The Niaśviž Estates of Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł The Formation of a Byelorussian Latifundium (1565-1616)

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The Radziwiłł¹ family owned much of what is now central Byelorussia for many generations. In fact, there was only one other princely house in Byelorussia in the late 16th century, which held estates as extensive as those of the Radziwiłłs — the Princes Olelko of Słuck. However, the last member of that family, Princess Sophie, died in 1612, leaving her estate to her husband, a Radziwiłł. From that time until the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian state, and even many years later, the Radziwiłłs ruled over most of central Byelorussia. This paper aims to show how one of the largest complexes of Radziwiłł estates, composed of the Principality of Niaśviž and the County of Mir, was acquired between 1565 and 1616 by Prince Nicholas Christopher, nicknamed 'the Orphan', Radziwiłł. Before attempting this, it may be useful to review briefly the general development of large-scale land ownership in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and the earlier history of the Radziwiłł family, as well as to present a short biographical sketch of Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł.

The period of the formation of the Polish-Lithuanian union (1385-1569) is also the period of the formation of great landed estates in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The first latifundium in the Grand Duchy was established by Władysław Jagiełło, the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King of Poland, in 1387, when he generously endowed the cathedral church in Vilna. Successors of Jagiełło were even more generous. Consequently, by the middle of the sixteenth century, a relatively small group of noble families acquired a large portion of the peasant population and of the land in the Grand Duchy.²

This process of the formation of very large landed estates has not been studied extensively.³ Nevertheless, its results can be assessed on the basis of the very valuable information provided by the 1528 review of the Lithuanian army.⁴ According to Jerzy Ochmański's calculations, the review included 13,060 noble families who put up a total of 19,842 mounted men. About 30% of this force represented the contributions of 23 magnate families. Ochmański further calculates that these 23 magnate families controlled almost 100,000 peasant households (*dymy*), or considerably over 600,000 subjects. Heading this list of the 23 richest families of the Grand Duchy were the Lithuanian families of the Kieżgajlo (Kęsgaila), with 768 mounted men, and of Radziwiłł, with 760 men.⁵

All place- and river-names are given in both Polish and, where possible Byelorussian forms. Reference was made to the following works to identify the Byelorussian names:

Atlas Biełaruskaj Savietskaj Sacyjalistyčnaj Respubliki, Minsk — Moscow, 1958.

Belorusskaja SSR. Administrativno-territorial'noje delenie, izd. 5, Minsk, 1954.

Biełaruskaja Savietskaja Encykłapiedyja, tt. 1-12, Minsk, 1969-75.

Dyialektatahičny atlas biełaruskaj movy, Minsk, 1963.

Mikratapanimija Biełarusi, Minsk, 1974.

Zucklevič, V. A., *Kratkij toponimičeskij slovar' Belorusii*, Minsk, 1974.

Alternative forms are given in round brackets. Where no corresponding Byelorussian form has been confirmed, Russian forms are given in square brackets.

Polish	Byelorussian
1 Nieśwież	Niaśviž
2 Alba	Alba

Polish	Byelorussian
3 Siejłowicze	Siejłavičy
4 Sławkowo	Siaŭkova
5 Kaczanowicze	Kačanovičy
6 Wojniłowicze	Vajniłovičy
7 Dubiejkowicze (Dubiejki)	Dubiejki
8 Pochabowicze (Pochabowszczyzna)	[Pochabovščina]
9 Lipa (later Saska Lipka)	Lipa [Saska Lipka]
10 Kwacze	Kvačy
11 Kręty Brzeg	[Krutoj Bereg]
12 Zausze	Zaŭšy
13 Mir	Mir
14 Cetra	[Cetra]
15 Wielkie Siolo	[Velikoje Selo]
16 Ojucewicze	Ajucavičy
17 Raduń	Raduń
18 Piaseczno	Piasočnaje
19 Żuchowicze (Ż. Wielkie)	Žuchovičy
20 Chozowo (Kożewo)	[Koževo]
21 Łuki	Łuki
22 Świerzeń (Ś. Nowy (town))	Svierżań
23 Załuże	Załužža
24 Założe	[Založ'je]
25 Skomoroszki	Skamaraški
26 Przetoki (Pieretoki)	Pieratoki
27 Świerżno (Ś. Stary (village))	[Staryj Sverżeń]
28 Zaczewicze (Zacierzewo)	[Zaterova]
29 Sowonie (Sawonie)	Savani
30 Witoczerowo (Wyczetarowo)	[Vyčitarovo]
31 Lubno	Lubna
32 Otalez (Atależ)	Atalez
33 Tulonka	Tulenka
34 Siemieńczyce	[Sementiči]
35 Otceda (Odceda)	[Occeda]
36 Bychowszczyzna	Bychaŭščyna
37 Mitkiewicze (Mickiewicze)	Mickavičy
38 Osmołowo	Asmołava
39 Czanowicze	[Čanavič]
40 Łania (Łań)	Łań
41 Kabruny	Kabruny
42 Sołtanowa Hać (later Sołtanowszczyzna)	Saŭtanaŭščyna
43 Nowosiołki	Navasiołki
44 Kudzinowicze	Kudzinavičy
45 Rakowicze	Rakavičy
46 Pleszewicze	Plešavičy
47 Zaturia (Zaturja)	Zatur'ja
47a Juszewicze	Juševičy
48 Buzuny	Buzuny
49 Biełiki	[Beliki]
50 Mikołajewszczyzna	Mikołajeŭščyna
51 Swieranowo (Swiernowo)	[Sverinovo]
52 Rusakowicze	Rusakovičy
53 Podzierzyce (Paździerzycze)	[Poderič]
54 Kunosy (Kunosa)	Kunosy
55 *Mohylna (Mohilno)	Mahilna
56 *Św. Dwór (Światy Dwor)	[Svjatyj Dvor]
57 *Kościęsze (Kostieszy)	Kaściašy
58 *Łunino (Łunin)	Łunina
59 *Hołowacze (Hołowaczy)	Hałavačy
60 *Jarszewicze (Jerszy)	Jarševičy [Jerši]

Polish	Byelorussian
61 *Zamościanie (Zamostje)	Zamaściany
62 *Andrusze (Andruszy)	[Andrjuši]
63 *Litwa	Litva
64 *Podsadskie (Podsadskije)	Podsadskija
65 Horodziej	Haradzjeja
66 Jezioro (Jeziorskie)	Voziera [Ozerska]
67 Rudawka	Radaŭka
68 Użanka	[Užanka]
69 Nowosiołki	Navasiołki
70 Omłyńce	[Amlincy]
71 Howiezna	Haviazna
neighbouring estates	
72 Kleck	Kleck
73 Malewo	Maleva
74 Jaśkiewiczze	Jaśkievičy
75 Snów	Snoŭ
76 Lipa (later L. Wielka)	Lipa
77 Studzionki	Studzionki
78 Łysica	Łysica
79 Podlesie	Padleśsie
80 Ostrówki	Astraŭki
81 Iszkoldź	Iškaldź
82 Zadźwieja	Zadźvieja
83 Turzec	Turec
84 Jeremicze	Jaremičy
85 Derewna	Dzieraŭna
86 Kojdanów	Kojdanava
87 Zasule	Zasulle
88 Jaczanka (Jaczonka)	Jačanka [Jačonka]
89 Opieczki	Apiečki
90 Stołpce	Stoŭbcy
91 Prusinow(o)	Prusinava
92 *Piaseczna (Piesocznoje)	Piasočnaje
93 *Mojsiewiczze (Mosiewiczzy)	Majsiejevičy
94 Kopyl	Kopyl
95 Pocijki	Paciejki
96 *Rymasze (Rymaszy)	Rymašy
97 *Talidowicze (Tieladowiczy)	[Taledoviči]
Rivers	
98 Niemen	Nioman
99 Usza	Uša
100 Łań	Łań
101 Wynia	Vynia
102 Turja	Tur'ja
103 Suła	Suła
104 Jaczanka (Jaczonka)	Jačonka

* East of the 1939 Polish-Soviet frontier — Polish maps use transliterations.

