

JAKUB ROGULSKI
(Jagiellonian University in Kraków)

TITLES, SEALS AND COATS OF ARMS AS SYMBOLS OF POWER
AND IMPORTANCE OF LITHUANIAN DUKES
BEFORE THE UNION OF LUBLIN

Keywords: middle ages, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, parallel branches of a ruling house, dukes, demonstration of power, titulature, sigillography, heraldry

INTRODUCTION

The symbols¹ of power and importance of Lithuanian dukes before the Union of Lublin have not become a separate subject of historians' studies so far. In the historiography the largest attention has been drawn to the demonstration of power of the grand dukes of Lithuania, especially from the Jagiellonian dynasty.² Meanwhile, the signs which served to display the power or significance of other Lithuanian dukes have been raised incidentally and selectively.³ The reason could be that in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania there

¹ A symbol is understood in a way proposed by Charles S. Peirce, i.e. a material object which stands for or suggests something else (another object, idea, meaning, belief, action etc.) only on the basis of social convention, in contrast to the iconic sign based on similarity, and the indexical sign based on material contact: Charles Sanders PEIRCE, *The Essential Peirce: Selected Philosophical Writings*, Bloomington (Indiana) 1998, p. 9. As this kind of sign will be the main subject of the following analysis, the word "symbol" will be further used interchangeably with the word "sign."

² See: Ryszard KIERSNOWSKI, *Godła Jagiellońskie*, Wiadomości Numizmatyczne, vol. 32: 1988, pp. 1–27; Zenon PIECH, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby w systemie symboli władzy Jagiellonów*, Warszawa 2003, where there is a compilation of previous literature on this subject; Edmundaš RIMŠA, *Pieczęcie Olgierda, wielkiego księcia litewskiego – dane historiograficzne a rzeczywistość*, [in:] *Heraldyka i okolice*, ed. Andrzej RACHUBA, Sławomir GÓRZYŃSKI, Halina MANIKOWSKA, Warszawa 2002, pp. 201–215; idem, *Heraldika: iš praeities į dabartį*, Vilnius 2004; Juozas GALKUS, *Lietuvos Vytis*, Vilnius 2009; Rimvydas PETRAUSKAS, *The Gediminids, the Algirdids and the Jagiellonians – stirps regia in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*, [in:] *Lietuva – Lenkija – Svedija: Europos dinastin, os jungtys ir istoriniai-kultūriniai ryšiai*, ed. Eugenijus SAVIŠČEVAS, Marijus UZORKA, Vilnius 2014, pp. 35–47.

³ Interestingly, most of these works were published before the Second World War: Zygmunt LUBA RADZIWIŃSKI, *O tożsamości tytułów kniaź i książe w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Lwów 1908;

lived a lot of dukes, who were very different from each other in terms of origin, wealth and political position.⁴ Consequently, a totality of ducal power symbols in the medieval Lithuania appears to be diverse, incoherent and difficult to analyse. The research of all known symbols would require much time and work.

This paper aims to outline the issue by analysing the most representative symbols which were used by a chosen group of Lithuanian princes. Firstly, the attention will be drawn to titles, seals and coats of arms, since they played a basic role in the demonstration of ducal power, position and significance in the Medieval period and later.⁵ They contained a number of symbolic signs, which could clearly represent ducal dignity and authority, an important political role and a high social rank. At the same time, they could be easily used to create a propaganda image. Additionally, quite a large amount of source material, mainly documents and seals (both the portrait ones and the armorial ones) used by Lithuanian dukes, have survived to the present times.⁶ It ena-

Marian GUMOWSKI, *Pieczęcie książąt litewskich*, Ateneum Wileńskie, vol. 7: 1930, pp. 684–672; Władysław SEMKOWICZ, *Sfragistyka Witolda*, Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne, vol. 13: 1930, pp. 65–86. Recently published works contain catalogues of Lithuanian dukes' seals: *Dokumenty strony polsko-litewskiej pokoju melneńskiego z 1422 roku*, ed. Przemysław NOWAK, Piotr POKORA, Poznań 2004; Oleh Anatoliyovych ODNOROZHENKO, *Rus'ki korolivs'ki, hospodars'ki ta knyazivs'ki pyechatky XIII–XVI st.* (Monumenta Rutheniae Heraldica, vol. 2), Kharkiv 2009 [Олег Анатолійович Однороженко, *Руські королівські, господарські та князівські печатки XIII–XVI ст.* (Monumenta Rutheniae Heraldica, vol. 2), Харків 2009].

⁴ A large number of Lithuanian dukes was a result of two facts: firstly, Grand Dukes Gediminas and Algirdas had numerous sons and grandsons, and secondly, in the Lithuanian state there were a lot of other dukes coming from local dynasties: Lithuanian, Ruthenian or even Tatar – the division introduced by: Józef WOLFF, *Kniaziowie litewsko-ruscy od końca czternastego wieku*, Warszawa 1895, p. XXI. It is estimated that in the 15th century there lived up to 80 ducal families in Lithuania – Lidia KORCZAK, *Monarcha i poddani. System władzy w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w okresie wczesnojagiellońskim*, Kraków 2008, p. 60. In the 16th century this number slightly decreased to about 50–60 families – Natalya Mykolayivna YAKOVENKO, *Ukrayins'Ka shlyakhta z kintsya XIV do seredy ny XVII stolittya. Volyn' i Tsentral'Na Ukrayina*, Kyiv 2008, p. 103 [Наталія Миколаївна Яковенко, *Українська шляхта з кінця XIV до середини XVII століття. Волинь і Центральна Україна*, Київ 2008].

⁵ More about this role of titles, seals and coats of arms in the medieval Poland and Lithuania can be read from: Zenon PIECH, *Ikonomia pieczęci Piastów*, Kraków 1993; idem, *Monety, pieczęcie, herby*; Aleksander ŚWIEŻAWSKI, *Tytulatura ruska książąt mazowieckich*, Warszawa 1994; Janusz GRABOWSKI, *Tytulatura mazowiecka i ruska na dokumentach królewskich Piastów i Jagiellonów (XIV–XVI w.)*, [in:] *Polska kancelaria królewska. Między władzą a społeczeństwem*, vol. 3, ed. Waldemar CHORAŻYCZEWSKI, Wojciech KRAWCZUK, Warszawa 2008, pp. 9–33.

⁶ In a lot of works Lithuanian Dukes' documents and seals can be found, in particularly: *Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoy Rossii*, ch. 1–8, t. 1, Kiyev 1859–1911 [*Архив Юго-Западной России*, ч. 1–8, т. 1, Киев 1859–1911]; *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi magni ducis Lithuaniae 1376–1430*, ed. Antoni Prochaska (Monumenta medii aevii historica. Res gestas Poloniae illustrantia, vol. 6), Kraków 1882; *Archiwum XX. Sanguszków Lubartowiczów w Sławucie*, vol. 1–7, ed. Zygmunt

bles to choose the most interesting examples of titles, seals and coats of arms for the analysis of their main functions, symbolic meaning and propaganda content.

Secondly, the subject of our interest will be the titles, seals and coats of arms which belonged to princes (not grand princes) coming from Grand Dukes Gediminas (d. 1341) and Algirdas (d. 1377). Since it was a group of princes who had a common ancestor and were related to each other, the symbols used by them should have been compatible and played a similar role. Consequently, the findings from the analysis of chosen objects can be extended to the wider group. Moreover, the descendants of Gediminas (the Gediminids) were of particular meaning in the medieval Lithuania, as they belonged to the ruling dynasty and later they could pride themselves on dynastic origins. Throughout the period they played an important political role, which is the best seen in the 14th century, when many Gediminids Dukes ruled in their own duchies.⁷ The possessors of these duchies created the strict power elite, supported Lithuanian monarchs and signed the most important international treaties.⁸ In the first half of the 15th century their importance decreased, since they lost their duchies and in fact they became Lithuanian landowners. In turn, they kept many privileges and acquired a special social status, called “status ducalis,” joining the separate and exclusive ducal stratum “ordo ducum” (“народъ княжатский”).⁹ Despite this kind of “declassing”,¹⁰ they remained very significant. The ducal houses which came from Gediminas and Algirdas (such as the Olelkowicz-Słucki, Sanguszkowicz or Czartoryski families) created an elite

LUBA RADZIWIŃSKI, Bronisław GORCZAK, Sławuta–Lwów 1887–1910; *Akta unii Polski z Litwą 1385–1791*, ed. Stanisław KUTRZEBA, Władysław SEMKOWICZ, Kraków 1932; M. GUMOWSKI, op.cit.; Józef PUZYNA, *Niektóre pieczęcie litewskie z XVI i XVII wieku*, *Miesięcznik Heraldyczny*, vol. 12: 1933, pp. 55–58, 73–77; O.A. ODNOROZHENKO, op.cit. The works are basis of this paper, but many analysed objects was found in archives and has not been published yet.

⁷ The duchies were a kind of fiefs: they remained parts of the Lithuanian state and the grand duke was their supreme sovereign: he could take away a duchy from any duke in any time and give it to someone else or even abolish it. However, many Lithuanian dukes treated duchies as their own heritage. More can be read in: Henryk ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Uwagi w sprawie podłoża społecznego i gospodarczego unii jagiellońskiej*, [in:] *Księga pamiątkowa ku uczczeniu czterechsetnej rocznicy wydania I Statutu Litewskiego*, ed. Stefan EHRENKREUTZ, Wilno 1935, p. 226; L. KORCZAK, op.cit., pp. 53–57.

⁸ J. WOLFF, op.cit., p. XX; L. KORCZAK, op.cit., pp. 62–74.

⁹ More about forming of the Lithuanian ducal stratum in 15th century in can be learnt from: Witold KAMIENIECKI, *Spółczesność litewska w XV wieku*, Warszawa 1947, pp. 50–51; Jerzy SUCHOCKI, *Początki narodu politycznego w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim późnego średniowiecza*, *Zapiski Historyczne*, vol. 48: 1983, pp. 36–42; L. KORCZAK, op.cit., pp. 57–61.

¹⁰ J. SUCHOCKI, op.cit., p. 50 defined in such a way the social changes of Lithuanian dukes' status in 14th and 15th century.

called the “senior princes” (“kniażata hołownyie”).¹¹ They maintained vast and compact landed estates, which provided them military and economic power until the very Union of Lublin,¹² and they had a great impact on public and social life, especially locally, but also in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

TITLES

The analysis of the symbols should start from a title. A designation: prince/duke was the most obvious sign of the ducal dignity and thus the authority and prestige linked to it. From the very beginning the ducal dignity was of particular meaning in Lithuania, since the supreme ruler of the state was also called the “duke,” only distinguished from the others by an epithet “grand” (in Latin “magnus dux,” in Ruthenian “великий князь”).¹³ The title of the grand duke was demonstrated in documents (mainly in an introductory part called “intitulatio”), seals and inscription, where it took a full shape being composed of 3 three parts: “nomen” (a name of a ruler), “formula devotionis” (“By The Grace of God”) and “titulum” (this can be defined as the essential title).¹⁴ For example, in a document from 1385 Grand Duke Jagiełło called himself: “Nos

¹¹ In such a way the Sanguszkowicz and Czartoryski princes were defined by royal commissioners in 1545 – *Rewizya zamków ziemi wołyńskiej w połowie XVI wieku*, ed. Aleksander JABŁONOWSKI (Źródła dziejowe, vol. 6), Warszawa 1877, p. 20. According to N.M. YAKOVENKO, op.cit., pp. 102–108, the term “senior princes” was used to distinguish the most powerful and richest ducal families against the rest of Lithuania princes and lords. To this elite the princes coming both from the Gediminids dynasty (the Czartoryski, Sanguszkowicz, Olekowicz, Korcecki) and from local monarchs (Ostrogski, Zasławski, Holszański, Zbaraski, Wiśniowiecki, Czetwertyński) were included (a position of the Czetwertyński family should be reconsidered, since according to the royal commissioners from 1545 they were not the “senior princes,” but the “district princes,” “powetniki”).

¹² Krzysztof PIETKIEWICZ, *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie pod rządami Aleksandra Jagiellończyka*, Poznań 1995, pp. 102–108. Remarkably, these estates had a special law status, they were subordinated only to the grand dukes, and their possessors could still feel like real rulers of their domains. How large such “duchies” could be it can be imagined on the basis of the data concerning the estates of the Sanguszkowicz dukes. In 1530s the family possessed estates on Volhynia which consisted of 3000 “dymy” (“houses”) and occupied the space of 166,5 km² (it was more than half of the whole Włodzimierz district) – on the basis of: *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 8: *Ziemie ruskie: Wołyń i Podole*, ed. Aleksander JABŁONOWSKI, Warszawa 1889, pp. 113–114. Wealthy estates allowed dukes to have private troops. For example, Duke Michał Gliński presented himself in 1506 with a retinue of until 700 horsemen – N.M. YAKOVENKO, op.cit., p. 107. Such large troops, however, were recruited only occasionally: ordinary Lithuanian dukes’ detachment consisted of 100–200 soldiers (both horsemen and infantry).

