle of Grunwald and after the Battle of Grunwald, as well as in the Council of Constance (public official letters of the delegations of Poland and the Teutonic Order to the Council of Constance). The famous “Complaint of the Samogitians” is to be regarded as a voice of the “silent majority” no longer in favour of paganism but in favour of Christianity. It was read at the Council of Constance not by the Samogitians themselves but by the representatives of Poland who spoke for them. Another documentation of the Council of Constance is to be mentioned too: diaries and chronicles of the witnesses of the Council, polemic treatises.

Thus, sources testifying to paganism are scarce in Samogitia in the 15th – 16th centuries; they are fragmental, non-exhaustive, and therefore not too informative. First of all, Christianity speaks for itself, and it speaks about paganism as long as it gets into its range of vision. Therefore the need for theoretical and comparative aspects arises. However, the comparative analysis will show that the sources of Christianisation of all the countries of Europe are scarce, and Lithuanian sources are even richer, so the thesis put forward by Mark Kosman about Lithuania’s Christianisation that took place in a much more literate epoch is justified.

1.6. Exploration of the problem and scientific innovation of the work

Exploration of Christianisation as a problem of overcoming paganism is fragmental, non-systematic, lacking theoretical consistency. It is true, in some cases there are extensive and thorough investigations. The works by J. Fijałek and M. Andziulytė-Ruginienė further remain relevant to the “official conversion” of Samogitia. After the study by J. Fijałek little has been added to the empirical matters in historiography of Samogitia. Only German investigators of the 20th century into the

Council of Constance deserve mention, however, M. Andziulytė-Ruginienė summed up the results of their investigations and thus supplemented J. Fijalek. Then only variations on this theme followed, and in empirical investigations historiography was enriched by the investigations into the Council of Constance carried out by the German and Polish historians.

Leonas Jovaiša studied practices of Catholic piety in Samogitia in the 16th century (giving sacraments, church festivals and others), R. Bružaitė investigated the condition of the parish clergy in the 15th - 16th centuries in Vilnius and Samogitian dioceses. N. Michailov and V. Ališauskas investigated Jonas Lasickis' verification of the names of Samogitian gods (confirmations in other sources). G. Błaszczyk studied the development of a network of parishes and institutions of Samogitia in the 15th - 16th centuries.

Samogitia is gradually becoming a separate subject of investigations in the latest historiography. V. Almonaitis investigated the political development of Samogitia in 1380–1410, referring the entire period of events between 1413 and 1421 to as the baptism of Samogitia. E. Saviščevas carried out a fundamental research into the elite of Samogitia touching upon the problems of Samogitia's Christianisation – the circumstances of disturbances both in 1418 and in 1441 discerning a pagan factor in them too – the “pagan” party.

Recently Samogitia has also become a subject of special investigations into the history of Christianisation (V. Vaivada, L. Jovaiša), or is treated as an essential part of Lithuanian's Christianisation (R. Bružaitė). L. Prascevičiūtė studied the impact of the Hide reform on the disappearance of practice of burying in the “fields”. The number of publications related to the jubilee of the baptism of Samogitia is on the increase; however, they do not raise a question about naming the period of Christianisation between the 15th and the 16th centuries.

Therefore the scientific innovation of the present work can be defined as follows:

- The creation of the theoretical model of Christianisation that explains a transformation from a pagan society into a Christian one, and especially the introduction of the conception of “conversion” taken over from Western historiography, both for the period of political changes (the “official conversion”) and the period of the transformation of the society from a pagan into Christian one (the “conversion” in a broad sense). The conception of the “official conversion”

solves historiographic disagreement on the date of the baptism, and the conception of the “broad conversion” solves arguments concerning the end of Christianisation.

- Finding a real pagan factor of Samogitia’s conversion, listening to the position of the pagans (testimonies of Jeronimas Prahiskis, Jan Długosz and Jokūbas Laskovskis), accentuating the significance of the list of gods and pagan cults in the process of depaganisation accompanying the important conversion.
- A new interpretation of Samogitia’s paganism and conversion within the international context of the Grunwald case.
- Introduction of the criterion of the density of the network of parishes in the depaganisation process and its adaptation to the case of Samogitia.
- Development and coordination of the conceptions of the “spots” of Catholicism and pagan “enclaves”.
- Introduction of the criterion of the lists of gods and their cult in determining the end of the “broad conversion” of Samogitia (the first part of the 17th century).

1.7. Hypotheses of the investigation

When appealing to a dissociation from the event-based conception of baptism, as well as from the conception of Christianisation, which is not given a historical dimension, using the model of the “official” and “broad” conversion, it is sought to verify how these models are applied to the history of Samogitia’s Christianisation. It contains both the mission phase of Christianisation and the “official” conversion of Samogitia between 1413 and 1421, and the beginning of the 17th century is regarded as the end of Samogitia’s conversion. Thus the period of “inner Christianisation” of Samogitia (applying only external characterisations of the Christianisation process to the conception of the conversion) finds itself beyond the chronological borders of the investigation.

From the point of view of the paganism factor, a threefold hypothesis of the interaction between Christianisation and paganism is formulated:

- Christianisation is a culminating process in which the factor of paganism, and at the same time “depaganisation”, plays a very insignificant role because a difference in

the cultural-civil potentials of Christianity and paganism is very uneven therefore Christianity should “sweep off” paganism instantaneously.

- Christianisation is a superficial process, which was unable to affect live pagan traditions right until the 19th century.
- Christianisation is a process of qualitative changes, and “depaganisation”, as one of the more important tasks of the “conversion” occupies an essential part in it.

Out of all these hypotheses the third one is regarded as the most perspective and it sets the direction for further research. However, it has to be seen and verified within the context of all theoretical models and historiographic collisions.

1.8. The subject of investigation and the structure of the work

The geography of investigation is historical Samogitia, that is, the ward of Samogitians or the diocese of the Samogitians (Medininkai). The subject of the investigation is Samogitia’s “conversion”, which has the contents of a transformation or even that of a somersault, after which it is impossible to return to the former position –in the conceptions of both the narrow or “official conversion” (a political transformation) and the broad (transformation of a society) conversion. Chronology is the 15th – 16th centuries, however, seeking to substantiate the undefined nature of the narrow conversion the pre-conversion phenomena belonging to “mission Christianisation” are also included – Jonas Jeronimas Prahiskis’ mission at the beginning of the 15th century. On the other hand, seeking to substantiate the irreversible nature of the broad conversion and strengthen the conclusions about the assessment of the 16th century, the first half of the 17th century is touched upon.