The early history of the Radziwiłłs is not clear.⁶ It is certain, however, that they had a common ancestor with the Ościk (Astikas) family, and that they began using the family name of Radziwiłł (in its various early forms) in the 15th century. Throughout the 15th and 16th centuries, the Radziwiłłs increased their wealth and power by intermarriage with other magnate Lithuanian and Polish families, and by securing royal appointments to some of the highest offices in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. By the early 16th century the family divided into three branches. One of them, which drew much of its strength from huge estates in the westernmost province of the Grand Duchy, Podlasie, did not survive the first half of the 16th century. The heads of the remaining two branches, Nicholas Radziwiłł 'the Red' (1512-1584) and Nicholas Radziwiłł 'the Black' (1515-1565), obtained the titles of princes of the Holy Roman Empire from the Emperor Charles V in 1547. The same year, the Radziwiłłs scored another great success by seeing 'the Red's' sister, Barbara, marry King Sigismund Augustus. Both Radziwiłłs, 'the Black' and 'the Red', converted to Calvinism; however, only the heirs of the latter remained faithful to it. Their branch of the family became extinct at the end of the 17th century. The sons of Prince Nicholas 'the Black' returned to Catholicism shortly after their father's death in 1565. Their descendants are still alive today.⁷

Prince Nicholas Christopher 'the Orphan' Radziwiłł, born in 1549 in Ćmielów (north-west of Sandomierz), was the eldest son of Prince Nicholas 'the Black' and Elizabeth Szydłowiecka.⁸ Having lost both of his parents at an early age, he spent most of his teen-age years studying and travelling in Western Europe. He studied at Tübingen, Strasbourg, Basel, Heidelberg, and Paris. While in Rome, he abandoned Calvinism for Catholicism.

He returned to Lithuania in 1567. The following year he participated in the campaign of Roman Sanguszko against the Muscovites, after which he obtained the title of Marshal of the Court of Lithuania (June 1569). Spending the next months at the royal court, Prince Nicholas Christopher accepted with some reluctance the Union of Lublin, but was outspoken in his opposition to religious dissidents. Thus, during the Sejm of 1570, together with the Marshal of the Court of Poland, Stanislaus Barzy, and John Herburt, Radziwiłł was the only lay dignitary to demand that the king keep in force decrees against the dissidents. In the summer of 1572, he was present at the deathbed of King Sigismund Augustus. This prompted the public accusation that, taking advantage of the king's illness, he wrested from him a signature on the charter conferring upon him for life the very profitable eldership of Šiauliai (Szawle).

During the interregnum, together with other Lithuanian senators, Prince Nicholas Christopher deluded Ivan VI with the possibility of election to the Polish throne. However, this was done mainly in order to preserve the peace on the eastern frontier. At the same time, Radziwiłł corresponded with Emperor Maximilian II. Later on, he joined the French party, and following the election of Henry Valois to the Polish throne, he took part in the legation to Paris. While in

Paris, he attracted attention on two occasions. The first time, he demanded (unsuccessfully) that the Grand Duchy of Lithuania be represented separately from Poland, and the second time, he attempted to convince the king-elect not to swear to respect the Confederation of Warsaw of January 1573 which granted religious toleration to Protestants. After returning to Lithuania, he closed down the Calvinist chapel in his residence in Vilna. At the same time, his younger brother, George (1556-1600), the future cardinal, became coadjutor of the diocese of Vilna.

Next to his uncle, Prince Nicholas 'the Red' Radziwiłł, the Voivode of Vilna, and John Chodkiewicz, the Castellan of Vilna, Nicholas Christopher was the most influential person in the Grand Duchy. During the second interregnum, following the flight of King Henry from Cracow to France, Prince Nicholas Christopher initially supported the Habsburg candidate, but then gave his support to Stephan Batory. He documented the sincerity of his commitment to the new king, by active participation in his military campaign against the rebellious city of Gdańsk in 1577. Bad health inclined Radziwiłł toward complete withdrawal from public life, but he was dissuaded from this by his brother-in-law, John Zamoyski, the Grand Chancellor of Poland. Now an ardent supporter of the king, Prince Nicholas Christopher actively assisted with the military preparations for war with Muscovy. Consequently, he advanced to the position of Grand Marshal of Lithuania (October 1579). Wounded during the campaign to recapture the city of Połack, with his health again deteriorating, Prince Nicholas Christopher left for Italy to seek a cure. He spent almost a year there. He postponed, however, his plans to visit the Holy Land, and returned to Lithuania to assist King Stephan during the Pskov campaign of 1581.

In September of 1582 Radziwiłł finally left for the Holy Land, from where he returned in July of 1584. The major effect of this trip was an interesting diary, first published, in Latin translation, in 1601. Two months after his return to Lithuania, Prince Nicholas Christopher married Elizabeth (Halszka) Euphemia Wiśniowiecka, the daughter of the Voivode of Volhynia. Rejecting John Zamoyski's proposals to aspire to the office of Voivode of Vilna, Nicholas Christopher appeared definitely decided to withdraw from public life. However, he was not successful in doing this, as in March of 1586 he was appointed Castellan of Troki. During the same year, he received permission from the general of the Society of Jesus to establish a college in Niaśviż, and he entailed his principal estates: the Principality of Niaśviż and the County of Mir.

During the interregnum following the death of Batory, Prince Nicholas Christopher, together with his brothers, attempted to swing over Lithuania to the side of Maximilian Habsburg, but after initial success, this plan failed. He also toyed with the admittedly unrealistic idea of electing Fedor I to the Polish-Lithuanian throne, on the condition that he convert to Catholicism, or at least obtain papal approval. During the divided election, Prince Nicholas Christopher still supported the Habsburgs, but realizing that the popularity of

his candidate was rapidly declining, he came over to the side of Sigismund Vasa.

In August of 1590, Prince Radziwiłł advanced from the position of Castellan to that of Voivode of Troki. Toward the end of 1591, he and his wife left for Pauda. He was back in September of 1592, for the 'Sejm of Inquiry', during which he supported the king's plans to go to Sweden, and defended him from unfounded accusations. In other matters, his position was regarded by some as equivocal.

In 1596, Prince Nicholas Christopher served on two royal commissions. The first one delimited the boundaries between Podlasie and Brest provinces. The other deliberated on the provisions of the proposed church union between the Catholics and the Orthodox, concluded later that year in Brest. In September of 1596 the Prince's young wife died. In connection with this, it was speculated that he might enter the priesthood. However, in March of 1604, he accepted the royal appointment to the highest secular office in the Grand Duchy, that of Voivode of Vilna. During the revolt against King Sigismund III (1606-1608), together with John Chodkiewicz and Leo Sapieha he mobilized support for the king.

