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The matrimonial strategies of hetman Jerzy Radziwiłł “Hercules” (1480–1541)

Family strategies, pursued with varying degrees of effectiveness and with differing outcomes by families occupying different rungs of the social hierarchy, aimed at the survival of the lineage or its demographic growth, the consolidation of its economic position, and, in the case of the highest social strata, especially the magnates, these strategies also sought to strengthen political influence.¹ Among the many instruments em-

- 1 M. Liedke, *Family strategies of magnate houses of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth in the 16th–17th centuries. Political program and demographic results*, “Historická demografie” 44 (2020) issue 1, pp. 6–7; J. Pielas, *Společné i majátkové aspekty matěństw w rodzinie zamożnej szlachty w XVII w. na przykładzie Oleśnickich herbu Dębno*, in: *Wesela, chrzciny i pogrzeby w XVI–XVIII wieku. Kultura życia i śmierci*, ed. by H. Suchojad, Warszawa 2001, p. 127; K. Sulej, *Mariaże magnackie w XVI–XVIII wieku na podstawie intercyz przedślubnych*, in: *Spółczeństwo staropolskie. Seria nowa*, vol. 3: *Spółczeństwo a rodzina*, ed. by I. Dacka-Górzyńska, A. Karpiński, Warszawa

ployed for achieving these aims—such as expected procreative attitudes, limiting the number of heirs, and proper guidance of the sons’ political careers—a crucial role was played by specific matrimonial strategies, seeking to plan marriages effectively and attempting to regulate the demography of the magnate houses.²

Jerzy Radziwiłł, known as “Hercules” (c. 1480–1541), son of Mikołaj “the Old” (d. 1509), received his first high office—that of cupbearer—fairly late, at around the age of 27; yet from that time onward, he continued to build his political and economic position efficiently, swiftly, and effectively. During his extraordinarily fast administrative career, he served successively as cupbearer, Voivode of Kyiv, Castellan of Trakai, Castellan of Vilnius, Starost of Hrodna, Marshal of the Court, Field Hetman, and finally, from 1531, Grand Hetman of Lithuania.³ Participation in numerous military campaigns, fighting against the Tatars and Muscovy, won him royal recognition for his service, as did leading his private retinue—something no other Lithuanian magnate undertook—in the Prussian War (1519–21).⁴ Jerzy Radziwiłł devoted particular attention to enlarging his landed estates, which he acquired “by every means available”:⁵ through advantageous marriages, princely grants, purchases, donations, pledges, adoptions with transmission of property, and frequent, and as a rule favourable, lawsuits. He also enlarged his patrimony through the profits from leases and administration of royal lands, so that by the end of the 1520s, his latifundium in Lithuania was smaller than only the

2011, pp. 67; see: J. J. Hurwich, *Noble Strategies. Marriage and Sexuality in the Zimmern Chronicle*, Kirksville 2006, pp. 21–102.

- 2 M. Liedke, *Family strategies*, p. 7; M. Liedke, *Strategie małżeńskie magnaterii w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w dobie wczesnonowoczesnej*, in: *Rodzina i gospodarstwo domowe na ziemiach polskich w XV–XX wieku. Struktury demograficzne, społeczne i gospodarcze*, ed. by C. Kuklo, Warszawa 2008, pp. 59–74; C. Kuklo, M. Kamecka, *Marriage strategies in Poland: Social and spatial differences (16th–18th centuries)*, “Historical Social Research” 28 (2003) no. 3, pp. 29–43.
- 3 G. Błaszczyk, *Radziwiłł Jerzy h. Trąby (c. 1480–1541)*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 30, ed. by E. Rostworowski, Wrocław 1987, pp. 225–229.
- 4 M. Plewczyński, *Wkład Radziwiłłów w rozwój staropolskiej sztuki wojennej XVI w.*, “Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica” 7 (1997), p. 31.
- 5 M. Malczewska, *Latyfundium Radziwiłłów w XV do połowy XVI wieku*, Warszawa–Poznań 1985, p. 92.

estates of Stanislovas Kęsgaila Castellan of Trakai,⁶ Chancellor Albertas Goštautas, and princes Konstanty Ostrogski and Yuri (Jerzy) Olelkovich.⁷ Another deliberate means of securing his position were marriages. The first, childless, to Hanna Kęsgaila, daughter of Hetman Stanisław Kiszka, brought him valuable kinship ties and sizeable landed assets, concentrated conveniently in two counties.⁸ His second marriage to Barbara Kolan-ka, daughter of Paweł Kola of Dalejów, Voivode of Podolia and Castellan of Halych, made Radziwiłł distinctively remembered as the first member of his house to wed a Polish woman, kin to the political elite of the Crown, and, above all, the father of three children. With their births—Mikołaj c. 1515, Anna in 1518, and Barbara c. 1523⁹—marital strategies became for Jerzy Radziwiłł a principal instrument of building his house's position.

The first clear sign of Radziwiłł's matrimonial policy traceable in the sources was the contract arranging the marriage of his elder daughter, Anna, to Illia (1510–39), the son of Prince Konstanty Ostrogski (1460–1530). This proposed union reflected the hetman's political shift, as he aligned himself with the faction opposing the succession of Sigismund Augustus to the grand-ducal throne of Lithuania, a party led by Ostrogski, who had only recently estranged from Albertas Goštautas, Radziwiłł's principal enemy.¹⁰ The marriage required a papal dispensation, owing to the

6 K. Pietkiewicz, *Kieżgajłowie i ich latyfundium do połowy XVI wieku. Ze studiów nad rozwojem własności ziemskiej w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w średniowieczu*, Poznań 1982.

7 M. Kuźmińska, *Olbracht Marcinowicz Gasztold (dokończenie)*, "Ateneum Wileńskie" 5 (1928) issue 14, p. 134; L. Kolankowski, *Zygmunt August, wielki książę litewski do roku 1548*, Lwów 1913, pp. 205–211; M. Malczewska, *Latyfundium Radziwiłłów*, pp. 81–93; K. Pietkiewicz, *Najstarszy inwentarz dóbr radziwiłłowskich z 1528 roku*, "Lituanos-Slavica Posnaniensia" 1 (1985), pp. 175–186.

8 M. Antoniewicz, *Protoplaści książąt Radziwiłłów. Dzieje mitu i meandry historiografii*, Warszawa 2011, pp. 49–50; M. Malczewska, *Latyfundium Radziwiłłów*, pp. 82, 93.

