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ZBIGNIEW ANUSIK

UNIwersytet Łódzki / UNIVERSITY OF ŁÓDŹ



<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5483-4970>

MAŁGORZATA KARKOCHA

UNIwersytet Łódzki / UNIVERSITY OF ŁÓDŹ



<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7747-949X>

Old Polish Wills as a Source for Biographical Research. A Case Study

STRESZCZENIE

Staropolskie testamenty jako źródło do badań biograficznych Studium przypadku

Przedmiotem zainteresowania autorów są staropolskie testamenty, a więc takie, które pochodzą z XVI–XVIII w. Nie podlega dyskusji fakt, że testamenty należą do specyficznej grupy źródeł historycznych. Sporządzane zazwyczaj u schyłku życia, w obliczu spodziewanej śmierci, są bez wątpienia dokumentami o charakterze *par excellence* osobistym. Aby sprawdzić, czy testamenty pochodzące z tego okresu zawierają informacje, które można by uznać za przydatne do badań biograficznych, autorzy dokonali szczegółowej analizy dwóch takich dokumentów pochodzących z XVII stulecia. Są to testamenty kasztelanowej lubelskiej Krystyny z Uhrowieckich Sienieńskiej (ok. 1595 – ok. 1640) oraz podkomorzego podolskiego Hieronima Lanckorońskiego (ok. 1627–1696). Oboje należeli do elity ówczesnego społeczeństwa. O obojgu wiadomo też stosunkowo dużo, co jest o tyle istotne, że dzieje ich życia można było skonfrontować z zawartością ich ostatniej woli. W obu testamentach poszukiwano przede wszystkim osobistych wynurzeń ich autorów oraz treści, które mogłyby posłużyć do uzupełnienia ich biografii. Okazało się, że oba analizowane dokumenty zawierają wiele informacji tego rodzaju, co potwierdza założenie, że staropolskie testamenty są znakomitą, aczkolwiek jedynie uzupełniającą, źródłem do badań biograficznych.



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Słowa kluczowe: staropolskie testamenty, badania biograficzne, Rzeczpospolita w XVII w., Krystyna z Uhrowieckich Sienieńska, Hieronim Lanckoroński

ABSTRACT

The authors are interested in Old Polish wills, i.e. those dating from the 16th to 18th centuries. It is beyond dispute that wills belong to a specific group of historical sources. They are usually prepared at the end of life, in the face of expected death, and are undoubtedly documents of par excellence personal nature. To check whether wills from this period contain information that could be considered useful for biographical research, the authors made a detailed analysis of two such documents from the 17th century. These are the wills of the wife of Lublin castellan Krystyna Sienieńska, née Uhrowiecka (ca. 1595 – ca. 1640) and Hieronim Lanckoroński, Chamberlain of Podolia (ca. 1627–1696). They both belonged to the elite of society at that time. Relatively much is known about both of them, which is important because the history of their lives could be compared with the content of their last will. In both wills, the search was primarily made for the personal reflections of their authors and for content that could be used to supplement their biographies. It turned out that both analysed documents contain a lot of information of this type, which confirms the assumption that Old Polish wills are an excellent, if only complementary, source for biographical research.

Keywords: Old Polish wills, biographical research, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 17th century, Krystyna Sienieńska née Uhrowiecka, Hieronim Lanckoroński

It is self-evident and indisputable that wills should be included in a separate, specific group of historical sources. Usually drawn up at the end of life, in the face of expected death, they are undoubtedly documents of a personal nature par excellence. What can be found in them, first of all, is information that reveals a lot about the testators themselves. However, authors of wills also contained in them a lot of information about their closer and more distant family as well as friends, household members and servants. It is possible, of course, to apply these very general reflections also to Old Polish wills, i.e. those created in the period from the beginning of the reign of John I Albert to the death of Augustus III of Poland. We decided to conduct a detailed analysis of two such documents dating from the 17th century with a view to verifying the above statements and confirming the veracity of the claim that wills from this period contain information that could be considered useful for biographical research. The last will and testament of Krystyna Sienieńska née Uhrowiecka, wife of the castellan of Lublin, and that of Hieronim Lanckoroński, the chamberlain

of Podolia, were subjected to a detailed analysis. They were both representatives of families situated between wealthy nobility and magnates. Hence they belonged to the elite of the society of the time. There is also a relatively large amount of information about both of them, which is important because the history of their lives can be confronted with the contents of their last wills. In addition, it is worth adding that what was sought in the two wills was primarily the personal outlooks of their authors and content that could be used to study their biographies. The article sheds light on the lives of the main characters and discusses their wills.