This was the last time Prince Nicholas Christopher took an active part in the political life of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. He spent his last years almost exclusively in his magnificent residence in Niasviž, by then one of the most important political, commercial, cultural and religious centers in Byelorussia. Prince Nicholas Christopher 'the Orphan' Radziwiłł died on February 28, 1616, survived by four sons, one daughter, and the largest entailed estate in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

The origins of the Niasviž estate were very humble. As late as the middle of the 15th century, it was still a small settlement in the marshy valley at the source of the Uša river, a left-bank tributary of the Nioman. It belonged to the Grand Duke.⁹ The first known hereditary owner of Niasviž, aside from the Grand Duke, was Peter Ianovič Montygirdovič, the Voivode of Troki. In 1492 the newly elected Grand Duke Alexander granted to him the hereditary rights to a number of estates. Niasviž, considerably expanded by then, was mentioned first in the document listing these estates: "...curiam nostram Nyeszwysz dictam in fluvio Uscha nuncupato; item predium seu curiolam Kruthybreh dictam super eodem fluvio Uscha, ad curiam Nyeswysz spectantem; item tributarios Czuczewiczy, ex antiquo ad supradictam spectantes..."¹⁰

Though a series of marriages and property settlements, Niasviž with surroundings and dependencies passed to the Kiszka, and later, to the Radziwiłł family.¹¹ In 1547, Nicholas 'the Black' and John Radziwiłł, together with their cousin, Nicholas 'the Red', received from Emperor Charles V, for themselves and posterity the title of Princes of the Holy Roman Empire. The first two assumed the title of princes of Ołyka and Niasviž, and the other one assumed the title of prince of Biržai (Birže) and Dubingiai (Dubinki).¹² These titles were confirmed in the same year by King Sigismund Augustus.¹³ This is how Niasviž became a principality. From Jan Jakubowski's

research it appears that in 1547, this 'principality' included besides the small castle of Niašviž, only the villages of Kręty Brzeg and Siejłowicze, and parts of three other villages: Wojniłowicze, Kaczanowicze, and Lipa.¹⁴ Before attempting to document the growth of Niašviž under Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł, which is the main object of this paper, it will be necessary to point out the developments which took place in the area during his father's time, between 1547 and 1565. In addition to this, in order to appreciate fully the extent of Prince Nicholas Christopher's acquisitions, it may be of interest first to examine briefly the significance of Niašviž during the life of Prince Nicholas 'the Black'.

It is difficult to explain why in 1547 Prince Nicholas 'the Black' received the title of Prince of Ołyka and Niašviž. Of the numerous estates which belonged to him, there is little evidence to suggest that these two were the largest or most important in 1547.¹⁵ In the itinerarium of Nicholas 'the Black' Radziwiłł for the years 1547-1565, prepared by his biographer, Józef Jasnowski, neither Niašviž nor Ołyka are mentioned.¹⁶ Perhaps by 1547 both of these estates, unlike the others, which were located mainly in the relatively peaceful north-western and western parts of the Grand Duchy, were already centered around impressively fortified manors or castles, which would reflect best the family's newly acquired princely status.¹⁷ In any event, Prince Nicholas 'the Black' did little to expand the estate of Niašviž. In the early 1560s, Mathias Kawieczynski, the well-known publisher of Protestant texts, conducted a land survey (*pomiara włóczna*) of Niašviž and vicinity, during which the lands belonging to Prince Radziwiłł were measured and consolidated. Unfortunately, no central register of this activity survived. Aside from this, Prince Radziwiłł 'the Black' made only three small acquisitions in the village of Lipa.¹⁸ Thus, the total area of the Niašviž estate in 1565 differed very little from that of 1547.

It was Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł, the son of Prince Nicholas 'the Black', who made Niašviž into one of the largest estates in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Before attempting to explain his motives and methods of land acquisition, it is worthwhile to provide the chronology of the Prince's acquisitions. This will help in reconstructing the late sixteenth century map of a substantial part of central Byelorussia. Documents preserved in the Radziwiłł Archive¹⁹, now a part of Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych in Warsaw, give evidence of the following acquisitions:

1. 1566, Nov. 11. Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł, together with his brothers, purchases a part of Lipa from John Mikołajewicz Hlebowicz.²⁰
2. 1568-1569, Sept. 19. Prince Nicholas Christopher, following the death of George Ilinicz, inherits the estates of Mir and Zuchowicze.²¹
3. 1569, May 5. Prince Nicholas Christopher trades part of Lipa (acquired in 1566 from Hlebowicz) for Joseph Hołownia's

- manorial farms in Terentowicze, on the Łań river, and in Kukowicze, plus several peasants in Czuczewicze (in Polesie).²²
4. 1569, June 9. Prince Radziwiłł exchanges certain lands in Lipa with the Podarewski family.²³
 5. 1571, April 2 — 1582, June. Radziwiłł, through a series of trades and purchases, acquires the Świerżań estate.²⁴
 6. 1574, Oct. 3. Prince Nicholas Christopher purchases the estate called Olekowicze from *kniaź* Alexander Iwanowicz Lichodziejewski and his wife, Maryna Wołk.²⁵
 7. 1575, Jan. 22. Radziwiłł buys the estate of Suboczowszczyzna, near Horodziej, from the Hanuszewicz and Hresznik families.²⁶
 8. 1575, May 5. Prince Radziwiłł purchases the estate of Dworzec Jeleński (or Lubkowszczyzna), from Peter Boksza, John Klepacki, and Casper Radulski, and their wives, the daughters of Lubko Chodyczyc.²⁷
 9. 1576, Dec. 28. Radziwiłł exchanges the newly acquired Dworzec Jeleński for 42 włoki of forest, closer to Niaświż, belonging to Dominik Mikolajewicz Pac, Castellan of Smolensk.²⁸
 10. 1577, July 28. Prince Nicholas Christopher purchases Dwór Jakimowski from Matthew Zacharzewski, Royal Captain of Horse, with peasants in Załuże and Opieczki, on both sides of the Nioman river.²⁹
 11. 1579, July 3. Radziwiłł purchases four properties from Lev Mokłok: one on the Łań river, the second in Kukowicze, and the fourth near Juszewicze.³⁰
 12. 1579, Sept. 5. Prince Radziwiłł exchanges his estate of Zadzwieja for Joseph Hołownia's lands in Lipa (see nr. 3).³¹
 13. 1582, June 17. Prince Nicholas Christopher buys the estate of Bychowszczyzna, on the Łań river, together with lands called Bobrowszczyzna, Ziabkowszczyzna, and Mitkiewiczze, from Jerome Makowiecki, Royal Secretary and Marshal.³²
 14. 1583, May 2. Radziwiłł adds to Bychowszczyzna, by way of purchase, the estate of Stanislaus Mizgajło Szczurycha, Osmołowicze.³³
 15. 1583, Dec. 7. Prince Radziwiłł buys more land near Bychowszczyzna, from Constantine Hryhorewicz Zaliwaka and his wife, Anna. This is the estate of Mitkowicze, with lands in Minkiewiczze and a mill on the river Tuchołówka.³⁴
 16. 1586, March 12. Prince Nicholas Christopher buys from Casper Czanowicki his estate of Czanowicze.³⁵
 17. 1586, July 20. Radziwiłł exchanges certain lands belonging to the estate of Świerżań (near Arciuchy), beyond the Nioman, for the estate of Matthew Kuczkun and his wife, Bohdana Romanowna Mokłok. This piece of property on the Łań river, called Tierentowiczy, with some land in Kukowicze, was surrounded on all sides by lands belonging to the Prince.³⁶
 18. 1586, July 20. Prince Nicholas Christopher exchanges part of Kukowicze for Stanislaus Podleski's (Podlowski?) share of Osmołowicze.³⁷

