

THE RADZIWILLS TOWARDS THE HERITAGE OF THE SOBIESKIS

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ABSTRACT

The article is devoted to enlighten the relative and politic contacts on Radzivils towards the heritage of the Sobieskis. All events concerning this theme began with the marriage of Katarzyna Sobieska. She got married with Władysław Dominik Zasławski-Ostrogski in 1650. They had two children Aleksander Janusz who died young and with no children and Teofila Ludwika. We have no information about a dowry which Katarzyna should have got. Soon she was widowed by her twenty years older husband and in 1658 she got married to Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł. His brother-in-law Jan Sobieski became the voivode of Vilnius and high-standing person of the Great Duchy of Lithuania.

KEY WORDS: history of Great Duchy of Lithuania, history of Poland and Lithuania in 17th - 18th C., Katarzyna Sobieska, Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł, Jan Sobieski.

ANOTACIJA

Straipsnyje pateikiama medžiaga naujai nušviečia istorinių asmenybių – Radvilų dinastijos ir Jono Sobieskio (Jan Sobieski) giminystės bei politinius santykius XVII–XVIII a. Lietuvos ir Lenkijos istorijos kontekste. Ši istorija prasideda nuo 1650 m. Kotrynos Sobieskos (Katarzyna Sobieska) vedybų su Vladislovu Zaslawskiu-Ostrogskiu (Władysław Dominik Zasławski-Ostrogski). Jiems gimė sūnus Aleksandras (Aleksander Janusz, miręs jaunas ir nepalikęs įpėdinių) ir duktė Teofilė (Teofila Ludwika). Nėra žinoma, kokį kraitį bei palikimą Kotryna Sobieska paliko šiems savo vaikams. Netrukus jos dvidešimčia metų vyresnis vyras paliko savo žmoną našlauti, ir Kotryna 1658 m. ištekėjo už Mykolo Kazimiero Radvilos (Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł). Jos naujojo vyro brolis Jonas Sobieskis tapo Vilniaus vaivada, o vėliau – ir dar aukštesniu asmeniu Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės istorijoje.

PAGRINDINIAI ŽODŽIAI: Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės istorija, XVII–XVIII a. Lietuvos ir Lenkijos istorija, Kotryna Sobieska, Mykolas Kazimieras Radvila, Jonas Sobieskis.

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All events concerning this theme began with the marriage of Katarzyna Sobieska. She was Jan's III future king younger sister and in 1650 got married with Władysław Dominik Zasławski-Ostrogski. They had two children Aleksander Janusz who died young and with no children and Teofila Ludwika. She was married to Dymitr Wiśniowiecki castellan of Cracow and great hetman of the Crown and Józef Karol Lubomirski marshal of the court of the Crown. We have no information about a dowry which Katarzyna should have got. Soon she was widowed by her twenty years older husband and in 1658 she got married to Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł of Nieśwież and Ołyka (Jaroszek [B.d.] *Katarzyna...*:392-396). Her new husband thanked to help of his brother-in-law Jan Sobieski became the voivode of Vilnius and vice-chancellor and field-hetman of the Great Duchy of Lithuania. They had two adult sons Jerzy Józef and Karol Stanisław (Jaroszek [B.d.] *Michał...*:292-299).

We have special document left by Katarzyna of Sobieski Radzivil who made agreement with her brother Jan Sobieski standard-bearer of the Crown. It was straightly after their mother's death in 1662. Teofila of Daniłowicz Sobieska died in the end of 1661 and the very next year they divided properties left by her. John Sobieski took huge part of these lands as was consistent with the Polish law. Katarzyna got only the palace (we believe the big house) in Lublin worthy twenty or

thirty thousands zloty and several little villages called Sasów, Dziedziców, Nahorce, Sokołów, Kukizów, Rudańce and Ceperów and several others and rights of patronage over parishes in them (Ujma 2003:43). She gave her brother Zabłudów as land given her by her father's stepmother (Jaroszuk [B.d.]. *Katarzyna...*:394). All agreements as was showed by this document were made in Lemberg on 23 of June 1662, about half a year after Teofila's death.¹ We must admit and it is very important Michał Radziviłł never, as far as we know, laid any claims and never complained of this agreement between his wife and his brother-in-law.

In 1680 Michał Radziviłł died and five years later Katarzyna gave her brother some properties which belonged to her husband. This was a key of Wejherowo and Rzucewo in Pomeranian (Ujma 2003:51).²

In the meantime there were other matrimonial problems concerning the Sobieski and the Radziviłłs. Michał Radziviłł's cousin Bogusław Radziviłł of Birże i Dubinki married his cousin Anna Maria Radziviłł. They concentrated in their hands all properties of this branch of the family. Huge lands were left to their only daughter Ludwika Karolina, as her both parents died in two years after her birth. Bogusław Radziviłł left his testament and decided his daughter should be educated in Koenigsberg by the elector Frederic Wilhelm of Brandenburg and his wife. He was afraid of his daughter's religion. Their family was Calvinist and her life in Prussia should have been some security for her faith. He wanted her to marry, if possible, a Protestant and to defend her confession (Kotłubaj 1859:219). It was especially important because after the northern war with Sweden position of the Polish dissidents was rather poor and was still getting worse. Bogusław Radziviłł admitted that finally if not in Berlin his daughter could be under the ward of his cousin – Janusz Radziviłł's sister – Katarzyna of Radziviłł Hlebowicz. He wanted his daughter to be married with the consent of all her wardens whom he chose very carefully and the Polish king as the Polish law required (Radziviłł 1979:15). Giving his daughter to the elector Bogusław made future problems (Kalicki 1878:158).

In the end of his testament he wrote that in the case his daughter would have died without children, all his properties should go to his cousin Michał Kazimierz Radziviłł of Nieśwież. Bogusław ordered him to buy some lands in Germany in the empire. At this moment with his daughter alive he gave to his cousin only several articles as his sable and sword given him by the emperor, the tsar's spear and several pictures and old books (Radziviłł 1979:93, 99).

Soon Michał Kazimierz Radziviłł tried to convinced everybody that Bogusław gave him some of his lands, among them Słuck, Kopyl i Kojdanów. He even decided to falsify his cousin's testament. The Radziviłłs of Nieśwież took these lands and management of them. After several years Ludwika Karolina would write a letter to Jan III she wanted her properties back, she admitted she lost a lot of money because of improper administration of her cousins in her own lands (Jaroszuk [B.d.]. *Michał...*:296). In 1683 Katarzyna of Sobieski Radziviłł resigned all claims to the Bogusław Radziviłł's properties (Jaroszuk [B.d.]. *Katarzyna...*:394).

