

Women's Heraldry in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the Late Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Century



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The heraldic practices of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania pertaining to the use of female coats of arms were distinguished by considerable diversity against the backdrop of the heraldic traditions of the neighbouring countries in Central Europe. From the late Middle Ages, female representatives of the Lithuanian-Ruthenian aristocracy used not only their fathers' coats of arms but also those of their husbands, and inherited heraldic symbols through the female line from their mothers, grandmothers, and great-grandmothers. Similar patterns persisted in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the early modern period, both among members of the titled aristocracy and among the untitled knighthood and semi-privileged classes, in particular among the bourgeoisie and the Tatars and Jews of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The most common practice during the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries was for daughters to use their fathers' coats of arms. At the same time, there were quite a few examples of women inheriting coats of arms from their mothers, grandmothers, and great-grandmothers. There were also cases of women using their husbands' coats of arms. However, examples of men using the coats of arms of their mothers and wives are quite exceptional in Lithuanian-Ruthenian heraldry.

Keywords: coat of arms, seal, female heraldry, ennoblement, inheritance, Grand Duchy of Lithuania

Coats of arms, the appearance of which is primarily associated with the military aristocracy and knighthood, naturally became widespread among men who belonged to the respective privileged groups. At the same time, even in the early stages of heraldic evolution, there were examples of women, primarily representatives of ruling dynasties and families of the titled aristocracy using coats of arms. Given the identifying role of coats of arms as their main function in early heraldry, it can be said that the emergence and spread of female coats of arms fully reflected the depth of mental transformations that took place in European society during the tenth–twelfth centuries, in which awareness

of one's own identity grew significantly and a distinct need arose for self-presentation through external signs of personal and social identification [331, 234–236].

In terms of the time of their appearance, the oldest examples of female coats of arms were originated from the Roman Empire (Byzantium) from the tenth–eleventh centuries [325, 72–73, 97–102]. The first female coats of arms in the princely environment of the lands of Rus' are recorded from the first half of the twelfth century [323, 79–80]. The earliest examples of female heraldry in Western Europe are known from the second half of the twelfth century in England and France [250, 23; 281, 47], and from the thirteenth century in German lands [254, 541–553; 298, 282–297], the Iberian Peninsula, and Italy.

A distinctive feature of female heraldry in the West, which can be traced back to the late Middle Ages, was the widespread use of their husbands' coats of arms by women. A married woman usually added her husband's coat of arms to her father's [249, 533–534]. Initially, these coats of arms were placed on different shields. However, from the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries, the most common form of heraldic presentation of a married woman in Western Europe was a combination of her father's and husband's coats of arms on one shield [259, 20]. Only in rare cases did a married woman use her father's coat of arms alone [305, 384–386].

A notable exception to these practices, quite naturally, was the use of coats of arms by women who had taken holy orders. Regardless of whether they had previously been married or not, their coats of arms featured only the heraldic symbols of their father, or sometimes both their father and mother. The practice of simultaneously using the coats of arms of both the father and the mother was quite common, both in the Middle Ages and in early modern times. From the sixteenth century, the use of composite coats of arms with genealogical programmes, which included not only the coats of arms of the father and the mother but also those of grandmothers and other ancestors, became widespread [328, 395–426], including in the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania [307, 103; 253, 28–45; 290, 249–263; 289, 267–313]. However, in Polish heraldry of the late Middle Ages and early the modern period, the custom of women using their fathers' coats of arms clearly prevailed.

These practices differed significantly from the ones prevalent in the countries of the Christian East (the Roman Empire, Rus', Cilician Armenia, and the Balkans), in the heraldry of which we see examples of women using their husbands' coats of arms and inheriting them from their fathers, as well as coats of arms being passed down through female lines from mothers, grandmothers, or great-grandmothers [322, 206–275].

Regarding the use of female coats of arms, heraldic customs of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were distinguished by their diversity from the late Middle Ages. One example of a woman using her husband's coat of arms is the seal of 1509 of Princess Sophia, the wife of Prince Fedir Yamontovych Podberezsky. The field of the sphragis features an image of an eagle (Fig. 2), which the Yamontovych princes used as their coat of arms from at least the first half of the fifteenth century. In particular, it appears on the seal matrix of Mykhailo Yamontovych, Prince Podberezsky, from the first half of the fifteenth century (Fig. 1). The eagle in the tournament shield is also present on the 1535–1536 seal of Princess Sophia's son, Semen Fedorovych Yamontovych, Prince Podberezsky (Fig. 3).



Figs 1–3. Seals of Mykhailo Yamontovych Prince Podberezsky, the first half of the fifteenth century [186], Princess Sophia Yamontovycha Podberezska, 1509 [90; 335, 610–611, 709, n. 44], and Semen Fedorovych Yamontovych Prince Podberezsky, 1535 [2, st. 1; 345, 41]

The coat of arms in the form of two hooks on the 1444/1447 seal of Princess Nastasia (Fig. 5) clearly resembles the sign on the seal of her husband, Prince Fedir Korybutovych, which he used from 1422 (Fig. 4). The same coat of arms is reproduced on the later seal of 1489–1493 of their daughter, Anna Fedorivna Korybutivna, Princess Losk (Fig. 6).



Figs 4–6. Seals of Prince Fedir Korybutovych, 1422 [104; 272, 77, il. B 85], Princess Nastasia, 1444/1447 [134, l. 1], and Anna Fedorivna Korybutivna Princess Losk, 1489 [109; 135, l. 1; 295, 203; 252, 693, il. 19]

The female line inherited the coat of arms of Princess Vasylysa Hlibivna Lyzhynosivna, the wife of Prince Ivan Vasylovych Koretsky. Her seal of 1512 depicts a sign in the form of the letter Π with a crossed right leg (Fig. 7), which is unlike either the contemporary coat of arms of Koretsky princes (with the figure of a lion) or the coat of arms of Ostrozhetsky princes, from the family of which her father, Prince Hlib Ivanovych Lyzhynosovych from Ostrozhtsia, came [340, 145–146]. For example, the seals of Petro Mykhailovych Golovnia, Prince Ostrozhetsky, dated 1507–1533 (Fig. 8) and 1536–1537 [52, st. 490, 492], depict a sign in the form of two semicircles with their ends pointing downwards connected by a column.

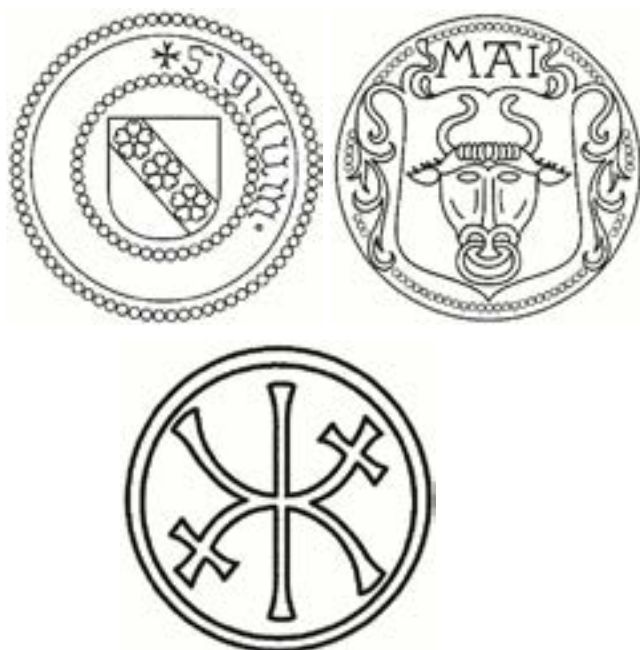


Figs 7–8. Seals of Princess Vasylysa Hlibivna Lyzhynosivna, 1512 [57, Plik 23] and Petro Mykhailovych Golovnia Prince Ostrozhetsky, 1507 [57, Plik 11; 58, Plik 16]

Hanna Mykolayivna Illinychovna's seal, which appeared at the end of the fifteenth century and certified a document dated 1517, depicts the Doliwa coat of arms (azure on a bend argent three roses gules) in a Gothic shield (Fig. 9). This coat of arms was obviously inherited through a distant female line, since her husband Mykolay Zenovych, her father Mykolay Ivanovych Illinych, her mother Hanna Dovgyrdivna, and her grandmother Princess Kateryna (Agrypyna) Vasylivna Ostrozka all used coats of arms other than the one of Hanna Mykolayivna.

Sofia Monvydivna probably used her mother's coat of arms on her seal in 1512. The shield depicts the Wieniawa coat of arms – a bull's head with a ring in its nose (Fig. 10), while the sign of her paternal family was the Leliwa coat of arms (a star above a crescent moon). Due to a lack of additional information, it is difficult to determine from whom the coats of arms had been inherited on the medieval seals of 1483 of Sofia (Sonka), Ivashko Svyrblovych's wife (with the figure of an angel) [108; 255, 385–386, n. 329], and Oliukhna, the wife of Avram Ivanovych, the mayor and key keeper of Kaunas, 1506 (a sign in the form of the letter $\mathcal{K}$ with crosses on the upper left and lower right ends) (Fig. 11).

No less common in the late Middle Ages were examples of paternal coats of arms use by representatives of the Lithuanian-Ruthenian aristocracy. In particular, Princess Halshka Nesvitska had an image of a sign in the form of a crossed cross on the matrix of her seal from the end of the fourteenth century (Fig. 13). The same sign was present on the 1387–1388 seal of her father, Prince Ivan Nesvitsky (Fig. 12).



Figs 9–11. Seals of Hanna Mykolayivna Illinychovna, 1517 [32], Sofia Monyvdivna, 1512 [31], and Oliukhna Avramova, 1506 [95]



Figs 12–13. Coat of arms on the 1387 seal of Prince Ivan Nesvitsky [21, st. 678, 679; 97; 295, 61–62; 288, 77; 294, 202, il. 4; 297, 118, il. 1; 252, 698, il. 13] and on the matrix of the seal of Princess Halshka Nesvitska, the end of the fourteen century [202]

The seal matrix, which is dated the end of the fourteenth century, which belonged to Sophia, the wife of Vasil Dmytrovych, grand prince of Moscow, depicts the figure of an angel (Fig. 14). The significance of this motif on Princess Sophia's seal is confirmed by the fact

that the image of an angel is also found in one of Vytautas coats of arms in 'Chronicle of the Council of Constance' by Ulrich Richental. In the first and fourth quarters of the four-quarter shield, a silver angel is placed on a blue background, and in the second and third parts, there are two red and silver stripes. The image is accompanied by the inscription '*Der hochgeboren fürst Wittoldus herczog zu Sarasio*' (Fig. 15). The coat of arms of the land of Kyiv also features a silver angel on a blue shield (Fig. 16) allows us to assume that the coat of arms described could have been associated with the Ruthenian lands that were under Vytautas's supremacy. And, in fact, as one of his parental coats of arms, it could have been used by his daughter.



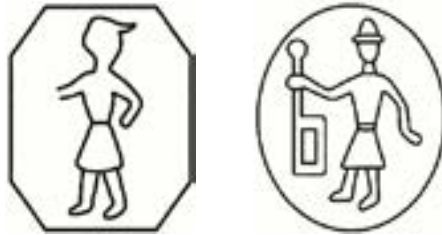
Figs 14–16. Matrix of the seal of Princess Sophia, the end of the fourteenth century [191] and the coat of arms Grand Duke Vytautas [241, f. 110] and Kyiv land [169, f. 235v; 241, f. 217] in 'Chronicle of the Council of Constance' by Ulrich Richental 1483

The seal matrix of Princess Maria Sangushkivna [309, 601] dates back to the second half of the fifteenth century. It depicts a knight (holy warrior) striking a beast with a spear (Fig. 17). A similar motif is also present on the seals of Maria's father, Sangushko Fedorovych, Prince Koshersky and Ratnensky of 1433 (Fig. 18), and her brothers, Alexander Sangushkovych, Prince Koshersky of 1475 [241, 14, n. 18; 252, 690], and Mykhailo Sangushkovych, Prince Kovelskyof 1487 (Fig. 19).



Figs 17–19. Seals Princess Maria Sangushkivna second half fifteenth century [197], Prince Sangushko Fedorovych 1433 [94; 247, 154; 282, 418; 288, 76; 252, 711, il. 50] and Mykhailo Sangushkovych 1487 [21, st. 668; 285, 48]

A sole figure of a knight appears on the 1492 seal of Princess Anna Sangushkivna, the wife of Mykhailo Olelkovich, Prince of Kopyl and Slutsk (Fig. 20). It is noteworthy that a later – 1554 – seal of Princess Nevidana Mykhaylivna Sangushkivna, the wife of Prince Ivan Andriyovych Polubensky, also depicts a knight, but with a rectangular object in his right hand (Fig. 21).



Figs 20–21. Seals of Princess Anna Sangushkivna, 1492 [162, l. 43], and Princess Nevidana Mykhaylivna Sangushkivna, 1554 [116, l. 5v]

The seal matrix of Princess Maria Semenivna Kobrynska, dated the second half of the fifteenth century, depicts the same coat of arms (a knight on horseback facing left, holding a sword in his right hand) (Fig. 22) as the 1387–1388 seal of Roman Fedorovych, the founder of the Kobrynsky family (Fig. 23).