19. 1586, Dec. 27. Prince Radziwiłł purchases another part of Czanolwice (see nr. 16), from Bohdana Kirykowna, the widow of Paul Czanolwicki, and her sons, John and Jarosz.³⁸
20. 1587, Jan. 2. Radziwiłł purchases from Iwan Iwanowicz Sołtan the estate of Niašviž or Sołtanowa Hać (now Sołtanowszczyzna), for 14,000 kopy groszy. This included: '... dvor nad rekoiu Vyneiu pobudowany z dvortsom k tomuż imieniu prinależačim Zatureiskim nad rečkoiu Turieiu ... z selami do tego dvoru i dvortsa ... z selom Novoselkami i z selom Kudinovičami z selom Rakovičami z selom Plesevičami abo Olechovičami z selom Zatureju i z selom Buzunami i z Halym (Sławkowo?) ...'³⁹
21. 1587, May 31. Prince Nicholas Christopher acquires another share of Olekowicze (see nr. 6), by buying part of it from *kniaz* Żdan Lichodziejewski, and compensating him for the rest with other land bordering on Sołtanowa Hać.⁴⁰

The acquisition above is a convenient point for stopping to review and to summarize the developments which took place up to the end of May of 1587, mainly because of the existence of a very important document which lists in detail all of the hereditary estates of Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł at June 1587. This document⁴¹, which for the sake of convenience, will be called the 'Summary of June 1587', divides the area under consideration into seven estates (*klucze*), and subdivides these into villages in the following manner:

Niešwiž (town)	Swierzno (town)	Sołtanowa Hać (manor)
Siejlłowicze	Zaluze	Nowosiolki
Sławkowo	Zalozie	Kudzinowice
Kaczanolwice	Skomorossi	Rakowice
Wojniłowicze	Przetoki	Pleszewice
Dubielkowicze	Swierzno (village)	Zaturia (manor)
Pochabowicze	Zaczerewo	Zaturia
Lipa	Liubno	Buzuny
Kwacze	Otales	
Krutybrzeg	Tulianka	
Zausse	Siemienczyce	
Mhir (old and new towns)	Bychowszczyzna (manor)	
Wielkie	Bychowszczyzna	
Jezioro	Mickiewicz	
Oiuciewicz	Osmolowo	
Radun	Czanowicze (manor)	
Piasieczno	Lan	
Zuchowicze	Czanowice	
Chozowo	Kabruny	
Luki		

This document summarizes and complements the list of acquisitions for the years 1566-1587 in the area around Niašviž. Aside from variations due to spelling, certain place names in the 'Summary of 1587' do not appear in the list purchases, and others, present in the

list, are not in the 'Summary'. This is due to the fact that certain acquisitions were relatively small, and consequently were merged with already existing Radziwiłł villages. Also, in a period of over 20 years, new settlements must have appeared. The 'Summary of June 1587' is especially valuable for the estates of Mir and Świerżań, because it details their territorial composition, something that could not be definitely established on the basis of earlier documents.

The list of acquisitions for 1566-1587, as complemented by the 'Summary of 1587', provides a rather accurate, though partial, picture of the development of the Principality of Niaszviž. To complete this picture, it will be necessary to reconstruct further the chronology of acquisitions. Between June 1587 and October 1602, when the last major acquisition was made, the following transactions took place:

22. 1588, July 2. Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł buys from Prince John Symeon Olelko Słucki the estate of Howiezna, the village of Bieliki, and an area of forest — altogether 100 włoki, for 12,000 zlotys.⁴²
23. 1589, January 3. Prince Radziwiłł purchases from John Dominikowicz Pac the estate of Kunosa. This included the small town and manor of Kunosa, the manor and the village of Juszewicze, and the villages of Kunoska Mała, Rusakowicze, Andrusze, Słoboda, and Ogrodniki, as well as lands of tenant nobles and boyars.⁴³
24. 1590, June 12. Radziwiłł purchases the small estate of Sipowszczyzna, on the Łań river, from Basil Zamayski and his wife, Tomiła Daniłówna Kiryk.⁴⁴
25. 1593, March 29. Prince Nicholas Christopher buys the estate of Łań from Waclaw, Gregory, and Andrew Fedorowicz Wołk.⁴⁵
26. 1596, May 18. Prince Radziwiłł purchases the estate of Mikolajewszczyzna and the village of Pazdierzycze, with boyar lands and a forest, from Christopher Bolesławowicz *kniaz* Świrski.⁴⁶
27. 1599, July 10. Radziwiłł takes over the estate of Horodziej consisting of two villages: Horodziej and Ogrodniki, because its former owners, John Benedyktynowicz Protasewicz and his wife, Hanna Władysławowna Ławska, were unable to repay a 4,000 kopy 10-year loan.⁴⁷
28. 1599, Nov. 22. Prince Nicholas Christopher buys one half of the estate of Mohylna from Samuel Pac. This consisted of the manor Święty Dwór, the town of Mohylna, the villages of Kościesze and Michalewicze, the village and manor of Łunin, the villages of Jerszewicze, Hołowacze, Michalewszczyzna, and the Łobocki and Gotart boyars.⁴⁸
29. 1600, Feb. 25. Prince Radziwiłł purchases the estate of Łunin on the Nioman river, from Elijah and Sophie Kisiel.⁴⁹
30. 1602, March 5. Radziwiłł purchases the village of Andrusze (near Mohylna) from George Stanisławowicz Pac.⁵⁰
31. 1602, August 2. Prince Nicholas Christopher buys the second half of Mohylna from George Stanisławowicz Pac. This consisted

of the manor of Mohylna, two smaller manors, and the villages of Mohylna, Litwa, Podsadskie, and Snieporodowskie.⁵¹

32. 1602, Oct. 2. Prince Radziwiłł buys from Christopher Koss the village of Otceda (in 1582 detached from the Świerżań estate and given by Radziwiłł to Koss) and Swiranowo.⁵²

This listing of the major acquisitions of Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł in the area of Niašviž provides no clue to the man's motives. Prince Radziwiłł did not have to strive to make a career in public life in order to secure wealth and influence for himself and his descendants, as was the case with such of his great contemporaries as John Zamoycki or Leo Sapieha.⁵³ Prince Nicholas Christopher was born a member of probably the richest and most influential family in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Therefore his primary concern must have been with the preservation of the status of his branch of the family. This concern was heightened by the early realization that the numerous estates of his father will have to be eventually distributed equally four ways, between himself and his three younger brothers.⁵⁴ This formal division did not take place until December 1577, but there is a strong indication that the young Prince decided quite early to concentrate his interests and ambitions in the area of Niašviž. Of the first four documented land acquisitions of Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł near Niašviž, three were in the village of Lipa. This was essentially a continuation of his father's activities connected with the 'land reform' conducted in the early 1560s in the Niašviž area by 'the Black's' servant, Mathias Kawieczynski. The acquisition of the estate of Mir, however, deserves special attention, because it made further territorial expansion possible and logical.

The large estate of Mir belonged to the Ilinicz family, at least since the early sixteenth century.⁵⁵ Szczesny Ilinicz, Starosta of Brest, married Sophie Radziwiłł, the sister of Radziwiłł 'the Black', toward the end of 1539.⁵⁶ They had a son, George, born in or before 1542.⁵⁷ The parents of George Ilinicz died when he was a child, and his upbringing and his estates were entrusted to his uncle, Prince Nicholas Radziwiłł. George Ilinicz reached maturity in 1560, and shortly afterwards, left Lithuania to serve Archduke Charles of Styria. He left the administration of some of his financial affairs to the Radziwiłłs, first to 'the Black', and then to Prince Nicholas Christopher.⁵⁸ During his last visit to Lithuania, in the summer of 1568, Ilinicz (by then bearing the title of the Count of Mir) acknowledged owing Prince Nicholas Christopher the huge sum of 100,000 kopy groszy, which was sent to him over the years to Austria.⁵⁹ In another document, he accepted Radziwiłł 'as son and descendant' and made him the heir of all of his estates.⁶⁰ In central Byelorussia these consisted of '... v poviecie novgorodskom imienie moie zamok Mir miasto z folvarki z siely i z prisielki ku tomu zamku prisluchaiucimi, v tomže poviecie dvor Žuchiviči z folvarki z siely i prisielki ku tomu dvoru prisluchaiucimi...' ⁶¹ Count Ilinicz died a year later, as documents

from September 1569, formalizing Radziwiłł's take-over of Mir, refer to him as deceased.⁶²

