

## WHEN DID IEREMIA MOVILĂ ACQUIRE UȘCIE ESTATE?

TATIANA COJOCARU

An interesting aspect in the correspondence between Ieremia Movilă and Chancellor Jan Zamoyski is the preoccupation of the Moldavian prince with the acquisition of property in Poland, especially of an estate which could serve as a place of refuge. As a Polish indigene and a citizen of the Polish Republic, Ieremia Movilă was under the obligation of possessing landed property<sup>1</sup>. The estate had to be in close vicinity of the border with Moldavia and able to produce a revenue.

Ieremia Movilă had become aware of the importance of having such an estate during his first exile to Poland in 1581–1582. In 1581 the Movilă brothers, partisans of Prince Peter the Lame, fled to Poland after having opposed Prince Iancu Sasul. To soothe suspicion, Ieremia, Simion, George, Bishop of Rădăuți, their brother-in-law Isac Balica, Metropolitan Teofan, and Teodor Barnovschi, the future metropolitan who would succeed George Movilă, left for Poland under the pretext of attending the dedication ceremony for their monastery of Sucevița<sup>2</sup>. It is then that they may have contacted Jan Zamoyski, knowing that the Poles intervened with the Porte for Peter the Lame to be re-enthroned in Moldavia. Quite certain is the fact that in 1582, when Peter the Lame, assisted by the Poles, began his third reign, the refugees repaired to Moldavia. There is no information about where they actually lived in the meantime, but it is not unlikely that they should have waited in Camenița for a right time to return in Moldavia.

The following flee of the Ieremia Movilă's family was a result of Peter the Lame's external policy. The Prince had secret relations with Poland and the Holy Empire; moreover, he refused to pay the tribute to the Porte. After his deposition, instead of heading for Istanbul, as it was customary, he went into exile together with his partisans, the Movilă brothers and the family of Luca Stroici. The deposed prince and Metropolitan George Movilă chose to take refuge in the Holy Empire and place themselves under the protection of Emperor Rudolph II<sup>3</sup>. The other boyars settled in Podhajce and in the surrounding area. The members of the Movilă's family were accommodated at Ușcie, the estate belonging to Prince Jan Simeon Olelkowicz of Słuck. According to a letter by Maria Movilă of 1591, the estate was to be handed over to a certain Polish nobleman Kurzański. Therefore, Maria Movilă

---

<sup>1</sup> Z. Widowiszewski, *Regesty przywilejów indygenatu w Polsce 1519-1793*, in "Materiały do biografii, genealogii i heraldyki polskiej," Paris, 1971, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Ioan V. Dură, *Figuri de ierarhi moldoveni: Mitropolitul Gheorghe Movilă*, BOR, LXXXIX, 1, p. 193–194.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 195.

was asking the Prince to assign to her another place of refuge<sup>4</sup>. The letter was sent by the end of 1591, and a year later, in 1592, Jan Simeon Olelkowicz died without an heir. The Movilă family continued to live at Uście for a while, moved to Khotin afterwards, and in the summer of 1595 returned to Moldavia.

In 1593 Ieremia Movilă and his brothers became Polish indigenes<sup>5</sup>, which authorized them to buy landed property, rent it for life, and even receive it as a donation. According to the correspondence between Ieremia Movilă and Jan Zamoyski, the Moldavian prince was quite eager to find in Poland an estate which would answer the needs of his family in exile. It appears that Uście was his first option, but with the situation of the estate being unclear at the time, Ieremia Movilă had to look elsewhere and eventually set his eyes on Żłoczów.

Żłoczów estate had the residence in the town of Żłoczów, lying on the Żłoczówka, a river flowing into the Boug. Żłoczów was an important commercial center with many Jewish and Armenian tradesmen. On 10 January 1598 Ieremia Movilă wrote to his protector Jan Zamoyski to inform him that he had reached an agreement with the representative of the magnate Czarnkowski (Stanisław Sędziwoj Czarnkowski) to buy Żłoczów, and to ask the chancellor for exact information on the transaction<sup>6</sup>. According from the sources of the time, Żłoczów was indeed for sale and the owner was Stanisław Sędziwoj Czarnkowski<sup>7</sup>, but there were two other potential buyers in addition to Ieremia Movilă, namely Aleksander Zborowski<sup>8</sup> and Marek Sobieski<sup>9</sup>.