Figs 22–23. Seals of Princess Maria Semenivna Kobrynska, second half of the fifteenth century [203] and Roman Fedorovych Prince Kobrynsky, 1387 [21, st. 678, 679; 97; 244, 12–13, n. 11; 240, 11, n. 11; 285, 61–62; 288, 77; 252, 710, il. 53]

Barbara Yurievna Glibovychivna, the wife of the Lithuanian lord Mykolay Butrymovych, also used her father's coat of arms on her 1518 seal. Her Gothic shield bears a sign in the form of a cross with three branches at the bottom with curved side ends and a triple ending in the middle, above which a six-pointed star is under a crescent moon with its horns pointing

downwards (Fig. 25). The same symbol appears on the 1503 seal of Yuri Glibovych, a Vitebsk governor (1503–1508) and a voivode of Smolensk (1508–1514) (Fig. 24).



Figs 24–25. Seals of Yuri Glibovych, 1503 [141, l. 3] and Barbara Yurievna Glibovychivna, 1518 [33]

Despite their small number, the available examples of female coats of arms of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the late Middle Ages allow us to establish the diversity of practices in their use. Alongside their paternal coats of arms, female members of the Lithuanian-Ruthenian aristocracy used their husbands' coats of arms and also heraldic symbols inherited from their mothers, grandmothers, or more distant ancestors on the female side.

Similar patterns in the use of female coats of arms in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania continued into the early modern period. From then onwards (especially from the sixteenth century), there is a significantly larger number of female heraldry examples, which allows us to trace patterns of its use in different social strata among the representatives of aristocratic families, untitled nobility, and semi-privileged groups.

Throughout the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, the custom of women inheriting their father's coat of arms was obvious in princely heraldry. Thus, the seal of 1540–1553 of Beata Andriyivna of Kostelets, Princess of Ostrog features the paternal Ogon coat of arms of the Kosteletskys family (the tip of an arrow above a semicircle) (Fig. 26) rather than that of



Figs 26–29. Seals of Beata Andriyivna of Kostelets, Princess of Ostrog, 1540 [59, Plik 15; Plik 89; 62, Plik 49; Plik 51; Plik 54; Plik 61; 63, Plik 10], Princess Halshka Illivna Ostrozka 1582 [71, Plik 53], Kateryna Kostiantynivna Ostrozka 1578 [12, st. 2, 4], and Halshka Kostiantynivna Ostrozka, the second half of the sixteenth century [189]

her husband, Prince Illia Konstantynovych of Ostrog. Similarly, seal of 1582 of their daughter, Princess Halshka Illivna Ostrozka, reproduces a variation of her father's coat of arms (Fig. 27).

The stone ring in a gold setting belonging to Princess Halshka Kostiantynivna Ostrozka from the second half of the sixteenth century (Fig. 29) and the 1578 seal of her sister Kateryna (Fig. 28) also feature the coat of arms of their father, Vasyl Kostiantynovych, Prince of Ostrog: an arrow pointing upward above a semicircle lying with its ends downward, and a six-pointed star above a crescent moon lying with its horns upward [326, 20–30].

Princess Anna Kuzmynychna Zaslavska used the coat of arms also used by her father, Kuzma Ivanovych, Prince Zaslavsky. Her seals of 1558 (Fig. 31) and 1571 (Fig. 32) depict a mounted warrior-dragon slayer armed with a spear. A similar scene is reproduced on the seal 1551 of Prince Kuzma Ivanovych (Fig. 30).



Figs 30–32. Seals of Kuzma Ivanovych Prince Zaslavsky, 1551 [62, Plik 64] and Princess Anna Kuzmynychna Zaslavska, 1558 [63, Plik 109] and 1571 [67, Plik 69; Plik 70; Plik 73; Plik 91; 121, l. 54]

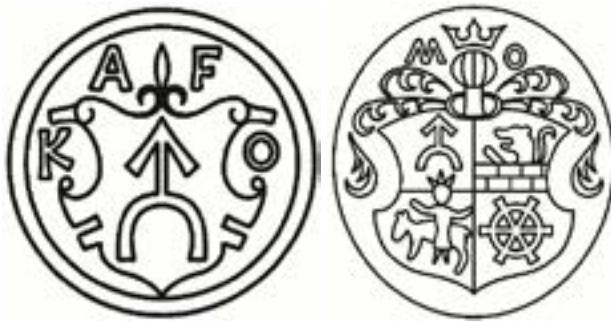
Princess Elizabeth Yanushivna Zaslavska's seal of 1601 depicts the sign of the princely Zaslavsky family and their dynastic coat of arms with a warrior-dragon slayer on a two-part Renaissance shield (Fig. 33). Both of these coats of arms also appear on 1592–1595 seal of her father, Prince Yanush Yanushowych of Ostrog Zaslavsky (Fig. 34).



Figs 33–34. Seals of Princess Elizabeth Yanushivna Zaslavska, 1601 [85, Plik 32, st. 206, 208, 302] and Prince Yanush Yanushowych Zaslavsky, 1592 [79, Plik 7; 80, Plik 1; 81, Plik 75; Plik 79]

From 1704, the seal of Theophila Ludovyka, Countess of Tarnov, Princess Zaslavska, and 4th Ordynatka of Ostrog (1682–1709), contains a coat of arms with a genealogical programme. Among the coats of arms of her ancestors, the top positions are occupied by her parents' symbols: in the middle shield, the dynastic coat of arms with St George (Pogonia Ruthenian), and in the first quarter of the four-part shield is the family symbol of the Zaslavsky princes [88].

The coat of arms of the younger branch of Ostrozky princes, the princes of Golovno Ostrozhetsky (a sign in the form of an arrow pointing upwards above a semicircle) appears on the 1581 seal of Princess Hanna Fedorivna Ostrozhetska (Fig. 35). The same document bears the seal of her sister, Princess Maryna Fedorivna Ostrozhetska, which reproduces the coat of arms with a genealogical programme: the first part of the four-part Renaissance shield depicts the coat of arms of the Ostrozhetsky princes, the second part depicts the coat of arms of her mother, Princess Hanna Semenivna Odyntsevych (a lion emerging from behind a wall), the third part depicts the Rawa coat of arms of the family of Solomyrsky princes (a bear with a maiden sitting under a crown), and the fourth part depicts a wheel with six spokes (Fig. 36).



Figs 35–36. Seals of Princess Hanna Fedorivna Ostrozhetska and Princess Maryna Fedorivna Ostrozhetska, 1581 [120, l. 412v]

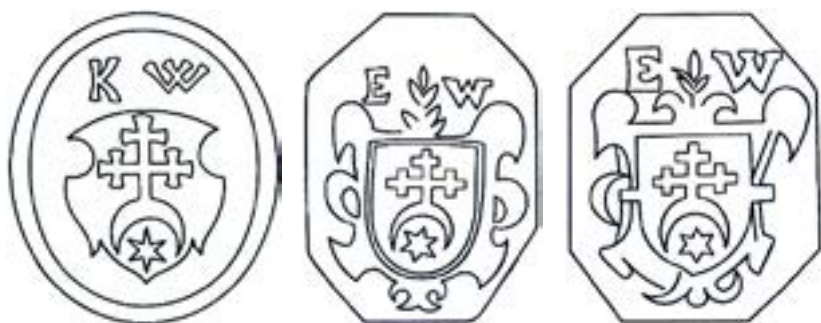
The coat of arms of Bohdana Fedorivna Chetvertynska, Princess of Vyshkov, on the seal of 1552–1559 (a symbol in the form of the letter Φ) (Fig. 37) is based on the coat of arms of her father, Fedir Mykhailovych Chetvertynsky, Prince Vyshkovsky. His seal of 1477–1487 depicts a sign in the form of a pillar crossing two semicircles [30; 99]. That is, compared to her father's sign on Princess Bohdana's seal, the two semicircles are turned towards each other and connected in an oval. Such techniques were common for the variation of family symbols in various Ruthenian princely families during the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries [327, 366–453].

Members of the Sokolsky family, related to the Vyshkovsky princes, used a symbol in the form of two semicircles crossed by a cross as their coat of arms. This is what we see on Princess Maria Vasylivna Sokolska's seal of 1546 (Fig. 38), as well as on the seals of 1525 [308, 3] and 1528 [234, apk. 1] of her father, Vasyi Mykhailovych, Prince Sokolsky.



Figs 37–38. Seals of Princess Bohdana Fedorivna Vyshkovska, 1552 [222; 223; 234, apk. 13v, 26] and Princess Maria Vasylivna Sokolska, 1546 [37]

The coat of arms of the Vyshnevetsky princes is a cross above a crescent moon with its horns pointing downwards above a six-pointed star. It appears on the seals of both women and men who came from this family. In particular, it is engraved on the 1555 seal of Princess Kateryna Vyshnevetska (Fig. 39). It also appears on the seals of her brothers, Prince Dmytro Vyshnevetsky, 1563 [177, apk. 26; 333, 3], and Prince Kostiantyn Ivanovych Vyshnevetsky, 1571 [67, Plik 86]. The same symbol is represented on the seals of 1588 (Fig. 40) and 1595 (Fig. 41) of Princess Halshka Yevfimiia Vyshnevetska and on the seals of her father, Prince Andriy Vyshnevetsky from the third quarter of the sixteenth century [182; 184; 223; 324, 54–62].



Figs 39–41. Seals of Princess Kateryna Vyshnevetska, 1555 [38], and Halshka Yevfimiia Vyshnevetska of 1588 [345, 77, мал. 122] and 1595 [345, 77, мал. 123]

A variant of the coat of arms of the Zbarazky princely family (a sign in the form of a cross intersecting a semicircle with its ends pointing downwards) was used by Princess Marusha Yurievna Zbarazka on her seal of 1576 (Fig. 42). A variation of the coat of arms of the Porytsky princely family is placed on the seal matrix of Princess Kateryna Oleksandrivna Porytska from the second half of the sixteenth century. In a Renaissance shield, we see

a Latin cross with a triangle in the upper right part, crossing a semicircle with its ends pointing downwards (Fig. 43). A similar symbol in the form of a long cross intersecting a semicircle with its ends pointing downwards is present on the seals of her father, Prince Alexander Fedorovich Porytsky, of 1525 [57, Plik 65], 1531–1542 [22, st. 14], 1546–1546 [60, Plik 69; Plik 71], 1549–1551 (Fig. 44), and 1554 [183; 63, Plik 22], and of her brother, Prince Alexander Alexandrovich Porytsky, of 1569 [221, apk. 263].



Figs 42–44. Seals of Princess Marusha Yurievna Zbarazka, 1576 [221, apk. 799], Princess Kateryna Oleksandrivna Porytska, the second half of the sixteenth century [195], and Prince Alexander Fedorovich Porytsky, 1549 [61, Plik 43; Plik 51; 62, Plik 33]

Princess Hanna Bogdanivna of Kozelsk Ogynska used an image of her family coat of arms, depicting the letter Π under a cross with a double branch at the top on her seal of 1551 (Fig. 45). It was the same image that her brother, Matviy Bogdanovych of Kozelsk, Prince Ogynsky, used on his seals of 1555 (Fig. 46) and 1556 [63, Plik 54]. The family coat of arms, depicting an eagle holding a shield with a horseshoe pointing upwards on its chest, inside which there is a knight's cross, appears on the seal of Princess Maria Lvovna Polubenska of 1550 [10, st. 2].



Figs 45–46. Seals of Princess Hanna Bogdanivna Ogynska, 1551 [62, Plik 41], and Prince Matviy Bogdanovych Ogynsky, 1555 [63, Plik 49]

The familial coat of arms of Izheslavsky princes with the figure of a lion is present on Princess Hanna Fedorivna Izheslavska's seals of 1547 (Fig. 47) and those of her father, Prince Fedir Ivanovych Izheslavsky, of 1536 (Fig. 48). The same coat of arms is present on the seals of the representatives of Mstyslavsky princes, who were a branch of the Izheslavsky family. Princess Anastasia Mykhailivna Mstislavska's seal of 1545–1557 depicts a lion in a Gothic shield [7, st. 1; 8, st. 2, 4], as does the 1523 seal of Prince Fedir Mykhailovych Mstislavsky (1529–1540) [181].



Figs 47–49. Seals of Princess Hanna Fedorivna Izheslavska, 1547 [61, Plik 4], Prince Fedir Ivanovych Izheslavsky, 1536 [58, Plik 44], and Princess Hanna Romanivna Drutska Liubetska, 1571 [67, Plik 64]

The seal of 1571 of Princess Hanna Romanivna Drutska Liubetska features the familial coat of arms of the Drutsky princes. It is a Renaissance shield with a long cross accompanied by four crescent moons (Fig. 49). The familial coat of arms of the Golovchynsky princes, featuring the figure of a swan, is present on the 1600 seal [56] of Princess Sophia Golovchynska, the daughter of Yaroslav Yaroslavovych, a Golovchynsky Prince.

