

The Town of Kunosa in the 16th Century Contributions to the History of Paper-making in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Dating of the Radziwiłł Map of Lithuania

BY

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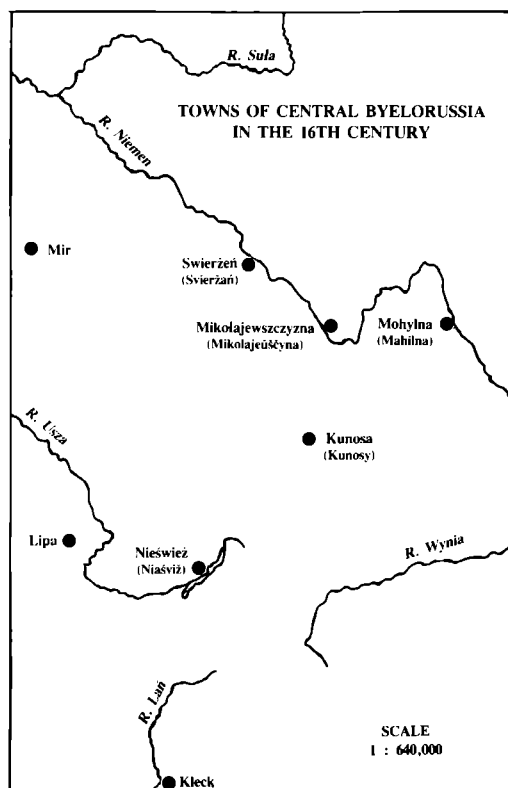
Economic developments in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, especially after the middle of the 16th century, were accompanied by the emergence of a large number of new towns.¹ It should be noted that, in the long run, some of these towns did not flourish and increase in size. Many, after an initial period of success lasting until the middle of the 17th century, never fully recovered from the cataclysmic series of wars and economic difficulties which followed. A few prospered even more briefly, practically disappearing from the map within one generation of their founding. This study examines the available information about one such town, a town which up to now has only been known to exist because of its inclusion on the famous Radziwiłł Map of Lithuania.² Materials found in the Radziwiłł Archives of the Main Archive of Early Acts (AGAD) in Warsaw provide several important details about Kunosa³ and its economic significance, and coincidentally, in conjunction with other materials found there, suggest a solution to the problem of the dating of the Radziwiłł Map.

At least from the early years of the 16th century, Kunosa, located some 15 km. north-east of Nieśwież, together with neighbouring Mohylna, belonged to the Pac family.⁴ In the last quarter of that century Pac properties in the area of the upper Niemen were gradually acquired by Prince Nicholas Christopher 'the Orphan' ('*Sierotka*') Radziwiłł and eventually included in his newly organized Nieśwież Entail (*Ordynacja Nieświeżska*). This process ended in 1602 with the final acquisition of a part of Mohylna belonging to Jerzy Stanisławowicz Pac.⁵ The territories of Kunosa passed into Radziwiłł's hands between 1575 and 1589. First, in 1575, Prince Radziwiłł acquired sizeable property virtually surrounded by the lands of Kunosa, Dworzec Jeleński, later known as Lubkowszczyzna, which had once belonged to Kunosa.⁶ In the following year Prince Nicholas Christopher exchanged Dworzec Jeleński for 42 *włoki* of forest belonging to Dominik Mikołajewicz Pac. The newly acquired land adjoined the Prince's lands close to Nieśwież.⁷ A month later, in January 1577, Radziwiłł negotiated an arrangement with Pac by which the latter turned over the entire estate of Kunosa to the Prince for a period of at least three years in exchange for a loan of 1,300 *kopy*. The scheme would be automatically renewed for succeeding three-year periods if Pac was not able to return the amount

owed.⁸ Dominik Pac died in 1579. His son, Jan, not only did not repay the debt but borrowed more from Prince Nicholas Christopher.⁹ By the end of 1588 Jan Pac agreed to sell Kunosa to Radziwiłł. The transaction, finalized in the following year, involved a sum of 12,000 *kopy*, with much of that amount in the form of the former owner's debts secured on Kunosa and taken over by the Prince.¹⁰