As the little princess grew, many plans about her future marriage were made. There were many candidates to her hand. Among them were her distant cousin Mikołaj Radziviłł of Nieśwież and Stanisław Kazimierz Radziviłł of Kleck. In the same time her warden – the elector tried to engage her with William of Orange. We should treat all this as playing tricks. Eventually he decided to propose to Ludwika Karolina his own younger son - Louis. Elector's councilor Samuel

¹ Connotatio transactionum, Archiwum Państwowe Wawel (later on APWawel), 170 plik 9, k. 9-11.

² After his sister death John III got after her 66 thousand zloty (Ujma 2003:314).

Chwalkowsky introduced this proposition. She was treated as an adult person and accepted this offer (Wasilewski [Bd]. *Ludwika...*:110-112). In spite of all this king Jan III tried to get Ludwika Karolina as a wife for his son Jakub Ludwik. They were both very young and in the same age, about fourteen. It was not only problem of taking over many clients of the Radzivils who were in enormous number in the Great Duchy of Lithuania. Another question were huge properties belonging to Ludwika Karolina. The royal prince with such a support of people and money could help him to get the crown after his father. There were many opponents to this plan and John III was aware of that. But previously to any activities in Poland, in 1681 Ludwika Karolina was married to the elector's son Louis margrave of Baden. The Polish king was greatly discontent but he accepted the whole situation (Helcel 1857:23).

Suddenly, six years later margrave Louis died. Once again problem of his widow's marriage was actual. Once again there were many candidates to her hand. There were Louis of Baden, Charles Philip prince of Neuburg Pfalzgrave of Rhen and Jakub Ludwik Sobieski. The last two of them were the strongest ones in this contest. Very difficult problem was their religion, they were Catholics and all people around the princess were afraid of their future position and situation of the Protestant church in her properties. Elector wanted her to marry his son Philip, but young man died before any decision was made. The last candidate was George Louis prince of Hanover, he was Protestant and his religion was serious argument on his side (Kotłubaj 1857:177).

The court of Berlin was full of people interested in this entire situation. Princess of Hanover worked over interests of her son and then Charles Philip of Neuburg. John George prince of Anhalt the first minister of the elector and as we believe his master himself supported Charles Philip of Neuburg. As he was brother of the empress Eleonora Magdalena he was represented by emperor's ambassadors' barons Freytag and Sternberg. Also the Sobieskis had their representation on the court in Berlin. Kazimierz Ludwik Bieliński starost of Malbork was send there and began solemn endeavours to convince the widow to accept the king's son. He was supported by the envoys of France – count Rebenac and marquis de Gravelle as well as the Ferdinand duke of Livonia (Kotłubaj 1857:178). The last one wrote several letters to prince Jakub showing his sympathy and eagerness to help.³ He assured young Sobieski that the princess wanted to listen and talk only about him.⁴ Jan III wanted also his sister to help him and his son in this contest, but:

... Katarzyna bogobojna i świętobliwa, skromna i czuła, mało miała stosunków z linią starszą rodziny męża, przerażały Katarzynę upór Bogusława i przywiązanie jego córki Ludwiki Karoliny do reformowanego wyznania (Bartoszewicz Julian 1935:87).

Ludwika Karolina was seemingly eager to accept Jakub Ludwik Sobieski. But in the same time she didn't want to leave Berlin before her sister-in-law the elector's wife would give birth to her child. She insisted to have some time for consideration. At last she was decided to marry Jakub Ludwik but in the same time she put another condition. She wanted to see the prince because she could relate herself only with somebody handsome enough. Then young Sobieski went to Berlin and met with the princess. She said she loved him and gave him her consent for future marriage. The elector also gave his approbation to this plan. In the same time she gave him a warrant for all

³ Ferdynad kurlandzki do Jakuba królewicza polskiego, bm, bd, (In:) *Biblioteka ordynacji Myszkowskiej*. 1860, Kraków; s. 449-450.

⁴ Ten do tegoż, Berlin, 22 VIII 1687, *Ibidem*, 451-453.

her properties. Ludwika Karolina promised him all her lands as well as her hand, but he was to get her fortune also in spite of the marriage:

Za providencją i dyspozycją Boską, łaską i wolą Królestwa ich mość, a interpozycją Xiążęcia jego mci Elektora obiecuję Królewicowi jego mci Polskiemu; że za nikogo inszego nie pójdę za mąż chyba za niego samego i dla lepszej wiary i pewności słowa mego, dając tę kartę ręką własną pospisaną, utwierdzając ją prawami wszystkimi koronnymi. A ponieważ z jednej i z drugiej strony, nie możemy w tym tu miejscu zawrzeć kontraktu szlubnego, spuszczam się w tym na wolę Królestwa ich mość. Będę mense Septembri w dobrach moich, które mam w Polsce, abym w większej była wolności utwierdzenia kontraktu i woli Królestwa ich mość dość uczyniła; nie wątpię o dobroci Państwa miłościwego, że mi dozwolą zupełną wolność wiary, tak dla mnie jako i sług poddanych moich, tudzież kościołów i ich dóbr. A dla lepszej wiary, z własnej woli, dając tę kartę ręką moją podpisaną dla pewności słowa mego, sub damnis terrestribus, to jest : pod utratą dóbr moich. Która to asekuracja, tak jest ważna i wielka, że większa podług prawa polskiego być nie może.

She signed it in Berlin on the 25 of July 1688.⁵ Maria Kazimiera was deeply involved in all preparations to her son engagement and his voyage to Berlin. She ordered special carriage, jewelry and other gifts. Somehow she worried about the young princess and him. She didn't trust Ludwika Karolina's advisors. The queen encouraged prince Jakub to write letters to his fiancée (Komaszyński 1983:126). Negotiations about the dowry began and the king of Poland decided to give his daughter-in-law huge sum of money. This was two hundred thousand zloty to free all mortgages in her properties and three hundred thousand of income every year for the young couple. All people around the princess were pleased. Jan III was generous beyond words (Helcel 1857:40-44).