The conception of the “conversion” in Lithuanian historiography is new, however, it, as the conception characterising the entire epoch, is to be included in the conception of “baptism” that has the empirical-event-based contents on the one hand and the conception of the most processional “Christianisation” on the other hand. Therefore the first part of the work is devoted to searches for the theoretical model and the contexts raising the question about why the lands of our region needed the date of the baptism of the country and in other European countries entire chains of events are discerned in historiography. This question leads to another question – how to identify these chains of

events, and having chosen the conception of the “official conversion” to pay attention to another one – the conception of the broad conversion, which has formed the conceptual basis for the work.

Other parts of the thesis (second, third and fourth) are devoted to the analysis of separate phases of the Christianisation process (identified as “mission Christianisation”, the “official conversion” and the conversion in a broad sense) in Samogitia. Though two first phases of Samogitia’s Christianisation have already been empirically studied in detail by M. Andziulytė-Ruginienė, the following supplements of the later polemics in Lithuanian historiography, from contemporary international historiography (particularly concerning the Council of Constance), as well as the context of modern theories of Christianisation required certain correction. This became particularly obvious in the part devoted to the “official conversion” where the new theme was introduced – the issue of paganism of Samogitia in the propagandist battles after the Battle of Grunwald, and a new interpretation of the 1418 revolt within the context of Samogitia’s conversion, which, in its turn, enabled the question about the end of the “official conversion” of Samogitia to be raised. The fourth part encompassed the period until the end of the conversion at the beginning of the 17th century. Determining this turning point was one of the most important tasks of this part of the thesis. However, coordination of two contradictory conceptions (which conditionally were called conceptions of “the spots of Christianity” and “enclaves of paganism”), which imagined the course of Christianisation in very different ways. At the same time it was sought to assess both progress of Christianisation and relics of paganism.

Hence, it is sought to empirically and comparativistically study the process of Samogitia’s Christianisation substantiating the existence of each phase of Christianisation: mission Christianisation (Jeronimas Prahiškis’ mission); the “official conversion” (whose main elements were as follows: the baptism of the ruler and his environment, destruction of paganism, the creation of church institutions, overcoming pagan opposition); the “broad conversion” (formation of church institutions, the system of education and a network of parishes, the creation of the system of giving sacraments and destroying the relics of paganism). It turned out that the phase of “inner Christianisation” theoretically substantiated in international historiography whose essence is pastoral counselling with respect to a concrete believer supervised by a

specific clergyman covers the 17th and the 18th centuries and therefore goes beyond the chronologically defined borders of our investigation.

1.9. Statements to be defended

- The “official conversion” of Samogitia forms a part of the “official conversion” of Lithuania because the conversion of the country is impossible without the conversion of all its regions.
- The process of Christianisation in Samogitia passes through all phases of Christianisation known to us: the “mission Christianisation”, the “official conversion”, the “broad conversion”, the “inner Christianisation”.
- The conception of the “official conversion” as one of the phases of Christianisation being introduced is best suited for the definition of the fatal transformation from paganism into Christianity because it allows different interpretational distinctions of the baptism of Lithuania/Highlanders/lowlanders to be overcome.
- The factor of paganism is visible in all major phases of Christianisation: Jeronimas Prahiski’s mission fails due to that factor during the phase of “mission Christianisation”, the issue of paganism is raised even to the level of international diplomacy at the Council of Constance during the phase of the “official conversion” – alongside the problem of the Old Believers and Muslim Tatars, and at the stage of the “broad conversion” the relics of paganism are discerned right until the 16th century or even until the first half of the 17th century.
- According to three criteria of the end of the “broad conversion” – the last baptisms of adults, the cult of gods and the formation of the minimum network of parishes – it can be stated that the conversion process in Samogitia in the 16th century was completed only at the end of the first quarter of the 17th century. This conception allows the contradictory conceptions of the “spots of Christianity” and “enclaves of paganism” to be coordinated. Furthermore, Protestantism, which had to set the aims of conversion to itself in creating communities “on the green root” became a significant factor in Samogitia’s Christianisation.
- Out of the three formulated hypotheses of the interaction between Christianisation and the factor of paganism, neither the first (accentuating the obvious advantage of

Christianity), nor the third (accentuating the vitality of paganism) needs the conception of depaganisation because according to the first hypothesis there is no factor of paganism, and for the third one paganism is difficult to overcome and this takes place only in modern times. The process of depaganisation is possible only according to the second conception – understanding Christianisation as a transformation consisting of several stages from a pagan to Christian society where depaganisation forms an essential part of the Christianisation process alongside evangelisation.

2. Searches for a theoretical model of Christianisation and depaganisation

A failure to come to an agreement in historiography on the dates of Samogitia's baptism and their relationship with the baptism of Lithuania, and especially on the end of Christianisation of Samogitia made us turn to historiography of Christianisation of the West looking for both a more transparent use of the conceptions and for clearer criteria of the end of Christianisation. It turned out that Lithuanian historiography, carrying out polemics only about the use of the conception of "baptism", had equivalents save perhaps in Polish or Russian historiographies. The conception of baptism is given only an empirical meaning in Western historiography, and prominence is given to the baptism of the rulers, which starts the process of political changes – a chain of events, which encompasses not only the baptism of the ruler but also that of the elite and campaigns of baptising the broader strata of society, the destruction of centres of paganism and places of the cult, the creation of dioceses and the initial network of parishes, settling the issue of subordination of the church organisation, suppression of pagan reactions, crowning of the rulers and other propagandist campaigns directed towards the outside, as well as the campaigns thereby regions and edges of the state are drawn into the process of Christianisation.