The estate of Kunosa consisted of over 500 *włoki* of largely forested land.¹¹ The 1577 contract listed the manors and the villages belonging to Kunosa, adding that the estate also included a town called Dominikovo ('z miastem nazwanym Dominikovo'). The document contained an interesting reference to the mills of Kunosa, informing that the property was to be held 'iz młynami mučnymi i młynom rudnym tartičnym i papiernym'.¹² The composition of the estate changed somewhat during the period from 1577 to 1589 when it was mortgaged to Radziwiłł. The document of sale, dated 3 January 1589, listed the manors of Kunosa and Juszewicze, the town (*miestečko*) Kunosa, and the villages of Kunosa Malaia, Rusalowicze, Andrusze, and Juszewicze.¹³ Apparently, the town, named after its founder, Dominik Pac, reverted to its original name. Missing from the later document was a reference to the paper-mill. Several other documents in the Radziwiłł Archives, however, provide some information on the fate of the paper-mill as well as of the town itself.

This information on Kunosa is included in the surviving tax receipts for Kunosa and for the Principality of Nieśwież, the first covering the period 1577-1582, and the second beginning in 1596.¹⁴ The earliest tax receipt for Kunosa, going back to 1577, includes the acknowledgement that Prince Nicholas Christopher had paid 1.5 *złoty* in taxes for one 'paper-wheel', or in other words, for the paper-mill. The 1581 receipt gives a more detailed description of the town of Kunosa. It had 19 houses in the market square and 20 street houses, and among its craftsmen was a tailor, a shoemaker, a carpenter, two coopers, two blacksmiths, one miller, and one paper-maker. The entire estate included 68 settled *włoki*. The receipt for the following year is essentially the same but with one significant exception. The total number of the houses in the market square is only 18, the total cultivated *włoki* also one less, and the paper-mill is listed as 'vacant' (*spustoszał*).¹⁵ Obviously, the paper-making business ceased between 15 May 1581 and 3 May 1582, the dates of the two tax receipts. Unfortunately, the watermarks of the Kunosa paper-mill are unknown. It is not unreasonable, however, to speculate that Kunosa paper may have played a role in the printing establishment of Maciej Kawieczynski, since, after all, the existence of a paper-mill in Nieśwież, though assumed by specialists, has never been documented.¹⁶ The Kunosa paper may have also been used later, especially in the late 1570s, by the Radziwiłł press at the disposal of the Jesuits in Wilno. The closing of the Kunosa paper-mill coincides with a crisis in the operation of Radziwiłł's printing-press and with a marked decrease in the Prince's direct sponsorship of the Wilno Jesuit publication ventures.¹⁷ Possibly, this coincidence is not totally insignificant.



No Kunosa tax receipts are available for the years immediately following 1582. Only in 1596 is Kunosa mentioned again in the available tax documents, these covering the entire Principality of Nieśwież.¹⁸ The 1596 receipt informs that Kunosa had 18 houses in the market square, and as many as 82 street dwellings. The tax for that year paid for one tailor, two shoemakers, one carpenter, and two bricklayers. The document acknowledged the existence of three mill-wheels in the area, as well as the presence of a completely new industrial venture in Kunosa, iron ore excavation and smelting. The enterprise was equipped with three water-powered wheels (*kota rudne*) and employed seven craftsmen (*towarzysze rudniccy*), including four coal-makers, a blacksmith, a man for washing the ore (*ptokarz*), and another in charge of the bellows (*dymarz*). The Nieśwież receipt for the following year, 1597, repeats the same information about Kunosa as the 1596 document. The situation changed drastically between 1597 and 1601, the year of the next available Nieśwież tax receipt. The 1601 document still notes the existence of the three mills and the iron-producing enterprise in Kunosa, but it points out that nothing is left of the rest of the town: 'a miestečko Kunosa to vsie doščatku let neurožainych čerez holdo spustošalo ostatok do Mikolaievščyzny znesieno i khrunty toho miestečka ač sud' na voloki pomereny leč niepriniaty vsie v pustie i žadnoho