Nicholas Christopher, Prince of Ołyka and Niaśviž, acquired hereditary ownership of Mir only a few weeks after the Union of Lublin was completed. As a consequence of the Union, the Lithuanian provinces of Podlasie, Volhynia, and Kiev were detached from the Grand Duchy and included in the Kingdom of Poland. The fact that one of the two estates with which his princely title was associated lay no longer within the boundaries of the Grand Duchy, probably played a role in Nicholas Christopher's decision to choose the other one, Niaśviž, as the future capital of his domains. The proximity of the large estate of Mir to Niaśviž made the future formation of a large principality more feasible. In fact, it appears that Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł began to realize such an aim long before he became legally the sole master of Niaśviž, in December 1577. The acquisition of the estate of Świerżań, begun in April 1571, suggests this strongly. This acquisition also sheds some light on the methods applied to further the expansion of the Radziwiłł domains.

Although the acquisition of Świerżań can no longer be traced accurately on the basis of the documents surviving in the Radziwiłł Archive in Warsaw, it is clear that about 1570 it had three owners: the Ciecierskis, the Słuszkas, and Eustace Wołowicz.⁶³ It appears to have been, to some degree, an example of shared property (*własność niedzielna*), which was quite common in the time before the agrarian reform (*pomiara włóczna*). Prince Nicholas Christopher acquired what he thought to be one half of Świerżań by a deal with the Ciecierskis in April 1571. In exchange for the Ciecierskis' Świerżań, the Prince gave them the town and estate of Mordy, in Podlasie, plus 4,000 kopy. The deal with the Ciecierskis led to a series of lawsuits with the Słuszkas, which continued even after Prince Radziwiłł bought the share belonging to Eustace Wołowicz in April 1578. The Prince's problems were further complicated by the fact that his title to Mordy, which he handed over to the Ciecierskis, was questionable. Settlement of the dispute with the Słuszkas was achieved in 1582, accompanied by a formal division of the estate of Świerżań, with the Nioman and the Jaćanka rivers roughly corresponding to the boundary (see map).⁶⁴ Final agreement with the Ciecierskis was achieved some fifteen years later, in 1597.⁶⁵

The acquisition of the estate immediately east of Świerżań, Mikołajewszczyzna, on both sides of the Nioman river, turned out to be similarly complicated. *Kniaz'* Luke Bolesławowicz Świrski bought the estate of Mikołajewszczyzna in 1555, from George Jurjewicz Ościk.⁶⁶ Shortly before his death in 1593, *kniaz'* Luke bequeathed Mikołajewszczyzna to his wife, Maryna Mikołajówna. In his last will, he also mentioned next to Mikołajewszczyzna the villages of Osipowicze, Mohilanka, Demiesze, and an area of forest, which, he claimed, were unlawfully taken from him by Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł. He instructed his wife to continue the litigation in this matter.⁶⁷ Maryna Mikołajówna died shortly after her husband, after willing Mikołajewszczyzna to her daughter, Anna Jadwiga, the wife of

Stanislaus Furs, with the provision that she should support her two handicapped brothers, Stanislaus and Michael.⁶⁸ This however, did not stop Anna's brother, *kniaź* Christopher Łukaszewicz Świrski, from selling Mikołajewszczyzna, for 2,000 kopy groszy, to Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł.⁶⁹ This clearly illegal transaction took place in May 1596. Anna and Stanisław Furs sued the Prince, initially without much success. They finally won, some two decades later, as in November of 1616, Prince Nicholas Christopher's eldest son and successor, Prince John George, agreed to compensate them by paying another 2,000 kopy groszy for Mikołajewszczyzna.⁷⁰

Radziwiłł bought Mikołajewszczyzna with money borrowed from his trusty courtier Andrew Skorulski. Immediately after acquiring Mikołajewszczyzna, the Prince handed it over to Skorulski to enable him to collect his debt.⁷¹ A similar situation developed in the case of Mohylna, which was acquired by Radziwiłł in two stages, in 1599 and 1602, from Samuel and George Pac. After assuming responsibility for their numerous debts, Prince Radziwiłł paid the Pac brothers a fraction of the total value of the estate, and then turned the whole of Mohylna over to Dorota Kos-Makowiecka, from whom he apparently borrowed the initial cash needed to make the transaction possible.⁷² Theoretically, both Skorulski and Makowiecka could have bought hereditary rights to either Mikołajewszczyzna or Mohylna, without loaning their money to the Prince. Apparently, however, they preferred not to interfere with Radziwiłł's plans of expansion. The acquisition of the other two large estates in the Niaświż area, Sołtanowa Hać in 1587, and Kunosa in 1589, followed a similar pattern to that of Mohylna. Money was loaned readily to the hereditary owners and some of their debts were assumed by the Prince. In exchange, the Prince took over the respective estates as security (*zastaw*) for the money loaned. Eventually, after adding a cash sum, he acquired hereditary rights to them.⁷³ In the case of a somewhat smaller estate, Horodziej, Radziwiłł gave the owners ten years to repay a 4,000 kopy loan, and since they were not able to return the money, he assumed hereditary rights to their land.⁷⁴ Deals with smaller noble landowners were generally concluded in more outright fashion. The list of acquisitions notes several instances of trades and exchanges involving smaller estates which were surrounded by or adjoined the Radziwiłł lands. One document illustrates a situation which may have been quite common among Radziwiłł's poorer neighbors. According to its provisions, *kniaź* Alexander Iwanowicz Lichodziejewski and his wife Maryna transfer their estate of about 14½ włoka in Olekowicze, near Sołtanowa Hać, in exchange for the Prince's offer to pay their debts amounting to 438 kopy and 36 groszy. The Lichodziejewskis are in such a difficult situation that they are unable to perform the required military service from their land. In the document, they also express their gratitude to the Prince for giving them a place to live, food and clothing.⁷⁵

Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł inherited roughly one half of his estates in the area of Niaświż — the rest was acquired by means of exchange or purchase. Purchases were effected generally without

the transfer of large amounts of ready cash. Instead, titles to estates were obtained by gradually taking over the legal owner's financial obligations, and in turn, meeting these obligations by borrowing. Radziwiłł's very name and titles made it easier for him to secure loans when needed. It should also be noted that Niaśviž and adjoining areas never constituted more than one half of the Prince's wealth in land. Thus he was able to obtain money for expansion of Niaśviž by selling or mortgaging his estates scattered throughout the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. However, what is of chief concern here is not Radziwiłł's finances, which deserve a separate study, but the end result of over thirty years of expansion. To arrive at a graphic representation, closely approximating this result — a general map of the Principality of Niaśviž and the County of Mir at the turn of the 16th century, one has to consider, besides Radziwiłł's acquisitions, also his grants and endowments — to nobles and the Church.