In the same time strange things happened in Berlin. As prince Jakub Ludwik came there shocking gossips were spread. Someone told that Sobieski and Ludwika Karolina got married in secret with some help of the French ambassadors. These revelations were known to Bieliński, he even sent a letter about it to the Polish queen. He was afraid of so many people unfavourable to the Sobieskis around the princess and close to her. The elector appeared to be the partisan of prince Jakub but he was very kind to all his quests. There was organized huge hunting. Among other guests were the elector himself, prince of Anhalt, one of the Austrian ambassadors – Freytag and Bieliński. That was wonderful day; they shot fifty two deer and thirty does. Everybody was in high spirit.⁶

The very next day prince Charles Philip Phalzgrave of Rhen came to Berlin. As well as Sobieski he was there incognito. Neuburg met Ludwika Karolina in the elector's palace. The Polish envoy was afraid or even upset because of his presence. They walked with the princess in the palace garden and everybody could see them. They were both in wonderful mood being so close. Bieliński watched it all with rising anxiety. He knew well enough how many people would support the case of Neuburg in front of Ludwika Karolina.

Several days later the contract between Sobieski and the princess was signed. And suddenly someone altered the Polish envoy that Ludwika Karolina disappeared. According to Bieliński's words the same day in the morning she gave him a letter to Jakub Ludwik assuring him about her warm emotions and sympathy and in the evening Bieliński was astonished. He wanted to find the

⁵ Kopja skryptu Xiążniczki Radziwiłłówny margrabiny Brandenburskiej, danego Królewicowi j. Mci Jakubowi Sobieskiemu, jako za nikogo innego za mąż nie pójdzie, tylko za niego (Źródła... 1843:169).

⁶ Jan Jerzy prince of Anhalt to Jerzy Radziwiłł, Coepenick, 2(12) VIII 1688. In: Biblioteka...: 459-460.

princess but it was impossible. No one knew where she was. Then someone told him to look for her in the house of the Austrian ambassadors. Still it wasn't easy. The embassy was closed and the servants couldn't find the key, later on they heard there were important quest so the ambassadors couldn't meet them. After their intervention in the court the elector send his messenger to the princess, believing she was with the Austrians.

As they hoped the elector's envoy Gerard Denhoff found the princess there but returned with no result. Ludwika Karolina against her brother-in-law's authority said she wanted to eat her dinner there. She was not only eating but got married to Charles Philip Neuburg and consummated her marriage. The very next day the elector got every information about what happened. He was shocked and angry, or at least pretended so. His position was really difficult. In one hand he pleased the emperor and especially the empress as Charles Philip was her brother, in the other he enraged Louis XIV and Jan III. He shook his connections with Poland and France, as in this case the Sobieskis were supported by Louis XIV. Now it was the French ambassador who called all this situation plain prostitution. Elector tried to avoid all grave consequences so he showed how crossed he was with Ludwika Karolina. He banished her from his court and decided never treated her as his former sister-in-law (Helcel 1857:53). He left Berlin in order to avoid any possibility of meeting with notorious princess (Wójcik 1994:404). He assured Jan III he was innocent and never planned to offend the king and his son. He was eager to promise he would support prince Jakub in his future efforts to get his father crown (Forst de Battaglia 1983:315).

Ludwika Karolina's behaviour was reported as good choice because her husband was closer to the throne than prince Jakub. But many people thought she choose more handsome candidate. His beautiful face and wonderful body were more interesting for her than any other features. Charles Philip was twenty seven years old so he was more masculine than very young and we believed inexperienced Sobieski (Helcel 1857:50).

In order to repair relations with Poland prince of Anhalt wrote to his son-in-law Jerzy Lubomirski a letter explaining that he and his master the elector never knew about any Ludwika Karolina's plans and they didn't and never would possibly do accept her behaviour. He said he hadn't been sleeping for three nights when got to know about what had happened.⁷

In the same time in Poland began great storm. The Sobieskis were shocked by all events which took place in Berlin. They planned to confiscate all properties of the unfaithful fiancée (Wójcik 1994:447). The queen's father marquis d'Arquien advised his grandson prince Jakub Ludwik to go to Germany and fight his rival in the honourable duel. Maria Kazimiera was afraid her son could do such a terrible and dangerous thing (Komaszyński 1983:127). Jan III appealed to the gentry to come to the diet and claim for the honour and pride of the nation and the royal family. He was eager to take over all properties of Ludwika Karolina. He tried to get these lands for himself. But the Lithuanian members of the Diet contradicted the royal plans. They didn't want to take away all fortune from Ludwika Karolina (Helcel 1857:62). It was out of question that the king could get her properties and enriched himself so much. Soon two other candidates to the Radzivils' lands were reported - these were the Radzivils of Nieśwież and Ołyka and the Sapiehas (Sajkowski 1989:326). The last ones wanted to represent every rights of the princess Ludwika Karolina and decided to take management of her properties. Their claims flew from their blood relations. Jan Kazimierz Sapieha's wife Krystyna was Katarzyna of Radzivil Hlebowicz's daughter – so she was

⁷ Jan Jerzy prince of Anhalt to Jerzy Radziwiłł, Coepenick, 2(12) VIII 1688, (In:) *Biblioteka...*, 459-460.

Janusz Radzivil's niece and Ludwika Karolina's close aunt. They were in opposition to the king. The representative of the elector and Ludwika Karolina Samuel Chwalkowsky worked hard to mend all situation. He tried to get some money, although it was very difficult. He knew that with no financial support he wouldn't be able to gain any adherents. He complained that all gentry was against the Neuburg case. He could count only on several noblemen. But he worked on and at last there were enough voices to preserve Ludwika Karolina's properties for her and her family. Although the king tried to support some rights of the Radzivils to these lands, he couldn't fight all their opponents. The Sapiehas got sixty thousand for supporting the Neuburg case (Wasilewski [Bd]. *Ludwika...*:112). Letters in order to help them during the diet were sent to many persons.⁸ Envoys of Vienna and Brandenburg worked hard to break the diet (Bartoszewicz Julian 1935:110).

Still the Sobieskis were crossed with all German courts. Several months later prince Anhalt came to Poland to visit his daughter Maria Eleonora widowed by Jerzy Radzivil. He wanted to meet with the king. Jan III suggested to invite him to the court and to receive him with all possible hospitality. The queen said it was absolutely out of question and threatens. She would leave if the elector's prime minister stayed with her under one roof (Helcel 1857:70).