¹³ Except for King Mindaugas but his reign in the mid of 13th century was only ephemeral.

¹⁴ The parts of ducal titles were indicated by: A. ŚWIEŻAWSKI, *Tytulatura ruska*, pp. 7–8.

Jagalo, virtute Dei dux magnus Litwanorum, Russiaeque dominus et heres naturalis”.¹⁵

Since the Lithuanian ruler was “only” a grand duke, the title of Lithuanian dukes (“dux” or “князь”) acquired special authority and confidence. However, the parallels between the ducal title and the grand ducal one did not cease at it. This is the best shown on the example of the title of the most famous Lithuanian princes of that time, Duke Vytautas (circa 1348–1430). His title can be found in a document from 1387, when he was the ruler of Grodno and Brest. In this document written in Latin he called himself: “Nos Alexander alias Witoldus, Dei Gracia, dux brestensis et haradiensis etc.”¹⁶ As we can see, his ducal title was composed in such a way as the grand ducal one. Its first part was “nomen” (“Alexander alias Witoldus”), the second part a “formula devotionis” (“Dei Gracia”), and the last part a “titulum” (“dux brestensis et haradiensis”).

Regarding the manifestation of power and importance, the two last parts had a particular meaning. Firstly, a “formula devotionis”: it was used by sovereign rulers as a sign that their authority comes directly from God. Thus, the formula signified that Vytautas had in their duchies the same power as others sovereign rulers in Europe, although he was bound to obey the grand duke of Lithuania as his overlord. In connection with “formula devotionis,” the last part of Vytautas’ title, the essential title: “dux brestensis et haradiensis,” served to specify the scope of his ducal power. Since Vytautas was a ruler of Brest and Grodno, his power extended to the area of those two provinces.

The ducal titles consisting of the three parts were used by all Gediminids who received their own duchies to rule. It is easy to find other examples of such titles from the end of the 14th century and the beginning of the next century. For example, Duke Michał Jawnutowicz (d. 1399) in his document written in Latin from 1386 called himself: “Michael dei gracia dux Zaslauiensis”,¹⁷ just as Duke Švitrigaila (circa 1373–1452) in his document from 1424, this time written in Ruthenian language: “Мы Швитрикгайло инако Болеславъ з божьей милости князь черниговский”.¹⁸ It is necessary to point out that in above-quoted documents both Vytautas and Švitrigaila used two names: the first of pagan origin (Vytautas, Švitrigaila), and the second – Christian (Alexander, Bolesław). It seems that the habit of using two names by the Lithuanian dukes, which can be observed in many other examples, also served to demonstrate their importance. The usage of the pagan name could express an attachment to the Lithuanian origin and tradition, which was important for the

¹⁵ *Akta unii Polski z Litwą*, No. 1, pp. 1–2.

¹⁶ *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi*, No. XXXV, p. 132.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, No. XXIV, pp. 8–9.

¹⁸ *Archiwum książąt Lubartowiczów Sanguszków w Sławucie* (further cit. *Archiwum Sanguszków*), vol. 1–7, Lwów 1887–1910, here: vol. 1, No. XXIX, p. 28.

local subjects, while the Christian name could create an image of a modern European ruler, which was significant in international politics.¹⁹

The titles, which the Lithuanian dukes used, were a strict exemplification of their power which had a political and territorial dimension. They were not only a sign of being a ruler, but also of a great political role in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In the 14th century the management of this extensive state was based on provinces ruled by the dukes. Those who had their own provinces created the strict power elite of the state. It seems that the term “seniores duces Lithuanie” which was used at the time can be referred to these princes.²⁰

Accordingly, it cannot be a coincidence that over time some Lithuanian dukes started to imitate the grand ducal title in a much more evident way. They extended the essential part of their ducal title and before the title created from their own duchies they introduced a very expressive, nationwide title: “duke of Lithuania”. It can be already observed in a documents of Duke Skirgaila (circa 1354–1394) from 1387: “Skirgalo dei gracia dux Litwanie et dominus trocensis ac polocensis”²¹ (il. 1). This title was distinguished by a special similarity to the title of the grand duke (“grand dux Litwanie”). Remarkably, it emerged in the time, when Grand Duke Jagiełło became the king of Poland (1386) and was obliged to leave Lithuania. Moreover, it was used by the most powerful and ambitious dukes of the time, not only by Skirgaila, but also by Vytautas²² or Kaributas Dmitry (circa 1355–1404).²³ By introducing such a title, these princes showed not only that their importance extended to the whole country, but also they voiced their far-reaching political desires, which could even

¹⁹ This subject requires analysis of a number of documents which is beyond the scope of this paper.

²⁰ Such a term emerged in the document of Kęstutis from 1358: “ceterorumque seniorum ducum eciam Lythwanie” – *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Księstwa Mazowieckiego*, ed. Jan LUBOMIRSKI, Warszawa 1863, No. 80, p. 73. It is very difficult to determine which particular princes were defined in this way: J. SUCHOCKI, op.cit., pp. 36–42 attempted to do it, but failed. More can be read in L. KORCZAK, op.cit., p. 59. However, it is undoubtedly that the most powerful group of Lithuanian dukes in the 14th century must have encompass possessors of particular duchies.

²¹ Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie [Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw] (further cit. AGAD), Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych [the Parchment Collection], No. 4439, the document was published in: *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi*, No. XXXIII, pp. 11–12.

²² In a document from 1392 Vytautas called himself: “Witowdus dei gratia dux Lithuanie, dominus trocensis luczensis etc.” – Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie [The Princes Czartoryski Library in Kraków] (further: BCzart.), Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych [the Parchment Collection], No. 223, however it seems that the title „duke of the Lithuania” could be have used by him since the end of the 1380s – see a document from 1388: *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi*, No. XLII, p. 15.

²³ In a document from 1386 Kaributas Dmitry called himself: “Nos Demetrius alias Koributh dux Litwanie, dominus et heres de Nouogrodek” – AGAD, Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych, No. 4435, the document was published in: *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi*, No. XXIX, p. 10, as well as in: *Akta unii Polski z Litwą*, No. 16, pp. 12–13.

extend to the grand ducal throne. Notably, Duke Skirgaila was a regent of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1386–1392, while Vytautas finally became the grand duke in 1395 (confirmed in 1401). The title “duke of Lithuania” should be recognized as a very expressive symbol which showed great authority and importance, as well expressed clearly far-reaching political pretensions.

At the beginning of the 15th century most of the Gediminids duchies were abolished by the grand dukes, who aimed to consolidate and centralise the state. As a result, many dukes lost their political power and became Lithuanian landowners. The question must be considered: how did it affect their titles? This time, the title of Duke Sanguszko (d. 1454/1463), the son of Fiodor Olgierdowicz, should be chosen to analyse. In a document from 1433 his title can be found. It is the following: “Nos dux Sanguschco” (il. 2).²⁴ Comparing this title with the ones discussed before, it is easy to see that Duke Sanguszko did not use the “formula devotionis” and the “titulum,” which were the sign of political subjectivity. Moreover, his ducal title is located in other place, before the duke’s name. It comes as no surprise. Duke Sanguszko in contrast to his father Fiodor Olgierdowicz, who ruled in the Rathno Duchy, did not have his own province anymore. It is worth citing here the ducal title of Fiodor to show differences between titles: “Fedorius dei gratia dux rathnensis”.²⁵ The differences meant that Sanguszko became a Lithuanian landowner and his authority lost any political dimension. Although he was still a duke, it was only because he was born as the son of another duke and therefore he had dynastic origins. This shift of the ducal title from the part “titulum” before the duke’s name should be recognized as a result of the “declassing.” It was a symbol of a new social position of the Lithuanian dukes. In this situation, the usage of so meaningful title “duke of Lithuania” was completely out of the question.

Despite the loss of political subjectivity, the Gediminid remained very important dukes who enjoyed remarkable social prestige. They created a separate and exclusive ducal stratum, uppermost in the Lithuanian society, and no one else could enter this stratum.²⁶ This is the best seen on the example of the powerful Radziwiłł family, which received a ducal title from German rulers in the first half of the 16th century.²⁷ Despite being raised to the rank, they

²⁴ BCzart., Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych, No. 389. Document was also published in: *Archiwum Sanguszków*, vol. 1, No. XXXIII, p. 32.

²⁵ The title can be found in two documents of Vytautas from 1387 and 1394 – *Codex epistolarius Vitoldi*, No. XXXV, p. 13 and No. CV, p. 35, as well as in: *Akta unii Polski z Litwą*, No. 35, p. 32.

²⁶ In the Lithuanian state the dukes had a honorary precedence over clerks until the beginning of the 16th century – J. WOLFF, op.cit., p. XX.

²⁷ At first the ducal title was given to Mikołaj Mikołajowicz Radziwiłł and his offspring from the line of Goniądz and Medele in 1518. After they expired, the ducal title had to be given again to the other family representatives. It happened in 1547, when Mikołaj “the Black” Radziwiłł

still remained Lithuanian lords (“panowie”), not dukes. It can be observed in a document of king Sigismund Augustus from 1558, where Mikołaj “the Black” Radziwiłł was called: “пан Миколай Радивилъ”.²⁸ Accordingly, the Radziwiłłs could not use the ducal title in such a way as the Giedymin’ descendants, i.e. before a name, but after it, just as the aristocracy of Western Europe. In a document from 1555 the mentioned Mikołaj Radziwiłł called himself: “Мы Миколай Радивилъ на Олыце и Несвизжу княжа”²⁹ (il. 3).

The case of the Radziwiłł family indicates that in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania only dukes having dynastic origins were viewed as “real dukes.” This observation should be combined with the fact that the ducal dignity was treated as strongly linked with appropriate birth, as an effect of Divine action.³⁰ Therefore, the ducal title before a name must be considered to be as a symbol of the “only true” ducal dignity. It means that the title was one of the Lithuanian dukes’ privileges, expressing their high social position and prestige, which they still had in 16th century.

For some princes, however, even such an exclusive title was not satisfactory symbol of their power and importance. Being strictly connected with a proper lineage, the title acquired special prestige but simultaneously lost its meaning as an indicator of political influences and wealth: it could have been used by all Lithuanian princes of dynastic origin, even those who in the first half of the 16th century got impoverished and lost any significance.³¹ It was why some of the most powerful and richest dukes coming from the Gedimnids dynasty tried to distinguish their title from others princes and took the liberty of restoring the “formula devotionis”: “*Dei Gratia*.” In an abbreviated form: “D G” this very meaningful symbol can be found in the seal inscriptions of Olelkowicz-Słucki princes from the 1550s–1570s.³² For example, the inscription from the seal of Prince Alexander was the following: “ALEXANDER D(*ei*) G(*ratia*) DUX SLUCENSIS.” This time the formula could not have

and his brothers from the lines of Birże and Dubinki, and Nieśwież and Ołyka, were raised to the ducal rank. More can be read in: Sławomir GÓRZYŃSKI, *Rodzina Radziwiłłów i ich tytuły*, *Miscellanea Historica-Archivistica*, vol. 7: 1997, pp. 20–21; Marceł Antoni ANTONIEWICZ, *Protoplaści książąt Radziwiłłów. Dzieje mitu i meandry historiografii*, Warszawa 2011, pp. 21–26, 63–66.

²⁸ *Archiwum Sanguszków*, vol. 7, nr XLV, p. 41.

²⁹ BCzart., *Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych*, No. 898.

³⁰ More about the social notion of ducal authority in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania can be learnt from: N.M. YAKOVENKO, *op.cit.*, p. 80.

³¹ At the time many Lithuanian princes got impoverished but the phenomenon slightly touched the families who originated from the Gediminids dynasty: as it was said, most of them belonged to the elite of “senior princes” up to the Union of Lublin.

³² It is about the seals of princes Jerzy (died 1586), Aleksander (died 1591) and Jan Szymon (1593) – they were published in: J. PUZYNA, *op.cit.*, No. 1, 8–9, pp. 56–57; O.A. ODNOROZHENKO, *op.cit.*, No. 483–492, pp. 139–140.

been a symbol of the independent political authority, since the princes were very rich and privileged but only Lithuanian landowners. Therefore, it should be recognized to be an expressive symbol showing a particular position and splendour of the Olelkowicz family which being closely related to the grand dukes of the Jagiellonian dynasty was more mighty and abundant than most ducal Houses in Lithuania.

