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## Magnates marriage strategies in Poland in the 16th – 18th centuries

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Family and marriage issues of the pre-industrial period are, at present, one of the most dynamically developing research areas. Research started in Western European historiography bore fruits in a form of numerous studies concerning family establishment and functioning in different geographical areas and at various social levels.

Research regarding issues of marriage contracting has been treated peripherally in the Polish subject literature so far. Conducted demographic research on Old Polish family allowed to examine and describe urban<sup>1</sup> and rural<sup>2</sup> family, however, there is still not enough detailed research on noblemen family. Research on noblemen Middle Ages family<sup>3</sup> carried out by Maria Koczerska, which is extremely valuable in terms of learning about marriages, signals certain crucial research issues, but the lack of source materials unables their realization.

The aim of this work is to present marital policy exercised by the Zamoyski family or their individual representatives in Modern period. We are going to analyze activities undertaken by individual members of the family that aimed at contracting the most favorable marriages, that is such that would provide both financial benefits and colligations allowing to maintain a magnate position by the family. Marriage strategies realized by a given family, which are

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<sup>1</sup> C. Kuklo, *Rodzina w osiemnastowiecznej Warszawie*, Białystok 1990.

<sup>2</sup> E. Piasecki, *Ludność parafii bielskiej (woj. kieleckie) w świetle ksiąg metrykalnych z XVIII-XXw.*, Warszawa – Wrocław 1900; M. Kopczyński, *Studia nad rodziną chłopską w Koronie*, Warszawa 1998.

<sup>3</sup> M. Koczerska, *Rodzina szlachecka w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, Warszawa 1975.

partially conditioned by a biological condition of the family, are essential elements of these activities.

Hetman Jan Zamoyski was a creator of the family power, that is why we will start to present marital policy of the family with the analysis of his four marriages. Last marriages analyzed in this presentation will be those of three children of Chancellor Andrzej Zamoyski and Konstancja Zamoyska of Czartoryska (Aleksander August, Stanisław Kostka and Anna). Altogether, marriages of XII Zamoyski ordinates, their sons and daughters will be analyzed. At that time 23 persons altogether (14 men and 9 women) were born and lived to their adulthood in the Zamoyski family. Among them only one man – Bolim Starost Jan Franciszek, son of Marcin and Anna of Gniński remained single. The reason for this was the fact that he died young, therefore, perhaps he did not manage to get married. There is an apparent tendency suggesting that all members of the Zamoyski family got married. Therefore, we should consider what the criteria of spouses choice were, and whether all marriages contracted by the representatives of the Zamoyski family were favorable in terms of family house interest.

In case of the Zamoyski house in the period between 1570 and 1795, 29 marriages were analyzed, where one of the spouses was a representative of the Zamoyski family. 50 persons were involved: 23 men and 27 women, including 13 men and 9 women from the Zamoyski family.

The age of contracting first marriages was established for 13 men and 11 women. The youngest woman at wedding was 16-year-old (Joanna Barbara Zamoyska who married 22-year-old Aleksander Koniecpolski in 1642), whereas the oldest woman was 26-year-old

(Barbara Tarnowska became a fourth wife of 47-year-old Jan Zamoyski in 1592). An average age of marriage contracting was 19 for women. Greater age discrepancy occurs among men. The youngest groom 16-year-old at the time of contracting marriage (Klemens Zamoyski who married Konstancja Czartoryska in 1763), whereas the oldest was 52-year-old (Andrzej Zamoyski, Klemens's uncle who in 1768 married the nephew's widow Konstancja after his death). An average age of first marriage contracting was 29 in case of men.

Length of marriage was estimated for 21 relationships and amounted to 16,9. Thus marriages lasted 17 years on average and finished with death of one of the spouses. The shortest marriage was the one of Jan Zamoyski with his second wife Krystyna Radziwiłłówna (3 years), whereas the longest childless marriage was the one of Marianna Teresa Zamoyska and Jerzy Stanisław Dzieduszycki - 46 years. Only one marriage among 29 analyzed ones was terminated in divorce.