9 R. Ragauskienė, *Śmierci nie udało się pokonać. Historia biologiczna książąt Radziwiłłów na Birzach i Dubinkach (koniec XV wieku – XVII wiek)*, transl. by I. Masojć, R. Naruniec, Kraków 2020, pp. 400–420.

10 W. Pociecha, *Królowa Bona (1494–1557). Czasy i ludzie odrodzenia*, vol. 2, Poznań 1949, pp. 399–400; G. Błaszczyk, *Radziwiłł Jerzy*, p. 226; W. Pociecha, *Gasztold Olbracht h. Awdaniec*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 7, ed. by W. Konopczyński, Kraków–Wrocław 1948–1958, p. 301.

young Ostrogski's Orthodoxy.¹¹ Acting efficiently and with notable speed, Radziwiłł secured it already in March 1523. In this singular document, Pope Clement VII specified that the marriage could only take place with the consent of—now adult—Illia and Anna.¹² Time proved the importance of the clause, as it later furnished a significant argument in the dispute around withdrawing from the contract. Concluded on 15 June 1523, it united a bride of just five with her intended groom of thirteen. Its provisions bound Illia to serve Radziwiłł and his wife Barbara as “eternal friend, son, servant, and son-in-law,” while the contract pledged “brotherly love and eternal friendship” between the two families. Prince Konstanty Ostrogski required that the wedding be celebrated in an Orthodox church, and bound the Radziwiłłs—“under the curse of God, of His Most Pure Mother, and of all the saints”, “under paternal and maternal curse,” and “under the peril of faith and of the soul’s damnation”—never to bring Illia into the Roman Church: neither themselves, nor through their friends, nor through Catholic bishops, prelates, or clergy. Any children born of this marriage were to be baptised in the faith of the father and brought up therein. Anna, a Catholic, was to enjoy freedom of worship and was not to be forced to embrace Orthodoxy. Breaching the above provisions entailed severe financial penalties: a bond of 10,000 three-scores of Lithuanian groschen¹³ was pledged against Illia’s conversion to Catholicism, payable to the king, to Prince Konstanty, and to his son. An identical sum was to be paid to the king, to Radziwiłł, and to Anna by Prince Ostrogski in the event of Anna’s conversion to Orthodoxy.¹⁴ The contract was

11 E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, *Magnackie małżeństwa mieszane w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVI-XVIII wieku*, in: *Władza i prestiż. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVIII wieku*, ed. by J. Urwanowicz, E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, P. Guzowski, Białystok 2003, pp. 561–564, 570, 578–586.

12 A. Przezdziecki, *Jagiellonki polskie w XVI wieku. Obraz rodziny i dworu Zygmunta I i Zygmunta Augusta, królów polskich*, vol. 2, Kraków 1868, pp. 262–263.

13 Monetary calculations in Lithuania (and Ruthenia) were often carried out in kop groszy, in which a *kopa* was a unit of measurement denoting 60 pieces. Thus 100 kop groszy was worth 6 000 Lithuanian groszy.

14 Umowa o małżeństwo Ilia Ostrogskiego i Anny Radziwiłłówny [The marriage contract of Ilia Ostrogski and Anna Radziwiłł], Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, Dział XI: Dokumenty rodzinne [Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, Radziwiłł Archive, Section XI: Family documents; hereinafter: AGAD, AR XI], No. 18, ref. 1/354/0/11/018 pp. 1–4.

confirmed by the grand duke, and its witnesses were Mikołaj Jurjewicz Pac (d. 1545/46), Master of the Hunt of Lithuania,¹⁵ and Prince Wasyl Andrejewicz Połubieński (d. 1551), Court Marshal,¹⁶ who set their seals to the document alongside those of the two magnates.¹⁷

Radziwiłł was equally quick to seek a match for his younger daughter, Barbara. Unfortunately, the letters documenting the course of negotiations have not survived, but a register of documents drawn by Krzysztof Radziwiłł “the Thunderbolt” in 1604 informs that in 1529 Jerzy Radziwiłł exchanged letters with Jan Janowicz Zabrzeziński, Marshal of Lithuania and Voivode of Nowogródek, over marrying his daughter, six-year-old at the time, to Jan, Zabrzeziński’s son from a second marriage to Barbara Kęsgaila.¹⁸ Not unlike Radziwiłł and Goštautas, Zabrzeziński also fell victim to land grant revisions carried out at the behest of Queen Bona.¹⁹ How far the negotiations proceeded remains uncertain, but it seems that the interested party—whether actually or tactically— was Radziwiłł, as Zabrzeziński had placed hopes for his son’s marriage elsewhere. In November 1533, he signed with Jan Gabriel Tęczyński (1484–1552), the Court Marshal and Starost of Lublin, a relevant contract for the union of his son with Tęczyński’s daughter Beata.²⁰ The wedding followed shortly there-

15 J. Wiśniewski, *Pac Mikołaj*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 24, ed. by E. Rostworowski, Wrocław 1979, pp. 735–736.

16 J. Wiśniewski, *Połubiński (Połubieński) Wasyl Andrejewicz*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 27, ed. by E. Rostworowski, Wrocław 1983, pp. 370–371.

17 Umowa o małżeństwo Iliei Ostrońskiego i Anny Radziwiłłówny [The marriage contract of Ilia Ostrogski and Anna Radziwiłł], AGAD, AR XI, No. 18, pp. 4.

18 J. Zawadzki, *Summariusz dokumentów Krzysztofa Radziwiłła “Pioruna” z 1604 r. jako źródło do dziejów rodziny i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, “Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica” 25 (2018), p. 233, No. 69; Z. Spieralski, *Kieżgajło Stanisław (zm. 1527)*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 12, ed. by E. Rostworowski, Wrocław 1966–1967, p. 447; J. Tęgowski, *Ślub tajemny Jana Janowicza Zabrzezińskiego. Garść uwag o powiązaniach elity możnowładczej na Litwie w XV i na początku XVI wieku*, “Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne” 2 (2002), pp. 253–254; A. Urmański, *Jan Janowicz Zabrzeziński, potomek Rymwida*, “Rocznik Instytutu Europy Środkowej” 13 (2015) issue 3, p. 60.