In 1691 Jakub Ludwik Sobieski got married to Jadwiga Elżbieta of Neuburg. She was not only sister of the empress Eleonora Magdalena, but also of the prince Charles Philip his former rival in Berlin. Four years later Ludwika Karolina was died she left little daughter Sophie Elisabeth Augusta. Problems returned because once again question of management over her heritage was open. Once again the Radzivils and the Sapiehas quarreled on their rights to these properties and huge income of them (Wasilewski [Bd]. *Ludwika...*:112). Prince Jakub Ludwik as the uncle of the little orphan suggested that she should be educated by his wife Jadwiga Elżbieta. He himself was eager to take care of the Neuburg lands in Poland. He admitted that income from them would go to the little princess and would cover all expenses connected with her court and education (Sajkowski 1989:328). Of course that was very convenient way to get this money for him and to repair his own budget. He sent a letter with such a proposition to Vienna. The empress was still the main and powerful protector of the Neuburg case. It didn't work because nobody in Poland wanted to give the prince Jakub Ludwik such a great income – with this money he could conquer the real political power and eventually the crown after his father death (Komaszyński 1983:125).

In 1695 the Sapiehas invaded Kopyl in order to get them from the Radzivils (Kotłubaj 1857:178). Jan III was against the Sapiehas not only because the Radzivils were his relatives but because in this time the Sapiehas was always in opposition to the court (Bartoszewicz Julian 1935:113). One day he had fight with Maria Kazimiera as she supported the Sapiehas and tried to convince him to accept them. She hoped to gain them in her party. The king was crossed and “*do zębów z królową się wadził*” (Sarnecki 1958:97). This problem who should govern the Neuburg properties would return many times again. For example in 1702 it was appealed to the court (Kotłubaj 1857:405). The Neuburg properties belonged to the Radzivils (Bartoszewicz Julian 1935:114) and stayed under supervision of special servants and envoys of prince Charles Philip (Mianowska 1930:14; Niezabitowski 1998). In 1717 his daughter Sophie Elisabeth Augusta got married to Joseph Charles Emmanuel of Sulzbach (Wasilewski [B.d.]. *Ludwika...*:112). The Radzivils of Nieśwież never resigned their rights to the Neuburg lands. They tried to get them by a marriage of one their sons with Ludwika Karolina's granddaughter princess of Sulzbach. First it

⁸ Baron Dunckelman snadź do księcia Anhalt, Koenigsberg, 2 XI 1688, *Biblioteka...*, 461. Baron Franciszek de Meinders do ks Anhalt, Koenigsberg, 2 XI 1688, *Ibidem*, 461-462.

was to be Michał Kazimierz, but he met the princess and disliked her (Kotłubaj 1857:439). So his brother Hieronim Florian took his place. The matrimonial contract was signed in 1731 thanks to his mother Anna of Sanguszko Radzivil. She sent to Mannheim her servant Czarnecki and he finished the negotiations. The Radzivils would be to get the dowry never mind if the marriage was consummated. The emperor and the Polish king were to assure this agreement (Bartoszewicz Julian 1935:128). Some sources say that even matrimonial ceremony per procure took place in Słuck. Soon Anna Radzivil and her son took over these lands. Then fiancé went to Germany to meet his bride. He was well accepted in Sulzbach. Nobody knows what happened later but in several days his expected father-in-law thanked him for everything and decided he preferred to lose his properties than put his daughter into such hands.⁹ For several next years Hieronim Florian made strong efforts to take over all these lands. He had to pay out the Sapiehas and duke of Sulzbach. Eventually he gave them six million zloty (Kotłubaj 1857:426-427).

After king's death the Sobieskis lived in Ohlau in Silesia and sometimes in their Polish properties in the Red Russia. This land in the empire was given them by the emperor as a provision of Jadwiga Elżbieta's dowry. They lived at almost royal court aspiring to the highest position. They always remarked their royal prince's titles. It was not only because the Polish throne they lost, but also because Jadwiga Elżbieta was connected with many thrones in Europe.¹⁰ Her brothers were electors in Germany and her sisters were queens in several countries (Kersten 1968:11; Niemojowska 1992:113). All family never threw their intimacy and connections. There was frequent interchange of letters between them (Helcel 1857:6-10). Prince Jakub had no son. His three daughters were quite a problem, connected with all dynasties in Europe, they couldn't get married with anybody, and they were to get big dowries because everybody believed the heritage of Jan III was huge, although in the beginning of XVIII century it was diminished by the war with Sweden and rather poor government. The Sobieski princes weren't so talented in management of their own properties as their parents and ancestors.

As three daughters grew up there came the matrimonial propositions. The empresses – Eleonora Magdalena and then Amalia Wilhelmina wrote letters to Ohlau suggesting several princes as husbands for young princesses. Among them was prince Francis Maria of Guastalla and Modena. But not one of the Sobieskis wanted him as gossips told he was not quite normal and healthy (Piwarski 1939:63; Libiszowska 1980:363). In the meantime there came another proposition – James Edward Stuart the Old Pretender wanted the youngest of the Sobieskis for his wife. Against the empress Eleonora Magdalena's advice and the emperor's will prince Jakub accepted this proposition and Maria Clementina went to Rome with many adventures during her way (Niemojowska 1992:112; Roszkowska 1984:108). It brought real problems for the Sobieskis. Prince Jakub was banished from Silesia. He had no place to go as August II didn't want to see him in the Red Russia. He wandered in Europe and stayed for sometime in Claromonte in Częstochowa.¹¹ The two other older princesses stayed at home in Ohlau.

Suddenly in 1719 young prince Michał Kazimierz Radzivil "Rybeńko" came there. He fell in love with princess Maria Charlotte. She returned his emotion. But although they wanted to be to-

⁹ We must admit that Hieronim Florian Radzivil got married three times and never spend long time with any of his wives. We can call him very tactfully an eccentric. (See: Bartoszewicz 1935:145-147). His servants thought he was terribly cruel. (See: Królikowski 2000:209; Tyszkiewicz 1864:8).

¹⁰ Her father was called "father-in-law of Europe". (See: Baeumler, Brockhoff, Henker 2005:369).