The image of an eagle, which served as the coat of arms for the Zhylynsky princes, can be found on the 1640 seal of Princess Kateryna Ivanivna Zhylynska, the wife of Prince Yan Ogynsky, a castellan of Mstislav (Fig. 51). The same motif is present on the 1581 seal of her uncle, Prince Andriy Ivanovych Zhylynsky (Fig. 50).



Figs 50–51. Seals of Prince Andriy Ivanovych Zhylynsky, 1581 [15, st. 6], and Princess Kateryna Ivanivna Zhylynska, 1640 [102, k. 46, 48]

The 1596–1597 seal of Princess Vasylysa Yurievna Mosalska from Karachev, the wife of the Braslav landowner Yan Volosetsky, depicts a four-part shield with a genealogical programme; the familial coat of arms of the Mosalsky princes – a sign in the form of the letter M under a cross – is in the middle of it. The top right part contains half of a double-headed eagle the dynastic coat of arms of the Karachevsky princes, a branch of which the Mosalsky princes were. The top left part contains a sign in the form of a long cross with four crescent moons (the coat of arms of the Drutsky princes), the bottom right part contains a sign in the form of a double-crossed arrow pointing upwards (the Lis coat of arms), and the bottom left part contains a bull's head (Fig. 53). The Karachevsky coat of arms with a half of a double-headed eagle is also depicted on the Prince Andriy Petrovych Mosalsky's seal of 1569 (Fig. 52).



Figs 52–53. Seals of Prince Andriy Petrovych Mosalsky, 1569 [221, apk. 146], and Princess Vasylysa Yurievna Mosalska from Karachev, 1596 [120, l. 587, 638]

The dynastic coat of arms, with the figure of a double-headed eagle, was used by the representatives of the Serbian despotic and ruling Brankovych family (Despoty, Despoty Brankovychy). This coat of arms was used by the last ruler of the Serbian Despotate, Jovan Branković (1493–1502), and his daughters, Maria Magdalena Despotivna [338, 359–366], the wife of Prince Ivan Mikhailovich Vyshnevetsky and later Prince Alexander Feodorovich Chortoriysky, and Anna Despotivna, the wife of Prince Feodor Andriyovich



Figs 54–57. Seals of Princess Hanna Despotivna, 1549 [61, Plik 43; 63, Plik 21], 1567 [65, Plik 135; 68, Plik 14; Plik 55; Plik 81], 1571 [67, Plik 86; Plik 98], and 1576 [69, Plik 24; Plik 29; Plik 39]

Sangushko and later Prince Nikolai Andriyovich Zbarazsky. On the seals of Princess Hanna of 1549–1554 (Fig. 54), 1567–1575 (Fig. 55), 1571 (Fig. 56) and 1576–1578 (Fig. 57), we see an image of a double-headed eagle under three crowns or without them.

The family crest, combined with the dynastic coat of arms, was used by Princess Hanna Yurievna Dubrovytska Golshanska on her seal of 1589. The Renaissance shield depicts a hyppocentaurus holding a drawn bow and aiming an arrow at its own tail in the form of a snake, below which is a triangular symbol lying with its apex down under a cross and with two branches decorated with circles (Fig. 58). The hyppocentaurus itself is depicted on the seal of her sister, Princess Sophia Yurievna Dubrovytska Golshanska of 1586–1593 (Fig. 59). Their brother, Ivan Yurievych Golshansky, Prince of Dubrovytsa, invariably combined familial and dynastic symbols in his coat of arms, as can be seen on his seals of 1527 [25], 1527–1528 [163; 164], 1535 [58, Plik 32], 1544–1546 [13, st. 2, 9; 48], and 1547 (Fig. 60).



Figs 58–60. Seals of Princess Hanna Dubrovytska Golshanska, 1589 [170; 239, 187], Princess Sophia Dubrovytska Golshanska, 1586 [14, st. 5, 10, 44, 52, 54, 56, 60, 68, 94; 239, 187], and Ivan Golshansky Prince of Dubrovytsa, 1547 [345, 41]

The image of the dynastic coat of arms with the figure of a knight on horseback (the Lithuanian Vytis coat of arms), which was used by Lithuanian princely families who traced their ancestry back to Gediminas, is engraved on the 1557 seal of Princess Fedora Fedorivna Sangushkivna Nesukhoizhska (Fig. 62). The same coat of arms is present on the seals



Figs 61–63. Seals of Prince Fedir Andriyovych Sangushkovych, 1535 [21, st. 679; 26; 29; 55; 59, Plik 25; Plik 87; 60, Plik 4; Plik 6; Plik 44; Plik 52; Plik 68; Plik 80; 61, Plik 61; 167, st. 1; 285, 63, n. 552], Princess Fedora Fedorivna Sangushkivna, 1557 [63, Plik 68], and Princess Maryna Romanivna Sangushkivna 1585 [74, Plik 9]

of 1535–1547 (Fig. 61), 1539 [100], and 1540 [52, st. 468] of her father, Fedir Andriyovych Sangushkovych, Prince of Nesukhoizhsky.

Princess Fedora's brother, Roman Fedorovych Sangushkovych, Prince of Nesukhoizhsky, used various modifications of the Lithuanian coat of arms as well. This coat of arms adorns, in particular, his seals of 1561 [64, Plik 20; Plik 21], 1564–1567 [64, Plik 124; Plik 132; 65, Plik 49; 258, 413], 1567–1571 [221, apk. 94, 309v, 316v, 327v, 358v; 23, st. 1; 65, Plik 65; Plik 71; Plik 105; Plik 135; Plik 140; 66, Plik 45; 67, Plik 40; Plik 42; Plik 48], and 1568–1571 [66, Plik 75; Plik 119; Plik 121; 67, Plik 15; Plik 60; Plik 61; Plik 62; Plik 74; 258, 333]. The same heraldic motif is present on numerous seals of his daughters. In particular, Princess Maryna Romanivna Sangushkivna Nesukhoizhska used a seal in 1585 depicting an armed knight on horseback in a Renaissance shield (Fig. 63).

Variations of the Pogonia also appear on the seals of Olexandra Romanivna Sangushkivna of 1579 [70, Plik 11] and 1581 (Fig. 64), 25 March–8 October 1585 (Fig. 65); 6 December 1585 (Fig. 66); 1587–1593 (Fig. 67); July 7, 1595 [81, Plik 53]; 20 August 1595 [81, Plik 79], and 1598–1602 [84, Plik 36; Plik 64; 85, Plik 108, st. 745; Plik 110], as well as on Fedora Romanivna Sangushkivna's seals of 6 July 1585 (Fig. 68), 20 September 1585 (Fig. 69), 1587–1590 (Fig. 70), and 1592–1596 (Fig. 71). In addition to the Pogonia in a Baroque shield, we see a figure of a lion in a crest on the last one.



Figs 64–67. Seals of Princess Olexandra Romanivna Sangushkivna, 1581 [71, Plik 25], 1585 [74, Plik 9; Plik 78; Plik 85], and 1587 [231, apk. 4v; 232, apk. 1v; 233, apk. 2; 22, st. 108; 75, Plik 80; Plik 81; Plik 90; Plik 91; Plik 98; 78, Plik 73; 80, Plik 8; Plik 11; Plik 12, st. 86, 90; Plik 17; Plik 18; Plik 19; Plik 20; Plik 21; Plik 24]



Figs 68–71. Seals of Princess Fedora Romanivna Sangushkivna, 1585 [74, Plik 49; Plik 63], 1587 [231, apk. 4v; 75, Plik 80; Plik 81; Plik 90; Plik 91; Plik 98; 77, Plik 1], and 1592 [233; 237, apk. 1; 22, st. 110; 57, Plik 26; 79, Plik 31; Plik 35, st. 93; 80, Plik 8; Plik 11; Plik 12, st. 86, 90; Plik 17; Plik 18; Plik 19; Plik 20; Plik 21; Plik 24; 82, Plik 22; 96]

The dynastic coat of arms of Gediminas was also used on the seal of Princess Fedora Fedorivna Chortoryiska in 1569 (Fig. 72). The Vytis image features on the seals of Sophia Yurievna Olelkivna, Princess of Slutsk and Kopyl, of 1601–1602 (Fig. 73), 1602 [158, l. 282v], and 1604–1605 [19, Plik 14, st. 8; 127, l. 26], as well as on the seals of her father, Yuri Yurievych Olelkovich, Prince of Slutsk and Kopyl, of 1567–1575 [91, st. 78; 258, 412], 1582 [345, 86, мал. 177], 1583 (Fig. 74), and 1584 [345, 45; 346, 28; 310, 158].



Figs 72–74. Seals of Princess Fedora Fedorivna Chortoryiska, 1569 [66, Plik 141], Princess Sophia Yurievna Olelkivna Slutskaya, 1601 [46; 158, l. 280v; 161, l. 9v; 345, 87; 346, 25; 337, табл.], and Yuri Yurievych Olelkovich, Prince of Slutsk, 1583 [287, 56; 345, 86, мал. 178]

The ladies of the Radvila princely family mostly used their fathers' coats of arms as well. In particular, on the seals of Princess Hanna Radvilaitė, the daughter of Yan Mykolayovych Radvila, Prince of Goniadz and Miadel, and the wife of Vitebsk voivode (1544–1554) Stanislav Kyshka 1560 [124, l. 5v] and 1574 (Fig. 75), familial Trąby coat of arms is depicted: three hunting horns in a star. Princess Halshka Radvilaitė, the daughter of Krystof Perun Radvila, Prince of Biržai and Dubingiai (1584–1603) and the wife of the chancellor of the realm (1589–1623), voivod of Vilnius (1623–1633) and grand hetman (1625–1633) Lev Ivanovych Sopiga, used a seal in 1603 with an image of the family coat of arms on a Renaissance shield with an eagle holding a shield with three hunting horns in a star on its chest [122, l. 10]. Her coat of arms was similarly reproduced on the tombstone to Lev Ivanovych Sopiga in 1633 [330, 52; 334, n. 157]. Princess Liudovyka Karolina Radvilaitė, the wife of Karl III Philipp, Pfalz Prince Elector, Duke of Jülich-Berg, Count Palatine and Duke of Pfalz-Neuburg (1716–1742) used a seal with the Radvila's coat of arms under a princely crown in 1694 (Fig. 76).



Figs 75–76. Seals of Princess Hanna Radvilaitė, 1574 [44], and Princess Karolina Radvilaitė, 1694 [138, l. 1v]

On early modern seals of the female representatives of noble families (lordly and land-owning), we also most often see the coats of arms of their fathers. For example, on the seal matrix belonging to the Volyn landowner Nastasia Ivanivna Zagorovska and dating back to the second half of the sixteenth century the seal field features a Renaissance shield with three notches (Fig. 77) from the familial coat of arms of the Zagorovski family. The wife of Prince Martyn Vasylovych Velytsky, Kateryna Bokiivna Pechikhvostska, used a crossed axe, the family coat of arms of the Boki family, on her seal (Fig. 78).



Figs 77–78. Matrix of the seals of Nastasia Ivanivna Zagorovska [188] and Kateryna Bokiivna Pechikhvostska, the second half of the sixteenth century [199]

The seal of Maryna Kyselivna is engraved with the family sign in the form of a cross with a triple branch at the bottom (Fig. 79). And on the seal matrix of Kateryna Hryhorivna Hulevychivna Piddubetska, dating back to the end of the sixteenth century, there is the Nowina coat of arms of the Hulevych family: a long cross above a cauldron handle in a Renaissance shield (Fig. 80). A later modification of the Khrebtovych family coat of arms (a symbol in the form of an arrow pointing upwards with a double wavy branch at the bottom) [274, 316; 93, st. 224/234–225/235; 256, 184–186; 262, 85] appears on numerous seals of the family representatives at the end of the sixteenth century, in particular, on Kondrat Ivanovych Khrebtovych Bogurytsky's seal of 1589 [76, Plik 74] and 1599 [84, Plik 81],



Figs 79–81. Matrix of his seals Maryna Kyselivna [185], Kateryna Hryhorivna Hulevychivna [200] and Anastasia Vasylivna Khrebtovychivna Bogurytska, the second half of the sixteenth century [190]

the seal of 1578 and 1585 [173] of Meletiy Ivanovych Khrebtovych Bogurynsky, Volodymyr and Brest bishop and archimandrite of the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery [236, apk. 1v], and Anastasia Vasylivna Khrebtovychivna Bogurynska (Fig. 81), the wife of Stanislav Kavetsky.

In 1519, Yadviga Andriyivna Skrutevycha used a seal depicting her father's Pobog coat of arms (a cross above a horseshoe with its ends pointing downwards) in a tournament shield [47]. The same coat of arms appears on the 1583 seal of Orshulia Yanivna Nominikivna [150, l. 54v], the wife of Trakai landowner Yan Grygorovych Zaborovsky.