SEALS

Another basic symbol of ducal power and importance was a seal. It could transmit information in a few ways, by a text (legend), a shape, a size or a wax colour. However, the most significant was an image adorning the central part of the seal.³³ It was due to the fact that the seal image was a graphic representation of its owner, depicting his portrait or his symbol and expressing the most important message for him. A choice of the seal image was always well considered, therefore its analysis enables to gather a lot of information about an owner, unavailable anywhere else.

In the analysis of the ducal title the cases were found when the Lithuanian princes aimed to imitate the grand ducal title in order to show their great importance and far-reaching ambitions (it is mainly about the title: “the duke of Lithuania”). It is obvious that also in the case of seals the images used by the grand dukes were a crucial point of reference for dukes. In the second half of the 14th century, Grand Dukes Algirdas and his son Jagiełło used the equestrian seals.³⁴ This kind of seal depicted portraits of its owner as a riding knight in an armour and with a weapon, ready to fight.

What can be seen on the Lithuanian dukes' seals? A seal of prince Vytautas should be taken as an example again. It comes from the beginning of the 1380s, when Vytautas was the ruler of Trakai.³⁵ The seal is round, its diameter is 45 millimeters. The seal shows a knight on horseback, riding to the left (the heraldic left), the knight has an armour and a pointed helmet and in his right hand he holds a sword, raised for a blow. In the seal rim there

³³ More methodological considerations about historical value of seals can be found in: Z. PIECH, *Ikonografia pieczęci Piastów*, pp. 7–15.

³⁴ The seals of these grand dukes were published by: M. GUMOWSKI, op.cit., passim; E. RIMŠA, *Heraldika*, passim; O.A. ODNOROZHENKO, op.cit., passim.

³⁵ The seal was published in many works, for example: Franciszek PIEKOSIŃSKI, *Pieczęcie polskie wieków średnich*, vol. 1: *Doba Piastowska*, Kraków 1899, No. 571, pp. 282–283; M. GUMOWSKI, op.cit., pp. 717–718, figure No. VI, 41; W. SEMKOWICZ, op.cit., p. 75; E. RIMŠA, *Heraldika*, p. 58, figure p. 110; O.A. ODNOROZHENKO, op.cit., No. 672, p. 175, figure p. 310; a moulding of the seal can be found in: the Department for Sciences Auxiliary to History of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, No. 212.

is a Latin inscription in majuscule gothic letters: "SIGILUM WITAWT(is) DVCIS TRACKEN(sis) (et)c"³⁶ (il. 4).

The considerable size and visible minuteness leave no doubt that the seal shows a portrait of the duke. Vytautas decided to present himself as a knight ready to fight the enemy. This way of autopresentation was very popular among medieval rulers.³⁷ It was due to the symbols which were in the equestrian image. The knight on horseback, in armour, charging and attacking an invisible enemy was a symbol of an ideal monarch, who can defend his subjects effectively. In turn, the expressiveness and intensity of the image shows combat readiness and high fighting ability of the ruler. These were ones of the most desirable qualities of a good sovereign in the Middle Ages.³⁸ It is why monarchs of the time preferred to exhibit themselves as warriors on horseback, ready to reach for a weapon. As it was mentioned, this kind of seal was also used by the grand dukes of Lithuania, who valued their equestrian image so much that initially they seemed to reserve this kind of seal only for themselves.³⁹

Therefore Vytautas' seal from the early 1380s was a very expressive way to manifest his power and importance, as well as political ambitions. Firstly, it was to depict Vytautas as an ideal ruler, successful defender of his duchy and subjects. The seal informed that he was the leader of people of his duchy, and the legend specified that it was about the Duchy of Trakai. But the most important was the fact that Vytautas applied the same iconographic type as the one used by the grand dukes ruling at the time. In the light of historical evidence he appears to be the first Lithuanian duke who did it. It made the propaganda content of Vytautas' seal much more expressive. The seal clearly suggested that he held a special rank, higher than a typical duke and almost equal with the position of very Lithuanian monarchs. Therefore, the seal was not only to represent Vytautas as an ideal ruler of the Duchy of Trakai, but as a duke who was able to rule the whole Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In this way Vytautas manifested his ambition to become the grand duke.

Vytautas' seal must have lost quickly its special meaning, as already in the 1380s other Gediminids Dukes began to use equestrian seals. The knight with a sword (or a spear) can be observed on the seals of Jagiełło's brothers: Skir-

³⁶ The legend content was read by: M. GUMOWSKI, op.cit., p. 718.

³⁷ For example, the equestrian seals were the second dominating kind of image on Piast dukes' seals of the Middle Ages – Z. PIĘCH, *Ikonografia pieczęci Piastów*, pp. 38–40.

³⁸ More about symbolic meaning of the equestrian image can be learnt from: *ibid.*, p. 41 ff.

³⁹ The grand ducal seals are the only known equestrian seals in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania until 1380s; the above-mentioned Vytautas' seal is the first equestrian seal belonging to any Lithuanian duke.

gaila (d. 1394), Kaributas (d. 1404) and Lengvenis (d. 1431).⁴⁰ Interestingly, all these dukes started to use the equestrian image almost simultaneously, which indicated that the Grand Duke of Lithuania Jagiełło was the one which allowed them to do it. Perhaps, he gave such a permission precisely to weaken the propaganda content of Vytautas' seal.⁴¹ Anyway, it should be emphasized that the equestrian seals disseminated among Lithuanian dukes at same time when they introduced the title "dux of Lithuania." This indicates that the seal could have been as meaningful as that expressive title (at least initially since the title „dux of Lithuania" shortly vanished while the equestrian seal was used by many dukes up to 1440s).

However, not all Gediminids Dukes had the equestrian seal. Among other kinds of seals used by Lithuanian princes the pedestrian seal should be discussed firstly. This seal type was used mainly by Dukes Kęstutis (d. 1382) and his son Vytautas (before 1380s).⁴² The pedestrian seal depicted the duke as a foot warrior, standing frontwards, in armour and with weapons. This seal also served to create an ideal image of the duke, expressing his high dignity and great significance.⁴³ In time when the grand dukes of Lithuania were the only ones who used equestrian seals, the pedestrian seals of Kęstutis and Vytautas must have expressed their second (or at least very high) position in the state. However, this kind of seal seems to be valued much less than the equestrian one. It cannot be a coincidence that the pedestrian image occurs on the Lithuanian dukes' seals so rarely.

The another type of Lithuanian ducal seals was a seal with a geometric sign. Such objects had emerged until the 1420–1430s, when more and more of the Gediminids, the younger generations of the dynasty, were deprived of their duchies, losing some political importance. They were not as significant as the sons or grandsons of Gediminas, therefore many of them could not use equestrian seals or coat of arms "Pogoń" (more can be found below). Consequently, they were forced to choose new images for their seals, which would be their personal symbols and would represent their social position as privileged landowners. Most of these princes started to use simplified geometrical signs, a combination of straight lines, circles and semicircles. The examples

⁴⁰ See the equestrian seals of these princes published in: M. GUMOWSKI, *op.cit.*, pp. 703–704, 706, 713, figure No. V, 35, VI, 39; O.A. ODNOROZHENKO, *op.cit.*, No. 503, 507, p. 143–144, figure p. 289.

⁴¹ It was hypothesised by W. SEMKOWICZ, *op.cit.*, p. 75.

⁴² See the pedestrian seals of Kęstutis and Vytautas published in: M. GUMOWSKI, *op.cit.*, pp. 702–703, 717, figure No. IV, 29–30, VI, 40; O.A. ODNOROZHENKO, *op.cit.*, No. 667–671, pp. 173–175, figure p. 310.

⁴³ It is why this kind of image was the most popular on the Piast dukes' seal in the Middle Ages. More about the pedestrian seal can be learnt from: Z. PIECH, *Ikonografia pieczęci Piastów*, pp. 38–43 ff.

can be observed on a series of ducal seals belonging to the dukes originating from Grand Duke Algirdas, such as Iwan Andrzejewicz (d. about 1437), Fiodor Korybutowicz (d. 1440/1447), Aleksander-Olelko Włodzimierzowicz (d. 1454), Iwan Włodzimierzowicz (d. 1452) and Andrzej Włodzimierzowicz (d. 1457) (il. 5)⁴⁴. Significantly, the geometrical signs used by these princes were very similar to the ones which were very popular among Polish and Lithuanian nobility. Moreover, these personal signs were often depicted on heraldic shields, just as typical noble coats of arms. Consequently, most Gediminids' seals from the 15th century seem to indicate that these dukes could accept their new social status and resigned from the manifestation of high ducal dignity and authority through the seal images. On the other hand, it should be emphasized that the grand dukes of Lithuania also used geometrical signs: Władysław Jagiełło introduced a double (or patriarchal) cross, named later "Podwójny Krzyż," while Vytautas (being the grand duke) initiated the sign of three columns, later "Kolumny".⁴⁵ The popularity of geometrical signs seemed to be a result of a tendency dominating in the heraldry of Lithuanian elites of that time, and the ducal seals depicting them could also demonstrate authority and importance (the more that the ducal title was still highlighted in the legends of those seals).

Notwithstanding, there were Lithuanian dukes, who desired to express their political ambitions in much more evident way. They did not accept the "declassing" and still wanted to be perceived as important and influential figures, ruling their own province. These dukes used very interesting seals, which aimed to create owners' propaganda images.

A good example of such images can be found on the seals of Duke Sanguszko (il. 6) and his sons Alexander (d. 1491) and Michał (d. 1511).⁴⁶ The Sanguszko's seal has survived to the present times on the document from 1433.⁴⁷ It is round and is 30 millimeters in diameter. As the seal is in a bad

⁴⁴ Their ducal seals with geometric signs can be found in: M. GUMOWSKI, op.cit., pp. 691, 697, 695, 699, figure No. I, 2–4, II, 11, IX, 65, 67; *Dokumenty strony polsko-litewskiej*, pp. 75–78; O.A. ODNOROZHENKO, op.cit., No. 452–456, 510–511, pp. 132–133, 145, figure pp. 281, 289. A lot of other examples of such seals belonging to other Lithuanian dukes (non the Gediminid) can be found in: O.A. ODNOROZHENKO, op.cit., passim.

⁴⁵ These signs can be found on their equestrian signs as symbols set on shields of horsemen: UZUP. The names of the signs, "Podwójny Krzyż" and "Kolumny," were introduced in later centuries.

⁴⁶ J. WOLFF, op.cit., pp. 423–424, 448.

⁴⁷ BCzart., *Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych*, No. 389. The seal was published in: Franciszek PIEKOSIŃSKI, *Heraldyka polska*, Kraków 1899, p. 418; M. GUMOWSKI, op.cit., p. 28, figure No. VIII, 50; O.A. ODNOROZHENKO, op.cit., No. 281, p. 105, figure p. 256 (however, the figure is very inaccurate).

condition, it is hard to identify what exactly it depicts.⁴⁸ There can be seen only a warrior in a dynamic fighting pose, who defeats a wild animal.⁴⁹ However, an iconographic context for this image can be found, and these are Ruthenian icons from the late Middle Ages.⁵⁰ Comparing the Sanguszko's seal with the icons depicting holy warriors, similarities to Saint Michael the Archangel are the most visible.⁵¹ This observation can be confirmed by the fact that Duke Sanguszko and his sons worshipped this saint.⁵² The seals of Sanguszko's sons, Dukes Alexander and Michał, depict a very similar scene, therefore they must also contain an image of Saint Michael.⁵³ All these objects should be considered to be the hagiographic seals, which show the holy patron of their owners.

This raises the question: in what way could the hagiographic seal manifest ducal power and importance? First of all, the very choice of Saint Michael the Archangel as a holy patron was an effective way to express authority. This saint was very popular among European rulers in the Middle Ages, especially in the Eastern Christianity, where archangel Michael was one of the most important saints. Saint Michael was a patron of Constantinople city, Byzantine emperors

⁴⁸ The seal legend is unreadable, only a few initial letters, written in the Gothic minuscule, can be read: "s ... c z a n g." It can only be presumed that this is an initial fragment of an inscription: "s(*igillum*) [du]c(is) zang[uschconis]."

⁴⁹ This is why there is no consensus between researchers as to the image. Some of them think that this warrior was Saint George – e.g. F. PIEKOSIŃSKI, *Heraldyka polska*, p. 418, the others that Saint Michael the Archangel – M. GUMOWSKI, *op.cit.*, p. 28; O.A. ODNOROZHENKO, *op.cit.*, p. 105.

⁵⁰ See: Janina KŁOSIŃSKA, *Ikony. Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie. Katalogi zbiorów*, vol. 1, Kraków 1973, pp. 152–162, 209–211. The icons published in the work come from the 15th and 16th century.