Krystyna Uhrowiecka, Suchekomnaty coat of arms was the daughter of the starost of Chełm, Mikołaj, and Katarzyna née Potocka, Pilawa coat of arms. She had two older siblings. Her brother Marcin died childless at the age of about 30 at the end of 1621 or at the beginning of 1622. Her sister Zofia became a nun at the Brigidine Monastery in Lublin. She died in 1655. Krystyna was born in the mid-1690s. In 1614, she was married (bringing 20,000 zloty of dowry to her husband) to Kasper Dembiński, Rawicz coat of arms, the chamberlain of Mielnik, a widower of Maryna née Kopeć, Kroje coat of arms, a man several decades older than her. Three older daughters of Dembiński, Agnieszka, Zofia and Dorota, were born of this marriage. Krystyna Sienieńska née Uhrowiecka gave birth to Franciszka Katarzyna, the fourth daughter to the chamberlain of Mielnik. Kasper Dembiński died in early 1620. The young widow did not mourn her husband for long as already at the end of the same year she married Zbigniew Sienieński, Dębno coat of arms, an ensign of Lublin. Krystyna Uhrowiecka's second husband was also a widower. His first wife was Anna Leniek of Rokitnica, Rawicz coat of arms, with whom he had five children: sons Paweł and Jan as well as daughters Aleksandra, Katarzyna and Krystyna. Zbigniew Sienieński was closely associated with the second ordinate Tomasz Zamoyski. With his patronage and support, he was appointed to the senatorial office of castellan of Lublin on 1 May 1630¹.

¹ Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie (State Archives in Lublin) [hereinafter: APL], Chełmskie grodzkie, Zapisy [hereinafter: ChGZ], no. 17, pp. 1079–1081; A. Boniecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. IV, Warszawa 1901, p. 213; H. Gmirek, *Sienieński Zbigniew*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny* [hereinafter: PSB], vol. XXXVII, Warszawa–Kraków 1996–1997, p. 194; M. Wolski, *Potoccy herbu Pilawa do początku XVII wieku. Studium genealogiczno-własnościowe*, Kraków

Zbigniew and Krystyna Sienieński were concerned about material goods. They also steadily increased their property. In 1630, they owned one town, 12 whole villages and 1 part of a village in the Urzędów district of the Lublin voivodship. In addition, Zbigniew had a life bequest on 2 villages in the Rawa voivodship, and Krystyna – on four whole villages and 1 part of a village in the Kraków voivodship. This was obviously not a magnate's fortune, nevertheless with an estate that included one town, 18 whole villages and 2 village parts (a total of over 107 peasant lans), the Sienieńskis certainly belonged to wealthy nobility. The castellan of Lublin died, however, before 11 June 1633 and was buried in the Bernardine Church in Lublin. He orphaned four sons and two daughters from his marriage to Krystyna Uhrowiecka: Mikołaj, Stanisław, Zbigniew and Tomasz as well as Anna and Eufrozyna. At the time of their father's death, all of his children from his first marriage were adults. The oldest son of Zbigniew Sienieński and Krystyna Uhrowiecka, Mikołaj, in turn, was then about 12 years old. Thus, until her death in 1639 or 1640, all of Krystyna's children remained under her care. Their mother also acted on their behalf in all official matters. In addition, she managed both her own property and that acquired from her second husband².

Krystyna Sienieńska née Uhrowiecka was a resourceful and enterprising person. She divided the property of the castellan of Lublin as early as in July 1633. She gave his sons from his first marriage (Paweł and Jan) the large village of Chroślina (25 peasant lans) with the Prędków estate, while she herself, on behalf of her own sons, took possession of the town of Prawno along with 4 whole villages and 1 village part. In late 1636 or early 1637, she

2013, pp. 300–301; Z. Anusik, *Krąg rodzinny Katarzyny z Sienna Myszkowskiej, podczaszyny lubelskiej (zm. 1619). Studium genealogiczno-obyczajowe*, "Przegląd Nauk Historycznych" 2020, vol. XIX, no. 2, pp. 248–250; idem, *Sienieńscy herbu Dębno (lubelska gałąź rodu) w XVI i XVII wieku*, "Przegląd Nauk Historycznych" 2021, vol. XX, no. 1, pp. 102–103, 130–132; idem, *Kasztelanowa lubelska Krystyna z Uhruska Sienieńska i jej testament z 2 czerwca 1639 r. Nieznana karta z dziejów i genealogii rodziny Uhrowieckich herbu Suchekomnaty w XVI i XVII wieku*, "Przegląd Nauk Historycznych" 2021, vol. XX, no. 2, pp. 184–188, 190–191.

² Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie (National Archives in Kraków) [hereinafter: ANK], *Castrensia Cracoviensia Inscriptiones* [hereinafter: CCI], no. 231, pp. 1270–1274; no. 237, pp. 1627–1628; no. 238, p. 241; no. 244, pp. 874–875; APL, *Lubelskie grodzkie, Relacje* [hereinafter: LGR], no. 58, pp. 563–563v, 568v–569, 571–571v, 596–596v; H. Gmiterek, *op. cit.*, pp. 194–195; Z. Anusik, *Sienieńscy...*, pp. 135–136; idem, *Kasztelanowa lubelska...*, pp. 193–196.

married her daughter from her first marriage, Franciszka Katarzyna Dembińska to a wealthy nobleman from the Kiev voivodship, Ludwik Olizar Wołczkiewicz, Chorągwie Kmitów coat of arms. She gave her a very high dowry of 50,000 zloty. She also systematically settled all debts left over from her second husband. On 2 June 1639, bedridden with sickness, Krystyna Sienieńska née Uhrowiecka drafted her last will in the village of Kaliszany. Unfortunately, the date of her death is not known. Indeed, it was not until 6 June 1645 that her will was submitted to the records in the Lublin castle by Krzysztof Oszczepalski, a servant of Mikołaj Sienieński, her eldest son. Nonetheless, it can be assumed that Krystyna Sienieńska née Uhrowiecka died shortly after writing her will at the age of not more than 45, which was still in 1639 or in early 1640³.

In her will, Krystyna Sienieńska née Uhrowiecka included a number of statements that can be considered confessions of a personal nature, which makes them useful for biographical research. In the first place, she declared herself to be a devout Christian and a faithful daughter of the Roman Catholic Church. She also pledged all of her children to fulfil all the provisions of her last will. She ordered her burial in the chapel of St. Anthony of Padua at the Bernardine Church in Lublin funded by the Uhrowiecki family, where both her husbands and her brother Marcin had been buried. She forbade arranging a lavish funeral, and instead ordered her heirs to spare no expense for the clergy taking part in the ceremony and the poor accompanying her on her last journey “for these are they whose is the Kingdom of Heaven, which by holy almsgiving from them we acquire”. She warmly remembered her son-in-law, Ludwik Olizar, whom she called her “beloved son”, and to whom she entrusted the custody of her children from her second marriage. She instructed her sons to take special care of the chapel funded by the Uhrowiecki family at the Bernardine Church in Lublin as well as her favorite parish church in the village of Rybitwy, its priests and the rosary confraternity which she funded. She also ordered them to remain steadfast to the Catholic faith, faithfully serve the king and the homeland, as well as acquire an education appropriate to their condition because “this is a treasure that neither fire

³ ANK, CCI, no. 244, pp. 738–742, 865–882; APL, LGR, no. 62, pp. 515–515v, 860v–861v; A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 213; Z. Anusik, *Sienieńscy...*, pp. 137–140; *idem*, *Kasztelanowa lubelska...*, pp. 196–198.

will burn, nor water will seize, nor the enemy will plunder, nor a thief will steal”⁴.

In the subsequent part of her will, Krystyna Sienieńska née Uhrowiecka insisted that her sons be educated at the Academy of Zamość or the Academy of Kraków, invoking the will of her late husband, whom she consistently referred to as “her benefactor”. And were their guardians to decide to send them to study abroad, she warned her descendants “not to waste costs or time for nothing”. She also demanded that her sons respect priests “for these are the ones who will carry us to heaven on their hands”. They were also supposed to surround the Bernardine Order with special care as it was the favourite congregation of both the Uhrowieckis and Sienienskis. Further instructions to her sons included repaying all debts of both her second husband and her own. The testatoress also mentioned her daughters Franciszka Dembińska, the wife of Ludwik Olizar, and Anna Sienieńska, a nun in the Bernardine Order in Lublin, to whom she bequeathed for life a repurchase rent of 1,500 zloty on the village of Nieszowa. The youngest daughter, Eufrozyna, was given a choice of her life path by the testatoress. Were she to decide to join the monastery, she was to receive a dowry of 4,000 zloty and a lifetime commission from the amount of 2,000 zloty. On the other hand, if she wished to marry, she was to be equipped in the same manner as her two older married stepsisters, Aleksandra Sienieńska and Katarzyna Sienieńska. She bequeathed two valuable rings to her sons Mikołaj and Stanisław (the one she destined for the clerical state). She ordered the remaining movables to be divided equally among all the sons. The will in question also included instructions to pay all dues to servants and to take care of her subjects “as little worms working upon us”, who should have at least one day a week free from serfdom. In the last part of her will, the wife of the castellan of Lublin mentioned the amount of 3,000 zloty borrowed from the nuns of the Bernardine convent in Drzewica. She ordered that this amount (located in the village of Kaliszany) be given to the nuns as soon as possible or that a commission be paid on it “without any hindrance or delay”⁵.