The parental emblem, in the form of a cross above a circle under a five-pointed star and a crescent moon, was engraved on the 1533 seal of Oleksandra Yakivna Kybortivna, Stanislav Kontsevych's wife (Fig. 82). A variation of the family coat of arms, in the form of the letter Π with crossed ends under a pillar and a semicircle, was used on the 1539 seal of Maria Pashkivna Babynska (Fig. 83), the wife of Prince Mykhailo Kozeka.



Figs 82–85. Seals of Oleksandra Yakivna Kybortivna, 1533 [105], Maria Pashkivna Babynska, 1539 [101], Yelena Andriivna Sendiushkivna, 1547 [114, l. 27v], and Maryna Lvivna, 1547 [114, l. 29]

A symbol in the form of a half-arrowhead above a semicircle with the ends pointing downwards and the right ends bent to the side, accompanied by a diagonal notch on the left and a five-pointed star below, is depicted on the 1547 seal of Yelena Andriivna Sendiushkivna, Stanislav Yakubovych Skop's wife (Fig. 84). Another complex symbol, in the form of a pillar with a semicircle at the top, double wavy branches on both sides, and a six-pointed star below, is present on the 1547 seal of Maryna Lvivna, the wife of Ivan Yesman (Fig. 85).

A cross with curved ends is a popular motif in Lithuanian family heraldry. It is reproduced, in particular, on the 1589–1596 seal (Fig. 86) used by Uliana Martynivna

Grygorovycha Dovtortovychivna from Germanovych, the wife of the Kaunas landowner Martyn Hoynatsky. The symbol in the form of three semicircles forming a star was used by Hanna Koptsiivna, the wife of the Grand Duke marshal Ivan Bogushevych Bogovytnovych, on a seal dated 1552 (Fig. 87).



Figs 86–87. Seals of Uliana Dovtortovychivna from Germanovych, 1589 [144, l. 29, 34v, 57v; 293, 122, il. 229], and Hanna Koptsiivna, 1552 [115, l. 19]

On the 1571 seal of Fedora Koptsiivna, the wife of the marshal of the grand duke's court Benedykt Yuraga, the family sign has a slightly modified form: here, a circle is accompanied by three coulters forming a star [211, apk. 4v; 345, 89, мал. 194]. The same emblem is present on the seals of Marina Mykhaylivna Grychynykha, the wife of Oshmiansky landowner Tymofiy Ivanovych Vyshotravka, which are dated 1577 (Fig. 88) and 1581 (Fig. 89). Similarly, the family emblem is represented on the 1592 seal of Rayina Voynivna, the abbess of Pinsk Monastery after St Varvara, who came from a family that shared a common origin with the Grychyny family (Fig. 90).



Figs 88–90. Seals Marina Mykhaylivna Grychynykha 1577 [145, l. 50] and 1581 [145, l. 65v] and Rayina Voynivna 1592 [345, 43]

Later, the family crest of the Voynivs and Grychyns was transformed into the Trąby coat of arms: three sable hunting horns arranged in a star on a silver background [275, 229; 256, 312–313; 268, 433]. In particular, it is present on the 1623 tombstone to Mykola Volsky, a Vitebsk castellan (1615–1621), the lord of Kremenets, and his wife Barbara Voyna in the Church of St Yuriy in Kremenets [334, n. 162; 310, 145; 317, 244]. The coat of

arms of the Traŭby family also appears on other women's seals of the sixteenth century: on the 1539 seal of Yagneshka Yanushivna, the wife of Matyias Voytechovych (Fig. 91), Hanna Yanushivna, the wife of Kryshtof Erasmusovych (Fig. 92), and her sister Uliana, the wife of Shchasny Mykolayevych, 1571 (Fig. 93).



Figs 91–93. Seals of Yagneshka Yanushivna, 1539 [107], and Hanna and Uliana Yanushivna, 1571 [111]

Another coat of arms, Polish by origin and widespread in the heraldry of Lithuanian families, was the coat of arms of Leliwa (a six-pointed star above a crescent moon with its horns pointing upwards). It was used on the 1543 seal of Hanna Mykolayivna Zaberezynska (Fig. 94). The same coat of arms is reproduced on the seals of Yelizaveta Hlibovychivna, the wife of the Trakai voivode (1510–1518) Grygory Stanislavovych Ostykovich, of 1548 (Fig. 95); Krystyna Yanivna Glibovychivna, the wife of the marshal of the grand duke's court Yan Yuriyovych Stankovich Komayevsky, of 1578 (Fig. 96); Hanna Ivanivna Glebovychivna Solomeretska, of 1588 [91, st. 215]; Halshka Yanivna Glybovychivna, the wife of the Slonim starosta Mykhailo Volovich, and her sister Dorota, the wife of Mykola Rey from Naglovytsia, of 1583 (Fig. 97).



Figs 94–97. Seals of Hanna Mykolayivna Zaberezynska, 1543 [35; 36], Yelizaveta Hlibovychivna, 1548 [24], Krystyna Yanivna Glibovychivna, 1578 [136, l. 1], and Hanna Ivanivna Glebovychivna Solomeretska, 1588 [137, l. 2v]

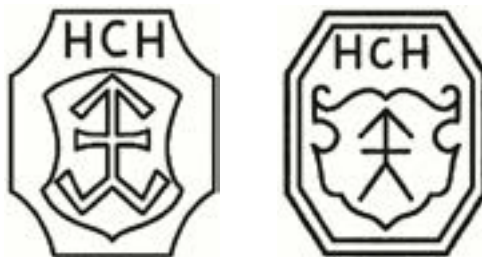
A variation of the Leliwa coat of arms (a five-pointed star above a crescent moon) appears on the seal of Dorota Degenivna, the wife of the Vilnius landowner Yan Polykovsky, in 1561 (Fig. 98). The use of the Leliwa coat of arms by Barbara Wylkowska, the wife of

the Polotsk landowner Yan Mlechko of Kurylowychi, was confirmed by the Grand Duchy privilege dated 10 August 1569 – ‘*Barbaram Wilkowska de armis Leliwa*’ [89, s. 112; 296, 84–86, n. 185; 302, 229; 261, 83; 301, 162, n. 343]. The Leliwa coat of arms, as the one used by the Tyshkevych family, was used on the 1596 seal of Alexandra Vasylivna Tyshkevych, the wife of Mykola Yazlovetsky, mayor of Sniatyn, Sokalsk, and Chervonohorod (Fig. 99), and of Salomeia Tyshkevych, the wife of Yan Mateush Frontskevych Radzyminsky, a judge of Oshmiany district (1744–1751), dated 1754 (Fig. 100).



Figs 98–100. Seals of Dorota Degenivna, 1561 [145, l. 16], Alexandra Tyshkevych, 1596 [120, l. 569v], and Salomeia Tyshkevych, 1754 [139, l. 10, 14]

The family coat of arms in the form of a crossed double arrow pointing upwards is reproduced on the 1549 seal of Sophia Alexandrivna Khodkevychivna [123, l. 2], the wife of Stanislav Mykolayevych Kezgailo, Count of Krozhi, a pantler (1545–1552) and a royal cupbearer (1551–1555). It also appears on the seals of Hanna Grygorivna Khodkevychivna, the wife of Pavlo Mykolayovych Pats, a Vitebsk castellan (1566–1578), a voivode of Mstislavl (1578–1593) and a castellan of Vilnius (1593–1595), of 1583–1587 (Fig. 102) and 1587–1588 [231, apk. 4v; 151, l. 11]. On her seal of 1583, a variation of the family crest is reproduced in the form of the letter W under a crossed arrow pointing upwards (Fig. 101).



Figs 101–102. Seals of Hanna Grygorivna Khodkevychivna, 1583 [72, st. 81; 73, Plik 62; 74, Plik 9; 75, Plik 93; 151, l. 2]

The familial coat of arms is depicted on the 1596–1597 seal of Hanna Khodkevychivna [82, Plik 34; 83, Plik 14], the wife of Prince Yakhym Koretsky, as well as on woodcuts

featuring her composite coat of arms and genealogical programme in the Yevye edition of 'Evangelia Uchitel'noie' of 1616 [344, 333; 343, 166; 342, 203; 346, 78; 321, 5] and Kyiv Lavra edition of 'Akathist' of 1625 [341, 109, 127-134; 315, 21, 65, 395, n. 42, илл. 765; 343, 343; 314, 43, n. 142; 311, 709].



Figs 103–105. Seals of Anna Mateyivna Voydylovna, 1549 [9, st. 180], Alzhbeta Yushkovna, 1571 [111], and Dorota Rafalivna Raietska, 1583 [144, l. 12v]

Anna Mateyivna Voydylovna used the family Łabędź coat of arms on her seal of 1549 (Fig. 103). The same coat of arms appears on the seals of Alzhbeta Yushkovna, the wife of Vilnius landowner Yan Stanislavovych Dyshlia, of 1571 (Fig. 104), Dorota Rafalivna Raietska, the wife of Kaunas landowner Yan Lavrynovych Pidgaisky, of 1583 (Fig. 105), Marta Yakubivna Kuntsevychivna, the wife of Olbrycht Vilchek, of 1586–1598 (Fig. 106), Sofia Stanislavivna, the wife of Vilnius landowner Oleksiy Stanislavovych, of 1588 (Fig. 107), and Kateryna Mykhaylivna Bohovytynivna Kozeradzka, the wife of Preslav Gorbovsky, of 1601 [204, арк. 163v; 345, 93, мал. 218].



Figs 106–107. Seals of Marta Yakubivna Kuntsevychivna, 1586 [146, l. 60, 61v, 85], and Sofia Stanislavivna, 1588 [126, l. 5]

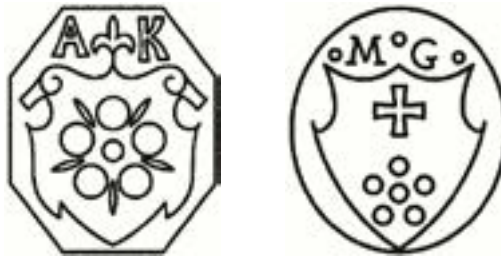
The Radwan coat of arms of the Volotkovych family [276, 1194; 278, 860; 274, 573; 93, st. 290/320; 256, 251; 268, 313] is reproduced on the 1543 seal of Anastasia Volotkovna (Fig. 108). The same coat of arms is present on the 1588 seal of Euphemia Yurievna Verbytska, the wife of Prince Andriy Ivanovych Vyshnevetsky [206, арк. 5; 345, 77,

мал. 121]. The Zarembo coat of arms (a lion emerging from behind a wall laden with three stones) was used by the representatives of the Dovoinivych family: Hanna Petrivna Dovoinivna Krupska, the wife of Florian Radogosky, on a seal dated 1544 (Fig. 109), and Hanna Dovoinivna Kuleshevychova, on a seal of 1566 [213, арк. 22; 345, 73, мал. 96].



Figs 108–109. Seals of Anastasia Volotkovna, 1543 [28], and Hanna Petrivna Dovoinivna Krupska, 1544 [106]

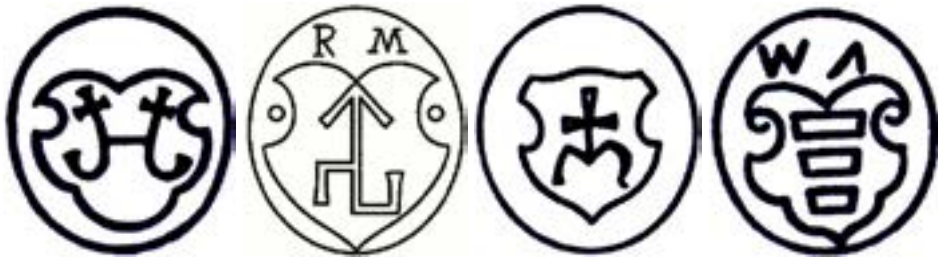
The Poraj coat of arms (a five-petal rose) is depicted on the seals of Dorota Shchasnivna Bogumachych of 1553 [208, арк. 475; 345, 63, мал. 42] and Anna Kondrativna, the wife of Yan Mostvyl, of 1566 (Fig. 110). A five-petal rose under a cross is depicted on the 1571 seal of Magdalena Gabryialivna (Fig. 111), the wife of Vilnius landowner Baltromey Samson.



