

Ad Fontes

<https://doi.org/10.15407/ul2024.07.111>
UDC 930.25:929.52Чорторийські

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THE CZORTORYSKI PRINCES CULTURAL HERITAGE: THE BEGINNINGS OF THE FAMILY HISTORY ARCHIVE (15–16 CENTURIES)*

The Czortoryski princely family representatives held high government positions first in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and then in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The cultural heritage of the family is extremely extensive: from written documents to architectural monuments on the territory of the modern states: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania and Belarus. The subject of the article is the history of the Czortoryski princes family archive formation during the 15–16th centuries. Having started since the 40s of the 16th century, the number of written documents increased significantly, so we limited the upper chronological limit with 1524, the death year of Semen Oleksandrovych Czortoryski, the representative of the Lithuanian branch. The origin of the family is connected with the name of Prince Kostiantyn, the son of Grand Duke of Lithuania Olgerd or his brother Koriat. His own documentary heritage is not

* The research has been done due to the financial support of the German Historical Institute Warsaw.

known to us. His descendants, namely Vasyl Kostiantynovych and his sons Ivan, Olexandr and Mykhailo are of great importance for the study of the subject matter in this research. Among the documentary materials studied, we note the first grants of the Grand Duke of Lithuania Kazimierz Jagiellonczyk to Prince Ivan Vasylovych, which are known from later confirmations. This prince left no descendants, and thus it is unlikely that his personal archive has survived. Two other Vasyl Kostiantynovich's sons Olexandr and Mykhailo founded two branches of the family: Lithuanian (Lohoisk/Lohozsk) and Volyn. According to the information from the sources we have found, we can assume that, firstly the family archive dates back to the 40s of the 15th century, when the first source information was recorded, and secondly each family branch kept its family documents separately. Accordingly, two collections were formed: 1) descendants of Oleksandr Vasylovych; 2) descendants of Mykhailo Vasylovych.

Keywords: Czortoryski princes, descendants, family archive, Grand Duchy of Lithuania, cultural heritage.

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КУЛЬТУРНА СПАДЩИНА КНЯЗІВ ЧОРТОРИЙСЬКИХ: ПОЧАТКИ ІСТОРІЇ РОДИННОГО АРХІВУ (XV–XVI ст.)

Представники князівського роду Чорторійських займали високі державні посади спочатку у Великому князівстві Литовському, а потім Речі Посполитій. Культурна спадщина роду надзвичайно велика: від писемних документів до пам'яток архітектури на теренах сучасних держав Польщі, України, Литви та Білорусі. Предметом дослідження у статті є історія формування сімейного архіву князів Чорторійських протягом XV–XVI ст. Починаючи із 40-х рр. XVI ст. кількість писемних документів суттєво збільшилась, тому верхню хронологічну межу ми обмежили 1524 р., смертю Семена Олександровича Чорторійського, представника литовської гілки. Походження роду пов'язане з ім'ям князя Костянтина, сином великого князя литовського Ольгерда, чи його брата Коріата. Його власна документальна спадщина нам не відома. Для вивчення окресленого предмету дослідження важливе значення мають його нащадки, а саме Василь Костянтинович та його сини Іван, Олександр та Михайло. Серед опрацьованих документальних матеріалів, відмітимо перші надання великого князя литовського Казимиром Ягеллончиком князю Івану Васильовичу, які відомі від пізніших підтверджень. Цей князь не залишив після себе потомства, а відтак малоймовірно, що зберігся його особистий архів. Інших два сини Василя Костянтиновича – Олександр та Михайло започаткували дві гілки роду: Литовську (Логой-

ську/Логозьську) та Волинську. Згідно інформації із віднайдених нами джерел можемо висловити припущення про те, що, по-перше, родинний архів бере свій початок із 40-х років XV ст., коли фіксуємо перші джерельні відомості і, по-друге, кожна родинна гілка окремо зберігала свої сімейні документи. Відповідно формувалося два зібрання: 1) нащадків Олександра Васильовича; 2) потомків Михайла Васильовича.

Ключові слова: князі Чорторийські, нащадки, родинний архів, Велике князівство Литовське, культурна спадщина.