Syntheses of Christianisation of Europe are based on the conception of event-based Christianisation, which is not too remote from the conception of Christianisation as a critical period of political changes. A frequent characterisation of this critical period as "official", "external" or "formal" found in the syntheses enabled distinctions to be made between: the conceptions of the "external" / "inner" / conversion; the "narrow" / "broad" conversion; "adoption" of Christianity / "assimilation" of Christianity. The said

distinctions separate Christianisation as a chain of political events from Christianisation as a transformational epoch from a pagan to Christian society. The Polish theoretical thought contributed most to the establishment of the criteria for the end of the latter epoch: the criterion introduced by H. Łowmiański – the formation of a network of parishes of a 10 km radius after which the existence of “pagan enclaves” become impossible, relics of paganism called “polidoxy” disappear. Another two criteria of the end of this epoch were obtained from Western historiography – the last baptisms of adults, as well as the refusal of all pagan gods and the rituals of worshipping them (that is, pagan practices).

The problem of the phases of Christianisation and their identification arose in Western (J. Delumeau), as well as in Polish (J. Kloczowski) historiography seeking to cover ever longer lasting processes with the help of the “Christianisation” concept or even to use it to characterise the process that has no end. This problem is solved basing oneself on the works by the medievalist of the Middle Ages Ludo Milis who did not only distinguish the “official” conversion characterised by collective baptisms from a further process of conversion as “a transformation of society from pagan into Christian” aimed at social control of the external behaviour of an individual but also dissociated the latter phase from the continuous phase of Christianisation aimed at influencing and individual’s inner thoughts and feelings; hence, sooner a more psychological than a social process.

Due to a variety of conceptions in historiography, an independent theoretical model of the Christianisation process is constructed further in the work to characterise the phases of Christianisation. Regarding the conception of Christianisation as most general and comprehensive, it was decided to apply the conception of the “conversion” to the period of political changes of this process and the transformational epoch. In Anglo-Saxon historiography it is almost the only conception (alongside that of Christianisation), it has equivalents in German (“die Bekehrung”), Polish (“nawrócenie”) historiographies. This conception has another even more significant advantage. It was started to be applied to the political aspects of Christianisation therefore it has much more empirical tangibility than the conception of Christianisation, which often acquires the aspect of non-finiteness therefore it always marks the finite process. We failed to find a conception of the conversion, which would be applied to a never-ending process,

which means that the conception of the conversion contains the aspect of transformation. In this way four phases of Christianisation are distinguished in the theoretical model of Christianisation: mission Christianisation, the “official” conversion, the “broad” conversion, inner Christianisation. The following are identified as the objects of Christianisation in each of these phases: the ruler / the state / the society / the individual. And the subjects of Christianisation are as follows: the missionary / the ruler / the Bishop / the Dean.

3. Jeronimas Prahiskis’ mission or the pagans’ last success

The aim of this part is to review the facts of the phase of “mission Christianisation” in Samogitia, i.e. the first contacts with Christians, individual baptisms of persons, collective baptisms, as well as attempts at the conversion of the whole of Samogitia. Attention is focused on the mission of Jonas Jeronimas Prahiskis, which was described in minute detail and covered several important aspects of the initial phase of Christianisation: evangelisation, depaganisation (a description and destruction of pagan cults) and pagan opposition.

Seeking to introduce Jonas Jeronimas Prahiskis’ mission into the history of the process of Samogitia’s Christianisation, the activity of the monk of the Premonstrate Order (and since 1413 the Camaldul Order) is presented, versions about the localisation and chronology of the mission put forward in historiography are verified: in Samogitia in 1395–1398, in Samogitia in 1401–1404, on the southern or western ethnic edge of Lithuania in 1406–1409 or in Samogitia in 1410–1413. It is stated that the most substantiated version of the localisation of the mission is Samogitia as the most pagan part of Lithuania. The mention of Vytautas’ deputies in this source, other facts of the missionary’s biography, as well as a written tradition of the Camaldul Order enables the version of 1401–1404 to be regarded as the most credible one.

The chronology of the mission, as well as the time of its description (in 1432, during the time of the Council of Basel) enables this source to be regarded as one of the most authentic descriptions of paganism of the Lithuanians, the Samogitians, to be more exact, paganism that had not been affected by Christianity yet. A description of four cults of nature – grass-snakes, fire, the sun and the hammer, forests allows this source to be compared with a somewhat different system of the Lithuanians and Samogitians but

also consisting of four cults of nature – fire, forests, grass-snakes, lightning– presented in the Chronicle by Jan Długosz (1450–1480) for which the author indicated equivalents of the gods worshipped by the Lithuanians. Attempts are made to establish possible relationships with four sovereign gods of the Lithuanian pantheon of gods known from the 13th century — Andajus/Nunadievis, Teliavelis, Diviriksas, Žvorūna/Medeina and the pantheon being reconstructed according to the folklore data: God, Devil, Thunder, goddess Laumė/Laimė.

From the point of view of Christianisation the most important thing in this description is the manifestation of the pagan opposition – the last victory of paganism is scored in Samogitia. By presenting the pagan opposition the description of the mission significantly corrects the “celebratory” image of Samogitia’s conversion presented by Jan Długosz, which records only triumphal facts but passes in silence such unhandy facts as the uprising of the Samogitians in 1418.

The mission that was carried out with the knowledge and support of Jogaila and Vytautas is to be regarded as the beginning of the Christianisation policy of the rulers of Lithuania in Samogitia, the reconnoitring mission and at the same time the last fact of the phase of “mission Christianisation” in Samogitia.

4. Samogitia’s official conversion – transition from the pagan into Christian epoch

The following chain of events is regarded as the “official conversion” of Samogitia:

November 1413 – a week-long Jogaila and Vytautas’ campaign of christening the Samogitians near the Dubysa (according to Jogaila’s itinerarium, on 25 October he was still in Merkinė and on 19 November he was already in Trakai)

28 November 1415 – a delegation consisting of 60 Samogitians arrives in Constance

13 February 1416 – reading of “the Proposal of the Samogitians” in Constance

The end of October 1416 – baptism of 2000 Samogitian noblemen in Kaunas

August-October 1417 – the campaign of christening the Samogitians carried out by Archbishop of Lvov and Vilnius Bishop, the delegates appointed by Constance, and the establishment of the diocese with the first parishes.