Radziwiłł's grants of land to nobles within the Niaśviž area were conditional. The fundamental obligation of the noble toward the Prince was that of military service. Many grants and charters are preserved in the Radziwiłł Archive, providing adequate material for a more detailed future study of relations between Prince Nicholas Christopher and the nobles residing in the Niaśviž area. At this time, several general points may suffice. In the 1560s the basic military obligation of Lithuanian nobles was prescribed to be the responsibility of providing a fully armed horseman from every 10 settled włoki (or *služby*) of land owned, or two horsemen and one foot soldier from every 20 włoki (or *služby*), in the event of military emergency.⁷⁶

This obligation continued to be in force throughout the period under consideration, even though wars were increasingly waged with the use of professional soldiers. A large landowner could more conveniently satisfy his obligation by granting land to landless nobles on the condition that they would provide military service from smaller pieces of land. In Prince Nicholas Christopher's domains, the most common grant of land was about 5 włoki, which carried with it the obligation of providing one horseman when called upon by the Prince. The tenant noble had practically no other material obligations toward the Prince, except that he had to obey the Prince's decisions in all legal matters involving his land. Therefore it is necessary to consider the lands of these nobles as part of the total area belonging to Prince Radziwiłł. However, the problem of noble lands within the Niaśviž area should be given special attention in a separate discussion of the administration of the lands of Niaśviž.⁷⁷

Grants of land to the Catholic church did leave an important mark on the map of the Niaśviž area, because unlike the grants to nobles, they were practically unconditional. In a country where most of the population was Orthodox, Catholic churches and institutions needed large endowments in order to be able to carry on their activities. Also, from the administrative standpoint, it was easier to provide the churches with landed wealth of their own, rather than to make periodic payments to them, or help them in collecting taxes. The

following land grants of Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł to the Church should be noted:

1. 1584, August 10. Prince Radziwiłł gives, among others, the villages of Rudawka (24 włoki) and Użanka (18 włoki) to the Jesuit College in Niaświż.⁷⁸
2. 1588, Oct. 7. Radziwiłł donates 19 włoki of land to the church in Mir, near the town of Mir.⁷⁹
3. 1589-1591. Prince Nicholas Christopher gives part of the estate of Howiezna to the Benedictine Sisters of Niaświż.⁸⁰
4. 1603, Nov. 5. Radziwiłł gives the villages of Nowosiołki and Omlince, in the estate of Howiezna, to the parish church in Niaświż.⁸¹
5. 1603, Nov. 5. Prince Radziwiłł gives the village of Jezioro (42 włoki) to the church in Mir.⁸²

This list does not cover all of the grants of land to religious institutions. For example, the churches in Niaświż and Mir were endowed differently before November 5, 1603, and even after that date, they continued to hold small pieces of land in addition to their main endowments. Prince Nicholas Christopher granted several small pieces of land to the Orthodox churches as well.⁸³ It is very difficult, however, to locate accurately these smaller land grants now. Besides, they influenced little the overall character of the map of the Niaświż area. Again, a more detailed discussion of Prince Nicholas Christopher's activities in support of religion deserves a separate treatment.

Having traced the acquisitions of Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł in the area of Niaświż, as well as having noted the territories which he granted to Catholic churches and institutions, one is able to draw a general map of the Principality of Niaświż and the County of Mir.⁸⁴ Small scale maps of Radziwiłł estates, largely from the first half of the 19th century, had to be used as the base.⁸⁵ They were corrected to reflect the conditions of the turn of the 16th century. This was done largely with the help of documents from sections XV and XXIII of the Radziwiłł Archive. Of considerable assistance were also certain 17th century 'inventories' of Niaświż, preserved in section XXV of that archive.⁸⁶ Using this retrogressive method, and charting the results on small scale Russian (1:126,000) and Polish (1:100,000) maps, a plan of the Niaświż area was arrived at. This is reproduced, in a reduced version, on page 49 of this article. From the map it is possible to calculate the total area of Radziwiłł's domains. In July of 1586, at the time when the area of Niaświż was entailed, its total area was about 754 square kilometers. Thirty years later, at the time of Prince Nicholas Christopher's death the area was about 1262 square kilometers. The same figures expressed in *włoki* are 3472 and 5810, respectively.⁸⁷

The result of the discussion so far provides a convenient starting point for future studies. These could go in two directions. One could concentrate on the economic conditions within Niaświż. It would involve a study of administrative and economic organization, crop

yields, trade in agricultural products, industrial activities, related social developments — all these traced over a long period of time — perhaps, going as far as the first decades of the 19th century, as long as the entail constituted a single administrative and economic unit. The other approach would be more personal. It would deal with the economic affairs of Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł. It would necessarily widen to include work on his other estates, thus perhaps making a series of small contributions to the study of the historical geography and economic history of Byelorussia.

Notes

1. I have tried to use modern spelling of geographical and family names throughout my article. The Radziwiłłs have signed their name in the form which I am using for, at least, the last three centuries. Therefore, I do not see it proper to use the present Lithuanian form of *Radvilas*, or the Byelorussian transcription, *Radziwiłł*. Similarly, I try to use modern spelling of geographical place names, taking into consideration the present administrative divisions. Consequently, for example, I use the Byelorussian form *Niasviż*, instead of Polish *Nieśwież*, or the even less adequate Lithuanian *Nesvyžius*.
I wish to thank Prof. James Dingley for his generous assistance with the English transcription of some of the Byelorussian geographical place names.
2. Henryk Łowmiański, *Studia nad początkami społeczeństwa i państwa litewskiego*, t. I, Wilno, 1931, pp. 274-91;
'Uwagi w sprawie podłoża społecznego i gospodarczego unji jagiełłońskiej', *Rozprawy Wydziału III Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk w Wilnie*, t. VIII, Wilno, 1935, pp. 287(74)-296(83).
3. Only two important monographic works, dealing specifically with the development of large-scale land ownership in Lithuania and Byelorussia in this period (15th-early 16th c.), have been published thus far. These are:
Marja Kuźmińska, 'Olbracht Marcinowicz Gasztold', *AW*, r. IV, 1927, pp. 347-91, and r. V, 1928, pp. 120-74.
Jerzy Ochmański, *Powstanie i rozwój latyfundium biskupstwa wileńskiego (1387-1550); ze studiów nad rozwojem wielkiej własności na Litwie i Białorusi w średniowieczu*, Poznań, 1963.
Works dealing with smaller landed estates are more numerous. These include:
Seweryn Wyslouch, 'Z dziejów Łosośnej i jej posiadaczy', *AW*, r. VII, 1931, pp. 145-69.
'Rozwój granic i terytorium powiatu Kobryńskiego do połowy XVI wieku', *AW*, r. VI, 1929, pp. 16-46, 337-429.
'Dobra Szereszowskie. Ze studiów nad podziałem terytorjalnym W. Ks. Litewskiego przed reformą 1565-1566 r.', *AW*, r. VIII, 1932, pp. 57-135.
Jerzy Ochmański, 'Położenie społeczno-gospodarcze i walka klasowa chłopów w ekonomii kobryńskiej w drugiej połowie XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku', *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych*, t. XIX, Poznań, 1957, pp. 45-90.
'Gospodarka folwarczna w dobrach hospodarskich na Kobryńszczyźnie; Studium z dziejów folwarku na Białorusi, koniec XV — pocz. XVII w.', *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, r. VI, Warszawa, 1958, pp. 366-94.
Stefan Inglot, 'Sprawy gospodarcze Lwa Sapiehy 1588-1607', *Studia z historii społecznej i gospodarczej poświęcone prof. dr. Franciszkowi Bujakowi*, Lwów, 1931, pp. 165-226.
Witold Staniewicz, 'Dwór Wersoka Wielka. Studium historyczno-gospodarczo-prawne', *AW*, r. III, 1925-1926, pp. 265-326.
Henryk Łowmiański, *Rys historyczny województwa nowogródzkiego w jego dzisiejszych granicach (do r. 1795)*, Wilno, 1935.
Maria Barbara Topolska, 'Dobra dereczyńskie od XV do połowy XVII wieku', *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Historia*, z. 11, 1971, pp. 45-70.
4. *Litovskaja metrika — Otdel pervyj. Čast' tret'ja. Knigi publičnych del. Perepisi vojska litovskogo*, Petrograd, 1915, RIB, t. 33, col. 1-232.
Henryk Łowmiański, 'Popisy wojska Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w. XVI jako źródło do dziejów zaludnienia', *Mediævalia, w 50 rocznicę pracy naukowej Jana Dąbrowskiego*, Warszawa, 1960, pp. 426-7.
5. Ochmański, *Powstanie*, pp. 154-6.
The next four families or individuals listed by Ochmański are: Obrycht Gasztold — 466 horses, *Juri knjaz' Olelkowicz* — 433, Konstanty Ostrogski — 426, Ościkowicze — 338.
6. Two more recent articles, containing extensive references to older literature are:
Mirosława Malczewska, 'Początki rodu Radziwiłłów. Przegląd i krytyka badań', *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Historia*, z. 11, 1971, pp. 5-22.
Kazimierz Ascik, 'O pochodzeniu rodu Ościków (Legenda a rzeczywistość)', *Acta Baltico-Slavica*, XI, 1977, pp. 317-29.