pożytku nie czyniat'. Thus, due to crop failure and famine in the area Kunosa ceased to exist as a town. The next tax receipt, dated a few months later, repeats the information about Kunosa's disappearance as a town and clarifies that the town and the estate formerly consisted of 165 settled *włoki*. The tax documents from the next two decades still note the existence of the Kunosa mills and iron industry, but make no reference to the town. Apparently, the town was never re-established. In 1617 the village of Kunosa comprised 41 settled and 9 vacant *włoki*, but without the mills and the iron ore and smelter (which apparently were retained by Radziwiłł) was given for life to Jakub Woyna as security for a 3,000 *złoty* loan to Prince Jan Jerzy Radziwiłł, Prince Nicholas Christopher's son.¹⁹

Why then is Kunosa marked as 'oppidum', or town, on the Radziwiłł Map of Lithuania which was published in Amsterdam? In the first place, this is so because the compilation of the data and the preparation of the pre-publication draft was completed at least a dozen years earlier, quite probably between 1597 and 1599, as has already been suggested by such scholars as Henryk Merczyng and Karol Buczek.²⁰ Secondly, while it has been shown conclusively by Stanisław Alexandrowicz that there was an earlier, pre-1613 printing of the Radziwiłł Map, there is no evidence that the imprint differed significantly from the later, Amsterdam imprint.²¹ Had there been any effort to update the earlier, yet to be found edition, Prince Nicholas Christopher and his map-makers would have seen to it that the Prince's own possessions would be represented correctly on the new map. Kunosa's new status is a case in point. Additional support for this view is rendered by the case of another small town held by Prince Nicholas Christopher, Dokudów, in the district of Brześć. The town of Dokudów, just like Kunosa, is marked on the 1613 map with the symbol for 'oppidum'; however, a surviving 1601 tax receipt states that Dokudów was 'przed tim miasieczkiem a teraz nowo 1599 na wieś obroczone'.²² Later tax receipts for Dokudów refer to the settlement consistently as 'sioło'.²³ Thus, additional archival materials seem to support strongly the thesis that the Radziwiłł Map of Lithuania was prepared for publication before the end of the 16th century and that its 1613 printing introduced no substantial changes in the original draft.

NOTES

1. This process has been studied most thoroughly by Stanisław Alexandrowicz. His article 'Geneza i rozwój sieci miasteczek Białorusi i Litwy do połowy XVII w.', *Acta Baltico-Slavica*, VII (1972), pp.47-108, perhaps best summarizes the author's numerous contributions and lists the relevant literature.
2. Alexandrowicz, 'Geneza i rozwój. . .', p.83. This is the only reference to the town of Kunosa that I was able to find in scholarly literature.
3. For reasons of personal convenience I have rendered geographical and family names in Polish, the language of most of the archival sources and cartographic materials used in this article. The accompanying map provides additionally the Byelorussian forms of place-names, whenever different from the Polish.
4. Jozef Wolff, *Pacowie : materjaly historyczno-genealogiczne*, Petersburg, 1885, pp.9, 11.
5. The process of the formation of the Nieśwież Entail is traced in my article 'The Niasviž Estates of Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł : The Formation of a Bye-