In the mid-14th century an event occurred that influenced the fate of not only Ukraine and Lithuania, but the entire Baltic-Black Sea region. A young princely dynasty of the Gedyminovych emerged in Central and Eastern Europe, displacing the Rurik dynasty from the political arena. Representatives of the Lithuanian House became local rulers of the Ukrainian principalities. Thus the local dynasties of Lubartovych in Volyn, Korybutovych in Sivershchyna, Volodymyrovych in Kyiv and Koriatovych in Podillia were founded. Through marriages with the representatives of the local elite, the Gedyminovychs dynasty was replenished with new princely families: the Vyshnevetskis, the Sangushkis, the Chetvertynski, the Czortoryski, and many others. Receiving land grants from the rulers, these families gradually turned into large landowners, headed local administrations, were part of the main governmental structures in the state, and held high positions in the army.

One of the most powerful princely families in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (hereinafter – GDL) and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was the Czortoryski family. During the 15th and 16th centuries, its representatives held high positions first in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and then in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The cultural heritage of the family is extremely extensive: from written documents to architectural monuments on the territory of the modern states: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania and Belarus. The subject of the current research is the history of Czortoryski princes family archive formation during the 15th and 16th centuries. Having started since the 40s of the 16th century, the number of written documents increased significantly, so we limited the upper chronological limit to 1524, the death year of Semen Oleksandrovych Czortoryski, the representative of the Lithuanian branch of the genus. Now let us turn to the origins of the archive formation. On this way, the biggest problems of the research turned out to be three: 1) methodological, namely the lack of special works devoted to the study of family archives formation in 15th–16th centuries; 2) a small number of authentic acts, especially for the middle of the 15th century; 3) dispersion of original documents in archival repositories of different countries.

The first one is partially solved in the historiographical field, since there are enough indirect works that deal with the study of princely and noble families of this period. In this context, it is worth noting the works of V. Atamanenko (Atamanenko, 2017), A. Blanutsa (Blanutsa, 2007), T. Wasilewski (Wasilewski, 1994;

Wasilewski, 2005), L. Voitovych (Voitovych, 2006), I. Voronchuk (Voronchuk, 2012), G. Kirkienė (Kirkienė, 2008), T. Kempa (Kempa, 2002), I. Krywoszeja (Krywoszeja, 2003), A. Michalski (Michalski, 2013), V. Mykhailovskyi (Mykhailovskyi, 2012), R. Nestorow (Nestorow, 2018), R. Petrauskas (Petrauskas, 2003), V. Ulianovskyi (Ulianovskyi, 2009; Ulianovskyi, 2012), B. Czartoryska (Czartoryska, 2023), N. Yakovenko (Yakovenko, 2008), and others. We would also like to mention several generalised collective popular science works dedicated to the families of Vyshnevetski (Vyshnevetski, 2016), Olelkovychi-Slutski (Olelkovychi-Slutski, 2017), Ostrozki (Ostrozki, 2014) and Radzyvily (Radzyvily, 2012).

At the same time, virtually no one studies family archives. We have only certain achievements regarding individual families. In particular, thanks to Polish researchers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a significant array of documents from the family archive of the Sangushkis' princes was published in seven volumes. Separate documents collections of the Masalskis (A. Blanutsa, D. Vashchuk (Masalski, 2007); V. Polishchuk (Polishchuk, 2007) and the Czortoryskis (Chortoryyski, 2016) families have been published. Also important developments in the study of the family archive of the Ostrozkis princes are the works of V. Sobchuk (Sobchuk, 2012; Sobchuk, 2014). The monograph by K. Syta (Syta, 2010) is methodologically important.

The second problem decision is helped by documents of the later period, which thanks to the coordinated system of the princely and royal chancellery and the peculiarities of the record keeping and deed form of the time, often contained both information about the previous documents and the documents themselves. This makes it possible to determine the total volume of the available written heritage.

The solution of the third problem is extremely more complicated than the first two combined. The reason for this is that the Czortoryskis family representatives held local government and state positions in both the GDL (in different lands, as discussed below) and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Over time the documents were dispersed first between different branches of the family, and then between archival institutions of different states. Accordingly nowadays unfortunately we do not have a single comprehensive concentration of original the Czortoryskis' documents, such as the Sangushkis archive (it is kept in the Archive of the Royal Castle on Wawel in Krakow (Archiwum Zamku Królewskiego na Wawelu)). Some of the most concentrated places are the Library of Czartoryski Princes (Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich) in Krakow, the Manuscripts Department of the Russian national library (St. Petersburg), and the Archive of the General Acts of the Ancients in Warsaw (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie). So far, one collection in St. Petersburg has been processed (together with A. Blanutsa) and part of the family archive has been published, which was a kind of first step towards recreating the overall picture.