¹¹ About all these events the article in edition.

gether and get married, it was impossible because he was engaged with enormously rich Maria Zofia Sieniawska. Both mothers of the young couple – Anna of Sanguszko Radzivil and Elżbieta of Lubomirski Sieniawska wanted this connection very much. Jadwiga Elżbieta asked them to resign of these plans, she tried to secure her daughter happiness, but it didn't work. Even an intervention of archduchess Elisabeth didn't help (Sajkowski 1981:205-207). Karol Stanisław was adherent of this marriage but he died the very same year and the young couple had no stronger support (Kotłubaj 1857:433-434). Michał Kazimierz went abroad and stayed there for several years.¹² Eventually his engagement with young Sieniawska was broken. But his marriage with Maria Charlotte was impossible, because she was engaged with Frederic Maurice Casimir prince de Turenne.¹³ He was son and heir of the duke de Bouillon. After many vicissitudes she got married to Charles Gottfried – younger brother of her former fiancé. She wasn't happy with her husband as they were in deep financial trouble and he was not interested in her but in many other women, among them his own young stepmother. The Bouillons were interested only in Maria Charlotte's money. Relations between the princess and her father prince Jakub weren't good. They never were close and now father couldn't forgive his daughter that she stayed in France and married another man without his consent. He even decided to withdraw her all rights to his heritage. It was shocking decision as he had no other children. Eventually in 1735 Maria Charlotte decided to come back to Poland and to improve her relations with her father. He didn't wait for her and wasn't eager to meet. Although he knew she was to come he left Ohlau and removed to his properties in the Red Russia. She had to follow him. Maria Charlotte wanted to convince his father so much that she tried to use her daughter. Young Louise de Bouillon came to Poland soon after her mother. Her grandfather was pleased by her appearance. There were built new plans for the future. Louise de Bouillon was to marry one of the Polish noblemen. The most important question was to choose proper candidate for her. The Radzivils were deeply interested in this marriage; they wanted to get all heritage of the Sobieskis. But in this time they had no candidates for husbands, Michał Kazimierz had only two twin sons but they were two years old (Dymnicka-Wołoszyńska [Bd]:305). The problem of the Sobieskis fortune was really great as prince Jakub had no sons and no one of his two brother was alive. They left no heirs.

Eventually Louise returned to France. Her father anxious about her future awaited her with great impatience. Her mother stayed in Poland to fix all her interests. It wasn't easy as prince James still was crossed and badly disposed towards her. In 1737 he died. Maria Charlotte was all alone. She tried to gain some money because she has no means for living. Her husband didn't want to see her in France with no money and she had no way to get it. She could only use her father properties but her income was really little as her lands were in great debts. So she tried to borrow some money. She couldn't live long in such a way and she knew she couldn't leave these properties to her family, as Polish law didn't allow anybody from abroad to inherit any land in Poland. She decided to sell her goods there. The first man interested in getting this fortune was Michał Kazimierz Radzivil "Rybeńko", the old Maria Charlotte's love. He was Katarzyna of Sobieski Radzivil's grandson and the closest relative of prince James. There is one important question connected with whole situation. Maria Charlotte couldn't get any loan in Poland. It's not easy to explain why it was so. How-

¹² After the death of Karol Stanisław Radzivil all his properties were under his wife's control. (See: Królikowski 2000:185). She was the best manager of her family lands. (See: Bartoszewicz [Bd]. *Radzivilowie...*:188).

¹³ She was to marry him after her older sister Maria Casimira death.

ever prince Jakub had some problems in getting money he never lived in poverty. His properties were in gage and in debts, but his court was open and rich. Maria Charlotte had almost no income. It is possible her servants and managers used her difficult situation. She had no experience in running such big lands. Some of them always were unfaithful to prince Jakub; the others could take advantage of her inexperience of their new mistress. Maybe many people were afraid that all debts left by prince Jakub and now increasing by his daughter could be never paid. It wasn't wise to lend money to weak woman without any legal heirs. And the last suspicion – the Radzivills were deeply interested in taking over her lands. They knew problems with any legal inheritance would occur after her death. They wanted to get it before she would die and before any other heirs like the Stuarts would be prepared to claim their rights. What counted was time. Maybe it was not an accident that Maria Charlotte couldn't borrow money. Maybe the Radzivills convinced people not to help her. The greater were her trouble the eager she was to sell her lands.

Conferences between Maria Charlotte and Michał Kazimierz began in 1738. They gave their plenipotentiary to their servants and several people provided negotiations connected with future transaction.¹⁴ Anna of Sanguszko Radzivil supervised all activities of her son and his envoys. She was well informed about any progress in transaction. At last Michał Kazimierz impatient because of running time went to Żółkiew to talk face to face with Maria Charlotte. After twenty years they met once again. It was her birthday so they spend wonderful evening in high spirits. He stayed there several days and left when all transaction was finished.¹⁵

On the 30 of November 1739 the transaction was signed. Maria Charlotte gave to her cousin Żółkiew and Złoczów with all villages. She had rights to use the castle in Żółkiew and incomes of small villages – Żółtańce, Wola Żółtaniecka and Turynka. She was the first to buy these lands if Radzivil would want to sell them. He was to pay her one million zloty in 1740. She was to pay all her father's debts. She was also obliged to fulfill all claims of the Stuarts and the Bouillons, so the Radzivills would never meet any problems from their side. Later in her testament she asked her brother-in-law to accept her decision about the sale of her father's properties.¹⁶

As "pomocni przyjaciele" in this agreement were present Józef Aleksander Jabłonowski starost of Busko by Radzivil's side and the old secretary of prince Jakub always faithful and useful canon Jerzy Mocki.¹⁷ Radzivil was also bound to cover all expenses connecting with the funeral of prince Jakub. But he gave money in small parties and for long time.¹⁸ We don't know whether Maria Charlotte ever got all money. For sure she saw two hundred thousand zloty. She died not a year later and left huge debts of her own, not counting these ones left by her father. She had "dłużki kieszonkowe" counted on enormous sum forty thousand zloty.¹⁹

Soon after her death great problems occurred. The Stuarts and the Bouillons appealed to the Polish court for acknowledgement of their claims. They never approved this transaction. In their

¹⁴ Plenipotencja dana przez księżną Marię Karolinę de Bouillon kuchmistrzowi Gozdzkiemu, bm, bd, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Archiwum Radziwiłłów (later on AGAD AR) XI, teka 146, k.1.

¹⁵ Diariusz Michała Kazimierz Radziwiłła, AGAD AR II, teka 80a, k. 1021.

¹⁶ Testament Marii Karoliny de Bouillon, AGAD AR XI, teka 146 k. 64 and 57 (sic! There is a mistake in pagination).