19 W. Pociecha, *Królowa Bona (1494–1557). Czasy i ludzie odrodzenia*, vol. 3, Poznań 1958, s. 159–161; A. Kołodziejczyk, *Przemiany społeczno-gospodarcze na Podlasiu w XV–XVI wieku*, Olsztyn 2012, s. 109–120.

20 Umowa o małżeństwo Jana Zabrzezińskiego i Beaty Tęczyńskiej [Marriage agreement between Jan Zabrzeziński and Beata Tęczyńska], Wilno, 7 XI 1533,

after, for by May 1534, Beata had already appeared as the wife of young Zabrzeziński.²¹

The agreement for Anna Radziwiłł's marriage to Illia Ostrogski was meant to await fulfilment until she came of age. Yet, following Prince Konstanty's death in 1530, Jerzy Radziwiłł sought to alter its provisions in pursuit of new matrimonial plans for his elder daughter. He entered into negotiations with the Goštautas, proposing Anna's hand to Stanislovas (c. 1507–42),²² the only son of Albertas (1480–1539), the powerful chancellor and, at that moment, the Radziwiłłs' chief rival in Lithuania. Ever shrewd and resourceful, "Hercules" pressed ahead with the Goštautas match, yet eager not to relinquish the possibility of allying with the Ostrogskis, he proposed an exchange of fiancées to Illia. Anna could be replaced by Barbara, five years her junior and in 1530 aged only seven. Ostrogski, however, firmly refused not only the swapping of Radziwiłł's daughters but also the fulfilment of his father's provisions concerning marriage with Anna. Leaving aside Illia's motives—which researchers have sought in his emotional attachment to Beata Kościelecka (1515–76) and in his pro-Polish orientation, envisioning his future in the Crown²³—hetman's

Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, Metryka Koronna [Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, Crown Metrica; hereinafter: AGAD, MK], 49, ff. 36–38; *Matricularum Regni Poloniae summaria*, part 4: *Sigismundi I regis tempora complectens (1507–1548)*, vol. 3: *Acta vicecancellariorum 1533–1548*, published by T. Wierzbowski, Varsoviae 1915, p. 5, No. 17420.

- 21 Zrzeczenie się przez Beatę z Tęczyńskich Zabrzezińską dóbr ojcowskich i macierzystych na rzecz ojca [Relinquishment of paternal and maternal property by Beata Zabrzezińska, née Tęczyńska, in favour of her father], Wilno, 20 V 1534, AGAD, MK, ref. 49, f. 103; *Matricularum Regni Poloniae summaria*, part 4, vol. 3, p. 11, No. 17546; A. Boniecki, *Poczet rodów w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XV i XVI wieku*, Warszawa 1887, p. 394; A. K. Urmański, *Zaberezinskių giminė XV–XVI a. LDK politinio elito gretose*, Kaunas 2017, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, Klaipėdos universitetas, pp. 91–92; M. Lubczyński, *Tęczyński Jan (Jan Gabriel)*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 53, ed. by A. Romanowski, Warszawa–Kraków 2019, p. 421.
- 22 W. Pociecha, *Gasztold Stanisław*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 7, ed. by W. Kopczyński, Kraków–Wrocław 1948–1958, p. 303.
- 23 R. Żelewski, *Ostrogski Illia*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 24, ed. by E. Rostworowski, Wrocław 1979, pp. 481; В. Ульяновський, *Князь Василь-Костянтин Острозький. Історичний портрет у галереї предків та нащадків*, Київ 2012,

careful marriage arithmetic was becoming disconcertingly complicated. Since Illia refused the exchange of Radziwiłł daughters, the only means of enforcing the marriage contract upon him was to revert to the original arrangement concluded with Prince Konstanty regarding Anna. Now, Barbara, who—as Władysław Pociecha vividly observed—“having fallen victim to new family alliances”²⁴ became the object of negotiations with the Goštautas. The expression is not an exaggeration. In 1536, Radziwiłł’s younger daughter of just thirteen was to marry a man nearing thirty, and if the marriage was truly to seal the new alliance, it had to be concluded as swiftly as possible. While the agreement with the Goštautas advanced towards its expected fulfilment, the Ostrogski marriage reached its conclusion in court. The case was heard before the grand-ducal court and its several sessions were held from October 1536 to December 1537. Its course bears further witness to Jerzy Radziwiłł’s matrimonial policy, which he set in motion by submitting a complaint against young Ostrogski to King Sigismund I. The hetman called upon Illia to honour both the contract and Konstanty Ostrogski’s will by marrying Anna on the agreed terms—well known to the grand duke, the councillors, and “every common man”.²⁵ The first proposal from the grand duke came in October 1536 and suggested that Illia should proceed with the marriage arranged by his father.²⁶ Albeit, it should be borne in mind that it was precisely the moment when Radziwiłł was negotiating Anna’s betrothal to Stanislovas Goštautas, a matter that by then had already been publicly known. Faced with this awkward situation, Radziwiłł once again moved with speed and cunning. Merely four days after this summons from Sigismund I, Hetman Radziwiłł and Chancellor Albertas Goštautas appeared before him, jointly confirming that they had indeed reached agreement on the marriage of Stanislovas and Anna. Yet, since Radziwiłł was bound to the Ostrogskis by “a pact fortified with great and grave pledges,” and as neither the Radziwiłłs nor the Goštautas wished to “cast off Prince Illia from the friendship of their houses”, the two magnates declared that the terms of their prior

p. 316; T. Kempa, *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (1526–1608) – przywódca społeczności prawosławnej w Rzeczypospolitej*, Toruń 2023, p. 92.

24 W. Pociecha, *Barbara Radziwiłłówna*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 1, ed. by W. Konopczyński, Kraków 1935, p. 295.

25 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 19 (1535–1537). Užrašimų knyga 19*, sud. D. Vilimas, Vilnius 2009, No. 244, pp. 248–249.