24 October 1417 – establishment of Medininkai Bishop

May 1418 – the pagan revolt

11 September 1421 – Pope Martin V congratulates “Christians of the Samogitian nation” in his bull *Mirabilis Deus*.

We begin this part with the battle of Grunwald on 15 July 1410, where the issue of Samogitia – Vytautas’ support of the Samogitian uprising – was not only its reason but also a direct pretext. And the most important thing was that the echo of the victory of Grunwald in the West became the arena of propagandist battles in which the main theme was not only the issues of paganism of the Samogitians but also that of all Lithuanians. Though pagan Samogitians did not participate in the battle of Grunwald directly (only in its “second” front near the Nemunas River), the post-Grunwald propaganda of the Order had to be an impulse to Jogaila and Vytautas to organise a separate programme of the official conversion of Samogitia – from the destruction of baptism and paganism to the establishment of the diocese and the international recognition of its conversion, which is usually characteristic of the sovereign countries rather than the regions.

Further the chapter discusses the sequence of the already mentioned events of the official conversion. Comparing them with old historiography, new data about the Samogitian delegation in Constance are introduced. The results achieved by this delegation are assessed as a diplomatic victory of Jogaila and Vytautas because in August 1416, the decision adopted by the Council complied with the requests laid down in the “Proposal of Samogitians” to the Council of Constance –Lvov Archbishop and Vilnius Bishop were entrusted with the baptism of the Samogitians. Abundant documents about a three-month long campaign of baptising the Samogitians in 1417 and the establishment of the diocese allow these events to be assessed as the climax of the “official conversion” of the Samogitians.

When considering the issue of the end of the “official conversion” of Samogitia it was sought to assess anew the nature of disturbances in Samogitia in May 1418. The arrival of the Ruler Vytautas himself in Arigala, decapitation of 60 “best people of the land”, the trial of the “senior of the culprits” in Trakai testify to the significance of these events. The revolt in Samogitia in 1418 is assessed as an uprising of the supporters of the Order whose side consequence was an attempt to ruin Samogitia’s conversion carried out by Vytautas, and the aim of the anti-church campaign – burning the churches, expulsion of Bishops and the priests – enables these events to be referred to as the “pagan reaction” overcoming of which is a necessary condition of the end of the conversion. It is decided

to treat the year 1421 as the end of the official conversion when Vytautas laid the foundations for the provision of the church organisation of Samogitia, and the Pope's bull reached Samogitia in which he congratulated the Samogitians on "entering Christ's sheepfold". At the same time the pagan interpretation of the 1441 disturbances when "pagan Daumantas" was elected Elder of Samogitia is rejected.

5. Samogitia's conversion and depaganisation

The chapter begins with the analysis of historiography – what is to be regarded as, speaking in its terms, the end of Christianisation of Samogitia, what, as has been mentioned in a theoretical analysis, is reformulated into the end of conversion.

The investigation starts with the network of parishes identified in the theory as the "fundamental structure" of the Christianisation process. The density of the parishes in the Samogitian diocese is counted with the aim of determining the chronology, when the criterion introduced by the Polish historian H. Łowmiański for a parish of the minimum 10 km radius is reached. The calculations of the network in the 15th – 17th centuries are based on the fundamental study by G. Błaszczyk taking into consideration protestant communities that were not included in it, and statistics of the parishes in the 17th - 20th centuries are taken from the systematic sources. It has been established that Samogitia reached the said criterion between 1613 and 1636.

Following H. Łowmiański's theoretical presumption that reaching a 10 km radius of an average parish only, ensures the impossibility of existence of the pagan enclaves, the historical-geographical analysis of the network of parishes in the second half of the 16th – the beginning of the 17th centuries is made when looking for the "holes" in the network of parishes. The largest wastelands without a church were established in the western and northern parts of Samogitia where the inspectors of the Hide reform started establishing churches in the second half of the 16th century. Substantiating the link between the density of the network of parishes and strengthening of Christian practices (the baptism of children, attending Sunday masses), and at the same with one of the theoretical criteria for the end of the broad conversion – "social control of the external behaviour", the unique sources is emphasised – the 1622 Regulations of attending the church of Klovainiai, which established the duties of the frequency of church attendance taking into consideration the distance from the place of residence to the church.

Seeking to assess the achievements of Christianity in the 16th century, an increase in the number of indulgences granted to parishes, parish schools, students at universities, noblemen's funding is recorded. On the other hand gaps in institutional Christianisation are recorded: the first monasteries, like sanctuaries and the Theological Seminary in Samogitia are established only in the first half of the 17th century. The conclusion is drawn that sharp contrasts between small towns and the country still exist in the second half of the 16th century, which is vividly testified to by the narrative sources of that time: Martynas Mažvydas (1550), Lucas Davidas (1575–1583), Tarkvinijus Pekulas (1579), and especially Johannes Wunderer (1590).

In moving to the issue of the enclaves of paganism the narrative sources that were already mentioned in historiography in the 16th century are presented, which speak about the relics of paganism in Samogitia in a generalised way. The links of the holes in the network of parishes with the enclaves of paganism are based on the documents – funding of parishes in which the motive of liquidating paganism is mentioned. The Church of Tverai is considered to be the last funding of this type in 1619. Facts of the baptism of adults at the beginning of the 17th century are presented as the most fundamental evidence of the existence of the enclaves of paganism, the most massive of which was near Kretinga in 1622.

The lists of Samogitian gods of the 16th century compiled by Martynas Mažvydas (1547), Motiejus Strijkovskis (1582), Jonas Lasickis (1580) and the Jesuits (1619) are considered as another criterion for the unfinished broad conversion. Mentions of sacrifices to gods as most concrete evidence of the surviving pagan practices are distinguished in these lists.

When comparing Samogitia of the first half of the 17th century with the contexts of the broad conversion of other countries, the conclusion is drawn that according to the criterion of the list of gods, the closest analogy is Finland and Prussia of the middle of the 16th century, according to the last mention of the baptism of adults – Latin America of the same period, and according to the density of the network of parishes – the countries of Central Europe of the 13th century and the Kingdom of Franks (Merovings) of the 8th century. All that enabled Samogitia to be attributed to the last region of Christianisation of Europe (together with Finland) and of the Christian world on the whole (together with Latin America).