¹⁷ Umowa o sprzedaży dóbr pomiędzy Marią Karoliną de Bouillon a Michałem Kazimierzem Radziwiłłem, Żółkiew, 30 XI 1739, AGAD AR XI, teka 146, k. 2.

¹⁸ Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł do Jerzego Mockiego, bm, 14 I 1742, AGAD AR XI, teka 149, k. 6.

¹⁹ Luźna notatka niewiadomego autorstwa, bm, 1803, AGAD AR XI, teka 146, k. 106.

opinion Maria Charlotte had no right to sell any part of her heritage.²⁰ They waited for some participation in dividing their grandfather's properties. Maria Charlotte's husband sent to Poland his envoy Antoine de Bacqueville. He took all mobiles left by the princess and sent them to France (Bongie 1986:89-90). Their children Louise duchess de Rohan and Godfried Charles duke de Bouillon were to demand some money which belonged to their mother. As far as we know her daughter got twenty two hundred five thousand zloty. Her son was to fight alone for his money. Problems of this inheritance still occurred in the beginning of XIX century.²¹

The Radzivils aware of danger that there were many people against this transaction tried to avoid any problems. At the beginning there were voices that huge part of these properties belonged to Poland and was given to Jakub Sobieski as his provision as he was the royal prince. They reminded the Polish constitutions 1631 and 1669 which agreed that the king's children should get some money from the state. They insisted that along the decisions made in 1632, 1674, 1697 and even in 1717 prince Jakub was to hold these properties only for life. It was for example the Szawel economy which the Radzivils eyed carefully as they wanted very much to get it. It was one of those ones bringing enormous income. They reminded also that Maria Karolina had no consent to keep them all and was to resign at once after her father death. Finally it was said that Jan Tarło voivode of Sandomierz represented every rights of the Stuarts and they were interested in future fate of all the Sobieskis fortune too.²² So the Radzivils should have found any way to valid their activities. They wanted Maria Karolina to assure the whole agreement by corroboration in the city books. They planned to convince her to ask her husband for proper letters, giving her rights to represent him. He should have given her special consent for all such transaction. But as he didn't believe his wife he wasn't eager to do it. Finally Michał Kazimierz could ask the diet to confirm he bought these lands legally and paid for them good money, but this way was the most difficult of any other.²³

The Radzivils expecting the efforts they should take in order to get the Sobieskis' properties, prepared special document about all their rights and claims to these lands. They showed themselves as victims of the king and prince Jakub as well. This is the real pearl of argumentation and special understanding of some events – sophisticated and grave. At the beginning they accused Jan III that he deceived his sister Katarzyna, *“a sukcesję millionową należącą się po matce...król objął”*, because *“co się jeno podobało królowi JMci wszystko mu dała”*. They complained that the king left her with nothing – *“babkę... kontentując deklaracjami całą i zupełną fortunę trzymając ruchomą i nieruchomą do swojej posesyi objąwszy bez należytej satysfakcji i rekompensaty”*. What's more he forced her to do give him her properties. After her husband's death she gave him some lands near Gdańsk. Then she agreed that she had no interest in some lands in Lithuania. These were Bogusław Radzivil's inheritance – Słuck and Kopyl and hrabstwo of Rajsk and Kojdanów. But Katarzyna

²⁰ „Odparcie pisma z strony JO Xiążęcia Radziwiłła wojewody wileńskiego”. Broszura skierowana do Rady Nieustającej, AGAD AR XI, teka 146, k. 7-18.

²¹ NN do NN, bd, bm, AGAD AR XI, teka 151, k.16-19. Wyjaśnienie pretensji de Rohanów do schedy po Janie III Sobieskim, Ibidem, k. 19. Piotrowski do NN, Żółkiew, 6. 09. 1757, Ibidem, k. 22 About claims of the Rohans. Michał Plater-Zyberg do NN, 1806, bm, Ibidem, k. 24.

²² Reflexy nad Transakcyami JOXia Imci Radziwiłła wojewody trockiego hetmana polnego WXL z JOXzną de Bouillon respektem nabycia od Niej dóbr wszelkich po S. P. Nayiaśniejszym Królewiczu Polskim Jakubie pozostałych zaszłemi; w których reflexyach są podane sposoby jak defectuosas Transactiones można reparować, Wawel 170 plik 9, k.13-17.

²³ Resolutio ad superius Proposita Puncta, APWawel, AS ms 170, plik 9, k.18-19.

resigned all her claims to them and she forced her sons to do the same. Far worth he ordered to remove all notes about it from the city books and it was absolutely against the law. He convinced his sister it was absolutely necessary to pay out all debts left by her husband and in his opinion there were no other way to get money, so *“klejnoty w Wenecji poprzedawano i namiot perłami haftowany i suknie także tam sprzedane za te długie”*. He even made her to make him the only warden of her sons and to withdraw the other warden's rights, for example those of Domink Radzivil their uncle, although it was unlawful. The king planned in this time a marriage between prince Jakub and princess Ludwika Karolina Radziwiłłówna. Katarzyna Sobieska and her son chancellor of the Great Duchy of Lithuania Karol Stanisław demanded their claims to these lands. Jan III wanted them to resign it. Eventually he promised them half of his lands near Żółkiew (this were lands after their mother family – Żólkiewski and Daniłowicz). So they waited. After the king's death they counted on prince Jakub.²⁴ Year after year they tried to convince him *“perswazją przyjacielską”*, but it didn't work. Even the chancellor's wife Anna of Sanguszko Radzivil talked to prince Jakub. At the beginning the Radzivils testified that they had asked their cousin the royal prince to give them fair part of his properties He *“należyte uspokojenie i satysfakcję deklarował”*. He promised to leave them all his lands because his daughters got married to the foreign princes. It was impossible to them to get any properties in Poland as they were not the Polish citizens. So all lands after the Sobieskis were to go to the Radzivils. But nothing happened. Then after the death of prince Jakub they saw that princess de Bouillon *“fortunę całą niesłusznie i nienależycie trzymając w różne z różnemi osobami kontrahencyje i zapisy niesłusznie wchodzi”*. So now they were sure that all her father's legacy was unlawful. They demanded to erase it all. *“A na koniec de nullitare wszelkich i jakichkolwiek transakcji y zapisów przez Jaśnie Oświeconą Xiężnę JeyMość de Bouillon zaszyłych albo tych które in futurum z jakimkolwiek osobami”* because they are invalid.²⁵