26 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 19*, No. 244, pp. 248–249.

agreement were annulled and now requested grand-ducal guarantees for a new contract, by which Stanislovas Goštautas should wed Barbara Radziwiłł.²⁷

However, standing in the way was the arrangement between Chancellor Goštautas and Zabrzeziński, whereby the chancellor's son was to marry Anna Zabrzeziński's daughter by his first wife. Under the terms of that agreement, the Voivode of Trakai settled upon her the manor house of Niemonajcie (Lith.: Nemunaitis) near Olita, together with its grange, people, and villages, as well as a dowry of 10,000 red złotys, of which 5,000 in cash and the remaining 5,000 in gold, silver, pearls, and other jewels. Goštautas undertook to endow her with dowry "according to custom." Breach of the contract was secured by a pledge of 10,000 *kop groszy*, payable to the king.²⁸ In July 1536, Sigismund I issued a judgment recognising the validity of this arrangement, yet left an open option for its annulment in case of Zabrzeziński's voluntary withdrawal.²⁹ And this is what actually transpired. The circumstances of the annulment remain obscure. However, it is known that even before the contract was nullified, in his will of February 1536, Zabrzeziński bequeathed the Niemonajcie estate mentioned in the arrangement with Goštautas, together with Olita (Lith.: Alytus) and Simnas (Lith.: Simnas) to King Sigismund Augustus.³⁰

What might have laid its weight here were blood ties: Jan Zabrzeziński's first wife and mother of the maiden central to the arrangement, was Zofia Radziwiłł, daughter of Mikołaj Radziwiłł known as "Amor Poloniae" (1470–1521), which made her Jerzy's niece.³¹ Moreover, from 1523

27 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 21 (1536–1537). Užrašimų knyga 21*, sud. A. Dubonis, Vilnius 2019, No. 106, pp. 115–116.

28 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 19*, No. 180, pp. 182–183; A. Urmański, *Jan Janowicz Zabrzeziński*, p. 58.

29 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 19*, No. 180, pp. 182–183.

30 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 1 (1380–1584). Užrašimų knyga 1*, ed. by A. Baliulis, R. Firskavičius, Vilnius 1999, No. 39, pp. 29–30; No. 503, pp. 104–105; R. Leonavičiūtė-Gecevičienė, *Bona Sforca ir Lietuvos Didžioji Kunigaikštystė: Jogailaičių dinastijos stiprinimas*, Vilnius 2021, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Vilniaus Universitetas, Lietuvos istorijos institute, Humanitariniai mokslai, istorija ir archeologija, pp. 95–96, 144.

31 G. Błaszczuk, *Radziwiłł Mikołaj (c. 1470–1521)*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 30, ed. by E. Rostworowski, Wrocław 1987, p. 319; A. Urmański, *Jan Janowicz Zabrzeziński*, p. 57.

Jerzy Radziwiłł had acted as guardian to the orphaned girl,³² which allowed him a broad range of instruments to influence the contract that obstructed him. There is some irony, too, in the fact that Zabrzeziński's arrangement with Goštautas arose from an alliance between their families aimed against the Radziwiłł,³³ only for Goštautas to seek its annulment 15 years later to ally with that same Radziwiłł. Ironically, in his 1536 will, the Voivode of Trakai bequeathed the Niemonajcie estate—intended as young Zabrzezińska's dowry for marriage to Stanislovas Goštautas—to Sigismund Augustus, who on 1 May 1549 settled it as part of the marital provisions of his second wife, Barbara, Jerzy Radziwiłł's daughter.³⁴ The hetman was obviously unable to foresee it, yet this reversal of alliances not only provided a tangible proof of his matrimonial strategy but also, albeit for Jerzy only posthumously, secured an advantage for his house over a decade later.

The annulment of Goštautas' contract with Zabrzeziński opened the way for the marriage of the young Goštautas to the younger Radziwiłł. On 20 October 1536, at Radunia, a contract was signed "on the giving in marriage of the younger daughter of the Lord of Vilnius, Lady Barbara, to Lord Stanislovas Goštautas, Voivode of Novogrudok". It set the date of the wedding at "six weeks after Easter next".³⁵ The document expressed the king's belief that "the union of their lordships' houses in such a friendship would bring no small benefit to the commonwealth of this realm",³⁶

32 J. Zawadzki, *Summariusz dokumentów*, p. 229, No. 25.

33 R. Ragauskienė, *Barbora Radvilaitė*, Vilnius 1999, p. 72; R. Leonavičiūtė-Gecevičienė, *Bona Sforca ir Lietuvos Didžioji Kunigaikštystė*, pp. 55–56.

34 Zapisanie dóbr oprawnych królowej Barbarze Radziwiłłównie przez Zygmunta II Augusta [The designation of the marital provisions to Queen Barbara Radziwiłł by Sigismund II Augustus], 1 V 1549, AGAD, AR XI, No. 18, pp. 50–52.

35 In 1537, Easter Sunday was on 1 April. See: *Chronologia polska*, ed. by B. Włodarski, Warszawa 2007, pp. 324, 343, 368. The date of the wedding defined as 6 weeks after Easter Sunday was 13 May of the same year. That date of the wedding, named in the contract of 20 October 1536 was identified by the issuers of the document in the *Lietuvos Metrika*. See: *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 21*, No. 106, pp. 116, 233. The question will be embarked on and elaborated in a separate paper.

36 Umowa o małżeństwo Stanisława Gasztołda i Barbary Radziwiłłówny [Marriage agreement between Stanisław Gasztołd and Barbara Radziwiłł], Radunia, 20 X 1536, AGAD, AR XI, No. 18, pp. 25–26; *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 21*, No. 106, pp. 115–116; *Radzivillovskie akty iz sobraniâ Rossijskoj nacional'noj biblioteki: pervaa polovina XVI v.*,

for in truth, the marriage ended a lingering feud, which was detrimental to both families, as in its course it had flared into open warfare.³⁷ For his part, Albertas Goštautas had to let bygones be bygones: besides the traditional political rivalry for offices and estates, the role played by the Radziwiłłs—Mikołaj “the Old” (d. 1509), grandfather of the bride-to-be, and Mikołaj “Amor Poloniae,” her uncle—in his arrest and imprisonment (1509–11) on suspicion of alleged complicity in Michał Glinśki’s conspiracy,³⁸ raids, plunder, the burning down of his Tykocin Castle in 1519, from which the chancellor then “barely escaped” with his wife and child,³⁹ and also the loss of offices, including that of cupbearer, taken over by Jerzy himself in 1509.⁴⁰ However, reconciliation certainly became easier for Goštautas as following the death of the elder Radziwiłł in 1521, he took over the offices he thus vacated, becoming the most powerful and wealthiest magnate in Lithuania in the early 1520s.⁴¹ The comital title conferred upon him by the pope and the emperor at the decade’s end brought Goštautas’ position to its fullness.⁴² Similarly, Radziwiłł—who,

ed. by M. M. Krom, Moskva–Varšava 2002, pp. 202–203, No. 95 (*Monumenta Historica Res Gestas Europae Orientalis Illustrantia. Fontes XV–XVII saec.*, vol. 6. *Pamâtники Istorii Vostočnoj Evropy. Istočniki XV–XVII vv.*, vol. 6); R. Ragauskienė, *Barbora Radvilaitė*, p. 72.