Conclusions

1. One of the reasons for disagreements is the absence of the most general model of Christianisation not only in historiography of Lithuania but also in that of Europe. Therefore a theoretical model of Christianisation intended for a concrete region or the country (suitable to, first of all, the countries of Central and North Europe) is proposed, which consists of four stages: “mission Christianisation”, the “official conversion”, the “broad conversion” and “inner Christianisation”. “Mission Christianisation” encompasses all sporadic contacts with Christianity and even individual baptisms; the “official conversion” is attained with the adoption of Christianity by the elite of the state (region); during the stage of conversion in a broad sense Christianity with minimum requirements (baptism and refusal of pagan practices) “descends” to the lowest strata of society and the remotest parishes. During the stage of “inner Christianisation” Christian practices spread universally, and the Christian culture forms. The process of depaganisation can be regarded as a sign of the phases of both conversions – the “official conversion” and the “broad conversion”, and the latest phase of “inner Christianisation” is already related to the changes in mentality. The conception of the “official conversion” as a fateful period of Christianisation resolves the inability to come to an agreement in historiography on the relationship between the baptisms of Samogitia and Lithuania. Three criteria as to the end of the conversion in a broad sense are in essence agreed upon in the theory – this is a refusal of sacrifices to gods, the baptism of all adults and the formation of the network of parishes of a necessary density. The latter criterion, which is easily verified and compared with Christianisation of other countries, is most developed in the Polish theoretical thought: the criterion for the density of the minimum network of parishes (when the average radius of a parish amounts to 10 km) introduced by H. Łowmiański would correspond with the end of the “broad conversion” in the model of the phases of Christianisation, and the criterion of the unchanging density of the network of parishes introduced by J. Kłoczowski corresponds with the end of “inner Christianisation”.

2. From three conceptions of the interaction of Christianisation and the factor of paganism formulated in the hypothesis, neither the first (which accentuates the obvious advantage of Christianity) nor the second (which accentuates the vitality of paganism) needs the conception of depaganisation because according to the first one, no factor of paganism exists, and for the second one, paganism can be hardly suppressed and this takes place in modern times only. The process of depaganisation is possible only according to the third conception perceiving Christianisation as a transformation of several phases from a pagan society into a Christian one where depaganisation forms an essential part of the Christianisation process alongside evangelisation. The factor of paganism is seen in all major phases of Christianisation: Jeronimas Prahiskis' mission fails due to the phase of "mission Christianisation", and the issue of paganism is raised to the level of international diplomacy at the Council of Constance during the second phase of the "official conversion", and Samogitia's "official conversion" can be regarded as completed only after overcoming the pagan reaction in 1418. The factor of paganism is defined by the lists of gods and the mention of their cult during the third phase – that of the "broad conversion".
3. Lithuania's "official conversion" – though it took place under specific conditions – corresponded with the general model of Christianisation of the European countries. Therefore it is necessary to speak not about the "baptism" of the country as some single date (it can be only symbolic, and according to the general model only the baptism of the ruler can be regarded as such) but about the period of the "official conversion" that lasted for several decades. This period is to encompass both the baptism of the ruler and its environment and the baptism of the population, and the creation of a church organisation with dioceses, monasteries, the first parishes, overcoming of pagan opposition and reactions, in a word, all that sometimes is referred to as "consolidation of Christianity". Furthermore, this transformation has to encompass all the regions of the country.
4. Jeronimas Prahiskis' mission that was most likely carried out in 1401–1404 in Samogitia, the last pagan region of Europe, reflects the first phase of mission Christianisation. The description of the mission encompasses several important aspects of the initial process of Christianisation – evangelisation, depaganisation (the

destruction of the pagan cults) and pagan opposition. Especially from the latter aspect the “celebratory” image of Lithuania’s conversion presented by Jan Długosz is valuably supplemented and even corrected. The mission that was carried out with the knowledge and approval of Jogaila and Vytautas is the first, though unsuccessful, attempt of the conversional policy of Lithuania’s rulers in Samogitia. The story of the mission presented according to the testimony of the missionary himself in the Chapter *About Lithuania* in the book *About Europe* by Enėjus Silvijus Piccolomini is not only the first but also the last really authentic description of the public cults of Lithuanian religion. Therefore it can reasonably be regarded as a phenomenal source. A more comprehensive list (as compared with that of Jan Długosz who wrote later) of four pagan cults is presented therein: grass-snakes, eternal fire, the sun-hammer and groves-oak-trees. The institution of the prophets mentioned after two cults – fire and the sun-hammer – enables these cults to be singled out as central-institutional. On the basis of the reconstructions of the pantheon of the Lithuanian gods these cults can be related to two out of three or four sovereign gods: the cult of eternal fire to Perkūnas (Thunder) and the sun-hammer – to Devil/Blacksmith.

5. Samogitia’s “official conversion” encompasses the political campaigns of 1413–1421. Samogitia’s separate conversion cannot be explained without the Battle of Grunwald and the Council of Constance. Though the Samogitians did not directly participate in the Battle of Grunwald (and created the second front of Grunwald near the Nemunas River) a lack of Christianity in Samogitia could contribute to the development of the pagan theme in the propaganda of the Teutonic Order directed against Lithuania. Besides, this theme found itself in the background in anti-Vytautas and anti-Jogaila rhetoric of the Teutonic Order during the post-Grunwald period because the issue of the participation of the Orthodox persons and Muslim Tartars in the battle against the Christians was pushed to the foreground. Nonetheless the issue of the baptism of Samogitia was raised to the highest international level at the Council of Constance. Therefore the “official conversion” of Samogitia took place in a planned and compact way – a church organisation was created with the establishment of a diocese, funding of the first churches and organising parishes. Though the causes of the disturbances in 1418 cannot be reduced to the contradiction between Paganism and Christianity, elements of a pagan reaction (burning of

churches, expulsion of the Bishop and the priests) did exist. Therefore these events are to be regarded as a part of the “official conversion” and this part is to be completed with Vytautas’ crucial donations to the Samogitians and the Pope’s greeting.

