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# Preface

The name “Lithuanian Metrica” refers to the books compiled from copied documents that were issued from or found their way into the chancellery of the Lithuanian grand duke. These books contain privileges granted to state territories (lands, duchies, etc.), the estates, individuals and cities, various acts, the ruler’s and other court decrees and other related documentation, material regarding various diplomatic activities (ranging from Sweden to Turkey, from the Vatican to Rus’, the Golden Horde and the Crimean Khanate Tatars), treasury documents, property inventories of the ruler and nobility, auxiliary chartulary books, and so forth. The oldest documents of the Lithuanian Metrica, the actual archive of the ruler and the state, go back to the times of pagan Lithuania (the treaty of 1367 signed by Grand Duke Algirdas and Duke Kestutis with Livonia). More documents start to appear from the years 1385–1387; from the political-strategic union with Poland and the baptism of Lithuania, while the latest documents date to the end of the eighteenth century. The development of the Lithuanian Metrica was associated with the documentation of the Lithuanian grand duke’s governmental functions—this chartulary was conducted through his chancellery via the activities of state officials subordinate to him, which is why the Lithuanian Metrica is justifiably considered the main archive of the early Lithuanian state. When neighboring Russia, Prussia, and Austria, greedy for new lands, destroyed the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1772–1795, the Lithuanian Metrica fell into Russian hands. An entry in the Vilnius City book of expenses written on August 11, 1794 tells us how the transportation of the Lithuanian Metrica to Saint Petersburg was organized. On January 9–18, 1795, a sum of 157 złoty was allocated from the Vilnius magistrate to pay for its transportation, plus another twenty groschen as payment to the carpenter for the construction of twenty crates and the blacksmith for producing bindings and nails and encasing the crates, as well as for repairing the door to the *metrykant*’s room. A wagon train from Vilnius made its

way to Riga, from where ships set sail for Saint Petersburg. According to the transfer act, the Senate of the Russian Empire took over 834 books, fourteen files in carton boxes, and sixteen bundles of loose documents. The entire past of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, all of the deeds and secrets of its rulers, grand dukes, and kings, documented since the middle of the fourteenth century, had thus fallen into the hands of its old competitor, enemy, political protector, at times its friend and ally, the tsar of the Grand Duchy of Muscovy, later, the emperor of the Russian Empire. The Lithuanian Metrica is currently kept in the State Russian Archive of Early Acts (*Rossiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov*, f. 389) in Moscow. Several books of the Lithuanian Metrica have at some stage ended up in some Polish archives, manuscript collections, libraries, in addition to the few that are in Vilnius.

Documents from the Lithuanian Metrica started being published in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in Vilnius and in Poland from the middle of the eighteenth century. When the Russian Empire, the new imposter feigning to be the master of the destroyed state, opened up these state trophies—the books of the Lithuanian Metrica—at the end of the eighteenth century, the invaluable political, cultural, and scientific treasure it had taken possession of became immediately apparent. After more thorough examination of the material, the Lithuanian Metrica was viewed as an inexhaustible source of historical knowledge that reveals the most consistent and comprehensive digest of the history of Lithuania and Belarus, to a lesser extent, of Ukraine and Poland as well, not to mention the volumes of material on the past of Russia, Prussia, Latvia, and Estonia. In the Russian Empire, research of the Metrica commenced and intensified, the publication of its documents and books occurred on a grander scale. However, the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 brought an end to this scientific activity. The research and publication of the Lithuanian Metrica only attempted to be revived towards the end of the Soviet period, at which stage the then Soviet Institute of History of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences and a Lithuanian Statutes and Metrica research group from Vilnius University became involved.

This is the fourth decade of scientific research and publication of the Lithuanian Metrica since 1985 at the Lithuanian Institute of History. May this book about the historic relic of the Lithuanian state mark the anniversary of three decades of Lithuanian scientists' contribution to this important work, which all too often goes by unnoticed in society.

Readers will immediately notice that the text in this book is not constructed according to a historical-chronological order, but follows a

problematic-thematic progression, and that sometimes only guidelines of the research are presented, or questions and issues for future consideration are formulated—the material does not claim the status of perfected, final scientific results. In our view, a scientific text in precisely this format most accurately represents the scale of current issues associated with the research of the Lithuanian Metrica. The fact that less light is shed on the pages from the past of this historical source, and the contradicting opinions of authors on certain questions point to the topics that demand further study in the future, or could perhaps even help formulate questions for more thorough research. For example, the chapter on research and publication is in effect a summary of guidelines for future research, while the role of Simona Daukantas in the history of the Lithuanian Metrica in the nineteenth century could easily be expanded into a separate scientific study.