Figs 110–111. Seals of Anna Kondrativna, 1566 [125, l. 2], and Magdalena Gabryialivna, 1571 [111]

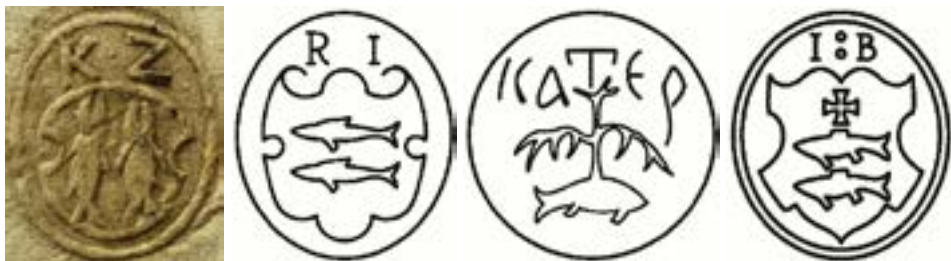
The Kalusovsky family crest, which looks like the letter H with crossed upper ends, is engraved on the 1558 seal of the Volyn landowner Nastasia Ivanivna Fedorova Vecheryna Kalusovska (Fig. 112). The emblem in the form of an arrow pointing upwards with angular branches on both sides is reproduced on the 1563 seal of Marena, the wife of Mykolay Tiapynsky (Fig. 113). On the seals of Bohdana Vasylivna Semashkivna of Rykany, the wife of Prince Yanush Matviyovych Chetvertynsky, of 1569 (Fig. 114) and 1583 [49], there is a sign in the form of the letter M under a cross, just as on the 1557 seal of her father, Vasyly Mykhaylovych Semashko, a judge of Lutsk (1557–1563) and lord of Rykany [39]. Olekhna

Lenkovna, the wife of Kyiv lord Stanislav Surin, used a seal in 1569 with the image of her father's coat of arms: three cuts in a Renaissance shield (Fig. 115).



Figs 112–115. Seals of Nastasia Ivanivna Kalusovska, 1558 [226, apk. 2v], Marena Tiapynska, 1563 [117, l. 12], and Bohdana Vasylivna Semashkivna, 1569 [221, apk. 152] and Olekhna Lenkovna, 1569 [221, apk. 238v]

The coat of arms depicting two fish was used by representatives of Kernivsky landowners, the Buivydovych family. In particular, we can see them on the seals of Kateryna Yuriyivna Buivydivna, the wife of Matey Zabila, of 1569 (Fig. 116), as well as those of Yanush Buivydovych of 1527 [34], and of Pavlo Andriyovych Buivyd of 1590 [303, 49]. On the 1580 seal of Rayina Yanivna Dashkovychivna, the wife of Vilnius landowner Mykola Martynovych Moyiseevych, two fish are engraved, one above the other (Fig. 117). The seal of Kateryna Andriyivna, the wife of Oshmiany landowner Yan Petrovych, 1571, depicts a fish under a tree (Fig. 118). And there are two fish under a knight's cross on the seal which is dated 1601 and belonged to Yadviga Yanivna Bogushivna from Tarasovych, the wife of Novgorod landowner Matey Vitanovsky (Fig. 119).



Figs 116–119. Seals of Kateryna Yuriyivna Buivydivna, 1569 [121, l. 42], Rayina Yanivna Dashkovychivna, 1580 [119, l. 30], Kateryna Andriyivna, 1571 [67, Plik 78], and Yadviga Yanivna Bogushivna from Tarasovych, 1601 [161, l. 2]

The Pomian coat of arms (a bull's head pierced by a sword) was used on the seals of Maryna Yuriyivna Nosylovsk, the wife of Mykolay Yuriyovych Volchkovich of 1570 [118, l. 45v], and her sister Yadviga, the wife of Yan Yakubovych Kosmovsky [118, l. 47]. The coat of arms, depicting a horseshoe with its ends pointing downwards, with a cross inside its

circle, appears on the seals of Kateryna Pavlivna, the wife of the Vilnius landowner Lavrin Kozhukhovskiy, 1572 (Fig. 120), Rayina Yats'kivna Myskovska, the wife of Prince Mykhailo Ostafiyovych Ruzhynsky, 1576 (Fig. 121), Barbara Yuriyivna Nemyrianka, the wife of the Oshmiany landowner Yan Streshkovskiy, 1578 (Fig. 122), and Hanna Shunkivna, the wife of the Novgorod landowner Bartosh Stanislavovych Bruchansky, 1597 (Fig. 123).



Figs 120–123. Seals of Kateryna Pavlivna, 1572 [112], Rayina Yats'kivna Myskovska, 1576 [221, apk. 682], Barbara Yuriyivna Nemyrianka, 1578 [147, l. 7], and Hanna Shunkivna, 1597 [120, l. 651]

The original motif, depicting a half-eagle, is presented on the seal 1571 of Hanna Yanivna (Fig. 124), the wife of Vilnius landowner Yan Martynovych Bertoshevych. A sign in the form of two letters F crossed diagonally is depicted on the seal 1571 of Vilnius landowner Hanna Gyntovtovna (Fig. 125). Volyn landowners the Ozdovskies family coat of arms was based on the image of a cross with two semicircles on either side. A variation of it appears on the seal 1571–1582 of Ivan Patrykievych Kurozvonsky, the chamberlain of Kremenets, wife [242, t. XIII, s. 262] Polaga Matiasovna Suropiativna Ozdovska (Fig. 126). It also appears on the seals of her relatives Yatsko Ozdovsky in 1519 [57, Plik 38] and Semen Ivanovych Ozdovsky dated back to the second half of the sixteenth century [194; 178, apk. 603].



Figs 124–127. Seals of Hanna Yanivna, 1571 [111], Hanna Gyntovtovna, 1571 [111], Polaga Matiasovna Suropiativna Ozdovska, 1571 [176, apk. 69v; 167, k. 11], and Mylka (Maria) Vasylivna Sabarovska, 1574 [68, Plik 50]

A variant of the family coat of arms, in the form of a three-legged letter T above a crescent moon, is present on the 1574 seal of Mylka (Maria) Vasylivna Sabarovska, the wife

of Bratslav landowner Ivan Voronovytsky (Fig. 127). Her relative, the Bratslav landowner Zhdan Hrychynovych Sabarovsky, used a slightly different symbol in the form of the letter Π under a cross [201] on his seal of 1577 [92, st. 18; 168; 282, 317–318, il. 584; 248, 71; 313, 201–202, n. 44] and a matrix dated back to the last third of the sixteenth century.

The Gozdawa coat of arms (a double lily) is present on the 1576 seal of Jadviga Yanivna Streshkovlianka (Fig. 128), the wife of the Oshmiany landowner Yan Yakubovych Koncha. Hanna Makarivna Kustytyska's seal of 1576 is decorated with a double lily under a six-pointed star (Fig. 129). The family coat of arms of the Yanchynsky, landowners in Volyn, consisted of a crescent moon with horns pointing upwards, accompanied by two crosses under a six-pointed star. It was engraved on the 1576 seal of Maria Vasylivna Yanchynska, the wife of Volodymyr deputy district judge (1568–1571) Gavrylo Ivanovych Yakovytsky (Fig. 130). On Oleksandra Yanchynska's later seal of 1598, we see a modification of the family coat of arms – namely, a crescent moon with its horns pointing upwards under an eight-pointed star [84, Plik 5].



Figs 128–130. Seals of Jadviga Yanivna Streshkovlianka [147, l. 5], Hanna Makarivna Kustytyska [221, apk. 673], and Maria Vasylivna Yanchynska, 1576 [221, apk. 700]

The 1584 seal of Anna Mruchynska, the wife of Sarafyn Gostyradovsky, bears her father's coat of arms in the form of a double arrow in a column (Fig. 131). The same symbol is present in the coat of arms of the Volovych family, in particular on the 1577 seal of Polonia Pavlivna Volovychivna, the wife of Ivan Vasylovych Kliukovsky, a Grodno castellan (1573–1582) and mayor (1582–1601) (Fig. 132), Apollonia



Figs 131–133. Seals of Anna Mruchynska, 1584 [77, Plik 38], Polonia Pavlivna Volovychivna, 1577 [120, l. 14v], and Fedora Volovychivna, 1623 [148, l. 91]

Grigorivna Volovychivna, 1590 [6, st. 210], Galshka Mykhaylivna Volovychivna, 1594 [20, st. 250], Fedora Volovychivna, the wife of the Novgorod voivode Kryshtof Zenovych, 1623 (Fig. 133), and Filiana Volovychivna, 1624 [1, st. 68], as well as on the coat of arms of Rayina Volovychivna, the wife of Prince Bohdan Matviyovych Ogynsky, in the Yevye edition of 'Evangelia Uchitelnoe' 1616 [332, 14; 344, 333; 343, 165; 342, 202–203; 346, 97].

The coat of arms of Vitebsk landowners, the Gurko family – a symbol in the form of two half-arrows connected by straight and diagonal crossbars [93, st. 84/90–85/91; 256, 68; 263, 396–397; 270, 176; 242, t. VIII, s. 14] – appears on the 1569 and 1579 [212, apk. 6; 345, 84, мал. 164] seals of the Vitebsk district judge Timofey Yevstakhovych Gurko Romeiko (Fig. 134) and Anna Matskivna Gurkivna, the wife of Vitebsk landowner Ivan Vasylovych Chorny, respectively. The 1580 seal of Sofia Pavlivna, the wife of the Samogitian landowner Yan Adamovych Valentynovych, depicts a symbol in the form of a trident under a cross (Fig. 135).



Figs 134–135. Seals of Timofey Yevstakhovych Gurko Romeiko, 1569 [27; 258, 351, 354] and Sofia Pavlivna, 1580 [130, l. 4 A]

The coat of arms of the Sholukh family (a cross above a circle) [256, 301; 267, 462, 627] is reproduced on the 1555 seals of Andriy Bohdanovych Sholukha, a Krychiv mayor [209, apk. 5v; 345, 67, мал. 60], the 1563 and 1569 [205, apk. 25; 345, 78, мал. 128] seals of the Krychiv mayor and the Grand Duke landowner Konstantyn Andriyovych Sholukha (Fig. 136), and the seals of the Krychiv landowner Fedir Andriyovych Sholukha (Fig. 137) and his sister, Halshka Andriyivna Sholushanka, Petro Rozbytsky's wife, of 1580 (Fig. 138).



Figs 136–138. Seals of Konstantyn Andriyovych Sholukha, 1563 [117, l. 12], Fedir Andriyovych Sholukha, and Halshka Andriyivna Sholushanka, 1580 [119, l. 1v]

The Ogon coat of arms of the Vylchek family of Minsk landowners is present on the seals of Kateryna Olbrykhtivna Vylchkivna, the wife of Lev Hryhorovych Rogoza, of 1585 (Fig. 139), and of her brothers, Yan and Eliash Olbrykhtovych Vylcheks, of 1586 (Figs 140–141).



Figs 139–141. Seals of Kateryna Olbrykhtivna Vylchkivna, 1585 [146, l. 49], Yan and Eliash Olbrykhtovych Vylcheks, 1586 [146, l. 60, 61v]

A symbol similar to the Ogon coat of arms (a semicircle with its ends pointing upward above the tip of an arrow) is engraved on the 1573 seal of Tomyla Andriyivna Matsyevychivna, the wife of the Grand Duke auditor Ivan Borysovych Mykulych (Fig. 142). The 1586 seal of Kateryna Avgustynivna Voitekhovych Somashkivna, the wife of Petro Sebastyanovych Mykolayovych, depicts a complex symbol in the form of an arrow pointing upward on a base, piercing two crescent moons with their horns facing each other (Fig. 143). In 1584, Reyina Shchepanivna, the wife of Yan Yuriyovych Sologub, used a seal with the figures of two crescent moons with their horns pointing in different directions [312, 47]. A symbol in the form of the letter W under a cross is present on the seals of Galzhheta Varakoshska, the wife of the Novgorod landowner Lukash Stanislavovych Volchkovych, 1583 (Fig. 144), and Hanna Zenkivna Shapchanka, the wife of the Vitebsk landowner Andriy Radyvonovych, 1599 (Fig. 145).



Figs 142–145. Seals of Tomyla Andriyivna Matsyevychivna, 1573 [68, Plik 26], Kateryna Avgustynivna Voitekhovych Somashkivna, 1586 [129, l. 8], Galzhheta Varakoshska, 1583 [160, l. 39], and Hanna Zenkivna Shapchanka, 1599 [140, l. 5]

The 1587 seal of Anastasiia Mykhaylivna Yelovychivna Malynska, the wife of Prince Andriy Fedorovych Golovnia Ostrozhetsky, depicts a sign in the form of a five-pointed star under a crossed lily [45], which is also present on the seals of her father, Volodymir judge (1548–1560) and the Grand Duke marshal (1565–1571) Mykhailo Dashkovych Yelovych

Malynsky, of 1548–1558 [62, Plik 1; Plik 53; Plik 54; Plik 61; 63, Plik 109; 98], 1560 [40; 41], 1563 [177, apk. 26; 333, 3], and 1569 [221, apk. 148; 284, 233–234, n. 1396].

A variation of the Przegonia family coat of arms [276, 305; 278, 375; 274, 531; 268, 327] was used by Bohdana Yepymakhivna on her seal of 1588. It was a Baroque shield depicting a cross above two crescent moons, their horns pointing in different directions [91, st. 206]. A sign in the form of the letter Π with concave masts and a belt is depicted on the 1589 seal of Poloniia Vasylivna Okushkivna, the wife of Oshmiany landowner Matys Koshcheievych (Fig. 146). Halshka Fedorivna Seniutianka Liakhovetska's coat of arms is on the seal dating back to the end of the sixteenth century (Fig. 147) and identical to the coat of arms on the 1581–1592 seal of her father, a Kremenets tribune (1572–1594) and castellan (1574–1598) Fedir Grytskovych Seniuta Liakhovetsky [224; 45; 71, Plik 25; 79, Plik 52]: it is a sign in the form of the letter Π with crossed right and bent left ends.