Both Stanisław Sędziwoj Czarnkowski and Aleksander Zborowski had been fierce enemies of the chancellor from the time when Zamoyski was in the service of Stefan Báthory. As a matter of fact, there was nothing more unfortunate in the career of Zamoyski than the murder of Samuel Zborowski, Aleksander Zborowski's father. The episode is well known. Samuel and his brothers were the leaders of one of the most powerful and bellicose pro-Maximilian parties.

Samuel Zborowski never stopped waving plots against King Stefan Báthory. In 1574, during the Sejm for the coronation of Henri of Valois, he murdered the castellan of Przemyśl, Andrzej Wapowski. He received the death penalty but the sentence could not be carried out since it had no precedent. Therefore, he was sent into exile in Transylvania, at the court of Stephen Báthory, where he only spent a year, after which he travelled into the Cossack steppes, made an alliance with the Cossacks, and attacked the Tatars, creating much inconvenience to Poland in her relations with the Porte. In 1584 he repaired to Poland and made an attempt to occupy Cracow with his army and deposed the King Stefan Báthory. At this point,

<sup>4</sup> I. Corfus, *Documente privitoare la istoria României culese din arhivele polone. Secolul al XVI-lea*, București, 1979, p. 362–363.

<sup>5</sup> *Acta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z archiwum tak zwanego bernardyńskiego we Lwowie w skutek fundacji śp. Aleksandra hr. Stadnickiego*. Wyd. Staraniem Galicyjskiego Wydziału Krajowego, tom 20, Lauda sejmikowe, part 1, Lauda wiszeńskie 1572–1648, p. 93–96.

<sup>6</sup> Hurmuzaki-Bogdan, supl. II, 1, CCXXXII, p. 442.

<sup>7</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny (PSB)*, t. IV, 1938, p. 221–225.

<sup>8</sup> Samuel Zborowski's son.

<sup>9</sup> *PSB*, t. XXXIX, p. 502–504.

Jan Zamoyski made on his own the decision to have Samuel Zborowski liquidated. It is only in 1589 that the General Sejm ruled out that Zborowski's execution had been legal<sup>10</sup>. In reality, a part of Polish nobility could not forget Zborowski's unhappy end, including Stanisław Sędziwoj Czarnkowski, the lord of the Żłoczów estate. During the confrontations between the pro-Maximilian, Orthodox and Royalist political parties with Jan Zamoyski's faction, Zborowski's case was very often employed as a weapon against the chancellor.

Indeed, the chancellor's enemies employed Aleksander's case against him all along his life. They did so during the transaction with the Żłoczów estate as well. Aleksander Zborowski and Hieronim Jazłowiecki<sup>11</sup> attacked Marek Sobieski (a friend and collaborator of the chancellor's) in order to determine him to give up the idea of buying Żłoczów.

It remains unknown what Ieremia Movilă wrote to Czarnkowski or what Zamoyski answered Ieremia Movilă, but one may figure that he advised him to forget about the estate. Moreover, his good friend Marek Sobieski coveted the estate himself. Eventually, Żłoczów was bought in 1598 by the Voivode of Lublin Marek Sobieski, grandfather of the future King Jan Sobieski<sup>12</sup>.

Resuming considerations on Uście (Ujście Horożane or Różane), my hypothesis I shall demonstrate is that Uście was not purchased from Jan Simeon of Słuck or from Jan Ostroróg. Moreover, it was not purchased before 1595. Before 1593, not being a citizen of the Polish Republic, Ieremia was not authorized to purchase landed property, and could only acquire the right to use one of the Royal estates. To clear things up, a review of the history of Uście is required.

The first owners of Uście belonged to the aristocratic family of Koła who received numerous estates in the time of king Władysław Jagiełło. During the lustration of the estates of Red Russia of 1469 Uście is mentioned alongside other estates belonging to the Kołas.