Some of the topics that are presented are of an archival research nature, and it could appear as if the book's authors, who are historians, used methods specific to this field too liberally. We trust that in the future, if other specialists take a deeper interest in the fate of the Lithuanian Metrica and other archives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, they shall correct the authors' ideas and find answers to many of the questions that remain unanswered or solve problems that are hitherto unresolved. We hope that the differing ways the text appears in the book shall not be a burden to readers, as each author has their own individual style of interpreting and presenting historic material.

The authors of this book sincerely thank the following peer reviewers for closely reading the manuscript of this monograph and for correcting the errors they noticed. We thank Algirdas Baliulis (Vilnius), Rūta Čapaitė (Vilnius), Aleksandr Dounar (Minsk), Aleh Dziarnovich (Minsk), Aliaksandr Hrusha (Minsk), Andrius Jurkevičius (Vilnius), Mindaugas Klovas (Vilnius), Andrei Macuk (Minsk), Sergei Polekhov (Moscow), and Andrei Ryčkov (Vilnius) for their bibliographic assistance. We also thank Aleksei Andronov (Saint Petersburg), the Director of the Lithuanian Art Museum Romualdas Budrys (Vilnius), Klaudijus Driskius (Vilnius), the former Director of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore Mindaugas Kvietkauskas, the Director of the Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences Sigitas Narbutas (Vilnius), Vika Petrikaitė (Vilnius), the State Archives in Lublin (Poland), and the family of academic Konstantinas Jablonskis for their permission to use important illustrations in this book.



## Chapter 1

# The Lithuanian Metrica: The Concept, Term, and Archival Characteristics

Anyone that has taken even a slight interest in Lithuania's past will have heard mention of the Lithuanian Metrica. Specific articles can be found in encyclopedias and entries in Lithuanian dictionaries, which present a longer or shorter definition of this concept and the most important related historical facts. But could a history professional, an expert in this field, provide a precise definition in one or two sentences of what the Lithuanian Metrica actually is? Looking through encyclopedia articles and dictionaries, we learn that this is not such an easy task. In some cases, the Lithuanian Metrica is defined as the state archives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, elsewhere it is the Duchy's chancellery documents, in other places, it is described as the books of copies of the state chancellery's documents. We might also be caught unawares if asked what the words "Lithuanian Metrica" actually mean, and how they are connected to the mentioned concept's definitions.

It is indeed difficult to concisely explain what the words "Lithuanian Metrica" meant and mean today. We can first of all say that in order to give a simple description of this compound, it must first be divided into two, as the first word "Lithuanian" does not carry the same meaning as we understand it today, while the word "Metrica" is one of those terms whose real meaning might not even be immediately clear to a professional historian without first consulting specialist literature. The word "Metrica," despite sounding very similar to the oft-heard Lithuanian word *metrikai*, that is, birth certificates,

has very little in common (just the same root), and is actually closely related to another now very often used word in Lithuanian, *kanceliarija* (chancellery), whose first meaning is also probably not so well known. The word *kanceliarija* is associated with the Latin word *cancelli*, which refers to the bars of grating or a gate, lattices. Interestingly, the word *kanceliarija* emerged later than *kancleris* (chancellor, or *cancellarius* in Latin, *kanclerz* in Polish). The chancellor initially meant a court notary, later on, the palace scribe or *notarius*, and only started being applied to the chancellery's senior official in the Roman curia in the tenth–eleventh centuries, whose task was to authorize the legitimacy of documents being issued.<sup>1</sup> In time, the chancellor's duties and especially the premises where he performed them started being called the chancellery.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, as the growing number of original documents being prepared in the Lithuanian grand duke's chancellery were being issued to interested parties, copies also started being made and kept for the chancellery's needs. Upon the issue of a particular original document, the ruler's notary would usually keep its copy, which would be given to lower-ranked chancellery officers. When they received the copy, it would be rewritten again into their fascicles (see chapter 2). These fascicles containing copies of separate documents would be placed together into some kind of order, based on the content of the original documents, until a smaller or larger bundle of pages had been assembled. This bundle would sometimes be bound, for convenience, to stop pages from falling out. In the everyday life of the chancellery, this bundle of pages would be called by the originally Slavic word for book, *kniga*. The books of copied documentation in the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were first referred to by various, very long descriptions, such as: "the books of his royal grace," "the books of his grace, the ruler," "the chancellery books of his royal grace," "the chancellery books of his grace, the ruler," "the books of the chancellery," and so on (figs. 1, 2).