⁴ The will of Krystyna Sienieńska née Uhrowiecka of 2 June 1639, APL, LGR, no. 73, pp. 522–523. This will was published in the aforesaid article by Z. Anusik, *Kasztelanowa lubelska...*, pp. 199–205 (a discussed fragment of this will on pp. 199–202).

⁵ The will of Krystyna Sienieńska née Uhrowiecka..., APL, LGR, no. 73, pp. 524–525; Z. Anusik, *Kasztelanowa lubelska...*, pp. 203–205.

The author of the second will under scrutiny, Hieronim Lanckoroński of Brzezcie, Zadora coat of arms, was the son of Stanisław, Ruthenian voivode and Crown Field Hetman (d. 1657) and Aleksandra née Sienieńska, Dębno coat of arms, daughter of the castellan of Lublin. His mother, daughter of Zbigniew Sienieński and Anna Leniek of Rokitnica, was a stepdaughter of Krystyna Sienieńska née Uhrowiecka. Hieronim Lanckoroński had many siblings: brothers Zbigniew, Marcin, Mikołaj, Przecław, Jan and Franciszek as well as sisters Katarzyna and Joanna. Three of his brothers, Zbigniew, Marcin and Mikołaj together with his sister Katarzyna died, however, before 1650. In turn, Przecław (d. 1697), Jan (d. 1679), Franciszek (d. before 1696) and Joanna, who was married to Andrzej Świętopełk Bolestraszycki, lived to a ripe age. Born around 1627, Hieronim Lanckoroński served in the military, commanding various units of the Crown's cavalry from his early youth. From 1649, he fought against the Cossacks and the Tatars. In the autumn of 1653, he was handed over as a hostage into the hands of the Tatars. He did not return to the country until the end of 1655. From 1656 to 1659, he fought against the Swedes. In 1657, he inherited the starosty of Dymir in the Kiev voivodship from his father. He was appointed to the office of chamberlain of Podolia in 1658. He became starost of Skała in the same year. In 1659, he lost Dymir (bestowed to Cossack Stefan Sulima) but he received the sum of 10,000 zloty on the starosty of Skała as compensation. In 1660, Lanckoroński fought again in Ukraine, participating in the victorious battles of Cudnów and Słobodyszcze. He became a deputy to the Crown Tribunal from the Podolia voivodship in 1663⁶.

⁶ Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie (Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw) [hereinafter: AGAD], Metryka Koronna [hereinafter: MK], Sigillata 1, p. 107; APL, LGR, no. 167, p. 90v (here is the information about the imprisonment of Hieronim Lanckoroński in the Crimea); K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski*, ed. J.N. Bobrowicz, vol. VI, Lipsk 1841, p. 10; *Volumina legum*, ed. J. Ohryzko, vol. IV, Petersburg 1859, pp. 287, 303; A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. XIII, Warszawa 1909, p. 337; W. Dworzaczek, *Genealogia*, vol. II (*Tablice*), tabl. 101; J. Wimmer, *Lanckoroński Hieronim*, [in:] *PSB*, vol. XVI, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1971, p. 441; K. Chłapowski, *Realizacja reform egzekucji dóbr 1563–1665. Sprawa zastawów królewskich malopolskich*, Warszawa 1984, pp. 117, 123–124; S. Cynarski, *Dzieje rodu Lanckorońskich z Brzezcia od XIV do XVIII wieku. Sprawy kariery urzędniczej i awansu majątkowego*, Warszawa-Kraków 1996, pp. 149, 151; Z. Chmiel, *Udział Lanckorońskich w wojnach prowadzonych przez Rzeczpospolitą w okresie hetmaństwa Jana Sobieskiego*, [in:] *Marszałek i hetman koronny Jan Sobieski*, ed. D. Milewski, Warszawa 2014, p. 279; Z. Anusik,