Figs 146–147. Seals of Poloniia Vasylivna Okushkivna, 1589 [145, l. 108] and Halshka Fedorivna Seniutianka Liakhovetska, the late sixteenth century [87, Plik 30, st. 10, 33]

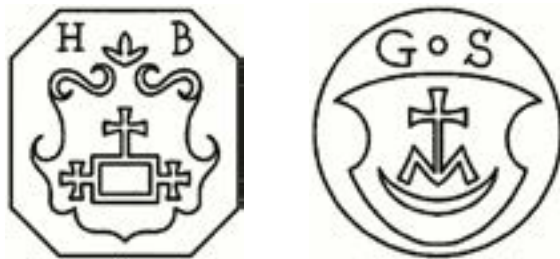
The coat of arms depicting a crescent moon with its horns pointing upward under a knight's cross and above a six-pointed star is present on the seals of Zhomoyit boyars Lavrin Yanovych Yamontovych of 1556 [9, st. 184] and his brother Mykolai of 1571 [16, st. 47]. In 1590, their niece, Zhomoyit landowner Barbara Valentynivna Yanovych Yamontovychivna, the wife of Stanislav Pavlovych Motovych, used a seal with a slightly different coat of arms. It was a crescent moon with its horns pointing to the left and a knight's cross (Fig. 148).



Figs 148–150. Seals of Barbara Valentynivna Yanovych Yamontovychivna, 1590 [133, l. 1v], Hanna Mykolayivna Bilozorivna, 1590 [113, l. 2], and Hanna Stanislavivna Kokhanovska, 1596 [120, l. 587]

The 1590 seal of Hanna Mykolayivna Bilozorivna, the wife of Upita standard-bearer Yan Mykolaiovych Neliub, bears a modified version of the family coat of arms, namely, a bull's head in a Renaissance shield (Fig. 149). The 1596 seal of Hanna Stanislavivna Kokhanovska, the wife of Adam Shchasnovych Eysymont, a landowner from Grodno depicts a coat of arms with the figure of a bird above a log (Fig. 150).

The parental sign in the form of a square accompanied by three crosses above and on the sides is engraved on the 1598 seal of Hanna Voitekhivna Bilevychivna, the wife of Yan Devialtovsky (Fig. 151). The seal of 1599 of the Zhomoit landowner Gedruta Stanislavivna Yakubovycha, the wife of Yuriy Pavlovych Virshylovych, depicts a sign in the form of a cross above the letter M and a crescent moon with its horns pointing upwards (Fig. 152).



Figs 151–152. Seals of Hanna Voitekhivna Bilevychivna, 1598 [142, l. 245] and Gedruta Stanislavivna Yakubovycha, 1599 [132, l. 2]

The Lis coat of arms (a symbol in the form of a double-crossed arrow with the tip pointing upwards) is present on the seals of the Samogitian landowner Hanna Matysivna Zavystovska, the wife of Andriy Oshmenyshko, 1601 (Fig. 153), Halshka Sopizhanka, the wife of the Novgorod castellan (1608–1626) Samiylo Mykhailovych Volovych, 1628 (Fig. 154), and Yelyzaveta Pavlivna Sopizhanka, the wife of Pavel Voyna, 1628 (Fig. 155).



Figs 153–155. Seals of Hanna Matysivna Zavystovska, 1601 [131, l. 4], Halshka Sopizhanka 1628 [159, l. 12], and Yelyzaveta Pavlivna Sopizhanka, 1628 [210, арк. 49; 345, 101, мал. 266]

In 1602, Sofia Vaierivna, the wife of Yan Pavlovych Sapieha, used a seal depicting a Renaissance shield with a belt under three six-pointed stars (Fig. 156). The paternal coat of arms depicting a cross above a six-pointed star between two crescent moons dated 1603 was present on the seal of Sofia Pushkar Resynska [303, 281]. Maryna Myntsozna also used her father's coat of arms, so her seal, which is dated 1615, depicts a knight's cross above a crescent moon (Fig. 157), while the seal of her husband, Stepan mayor Bogdan Omelianovych [339, 142], depicts a symbol in the form of a half-point and the point of an arrow in a pillar (Fig. 158).



Figs 156–158. Seals of Sofia Vaierivna, 1602 [227, apk. 14], Maryna Myntsozna, and Bogdan Omelianovych, 1615 [228, apk. 1v]

The parental symbol in the form of a cross above a semicircle with its ends pointing downwards is reproduced on Sofia Zenovychivna's seal of 1613 [207, apk. 49v; 345, 97, мал. 242]. The Shumsky family coat of arms (a horseshoe with its ends pointing upward, with a knight's cross inside the circle) [256, 77; 267, 633] is depicted on the 1625 seal of Potentiana Shumska [154, l. 1v], the wife of Mykhailo Andriyovych Ostroukh.

The Dąbrowa III family coat of arms (a horseshoe with its ends pointing downwards accompanied by three crosses) is present on the seal of Hanna Kishchanka, the wife of Yakub Ivanovsky, 1623 [153, l. 2, 3] and on the seal matrix of Hanna Stanislavivna Kyshchanka, the wife of Kryshtof Radvila, Prince of Birzhy and Dubinki, from the second quarter of the seventeenth century (Fig. 159). The impression of her other seal of 1637 contains a coat of arms with a genealogical programme: the first part features the paternal coat of arms of Dąbrowa III, the second one the coat of arms of her mother, Yelyzaveta Pavlivna Sopizhanka, the third part the coat of arms of her paternal grandmother, Anna Radvilaite; and the fourth part features a sign in the form of a crossed double arrow pointing upwards of her maternal grandmother, Hanna Grygorivna Khodkevych (Fig. 160).

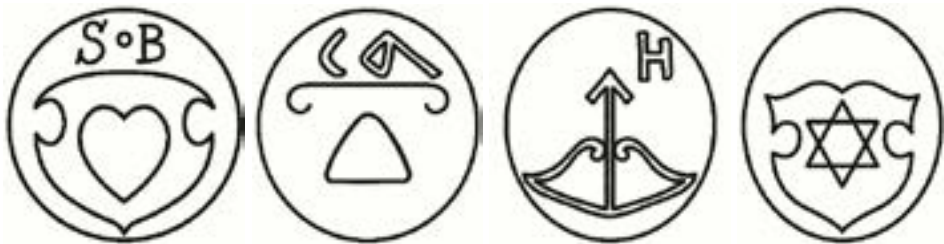
From the mid-sixteenth century, the Gornostay family used two coats of arms: the old family crest with a lily above two triangles and the Hyppocentaurus coat of arms, inherited in 1554 from the Golshansky princes [329, 179–186]. Both are depicted on the 1643 seal [242, t. VII, s. 341] of Yelyzaveta Samiyivna Gornostayivna from Tulyn, the wife of Mstyslav voivode (1643–1647) Mykola Abramovych: the Hyppocentaurus coat of arms is in a Baroque shield, and the family symbol is in a crest (Fig. 161). It is noteworthy that the 1596 seal of her grandfather, Yaronim Gavrylovych Gornostay, featured only the family emblem in the first part of a four-part shield with a genealogical programme [82, Plik 23], while the seal of her father, Kyiv chamberlain (1602–1618) Samiylo Yaronimovych



Figs 159–161. Seals of Hanna Stanislavivna Kyshchanka, the second quarter of the seventeenth century [187], and 1637 [155, l. 3] and Yelyzaveta Samiyivna Gornostayivna from Tulyny, 1643 [53, st. 417, 419]

Gornostay dated 1618 has the figure of the hyppocentaurus [53, st. 421]. Thus, Yelyzaveta Samiyivna's coat of arms combines both the heraldic symbols of her father and grandfather. The coat of arms of the Krzhchonovych family (a one-and-a-half-barred cross above a crescent moon with horns pointing upwards) is present in the first part of the composite coat of arms with the genealogical programme of Kateryna Oleksandra Krzhchonovychivna, the wife of Yuriy Bilevych. It can be seen in an 1644 engraving by Konrad Götke [260, 145; 293, 51, il. 99].

The practice of using parental coats of arms was clearly prevalent among women from the semi-privileged classes of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in particular, among the bourgeoisie and the Tatars and Jews of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In particular, the seal of 1592 of Shanka Bohdanivna, the wife of Prince Aisa Akhmetovych Navra, bears the image of a heart in a Renaissance shield (Fig. 162). The seal of 1593 of Sara Bogdanivna Khanylevna, the wife of Prince Voyna Legushevych, depicts a triangle (Fig. 163). A drawn bow with an arrow is reproduced on 1598 seal of Sonia Ozydynivna, a Minsk Tatar (Fig. 164), and on the 1610 seal of Gestera Rakhmayilivna, the wife of Korets Jew Misan Yakushevych, a six-pointed star is depicted in a Renaissance shield (Fig. 165).



Figs 162–165. Seals of Shanka Bohdanivna, 1592 [165, Plik 2; 303, 36], Sara Bogdanivna Khanylevna, 1593 [149, l. 3], Sonia Ozydynivna, 1598 [149, l. 9v], and Gestera Rakhmayilivna, 1610 [86, Plik 6, st. 7]

The 1581 seal of Halshka Sebastyanivna Mykhnovychivna, the wife of Vilnius burgher Andrys Fonderfliut, depicts a sign in the form of a double-barred cross with a triangle in the upper left part and a cross at the left end of the lower bar (Fig. 168). A similar symbol, but with the addition of a diagonal branch at the top right, is present on the seals of her father, Vilnius burgomaster and the Grand Duke customs officer Sebastyan Mykhnovych; they are dated 1567 (Fig. 166) and 1571–1579 (Fig. 167).



Figs 166–168. Seals of Sebastyan Mykhnovych, 1567 [5, st. 2] and 1571 [5, st. 207; 166, Plik 117; 304, 72], and Halshka Sebastyanivna Mykhnovychivna, 1581 [5, st. 270]

In 1583, Dorota Yanivna Stanislavivna, the daughter of Vilnius saddler Yan Stanislavovych and the wife of Vilnius councilor Stanislav Shpachevsky, used a seal with a symbol in the form of a right-angled arrow pointing downwards under a cross and with a diagonal branch on the left (Fig. 171). The seals of of 1550 (Fig. 169) and 1567–1571 (Fig. 170) of her uncle, Vilnius burgher Frontsko Stanislavovych, depict a symbol in the form of a double arrowhead in a column, with a diagonal cross at the top and a cross at the bottom.



Figs 169–171. Seals of Frontsko Stanislavovych, 1550 [110] and 1567 [5, st. 2, 178], and Dorota Yanivna Stanislavivna, 1583 [152, l. 1v]

In 1563, Hanna Shpyngutivna, the wife of Yakub Kurnytsky, used a seal with a sign in the form of an arrow with a slanted cross in the middle and a double rounded branch at the bottom (Fig. 172). Dorota Hanusivna Katerlianka, a burgher from Vilnius, the wife of Mykhailo Kostiantynovych Sumorok, a Kaunas district clerk (1580–1599) and judge

(1599–1603), used a seal with a symbol in the form of a long cross with a triple branch at the bottom and a cross on the right in 1610 (Fig. 173). And on her 1616 seal, Poloniia Isaikivna, the wife of Sebastian Kosynsky, has the same symbol in the form of a long cross instead of a cross, crossing the symbol in the middle (Fig. 174).



Figs 172–174. Seals of Hanna Shpyngutivna, 1563 [117, l. 21], Dorota Hanusivna Katerlianka, 1610 [143, l. 1], and Poloniia Isaikivna, 1616 [18, st. 49]

Despite the clear predominance of the practice of using their fathers' coats of arms by women in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the early modern period, there are also numerous examples of distinct inheritance and the use of women's coats of arms. Among them, there are examples of women using their husbands' coats of arms. One such example is Maria Yukhnivna Patskevch, who used the coat of arms of her husband, Vasyl Patskovych, a landowner from Kyiv. Their emblem, in the form of the letter **A** with a double branch at the top and curved ends, was engraved on the seals of 1565 (Fig. 175) and 1566 (Fig. 176). The same symbol is present on the 1565 seal of their daughter Nastasiia Vasylivna Patskevychivna, the wife of Matys Berezhetsky (Fig. 177).