In order to understand the problem of the Czortoryski archive formation, it is worth noting the origins of the genus. The origin of the genus is connected with the name of Prince Kostiantyn and has two versions: 1) son of the Grand Duke of Lithuania Olgerd (Halecki, 1939: 81–88; Wasilewski, 1994: 49; Yakovenko, 2008: 320); 2) son of Koriat Keistutovych (Tęgowski, 1996: 53–59). Without delving into the discussion of whose son was the founder of the genus (Olgerd or Koriat), for the purpose of this study his descendants, namely Vasyl Konstiantynovych and his sons Ivan, Olexander and Mykhailo are of more importance.

Let us trace the documentary heritage of Ivan Vasylovych Czortoryski (PSB, 1938: 275–276). From later documents we have information about his receipt of Trubetsk estate (or part of it) in Sivershchyna from the Grand Duke of Lithuania (hereinafter – GDL) Kazimierz Jagiellonczyk. This refers to the granting of a privilege by the GDL Olexander Jagiellonczyk on February 4, 1495 to Prince Ivan Yuriyovych Trubetski for a half of Trubetsk, "as Prince Ivan Czortoryski held" (LM 5, 2012: 62), and the court verdict on February 15, 1499, clearly stated that it was from Kazimierz Jagiellonczyk: "held from our father, the king of his grace (Kazimierz Jagiellonczyk. - D. V.), Prince Ivan of Czortoryski" (LM 6, 2007: 189). Estimated date of the grant: not earlier than 1452, while Ivan was at Svydryhailo's court in Lutsk.

Currently we have not found any more information about the granting of any real estate to Prince Ivan. The fate of this document, as well as other possible documentary heritage*, is unknown. We believe that two options are possible. The first is that the document was transferred to the Grand Duke's chancellery during the new grant and could had been destroyed as invalid, since Prince Yuri Trubetski had received a new privilege. The second is that it was in the Trubetskis family for some time, since the privilege of 1495 refers to some letters from GDL Kazimierz Jagiellonczyk to Prince Yuri as for the estate, which were presented by his son Ivan to confirm the rights to the property. However, four years later, during the court case Prince Ivan Yuriyovych only presented a confirmation letter from GDL Olexander Jagiellonczyk dated 1495. Prince Ivan Czortoryski left no descendants, and thus it is unlikely that his personal archive had been survived.

Two other Vasyl Kostiantynovich's sons Olexander and Mykhailo founded two branches of the family: Lithuanian (Lohoisk/Lohozsk) and Volyn (according to J. Wolf) (Wolf, 1895: 22). According to the sources we have found, we can assume that firstly, the family archive dates back to the 40s of the 15th century, when the first source information was recorded, and, secondly, each family branch kept its family documents separately. Accordingly two collections were being formed: 1) Olexander Vasyliovych's descendants; 2) Mykhailo Vasyliovych's descendants.

* There is an idea that around 1441 the prince received some kind of "protection letter" from Kazimir Jagiellonchik for his life protection after the murder of Sigismund Keistutovych (PSB, 1938: 275–276). We have not discovered it.

The basis for this assumption is information from a court case (June 08, 1498) between cousins Semen Oleksandrovych and Fedir Mykhailovych Czortoryski concerning the half division of the latter's fiefdom. In particular, Semen personally claimed that his father, Prince Olexander, had already made such an attempt before King Kazimierz Jagiellonczyk ("knyaz Semen riek, shtozh otiets iego kniazia Fedorovu ottsu o tot sia diel vpominal za ottsa nashogo, korolia iego milosti"). Fedir replied that he knew nothing about it. Without providing strong evidence, the case was decided in favor of Prince Fedir: "nehai on tuiu svoiu otchinu vsiu spolna dierzhit i zaviedaiet po davnomu, a kniaz Semen Oleksandrovich o tot diel ne maiet iemu vzhe vpominati sia, ani dieti iego na niem togo iskati na vieki" (LM 6, 2007: 181).

In the following years we found no information about the continuation of this case. At first glance, there is nothing special about this report. However, it is actually extremely valuable. The division of fiefdoms could have taken place in the availability of princely or royal grants that confirmed the right of possession/property. Therefore, both Semen and Fedir must have had such documents. And they were kept, respectively, by each of them separately. Now let us consider this in more detail and first of all pay attention to Prince Olexander Vasyliovych Czortoryski and his son Semen.