6. The “broad conversion” cannot be hastened by the external means characteristic of the phase of the “official conversion” – political campaigns and legal acts. Since Samogitia’s “official conversion” was the last in Europe, it is expected that the “broad conversion” was the last to come to an end. The statement that this phase came to an end in Samogitia only at the beginning of the 17th century is based on both theoretical arguments – the conversion theory and empirical ones – the interpretation and dating of the pagan relics. On the basis of the criteria for the end of the “broad conversion” it can be stated that the conversion process in Samogitia was not completed in the 16th century. Though the tradition of denying the lists of gods continues, the analogy of the lists of gods with Finland, which is also in the peripheral region of Christianisation, does not allow this criterion to be rejected. A chronological correlation between this and other criteria of the “broad conversion” – the last baptisms of adults and the formation of a minimum network of parishes, as well as the presence of the theme of paganism with the aim of funding churches, does exist:

- Around 1625 (between 1613 and 1636) – the boundary of parishes of the average radius of 10 km was overstepped,
- 1622 – the last mention of the baptism of adults,
- 1619 – the last list of pagan gods,
- 1618 – the last funding of churches with the motives of paganism.

In its turn this correlation enables us to state that Samogitia’s conversion came to an end in the first quarter of the 17th century – latest in Europe.

ŽEMAITIJOS CHRISTIANIZACIJA IR PAGONYBĖS VEIKSNYS (XV–XVI A.)

Reziumė

Problema

Darbas skirtas paskutinio Europoje pagoniško regiono – Žemaitijos christianizacijos kaip pagonybės įveikos arba depagonizacijos proceso XV–XVI a. išsiaiškinimui. Nors šios temos istoriografija yra didžiulė, galima teigti, jog christianizacijos ir depagonizacijos procesas Žemaitijoje tebeskendi nežinios, prieštaringų liudijimų ir kontroversiškų interpretacijų rūke. Problemos kontūrus jau savaime nubrėžė sampratų skirtumas, ką reikėtų laikyti Žemaitijos christianizacijos pabaiga. Šį sampratų skirtumą pavadintume 500 metų chronologinėmis „žirkėmis“ tarp Vytauto ir Valančiaus laikų. Pagal kraštutinę versiją, Lietuva ir Žemaitija jau XVI a. atitiko viduramžių krikščionybės standartus. Kitas kraštutinitumas – Lietuva ir Žemaitija iki pat XIX a. tebėra nekrikščioniška. Šio sampratų skirtumo priežastis – ne vien krikščioniškojo „optimizmo“ siekis ankstinti krikščionybės įsigalėjimą, o pagoniško – vėlinti pagonybės relikto išsilaikymą, bet ir christianizacijos proceso modelio nebuvimas.

Darbo tikslai ir uždaviniai

Pritaikyti Vakarų bei lenkų istoriografijose egzistuojantį konversijos / christianizacijos proceso modelį Žemaitijos atveju. Pasiremiant teoriniu modeliu parodyti pagrindinius Žemaitijos christianizacijos tarpsnius – misijinę christianizaciją, oficialiąją konversiją (apimančią tik valdovo aplinką ir politinį elitą) bei konversiją plačiąja prasme (kurios pagrindiniu veikėju tampa nebe politinės, o bažnytinės institucijos). Išryškinti skirtingą pagonybės veiksnį bei depagonizaciją atskiruose christianizacijos proceso etapuose: „misijinės christianizacijos“ etape pagonybė pasiekė paskutinę pergalę; „oficialiosios konversijos“ lūžyje pagoniškasis veiksnys pasireiškė pagoniška reakcija; konversijos plačiąja prasme procese siekiama išvelgti pagonybės faktorių ir nustatyti Žemaitijos virsmo iš pagoniškos į krikščionišką visuomenę pabaigą.

Tyrimo objektas ir chronologija

Tyrimo objektas – Žemaitijos (istorinės Žemaičių vyskupijos ribose) christianizacijos procesas, o tiksliau du centriniai jos etapai, kuriems taikoma „konversijos“ sąvoka, turinti virsmo ar net kūlversčio turinį, po kurio nebegalima grįžti į atgalinę padėtį – tiek siaurąją arba „oficialiosios konversijos“ (politinio virsmo), tiek plačiąją (visuomenės virsmo) jos sampratomis. Chronologija – XV–XVI amžius, tačiau siekiant pagrįsti oficialiosios konversijos nebegrįžtamąjį pobūdį apimami ir ikikonversiniai, „misijinei christianizacijai“, priklausantys reiškiniai – XV a. pradžios Jono Jeronimo Prahieško misija. Iš kitos pusės, siekiant pagrįsti plačiosios konversijos nebegrįžtamąjį pobūdį ir sutvirtinti išvadas dėl XVI amžiaus vertinimo, įžengiama ir į XVII a. I pusę. Paskutinis su depagonizacijos procesu nebesusijęs „vidinės christianizacijos“ tarpsnis (klausimas persikelia į parapiinį – klebono ir tikinčiojo – lygmenį) lieka už šio tyrimo chronologinių ribų.

Teorinės priegijos ir metodai

Tyrimo teorinę bazę sudaro procesualios christianizacijos sampratos – tiek politinių įvykių („oficialioji konversija“), tiek konversijos kaip fundamentalaus visuomenės virsmo iš pagoniškos į krikščionišką (plačioji konversijos samprata) aspektais. Iš šių teorijų gaunama ir depagonizacijos kaip esminio christianizacijos proceso lygmens (šalia evangelizacijos) samprata, o taip pat christianizacijos proceso periodizacija, kuriame esmingą dalį sudaro pagonybės įveikos samprata „konversijos“ (plačiąja prasme) epochoje. Tyrime taikomas istoriografinis, konkretus istorinis-analitinis, statistinis bei istorinės geografijos tyrimo metodai.

Darbo struktūra

Pirmoji darbo dalis skirta teorinio modelio ir kontekstų paieškoms, keliant klausimą, kodėl mūsų regiono kraštams reikia vienos šalies krikšto datos, o kitose Europos šalyse išvelgiamos istoriografijoje ištisos įvykių grandinės. Iš šio klausimo seka kitas – kaip įvardinti šias įvykių grandines, o pasirinkus „oficialiosios konversijos“ sąvoką, atkreipti dėmesį į dar vieną – plačiąją konversijos sampratą, kuri ir tapo darbo konceptualiu pagrindu.