Not only the Radzivils were interested in this huge inheritance. There were plenty of distant relatives who wanted to profit from this situation. Among them were the Sanguszkos. Janusz of Ostrog got an estate in his lands in 1620. But he died leaving the only daughter and his fortune went to the Zasławskis. Władysław Dominik Zasławski-Ostrogski left them to his son Janusz Aleksander, but he also had no children. In 1673 after her first son death Katarzyna Radzivil left to Rzeczpospolita his properties of the Ostrog estate (Jaroszuk [B.m.]. *Katarzyna...*:394). The king gave all this properties to his sister Teofila Ludwika and her husband Józef Lubomirski. As their son Aleksander Dominik died having no children all the Ostrog estate came to his sister Mariana²⁶, she got married to Paweł Karol Sanguszko future marshal of the court of the Great Duchy of Lithuania. And he himself felt he was obliged to obtain some part of the Sobieskis inheritance. In spite of his own deep problems with the Ostrog estate, he tried to find any meaning to nip something of the royal prince Jakub inheritance.

There were several letters about any rights of the Sanguszkos to handle the Ostrog estate. First one was a diploma assuring his rights of administration in it.²⁷ But later he had to defend his

²⁴ Mediacyja tak wielkich pretensyi i krzywd naszych, które ponieśli synowie moi od Najjaśniejszego Domu wielkiej pamięci Króla JMci Polskiego Jana III, APWawel, AS ms 190, plik 7, k.91-95.

²⁵ Wypis z ksiąg grodzkich krzemienieckich, 1738, Wawel AS 170, plik 9, k. 25-36.

²⁶ I dare admit that his other sister was the second wife of Charles Philip of Neuburg – it was all in one big family.

²⁷ Dyploma administracji dóbr ordynacji Ostrogskiej dla Janusz Sanguszki marszałka nadwornego WXL, 1754, , Biblioteka Czartoryskich (later on: BCzart), ms 1951, k. 137-138.

rights.²⁸ As always there were great opposition against it. Sanguszko was accused that he sold some lands of the Ostrog estate although it was strictly forbidden.²⁹ Nevertheless all problems with their lands the Sanguszkos thought themselves entitled to inherit after the Sobieskis. As Katarzyna of Sobieski Radzivil was their ancestor they wanted to profit from the mess after prince Jakub death. So in 1738 and 1739 they prepared to fight and made the lists of all their possible rights.³⁰ It took quite some time but in 1773 Janusz Sanguszko ordered his servant Czarnecki to find if it was possible for him to get any part of the Sobieskis fortune, by the “natural rights” (sic!), as it was said in previously prepared documents.³¹

The other trouble for Michał Kazimierz Radzivil were claims notified by Jan Tarło voivode of Sandomierz. Prince Jakub was his debtor. Tarło lent him 200 thousand zloty and as his assurance got mortgage on several villages.³² He took them in gage and wanted them for himself or money. As Radzivil didn't want to pay and demanded restitution, they began to quarrel. No negotiations solved the problem. Jan Tarło was the representative of all claims appealed by the Stuarts.³³ In 1742 the real war took place they used their court armies and regularly besieged castles. Radzivil defeated his rival at Kulików and took, after six weeks of fight, Złoczów (Dymnicka-Wołoszyńska [Bd]:303). We have to admit that his political moderation brought him king's support in this trouble. Also the Czartoryskis and the Potockis were his friends (Mackiewicz 1990:134). Not only main directors of Poland took part in this war, even prince Konstanty Sobieski's widow – Maria Józefa of Wessel was asked to support it (Bartoszewicz 1935:136). Finally they managed to concentrate all these properties in their hands (Taurogiński 1937:104), though many told them: “*przejęli w nieuczciwy sposób majątki po Janie III Sobieskim*” (Cieszkowski 1906:78). Far worse was that the Radzivils thought themselves as the only legal heirs of the Sobieskis. They wanted to take over not only lands but also all mobiles and capitals left abroad.³⁴ But they weren't able to manage them well enough. Their fortune was great but in debts too.

History of the Sobieskis ended with Jan's III last granddaughter Maria Charlotte. Although married to the foreign prince she returned to Poland in order to inherit her father fortune and died there. However the Sobieskis were important for all Europe as Jan III saved all Christendom during the battle at Vienna, his sons never played any serious role in the European policy. Eventually they were rather subjects of the game than real actors on the political scene. No one of them ever took part of the director in any matters of moments. The end of the family was sad. They had no great money and no flourishing lands. Their properties were in debts thanked to the war, damages made

²⁸ Manifest JOXCia JMci Janusza Sanguszka marszałka nadwornego WXL, BCzart, MNK, ms 81, k. 245-251.

²⁹ Remanifest przyjaciela przed aktami sprawiedliwego sądu i urzędem nie interesowanego zdania naprzeciwko Manifestu przez JOXCia Sanguszka marszałka nadwornego WXL w roku terażniejszym 1755 w czwartek w grodzie warszawskim zanieionemu uczyniony, BCzart, MNK, ms 81, k. 253-264.

³⁰ Memoriał JOXCia JMci Pawła Karola Sanguszka marszałka WXL ojca dany JOXCiu JMci Januszowi Sanguszcze miecznikowi WXL synowi w interesie respektem dóbr pozostałych po SP Najjaśniejszym Królewiczu JMci Polskim Jakubie, APWawel, AS 170, plik 9, k.5-7.

³¹ Janusz Sanguszko do Czarneckiego, Dubno, 28 Octobris 1773, APWawel, AS 413 plik 4 k. 1-2.

³² We have papers showing us some part of these debts. Skrypty dłużne królewicza Jakuba Sobieskiego Janowi Tarle, AGAD AR XI, teka 148, k. 61-68.

³³ Mowa Jaśnie Oświeconego JM Pana Wojewody sandomierskiego w Lublinie 1773, AGAD AR XI, teka 148, k. 70-78.