In the first half of the sixteenth century, as political and cultural links between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland intensified, and as Polish was being used increasingly extensively by the Lithuanian nobility, the mentioned term "chancellery books of his royal grace" that had been used in the daily life of the grand duke's chancellery gradually started being called by a word adopted from Polish, which had medieval Latin origins, *metrica* (the first known use dates to 1528).<sup>2</sup>

1 P. Rabikauskas, *Diplomatica pontificia (Praelectionum lineamenta)* (Rome: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1994), 10.

2 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 15 (1528–1538). Užrašymų knyga 15*, ed. A. Dubonis (Vilnius: Žara, 2002), 75.

The Latin word *matrica*, or *metrica* originates from the word *mater* (mother), whose meaning is quite clear even to someone with no knowledge of Latin, and in medieval chancellery terminology meant a digest of texts written in one place—a certain collection of chancellery documents or their copies. The Latin title of Book 25 in the Book of Inscriptions group of the Lithuanian Metrica<sup>3</sup> gives a good illustration of the real meaning of *metrica*, which can be translated as follows:

The metrica (collection, digest) of privileges, court decrees, cases, and other various letters issued to the civilians of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by the Most Enlightened kings of Poland and grand dukes of Lithuania, compiled in 1541, the Year of Our Lord, at the behest of our Most Illustrious Ruler, Lady Bona, the Queen of Poland and Grand Duchess of Lithuania, rewritten, checked, and together with an index of all the documents within, bound at the order of the all-powerful Lord Lew Sapieha, Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Administrator of Slonim, Parnu, and Mogilev, etc., etc., during the appointment of Aleksander Korwin Gosiewski, the secretary of his blessed royal highness [Sigismund Vasa] as the chancellery regent by the aforementioned lord [i.e., Lew Sapieha], in the Year of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1598.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the chancellery officials of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, by now strongly affected by the use of Polish chancellery terminology, when describing the content of documents entered into a specific book, the *metrica* term must have been more accurate and convenient to use than the previous long and complicated definitions, such as “the chancellery books of his grace the ruler”, which is why in time, *metrica* stood in for and eventually pushed out the older titles of these books in the daily practice of chancellery officials. The result of this process is best illustrated in the constitution of the 1607 sejm of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on the checking of the rewritten books of the Lithuanian Metrica. This constitution begins with the words: “As our chancellery metrica, or books. . .”<sup>4</sup> At this point it should be added that the use of *metrica* instead of books did not become widespread, as only the “digests” of copies of documents prepared in the ruler’s chancellery were called thus, whereas the documentation of other institutions in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (the castle, land, and Magdeburg city courts, and so forth) continued to be referred to as “the books.”

3 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 25 (1387–1546). Užrašymų knyga 25*, ed. D. Antanavičius and A. Baliulis (Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 1998), 17.

4 *Volumina Legum*, vol. 2, no. 2 (St Petersburg: J. Ohryzka, 1859), 449.

The word “book” has a very well-defined meaning in numerous languages, and basically lacks any abstract meanings. The meaning of the word *metrica*, being a loan word, became increasingly more abstract. In the second half of the sixteenth century, once the number of books/*metricas* of chancellery documentation copies climbed over a hundred, this compound of books started being perceived as an indivisible whole and started being called the Metrica in the collective sense, that is, a digest, or in the modern sense, a collection of specific books/*metricas*. The result of this process is well illustrated in the Ruthenian title of Book 15 in the Books of Inscriptions of the Lithuanian Metrica, rewritten in the late sixteenth century,<sup>5</sup> which could be translated as:

The metrica of His Grace, King Sigismund the Old, which [contains] court decrees, sejm constitutions, various foreign legation documents, and some donations made from 1528 until 1534—the chronology is inaccurate—[which has been] rewritten, given an index of documents, and bound again at the order of the all-powerful Lord Lew Sapieha, Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Administrator of Slonim [ . . . ] and, etc., etc., during the service as Metrica regent of myself, the chancellery notary of his grace [i.e., L. Sapieha], Aleksander Korwin Gosiewski, appointed by his grace [i.e., L. Sapieha], 1597.