Aristocratic families whose members married into the Kołas – Mielecki, Sieniawski, Kmita, Odrowąż – also came into the wealth of the family. By the marriage of Jan Mielecki to Anna Kołówna Dalejówna, the Mieleckis acquired part of the Kołas' estates, including Dalejów and Uście. Mikołaj Mielecki<sup>13</sup>, was their son, latter Voivode of Podolia and hetman of the Crown, who had preceded Jan Zamoyski in this latter office. Mikołaj Mielecki was the messenger of Sigismund August to Hungary and to Transylvania and, in 1572 contributed in Moldavia to the re-enthronement of Bogdan IV. In 1580, Mikołaj Mielecki wrote from his estate of Uście to the municipal counsellor of Lwów about some debts contracted by the departed Moldavian prince Petru Cazacul and guaranteed by him<sup>14</sup>. He had two

<sup>10</sup> Sławomir Leśniewski, *Jan Zamoyski, hetman i polityk*, Warszawa, 2008, p 83–91.

<sup>11</sup> PSB, t. XI, p. 120–121. Hieronim Jazłowiecki was the son-in-law of Constantin Vasile Ostrogski also an enemy of the chancellor.

<sup>12</sup> Lucja Charewiczowa, *Dzieje miasta Żłoczowa, Żłoczów*, 1929, p. 3; Magdalena Ujma, *Latyfundium Sobieskiego, 1652–1696*, Oplole, 2005, p. 36–37.

<sup>13</sup> PSB, t. 20, p. 765-767.

<sup>14</sup> Hurmuzaki-Bogdan, *op. cit.*, CL, p. 291–292.

daughters, Sofia and Kataryzna. Kataryzna Mielecka was married to Jan Ostroróg<sup>15</sup> who in 1588–1600 had been cup-bearer of the Crown. Sofia Mielecka married Prince Jan Simeon Olelkowicz of Słuck. As already mentioned, in 1591 Jan Simeon Olelkowicz had received at Uście, on the estate acquired through his marriage to Sofia Milelecka, the family of the Moldavian Prince. In 1592 Jan Simeon Olelkowicz of Słuck died without posterity. After 1592, Sofia Mielecka Olelkowicz, his widow, married Jan Carol Chodkiewicz, Hertman of Lithuania.

How and when Uście passed from Sofia Olelkowicz to the her sister remains unknown. One can assume that Sofia Mielecka did not wish to divide the landed property of the family, and that, after the marriage to Chodkiewicz, she may have renounced the Ukrainian possessions. In any case, the latter were too far away from her new home in Lithuania, exposed to the clashes among the Poles, the Tatars and the Cossacks, and difficult to protect.

On 17 July 1598 Ieremia Movilă wrote to Chancellor Zamoyski that he had reached an agreement to buy Uście from the cup-bearer of the Crown (in 1598 Jan Ostroróg filled this position) and asked the Chancellor to recommend him to the field hetman (Stanislaw Żółkiewski) so that the transaction might be completed as soon as possible. As the cup-bearer of the Crown had set no dead limit, Ieremia proposed that the transaction should be perfected until the feast of St. Bartholomew, more exactly until 24 August<sup>16</sup>.

Even in October 1598 the situation of Uście was yet unclear. On 27 October 1598, Luca Stroici wrote to Jan Zamoyski to apologize for not having visited him, despite being in Uście, in the neighborhood of the chancellor's residence. Difficulties deriving from the issue of the ownership of Uście had prevented him from doing so.

On 20 October Ieremia Movilă wrote to Jan Zamoyski that the cup-bearer spouse Kataryzna Mielecka, deceased at the time, had given Uście to Constantin Movilă. Being under age, Constantin needed a guardian for his ownership to be recorded at Liov court. Zamoyski was invited alongside other citizens of the Crown, such as Simion Movilă, George Movilă, Luca Stroici, and Andrzej Siemieński, to become Constantin's guardian. Ieremia Movilă, pointed out that on St. Michael's day it would be a year since the estate had been acquired<sup>17</sup>. As a conclusion, in the absence of Kataryzna Mielecka's document by which the situation of the estate of Uście was being settled, one may conclude that Constantin Movilă acquired Uście around 8 November 1598.

Another document which fits into this chronological reconstruction is the donation deed of 11 January 1599 by which the Polish nobelman Jan Mielecki of Mielec, a relative of Kataryzna Mielecka Ostrorogówna, donated to Constantin Movilă, together with the right of legacy, the villages Dołhe [Dolhe], Roźniów [Rocznów] and Kubala, villages belonging to the estate Uście<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> PSB, t. 24, p. 506–511.