In the era of Lubomirski's rebellion and the civil war in Poland (1665–1666), the chamberlain of Podolia retreated into the privacy of his home. He returned to service at the end of 1666. In 1668, Hieronim Lanckoroński married Joanna Cetner, Przerowa coat of arms, daughter of the Halicz castellan Aleksander (her father's name was determined thanks to the mention in the last will of Hieronim). Lanckoroński was staying in Kamieniec Podolski when the war with Turkey broke out in 1672. During the siege of the Kamieniec fortress by the Turks, the chamberlain of Podolia headed a six-member war council. After signing the Treaty of Buczacz (18 October 1672), Lanckoroński stayed in Podolia (it is not known whether it was on a fully voluntary basis), where he helped the Turks conduct a census of its inhabitants. As a reward, he obtained the permission from the vizier to use his Podolia estates. Yet it was not before long that he decided to leave the lands which had come under the Sultan's rule. He participated in the sessions of the Pacification Sejm (12 March – 13 April 1673). He took part in the victorious battle of Chocim against the Turks (11 November 1673), and then, as the majority of higher commanders had left the camp, he took command of a several-hundred-man grouping of cavalry and dragoons in Western Podolia. The chamberlain of Podolia also participated in the campaigns of 1674, 1675 and 1676. He joined the Vienna expedition in 1683 and the Żwaniec campaign in 1684. Thereafter, he significantly limited his military activity. Remaining in service until the end of his life, he commanded a riding detachment only occasionally, handing over the actual command of it to Lieutenant Stanisław Chomentowski⁷.

Sienieńscy..., p. 138; idem, *Lanckorońscy na Jagielnicy. Z dziejów i genealogii podolskiej linii rodziny Lanckorońskich herbu Zadora w XVI i XVII wieku*, "Przegląd Nauk Historycznych" 2023, vol. XXII, no. 2, pp. 36–37; idem, *Podkomorzy podolski Hieronim z Brzezia Lanckoroński i jego testament z dnia 7 maja 1696 r. Przyczynek do dziejów i genealogii jagielnickiej linii rodziny Lanckorońskich herbu Zadora w drugiej połowie XVII w.*, "Przegląd Nauk Historycznych" 2024, vol. XXIII, no. 1, pp. 199–208.

⁷ APL, LGR, no. 167, p. 90v (here is a note about Hieronim Lanckoroński's participation in the Żwaniec campaign in 1684); K. Pułaski, *Szlachta podolska w czasie zaboru tureckiego (1672–1699)*, [in:] idem, *Szkice i poszukiwania historyczne*, Ser. II, Petersburg 1898, pp. 226–228; A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. XIII, p. 337; J. Wimmer, *Wojsko polskie w II połowie XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1965, pp. 167, 170, 175; idem, *Lanckoroński...*, p. 441; J. Woliński, *Z dziejów wojen polsko-tureckich*, Warszawa 1983, pp. 26, 34, 69, 81, 95, 151; S. Cynarski,

Lanckoroński faced serious material difficulties for most of his life. He and his younger brother Franciszek acquired the Podolia estate (five towns and approximately 45 villages) from his parents' inheritance. In 1668, he took over the entire Podolia estate, and Franciszek stepped down in exchange for compensation in cash. The chamberlain of Podolia, however, failed to fulfil this obligation as the Lanckoroński estate in Podolia was at that time badly damaged and almost depopulated. In 1661, there were only 160 homes in the 50 settlements belonging to Hieronim and Franciszek (many of which were uninhabited). The situation was similar in the Skala region. Only 31 homes were recorded in this entire lease in 1665. Before 1666, Hieronim Lanckoroński obtained compensation in the amount of 20,000 zloty, which was secured on the ruined Skala estate. The financial situation of the chamberlain of Podolia was undoubtedly improved by his marriage concluded in 1668. Joanna née Cetner, the daughter of the castellan of Halicz, Aleksander Cetner (d. 1675), and the daughter of castellan of Lviv, Anna née Zamoyska, Jelita coat of arms, brought him 50,000 zloty in cash as a dowry, not to mention valuables and the trousseau. In 1676 (after her father's death), Joanna Lanckorońska née Cetner took possession of the Korczyn-Piratyn estate (1 whole village and 6 village parts) in the Bełz voivodship. The chamberlain of Podolia received a bequest for life on these estates. It is also worth adding that Hieronim's very distant relative, Waclaw Bąk Lanckoroński, the castellan of Halicz, bequeathed to him his Witków estate in his will (the town of Witków and 4 villages) in the Bełz voivodship on his deathbed in 1676. However, since Waclaw's widow, Anna née Wielhorska (d. 1699), had a life tenure on the property and outlived the chamberlain of Podolia, he never entered into their real possession⁸.

op. cit., pp. 152–155; J. Stoliczki, *Egzulanci podolscy (1672–1699). Znaczenie uchodźców z Podola w życiu politycznym Rzeczypospolitej*, Kraków 1994, pp. 19, 61; Z. Chmiel, *op. cit.*, pp. 280–285; Z. Anusik, *Podkomorzy podolski...*, pp. 208–210.