Figure 1. *Lithuanian Metrica Book 7* (Российский государственный архив древних актов, ф. № 389, опись 1, единица хранения № 7).

5 *Lietuvos Metrika. Kniga Nr. 15*, 34.

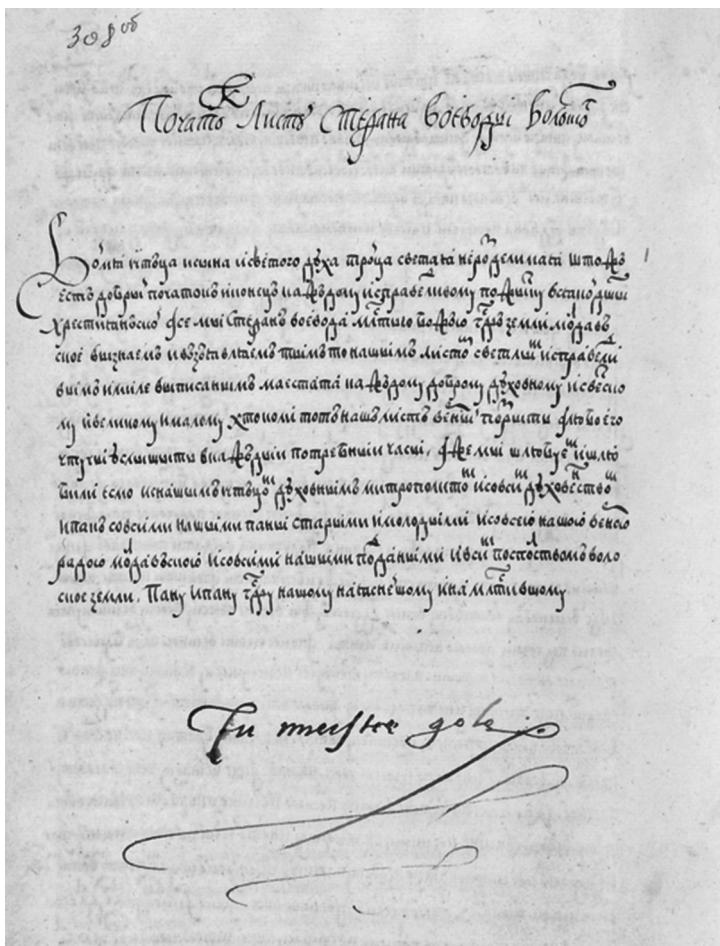


Figure 2. Fragment of a treaty between the Palatine of Moldavia, Stefan, with Grand Duke Casimir, dated July 28, 1468, entered into Book 5, p. 308v of the Lithuanian Metrica (Российский государственный архив древних актов, ф. № 389, описание 1, единица хранения № 5).

In this heading, the word *metrica* has been used twice: first as a synonym for a book of document copies, secondly as the title of the whole compound (collection, digest) of books of chancellery documentation.

Thus, in summary it can be said that in the case of the Lithuanian Metrica, the meaning of the word *metrica* changed from a chancellery term referring to a digest of documents written up in one location, to the collective title given to the books of chancellery documentation copies, that is, a concept.

Now for a brief explanation of the word “Lithuanian”. From the earliest titles of the books of copies of chancellery documentation, we see that the word “Lithuania” was absent altogether. When did it start being used in combination with Metrica? It is difficult to give a precise answer to this question, as thorough research of this aspect has not been conducted as yet. In the earliest descriptions of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica we know of, dating to 1623, we see the title Metrica of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,<sup>6</sup> and at around the same time (1634), the Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Albrecht Stanisław Radziwiłł (1593–1656) called it the Lithuanian Metrica in his memoirs.<sup>7</sup> In the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries, the first version—Metrica of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania—was more common, and has been adopted in Belarusian historiography.<sup>8</sup>