⁵¹ The icons enable to see that the warrior from the seal has wings and a spear, his opponent is a dragon. It indicates that the seal depicts a holy warrior defeating a dragon; he can be identified as Saint Michael the Archangel. More about the identification of the scene can be read in: Jakub ROGULSKI, *Pечатки князя Сангушка і його синів Олександра та Михайла з XV ст. Спроба інтерпретації*, Праці Центру пам'яткознавства, вип. 30: 2016, pp. 223–240 [Jakub ROGULSKI, *Печатки князя Сангушка і його синів Олександра та Михайла з XV ст. Спроба інтерпретації*, Праці Центру пам'яткознавства, вип. 30: 2016, pp. 223–240].

⁵² It is supported by the fact that Sanguszko's posterity had a hereditary right of patronage of the monastery of Saint Michael in Włodzimierz Wołyński – it can be learnt from the document from 1502: *Archiwum Sanguszków*, vol. 1, p. 148. Moreover, in the first generations of the family the name Michał occurred very often: until the first half of 16th century it can be observed in a case of seven dukes.

⁵³ The seal of Duke Aleksander Sanguszkowicz is known from a description of Bronisław Gorczałak in: *Archiwum Sanguszków*, vol. 3, p. 14. The seal of Duke Michał Sanguszkovich has survived on the document of 1487 and can be found in: AGAD, *Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych*, No. 7480: the seal was also published in: O.A. ODNOROZHENKO, *op.cit.*, p. 102, figure p. 262.

and an the imperial army.⁵⁴ In Ruthenia the worship of the archangel played a similar role: he was a patron of a number of monasteries and churches, and his image became even the emblem of the whole Kiev Duchy.⁵⁵ The great devotion for the saint, who defeated Satan himself, was to secure victory and safety for a ruler and his people. It was an effective way of creating an ideal monarch's image in the Ruthenian mentality.

However, meaning of the very iconographic type must also be taken into account. Apart from the above-mentioned seals, only one more hagiographic of a Lithuanian duke seal is known; it belonged to Duke Aleksander Koriatowicz (d. about 1382) and it presented Saint George.⁵⁶ In turn, holy images were very popular on metal seals (bulls) of Ruthenian dukes from the 11th–13th century, who ruled Ruthenian duchies before the conquest of the grand dukes of Lithuania. These seals presented a series of holy figures, among whom warriors, such as Teodor Tyron, George, Demetrius of Thessaloniki and Michael were the most frequent.⁵⁷ Moreover, some of Ruthenian bulls from that time depict saints in a similar scene of fight as the one from the seals of Sanguszko and his sons.⁵⁸ In the next centuries the images of saints became more rare, however they still remained an important role in propaganda of power on Ruthenia territory. The best evidence of it is the seal of Grand Duke of Moscow Ivan III from the end of the 15th century, which presented Saint George⁵⁹ (later the image became the emblem of the Russian Empire). All of this means that Duke Sanguszko and his sons used the iconographic type which was associated with outstanding Ruthenian monarchs. These princes had their estates in Volhynia, one of the former Ruthenian duchies, therefore the propaganda message of their hagiographic seals must have been understood very well. It should be added that Prince Sanguszko lost his duchy of Ratno w 1430s and for over a decade struggled to restore it; he even dared to invade the lands of

⁵⁴ More about the worship of Saint Michael can be read in: "Michał Archanioł," in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 12, Lublin 2008, pp. 806–807.

⁵⁵ Stefan Krzysztof KUCZYŃSKI, *Polskie herby ziemskie. Geneza, treści, funkcje*, Warszawa 1993, pp. 96–97, 100.

⁵⁶ This seal was published in: M. GUMOWSKI, op.cit., p. 689, figure No. VIII, 52; O.A. ODNOROZHENKO, op.cit., p. 87, figure p. 242. The seal seems to manifest power and importance of Duke Aleksander in a similar way as the seals of Sanguszko and his sons.

⁵⁷ A lot of these bulls was published by: Valentin Lavrent'yevich YANIN, *Aktovyye pečati Drevney Rusi X–XV vv.*, t. 1–2, Moskva 1970, passim [Валентин Лаврентьевич Янин, *Актовые печати Древней Руси X–XV вв.*, т. 1–2, Москва 1970, passim].

⁵⁸ In particular, it concerns seals of dukes of Nowogród from the 13th century, Yaroslav II and Alexander Nevsky, which presented saint Teodor Tyron fighting a dragon; the seals were published by: V.L. YANIN, op.cit., t. 2, No. 368–378, pp. 156–158.

⁵⁹ The seal was published by: Nadezhda Aleksandrovna SOBOLEVA, *Russkiye pečati*, Moskva 1991, No. 38, pp. 157–158 [Надежда Александровна Соболева, *Русские печати*, Москва 1991, No. 38, pp. 157–158].

the Polish Kingdom.⁶⁰ From this point of view his seal with archangel Michael can be recognized to be a very clear demonstration of his political far-reaching aims.⁶¹

In 16th century the choice of seal image lost its importance, since all Lithuanian dukes introduced signets depicting their coats of arms. Since that time meaning and contents of ducal seals depended closely on emblems which adorned them. Nevertheless, some of princes were still able to make this kind of seal very expressive symbol of their power and importance. A seal of Prince Aleksander Czartoryski from 1560s should be taken as the best example. The seal is round, had 29 millimeters in diameter (much bigger than a typical signet) and depicted prince's coat of arms "Pogoń." What is the most striking, it is evidently modelled on the Lithuanian minor seal of King Sigismund II Augustus (il. 7).⁶² On both seals additional emblem "Podwójny Krzyż" can be found, the heraldic shields appear as the renaissance cartouches, the images of knights and riding horses are very refined, the legends are placed in the single rims. The similarity is so great, that one can easily confused the seal of the duke with the one of the grand duke. By imitating one of the symbols of the grand ducal power, Aleksander Czartoryski expressed distinctly that he was the prince who was closely related to the Lithuanian ruler and due to this fact he was very important figure in the country.

In Grand Duchy of Lithuania seals could express significance of their owners also by a colour of wax, in which a seal matrix was impressed.⁶³ Since the red wax was the most prestigious and only grand dukes could use it,⁶⁴ Lithuanian princes pressed their seal in green wax, sometimes in black. How-

⁶⁰ In 1430–1432 Grand Duke of Lithuania Sigismund Kęstutaitis took away Ratno and other cities from Sanguszko and gave them to Polish King. Sanguszko did not accept this decision and tried to reclaim the lost cities. In 1440/1441 he invaded Polish lands and seized Ratno, but only temporarily. Because of this deed he was declared to be a traitor. More about Sanguszko's activity can be learnt from: Oskar HALECKI, *Ostatnie lata Świdrygielły i sprawa wołyńska za Kazimierza Jagiellończyka*, Kraków 1915, pp. 28–33.

⁶¹ More about the propaganda message of the seals can be read in: J. ROGULSKI, *Pечатки князя Сангушка* [J. ROGULSKI, *Печатки князя Сангушка*], pp. 232–237.

⁶² The seal can be found in a document from 1560 – Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie [The National Archive in Kraków] (further cit. AP in Kraków), Oddział na Wawelu [the Wawel Department], Archiwum Sanguszków [the Sanguszko Princes Archive], teka [folder] IX/129, p. 672. The propaganda content of seal was analyzed extensively in: Jakub ROGULSKI, *Manifestacja dynastycznego pochodzenia na pieczęciach książąt Czartoryskich z drugiej połowy XVI wieku*, *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego nowej serii*, vol. 12: 2013, pp. 211–222.

⁶³ To the end of the 15th century seals were impressed directly in wax and protected by setting in a wax bowl. In the next century another method of impressing seals became widespread: seals were impressed in a piece of paper set on a wax underlay.

⁶⁴ Edmundas RIMŠA, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės miestų antspaudai*, Vilnius 1999, p. 44.

ever, the grand dukes could reward some princes by allowing them to use red wax. For example, in 1522 prince Konstanty Ostrogski received such a reward from Sigismund I the Old. Remarkably, the King explained that he did it for the great military deeds.⁶⁵ In the 1550s–1560s other Lithuania princes started to use red wax, such as Jerzy Olelkowicz-Słucki, Roman Sanguszkowicz and Aleksander Czartoryski. They were the Gediminids descendants and played an important role as associates of king Sigismund August.⁶⁶ Red wax of their seals' impressions should be considered to be an important symbol of significance and merits of the Lithuanian dukes.

COATS OF ARMS

Coats of arms are commonly known to have played a special role in the manifestation of authority and splendour in the Middle Ages and later. They expressed all basic information about the social position, noble origin, power and significance which enable to identify who was their owners. They were not only symbols of their users but also functioned as their personifications, and even they could even replace portrait images.⁶⁷ Not surprisingly, emblems were presented in many places, especially on seals, but also they adorned banners, portraits, epitaphs, weapons, vessels, decorations and a lot of other artefacts of the noble culture.

The Lithuanian ducal heraldry began in 1380s when Grand Duke Władysław Jagiełło placed the image of the riding knight from his seal on the armorial shield.⁶⁸ In this way he created the coat of arms which later was named “Pogoń” (gules, a knight argent, bearing a sword and a shield).⁶⁹ For the first time it can be seen on Władysław Jagiełło's majestic seal from 1387, where

⁶⁵ *Archiwum Sanguszków*, vol. 3, No. 241, p. 235.

⁶⁶ For the first time Prince Roman Sanguszkowicz used red wax on a document from 1561, while Prince Aleksander Czartoryski did in 1564 – both documents can be found in: AP in Kraków, *Archiwum Sanguszków*, teka IX/20, p. 108; teka IX/129, p. 672.

⁶⁷ See consideration of Hans BELTING, *The Coat of Arms and the Portrait*, [in:] idem, *An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body*, Princeton 2014, pp. 62–84.

⁶⁸ More about the origin of “Pogoń” can be learnt from: Z. ПЕЧЕН, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby*, pp. 227–229.

⁶⁹ The name “Pogonia” was adopted no sooner than at the beginning of 16th century. The oldest records come from 1530s: these are a chronicle of Marcin BIELSKI, *Kronika wszystkiego świata* [...], Kraków 1551 and documents of Prince Roman Sanguszkowicz from 1558 and 1564 – *Archiwum Sanguszków*, vol. 6, No. 134, p. 234; vol. 7, No. 44, p. 40. Earlier, the emblem was determined descriptively, for example in a document of Władysław of Varna from 1442 (see below); in the annals of Jan DŁUGOSZ, *Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, lib. 10–11, Varsaviae 1997, p. 89; or in a chronicle called *Khronika Vyhovtsa* (Хроника Быховца) from the beginning of the 16th century – *Polnoye sobraniye russkikh letopisey*, t. 32, Moskva 1975 [*Полное собрание русских летописей*, т. 32, Москва 1975]. Initially the name “Pogonia” was in use, “Pogoń” emerged much later.

it clearly functions as the grand duke's emblem.⁷⁰ Since that time the coat of arms was used by all rulers of Lithuania, mainly from the Jagiellonian, but also from Kęstutaitis dynasty. Moreover, some of them adorned "Pogoń" with their own personal (or dynastic) emblem: as it was mentioned, the Jagiellonians introduced "Podwójny Krzyż" on the knight's shield, while the Kęstutaitis so did with "Kolumny." They made "Pogoń" more personalized, creating a "grand ducal" variant of it.⁷¹ At the same time, the coat of arms started to be used in the third function: it became a territorial sign of the Vilnius Land, and over time other Lithuanian provinces.⁷²

At this point the dukes' equestrian seals should be recalled. Since the end of the 14th century these seals started to change significantly. Firstly, the seal size decreased to about 30 millimetres, and consequently the image lost distinct features of a portrait and became very schematic. It can be observed on the seals of Dukes Roman Fiodorowicz (d. 1431) and Sigismund Kęstutaitis (as a duke, d. 1440).⁷³ Moreover, there appeared such equestrian seals on which the knight was presented on a heraldic shield. These belonged to Dukes Alexander Vygantas (d. 1392), Švitrigaila (as a duke, d. 1452), Aleksander Iwanowicz Nos (d. about 1435)⁷⁴ (il. 8). The images from these seals can hardly be regarded as a portrait of their owners; they seem to be their heraldic emblems. Although they could be slightly different to each other in terms of a knight's movement direction, a horse motion or a kind of weapon in the knight's hand, undoubtedly all of them presented the same emblem which was still in the forming stage. It means that the seals of some Lithuanian dukes from the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th centuries depicted the coat of arms "Pogoń."

Therefore "Pogoń" was not only the emblem of the Lithuanian ruler, state or provinces. It was also adopted by some Lithuanian dukes. Remarkably, "Pogoń" used by the dukes, in contrast to the one of the grand dukes, never had any additional sign on the knight's shield; it enables to determine this var-

⁷⁰ The analysis of the seal iconography can be found in: S.K. KUCZYŃSKI, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, pp. 25–26; Z. PIECH, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby*, pp. 44–49.