Prince Olexander Vasyliovych received a privilege from the Grand Duke Kazimierz Jagiellonchyk to the estates of Lohozsk (Lohoisk), Ostashyn, Sporiv, and Kamianets. So far, we have not been able to find its original. Instead the existence of such a grant is confirmed by three later reports. The first of them is a confirmation of the GDL Olexander Jagiellonchyk's letter to Prince Semen Oleksandrovych for the mentioned estates, which his father had already received from Kazimierz ("shtozh otiets iego kniaz Oleksandro vysluzhil na ottsiu nashomu, koroli iego milosti, imenia na imia Logozhesk, a Ostashin, a Sporov, a Kamienets") (LM 6, 2007: 150).

The second time this was mentioned in the confirmation letter of Sygizmund I the Old to Mr. Juhn Wankiewicz for a settlement and hayfields near Lohoisk (May 9, 1538). It records a court case, which was heard according to the GDL Olexander Jagiellonczyk order by Stanisław Janowicz, the headman of Zhmud (approximately 1496–1503), between Semen Czortoryski and Illia and Hrynk Soltanovych (ancestor of Juhn Wankiewicz) regarding a village in Lohoisk district. During the proceedings, Semen noted that his father had already received the estate and presented Olexander Jagiellonczyk's confirmation of the Lohoisk estate getting ("i kniaz Semen polozhyl peredo mnoiu kopeiu lista gospodarskogo, shto iemu na Logozhsk dan") (LM 20, 2009: 170–171).

The document was mentioned for the third time during the trial between the metropolitan of Kyiv and All Rus, both archimandrite Iosyp and the canons as well as the entire chapter of St. Stanisław's Church in Vilna (February 1, 1516). In particular, the metropolitan claimed that the tax payers the Ovievyichs and the

Okhromievychis lived in Lohoisk. First they were granted by GDL Vitovt to Prince Olexander (Olelko) Volodymyrovych, then to his brother Prince Andrii, and after his death to Prince Olexander Vasyliovych Czortoryski and his son Semen (RSAEA, f. 389, des. 1, s.u. 222, l. 254). The granting to Olexander Czortoryski could have occurred between 1461, when the prince returned from Moscowii to the GDL, and 1477, the probable date of his death (PSB, 1938: 271; Wolf, 1895: 20). It is worth noting that all the evidence does not contain information about the existence of the Kazimierz privilege itself. However, it is clear that without it, GDL Olexander Jagiellonczyk would not have confirmed Semen's rights to these estates. The following documents which are directly related to Semen Olexandrovych, shed some light on this issue.

At least since March 1496 till September 1503, several trials had been held in the case between Prince Semen and Bohush Petkowych concerning the Kolodiazky estate in Lohozsk. Each time the former tried to convince the Grand Ducal Court that the estate, as well as Lohozsk itself, was his property, since his father Oleksandr Vasyliovych Czortoryski had received it from King Kazimierz Jagiellonczyk. However, he could not present these documents because they were kept by Mr. Bohush. At the appointed time ("na rok staty po Velitsedni v dvu nediliah"), this Bohush and his wife swore that they knew nothing about it, and thus won the case (LM 5, 2012: 97).

This information has several interesting points for our study. The first one is that the privilege of the GDL Kazimierz Jagiellonczyk really existed, but Prince Semen did not have it in 1496 when he was asked for it by the GDL Olexander Jagiellonczyk for confirmation. The second one is we have the first notice of a possible place for the family documents storage, which were of extraordinary value because they guaranteed the right to property. Unfortunately, from the available sources we cannot explain why Semen Czortoryski claimed that the Kazimierz privilege had been kept at Bohush's. Perhaps due to the fact that on August 29, 1493, Bohush received a confirmation privilege from the GDL Olexander Jagiellonczyk to the estate of Kolodiazky in the Lohózhsk district, which his father had previously served from Prince Andrii Volodymyrovych (brother of Olexander (Olelko)), "v tyie chasy, iak kniaz Andrei ot ottsa nashogo korolia ego milosti (Kazymyra Yagellonchyka. – D. V.) Logozhsk dierzhal" (LM 3, 1998: 78). That is Bohush could have had the Kazimierz's privilege. However, in our opinion, since the latter won the case (we do not find any more information about its further consideration in the sources), we can assume that Semen himself lost this privilege. Accordingly it was kept (as well as other family documents), in our opinion, at the prince's residence. This is confirmed by the further fate of his possessions, and thus of the successor documents.