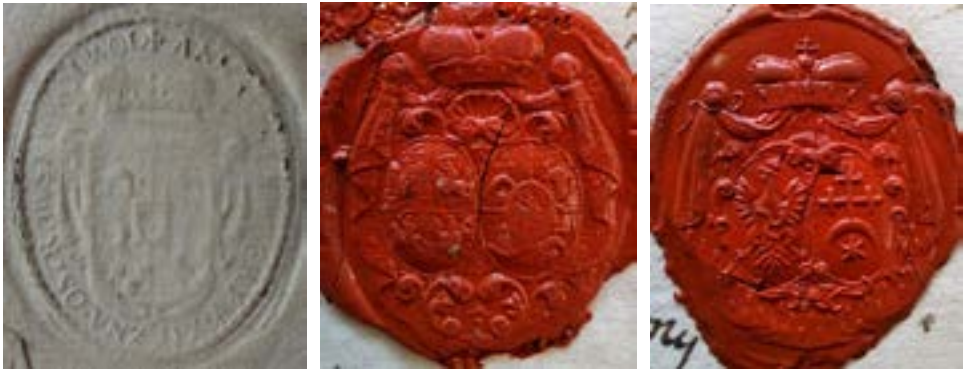


Figs 175–177. Seals of Maria Yukhnivna Patskevch, 1565 [103, k. 12] and 1566 [220], and Nastasiia Vasylivna Patskevychivna, 1565 [103, k. 15v, 17v]

The nobility privilege of 1566 granted the right to use a coat of arms of a silver five-petal rose on a red field (*‘гербъ его ... въ чирвономъ поли рожѣ, а въ ней пять кветовъ’* [214, л. 613v; 50, s. 172v; 318, 457; 302, 56; 261, 106]) not only to Yakub Yanovych Savrymovych,

an advocate-mayor of Kurkle volost, but also to his wife and children. Similarly, by the Grand Duke's privilege of 20 November 1567, the right to use a coat of arms with a green fir tree on a silver field (*‘зєрбѣ дєрєво єль надаємъ’* [215, л. 149v; 51, s. 231; 318, 459–460; 302, 65; 301, 128, 146]) was granted to the Grand Duke's subject Mykyta Kondratovych and his wife and children.

Anna Kostchanka of Stemberk, Princess Ostrozka (1603–1635), used a seal with a complex coat of arms in 1615 (Fig. 178). The baroque shield is divided into four parts and includes the coats of arms of the father, mother, and grandmothers: (1) the coat of arms of the father, Dąbrowa III, (2) the coat of arms of the mother, Sophia Odrowąż of Sprawa (an arrow with a double fork), (3) the coat of arms of the maternal grandmother, Elizabeth (a wall with a lion), and (4) the coat of arms of the paternal grandmother, Princess Anna of Mazovia – an eagle. The middle shield contains the coat of arms of the Ostrog princes – the husband of the princess, Alexander Konstantinovich Ostrogsky.



Figs 178–180. Seals of Anna Kostchanka of Stemberk, Princess Ostrozka, 1615 [11, st. 2] and Princess Ursula Frantsyska Yanushivna Antoniivna Vyshnevetska, 1745 [156, l. 248, 252; 157, l. 210; 158, l. 131v, 243, 249v]

The seal of Princess Ursula Frantsyska Vyshnevetska, the wife of Mikhal Kazimir Radvila, Prince of Olyka, Nesvizh, Birzhy, Dubinki, Slutsk, Kopyl, and Kletsk, 9th ordynat of Nesvizh and 7th ordynat of Olyka (1719–1762), Count of Shidlovets, Mir, Krozhi, and Bila, which certifies a document dated 1 March 1745, depicts a complex heraldic composition combining the coats of arms of her husband and father. The seal field features two oval shields in a Rococo cartouche: the first one, with a four-part field, depicts an eagle under a princely crown on in blue fields in the first and fourth parts, holding a semicircular shield on its chest with three hunting horns in a star (the coat of arms of her husband, Prince Mikhal Kazimir Radvila), and in the second and third parts, a knight on horseback with a saber in his right hand is depicted on a red field (the coat of arms of her husband's mother, Princess Anna Kateryna Liubartivna Sangushkivna). In the second four-part shield, the first and fourth parts feature a symbol in the form of a crossed cross above a crescent moon lying with its horns pointing downwards above

a six-pointed star (the coat of arms of her father, Prince Yanush Antoni Vyshnevetsky), in the second part, there is a bull's head with a ring in its nose (the coat of arms of her mother, Teofila Leshchinska, from the Wieniawa family), in the third a dog emerging out of the cork tree (the coat of arms of Korchak, her paternal grandmother Anna Krystofivna Khodorovska), in the middle shield there is a knight on horseback, with a saber in his right hand (the dynastic coat of arms of the Vyshnevetsky princes). Behind the shields, there is a mantle under a princely crown (Fig. 179). Another seal, which was used by the princess from 3 August 1745 until 25 February 1752, depicts a much simpler composition, but also features the coats of arms of her husband and father. The first shield reproduces the coat of arms of the Radvila princes and the second one the coat of arms of the Vyshnevetsky princes, behind which there is also a mantle under the princely crown (Fig. 180).

From the first half of the eighteenth century, a four-part oval Baroque shield is engraved on the seal matrix of Princess Anna Kateryna Liubartivna Sangushkivna, the wife of Karol Stanislav Radvila, Prince of Olyka, Nesvizh, Birzhy, Dubinki, Slutsk, Kopyl and Kletsk, 8th ordinat of Nesvizh and 6th ordinat of Olyka (1689–1719), Count of Shidlovets, Mir, Krozhi, and Bila. In its first and fourth parts, there is an eagle with a shield on its chest, on which there are three hunting horns in a star (the coat of arms of her husband, Prince Karol Stanislav Radvila), and in the second and third parts there is a knight on horseback with a sword in his right hand (the coat of arms of her father, Prince Yeronim Yanovych Sangushko). Above the shield, there is a mantle under a princely crown (Fig. 181). A similar heraldic composition is reproduced on the princess's seal of 1722 (Fig. 182).



Figs 181–182. Seals of Princess Anna Kateryna Yeronimivna Liubartivna Sangushkivna, the first half of the eighteenth century [192] and 1722 [158, l. 108v, 111]

Much more common than using men's coats of arms was the custom of women inheriting the coats of arms from their mothers and grandmothers. The most characteristic example is associated with the coat of arms of the Ostrozky princes. Princess Maria Kseniia Ivanivna Ostrozka's two daughters Olena and Vasylysa Andriyivny Sangushkivny used their mother's coat of arms without any changes (a symbol in the form of an arrow above

a semicircle and a six-pointed star), which was known due to the image on a silver seal matrix from the first third of the sixteenth century (Fig. 183). Princess Olena Andriyivna Sangushkivna's coat of arms is known via a seal impression dated 1536 (Fig. 184), and the coat of arms of Princess Vasylysa Andriyivna Sangushkivna is known via an impression of 1572 (Fig. 185).



Figs 183–185. Seals of Princess Maria Kseniia Ivanivna Ostrozka, the first third of the sixteenth century [193], and Princess Olena and Vasylysa Sangushko, 1536 [58, Plik 44] and 1572 [68, Plik 2]

The coat of arms of the Tolochynsky princes was an image of a sign in the form of a cross with a double branch at the bottom, which is present, in particular, on Prince Vasyl Yuriyovych Tolochynsky's seal of 1536–1544 [54; 345, 57, мал. 6]. However, on the sphragis of 1556 of Princess Anastasia Yuriivna Tolochynska, we see a completely different image, which was probably inherited from her mother: a Renaissance shield depicting the crowned figure of the princess on a throne, holding a long cross in her hands (Fig. 186).



Figs 186–187. Seals of Princess Anastasia Yuriivna Tolochynska, 1556 [3, st. 39] and Princess Bohdana Grigoriyivna Drutska Gorska, 1602 [17, st. 62, 64]

The maternal coat of arms was the basis of the heraldic motif on the 1602 seal of Princess Bohdana Grigoriyivna Drutska Gorska (Fig. 187). The Renaissance shield depicts a lion, whose figure served as the coat of arms for the princes of Izheslav, from whom the princess's mother, Princess Tomyla Bohdanivna, originated [306, 140–141, 149]. In its paws, the lion is holding a long, pointed cross, which is part of the coat of arms of her father, Grigory Fedorovych Drutsky Gorsky, Burnevsky prince. His 1558 seal features a long cross accompanied by four crescent moons [4, st. 7].

Liudmyla, the wife of the Trakai boyar Martyn Vekovych, had a seal depicting the Leliwa coat of arms with a six-pointed star above a crescent moon; it was dated 1545–1546 (Fig. 188). The same coat of arms appears on the 1548–1555 seal of her daughter, Kateryna Martynivna Vekovychivna, the wife of Stanislav Shymkovych (Fig. 189). Her mother's coat of arms is depicted on the 1550–1551 seal of Anastasiia Gurkivna, the wife of Volyn landowner Ivan Hrytskovych Zhukovetsky, the field of which features a sign in the form of the letter W with crossed ends (Fig. 190).



Figs 188–190. Seals of Liudmyla Vekovycheva, 1545 [128, l. 4, 7, 9v], Kateryna Martynivna Vekovychivna, 1548 [128, l. 20, 26v], and Anastasiia Gurkivna, 1550 [62, Plik 29; Plik 50]

In 1550, Fenna Yuriyevna Branska used a seal depicting a cross with forked ends above a crescent moon with horns pointing upward (Fig. 191). This coat of arms is completely different from the familial coat of arms of Volyn landowners Bransky (Bramy, Brany). Thus, Andry Bran's seals of 1596 (Fig. 192) and 1599 (Fig. 193) feature a sign in the form of the letter R



Figs 191–193. Seals of Fenna Yuriyevna Branska, 1550 [62, Plik 1] and Andry Bran, 1596 [82, Plik 34] and 1599 [84, Plik 71]

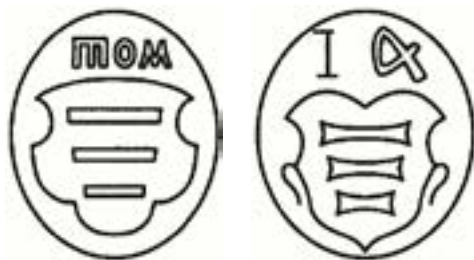
II with a cross on the left leg. The coat of arms of Fenna Yuriyevna's husband, Semen Kraevsky, was an image of a horseshoe with its ends pointing downwards above a cross. Therefore, it can be assumed that Fenna Bran's coat of arms was inherited through her mother's line.

A similar situation can be seen in the coat of arms on the seals of Yanush Bilytsky's wife, Anastasia Bohdanivna Ledukhovska, and her sisters Maria, Stepan Myrovytsky's wife, and Mylka, Vasyl Dryvynsky's wife. Their seals, which certified documents in 1560, feature the same motif: two notches in a Renaissance shield (Figs 194–196). This coat of arms is not paternal, as the Ledukhovsky family used a symbol in the form of three crosses of the knight in a circle [178, apk. 423; 265, 32]. At the same time, the coat of arms with two notches did not belong to the family of their mother, Maria Letskivna Baievsky [336, 293]. The Baievsky family used a symbol in the form of the letter S, which can be seen in particular on the seal of 1537 [238, apk. 1], which belonged to their grandfather, the Volyn landowner Letsko Baievsky. Most likely, Anastasia, Maria, and Mylka Ledukhovsky used a coat of arms which had been inherited from distant ancestors on the female line, such as their grandmother or great-grandmother. And it could have been passed down from mother to daughter over several generations.



Figs 194–196. Seals of Anastasia Bilytska, Maria Myrovytska, and Mylka Dryvynska, 1560 [42; 43]

The coat of arms with three notches, inherited from her mother, was used on the 1562 seal by Tomyła Andriyivna Loshchanka, the daughter of the Brest military commander Andriy Borysovykh Loza from Dobrynia and the wife of the Mogyliv mayor Fedir Matviyovych Baka (Fig. 197). The Loza family coat of arms was an image of a cross with



Figs 197–198. Seals of Tomyła Andriyivna Loshchanka, 1562 [117, l. 7] and Hanna Chernevsky, 1565 [65, Plik 8]

a double branch at the bottom above a semicircle with the ends pointing upwards, which, in particular, appears on Yatsko Loza's seal of 1509 [225].

The maternal coat of arms, with three notches, was used by Hanna Chernevska Dakhnova Zhabokrytska on her seal of 1565 (Fig. 198). The Chernevsky landowners of Volyn used a different symbol at that time, so Olekhno Pavlovych Chernevsky's 1560 seal depicts a cross with a triple branch at the top [229, apk. 2]. Similarly, another coat of arms: a sign in the form of two crescent moons connected by a pillar pierced by a saber used by the family of her husband Dakhno Zhabokrytsky [179, apk. 261; 269, 10].

Anastasia Sopotkivna, the wife of Vasyl Tyshkovych Kalenykovych, a voivode of Pidlachia (1558–1569) and Smolensk (1569–1571), the Count of Logoyisk and Berdychiv, used a seal in 1570 with a sign in the form of crossed letters M and Λ under a notch and with three notches at the bottom (Fig. 199), which probably belonged to her mother, since the coat of arms of the Sopotky family was a sign in the form of the letter W under the point of an arrow, which, in particular, is present on the 1592 seal of the Gorodnia landowner Mykhaylo Sopotok [235, apk. 9].