⁷¹ The phenomenon was widely discussed by: Z. PIECH, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby*, p. 231 ff.

⁷² As a capital land of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, this province was strictly related to grand ducal power, so the coat of arms of the grand duke was adopted as a sign of that land – S.K. KUCZYŃSKI, *Polskie herby ziemskie*, p. 38; later, "Pogoń" became a coat of arms of such lands: Vilnius, Trakai, Vitebsk, Podlasie, Brest, Mstsislaw, Minsk and Polotsk. Coats of arms of the lands were different to one another in colours in tinctures – *ibid.*, pp. 99–100.

⁷³ The dukes' seals were published by: M. GUMOWSKI, *op.cit.*, pp. 710, 724, figure No. VIII, 53, 57; O.A. ODNOROZHENKO, *op.cit.*, No. 476, p. 138, figure p. 284 (the figure is inaccurate).

⁷⁴ The dukes' seals were published by: M. GUMOWSKI, *op.cit.*, pp. 690–691, figure No. VIII, 54; O.A. ODNOROZHENKO, *op.cit.*, No. 470, 480, 602, pp. 161, 138, figure pp. 284, 302.

iant as the “ducal” one.⁷⁵ The wide-spreading of the emblem was possible, because the grand (or supreme) dukes of Lithuania, being disposers of “Pogoń,” could allow other princes to use it. For example, in 1442 three Czartoryski princes, Michał, Iwan and Aleksander received such a permission from King Władysław of Varna.⁷⁶ The document explained that the King allowed them to use the emblem only for life. Accordingly, it was only the personal, not family, emblem of the Lithuanian dukes, and their offspring could not use it without another approval. It is clear, however, that such a royal privilege was to distinguish and reward those princes, who deserved for it. The above-mentioned princes owed their permission to Prince Michał Czartoryski, who in 1440 went to Hungary, where he won the great favour of King Władysław III.⁷⁷ In that time, “Pogoń” not only brought a great honour and prestige for the Gediminids Dukes, but also expressed their high position and remarkable significance.

In the second half of the 15th and at the beginning of the next century “Pogoń” ceased to be the emblem of the Lithuanian dukes; there is no known ducal seal from that time which would present this emblem.⁷⁸ It should be explained by the fact that in the course of the 15th century the position and role of the Lithuanian dukes were weakening more and more. Especially, it concerned the Gediminids Dukes who ceased to be perceived as representatives of the ruling dynasty. From the reign of Casimir IV (1440–1492) the Jagiellonians were the only ones who were treated as the dynasty members in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (as well as the Kingdom of Poland). Consequently, all their remaining ducal relatives could be perceived as princes who had only a dynastic origin. Interestingly, at the same time the Jagiellonians started to use “Pogoń” as their family emblem. It meant that the coat of arms could be also used by all dynasty members, not only the ones who were grand or supreme dukes of the Lithuania.⁷⁹ It seems to explain, why the Lithuanian dukes could not also use “Pogoń” anymore: it became the symbol reserved only for

⁷⁵ However, it should be remembered that the grand dukes could also use the version without additional signs.

⁷⁶ The document can be found in BCzart. as the Deposit No. 1. The document was cited in many chronicles and armorials, for example in: Bartosz PAPROCKI, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, Kraków 1858, pp. 828–829.

⁷⁷ O. HALECKI, *op.cit.*, pp. 69–70.

⁷⁸ On the basis of the seals published by: M. GUMOWSKI, *op.cit.*, *passim*; O.A. ODNOROZHENKO, *op.cit.*, *passim*. The latter, *Rus'ki korolivs'ki*, No. 438, figure p. 279, published a seal which Prince Semen Aleksandrowicz Czartoryski was to use in 1493 and it presented the coat of arms “Pogoń”. It must be a result of a mistake, since the document where the seal was to be – AGAD, *Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych*, No. 6732, does not contain any seal in fact (only a trace of the seal can be seen).

⁷⁹ Z. PIECH, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby*, p. 237.

the Jagiellonian dynasty. It cannot be a coincidence that since the 1440s the Lithuanian seals of the grand dukes from the Jagiellonians depicted “Pogoń” without any additional emblem, “Podwójny Krzyż” or “Kolumny”.⁸⁰ This coat of arms was used only by the dynasty, and there was no need to distinguish it from the other users.

Not until the 1530s–1540s “Pogoń” had become the emblem of Lithuanian princes again. At that time the coat of arms emerged on the seals of such ducal houses as the Sanguszkowicz (il. 9), Czartoryski and Olelkowicz-Słucki.⁸¹ It should be recognized to be unusual case that some ducal noble families took the liberty of using an emblem which hitherto had been reserved only for a dynasty. The question is what reasons made it possible. Firstly, the beginning of the 16th century was the time when the coat of arms “Orzeł Biały” (more can be read further) became the most important sign of King Sigismund I the Old and the whole Jagiellonian dynasty. Significantly, in the 1520s the King took the liberty of making “Orzeł Biały” much more personalized by adding a letter “S” (the royal monogram) to the eagle.⁸² The same can be later observed in the case of his son Sigismund II Augustus.⁸³ Moreover, “Orzeł” became the element which was added to the heraldry of people ennobled or naturalized by the Jagiellonian kings. It indicates that the function of “Pogoń” as the symbol of the Jagiellonian dynasty got weakened.

Simultaneously, “Pogoń” started to be used by Jan “z Książąt Litewskich” (“of the Lithuanian Dukes”) (d. 1538), an illegitimate son of Sigismund I the

⁸⁰ It is about Lithuanian seals of the following grand dukes: Casimir IV, Alexander I and Sigismund I the Old – Z. PIECH, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby*, pp. 232–233.

⁸¹ The oldest known seals depicting “Pogoń” as the ducal families’ emblem are the following: in the House of Sanguszko: the seals of Wasyl Michałowicz (1533), Fiodor Andrzejewicz (1536) and Andrzej Michałowicz (1542) – the objects can be found in: AP in Kraków, Archiwum Sanguszków, teka III/16, p. 61; teka IV/42, p. 133; AGAD, Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych, No. 4800, as well as in the catalogue of: O.A. ODNOROZHENKO, op.cit., No. 263, 284, 286, pp. 102, 105–106, figure pp. 254, 257; in the House of Czartoryski: the seals of Iwan Fiodorowicz (1547) and Aleksander Fiodorowicz (1551) – AP in Kraków, Archiwum Sanguszków, teka VI/51, p. 1; teka VI/43, p. 1; O.A. ODNOROZHENKO, op.cit., No. 246, 439, pp. 99, 130, figure pp. 252, 279; in the House of Olelkowicz-Słucki: the seals of Juri Juriewicz and Aleksander Juriewicz (the beginning of 1550s) – AGAD, Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych, No. 7737; O.A. ODNOROZHENKO, op.cit., No. 482, 484, p. 139, figure p. 285; as well as in: J. PUZYNA, op.cit., p. 57. In other Lithuanian families which originated from Gediminas, “Pogoń” emerged later, after the Union of Lublin – see the seals of the Korecki and Proński Princes published in: O.A. ODNOROZHENKO, op.cit., pp. 103–104, 177–179. More about the 16th-century armorial seals of the Sanguszkowicz Princes can be read in: Jakub ROGULSKI, *Pieczęcie herbowe książąt Sanguszków od XVI do XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Dawne pieczęcie. Typologia – metody badań – interpretacje*, ed. Zenon PIECH, Warszawa 2015, pp. 435–476.

⁸² Z. PIECH, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby*, p. 219 ff.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 223 ff.

Old.⁸⁴ Although the King managed to legitimate and ennoble Jan, and then appoint the bishop of Vilnius, he did not become a full-fledged representative of the dynasty. It meant that he was not able to inherit the throne and use the royal emblem “Orzeł Biały.” Instead, Jan was granted the title “z Książąt Litewskich” and the right to the usage of the ducal sign “Pogoń.” Consequently, his seal from 1534 depicts the emblem adorned with insignia of episcopal dignity (the mitre and the crosier) (il. 10).⁸⁵ In this way, this emblem started to be perceived not only as the coat of arms used only by the Jagiellonian dynasty, but also as a wider sign of the origin “of the Lithuanian Dukes”,⁸⁶ on which wider group of Lithuanian families could pride itself.

In the light of the above, it seems to be explained, why the Houses of Sanguszkowicz, Czartoryski and Olelkowicz-Słucki began to stamp with “Pogoń” in 1530s–1540s. In that time, the Jagiellonians clearly preferred other emblem as the main dynasty symbol, and on the second hand, the case of Jan “z Książąt Litewskich” suggested that other Giedyminowicz’ descendants could also use “Pogoń.” Remarkably, some later evidence shows that the above-mentioned families determined their dynastic origins just as Bishop Jan, i.e. “from the Lithuanian Dukes”.⁸⁷ It was due to the fact that the families remembered very well that their progenitor had been Grand Duke Algirdas and they were very closely related to the Jagiellonians.⁸⁸ This knowledge must have been a main

⁸⁴ Zygmunt Wdowiszewski, *Genealogia Jagiellonów*, Warszawa 1968, p. 134; Aleksander Świeżawski, *Jan z Książąt Litewskich*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 10, Wrocław 1962–1964, pp. 439–441.

⁸⁵ The seal can be found in a document of Bishop Jan from 1534 – BCzart., Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych, No. 811.

⁸⁶ As Zenon Piech noticed: “Pogoń became a designation of the Lithuanian origin” – idem, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby*, pp. 239–239.

⁸⁷ The epitaph of Prince Roman Sanguszkowicz (d. 1571) proclaimed that the prince originated “ex Principibus Lithuanie” – the epitaph content was quoted by: Szymon Starowolski, *Monumenta Sarmatarum beatae aeternitati adscriptorum*, Kraków 1655, p. 787.

⁸⁸ The above-discussed document of Władysław of Varna from 1442 was a proof of the close kinship between the Czartoryski Princes and the Jagiellonian dynasty; in the document King Władysław called the Czartoryski Princes “our illustrious brothers” (“fratres nostri illustres”) and “our relatives” (“consaguinei”). From this reason, the document was stored carefully by another family generations as precious evidence of the Jagiellonian relationship. During the *sejm* of 1569 Prince Aleksander Czartoryski showed the document to Sigismund II Augustus in order to make him and the assembly know the close kinship between his family and the dynasty. The King confirmed the document and announced that Prince Alexander belonged to “the royal kin of Lithuanian dukes” (“królewski naród książąt litewskich”) – *Dnevnik Lyublinskogo sejma 1569 goda. Soyedineniye Velikogo knyazhestva Litovskogo s Korolevstvom Pol'ski*, red. Mikhail Osipovich Koyalovich, Sankt-Peterburg 1869, p. 386 [Дневник Люблинского сейма 1569 года. Соединение Великого княжества Литовского с Королевством Польским, ред. Михаил Осипович Коялович, Санкт-Петербург 1869, p. 386]. The king’s declaration can be referred to all Lithuanian ducal families originated from Grand Duke Algirdas. The more

reason for which they could decide to take the example of Bishop Jan. Remarkably, they adopted “Pogoń” not as a personal emblem of individual princes, but as a sign of whole communities. Henceforth, all generations of the Sanguszkowicz, Czartoryski and Olelkowicz-Słucki Princes used seals depicting “Pogoń.” Interestingly, the members of the families called themselves “brothers by the coat of arms” or spoke about “sameness of the coat of arms”.⁸⁹ It shows that they treated themselves as a special community which originated from common dynastic progenitor and was a younger branch of the Jagiellonian dynasty. “Pogoń” was the symbol creating this community.

The proliferation of “Pogoń,” which started to function as a typical noble emblem, generated changes in the Lithuanian seals of the grand dukes of Lithuania: from the reign of Zygmunt II August the additional sign of “Podwójny Krzyż” returned on the knight’s shield.⁹⁰ It suggests that the Jagiellonians felt to be forced to distinguish their “Pogoń” from the one used by princes. In turn, seals and other objects indicate that “Pogoń” which was adopted by Bishop Jan and Lithuanian families did not contain any additional sign on the knight’s shield. The iconography analysis proves that the emblem of “Pogoń” consisted of only two objects: a horseman and a right arm raised with a sword; however, some princes, such as Juri Juriewicz Olelkowicz-Słucki (d. 1579) or Aleksander Fiodorowicz Czartoryski (d. 1571) (see before), used “Pogoń” with the third object, i.e. the Jagiellonian “Podwójny Krzyż”.⁹¹ In any event, there is no doubt that the coat of arms which was adopted by the Lithuanian ducal families was the same as the one used by the grand dukes and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The best evidence is the tinctures which can be determined on the basis of a roll of arms called *Herbarz Arsenalski* (the beginning

that the epitaph of Dymitr Sanguszkowicz (d. 1555) shows that this family also remembered very well who was its progenitor and that it was closely related to the Jagiellonians. The epitaph proclaimed that Prince Dymitr came from the “magnificent family of Olgierd” (“ex magnifica Olgierdorum familia”) – a reproduction can be found in: Zygmunt LUBA RADZIMIŃSKI, *Monografia XX. Sanguszków*, vol. 2, part 1, Lwów 1911, p. 122.