7. The most accurate genealogical tree of the Radziwiłłs is provided in: Włodzimierz Dworzaczek, *Genealogia*, Warszawa, 1959, tables 163 and 164.
8. Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł still does not have a full-length biography. The biographical information in this general sketch is based on my own research, as well as on the following three summaries of the Prince's life: Edward Kotlubaj, *Galerja nieświeżska portretów radziwiłłowskich*, Wilno, 1859, pp. 305-21. Michał Bohusz Szyszko, 'Rys życia Mikołaja Krzysztofa Radziwiłła, zwanego Sierotką', *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, t. VIII, Kraków, 1885, pp. VII-XXIV. Adam Przyboś and Roman Żelewski, *Diariusz poselstwa polskiego do Francji po Henryka Walezego w 1573 roku*. Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków, 1963, pp. XX-XXIV. The third summary is especially valuable because of extensive documentation.
9. Jan Jakubowski, 'Czy istnieli kniaziowie nieświescy?' *AW*, r. I, 1923, pp. 2-3.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.
AR XV, Teki 1 'Nieśwież — Akta dziedziczne', plik 1, nr. 1-8.
12. The imperial character conferring the princely title on the Radziwiłłs is reprinted in: Karl Friedrich Eichhorn, *Stosunek książęcego domu Radziwiłłów do domów książęcych w Niemczech*, Warszawa, 1843, pp. 68-74.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 74-7.
14. Jakubowski, p. 8.
15. 'The Review of the Lithuanian Army of 1567' lists 35 estates in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania which Radziwiłł 'the Black' left to his sons. Niaszviž is listed first, and Ołyka eighteenth. (*RIB*, col. 453)
16. Józef Jasnowski, *Mikołaj Czarny Radziwiłł (1515-1565), kanclerz i marszałek ziemski Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, wojewoda wileński*, (in *Rozprawy Historyczne Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego*, t. 22), Warszawa, 1939, pp. 405-8.
17. Not much evidence for this is available, however. Stanisław Tomkowicz, 'Ołyka', *Prace Komisji Historji Sztuki PAU*, t. III, zes. 1, pp. 3-4. Feliks Markowski, 'Zamek Mikołaja Krzysztofa Radziwiłła Sierotki w Nieświeżu', *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, t. IX, 1964, nr. 2, p. 158.
18. AR XXIII, Teki 82 'Lipa', nr. 1-7.
19. Most of the Radziwiłł Archive had been moved from Niaszviž to Warsaw before World War II. It did not suffer much damage during the war. A smaller section of the former Niaszviž Archive is now preserved in the Soviet Union, in the Central State Historical Archive in Minsk, as Fond 694. Needless to say, though the Radziwiłł Archive fared much better than most private archives from the area of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania, it is far from complete for the period covered by this article. Certain documents, still available there in the early 19th century, are no longer to be found. The situation is improved considerably, however, by the existence of a very important printed source, two copies of which are preserved in the National Library in Warsaw. This is the *Replika Prokuratora Jeneralnego Massy funduszów J. O. Xieźniczki Jmości Stefani Radziwiłłowny (Józefa Karczewskiego adwokata sądu głównego lit. Wilen.) w sprawie z J. O. Xieciem JMscia Antonim Radziwiłłem Wielkorządcą Poznańskim co do oddziału Ordynacji*, Wilno, 1824 (hereafter cited as *Replika*). This legal brief reproduces or discusses many 16th and 17th century documents which are no longer found in the Archive. Pages 20-26 of section II of the *Replika* list some of the acquisitions of Prince Nicholas Christopher which cannot be traced on the basis of existing documents.
20. AR XXIII, Teki 82 'Lipa: Przejście dóbr zwanych Lipa od Jana Hlebowicza do dziedzictwa książąt Radziwiłłow', nr. 1.
21. AR XXIII, Teki 90 'Mir: Akta dziedziczne — Przejście Mira z attynencyami od Jerzego Ilinicza na rzecz Mikołaja Krzysztofa kcia Radziwiłła', nr. 23. AGAD Pergam. nr. 7802, 7805, 7810, 7815. See also explanation of the acquisition of Mir in text below.
22. *Replika* II, pp. 20-6.
23. AR XXIII, Teki 145 'Zausze: Akta ściągające się do dziedzictwa', nr. 2.
24. *Replika* II, pp. 76-92. See also discussion in text below.
25. AR XV, Teki 14, plik 4, nr. 18.
26. *Replika* II, pp. 20-6.
27. AR XV, Teki 13 'Lubkowszczyzna', plik 1, nr. 9.
28. AR XV, Teki 11 'Kunosa — Akta dziedziczne', plik 26, nr. 9.
29. *Replika* II, pp. 20-6, 83-5.
30. *Ibid.*
31. AGAD Pergam. nr. 7866.
AR XXIII, Teki 145 'Zausze — Akta ściągające się do dziedzictwa', nr. 4, 5, 6.
32. AR XXIII, Teki 50 'Bychowszczyzna', plik 2, nr. 1.
33. *Ibid.*, plik 4, nr. 9.
34. *Ibid.*, plik 3, nr. 17.
35. *Replika* II, pp. 20-6.
36. *Ibid.*