⁸ AGAD, MK, Lustracje, dz. XVIII, pp. 74, 285–287; APL, LGR, no. 167, pp. 89v, 90v; A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. II, Warszawa 1900, p. 327; vol. XIII, p. 337; W. Dworzaczek, *op. cit.*, tabl. 101; J. Wimmer, *Lanckoroński...*, p. 441; J. Stoliczki, *op. cit.*, p. 105; S. Cynarski, *op. cit.*, pp. 150, 155 (with errors); W. Bondyra, *Własność ziemiska w województwie bełskim w czasach saskich*, Lublin 2015, p. 78; Z. Anusik, *Podkomorzy podolski...*, pp. 210–212.

In January 1676, Hieronim Lanckoroński was elected a Member of Parliament from his voivodship (by the Podolia nobility gathered at the exilic local parliament in Halicz) to the Coronation Sejm of John III Sobieski. He also represented his voivodship at the Extraordinary Sejm in 1677. In 1679, returning to the country from a long mission in Istanbul, the voivode of Chełmno, Jan Gniński, brought to Warsaw a confirmation of the right of the chamberlain of Podolia to use the estates under Turkish rule. Using this privilege, Lanckoroński was quite a frequent guest in the ancestral Jagielnica in the following years. He regained (*de facto* but not *de iure*) the destroyed and depopulated Jagielnica estate in 1684 when Polish troops seized almost all of Podolia and began a systematic blockade of the Turkish garrison in Kamińec. After the death of his first wife, Hieronim Lanckoroński, who was then approaching sixty, decided to marry for the second time. He married Ludwika Klara Wierzbowska of Wielkie Chrzastowo, Jastrzębiec coat of arms in Rzecznów on 20 August 1648. She was the daughter of the voivode of Sieradz (d. 1665) and his second wife, Katarzyna Konstancja Ginwil-Piotrowska own coat of arms (1634–1710), a widow of Samuel Stanisław Nadolski, the castellan of Rawa (d. 1655). At the time of the wedding, the bride was 19 years old, and her mother was married for the third time (since 1668) to Stanisław Skarszewski, the castellan of Wojnicz (d. 1685). Katarzyna Konstancja brought her husband 30,000 zloty as a dowry together with valuables and the trousseau. At that time, the chamberlain of Podolia was already associated with his mighty relative, the voivode of Lublin (the Grand Treasurer of the Crown from 1685), Marcin Zamoyski (d. 1689), the fourth Ordinate of Zamość. Lanckoroński initially leased the Turobin demesne of the Zamość Ordinance, and took over the lease (this time with his wife) of the Goraj demesne in 1687 at the latest. He managed the Goraj estate for another ten years until his death. In the mid-1780s the chamberlain of Podolia was already certainly, in the full meaning of the term, a client of the Fourth Ordinate of Zamość, and after the death of the Grand Treasurer of the Crown in 1689, he and his wife entered into a similar relationship with the widow of Marcin Zamoyski, Anna née Gnińska⁹.

⁹ Hieronim Lanckoroński to Marcin Zamoyski, Goraj 9 XII 1688, and without place or date, AGAD, Archiwum Zamoyskich [hereinafter: AZ], no. 478, pp. 5, 7–8; Ludwika Lanckorońska to Anna Zamoyska née Gnińska, Goraj 17 X 1691, *ibidem*,

At the end of November 1685, Hieronim's mother-in-law, then already widow of Stanisław Skarszewski, obtained the king's permission to lease the starosty of Drohobych to the chamberlain of Podolia and his spouse. Shortly thereafter, the Lanckorońskis took possession of this royal estate and held it on very favorable terms for another six years. In 1689, Hieronim and Ludwika Lanckoroński acquired the starosty of Zawichost, which, nonetheless, they did not take into real ownership until 1692. In 1691, Hieronim Lanckoroński held the position of a deputy from the Podolia voivodship in the Crown Tribunal for the second and last time. In 1696, he sold all of his hereditary property in Podolia as well as his first wife's life estates in the Bełz voivodship (the transaction was finally concluded in Kraków on June 22) to a distant relative, Franciszek Lanckoroński, the starost of Stobnica. However, he reserved lifetime possession of all property for himself, and that of the Podolia estates for his wife. He drafted a will (he considered the donation of his estates to the starost of Stobnica a definite matter by then) in Lublin on 7 May 1696. The chamberlain of Podolia died childless in Zawichost in January 1697 (he was already dead on February 1 of that year when his will was entered into the records in the Lublin castle). He ordered his burial in the Bernardine church in Sokal¹⁰.