<sup>16</sup> Hurmuzaki-Bogdan, *op. cit.*, CCLXIX, p. 469–470.

<sup>17</sup> Hurmuzaki-Bogdan, *op. cit.*, CCXCII, p. 552–553.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, CCLXVIII, p. 516–519.

During the year 1599 Ieremia Movilă tried to expand his possessions in Poland. He turned his eyes to a highly profitable estate, Pieskowa Skała, not far from Cracow. In fact, his interest in Pieskowa Skała was aroused by Zamoyski. According to the letter written by Zamoyski to the Moldavian prince before 24 May 1599<sup>19</sup>, the town was surrounded by a wall and all around it there were rich villages. Zamoyski advised Ieremia Movilă to buy this property which also held customs rights and produced good revenue, which could cover the purchase price in a very short while. Should Ieremia be unhappy with the transaction, Zamoyski pledged to re-purchase the estate and return the money to him in four years' time. Zamoyski's advice was that the prince should buy with no delay. It remains unknown why the acquisition was never made, but one may suspect as a reason, the fact that Pieskowa Skała was too far from the Polish-Moldavian border to meet the requirements of a refuge place. Later Ieremia Movilă bought from Konstanty Korniact of Białobok<sup>20</sup>, Szczercz together with the village that belonged, Nikonkowic<sup>21</sup>.

In May 1600, when Michael the Brave's troops marched into Moldavia, Ieremia Movilă with his family and his followers were once again forced to flee the country. They took refuge in eastern part of the Polish Commonwealth again. Most of the time Ieremia Movilă and a most of the refugees spent in the camp of Khotin,<sup>22</sup> whereas the family, the metropolitan and part of the hierarchs<sup>23</sup> would be first housed in Kamieniec Podolski, and afterwards in Alexander Koniecpolski's castle of Kadyjowice<sup>24</sup>. Next time when Ieremia is reported in Uście is 24 August 1600<sup>25</sup>.

Thus, Ieremia Movilă acquired for his son Constantin an area of refuge which consisted of the estate of Uście<sup>26</sup>. During these few pages we have shown that a part of Uście was acquired for Constantin from Katarzyna Mielecka around November 8, 1598, and another part Constantin received as a donation from Jan Mielecki on 11 January 1599. Uście history was tumultuous. Later, during the first half of the seventeenth century, husbands of the daughters of Ieremia divided Uście among themselves. Moreover, after the death of Ieremia, struggles for the Moldavian throne between the representatives of Ieremia's family and Simion's family moved to Uście.

<sup>19</sup> Ilie Corfus, *Documente privitoare la istoria României culese din arhivele polone. Secolele al XVI-lea și al XVII-lea*, București, 2001, nr. 64, p. 135–136.

<sup>20</sup> PSB, t. XIV, p. 82–83.

<sup>21</sup> *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, eds. Filip Sulimierski and Władysław Walewski, Varşovia, 1880–1914, t. XI, p. 851–855. E. Trilerówna, *Interesa lwowian z Moldawii w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, in "Miesięcznik Heraldyczny", tome XVI, no. 1, 1937, p. 11.

<sup>22</sup> Mihai Bogdan Atanasiu, *Itinerariile Movileștilor în Movileștii, istorie și spiritualitate românească*, t. II, Sfânta mănăstire Sucevița, 2006, p. 328.

<sup>23</sup> Ioan V. Dură, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

<sup>24</sup> Ilie Corfus, *Documente privitoare la istoria României culese din arhivele polone. Secolul al XVI-lea*, București, 1979, no. 221, p. 413–414. Mihai Bogdan Atanasiu, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

<sup>25</sup> Hurmuzaki-Bogdan, *op. cit.*, CCCXXXIX, p. 634.

<sup>26</sup> Ilona Czamańska, *Wiśniowieccy. Monografia rodu*, Poznań, 2007, p. 126. estate Uście, consisted of three towns: Uście, Lachie and Horaszatyn and villages: Zulca, Bobrowniki, Lazarówka, Zadarów, Kolinci, Dalejów, Międzygórze, Trościaniec, Dolhe, Rożniów, Stryjance, Kromidów, Łysice, Stobnik, Pacyków, Radcze and Łany.