⁸⁹ Such words can be found in testaments of the following princes: Aleksander Fiodorowicz Czartoryski from 1569 – the document was published in: *Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoy Rossii*, ch. 7, t. 1, pp. 17–20 [*Архив Юго-Западной России*, ч. 7, т. 1, pp. 17–20]; Lew Aleksandrowicz Sanguszkowicz from 1571 and Roman Fiodorowicz Sanguszkovich from 1571 – both documents were published in: *Archiwum Sanguszków*, vol. 7, No. 303, 309, pp. 383–387, 396–400.

⁹⁰ Z. PIECH, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby*, p. 235.

⁹¹ It is about the seals of Juri Juriewicz Olelkowicz (1558) and Aleksander Fiodorowicz Czartoryski (1560) – both seals were published by: O.A. ODNOROZHENKO, op.cit., No. 440, 482, p. 130, 139, fig. p. 280, 295. These cases should be considered to be incidental, however it goes without saying that “Pogoń” with “Podwójny Krzyż” served to strengthen the propaganda content of the coat of arms. From this point of view the seal of Alexander Fyodorovich Czartoryski was analysed extensively in: J. ROGULSKI, *Manifestacja dynastycznego pochodzenia*, pp. 211–222.

of the 16th century): the knight is silver and the shield red.⁹² These are the same tinctures as in the case of “grand-ducal” variant of “Pogoń”.⁹³

The above analysis has revealed why “Pogoń” was so important symbol of power and significance of the Lithuanian dukes. Its great meaning resulted from the fact that it was the emblem which was simultaneously used by the Lithuanian rulers and state, as well as the Jagiellonian dynasty. The coat of arms functioned as the commonly understandable sign of the splendid dynastic lineage dating from Grand Dukes Algirdas and Gediminas. By using it, the Lithuanian ducal families presented themselves as the younger lines of the Jagiellonians. In this way they demonstrated the great authority and prestige, which put them over the rest of the Lithuanian princes and nobility. This was supported by the symbolic meaning of “Pogoń.” According to the heraldic legend, the coat of arms was created by the Lithuanian mythical ruler Narimintas to signify a mature ruler capable of defending his homeland with a sword.⁹⁴ The knight which adorned the emblem functioned as a symbolic image of its user. In this way the Lithuanian dukes using “Pogoń” were perceived as natural leaders of their people and provinces. The coat of arms expressed that they deserved to have power and significance appropriate to their origin and royal kinship, and this could even referred to the grand-ducal throne.

Due to the very meaningful contents, “Pogoń” was the most important coat of arms which demonstrated the power and importance of the Lithuanian dukes coming from Algirdas and Gediminas. Simultaneously, it was the one and only coat of arms which was used by those dukes before 1569. It was only after the Union of Lublin when some of them decided to introduce additional emblems which served to intensify the propaganda of their authority and splendour. These are very interesting cases, therefore some of those “new” emblems deserve to be discussed, although they extend a little beyond the chronological framework of the paper.

The first one is the emblem “Świat” (a cross-bearing orb or). It can be found in the coat of arms of Prince Jerzy Czartoryski (d. 1560–1626) from

⁹² In the roll of arms the coat of arms of Bishop Jan can be found and this is the first known colour image of “Pogoń” used by any prince – Helena Polackówna, „*Stemmata Polonica*”. *Rękopis nr 1114 Klejnotów Długosza w Bibliotece Arsenalu w Paryżu* (Prace Sekcji Historii Sztuki i Kultury Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie), Lwów 1926, the Bishop Jan’s coat of arms is on p. 84.

⁹³ The tinctures of “Pogoń” were discussed in: J. GALKUS, op.cit., pp. 13–30.

⁹⁴ The legend is known from the records from the beginning of the 16th century. More can be learnt in: Jan JURKIEWICZ, *Od Palemona do Giedymina. Wczesnonowożytne wyobrażenia o początkach Litwy*, vol. 1: *W kręgu latopisów litewskich*, Poznań 2012, pp. 77–78, where there is a compilation of the previous literature on this subject.

1590s⁹⁵ (il. 11). The coat of arms was composed of 4 emblems and “Świat” held the second quartering, just after “Pogoń.” Since it should be excluded that “Świat” could belong to anyone of Prince’s ancestors, it must have been introduced as the second sign of the Czartoryski Family. But why did Prince Jerzy chose the emblem, which so far had been used only by some middle noble families in Lithuania? The response seems to be hidden in an object which the emblem depicts; it is “globus cruciger,” the symbol of the royal power. Together with “Pogoń,” the Jagiellonian symbol, “Świat” created a very expressive message indicating that the Czartoryski Family, as the close relatives to the Jagiellonians, enjoyed not only ducal, but almost royal authority and prestige. The emblem “Świat,” however, did not root in the Czartoryski family: for the next generations “Pogoń” was fully sufficient symbol of the power and importance.

The second one is the emblem “Kolumny,” which has already been mentioned in the paper as the sign used by the grand dukes from the Kęstutaitis dynasty. Over time the emblem was also adopted by the Jagiellonians⁹⁶ and finally by the Sanguszko Princes. The latter did it in 1620s, when “Kolumny” emerged in the coat of arms of Szymon Samuel Sanguszko (d. 1638) (il. 12).⁹⁷ This coat of arms was composed of 6 emblems, and “Kolumny,” just as “Świat” in Jerzy Czartoryski’s coat of arms, held the second quartering, just after “Pogoń.” It indicated that “Kolumny” was also adopted as the second emblem of the Sanguszko family. According to the heraldic legend from 16th century, it was the emblem of one of the four ancient Roman families, who would arrive in Lithuania with Duke Palemon, a mythical founder of the Lithuania state. By adopting this prestigious emblem, Szymon Samuel Sanguszko showed that his authority and importance resulted from not only the Gediminid origin and the Jagiellonian kinship, but also from the ancient Roman ancestry. Unlike “Świat” of Jerzy Czartoryski, the emblem “Kolumny” was also used by Szymon Samuel’s sons, however it also vanished quickly, already before 1650s.

⁹⁵ The seal with the coat of arms can be found in CAHR, the Parchment Collection, No. 1037. The propaganda content of the coat of arms was discussed extensively in: J. ROGULSKI, *Manifestacja dynastycznego pochodzenia*, pp. 217–230.

⁹⁶ The origin of the emblem “Kolumny” as the Jagiellonian symbol was discussed in: Z. PIECH, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby*, pp. 268 ff.

⁹⁷ The coat of arms can be found on the seal of Szymon Samuel Sanguszko (1626) – AP in Kraków, Archiwum Sanguszków, teka XL/41, p. 268, and in a panegyric of Andrzej HĄCZEL MOKRSKI, *Pogonia żałobna JO. i JW. Pana Symeona Samuela Lubartowicza Sanguszka*, Vilnius 1639. The propaganda content of the coat of arms was analysed extensively in: Jakub ROGULSKI, *Treści propagandowe herbu złożonego księcia Szymona Samuela Sanguszki z 1626 roku*, [in:] *Insignia et splendor. Heraldyka w służbie rodów szlacheckich i instytucji Kościoła*, ed. Wojciech DRELICHARZ, Kraków 2011, pp. 9–84.

Interestingly, both Jerzy Czartoryski and Szymon Samuel Sanguszko introduced the new emblems in a specific time. After the Union of Lublin the new state elites began to form and the position and ducal dignity of the old Lithuanian families, living in far provinces and confessing the Orthodox Christianity, were threatened by marginalization and oblivion. New symbols of power and importance served to emphasize in a stronger and clearer manner that the Houses of Czartoryski and Sanguszko due to their ancient and honourable genealogy deserved to be ones of the most important families in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

CONCLUSION

Titles, seals and coats of arms were the symbols which played a great role in the demonstration of Lithuanian dukes' power and importance before the Union of Lublin. In the second half of the 14th century they presented very clearly ducal dignity, political authority and significance, as well as they could create propaganda image and express far-reaching ambitions of the Gediminids dukes as the members of the ruling dynasty. Being very closely related to their owners, they were treated as "holy" symbols representing (or even personifying) the dukes in public spaces. In the first half of the 15th century the political role and social position of the Gediminids changed significantly: from rulers of particular duchies they transformed into privileged landowners. Accordingly, important changes occurred in their titles, seals and emblems, so that they could have functioned as indicators of new social status. Despite this, they were chosen, modelled and used in such a way to demonstrate distinctly that the Gediminids were still very important dukes, closely related to the king and grand dukes from the Jagiellonian dynasty. For this very reason, many symbols of the Jagiellonian family and power can be found among titles, seals and coats of arms used by the Lithuanian Dukes in 15th and 16th centuries.

It was general phenomenon in Mediaeval and Early Modern Europe that symbols chosen by parallel branches of a ruling houses referred to the ones used by cognate monarchs. However, apart from symbols common for whole dynasty, a ruling line always generated their own signs of authority, which was strictly unavailable for other, even close relatives. The demarcation line in a symbolic sphere can be easily observed in titles (e.g. nationwide royal title) and seal types (e.g. a seal of majesty), but the heraldry seems to be the most representative case. To outline slightly a comparative background, coats of arms used by two dynasties' (one from Western, one from Central Europe) emblems should be discussed shortly.

In the House of Valois, which ruled in the Kingdom of France in 1328–1589, the symbol common for the whole dynasty was “Fleurs-de-lis” (azure, semy of “fleur-de-lis” or).⁹⁸ However, only king could have used the emblem without any marks of difference, while for other family members it was only a basis on which they created their own coats of arms. In this way they distinguished themselves from the main royal line. Interestingly, even younger sons of a king so did, as it is shown on the example of Philip the Bold (1342–1404), the youngest son of King John II of France. The duke added a bordure compoy of gules and argent to “fleurs-de-lis.” Created in this manner emblem, after being combined with the old symbol of Burgundy (bendy of six or and azure, a bordure gules), became the coat of arms of the Valois-Burgundy line and their domain, e.g. Duchy of Burgundy.⁹⁹ It was expanded by emblems of new provinces inherited and captured by the Burgundy-Valois line until their expiry in 1477. In the coat of arms of the last male representative, Charles the Bold (1433–1477), apart from the Burgundy emblems, three signs of the following duchies or county can be found: Duchy of Brabant (sable, lion or, armed and langued gules), Duchy of Limburg (argent, lion gules, armed, langued and crowned or) and County of Flanders (or, a lion rampant sable, armed and langued gules) (il. 13).¹⁰⁰

In countries of the Central European, where a system of heraldry was not as developed as in the old feudal societies of the Western Europe, the situation was slightly different, but still analogous. In the 14th century “Orzeł” (an eagle) was a symbol common for the Polish dynasty of the Piasts, the neighbouring for the Gediminids dukes. Just as in the House of Valois, every branch of the House created its own variant of the emblem, by adding various marks of difference. For example, the Piasts of Upper Silesia used an eagle or on a shield azure (il. 14), the Piasts of Mazovia an eagle argent on a shield gules, while the Piasts of Kuyavia a hybrid created by a combination of a half-eagle argent and a half-lion or with a crown or in a shield gules.¹⁰¹ However, since the coronation of Duke Przemysław II (1257–1296) in 1295 the royal variant of “Orzeł” was established: gules, an eagle argent, beaked, langued, membered, crowned or,

⁹⁸ More can be learnt from: Michel PASTOUREAU, *Une histoire symbolique du Moyen Âge occidental*, Paris 2004.

⁹⁹ Bertrand SCHNERB, *L'état bourguignon*, Paris 2005, p. 45 ff.

¹⁰⁰ More can be learnt from: Richard VAUGHAN, *Charles the Bold. The last Valois Duke of Burgundy*, Woodbridge 2002.