- lorussian Latifundium (1565-1616)', *The Journal of Byelorussian Studies*, IV:2 (1978), pp.48-67.
6. Wolff, *op. cit.*, p.20; AGAD-AR dział XV, teka 13, nos 1-9.
 7. AGAD-AR, dział XV, teka 11, plik 26, no.4.
 8. *ibid.*, no.7.
 9. *ibid.*, no.9.
 10. *ibid.*, nos 11-12.
 11. *ibid.* Prince Nicholas Christopher's agreement with Jan Pac stipulated that Radziwiłł would pay 24,000 *złoty* if after survey and delimitation the estate turned out to be between 400 and 500 *włoki* in area. Since he ended up paying 12,000 *kopy*, or 30,000 *złoty*, it is reasonable to assume that the area of the estate exceeded 500 *włoki*.
 12. *ibid.*, no.7.
 13. *ibid.*, no.12.
 14. AGAD-AR, dział XV, teka 12, plik 8, and teka 8, plik 4, respectively.
 15. AGAD-AR, dział XV, teka 12, plik 8.
 16. Jan Ptaśnik, 'Papiernie w Polsce XVI wieku', in *Papiernie w Polsce XVI wieku : prace Franciszka Piekosińskiego, Jana Ptaśnika, Kazimierza Piekarskiego*, powtórnie wydał i uzupełnił Włodzimierz Budka, Wrocław, 1971, p.22, and editor's note 132, p. 58; Jadwiga Siniarska-Czaplicka, *Filigrany papierni położonych na obszarze Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej od początku XVI do połowy XVIII wieku*, Wrocław, 1969, p.20; E. Laucevičius, *Popierius Lietuvoje XV-XVIII a.*, Vilnius, 1967, pp.84, 92, 281; Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, Krystyna Korotajowa, Wojciech Krajewski, *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku*, 5: *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie*, Wrocław, 1959, pp.121-2.
 17. That period in the history of Prince Nicholas Christopher's Wilno printing-press is best summarized by Kawecka-Gryczowa (pp.207-8).
 18. AGAD-AR, dział XV, teka 8, plik 4.
 19. AGAD-AR, dział XV, teka 12, plik 1 — 'Prawo zastawne...na Kunosie, Jakubowi Woynie'; AGAD-AR, dział XXV, no.1974 (1617 inventory).
 20. Henryk Merczyng, 'Mapa Litwy z r. 1613 ks. Radziwiłł Sierotki pod względem matematycznym i kartograficznym', *Sprawozdania z posiedzeń Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego*, Wydział III, R. 6 (1913), no.6, pp.418-19; Karol Budzek, *Dzieju kartografii polskiej od XV do XVIII wieku : zarys analityczno-syntetyczny*, Wrocław, 1963, pp.47-8.
 21. Alexandrowicz, 'Pierwsze zaginione wydanie radziwiłłowskiej mapy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego', *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, XVI (1968), no.3, pp.539-45; Alexandrowicz presents his case for the revised character of the 1613 edition in his 'Mapa Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego Tomasz Makowskiego z 1613 r. tzw. "radziwiłłowska", jako źródło do dziejów Litwy i Białorusi' (*Studia Źródłoznawcze/Commentationes*, X, Warsaw, 1965, pp.33-67), which includes a reproduction of the map under discussion. His argument is based entirely on the presence on the 1613 map of the town of 'Iokoldka', or Sokółka. Alexandrowicz contends that since the town was officially founded in 1609 it could not have been included in the original version of the map compiled at the end of the 16th century. However, a careful reading of the foundation document of the town, published by Maurycy Krupowicz (*Zbiór dyplomatów rządowych i aktów prywatnych, posługujących do rozjaśnienia dziejów Litwy i złączonych z nią krajów [od 1387 do 1710 r.]*, cz. 1, Wilno, 1858, no.38, pp.46-8, indicates that Sokółka could have been considered a 'town' even before the issuance of the royal charter. For example, the Polish document contains references to craftsmen already settled in Sokółka ('y iuz nie mało ludzi dobrych remiesnikow roznych na tych pliacach osiadło jest'), and to the fact that some form of commercial activity was already taking place there ('do tego czasu targi w onym miasteczku nie byli dostatecznie obwołane'). Additionally, the charter informs that Sokółka was already the site of a recently constructed large royal manor and that it was a centre of a Catholic parish ('poddani pliebaney Sokolskiej'). Clearly, the 1609 royal charter organizing the town of Sokółka merely provided legal sanction to a situation which may have existed for a number of years.
 22. AGAD-AR, dział XXIII, teka 6, plik 1.
 23. *ibid.* Additionally, in 1606 the village of Dokudów burned down. Because of this, as late as 1609 Prince Nicholas Christopher's official in Biała, responsible also for Dokudów, paid only a fraction of the normal assessment in taxes (AGAD-AR, dział XXIII, teka 10, plik 20).