³⁴ „Odparcie pisma z strony JO Xiążęcia Radziwiłła wojewody wileńskiego”. Broszura skierowana do Rady Nieustającej, AGAD AR XI, teka 146, k. 7-18.

by the different armies – Russian, Swedish, Saxon and even or especially Polish one. They were never treated as good children of the motherland. August II was afraid of them, the emperor offered them Ohlau on Silesia as he had no money for the dowry belonged to Jadwiga Elżbieta but than he treated them as heavy and inconvenient burden. They were nowhere expected quests. After the death of the last one of them their properties however ruined were desirable great peace of lands. So many people dreamt of getting them. Among them we can count grandchildren of the Sobieskis – the Stuarts and the Rohans and the Bouillons. They could not get much as they were not citizens of Poland. The very next to inherit were the Radziwiłls also closely related to the Sobieskis. They were well prepared for the action and tried to convince not only helpless Maria Charlotte but also everybody else they were the only lawful heirs of the so important family. They had the greatest chances and finally got the biggest part of this inheritance. But we can see on the scene the others as Jan Tarło the royal prince's creditor and distant relatives as the Sanguszkos. They were less happy members of the group interested in nipping of this legendary fortune.

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RADVILOS IR SOBIESKIŲ PALIKIMAS

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Santrauka

Šeimyniniai ir turtiniai kontaktai tarp Radvilų ir Sobieskių prasidėjo po to, kai būsimo karaliaus Jono III (Jan III) sesuo Kotryna 1658 metais ištekėjo už Mykolo Kazimiero Radvilos iš Olykos-Nesvyžiaus linijos, tuo metu LDK pataurininkio. Turto dalybos tarp Jano Sobieskio ir Kotrynos Radvilienės prasidėjo po vyresniojo brolio Morkaus (Mark) bei jų motinos Teofilės mirties. Kai kurie iš surašytų tuo metu dokumentų išliko archyve Vavelyje. Visi Kotrynos pirkiniai buvo gerokai kuklesni negu brolio, bet Kotrynos vyro Mykolo Kazimiero nusiskundimų dėl to niekur neaptinkame. Vėliau ji pati perrašė broliui turto dalį, taip pat 1685 metais ir Veiherovo (Wejherowo) žemes. 1694 metais po sesers mirties Jonas III paveldėjo 66 000 zlotų. 1683 metais Kotryna pasirašė dokumentą, kuriame atsisakė visų pretenzijų į tariamai Boguslavo Radvilos jos vyrui užrašytą valdą.

Boguslavo Radvilos paveldėtoja buvo vienintelė jo duktė Liudvika Karolina. 1680 metais ji susižadėjo su Liudviku, Brandenburgo markgrafu, jaunesniuju karaliaus Fridricho Vilhelmo sūnumi. Tuo tarpu Jonas III planavo savo vyriausiojo sūnaus Jokūbo (Jakub) vedybas su Biržų-Dubingių Radvilų paveldėtoja. Padėtis pasikartojė 1688 metais. Liudvika Karolina tapo našle ir Sobieskiai pradėjo siekti jos rankos. Liudvika Karolina slapta ištekėjo už Noiburgo (Neuburg) kunigaikščio Karolio Pilypo, nors buvo susižadėjusi su karalaičiu Jokūbu ir raštiškai pareiškusi, kad jeigu neištekės už Sobieskio – savo valdas praras. Prieš Radvilaitę buvo organizuotos akcijos, siekiant atimti iš jos valdas, bet tuo metu stipri opozicija pasipriešino Sobieskiams.

Likimas vos nesujungė Radvilų ir Sobieskių dar kartą, kai 1719 metais Mykolas Kazimieras Žuvelė atvažiavo į karalaičio Jokūbo dvarą Olave (Oława) ir iš pirmo žvilgsnio pamilo šeimnininko dukrą Mariją Karoliną. Bet susituokti jiems nebuvo lemta, netrukus abu sukūrė savo atskiras šeimas. Antrą kartą jie susitiko tik po daugelio metų.

1739 metais Mykolui Kazimierui pavyko įsigyti didelę Sobieskių valdų dalį. Jis išpirko jas iš paskutinės šeimos paveldėtojos Marijos Karolinos prieš pat šios mirtį. Sandėrį iš tolo prižiūrėjo Radvilos motina Ona, kurią jis informavo apie derybų eigą. Marija Karolina turėjo gauti už šias valdas milijoną zlotų. Nėra žinoma, ar taip tikrai įvyko, nes po jos mirties liko didžiulės skolos. Žinoma taip pat, kad iki gyvenimo pabaigos ji gyveno skurdžiai.

Jau kitais metais Marija Karolina mirė ir atsirado naujų sunkumų, susijusių su paveldėjimu. Visų pirma pretenzijas pareiškė jos giminaičiai iš Prancūzijos. Padėtį komplikavo ir Sandomiežo (Sandomierz) vaivados Jono Tarlos (Jan Tarła) reikalavimai, nes karalaitis Jokūbas iš jo imdavo paskolas, už jas užstatydamas savo valdas. Dokumentai, patvirtinantys šią sutartį, buvo saugomi Centriniame senųjų aktų archyve (AGAD – Archiwum Głównie Akt Dawnych), bet, deja, karo me-

tais sudegė. 1744 metais prasidėjo nuolatinis karas dėl Sobieskių valdų, vyko įvairūs mūšiai ir apsuptys. Šis karas truko iki 1747 metų. Galiausiai valdos, dėl kurių buvo ginčijamasi, liko Radvilų rankose. Pabrėžtina, kad kiek anksčiau jiems pavyko perimti Biržų linijos valdas, nes Jeronimas Florijonas vedė jų paveldėtoją markgrafaitę von Sulzbach. Ši santuoka buvo sudaryta 1731 metais Onos Sanguškaitės-Radvilienės atkakliomis pastangomis. Nors ši santuoka nebuvo pripažinta, Radvilos jau anksčiau buvo surašę labai pelningą vedybų sutartį, leidžiančią perimti vadinamuosius Noiburgo turtus dar prieš vedybas. Tačiau kai jaunikis pasirodė uošvio dvare, jie nutarė verčiau prarasti valdas, nei pritarti šioms vedyboms. Galiausiai Radvilos išmokėjo kompensaciją ir Sapiegoms, ir Sulzbachui. Taip tos valdos tapo jų nuosavybe.

Tokiu būdu dviejų Radvilų linijų ir Sobieskių valdos perėjo į paskutiniojo Radvilų iš Olykos-Nesvyžiaus linijos paveldėtojo Karolio Stanislavo II rankas. Po šio mirties jos perėjo į trečiąją giminystės liniją jau iš Klecko linijos. Nors po karų ir blogo šeiminkavimo metų šios valdos buvo gerokai nuskurdintos ir sumažėjusios, tačiau jos ir toliau tebeliko labai ženklios.

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