In the late eighteenth century, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was abolished and the Russian Empire confiscated the state institutional archives of Poland and Lithuania. The Metrica of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was transported to Saint Petersburg, along with the so-called Crown Metrica (*Metryka Koronna*) of the Kingdom of Poland, whereupon both were referred to as the “Metrica of the Annexed Provinces.” The departmental public servants of the Third Senate of the Russian Empire, who had been charged with managing the confiscated archives, wanted to distinguish between the chancellery documentation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the Polish collection. They started, for their own convenience, to consistently use the shorter version—Lithuanian Metrica (*Litovskaia metrika*). An inventory printed in Saint Petersburg in 1887 played a very important role in the spread of this version of the title in scientific and popular literature—*Inventory of the Books and Acts of the Lithuanian Metrica*.<sup>9</sup> The word “Lithuania” in the phrase “Lithuanian Metrica” should not be identified

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6 G. Ia. Galenchanka (as G. Ia. Golenchenko), “Reestr knig Metriki Velikogo Kniazhestva Litovskogo 1623 g.,” in *Issledovaniia po istorii Litovskoi Metriki. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov*, vol. 2 (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1989), 341; D. Antanavičius, Originalių Lietuvos Metrikos XVI a. knygų sąrašas, *Istorijos šaltinių tyrimai*, ed. A. Dubonis, vol. 4 (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2012), 167.

7 A. S. Radziwiłł, *Memoriale rerum gestarum in Polonia 1632–1656*, vol. 2, ed. A. Przyboś and R. Żelewski (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo PAN, 1970), 74.

8 G. Ia. Galenchanka, “Metryka Vialikaga Kniastva Litouskaga,” in *Vialikae Kniastva Litouskae. Entsyklapediia u dvukh tamakh*, vol. 2: K–Ia, ed. G. P. Pashkau et al. (Minsk: Belarusskaia Entsyklapediia imeni Petrusia Brovki, 2006), 302–303, 306.

9 S. Ptaszycki (as S. L. Ptashitskii), *Opisanie knig i aktov litovskoi Metriki* (Petersburg: Tipografia Pravitel’stvuiushchego Senata, 1887).

with our understanding of today's Lithuanian state, but refers to the whole former, multinational Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Some scientists do not delve deeper into the subtleties of the meanings of the title and use the term Lithuanian Metrica with some reserve, especially in present-day Belarus. The term is also the focus of heated academic debates over the accuracy of the name given to this set of historical sources. It relates to the characteristics of the Lithuanian Metrica as a set of historical documents formed at a specific time, which researchers can choose from depending on the scientific methodologies they are using, and the historical, archival, legal, and even international policy aspects they want to priorities.

The perception of the Lithuanian Metrica as the state archive of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, whose maintenance was the obligation of the sejm of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, emerged in the early seventeenth century, and in the eighteenth century, when it was transferred to Warsaw and together with the Polish (Crown) Metrica formed the state archives of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>10</sup> Back in the first half of the twentieth century, Polish scientists who had made great progress in Lithuanian archival studies described the Lithuanian Metrica as the archive of the ruler or state of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>11</sup> However, scientists educated in the Polish Republic, reinstated after the First World War, no longer felt obliged to view the Lithuanian Metrica as a state archive. Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa (1917–2006), who commenced studies in history at Stephen Bathory University in Vilnius in 1937 that were cut short in 1939 due to the outbreak of war, and was repatriated to Poland in 1945, described the Lithuanian Metrica as a complex of Polish cultural historical heritage, the “state archivalia of the Poles,” or a part of “the state archive of Poland which experienced a catastrophe at the end of the eighteenth century.”<sup>12</sup> Purposefully avoiding describing the Metrica as the archive of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, she used the definition “entirety of the chancery books of the old Grand Duchy of Lithuania.”<sup>13</sup>

10 *Kniga posol'skaiia Metriki Velikogo Kniazhestva Litovskogo, soderzhashchaia v sebe diplomaticeskie snosheniia Litvy v gosudarstvovanie korоля Sigismunda Avgusta s 1545 po 1572 g.*, ed. M. Obolenskii and I. Daniłowicz, vol. 1 (Moscow: Moskovskoe obshchestvo istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh, 1843), IV (footnote 1), 323.

11 J. Jakubowski, “Archiwum państwowe W. X. Litewskiego i jego losy,” *Archeion. Czasopismo naukowe poświęcone sprawom archiwalnym* 9 (1931): 1–18.