Married to Princess Ulyana, Semen had two daughters and probably several sons, who could have been taken as yasyr in 1505 during the Tatar attack on Lohozsk (Wolf, 1895: 21). According to M. Strykovski, "Mahmed Geray, who was

standing with kosh round Minsk castle, brutally destroyed all the surrounding parishes, devastated Minsk city, the castle only defended itself; he burned monasteries and churches in the Lithuanian region, in Polotsk, in Vitebsk, and in Odrutsk, did a lot of damage and cruelly shed the blood of the Christian people, and returned without loss" (Strykowski, 2011: 843). Obviously the fire could have destroyed the documents, or some part of them. Since Semen had received a confirmatory privilege from Sygizmund I the Old to own Lohozsk on December 20, 1508. ("Powiediel piered nami namiestnik Kamieniecki kniaz Semen Alexandrowicz, iz z Bozago dopuszczenia, pohaństwo Tatarowie diety jemu pobrali i zamok iego Łohoiesk sozhli, i przy dietyach listy i przywilehie, ktorye on miewał na otczyznye imienia swoje, pobrali") (Tyszkiewicz, 1858: 48).

During his lifetime, Prince Semen borrowed money and then began selling his property to pay off his debts. When selling, as a rule, the original privilege (in modern language, a document of ownership) was transferred to the merchant. The latter, according to the practice of the time, asked the sovereign to provide his confirmation privilege for the purchased or donated property*. After confirmation the preliminary documents could be taken to the Grand Duke's chancellery. Accordingly Semen could not help but keep his documents, otherwise he would have had problems with any transactions of them.

During his lifetime, the prince was unable to pay off all his debts, so this problem fell to his daughters and sons-in-law: Fedir Hnevoshkevych and Vasyl Tyshkevych. We have information that after the prince's death (after August 1524), only remained the estates of Ostashyn, Lohoisk, Lososyno, and Sporiv. In 1528 his sons-in-law informed the king that nobleman Bohdan Lvovych took possession of Ostashyn and sold it to Prince Vasyl Ivanovych; Sporiv was recorded in the inheritance (*vino*) of his wife Uliana; Lososyno was given to her for holding as a widow until her death; they only received Lohozsk, half of which was sold for eternity by Semen's daughter Sofia to her sister Oleksandra's husband Vasyl Tyshkevych to pay off her father's debts (LM 14, 2008: 396–397). In other words, the Tyshkevychs family became the actual successor to the remnants of Semen Czortoryski's possessions, in particular Lohozsk. It is quite likely that after all these real estate transactions the family archive of the Prince Olexander Czortoryski descendants sank into oblivion. However, there is still a possibility that some part of Semen Czortoryski's archive could have been kept by the Tyshkevychs family.

This assumption has some basis, as the Lithuanian Metrica contains a number of documents related to Prince Semen's activities that require special research. These are, in particular, the letters of allowance for servants and deeds of sale.

* Rather confirmatory is the privilege of GDL Sigismund I the Old to the subject Bohdan Zhomoitynovych dated August 30, 1532 to Rymkowski palace in Lososyno estate, in which the grant for Prince Semen Czortoryski dated August 24, 1524 is entered (LM 17, 2015: 254–255).

They contain data on: determining the categories of persons who acquired the right to own real estate; the value of property; the amount of duties, payment of taxes, etc. A special mention should be made of Prince Semen Czortoryski's will to his wife Uliana, which contains 600 *kips* of money on Sporiv estate, as it characterizes both property relations within the family and legal aspects of the issue (LM 12, 2001: 294–295). Equally important documents of the family archive are various acts of judicial proceedings. After all, judicial activity was one of the governmental duties that Prince Semen performed, for example, as the governor of Kamianets, and resolving cases required knowledge of current legislation. Sources record many cases when Prince Semen Olexandrovych himself was involved in various lawsuits related to financial or property matters. Therefore, lawsuits, case descriptions, and verdicts constitute a separate part of the collection. Their information is important for finding out the history of the family's land holdings. We have also recorded the presence of documents according to which the prince received a salary for his service. For example, on October 23, 1509, Prince Semen Czortoryski received 100 *kips* of money from the treasury in Lviv for his military service in Volokh (LM 8, 1995: 415). Accordingly, after receiving the money, the prince had to have confirmation receipts.

In conclusion, we note that the study of the Czortoryskis' history archive has a strong prospect of continuing through Volyn branch, starting with Mykhailo Vasyliovych. After all it was his descendants who would achieve considerable power in both the GDL and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Therefore the archival heritage is much better preserved.

ARCHIVES

RSAEA – Russian State Archive of Early Acts (Moscow) (Російський державний архів давніх актів (м. Москва)).

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