The issue of a choice of lifestyle after death of one of the spouses requires a detailed analysis. In most cases widowhood occurred after several years of harmonious marriage, and especially if there were children, there was no search for another marriage. However, widowers got married again more often, mostly childless ones. Jan Zamoyski, for instance, got married four times. It is worth noticing that his first three marriages were childless and only fourth wife gave him son Tomasz in 1594. Perhaps lack of offspring influenced decisions about next marriages to a great extent. Similar motives decided in case of other widowers in the Zamoyski family as well. Widows of the Zamoyski hardly ever decided to marry again too. Childless widows usually married again, e.g. Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien, a widow of Jan Zamoyski who secretly married her close friend Jan Sobieski, who later became king, five weeks after her first husband's death, or Konstancja Drucka Podbereska, a childless widow of

Marcin Leopold Zamoyski who married Jerzy Potocki in about a year after her husband's death.

Male representatives of the Zamoyski family hardly ever decided to marry widows. Only one of them consistently chose widows to be his wives. He was Tomasz Józef Zamoyski who in 1704 married Teresa Gnińska of Potocki, a childless widow of her uncle Jan Gniński. Probably the case was to take over the Gniński's property after childless death of the last of them. Whereas in 1718 after death of his first wife he married also a childless widow Antonina Wołowiczowa of Zahorowski. In this case economic factor was also decisive. According to the marriage settlement Tomasz had earlier borrowed a substantial amount of money from him, which was to be treated as dowry of new Mrs. Zamoyska. Andrzej Zamoyski, son of Michał Zdzisław mentioned earlier, married a widow. As his two older brothers were childless he decided to marry a widow of his nephew Klemens – Konstancja Czartoryska. This marriage proved extremely beneficial in terms of family policy as their younger son Stanisław Kostka had 11 children with his wife Zofia Czartoryska, which guaranteed the Zamoyski family to survive until today.

In terms of a territorial choice of spouses marriages were contracted within the whole territory of the Republic of Poland, excluding two cases of marriages with foreign women. Only in one marriage settlement of 1717 between Tomasz Józef Zamoyski and his second wife who was a childless widow Antonina Wołowiczowa of Zahorowski, territorial context seems important. The settlement contained a provision regarding the possibility of selling inherited interests/property of Wołowiczowa in Lithuania and purchasing other in the Crown. In other cases the issue of territorial choice of spouses was not significant.

In case of the Zamoyski family there were two cases of marriages with foreign women. In 1583 38-year-old Jan Zamoyski married a very young Gryzelda Batorówna, a niece of Polish King Stefan Batory. This marriage was undoubtedly a manifestation of king's favor towards his closest associate. In 1658 31-year-old Jan Zamoyski, a namesake and grandson of Hetman, married a 17-year-old courtier of queen Maria Ludwika - Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien. Young Mrs. Zamoyska was poor and only contributed queen's grace and favor as her dowry. This relationship, however, gave Zamoyski a chance to pursue a brilliant political career at Royal Couple's side. Both marriages with foreign women were of apparent political character and were to bring specified benefits in this field. Their shortness and lack of offspring, however, most likely decided about no further political consequences of these relationships.

As for the form of marriage strategies we should notice that in the history of the Zamoyski family there have not been any kidnappings. Cases of marriage arrangements referring to still very young children occurred very rarely. When in 1747 the only son of Tomasz Antoni and Aniela Teresa Klemens of Michorowski was born – his parents decided to find him a wife. In 1748 they engaged a 1-year-old boy with 8-year-old Katarzyna Karolina Radziwiłłówna. For unknown reasons, however, they did not marry.

Analyzing the material we can observe several interesting tendencies characteristic of this family:

- 1) Marriages with representatives of Crown families were contracted much more frequently than with Lithuanian ones (exceptions: Jan and Krystyna Radziwiłłówna, Tomasz Józef i Antonina z Zahorowskich Wołowiczowa, Anna i Aleksander Sapieha, as well as engagement of Klemens and Katarzyna Karolina Radziwiłłówna)