Similarly to his maternal grandfather's second wife, Hieronim Lanckoroński included a number of statements in his will that can be considered confessions of a personal nature, and therefore prove

no. 519, pp. 2–4; Hieronim Lanckoroński to Anna Zamoyska née Gnińska, Lublin 13 VII 1692, Goraj 28 I 1693, 9 V 1695, and 26 I 1696, *ibidem*, no. 519, pp. 7, 13–14, 26, 29–30; APL, LGR, no. 167, p. 89; K. Niesiecki, *op. cit.*, vol. IX, Lipsk 1842, pp. 318–319; S. Wierzbowski, *Konnotata wypadków w domu i kraju zaszytych od 1634 do 1689*, ed. J.K. Załuski, Lipsk 1858, pp. 121, 194, 212; K. Pułaski, *op. cit.*, p. 228; A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. XIII, p. 337; W. Dworaczek, *op. cit.*, tabl. 101; J. Wimmer, *Lanckoroński...*, p. 441; J. Stoliczka, *op. cit.*, p. 109; S. Cynarski, *op. cit.*, p. 155 (with errors); Z. Anusik, *Zapomniana panina Lanckorońska. Przyczynek do genealogii kilku rodów kresowych*, "Przegląd Nauk Historycznych" 2017, vol. XVI, no. 1, p. 322; *idem*, *Lanckorońscy...*, pp. 21–23; *idem*, *Podkomorzy podolski...*, pp. 213–214.

¹⁰ AGAD, MK, Sigillata 14, p. 29; Ludwika Lanckorońska née Wierzbowska to Anna Zamoyska née Gnińska, Zawichost 11 III 1697, AGAD, AZ, no. 519, p. 53; APL, LGR, no. 167, p. 89v; S. Grabowski, *Konnotata wypadków...*, p. 198; A. Boniecki, *op. cit.*, vol. XIII, p. 337; W. Dworaczek, *op. cit.*, tabl. 101; J. Wimmer, *Lanckoroński...*, p. 441; S. Cynarski, *op. cit.*, pp. 155–156 (with errors); W. Bondyra, *Własność ziemska...*, p. 78; Z. Anusik, *Podkomorzy podolski...*, pp. 214–215.

useful for the biographical research. In the first place, he declared himself a devout Catholic and a soldier who fought the enemies of Christianity. He ordered his modest funeral to be held in Sokal, but at the same time commanded “as many as may be” masses for his soul. He bequeathed 12,000 zloty secured on the Podolia estates to the Bernardine Church in Sokal, with the stipulation that masses be celebrated there for his and his parents’ souls for all times to come. He entrusted the implementation of this provision to his wife and to Franciszek Lanckoroński, the starost of Stobnica, who he consistently referred to as “his successor”. He asked his wife to continue to strive for the salvation of his soul through offerings to the Church and alms for the poor. Judging from the contents of his will, Lanckoroński sincerely loved his second wife, who was almost 40 years younger than him. He was grateful to her for the years they spent together and her care at the time when his health was already declining. It was with this that he justified the bequest made to her of all movable property (jewels, cash, robes, household utensils, livestock, horses, jugs, carts, carriages, grain already harvested, crops, etc.). In addition, he bequeathed to Ludwika Lanckorońska née Wierzbowska a life estate on hereditary and pledged estates and on sums due to him from his debtors. On this occasion, he mentioned the amount of 30,000 zloty of her dowry as well as the six-year lease of the starosty of Drohobych, which was given to him on very favorable terms by Katarzyna Konstancja Skarszewska née Ginwił-Piotrowska, his mother-in-law, who he referred to as his “mother and benefactress”. The dowry received from the Wierzbowski family and the income from Drohobych were believed to have brought Lanckoroński an income of 100,000 zloty and this was the amount that the chamberlain of Podolia bequeathed to his second wife for the estates in Podolia, obliging their purchaser to “lift this burden” in the future¹¹.

In the subsequent fragment of his will, the chamberlain of Podolia mentioned the movables that once belonged to his first wife, Joanna née Cetner. He asserted that nothing of her belongings remained in his possession since all the jewels were stolen from her at an overnight stay in the town of Dębica while she was traveling

¹¹ The will of Hieronim Lanckoroński of Brzezcie as of 7 V 1696, APL, LGR, no. 167, pp. 88v–89v. This will was published in the afore cited article by Z. Anusik, *Podkomorzy podolski...*, pp. 217–225 (a discussed fragment of this will on pp. 217–219).