- 37 For more extensive treatment: M. Kuźmińska, *Olbracht Marcinowicz Gasztold. Działalność Olbrachta Gasztolda 1503–1522*, “Ateneum Wileńskie” 4 (1927) issue 13, pp. 363–371; M. Malczewska, *Latyfundium Radziwiłłów*, pp. 96–97.
- 38 M. Kuźmińska, *Olbracht Marcinowicz Gasztold. Działalność*, pp. 353–381; A. Krupska, *Przekaz Rumiancewski “Ruskiego wriemiennika” jako źródło do genezy i przebiegu buntu Michała Glinśkiego*, “Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach. Historia i Współczesność” 6 (1982), pp. 111–130; S. C. Rowell, *Nolite confidere in principibus – Mikhail Glinśki, Sigismund the Old and the Council of Lords*, in: *Faworyci i opozycjoniści. Król a elity polityczne Rzeczypospolitej XV–XVIII wieku*, ed. by M. Markiewicz, R. Skowron, Kraków 2006, pp. 77–100.
- 39 M. Kuźmińska, *Olbracht Marcinowicz Gasztold. Działalność*, pp. 368–369; W. Bis, A. Ryčkov, M. Volkau, *Zamki litewskiego rodu Gasztoldów w pierwszej połowie XVI wieku*, “Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej” 73 (2024) no. 3, p. 307.
- 40 *Urzednicy centralni i dygnitarze Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. by H. Lulewicz, A. Rachuba, Kórnik 1994, No. 1088, p. 143 (*Urzednicy Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XII–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, 11).
- 41 M. Kuźmińska, *Olbracht Marcinowicz Gasztold. Działalność*, pp. 361–362; G. Błaszczuk, *Litwa na przełomie średniowiecza i nowożytności 1492–1569*, Poznań 2002, p. 75.
- 42 M. Kuźmińska, *Olbracht Marcinowicz Gasztold (dokończenie)*, pp. 122, 135.

as Maria Kuźmińska vividly observed, “inherited the family hatred” and all but the obligation to keep the hereditary feuds alive⁴³—had to overcome a long tradition of bitter and hostile rivalry. Yet the conflicts that had once set Goštautas and Radziwiłł apart were outweighed by what united them: Lithuanian separatist aspirations, the benefits of seizing power in the 1530s, and aversion to Queen Bona and her actions in Lithuania.⁴⁴ Thus, their alliance served the vital interests of both houses.

Jerzy Radziwiłł endowed his daughter with a marriage portion (trousseau and dowry) worth 8,000 kop groszy, while Albertas Goštautas allowed his son to settle an equivalent jointure on his estates.⁴⁵ The portion befitted the Radziwiłłs’ princely standing, yet, true to the family strategy—unlike the one Zabrzeziński practiced—the hetman made no grant of land to his daughter: estates were reserved solely for sons or, in their absence, for the closest male relatives.⁴⁶ The marriage of his younger daughter to the chancellor’s son, concluded in May 1537, was the only one Jerzy Radziwiłł secured, for his long-running quarrel with Illia Ostrogski did not end in his favour.

In March 1537, young Illia Ostrogski declared himself “free to marry whichever maiden or woman he might wish and choose”.⁴⁷ From then on, the lawsuit played out along the same pattern reflecting the strategies of both magnates: Illia either appeared at successive hearings in person, canvassing for a favourable ruling, or sent duly empowered representatives, while Radziwiłł, invoking the Lithuanian Statute of 1529, dispatched envoys lacking proper authority, who pressed for moving the case

43 M. Kuźmińska, *Olbracht Marcinowicz Gasztold. Działalność*, pp. 376, 381.

44 R. Leonavičiūtė-Gecevičienė, *Bona Sforca ir Lietuvos Didžioji Kunigaikštystė*, *passim*.

45 Spis wyprawy i posagu Barbary Radziwiłłówny [The register of the dowry and bridal trousseau of Barbara Radziwiłł], AGAD, AR XI, No. 18, pp. 30–45; M. Baliński, *Pamiętniki o królowej Barbarze, żonie Zygmunta Augusta*, part 1, in: M. Baliński, *Pisma historyczne*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1843, pp. 10–21; M. Kuźmińska, *Olbracht Marcinowicz Gasztold (dokończenie)*, p. 163.

46 R. Ragauskienė, *Śmierci nie udało się pokonać*, p. 101.

47 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 21*, No. 107, pp. 117; I. Valikonytė, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės bajorių teisė laisvai ištekti: realybė ar fikcija?*, in: *Lietuvos valstybė XII–XVIII a.*, ed. by Z. Kiaupa, A. Mickevičius, J. Sarcevičienė, Vilnius 1997, pp. 147–156; R. Juozapaitienė, *Tėvų valia kaip santuokos sudarymo sąlyga*, “Res Humanitariae” 9 (2011), pp. 10–29.

to Vilnius.⁴⁸ As much as it was consistent, his strategy nonetheless proved ineffective. In June 1537, Illia's proxy, Paweł Kołaczkowski (Kołaczowski),⁴⁹ the judge of Sandomierz, argued that the contract was invalid for lack of the intended party's consent, while Radziwiłł's agent, Marek Lubnicki (Lubiniecki), appeared merely as a messenger, delivering the hetman's stance that the case belonged in Lithuania, not in the Crown. The proceedings stalled in a deadlock and were adjourned to successive later dates. At this point, Sigismund I sought a resolution acceptable to all three parties, for the result of the litigation mattered not only to the contending magnates but also to the judge himself. The session of 7 November followed the usual pattern: Illia pressed for a ruling, while Radziwiłł once again argued for the transfer of the proceedings to Lithuania, citing—as he previously did—the Lithuanian Statute. This time, however, the king was ready for his stratagem and declared that he would judge in accordance with the Statute. After opening it in the presence of those assembled, he concluded that it contained no clause obliging him to surrender his judicial prerogatives and to stay his hand in the matter in question. Therefore, it was irrelevant where—geographically—he would exercise the rights vested in him.⁵⁰ The king sought to press on with proceedings, but the ever cautious Radziwiłł had not vested his envoy with sufficient powers, so the latter refused to testify on his behalf. Sigismund therefore

48 *Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 21*, No. 107, pp. 116–118; No. 139, p. 159; No. 140, p. 160; No. 152, pp. 172–173; No. 175, pp. 195–196; No. 199, p. 216.