12 I. Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, “Metryka Litewska—charakterystyka i dzieje,” *Archeion. Czasopismo naukowe poświęcone sprawom archiwalnym* 65 (1977): 93, 96.

13 *Ibid.*, 95.

She “allowed” it to become the Lithuanian Metrica traditionally from the mid-eighteenth century, when it was transferred together with the Polish (Crown) Metrica to Warsaw.<sup>14</sup> Sułkowska-Kurasiowa was probably the first to reproach Stanisław Ptaszycki for giving the misleading term “Lithuanian Metrica” in the inventory published in 1887 to the entirety of books kept in the Imperial Senate, as they did indeed only make up a fraction of the collection, alongside the Crown Metrica.<sup>15</sup>

The mentioned author’s provisions were adopted as being conceptual and were further used in the work of the American scientist and archivist Patricia Kennedy Grimsted when studying the historical document sets kept in the Soviet Union, and particularly the Lithuanian Metrica<sup>16</sup>—she spent several years cooperating with Sułkowska-Kurasiowa.<sup>17</sup> In her works from the second half of the twentieth century, she described the Lithuanian Metrica (collection 389 of the Russian State Archive of Early Acts) as a fragmented collection, “the so-called Lithuanian Metrica,”<sup>18</sup> that was formally started and completely formed only in the Russian Empire, where the unsuitable title “Lithuanian Metrica” was entrenched once and for all. She also dates the beginning of the confusion to Ptaszycki’s *Inventory*, a publication of the description and history of the Lithuanian Metrica in Russia in 1887, where the misleading name of this body of historical sources, a hybrid collection, was entrenched.<sup>19</sup> Actually, in the past this collection

14 Ibid., 93.

15 Ibid., 95.

16 P. Kennedy Grimsted, “The Archival Legacy of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: The Fate of Historical Archives in Vilnius,” *Slavonic and East European Review* 57, no. 4 (October 1979): 552–571 (The Lithuanian Metrica is discussed on pages 553–557).

17 P. Kennedy Grimsted, with the collaboration of I. Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The “Lithuanian Metrica” in Moscow and Warsaw: reconstructing the Archives of Grand Duchy of Lithuania* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1984), xv.

18 Ibid., 30. A summary of the most important points and conclusions appears in Polish, see: P. Kennedy Grimsted, “Czym jest i czym była Metryka Litewska? (Stan obecny i perspektywy odtworzenia zawartości archiwum kancelaryjnego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego),” *Kwartalnik historyczny* 92, no. 1 (1985): 55–83.

19 Ibid., 22, 24. Generally speaking, neither Sułkowska-Kurasiowa nor Kennedy Grimsted were the first critics of the term “Lithuanian Metrica.” Professor Sergei Shambinago considered the title that Ptaszycki entrenched a misunderstanding, during negotiations held in 1921 over the return of Lithuanian cultural treasures. The Metrica is a collection of documents regarding the Russian-Ukrainian idea of the Lithuanian state, many of which “affect” Russian lands. See: P. Galaunė, “Lietuvos kultūros turtų likimas,” *Mūsų žinynas: karo mokslo ir istorijos žurnalas* 4, no. 10 (1923): 90–91.

never really had a stable structure, nor were there any clear rules for its compilation, which is why the rewriting, rebinding, transfer, and reorganization of the body of books of the *Metrica* (in the late sixteenth century) constantly presents the problem of its precise definition, content and initial structure. The structure of the present-day Lithuanian *Metrica* that is kept in Moscow with several books that accidentally appeared in Warsaw, and other supplementary material, would constitute as the fourth significant reorganization. The books of the Lithuanian chancellery make up a part of this fourth, new complex of material.<sup>20</sup>

The American researcher has grounds for her criticism. The Lithuanian *Metrica* that was transported to Saint Petersburg at the end of the eighteenth century was kept there together with the Polish (Crown) *Metrica*, so when the term Lithuanian *Metrica* became established in 1887, the Lithuanian connotation was overemphasized, as by itself, it covered less than half of the set of historical sources described in the Russian Empire.<sup>21</sup> This title was too broad and did not suit the historical-archival use of the term *metrica*. Using Polish archival and historical Polish dictionaries from the second half of the twentieth century, she gave the narrowest, historically correct meaning of the word—they were only the books of inscriptions of the chancellery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.<sup>22</sup>