to the Pauline monastery at Jasna Góra. In turn, all the remaining movables were donated to churches in Sokal, Lviv, Podkamień and Witków in accordance with her last will. Ludwika Lanckorońska née Wierzbowska and Franciszek Lanckoroński were, however, obliged by the testator, once they entered into the real possession of the Podolia estates, to give the sum of 100,000 zloty bequeathed to her by her husband and secured on his estates in Podolia to Joanna's heirs, i.e. the sons of her late brother Jan Cetner (d. 1679), the starost of Lviv. Ludwika and Franciszek were also to jointly take care of the castle of the Lanckoroński family in Jagielnica, which was located in the lands controlled by the Crown army. The income from the Podolia estate was also to be used to repay the rest of the sum owed to Hieronim's late brother, Franciszek Lanckoroński, for relinquishing to the Podolia chamberlain his half of the Podolia estate and the rest of the dowry owed to Hieronim's deceased sister, Joanna Bolestraszycka née Lanckorońska. Other debts (including 8,000 zloty borrowed from Katarzyna Skarszewska née Ginwił-Piotrowska) were to be repaid by Lanckoroński's wife from the income from estates leased from Anna Zamoyska née Gnińska. As a kind of compensation, Ludwika Lanckorońska née Wierzbowska obtained from her husband all of his own receivables from various debtors as well as his mansion in Sokal. He also instructed his wife to give the church in Jagielnica the silver taken from there after reclaiming Podolia from the Turks, and to pay for all the merits to the courtiers and servants¹².

In the last part of his will, Hieronim Lanckoroński made legacies to his closest relatives. He bequeathed to his niece, Agnieszka Lanckorońska, daughter of Franciszek and Helena née Chomentowska, Lis coat of arms, the sum of 20,000 zloty disbursed from the Kalinowski family on Husiatyn, and the sum of 30,000 zloty that he was entitled to (for the loss of Dymir and the Tatar captivity) on the starosty of Skala. He obliged his wife to take Agnieszka from her mother and "give her a decorous upbringing in her youth". He bequeathed to Agnieszka's brother, Mikołaj Lanckoroński, the rights to the estates of the late Waclaw Bąk Lanckoroński, which the said nephew claimed after the death of the widow of Waclaw, Anna née Wielhorska. The chamberlain of Podolia assured his heirs that he had paid all his obligations to Lieutenant Stanisław

¹² The Will of Hieronim of Brzezine..., APL, LGR, no. 167, pp. 89v–90; Z. Anusik, *Podkomorzy podolski...*, pp. 219–221.

Chomentowski and to Kazimierz Żmigrodzki, who represented his cases in the Crown Court. He also authorised them to seek the recovery of several hundred subjects who had fled from Jagielnica and other Podolia estates and found refuge in noble estates in the Republic of Poland. Ludwika Lanckorońska and the starost of Stobnica were also to make efforts to recover several dozen cannons taken by the Turks from the castles of the chamberlain of Podolia to Kamieniec. He also instructed his wife to collect from the administrator of the Podolia estate all documents pertaining to them. Hieronim Lanckoroński cancelled the will drawn up in 1683 on the eve of the Vienna expedition (it is worth noting at this point that the introductory part of the 1696 will undoubtedly comes from this very document), but at the same time he reserved the right to change the will in question in the future. He decided that his last will would be executed by his brother Przeclaw, the castellan of Czechów, and Franciszek Lanckoroński, the starost of Stobnica and purchaser of all his hereditary estates¹³.

Inferring from the two wills under examination, one can unequivocally conclude that the last-will acts drawn up by 17th century testators are an excellent source for biographical research. A number of references of a decidedly personal nature can be found in documents of this kind. Through analysing the content of Old Polish wills, it is possible to verify a number of facts already present in scholarly circulation. However, some wills contain unique information, absent from other sources and hitherto unknown. And since thousands of documents of this kind have been preserved in the archives of several countries in the former Polish-Lithuania Commonwealth, this opens up almost unlimited perspectives for biographical research.

¹³ The Will of Hieronim of Brzezine..., APL, LGR, no. 167, pp. 90–91; Z. Anusik, *Podkomorzy podolski...*, pp. 221–224.

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Prof. dr hab. Zbigniew Anusik – Head of the Department of Early Modern History at the Institute of History, University of Łódź.

Research interests: Polish and general history in the 16th–18th centuries, history of Sweden in the 16th–18th centuries, Polish-Swedish relations in the 17th–18th centuries, history of European diplomacy in the 18th century, history of the Great French Revolution (1789–1799), elites of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, structure of land ownership in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 17th century, genealogy of Polish noble families in the 16th–18th centuries.



zbigniew.anusik@uni.lodz.pl

Dr hab. Małgorzata Karkocha, prof. UŁ – PhD in Humanities, associate professor at the University of Lodz. She works at the Department of Early Modern History of the Institute of History, Faculty of Philosophy and History. She is Editorial Assistant of the magazines “Review of Historical Sciences” and “Acta Universitatis Lodzensis. Folia Historica”, member of the Scientific Council of the Ukrainian magazine “Consensus”.

Research interests: early modern history, history of culture and art in the 16th–18th centuries, history of the Great French Revolution (1789–1799), Warsaw press, epigraphy, campanology.



malgorzata.karkocha@uni.lodz.pl