49 Paweł Kołaczkowski (Kołaczowski) was not the Cupbearer of Sandomierz, as claimed by В. Ульяновский (*Князь Василь-Костянтин Острозький*, pp. 321), by first the Scribe of Sandomierz (1530–36), and during the trial in 1537 – a Sandomierz Judge (1536 – before 3 March 1542) – *Matricularum Regni Poloniae Summaria*, vol. 4, part 3, pp. 176, No. 20753; *Urzednicy województwa sandomierskiego XV-XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. by K. Chłapowski, A. Falniowska-Gradowska, ed. by A. Gąsiorowski, Kórnik 1993 (*Urzednicy Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XII-XVIII wieku. Spisy*, vol. 4, z. 3), p. 99, No. 713; p. 112, No. 845.

50 В. Ульяновский, *Князь Василь-Костянтин Острозький*, p. 322; J. Kowalik, *Kompetencje władcy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego jako najwyższej instancji sądowniczej: sądownictwo litewskie za panowania Zygmunta I Starego (zarys problematyki)*, "Meritum" 6 (2014), p. 9; E. Saviščevas, *Darbas, nesustodavęs net Viešpaties dieną. Zigmanto I darbadieniai Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės teisme 1506–1544 metais*, in: *Moteris prie istorijos šaltinio. Mokslinių straipsnių rinkinys, skirtas profesorės Irenos Valikonytės 75 metų jubiliejui*, ed. by E. Saviščevas, Vilnius 2024, pp. 143–168.

summoned the magnate either to appear in person at the appointed term or to send a duly empowered attorney, on the pain of rendering judgment in his absence. The events at the subsequent sitting of the court on 17 December followed the familiar pattern: Kołaczkowski, representing Ostrogski, urged to consider the contract null and void, while Radziwiłł's representative, Bohdan Michajłowicz Siemaszko, demanded that the case be transferred to Vilnius.⁵¹ Radziwiłł's following contrivance was to claim illness preventing his arrival in Kraków; however, that argument could carry hardly any weight in light of his ability to appoint an attorney with full powers.

According to Wasyl Uljanowski, the biographer of Prince Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski, it also emerged during the proceedings that Radziwiłł had concluded a marriage contract for Anna's hand with Jan Janowicz Zabrzeziński, Marshal of Lithuania, offering his elder daughter to his only son, Jan. The scholar believes that the disclosure of all these arrangements together lent an air of scandal to the case.⁵² However, the events followed a different course. It was not Radziwiłł, but Chancellor Albertas Goštautas who had "no small a bond" with Jan Janowicz Zabrzeziński.⁵³ Thus, Radziwiłł was not attempting then to contract his daughter to three magnates at once but to two. To quote Ludwik Kolankowski, "the Castellan of Vilnius seems to have held the view that every agreement, even if committed to writing, is binding only so long as he wished and was able to keep it".⁵⁴ Such an approach was not unique to Radziwiłł: Goštautas acted in the same manner—consenting that his son Stanislovas should marry Anna Radziwiłł despite being himself bound by an agreement with Jan Zabrzeziński for his daughter, likewise Anna. In the chancellor's case, the endeavours to secure the most advantageous marriage for

51 Adding a touch of piquancy to the whole affair was the fact that Siemaszko, appointed by the hetman, was himself involved in a case against Illia, brought before the court in the summer of 1536, and concerning looting and devastating his estate by the prince's retainers: highly likely Radziwiłł's calculated move intended to cast his adversary in an unfavourable light. *Źródła do dziejów polskich*, published by M. Malinowski, A. Przezdziecki, vol. 2, Wilno 1844, pp. 395–396; *Lietuvos Metrika. Knuga* Nr. 19, No. 176, pp. 177–178; В. Ульяновський, *Князь Василь-Костянтин Острозький*, p. 322.

52 В. Ульяновський, *Князь Василь-Костянтин Острозький*, p. 322.

53 *Źródła do dziejów polskich*, vol. 2, pp. 398–399.

54 L. Kolankowski, *Zygmunt August*, p. 335.

Stanislovas—including parallel negotiations and even contracting more than one prospective candidate—appear entirely comprehensible: the Goštautas family strategy assumed limiting the number of marrying male descendants to prevent the fragmentation of estates, thereby maintaining a political and social position.⁵⁵ The future of the house, consciously staked upon the life of a single male, depended on the success of his marriage. The choice had to be optimal.

On 20 December 1537 Sigismund I pronounced judgment releasing Illia from all obligations towards Anna Radziwiłł, including the financial pledges stipulated in the contract concluded by his father, declaring the relevant documents to be null and void.⁵⁶

Uljanowski has argued that the king had a particular interest in this outcome, as it eventually favoured not only Ostrogski but also Beata Kościelecka, his intended bride, who was rumoured at court to be Sigismund's daughter.⁵⁷ Uljanowski is of the opinion that the protracted and increasingly scandalous litigation between Illia and Radziwiłł offered a convenient smokescreen behind which Beata's future could be advantageously secured.⁵⁸ The king's personal favour towards the young Ostrogski must have also been at play: already famed for his part in campaigns against Tatars and Muscovites, he was a welcome visitor at the Kraków court and the son of one of the Jagiellon's most faithful Lithuanian magnate supporters. Proof of this royal favour may be seen in the grant to Illia, in July 1537, of the estate of Chłopotyn, while the case was still pending.⁵⁹

Compared with the careful arrangements for his daughters, Jerzy Radziwiłł was rather late in attending to his son's marriage. Mikołaj was already seventeen when his father found him a proper match. While tying both daughters to the Lithuanian magnate elite, for his only son, Radziwiłł

55 R. Petrauskas, *Чаму вымірае магнатэрыя: лёсы магнацкіх родаў Вялікага Княства Літоўскага*, "Arche" (2014), No. 6, pp. 11–25; M. Liedke, *Rodzina magnacka w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVI-XVIII wieku. Studium demograficzno-społeczne*, Białystok 2016, pp. 161, 348–349.

56 *Źródła do dziejów polskich*, vol. 2, pp. 392–402.