She agreed with Sułkowska-Kurasiowa that in the broader sense, the Lithuanian *Metrica* used to be applied, technically speaking, to all the books of the grand duchy's chancellery. On the other hand, it is wrong to take the historically formed extended meaning of the Lithuanian *Metrica* and apply it liberally to all the archives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,<sup>23</sup> especially as the documents of other institutions, original parchment documents, privileges, foreign treaties, received documents, and so forth, could have also been kept with the *Metrica*. The reason for this method of compilation is that from the very beginning, the *Metrica* books and unbound documents, and state privileges, were kept in the same location—the treasury at the rulers' palace in Vilnius. However, in terms of archivistics, these other documents should not be attributed to the chancellery books of inscriptions as such, nor the Lithuanian *Metrica*, as from the seventeenth century, these kinds of documents were no longer kept with the books

20 Kennedy Grimsted and I. Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *The "Lithuanian Metrica,"* 11.

21 Ibid., 5, 21.

22 Ibid., 6.

23 Ibid., 6–8.

of inscriptions and they awaited a different fate. Parchment documents were not described in the Lithuanian Metrica in the inventories made in Warsaw in the eighteenth century, which means the term was applied in a narrower sense than for archives.<sup>24</sup> The Lithuanian Metrica—as books of inscriptions—were not an archive as such, and could never have been one. It constituted only part of the archives of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and its structure is not clear.<sup>25</sup> These kinds of circumstances lead to the aim of this scientific research—to create an ideal inventory of the Lithuanian Metrica: using archival familiarization methods, to carefully put into order the chronologically different sets of material of other origins within the Lithuanian Metrica in Moscow and in Warsaw, and to ascertain their actual places of origin. An ideal inventory would help determine what constitutes the Lithuanian Metrica—the books of inscriptions, and what constitutes other material, and to then *regroup* (emphasized by the authors—A. D.) it based on its origins and order of composition. In further research, the Lithuanian Metrica should be looked at from a technical aspect—as the chancellery books of inscriptions, and the Lithuanian Metrica as a broad complex of various types of archival material, even though everything happened to be kept together for a long time.<sup>26</sup>

Kennedy Grimsted's achronological requirement to analyze sixteenth–eighteenth-century document-keeping using twentieth-century archiving methods is quite surprising. She was fully aware how and why both Metricas, the most important parts of the Polish and Lithuanian archives, both found their way to the Russian Empire and the circumstances under which they were later scattered apart (for more details, see chapter 9). Until the end of the eighteenth century, the Lithuanian Metrica had already functioned for 400 years, having formed from certain kinds of state documents and chancellery notices, one-off documents or copies kept in the so-called grand duke's chancellery books of inscriptions. As the latter were being compiled and used, they acquired some specific features, which distinguished them both from the Crown Metrica, and from other materials in the Russian archives. This was confirmed without question in the inventory of the Lithuanian and Crown metrics compiled by the commission headed by

24 Ibid., 8–10.

25 In the current col. 389 in Moscow, there are around 500 Lithuanian chancellery books out of the more than 700 items being kept in the collection that may be called the Lithuanian Metrica. See *ibid.*, 30.

26 *Ibid.*, 10, 71–72.

Jegor Kirschbaum, presented at the emperor's office in Saint Petersburg in 1798 after the Third Partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth—a fact Kennedy Grimsted was well aware of.<sup>27</sup> The objective to create an “ideal inventory” is quite misleading, as the *regrouping* of the “real” authorized oldest archive of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania would go some way towards justifying its barbaric dismantlement in Russia in the nineteenth–twentieth centuries. This would meet with Kennedy Grimsted's main provision that in the late eighteenth century, a body of archival documents of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania of unknown origins and composition had been transported from Warsaw (actually, from Vilnius. Read more in chapter 9) to Saint Petersburg.<sup>28</sup> When speaking about the archives of the Polish and Lithuanian state, the scientist is quite adamant about ignoring the existence of a separate archive of the ruler of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. She considers Poland as the only successor to the legacy of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The researcher indicates how the Crown Metrica had been returned to Poland in 1923 based on its place of origin—the Kraków Royal Archive.<sup>29</sup> Based on this argument, additional problems arise *ex silentio* in the recognition of which archive the Lithuanian Metrica actually belonged to, as it was kept in more than just one location: It was kept in Trakai, in the rulers' palace in Vilnius, with certain city dwellers, separate books were kept with chancellors and vice-chancellors, some books and state documents were found in the Radziwiłł archive in Nesvyzh (now in Warsaw or Minsk), and by the eighteenth century, it was in Warsaw.