- 2) The aim to marry within one's own family in order to join dispersing ancestral fortune (Tomasz Józef i Teresa z Potockich Gnińska, Jan i Anna Ossolińska, Urszula and her two husbands, the wedding of St. Kostka and Zofia Czartoryska, the wedding of Konstancja Czartoryska i Andrzej)
- 3) Widows of the Zamoyski did not remarry if they had children.
- 4) Only childless widows remarried (Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien, Konstancja Drucka Podbereska , Konstancja Czartoryska)
- 5) Relatively high dowries of Misses Zamoyski (Gryzelda Konstancja and Joanna Barbara – 500 thousand, Marianna – 300 thousand) and women entering the Zamoyski house (Anna Gnińska – 200 thousand Anna Działyńska – 200 thousand, great fortune of Teresa Potocka and Antonina Zahorowska) were not always payable in reality.
- 6) The problem with supporting the family continuity.
- 7) Lack of tendency to marry widows (exception – Tomasz Józef and his two wives Anna Potocka and Antonina Zahorowska).
- 8) The occurrence of misalliances, from the contemporaries point of view.
- 9) Marrying heiresses of fortune (Katarzyna Ostrogska, Elżbieta Wiśniowiecka)

These features allow to assume that the Zamoyski family exercised conscious marital policy, with a superior aim was to maintain a magnate position both in the sphere of finance and family prestige.

***The Zamoyski marriages from the middle of the 16th to the end of the 18th century.***

<b>Item</b>	<b>Husband's first and last name</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Wife's first and last name</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Date of wedding</b>
1.	Jan Zamoyski	1545-1605	Anna Ossolińska	zm. 1572	-
2.	Jan Zamoyski	1545-1605	Krystyna Radziwiłłówna	1560-1580	1577
3.	Jan Zamoyski	1545-	Gryzelda Batorówna	zm. 1590	1583

		1605			
4.	Jan Zamoyski	1545-1605	Barbara Tarnowska	1566-1610	1592
5.	Tomasz Zamoyski	1594-1638	Katarzyna Ostrogska	zm. 1642	1620
6.	Jeremi Wiśniowiecki	1612-1651	Gryzelda Konstancja Zamoyska	1623-1672	1639
7.	Aleksander Koniecpolski	1620-1659	Joanna Barbara Zamoyska	1626-1653	1642
8.	Jan Zamoyski	1627-1665	Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien	1641-1716	1658
9.	Marcin Zamoyski	1637-1689	Anna Gnińska	zm. 1704	1675
10.	Jerzy Stanisław Dzieduszycki	1670-1750	Marianna Teresa Zamoyska	1686-1750	1704
11.	Tomasz Józef Zamoyski	1679-1725	Teresa z Potockich Gnińska		1704
12.	Tomasz Józef Zamoyski	1679-1725	Antonina z Zahorowskich Wołowiczowa		1718
13.	Michał Zdzisław Zamoyski	1680-1735	Anna Działyńska	zm. 1719	1703
14.	Michał Zdzisław Zamoyski	1680-1735	Elżbieta Wiśniowiecka	1701-1770	1722
15.	Marcin Leopold Zamoyski	1681-1718	Konstancja Drucka Podbereska		-
16.	Feliks Ignacy Wielhorski		Ludwika Zamoyska		1725
17.	Jan Ansgary Czapski		Anna Teresa Zamoyska		1721
18.	Stanisław Potocki	1689-1760	Helena Zamoyska	zm. 1761	1733
19.	Jan Karol Mniszech		Katarzyna Zamoyska		-
20.	Tomasz Antoni Zamoyski	zm. 1751	Marianna Łubieńska	zm. 1737	1724
21.	Tomasz Antoni Zamoyski	zm. 1751	Aniela Teresa z Michowskich 1v. Suchodolska, 2v. Lubomirska		1738
22.	Jan Jakub Zamoyski	zm. 1790	Ludwika Poniatowska	1728-1781	1745
23.	Andrzej Zamoyski	1716-1792	Konstancja Czartoryska	zm. 1797	1768
24.	Klemens Zamoyski	1747-1767	Konstancja Czartoryska	zm. 1797	1763
25.	Wincenty Potocki	zm. 1825	Urszula Zamoyska	ok. 1750-1808	1773
26.	Michał Jerzy Mniszech		Urszula Zamoyska	ok. 1750-1808	1781
27.	Aleksander Sapieha	1775-1812	Anna Zamoyska	1774-1859	1794
28.	Aleksander August	zm. 1800	Marianna Granowska		-

	Zamoyski				
29.	Stanisław Kostka Zamoyski	1775- 1856	Zofia Czartoryska	1779-1837	1798