37. AR XXIII, Teka 50 'Bychowszczyzna', plik 4, nr. 11.
38. *Replika* II, pp. 20-26.
39. AR XV, Teka 13, plik 15 'Sołtanowa Hać', nr. 3.
40. AR XV, Teka 14, plik 4, nr. 19.
41. AR XI, Koperta 84 (formerly nr. 362): 'Zebranie sumatim wssytkich dochodow Imion niektorych Jasnje Oswieconego Kłazecia Pana Pana Mikolaja Chrzistopha Radziwila, w roku teraznieyszym tysianc piencset osmdziesiat siodmym diebus Mensis Juny, sprawione'.
This document lists all of the estates of Prince Nicholas Christopher, both hereditary and leased, with the exception of Saulial and Szydłowec. It also provides information on income from each of them.
Place names listed in the article are reproduced in the original Polish, but the case is changed from genitive to nominative.
42. *Replika* II, pp. 20-6.
43. AR XV, Teka 11, plik 26 'Kunosa — Akta dziedziczne', nr. 12.
44. *Replika* II, pp. 20-6.
45. *Ibid.*
46. AR XV, Teka 14, plik 5 'Mikolajewszczyzna', nr. 7.
47. *Replika* II, pp. 20-6.
48. AR XXIII, Teka 97 'Mohylina: Akta dziedziczne', nr. 21.
49. AR XXIII, Teka 99 'Attynencje Mohilnej: Łunin', nr. 2.
50. AR XXIII, Teka 100 'Attynencje Mohilnej: Andrusze', nr. 1.
51. AR XXIII, Teka 97 'Mohylina: Akta dziedziczne', nr. 26.
52. AGAD Pergam. nr. 7889, 7890, 7891, 7893, 7928.
Replika II, pp. 83-5.
53. Aleksander Tarnawski, *Działalność Jana Zamoyskiego na polu gospodarczym*, Lwów, 1935, p. 44.
Ingłot, 'Sprawy gospodarcze Lwa Sapiehy', pp. 166(2)-167(3).
54. George (1556-1600), Albert (1558-1592), Stanislaus (1559-1599).
55. AR XXIII, Teka 90 'Mir — Akta dziedziczne', nr. 1.
56. *Ibid.*, nr. 16.
57. Adam Boniecki, *Poczet rodów w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XV i XVI wieku*, Warszawa, 1887, pp. 96-8.
58. AGAD Pergam. nr. 7757.
AR XXIII, Teka 90 'Mir — Akta dziedziczne', nr. 17, 18, 19.
59. *Ibid.*, nr. 19.
60. *Ibid.*, nr. 20.
61. AGAD Pergam. nr. 7802.
62. AR XV, Teka 90 'Mir — Akta dziedziczne', nr. 22, 23.
63. Only a few documents relating to Świerżań (all of them before 1571) could be located. These were: AGAD Pergam. nr. 7790, 7791, 7792, 7793, 7795. Most of this summary is based therefore on the account given in *Replika* II, pp. 76-92.
64. AR XXV, nr. 3046a 'Inwentarz świerzenski 1582 r.'
65. *Replika* II, pp. 85-6.
66. AR XV, Teka 14, plik 5, nr. 1.
67. *Ibid.*, nr. 5.
68. AR XV, Teka 14, plik 6 'Proces Stanisława i Anny z Swirskich Fursów z kszężkami... Radziwiłłami o dziedzictwo... Mikolajewszczyzny...'
69. AR XV, Teka 14, plik 5, nr. 7.
AR XXV, nr. 2399.
70. AR XV, Teka 14, plik 6 'Process... Fursów... z... Radziwiłłami'.
71. AR XV, Teka 15, plik 1 'Akta... do dzierzawy zastawnej Mikolajewszczyzny z Skorulskim'.
72. AR XXIII, Teka 97 'Mohylina: Akta dziedziczne', nr. 21, 26, 29.
73. AR XV, Teka 13, plik 15 'Sołtanowa Hać', nr. 1, 2, 3.
AR XV, Teka 11, plik 26 'Kunosa — Akta dziedziczne', nr. 7-14.
74. *Replika* II, pp. 20-6.
75. AR XV, Teka 14, plik 4, nr. 18.
76. I. I. Lappo, *Velikoje Knjażestvo Litovskoje za vremja ot zaključenija ljublińskiej unii do smerti Stefana Batorija (1569-1586); Opyt tzsledowanija poličasikago i obščestvennago stroja*, t. I, St. Petersburg, 1901, pp. 527-48.
77. It should be emphasized that tenant nobles held a large percentage of land within the Niasviż area. For example, in 1588, in the estate of Świerżań, the largest component of the Niasviż complex, out of the total 815 włoki, 217 were "owned" by 22 noble families. This equalled to 26.6% of the total, or 9.9 włoki per family. (AR VIII, nr. 566/; 'Akta t. s. fundacji kościoła w Świerźnie').
78. AR VIII, nr. 406 'Akta t. s. fundacji i uposażenia kolegium Jezuitów w Nieświeżu...', pp. 3-6.

79. AR VIII, nr. 254 'Akta do fundacji i uposażenia probostwa w Mirze . . .', pp. 9-13.
80. AR VIII, nr. 283 'Akta t. s. fundacji klasztoru Benedyktynów . . . w Nieświeżu'. AR XXV, nr. 1253 'Inwentarz . . . imienia howiezińskiego . . . 1592'.
81. AR VIII, nr. 283 'Akta t. s. fundacji i uposażenia probostwa w Nieświeżu . . .', pp. 47-8.
82. AR VIII, nr. 254, pp. 21-2.
83. See, for instance, the Prince's grant of 2 włoki to the Orthodox church in Niaświż in 1577, in: *Archeograficzėskij sbornik dokumentov otnosjaščichsja k istorii severo-zapadnoj Rusi, Vilna, t. VII, pp. 52-3.*
84. Several preliminary points should be made about the area of Niaświż marked on the map.
 - A. Not all of Radziwiłł's estates in central Byelorussia were included in the Niaświż entail. Estates in the immediate vicinity of Niaświż, such as Derewna and Pociejki, bequeathed to Prince Nicholas Christopher by his wife, were never considered a part of the entail.
 - B. Villages, and parts of villages, held by Radziwiłł's tenant nobles, though formally part of the total area of the entail, are not marked on this map.
 - C. The enclave of Mojsiewiczze belonged to the Soroka family since 1598. The Radziwiłłs acquired it in 1650 (AR XXIII, Teka 100 'Attynencje Mohilnej — Mojsiewiczze', nr. I, 7.).
85. The following maps from the former Niaświż Archive, now part of the Cartographic Collection of AGAD, were used:
 - Nr. 421-24 — 'Horodziej', 1808.
 - 431-4 — 'Mickiewiczze', 18th c.
 - 431-8 — 'Mickiewiczze', 1799.
 - 431-21 — 'Hrabstwo Mirskie', 1831.
 - 434-49 — 'Św. Dwór-Mohylna', 1806.
 - 446-19 — 'Tulonka, Otależ, Siemienicyce', 1856.
 - 451-3 — 'Ordynacja Nieświeżska'. 1859.
 - 416-86 — 'Bychowszczyzna', 1861.
86. The earliest surviving inventory of Niaświż (AR XXV, nr. 2666) was especially helpful. Though compiled some twelve years after Prince Nicholas Christopher's death, it was of considerable value in reconstructing the administrative divisions of Niaświż. With the help of this inventory, and a number of other documents, the following additions should be made to the 'Summary of June 1587':
 - A. to the estate of Niaświż: the demesne farm of Alba
 - B. to the estate of Mir: the demesne farm of Cetra
 - C. to the estate of Świerżań: the village of Otceda
 - D. to the estate of Zaturja: the villages of Juszewicze and Bieliki
 - E. the estate of Horodziej with the village of Horodziej
 - F. the estate of Mikołajewszczyzna, including the town of Mikołajewszczyzna, the villages of Świranowo, Rusakowicze, Pazdzierzycze, and Kunosa
 - G. the estate of Mohylna, including the town of Mohylna, the demesne farm Św. Dwór, and the villages of Kościesz, Łunino, Hołowacze, Jarszewicze, Zamościanie, Andrusze, Litwa, and Podsadskie.
87. A. włoka = 21.7194 hectares (E. Stamm, *Miary powierzchni w dawnej Polsce*, Kraków, 1936, p. 1, 7).
 - B. It is worth noting that the Niaświż entail was far from being the largest private estate in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. For example, John Zamoyski's Zamość (Ordynacja Zamoyska), at roughly the same time, occupied an area about three times larger — 3,830 square kilometers (Tarnawski, p. 100).
 - C. Preliminary calculations of 'settled' włoki for this area, based largely on some 50 tax receipts for the years 1578-1615, suggest a figure of about 1,800 at the turn of the 16th century (including lands of tenant nobles). Assuming that this corresponded to about 3,600 households (*dymy*), and further assuming that an average household consisted of 7 persons, the total population of the area was about 25,200, or 20 people per square kilometer.

Abbreviations Used:

AR — *Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych*, zespół *Archiwum Radziwiłłów*
 AW — *Ateneum Wileńskie*, Wilno
 RIB — *Russkaja Istoričeskaja Biblioteka*, t. 33

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