Thus, all of Kennedy Grimsted's scientific archival research cleverness regarding research and storage of the Lithuanian Metrica up to the collapse of the Soviet Union was intended to “dilute” the statehood of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the legacy of its written heritage and origins of its early archives, and to justify their plunder, dismantlement and *regrouping*, and later on, the return of some of the archives to a “home” of doubtful origins—Poland. The American scientist did not endow Lithuania with any rights to its historic written heritage in her studies. During the collapse of the Soviet Union, she called the renewed efforts of Lithuania's government

27 Ibid., 17–18.

28 Ibid., 4.

29 Ibid., 23.

and scientists to justify those rights in the Lithuanian Law on Archives of 1990 and in negotiations with Russia as “imperialist claims.”<sup>30</sup>

Some scientists admired Kennedy Grimsted’s archival characteristics, and we can find some of these contradictory hypotheses in their work: books of chancellery document copies, the archive of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, a varied collection in Moscow (col. 389).<sup>31</sup> However, the American scientist’s suggested research on the Lithuanian Metrica to create an “ideal inventory” did not establish deep academic roots. Researchers with an excellent understanding of the books of the Lithuanian Metrica and their content harnessed, in their view, more appropriate historical analysis methods that allowed them to continue describing it as an archive. The Belarusian scientist Henadz’i Halenčanka, who defines the Lithuanian Metrica as the “collections of specific material (fascicles, books) made up of document copies and other important auxiliary material” from the grand duke’s chancellery, as the foundations of the grand duke’s, later, of the state’s most important archive.<sup>32</sup> The experienced researcher of the writings of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Aliaksandr Hrusha also thinks likewise: It is the grand duke’s archive,<sup>33</sup> which maintained the qualities (features) of a ruler’s personal, social state, and ministerial archives.<sup>34</sup> In this ruler’s archive, he discerns naturally formed document sets that could have been kept in

30 P. Kennedy Grimsted, “Beyond Perestroika: Soviet-area archives after the August coup,” *American Archivist* 55 (Winter 1992): 105–106; eadem, “Proiskhozhdenie dokumentov ili ikh otnoshenie k istorii Rossii (SSSR),” *Otechestvennye arkhivy* 1 (1993): 21–22; S. Jegelevičius, “Lietuvos imperinės pretenzijos’ arba kam tarnauja profesorės Patricijos Kennedy Grimsted rašiniai,” *Lietuvos aidas* 164 (August 26, 1993): 9.

31 A. Khoroshkevich (Moscow) is of the same opinion, that the Lithuanian Metrica is actually a collection. See: A. L. Khoroshkevich, “Litovskaia Metrika, sostav i puti formirovaniia,” in *Issledovaniia po istorii Litovskoi Metriki. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1989), 11, 24, 26; idem, “Poslednie publikatorskie nachinaniia V. T. Pashuto i ikh sud’ba,” *Vostochnaia Evropa v istoricheskoi retrospective. K 80-letiiu V. T. Pashuto* (Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul’tury, 1999), 295. On the other hand, other Russian researchers correctly noticed that, objectively speaking, the Metrica only took on the structure of a collection once it had been taken apart and scattered in the Russian Empire. See: M. I. Avtokratova and A. S. Svetenko, “K voprosu ob istorii formirovaniia i arkhivnogo osvoeniiia fonda LM,” in *Issledovaniia po istorii Litovskoi Metriki*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Institut istorii SSSR AN SSSR, 1989), 108–111 (summary: 110–111).

32 Galenchanka. *Metryka Vialikaga Kniaстvaga Litouskaga*, 302.

33 A. I. Hrusha (as A. I. Grusha), “Khranit’ vechno’ Arkhivy Velikogo Kniazhestva Litovskogo kontsa XIV—pervoi treti XVI v.,” in *Istoricheskii vestnik*, vol. 7 [154]: *Litva, Rus’ i Pol’sha XIII–XVI*, ed. I. V. Kurukin (Moscow: IKAR, 2014), 43.

34 Ibid., 47.

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