57 В. Ульяновський, *Князь Василь-Костянтин Острозький*, pp. 318–319.

58 В. Ульяновський, *Князь Василь-Костянтин Острозький*, p. 320.

59 B. Kempa, *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski*, pp. 24–25; B. Kempa, *Dzieje rodu Ostrogskich*, Toruń 2002, pp. 59–60; Z. Anusik, *Glosa do dziejów rodu książąt Ostrogskich*. [Review] *Tomasz Kempa, „Dzieje rodu Ostrogskich”*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2003, 194 pp., "Przegląd Nauk Historycznych" 7 (2008), pp. 146–147.

followed his own example⁶⁰ and looked to the aristocracy of the Crown, and it must be admitted that his efforts proved singularly fruitful there. In 1532 he betrothed Mikołaj to Anna, a 10-year-old at the time—daughter of Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, Grand Chancellor of the Crown. The projected marriage was highly advantageous to Radziwiłł, not only in financial terms but also in political and social terms. A union with the daughter of the wealthy and influential chancellor offered benefits beyond those accruing from Lithuanian magnates marrying into Polish noble houses, as it promised deep and enduring political bonds strengthening the position of the houses within the two realms joined by personal union.⁶¹ Although Szydłowiecki died later in the same year, the agreement remained in force, maintained by the guardians of his children until the death of the young bride-to-be in 1536.⁶² The surviving sources provide no grounds for supposing that, after the collapse of this plan, Jerzy engaged in the search for a new bride for his only son. Possibly, these were the intricate and laborious contrivances over his daughters' matches, combined with the dragging lawsuit with Ostrogski that prevented the energetic Radziwiłł from turning effectively to the future of his son, who was by then already fully of age. At twenty-six Mikołaj possessed neither clear prospects for a favourable marriage nor—repeating, as it were, his father's story—any office, even titular, or political experience.⁶³ The young Radziwiłł arranged his future and conformed to the trends prevailing among the Lithuanian magnates of the sixteenth century, where men

60 The second wife of Jerzy Radziwiłł (since c. 1515) and mother of his three children was Barbara Kolanka, daughter of Voivode of Podolia, Paweł Kola from Dalejów of Junosza coat-of-arms. G. Błaszczuk, *Radziwiłł Jerzy*, p. 228; M. Antoniewicz, *Protoplaści książąt Radziwiłłów*, pp. 49–50; R. Ragauskienė, *XVI a. didikų Radvilų lenkų kilmės žmonos*, “Istorija” 2012 no. 3, pp. 8–9.

61 E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, *Uwarunkowania prawne i konsekwencje małżeństw polsko-litewskich przed unią lubelską*, in: *Między Zachodem a Wschodem. Etniczne, kulturowe i religijne pogranicza Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII w.*, ed. by K. Mikulski, A. Zielińska-Nowicka, Toruń 2006, p. 71.

62 W. Dworzaczek, *Hetman Jan Tarnowski: z dziejów możnowładztwa małopolskiego*, Warszawa 1985, pp. 252–253, 280; R. Ragauskienė, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės Mikolojus Radvila Rudasis (apie 1515–1584 m.)*, Vilnius 2002, pp. 37–38, 148; M. Ferenc, *Mikołaj Radziwiłł “Rudy” (c. 1515–1584). Działalność polityczna i wojskowa*, Kraków 2008, pp. 25–26.

63 M. Ferenc, *Mikołaj Radziwiłł “Rudy”*, p. 35.

typically married at an average age of 29 years, by contracting his first (and only) marriage at the age of 27 years. In this way, he also belonged to the 70% of magnates' sons who only married after their father's death.⁶⁴ The marriage contracted by young Radziwiłł reflected his father's intention of the Biržai line of the family forging yet another link with a Polish house, even if its political, financial, and social significance could not compare with the alliance once intended by the hetman. Mikołaj's bride was Katarzyna, the daughter of Jan Iwiński, the unassuming Chamberlain of Kalisz. As much as the match hardly lived up to the Radziwiłłs' lofty dynastic ambitions, it should be remembered that Katarzyna was related to Piotr Tomicki, Vice-Chancellor of the Crown and Bishop of Kraków, who had died in 1535. Thus, through her, Mikołaj gained kinship with families of the Crown, especially from Greater Poland.⁶⁵

A study of the marriage strategies Jerzy "Hercules" Radziwiłł attempted to implement for his children—his daughters, above all—suggests extending the usual list of purposes behind such policies by another one. His actions make it plain that a marriage strategy for his own kin might also be employed to complicate, obstruct, or even stymie the marital designs of rival houses. As the surviving evidence indicates, Radziwiłł deliberately played off the Ostrogskis, the Goštautas', and the Zabrzezińskis. On the one hand, seeking to secure the greatest benefit for himself, while minimising the fulfilment of matrimonial schemes pursued by his allies and adversaries alike on the other. It is worth emphasising that he simultaneously pursued both aims: to bind these houses to his own by children's marriage and simultaneously frustrate their strategies of allying with other magnate houses. The pursuit of such manoeuvres was particularly

64 M. Liedke, *Z badań nad prokreacją magnaterii Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVI–XVIII wieku*, "Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski" 29 (2010), pp. 12–13; M. Liedke, *Uwagi o wieku uprawniającym do zawarcia małżeństwa w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVI–XVIII wieku*, "Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski" 32 (2013), p. 15; M. Liedke, *Demografia rodziny magnackiej w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim na tle elit zachodnio-europejskich. Wybrane problemy*, "Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski" 37 (2015) nr 1, pp. 47, 51.

65 Umowa małżeńska Mikołaja Radziwiłła i Katarzyny Iwieńskiej [The marriage contract of Mikołaj Radziwiłł and Katarzyna Iwieńska], Wilno, 13 I 1542, AGAD, MK 63, ff. 44–47; *Matricularum Regni Poloniae Summaria*, vol. 4, part 3, No. 20670, p. 171; No. 20703, p. 173; M. Ferenc, *Mikołaj Radziwiłł "Rudy"*, pp. 36–37; R. Ragauskienė, *XVI a. didikų Radvilų*, pp. 8–9.

tempting in the case of daughters. As Marzena Liedke's research shows, the matrimonial market among Lithuanian magnates was rather limited in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, amounting to no more than 10 or 11 eligible female candidates. In the sixteenth century, this meant an average of only 1.75, even fewer, since the pool of potential candidates required removing women who were related, physically or mentally impaired, and belonging to hostile families (although, of course, a marriage between rival houses—as the example of Goštautas and Radziwiłł's daughter clearly demonstrates—could also seal the end of a conflict).⁶⁶ In such circumstances, a good female match gained all the greater worth.