¹⁰¹ It should be emphasized that “Orzeł” was not a sole emblem used by the lines of the Piast dynasty in 13th and 14th centuries. More about the heraldry of the Mazovian, Silesian, and Kuyavian Piasts can be read in: Stefan Krzysztof KUCZYŃSKI, *Piecczęcie książąt mazowieckich*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1978, pp. 152–154; Małgorzata KAGANIEC, *Heraldyka Piastów Śląskich: 1146–1707*, Katowice 1992; Marcin HLEBIONEK, *Piecczęcie Piastów kujawskich*, Inowrocław 2011, pp. 54–64.

which was named “Orzeł Biały”.¹⁰² Initially it could have been used only by a Polish king, but over the time also by his close family. This can be observed already during the last Polish kings from the Piast dynasty, Władysław I the Elbow-high (1260/1261–1333) and Casimir III the Great (1310–1370), when “Orzeł Biały” was used by kings’ daughters.¹⁰³ However, it came to light since the second half of the 15th century, during the reign of the Jagiellonians. King Casimir IV Jagiellon (1427–1492) had six sons, all of them used “Orzeł Biały,” even those who never became Polish Kings.¹⁰⁴

Against this background the symbols used by the Lithuanian dukes appear to violate frequently and heavy the symbolic sphere of the grand dukes’ power and family. Examples of this phenomenon can be found in all above-discussed symbols. The most expressive ones were the title “duke of Lithuania” from the 1380s–1390s and the formula “Dei Gratia” from the 1550s–1570s; the equestrian seals from the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century and the seal of Prince Aleksander Czartoryski from 1560s; the emblem “Pogoń” from the beginning of the 15th century and from the 1530s–1560s as well as the emblem “Podwójny Krzyż” from the 1550s–1560s. While the infringements do not seem to be very exceptional in the case of the dukes living at the turn of the 14th and the 15th centuries and ruling their own duchies, they appear to be striking in the 15th and 16th centuries, when all remaining Giedyminowiczs become the landowners and their relationship with the monarchs extended very much. Unlike parallel branches of other European dynasties, the Lithuanian princes seem not to be interested very much in developing their own system of symbols in order to demonstrate the separateness, own policy and business. Only in extraordinary situations they decided to choose other meaningful symbol, as it was observed in the case of the seal of Duke Sanguszko. Instead, they tended to adopt faithfully the symbols of the cognate monarchs and emphasize the kinship which linked them with the ruling house. This indicates that they saw a main source of their power and importance not in their own independence, estates or resources, but in the close kinship with the grand dukes of Lithuania.

In this way, the analysis of the Lithuanian Dukes’ symbols contributes to learn something new about their mentality, ambitions and value system. In the paper only chosen examples of titles, seals and coats of arms have been analysed. Moreover, the paucity of sources has not enabled to reconstruct with

¹⁰² A Polish historiography devoted to the coat of arms “Orzeł Biały” is very extensive. A compilation of them can be found in a monograph of the coat of arms: Aleksandra JAWORSKA, *Orzeł Biały. Herb państwa polskiego*, Warszawa 2003.

¹⁰³ More can be learnt from: *ibid.*, pp. 80–89.

¹⁰⁴ More can be learnt from: *ibid.*, pp. 89–108; Z. PIĘCH, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby*, pp. 199–227.

confidence the full evolution of these symbols over time. Consequently, many findings must be considered hypothetical and they demand further research. This paper is to argue that such research is worthwhile.

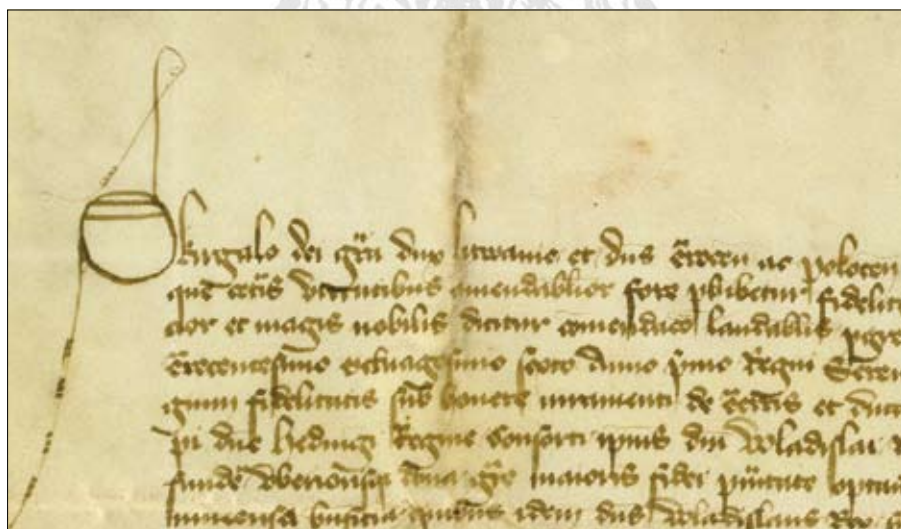
Nadesłany: 30 IV 2016

Nadesłany po poprawkach recenzyjnych: 27 I 2017

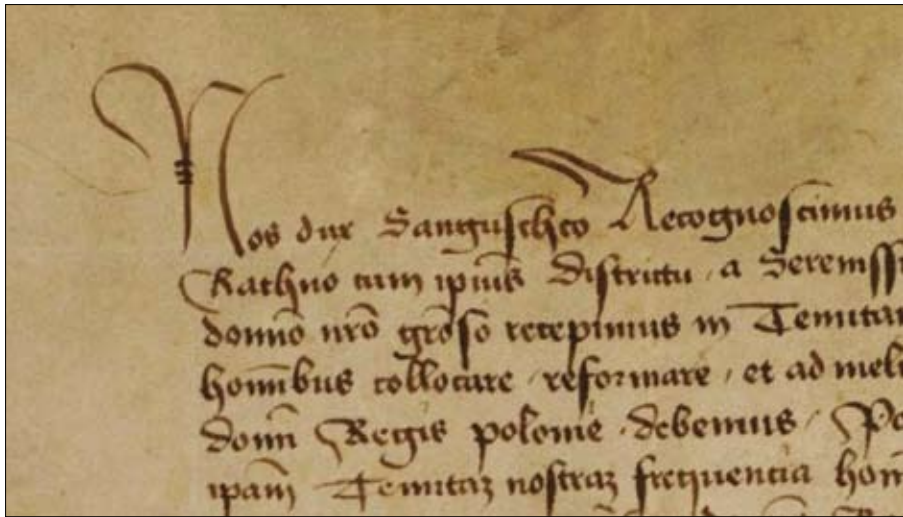
Zaakceptowany: 15 III 2017

Mgr Jakub Rogulski
Instytut Historii
Uniwersytet Jagielloński
e-mail: jakub.rogulski@gmail.com

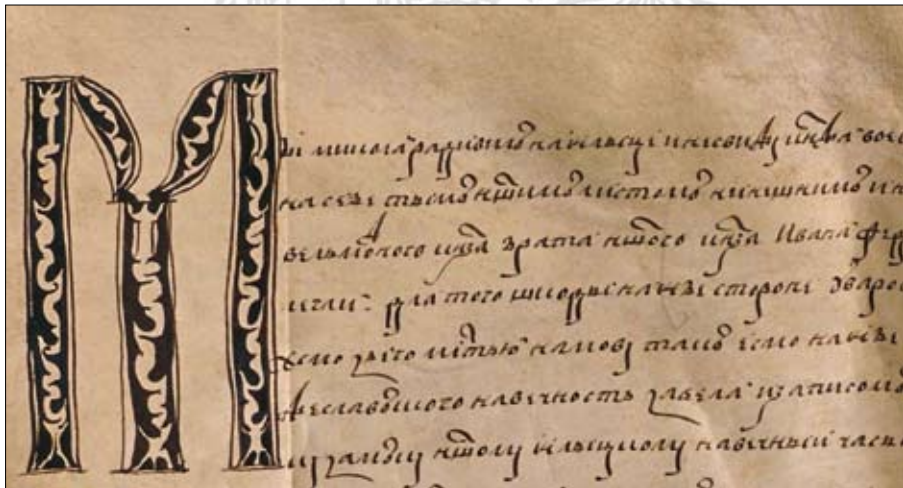
ILLUSTRATIONS



Il. 1. "Intitulatio" of a document of Duke Skirgaila with the title "duke of Lithuania," 1387. From: Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie (Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw)



Il. 2. "Intitulatio" of a document of Duke Sanguszko with the ducal title before the duke's name, 1433. From: Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie (Princes Czartoryski Library in Kraków)



Il. 3. "Intitulatio" of a document of Prince Mikołaj "the Black" Radziwiłł with the aristocratic title "Prince of Olyka and Nieśwież," 1555. From: Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie (Princes Czartoryski Library in Kraków)



Il. 4. A moulding of an equestrian seal of Duke Vytautas with a portrait of the duke as a knight ready to battle, 1380s. From: Department for Sciences Auxiliary to History of Jagiellonian University in Kraków



Il. 5. A seal of Duke Aleksander (Olelko) Włodzimierzowicz with a geometrical sign, 1422. From: *Dokumenty strony polsko-litewskiej pokoju melneńskiego z 1422 roku*, ed. Przemysław NOWAK, Piotr POKORA, Poznań 2004, p. 75



Il. 6. A hagiographic seal of Duke Sanguszko with Saint Michael defeating Satan, 1433. From: Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie (Princes Czartoryski Library in Kraków)



Il. 7. A seal of Duke Aleksander Czartoryski modelled on a Lithuanian seal of King Zygmunt August, 1560. From: Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie (National Archive in Kraków)



Il. 8. A seal of Prince Aleksander Nos with the coat of arms “Pogoń,” 1433. From: Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie (Princes Czartoryski Library in Kraków)



Il. 9. A seal of Duke Fiodor Sanguszkowicz with the coat of arms “Pogoń,” 1543. From: Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie (National Archive in Kraków)



Il. 10. A seal of Bishop Jan “z Książąt Litewskich” with the coat of arms “Pogoń,” 1534. From: Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie (Princes Czartoryski Library in Kraków)



Il. 11. A seal with the coat of arms of Prince Jerzy Czartoryski, the emblem “Świat” holds the second quartering, 1598. From: Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie (Princes Czartoryski Library in Kraków)



Il. 12. A graphic with the coat of arms of Prince Szymon Samuel Sanguszko, the emblem *Kolumny* holds the second quartering, 1639. From: Andrzej HĄCZEL MOKRSKI, *Pogonia żałobna JO. i JW. Pana Symeona Samuela Lubartowicza Sanguszka*, Vilnius 1639



Il. 13 Reverse of a double briquet struck under Charles the Bold with the coat of arms of the Valois-Burgundy line, 1475. From: Wikimedia Commons



Il. 14. The coat of arms of Duke Władysław Opolczyk from the Gerle Armorial, the second half of the 14th century. From: Wikimedia Commons

TYTUŁY, PIECZĘCIE I HERBY KSIĄŻĄT LITEWSKICH
JAKO SYMBOLE WŁADZY I ZNACZENIA PRZED UNIĄ LUBELSKĄ

Streszczenie

Słowa kluczowe: średniowiecze, Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie, boczne gałęzie domu panującego, książęta, manifestacja władzy, tytułatura, sfragistyka, heraldyka

Tytuły, pieczęcie i herby książąt litewskich jak dotąd nie były przedmiotem odrębnego zainteresowania historyków, jako że był to temat poruszany głównie na marginesie rozważań nad symboliką władzy wielkich książąt litewskich, zwłaszcza Jagiellonów. Ze względu na wielką liczbę i zróżnicowanie książąt żyjących na obszarze Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego przed unią lubelską artykuł skupia się na analizie tytułów, pieczęci i herbów używanych przez Giedyminowiczów oraz ich potomków. W omawianym okresie książęta ci odgrywali istotną rolę polityczną i społeczną, szczególnie pod koniec XIV i na początku XV w., gdy władali własnymi księstwami dzielnicowymi i blisko współpracowali (bądź rywalizowali) z wielkim księciem. Chociaż w XV w. utracili podmiotowość polityczną i zostali zaliczeni do warstwy właścicieli ziemskich, to jednak zachowali wiele przywilejów i wciąż odgrywali ważną rolę w życiu politycznym i społecznym, zwłaszcza na obszarze swoich prowincji. Ciesząc się autorytetem i rozległymi wpływami, książęta ci wytworzyli interesujący i warty analizy zespół symboli władzy i znaczenia. Analiza najbardziej reprezentatywnych zabytków pokazuje, że tytuły, pieczęcie i herby stanowiły przede wszystkim wskaźnik odzwierciedlający status społeczny i pozycję Giedyminowiczów w państwie: inne symbole określały rangę Giedyminowiczów jako książąt dzielnicowych, a inne – Giedyminowiczów jako zamożnych posiadaczy ziemskich. Zarówno jednak w pierwszym, jak i drugim przypadku książęta potrafili w taki sposób posłużyć się tymi symbolami, aby stworzyć propagandowy wizerunek i wyrazić daleko idące aspiracje polityczne. Do tego celu najlepiej nadawała się symbolika wielkoksiążęca, szczególnie jagiellońska, do której książęta, jako bliscy krewniacy, mieli dosyć szeroki dostęp. Inspirowanie się lub bezpośrednio sięganie po symbole monarsze wydaje się wyróżniać książąt litewskich na tle innych europejskich bocznych gałęzi panującego domu. Może to wskazywać, że książęta upatrywali głównego źródła swojej potęgi i znaczenia nie we własnej odrębności i zamożności, ale w łasce i pokrewieństwie z wielkimi książętami.