Kitos disertacijos dalys (antroji, trečioji ir ketvirtoji) skirtos atskirų christianizacijos proceso tarpsnių (įvardytų „misijinė christianizacija“, „oficialioji konversija“ bei konversija plačiąja prasme) Žemaitijoje analizei. Nors du pirmieji Žemaitijos christianizacijos tarpsniai yra esmingai empiriškai ištirti jau M. Andziulytės-Ruginienės, tačiau vėlesnės polemikos lietuvių istoriografijoje, iš šiuolaikinės tarptautinės istoriografijos (ypač dėl Konstanco bažnytinio susirinkimo) sekantys papildiniai, o taip pat šiuolaikinės christianizacijos teorijų kontekstas reikalavo tam tikrų korekcijų. Tai ypač pasimatė „oficialiajai konversijai“ skirtoje dalyje, kur įvedėme naują temą – Žemaitijos pagoniškumo klausimą požalgirinėse propagandinėse kovose, taip pat naują 1418 m. maišto Žemaitijos konversijos kontekste interpretaciją, kas savo ruožtu leido iškelti klausimą dėl Žemaitijos „oficialiosios konversijos“ pabaigos. Ketvirtoji dalis apėmė laikotarpį iki pat konversijos pabaigos XVII a. pradžioje. Šio lūžio nustatymas ir buvo vienas svarbiausių šios dalies uždavinių. Tačiau pagrindinį turinį sudarė dviejų prieštaringų koncepcijų (kurias sąlyginai pavadiname „krikščionybės taškų“ ir „pagonybės anklavų“ koncepcijomis), labai skirtingai įsivaizduojančių christianizacijos eigą, suderinimas. Tuo pačiu buvo siekiama įvertinti tiek christianizacijos pažangą, tiek pagonybės reliktus.

Išvados

1. Viena iš nesusikalbėjimų priežasčių – bendriausio christianizacijos modelio nebuvimas – ne tik Lietuvos, bet ir Europos istoriografijose. Todėl siūlomas teorinis christianizacijos modelis, skirtas konkrečiam regionui arba šaliai (tinkantis visų pirma Vidurio ir Šiaurės Europos šalims), kuris susideda iš keturių etapų: „misijinė christianizacija“, „oficialioji konversija“, „plačioji konversija“ ir „vidinė christianizacija“. „Misijinė christianizacija“ apima visus sporadinius kontaktus su krikščionybe ir net pavienius krikštus; „oficialioji konversija“ pasiekama su valstybės (regiono) elito krikščionybės priėmimu; konversijos plačiąja prasme etape krikščionybė su minimaliaisiais reikalavimais (krikštas ir pagoniškų praktikų atsisakymas) „nusileidžia“ iki žemiausių visuomenės sluoksnių ir tolimiausių periferijų. „Vidinės christianizacijos“ etape visuotinai išplinta krikščioniškos praktikos, susiformuoja krikščioniška kultūra. Abiejų konversijos etapų –

„oficialiosios konversijos“ bei „plačiosios konversijos“ – požymiu reikia laikyti depagonizacijos procesą, o vėliausias, „vidinės christianizacijos“, etapas jau sietinas su mentaliteto permainomis. „Oficialiosios konversijos“ sąvoka kaip lemtingo christianizacijos tarpsnio sąvoka išsprendžia istoriografijos nesusikalbėjimą dėl Žemaitijos ir Lietuvos krikštų santykio. Teorijoje dėl konversijos plačiaja prasme pabaigos iš esmės sutariama dėl trijų kriterijų – tai aukojimų dievams atsisakymas, visų suaugusiųjų krikštas bei reikiamo tankio parapijų tinklo susiformavimas. Pastarasis, nesunkiai patikrinamas ir su kitų šalių christianizacijomis palyginamas kriterijus labiausiai yra išplėtotas lenkų teorinėje mintyje: H. Łowmiańskio įvestas minimalaus parapijų tinklo tankio kriterijus (kai vidutinis parapijos spindulys pasiekia 10 km) christianizacijos etapų modelyje atitiktų „plačiosios konversijos“ pabaigą, o J. Kłoczowskio įvestas nebekintančio parapijų tinklo tankio kriterijus – „vidinės christianizacijos“ pabaigą.

2. Iš hipotezėje suformuluotų trijų christianizacijos ir pagonybės veiksnio sąveikos sampratų nei pirmajai (akcentuojančiai ryškų krikščionybės pranašumą), nei antrajai (akcentuojančiai pagonybės gajumą) nereikalinga depagonizacijos samprata, nes pagal pirmąją pagonybės veiksnio nėra, o antrajai – pagonybė yra sunkiai nustelbiama ir tai įvyksta tik moderniaisiais laikais. Depagonizacijos procesas galimas tik pagal trečiąją sampratą, christianizaciją suvokiant kaip kelių etapų virsmą iš pagoniškosios visuomenės į krikščionišką, kuriame depagonizacija šalia evangelizacijos sudaro esmingą christianizacijos proceso dalį. Pagonybės veiksnį matome visuose pagrindiniuose christianizacijos etapuose: „misijinės christianizacijos“ etape dėl jo sužlunga Jeronimo Prahieško misija, antrajame – „oficialiosios konversijos“ – etape pagonybės klausimas yra iškeliamas į tarptautinės diplomatijos lygmenį Konstanco susirinkime, o Žemaitijos „oficialioji konversija“ gali būti laikoma užbaigta tik po 1418 pagoniškosios reakcijos įveikimo. Trečiajame – „plačiosios konversijos“ – etape pagonybės veiksnys yra apibrėžtinai dievų sąrašais ir jų kulto paminėjimais.
3. Lietuvos „oficialioji konversija“ – nors ir vykusios specifinėmis sąlygomis – atitiko bendrą Europos šalių christianizacijos modelį. Todėl reikia kalbėti ne apie šalies „krikštą“ kaip vieną kurią nors datą (tokia gali būti tik simbolinė, ir pagal bendrą

modelį – tokia laikytinas tik valdovo krikštas), o apie kelis dešimtmečius trunkantį „oficialiosios konversijos“ tarpinį. Šis tarpnis turi apimti tiek valdovo ir jo aplinkos krikštą, tiek gyventojų krikštijimą, tiek bažnytinės organizacijos kūrimą su vyskupijomis, vienuolynais, pirmosiomis parapijomis, tiek pagoniškosios opozicijos ir reakcijų įveikimą, taigi visa tai, kas kartais vadinama „krikščionybės įtvirtinimu“. Be to, šis virsmas turi apimti visus šalies regionus.