Paradoxically, Jerzy Radziwiłł's matrimonial strategy—complex, full of twists and turns, and not free from intrigue—brought no tangible results during his lifetime other than marrying his younger daughter off to Goštautas, at the expense of diminishing Anna's prospects of marriage. Ultimately, however, Radziwiłł's descendants more than fulfilled their father's vision. Mikołaj married a Polish woman; in the summer of 1547, Barbara became the wife of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King of Poland, Sigismund Augustus; and in 1549, Anna married a member of the Lithuanian magnate elite.⁶⁷ The first marriage of the younger daughter, which ended with Stanislovas Goštautas' childless death, led to the extinction of his house in the mid-sixteenth century. Even the most prudently devised and most effectively executed matrimonial strategy was powerless against unpredictable and uncontrollable biological factors—infertility of spouses, diseases, high infant and child mortality rates, the birth of daughters only, or the survival into adulthood solely of women.⁶⁸ In these often changing and capricious circumstances, the Radziwiłłs fared exceptionally well: in successive generations all the

66 M. Liedke, *Family strategies*, pp. 10–11.

67 According to R. Ragauskienė, however unconvincingly, Anna first married (1544) an unidentified youth endorsed to her mother by Queen Bona, and after his death, in 1549, became the second wife of Piotr Kiszka, Marshal of Volhynia and Starost of Volodymyr. Despite the claim popularly expressed in literature that Anna married duke Semen Holszański after Kiszka's death, Anna nee Radziwiłł never married him, and died shortly before her second husband. R. Ragauskienė, *Śmierci nie udało się pokonać*, pp. 127, 400; *Listy polskie XVI wieku*, ed. by K. Rymut, vol. 1: *Listy z lat 1525–1548 ze zbiorów Władysława Pociechy, Witolda Taszyckiego i Adama Turasiewicza*, Kraków 1998, No. 124, p. 327.

68 R. Ragauskienė, *Śmierci nie udało się pokonać*, p. 88.

Radziwiłłs of Biržai reached the highest offices and dignities;⁶⁹ by the mid-seventeenth century, their vast latifundium, built over four generations into what could be considered a quasi-autonomous “magnate state”,⁷⁰ was second in size only to the Sapieha estates, and the Biržai–Dubingiai line successfully endured for over 150 years, until 1695, the year marked by the death of its last representative, Ludwika Karolina.⁷¹

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69 H. Wisner, *Król i książę. Konflikt między Zygmuntem III Wazą i Krzysztofem Radziwiłłem*, “Rocznik Białostocki” 11 (1972), p. 53.

70 M. Kowalski, *Księstwa Rzeczypospolitej: państwo magnackie jako region polityczny*, Warszawa 2013, *passim*, esp. pp. 236–238; U. Augustyniak, *Zamiany zarządu dóbr ziemskich i urzędnicy Radziwiłłów birżańskich od końca XVI do końca XVII wieku*, “Rocznik Lituanistyczny” 2 (2022), pp. 143–167.

71 The last male representative of the Birža branch of the family, Bogusław Radziwiłł, died in 1669. See: T. Wasilewski, *Radziwiłł Bogusław*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 30, pp. 161–172; R. Ragauskienė, *Śmierci nie udało się pokonać*, *passim*; M. Liedke, *Family strategies*, p. 18.

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Abstrakt

Agnieszka Januszek-Sieradzka

*Strategie małżeńskie hetmana Jerzego Radziwiłła „Herkulesa”
(1480–1541)*

Strategie rodzinne miały na celu przede wszystkim przetrwanie rodu czy jego rozwój demograficzny, budowę pozycji ekonomicznej i wzmocnienie wpływów politycznych. Wśród narzędzi ich realizacji rolę kluczową odgrywały specjalne strategie małżeńskie, obliczone na odpowiednie planowanie małżeństw i próbę kontrolowania demografii domu magnackiego. Artykuł identyfikuje i analizuje strategie małżeńskie realizowane przez Jerzego Radziwiłła zwanego „Herkulesem” (1480–1541), w pierwszej połowie XVI wieku jednego z najbardziej wpływowych i najbogatszych litewskich magnatów. Wraz z narodzinami jego dzieci – Mikołaja (ok. 1515), Anny (1518) i Barbary (ok. 1523), obok urzędów, działalności wojskowej i zasobów majątkowych, narzędziem budowania rodowej pozycji i realizowania strategii rodzinnej stały się dla Jerzego Radziwiłła strategie małżeńskie. Jak pokazuje jego przykład, strategia małżeńska mogła mieć na celu także komplikowanie, utrudnianie czy uniemożliwianie realizacji strategii małżeńskich innych rodów.

Słowa kluczowe:

Jerzy Radziwiłł „Herkules” (1480–1541), Anna Radziwiłłówna (1518–1550), Barbara Radziwiłłówna (c. 1523–1551), Radziwiłłowie, strategie małżeńskie, Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie

Abstract

Agnieszka Januszek-Sieradzka

The matrimonial strategies of hetman Jerzy Radziwiłł “Hercules” (1480–1541)

Family strategies were primarily aimed at the survival of the family and its demographic development, building an economic position and strengthening political influence. Among the tools for their implementation, matrimonial strategies played a key role. They were calculated to plan marriages appropriately and attempt to control the demography of the magnate house. The article identifies and analyses the matrimonial strategies implemented by Jerzy Radziwiłł, called “Hercules” (1480–1541), one of the most influential and richest Lithuanian magnates in the first half of the 16th century. With the birth of his children – Mikołaj (c. 1515), Anna (1518), and Barbara (c. 1523), along with offices, military activity, and estates, matrimonial strategies became a tool for building the family position and implementing the family strategy of Jerzy Radziwiłł. As his example shows, the marriage strategy could also aim to complicate, hinder, or prevent the implementation of the marriage strategies of other families.

Keywords:

Jerzy Radziwiłł “Hercules” (1480–1541), Anna Radziwiłł (1518–50), Barbara Radziwiłł (c. 1523–51), Radziwiłłs, matrimonial strategies, Grand Duchy of Lithuania