Figs 199–200. Seals of Anastasia Sopotkivna, 1570 [118, l. 17] and Sofia Antonivna Yelovytska, 1624 [171]

Sophia Antonovna Yelovitskaya [242, t. IX, s. 5], the wife of Stanislav William (the Radwan coat of arms [268, 330]), used a five-petal rose in an oval baroque shield on her seal of 1624 (Fig. 200). It was probably inherited from her mother, since her father's coat of arms was an image of the letter Π under a cross [276, 1128; 278, 863; 273, 297; 263, 486; 270, 47; 178, apk. 294], which is present on Anton Gnivoshovych Yelovytsky's seals of 1582 [176, apk. 69v; 230, apk. 3; 71, Plik 40, st. 308], 1584 [73, Plik 20; Plik 21], and 1585–1588 [45; 74, Plik 66; Plik 68; Plik 69; Plik 70; Plik 71; Plik 73; 75, Plik 60; 180, apk. 811].

The familial coat of arms of the Kyiv burgher Koshkoldiy Basansky was a sign in the form of two letters Π joined by a column, the upper one of which is inverted. It is present on the seals of 1566 (Fig. 201) and 1579–1580 (Fig. 202) of the Kyiv burgomaster Andriy Koshkoldiyevych Basansky. This coat of arms was inherited by his granddaughter, Apoloniia Cherevchiyivna, the wife of the Kyiv key keeper and castellan Stanislav Vygura. The emblem of her grandfather and mother is depicted on Apoloniia's seal 1621 (Fig. 203).



Figs 201–203. Seals of Andriy Koshkoldyievych Basansky, 1566 [220] and 1579 [216, л. 2v; 217, л. 1v], and Apoloniia Cherevchiyivna, 1621 [172]

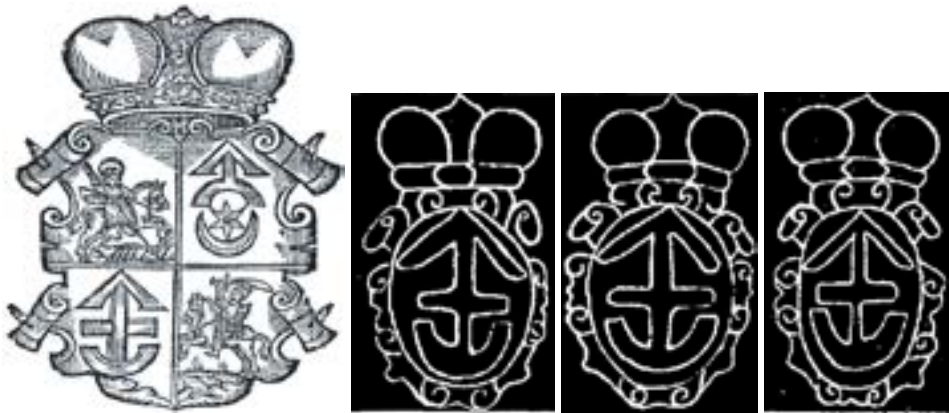
The familial coat of arms of the Mytkovych (the Mytkovych, the Bohdanovych), burghers of Kyiv, consisted of a sign in the form of the letter X with ends bent to the side, with the addition of a six-pointed star at the bottom, which appears on Kyiv councilor Fedir Mytkovych Bohdanovych's seals of 1583 [218, л. 3] and 1597 [174, серия Б, n. 110], as well as on Lutsyia Mytkovychivna, the wife of Mykolay Yanytsky's seals of 1624 (Fig. 205). In 1605, the wife of Vasyl Fedorovych Khodyka Krenytsky, Yephrosyniia Mytkovychivna used a seal where a sign in the form of the letter X with curved upper ends is supplemented by a figure of a diagonal notch above (Fig. 206). The Mytkovychs' sign with a star is present on the seal from the early seventeenth century used by Poloheia Liudmyla Vasylivna Khodychanka Krenytska, the daughter of Yephrosyniia Mytkovychivna and Vasyl Fedorovych Khodyka Krenytsky, the wife of Kyiv landowner Yakiv Kyrdeievych Lemesh (Fig. 204). As we can see, Liudmyla chose her mother's coat of arms, not her father's.



Figs 204–206. Seals of Poloheia Liudmyla Vasylivna Khodychanka Krenytska, the early seventeenth century [219, л. 2], Lutsyia Mytkovychivna, 1624 [174, серия Д, n. 41], and Yephrosyniia Mytkovychivna, 1605 [175, серия Б, n. 58]

A distinctive practice of inheriting female coats of arms in the heraldry of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was using by men whose coats of arms had been obtained through female lines. Such examples are extremely rare in Western European heraldry, with the exception of the Iberian Peninsula, and are completely unknown in the heraldry of Central European

countries. One such example comes from the coat of arms of the Ostrozky princes. This family began using coats of arms with genealogical programmes quite early, as, for example, on the 1535–1538 seal of Illia Kostiantynovych, Prince of Ostrog (1530–1539) [29; 58, Plik 47; Plik 51; Plik 64; Plik 65; Plik 70]. Illia's younger brother, Vasyl Kostiantynovych, Prince of Ostrog (1539–1608), usually used a composite coat of arms of four parts, each containing two coats of arms of his father and mother (Fig. 207) [276, 206; 277, 348; 278, 447–449; 257, 489; 279, CCVI–CCViv; 271, 509; 266, 176]. In addition to this motif, Prince Vasyl Kostiantynovych only used separately his mother's emblem of a crossed arrow pointing upwards above a semicircle. The latter appears mainly on the 1595–1598 filigrees of the Ostrog paper mill (Fig. 208–210).



Figs 207–210. Coats of arms of Prince Vasyl Kostiantynovych Ostrozky in the armorial of Bartosz Paprocki *Gniazdo cnoty*, 1578, and of Princess Aleksandra Slutska and Prince Vasyl Kostiantynovych Ostrozky on the filigrees of the Ostrog paper mill, 1595–1598 [251, 56; 320, 60–61, 141, 261; 319, 38–39; 316, 16]

The most characteristic example is the case of the seal of Prince Bohdan Volodymyrovych Glynsky of Putyvl, which he used between 1558 and 1561. The corresponding acts invariably stated: ‘Prince Bohdan Volodymyrovych of Putyvl... under the seal of my mother’ (Fig. 211). His mother, Princess Anastasia Mykhaylivna, came from the family of the Zhyzhemsky princes, who used a golden lion on a red field in their coat of arms [256, 144; 269, 201–202]. This figure can be seen, in particular, on the seals of princes Pylyp Danylovych Zhyzhemsky and Yarosh Ivanovych Zhyzhemsky, which are dated 1568 (Fig. 212) and 1580 (Fig. 213), respectively.

On Bohdan Glynsky's seal, however, we see the coat of arms which had been used in the first half of the sixteenth century by the Zaslavsky princes [326, 34–36], from whose family Anastasia Mykhaylivna's mother and Bohdan Volodymyrovych's grandmother probably came. That is, we have an example of the coat of arms inherited first from mother to daughter, and from the latter to her son. This practice of inheritance is obviously not related to the need to preserve the coat of arms to emphasise property rights or the extinction of the mother's or grandmother's family, since both the Zaslavsky princes and the Zhyzhemsky princes had male representatives in the middle of the sixteenth century [306, 594–605, 624–632].



Figs 211–213. Seals of Prince Bohdan Volodymyrovych Glynsky of Putyv, 1558 [63, Plik 97; 64, Plik 1; Plik 3; Plik 23; Plik 28, st. 138, 142], Pylyp Danylovych Zhyzhemsky, 1568 [66, Plik 84], and Yarosh Ivanovych Zhyzhemsky, 1580 [70, Plik 31]

Finally, we have an example of a husband using his wife's coat of arms. The Krupsky family of Orkhov, the lords of Volyn and Kholm, whose representatives held senatorial offices throughout the sixteenth century, used the Korczak coat of arms (three silver bars on a red field) [178, apk. 342; 291, 79; 292, 80v; 276, 1037; 278, 691; 280, 105–106v, 187v; 273, 443; 264, 396; 242, t. XII, s. 349; 246, 49, 191], which is present, in particular, on the seals of Yuriy Krupsky, the castellan of Belz (1508–1515) and Lviv (1515–1533) and Belz voivode (1533–1534), they are dated 1510 [21, st. 681; 285, n. 572]; and on the 1566 seal of the Kholm royal cupbearer (1565–1571) and cupbearer (1565–1571) Yanush Krupsky 1566 [65, Plik 37]. Similarly, the coat of arms of Kryshstof Krupsky, a Gorodlo mayor (1547–1564), is reproduced on King Sigismund II Augustus's tapestry 1560 [243, tab. XVII; 286, il. 61; 299, 214–215].

A completely different coat of arms appears on the seal impression of the Kholm pantler (1558–1561) and steward (1570–1581) Yeronim Krupsky, which is dated 1576. It depicts the Kownaty coat of arms: a hunting horn under a cross in a Renaissance shield (Fig. 214). This coat of arms belonged to Yeronim Krupsky's wife, Helena Mykhaylivna Kotovych-Ludynska, who brought Volyn city of Ustyluh to her husband as a dowry. It is likely that it was precisely the acquisition, through marriage, of control over this trading centre, key for the entire Volyn region, that led to Yeronim Krupsky's decision to adopt the coat of arms of his wife, whose family was significantly inferior in importance to the Krupsky family.

The seal matrix which had been used by lord Yeronim before 1581 also features the Kownaty coat of arms in a Renaissance shield, above which there is a helmet with a tent under a helmet crown and a crest in the form of three ostrich feathers accompanied by two eight-pointed stars (Fig. 215) [198]. Another seal matrix, created between 1570 and 1581, features a four-part shield, the first part of which depicts the Kownaty coat of arms, the second one depicts the Korczak paternal coat of arms with three bars, the third one depicts his mother Abdank's coat of arms (a broken belt), and the fourth one depicts his grandmother's Prus I coat of arms (a one-and-a-half-bared cross) (Fig. 216).



Figs 214–216. Seals of Yeronim Krupsky, 1576 [221, apk. 688], 1570/1581 [221, apk. 688] and 1581 [196]

The heraldic heritage of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is distinguished by a significant diversity in the use of female coats of arms, which are almost or completely unknown in neighbouring Central European countries. Along with the custom of daughters using their fathers' coats of arms, there were quite a few examples of women inheriting coats of arms from their mothers, grandmothers, and other female relatives. There were also cases of women using their husbands' coats of arms, which was a common heraldic practice, but in Western European countries. However, examples of men using the coats of arms of their mothers and wives are quite exceptional in Lithuanian-Ruthenian heraldry. These diverse practices can be traced in various social environments among representatives of the titled aristocracy, as well as among the untitled knighthood and semi-privileged classes, which indicates the common basis for the family coats of arms functioning among different social groups in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

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Moterų heraldika Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje XIV a. pabaigoje – XVIII a.

Santrauka

Moterų seniausių herbų ištakos siekia pirmuosius heraldikos atsiradimo ir raidos šimtmečius įvairiose Europos šalyse. Vakaruose moterys plačiai naudojo savo vyro herbą. Ištekęs moteris dažniausiai naudodavo tik savo vyro herbą arba kartu su savo tėvo herbu. Viduramžiais ir ankstyvaisiais Naujaisiais laikais Vidurio ir Rytų Europos šalyse, tarp jų ir Lenkijos Karalystėje, aiškiai vyravo moterų paprotys naudoti savo tėvo herbą. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės heraldinės praktikos, susijusios su moterų herbų naudojimu, nuo Vėlyvųjų viduramžių išsiskiria savo įvairove. Lietuvių ir rusėnų aristokratijos atstovės naudodavo ne tik savo tėvo herbą, bet pagal moteriškąją liniją paveldėdavo heraldinius ženklus iš savo motinos, močiucių ar tolimesnių protėvių. Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje panašūs moterų herbų naudojimo praktikų dėsningumai išliko ir ankstyvaisiais Naujaisiais laikais. Išlikę nemažai to laikotarpio moterų heraldikos paminklų leidžia atsekti jos naudojimo dėsningumus įvairiuose socialiniuose sluoksniuose – aristokratų giminių, netituluotų bajorų ir pusiau privilegijuotų grupių atstovių. Labiausiai tarp moterų paplitęs paprotys – tėvo herbo naudojimas. Gana gausūs ir moterų herbų iš savo motinos, močiucių ir promočiucių paveldėjimo pavyzdžiai. Neretai sutuoktinės naudojo ir savo vyro herbą. Ir visiškai išskirtiniai lietuvių ir rusėnų heraldikoje atvejai, kai vyrai naudojo savo motinos ar žmonos herbus. Tokie atvejai buvo itin reti Vakarų Europos heraldikoje, išskyrus Pirėnų pusiasalį, ir buvo visiškai nežinomi Vidurio Europos šalių, įskaitant ir su Lietuvos Didžiąja Kunigaikštyste besiribojančias šalis, heraldikoje. **Reikšminiai žodžiai:** herbas, antspaudas, moteriškoji heraldika, titulo suteikimas, paveldėjimas, Lietuvos Didžioji Kunigaikštystė