4. Jeronimo Prahieško misija, vykusi, didžiausia tikyybė 1401–1404 m. Žemaitijoje, paskutiniame pagoniškame Europos regione, atspindi pirmąjį – misijinės christianizacijos etapą. Misijos aprašymas apima kelis svarbius pradinio christianizacijos proceso aspektus – evangelizaciją, depagonizaciją (pagoniškų kultų naikinimą) ir pagoniškąją opoziciją. Ypač pastaruoju aspektu yra svariai papildomas ir net koreguojamas J. Dluogošo pateiktą „šventiškas“ Lietuvos konversijos vaizdinys. Su Jogailos ir Vytauto žinia bei parama vykusi misija yra pirmasis, nors ir nesėkmingas, Lietuvos valdovų konversinės politikos Žemaitijoje bandymas. Enėjaus Silvijaus Piccolominio veikalo „Apie Europa“ skyriuje „Apie Lietuvą“ pagal paties misionieriaus liudijimą pateiktas pasakojimas apie jo misiją, yra ne tik pirmasis, bet ir paskutinis tikrai autentiškas lietuvių religijos viešųjų kultų aprašymas. Todėl jį galima pagrįstai laikyti fenomenaliu šaltiniu. Jame pateikiamas pilnesnis (lyginant su vėliau rašiusiu J. Dluogošu) – 4 pagoniškų kultų sąrašas: žalčių, amžinosios ugnies, saulės-kūjo ir giraičių-ąžuolų. Prie dviejų kultų – ugnies ir saulės-kūjo – minima žynių institucija leidžia šiuos kultus išskirti kaip centrinius-institucinius. Remiantis lietuvių dievų panteono rekonstrukcijomis šiuos kultus galima susieti su dviem iš trijų ar keturių suverenių dievų: amžinosios ugnies kultą su Perkūnu, o saulės-kūjo – su Velniu/Kalviu.
5. Žemaitijos „oficialioji konversija“ apima 1413–1421 m. politines akcijas. Atskiros Žemaitijos konversijos neįmanoma paaiškinti be Žalgirio mūšio ir Konstanco susirinkimo. Nors žemaičiai tiesiogiai Žalgiryje nedalyvavo (o sukūrė antrąjį Žalgirio frontą prie Nemuno), vis dėlto krikščionybės stoka Žemaitijoje galėjo prisidėti prie pagoniškosios temos puoselėjimo Vokiečių Ordino propagandoje, nukreiptoje prieš Lietuvą. Be to ši tema Vokiečių Ordino antivytautinėje ir antijogailinėje retorikoje požalgiriniu periodu atsidūrė antrame plane, nes į pirmą planą iškilo stačiatikių ir

musulmonų totorių dalyvavimo kovoje prieš krikščionis klausimas. Vis dėlto Konstancie Žemaitijos krikšto klausimas pakilo į aukščiausią tarptautinį lygmenį. Todėl Žemaitijos „oficialioji konversija“ vyko planingai ir kompleksiskai – kuriama bažnytinė organizacija su vyskupijos steigimu, pirmųjų bažnyčių fondacijomis ir parapijų organizavimu. Nors 1418-ųjų neramumų priežasčių negalima suvesti į pagonybės / krikščionybės prieštarą, tačiau pagoniškosios reakcijos elementų (bažnyčių deginimo, vyskupo ir kunigų išvaymo) būta. Todėl šiuos įvykius reikia laikyti „oficialiosios konversijos“ dalimi, o šią užbaigti lemiamomis 1421 m. Vytauto donacijomis ir popiežiaus sveikinimu žemaičiams.

6. „Plačioji konversija“ negali būti paskubinama išorinėmis priemonėmis, būdingomis „oficialiosios konversijos“ etapui – politinėmis akcijomis ir teisiniais aktais. Kadangi Žemaitijos „oficialioji konversija“ buvo vėliausia Europoje, lauktina, kad ir „plačioji konversija“ baigėsi vėliausiai. Teiginys, kad šis etapas Žemaitijoje baigėsi tik XVII a. I pusėje yra grindžiamas tiek teoriniais argumentais – konversijos teorija, tiek empiriniais – pagonybės relikvų interpretacija ir datavimu. Pagal „plačiosios konversijos“ pabaigos kriterijus galima konstatuoti, kad XVI a. Žemaitijoje konversijos procesas dar nėra pasibaigęs. Nors tebesitęsia dievų sąrašų neigimo tradicija, tačiau dievų sąrašų analogija su taip pat periferiniame christianizacijos regione esančia Suomija, neleidžia šio kriterijaus atmesti. Egzistuoja šio bei kitų „plačiosios konversijos“ kriterijų – paskutinių suaugusiųjų krikštijimų, minimalaus parapijų tinklo susiformavimo, o taip pat pagonybės temos egzistavimas bažnyčių fundavimo motyvacijose – chronologinė koreliacija:

- Apie 1625 (tarp 1613 ir 1636) – peržengta ir parapijų vidutinio spindulio 10 km riba
- 1622 m. – paskutinis suaugusiųjų krikštijimo paminėjimas,
- 1619 m. – paskutinis pagonišku dievų sąrašas,
- 1618 m. – paskutinė bažnyčios fundacija su pagonybės motyvais.

Ši koreliacija savo ruožtu leidžia dar tvirčiau teigti, kad Žemaitijos konversija baigėsi XVII a. I ketvirtyje – vėliausiai Europoje.

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Mangirdas Bumblauskas was born in Vilnius on 18 June 1978. In 1996 he finished Užupis secondary school. In 1996–2004, studied at the Faculty of History of Vilnius University, got his Master's in history. In 2007–2008, worked at the Culture, Philosophy and Arts Research Institute, the Department of Baltic Culture in the capacity of a laboratory assistant. In 2008–2012, was a doctoral student at the Lithuanian Culture Research Institute. Since 2013, a junior scientific research worker at the Department of Baltic Culture of the Lithuanian Culture Research Institute. Scientific interests: Lithuanian religion, its written sources, introduction of Christianity, relationships between paganism and Christianity in Lithuania.