TITEL, SIEGEL UND WAPPEN ALS SYMBOLE FÜR MACHT UND EINFLUSS
VON LITAUISCHEN FÜRSTEN VOR DER UNION VON LUBLIN

Zusammenfassung

Schlüsselwörter: Symbole von Macht und Bedeutung, Titel, Siegel, Wappen, litauische Fürsten, Gediminiden, litauische Fürstengeschlechter

Die Titel, Siegel und Wappen von litauischen Fürsten waren bislang nicht Gegenstand spezifischen Interesses der Historiker. Das Thema wurde eher am Rande von Ausführungen zur Machtsymbolik der litauischen Großfürsten berührt, vor allem der Jagiellonen. Angesichts der großen Zahl und der Verschiedenheit der Fürsten, die vor der Union von Lublin auf dem Gebiet des Großfürstentums Litauen lebten, konzentriert sich der Artikel auf eine Analyse der Titel, Siegel und Wappen, die von den Gediminiden und ihren Nachkommen gebraucht wurden. Im besprochenen Zeitraum spielten diese Fürsten eine wesentliche Rolle in Politik und Gesellschaft, vor allem am Ende des 14. und zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts, als sie in eigenen Teilfürstentümern herrschten und mit dem Großfürsten eng zusammenarbeiteten (oder rivalisierten). Auch wenn sie im 15. Jahrhundert ihre Rolle als politische Subjekte einbüßten und zur Schicht der Landbesitzer gezählt wurden, bewahrten sie sich viele Privilegien und spielten weiterhin eine enorme Rolle im politischen und gesellschaftlichen Leben, vor allem auf dem Gebiet ihrer Provinzen. Diese Fürsten genossen Autorität, übten einen weitreichenden Einfluss aus und schufen einen Komplex von Symbolen von Macht und Bedeutung, der interessant und der Analyse wert ist. Eine Analyse der repräsentativsten Relikte zeigt, dass Titel, Siegel und Wappen vor allem einen Indikator darstellten, der den gesellschaftlichen Status und die Position der Gediminiden widerspiegelte. Andere Symbole bezeichneten den Rang der Gediminiden als Teilfürsten, wieder andere als reiche Grundbesitzer. Jedoch wussten die Fürsten sich sowohl im ersten wie im zweiten Fall der Symbole in einer Weise zu bedienen, dass sie ein propagandistisches Image von sich schufen und weitreichende politische Ansprüche zum Ausdruck brachten. Für dieses Ziel eignete sich am besten die großfürstliche Symbolik, vor allem die der Jagiellonen, zu der die Fürsten als enge Verwandte einen ziemlich breiten Zugang hatten. Dadurch, dass sie sich von monarchischen Symbolen inspirieren ließen oder sie selbst gebrauchten, scheinen sich die litauischen Fürsten von anderen europäischen Seitenlinien regierender Häuser unterschieden zu haben. Das kann darauf hindeuten, dass die Fürsten die Hauptquelle ihrer Macht und Bedeutung nicht in ihrer eigenen Besonderheit und in ihrem Reichtum sahen, sondern in der Gunst der Großfürsten und in der Verwandtschaft mit ihnen.

Jakub Rogulski

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Âkovlenko, Natalâ M. *Ukrains'ka šlâhta z kincâ XIV do seredini XVII stolittâ. Volin' i Central'na Ukraina*. Kiiv 2008.
- Ânin Valentin L. *Aktowyje pečati Drevnej Rusi X–XV vv.*, 1–2. Moskva 1970.
- Antoniewicz, Marcelli. *Protoplaści ksiąŜąt Radziwiłłów. Dzieje mitu i meandry historiografii*. Warszawa: DiG, 2011.
- Belting, Hans. „The Coat of Arms and the Portrait”. In: Hans Belting. *An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body*, 62–84. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.
- Galkus, Juozas. *Lietuvos Vytis*. Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 2009.
- Górzyński, Sławomir. „Rodzina Radziwiłłów i ich tytuły”. *Miscellanea Historica-Archivistica* 7 (1997): 19–26.
- Grabowski, Janusz. „Tytulatura mazowiecka i ruska na dokumentach królewskich Piastów i Jagiellonów (XIV–XVI w.)”. In: *Polska kancelaria królewska. Między władzą a społeczeństwem*, vol. 3, eds. Waldemar Chorążyczewski, Wojciech Krawczuk, 9–33. Warszawa: DiG, 2008.
- Gumowski, Marian. „Pieczęcie ksiąŜąt litewskich”. *Ateneum Wileńskie* 7 (1930): 684–672.
- Halecki, Oskar. *Ostatnie lata Świdrygiełły i sprawa wołyńska za Kazimierza Jagiellończyka*. Kraków: nakł. Akademii Umiejętności, 1915.
- Hlebionek, Marcin. *Pieczęcie Piastów kujawskich*. Inowrocław: Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, 2011.
- Jabłonowski, Aleksander, ed. *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 8: *Ziemie ruskie: Wołyń i Podole*. Warszawa: Księgarnia Gebethnera i Wolffa, 1889.
- Jabłonowski, Aleksander, ed. *Rewizya zamków ziemi wołyńskiej w połowie XVI wieku*. Warszawa: Księgarnia Gebethnera i Wolffa, 1877.
- Jaworska, Aleksandra. *Orzeł Biały. Herb państwa polskiego*. Warszawa: DiG, 2003.
- Jurkiewicz, Jan. *Od Palemona do Giedymina. Wczesnonowżytnie wyobrażenia o początkach Litwy*, vol. 1: *W kręgu latopisów litewskich*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2012.
- Kaganiec, Małgorzata. *Heraldyka Piastów Śląskich: 1146–1707*. Katowice: Muzeum Śląskie, 1992.
- Kamieniecki, Witold. *Spoleczeństwo litewskie w XV wieku*. Warszawa: TNW, 1947.
- Kiersnowski, Ryszard. „Godła Jagiellońskie”. *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* 32 (1988): 1–27.
- Kłosińska, Janina. *Ikony. Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie. Katalogi zbiorów*, vol. 1. Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe, 1973.
- Koalovič Mihail O. *Dnevnik Lüblinskogo sejma 1569 goda. Soedinenie Velikogo knâŜestva Litovskogo s Korolevstvom Połskim*. Sankt Peterburg 1869.
- Korcak, Lidia. *Monarcha i poddani. System władzy w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w okresie wczesnojagiellońskim*. Kraków: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze „Historia Iagellonica”, 2008.

- Kuczyński, Stefan K. *Pieczenie książąt mazowieckich*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich; Wydawnictwo PAN, 1978.
- Kuczyński, Stefan K. *Polskie herby ziemskie. Geneza, treści, funkcje*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1993.
- Kutrzeba, Stanisław, Władysław Semkowicz, eds. *Akta unii Polski z Litwą 1385–1791*. Kraków: nakł. Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności; nakł. Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego, 1932.
- Łowmiański, Henryk. „Uwagi w sprawie podłoża społecznego i gospodarczego unii jagiellońskiej”. In: *Księga pamiątkowa ku uczczeniu czterechsetnej rocznicy wydania I Statutu Litewskiego*, ed. Stefan Ehrenkreutz. Wilno: [s. n.], 1935.
- Lubomirski, Jan, ed. *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Księstwa Mazowieckiego*. Warszawa: [s.n.], 1863.
- Nowak, Przemysław, Piotr Pokora, eds. *Dokumenty strony polsko-litewskiej pokoju mełneńskiego z 1422 roku*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2004.
- Odnorożenko, Oleg A. Ruski korolivs'ki gospodars'ki ta knāzivs'ki pečatki XIII–XVI st. (Monumenta Rutheniae Heraldica, vol. 2), Harkiv 2009.
- Paprocki, Bartosz. *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, ed. Kazimierz J. Turowski. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Biblioteki Polskiej, 1858.
- Pastoureaux, Michel. *Une histoire symbolique du Moyen Âge occidental*. Paris: Éd. Seuil, 2004.
- Peirce, Charles S. *The Essential Peirce: Selected Philosophical Writings*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998.
- Petrauskas, Rimvydas. „The Gediminids, the Algirdids and the Jagiellonians – stirps regia in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania?”. In: *Lietuva–Lenkija–Svedija: Europos dinastin, os jungtys ir istoriniai-kultūriniai ryšiai*, eds. Eugenijus Saviščevas, Marijus Uzorka, 35–47. Vilnius: Nacionalinis muziejus Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės valdovų rūmai, 2014.
- Piech, Zenon. *Ikongrafia pieczęci Piastów*. Kraków: Universitas, 1993.
- Piech, Zenon. *Monety, pieczęcie i herby w systemie symboli władzy Jagiellonów*. Warszawa: DiG, 2003.
- Piekosiński, Franciszek. *Pieczenie polskie wieków średnich*, vol. 1: *Doba Piastowska*. Kraków: Księgarnia Spółki Wydawniczej Polskiej, 1899.
- Pietkiewicz, Krzysztof. *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie pod rządami Aleksandra Jagiellończyka*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 1995.
- Polackówna, Helena. „Stemmata Polonica”. *Rękopis nr 1114 Klejnotów Długosza w Bibliotece Arsenалу w Paryżu*. Lwów: [s.n.], 1926.
- Prochaska, Antoni, ed. *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi magni ducis Lithuaniae 1376–1430*. Cracoviae: sumptibus Academiae Literarum Crac., 1882.
- Radziwiński, Zygmunt, Bronisław Gorczak, eds. *Archiwum XX. Sanguszków Lubartowiczów w Sławucie*, vol. 1–7. Sławuta–Lwów: Drukarnia Instytutu Stauropigiańskiego, 1887–1910.
- Radziwiński, Zygmunt. *Monografia XX. Sanguszków*, vol. 2, part 1. Lwów: nakł. X. Romana Sanguszka, 1911.
- Radziwiński, Zygmunt. *O tożsamości tytułów książę i książę w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*. Lwów: Drukarnia Ludowa, 1908.

- Rimša, Edmundas. „Pieczęcie Olgerda, wielkiego księcia litewskiego – dane historyograficzne a rzeczywistość”. In: *Heraldyka i okolice*, eds. Andrzej Rachuba, Sławomir Górczyński, Halina Manikowska, 201–215. Warszawa: DiG, 2002.
- Rimša, Edmundas. *Heraldika: iš praeities į dabartį*. Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2004.
- Rimša, Edmundas. *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės miestų antspaudai*. Vilnius: Žara, 1999.
- Rogulski, Jakub. „Manifestacja dynastycznego pochodzenia na pieczęciach książąt Czartoryskich z drugiej połowy XVI wieku”. *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego nowej serii* 12 (2013): 211–222.
- Rogulski, Jakub. „Pieczęcie herbowe książąt Sanguszków od XVI do XVIII wieku”. In: *Dawne pieczęcie. Typologia – metody badań – interpretacje*, ed. Zenon Piech, 435–476. Warszawa: DIG, 2015.
- Rogulski, Jakub. „Treści propagandowe herbu złożonego księcia Szymona Samuela Sanguszki z 1626 roku”. In: *Insignia et splendor. Heraldyka w służbie rodów szlacheckich i instytucji Kościoła*, ed. Wojciech Drelicharz, 9–84. Kraków: Koło Naukowe Historyków Studentów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2011.
- Rogulski, Jakub. Pećatki knąza Sanguška i jogo sunis Oleksandra ta Mihajla z XV ct. Sproba interpretacii. *Praci Centru pamiatkoznavstva*, 30 (2016): 223–240.
- Schnerb, Bertrand. *L'état Bourguignon*. Paris: Tempus Perrin, 2005.
- Semkowicz, Władysław. „Sfragistyka Witolda”. *Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archaeologiczne* 13 (1930): 65–86.
- Soboleva Hadežda A. *Russkie pečati*. Moskwa 1991.
- Suchocki, Jerzy. „Formowanie się i skład narodu politycznego w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim późnego średniowiecza”. *Zapiski Historyczne* 48/1–2 (1983): 31–78.
- Świeżawski, Aleksander. „Jan z Książąt Litewskich”. In: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 10, 439–441. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, 1962–1964.
- Świeżawski, Aleksander. *Tytułatura ruska książąt mazowieckich*. Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 1994.
- Vaughan, Richard. *Charles the Bold. The last Valois Duke of Burgundy*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002.
- Wdowiszewski, Zygmunt. *Genealogia Jagiellonów*. Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 1968.
- Wolff, Józef. *Kniazziowie litewsko-ruscy od końca czternastego wieku*. Warszawa: Drukiem J. Filipowicza, 1895.