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Instructions for the deputies of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania for the Great Diet Remarks on the new Lithuanian source edition

(Rev.: *Lietuvos Džidžiosios Kunigaikštystės seimelių instrukcijos (1788–1790)*, parengė Robertas Jurgaitis, Adam Stankevič, Asta Verbickienė, UAB “Vitae Litera”, Vilnius 2015, pp. 436).

Works on the edition of sources regarding the history of sejmiks, after decades of stagnation, have recently intensified. In 2008, Michał Zwierzykowski published records of the Środa Wielkopolska sejmik for years 1696–1732¹. Seven years later, he published an analogue publication for years 1733–1763². There are other publications being prepared for that series, which will cover years: 1632–1668 (Igor Kraszewski, M. Zwierzykowski), 1669–1695 (M. Zwierzykowski, Robert Kołodziej), and 1764–1792 (M. Zwierzykowski, Dariusz Rolnik, Witold Filipczak and Grzegorz Glabisz). Michał Zwierzykowski and Robert Kołodziej are also finishing their work on the *Sejmik records of the Belz voivodship*. The Lublin resort is active in the field of editing such sources, too. Historians from the University of Maria Curie-Skłodowska have published two volumes of sejmik records so far. Wiesław Bondyra,

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¹ *Akta sejmikowe województw poznańskiego i kaliskiego. Lata 1696–1732*, ed. M. Zwierzykowski, Poznań 2008.

² *Akta sejmikowe województw poznańskiego i kaliskiego. Lata 1733–1763*, ed. M. Zwierzykowski, Poznań 2015.

Henryk Gmiterek and Jerzy Ternes published records on the Chełm lands (for years 1572–1668)³. Henryk Gmiterek also published analogous materials for the Lublin district (for the period between 1572 and 1632)⁴. The resolutions of the Rawa voivodship and lands (1583–1793) have recently been published by a research team headed by Mirosław Nagielski, as well⁵ (The University of Warsaw).

The achievements of Polish historians as regards the edition of sources concerning the Grand Duchy of Lithuania's sejmiks are much worse. In the Warsaw research center, with the participation of researchers from Belarus, records of the Nowogróda voivodship for years 1566–1794 are being currently prepared (Andrzej Rachuba, Henryk Lulewicz, Adam Danilczyk, Andrzej Haratym, Diana Konieczna, Andrej Macuk, Andrej Radaman, Przemysław P. Romaniuk). Thus, the initiative of Lithuanian researchers (Robertas Jurgaitis, Adam Stankevič, Asta Verbickienė), who in 2015 published parliamentary instructions of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania's sejmiks of years 1788–1790, is welcomed. Yet, a different concept was adopted here than in Polish editions, where an idea of printing sources that concern the chosen (only sometimes more than one⁶) sejmik is quite consistently implemented. Lithuanian historians made a selection on a different basis, as they presented materials from the entire Grand Duchy, but within a narrow chronological period⁷. It is an interesting idea, which has not been used in Polish editions of sejmik sources so far. It is not necessary to convince historians interested in the history of an old Polish parliamentarism, the Great Diet in particular, that such a publication is needed. A lecture of works of such distinguished researchers interested in the Great Diet era's sejmiks as Jerzy Michalski⁸, Wojciech Szczy-

³ *Akta sejmikowe ziemi chełmskiej 1572–1668*, eds W. Bondyra, H. Gmiterek, J. Ternes, Lublin 2013.

⁴ *Akta sejmikowe województwa lubelskiego 1572–1632*, ed. H. Gmiterek, Lublin 2016.

⁵ *Lauda ziemi rawskiej i województwa rawskiego 1583–1793*, eds M. Nagielski, M. Bąk, M. Borkowski, K. Chłapowski, A. Haratym, T. Płóciennik, Ł. Przybyłek, E. Walczuk, Warszawa 2017.

⁶ *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. XXIII (*Lauda sejmikowe wiszeńskie, lwowskie, przemyskie, sanockie 1731–1772*), ed. A. Prochaska, Lwów 1928; *Lauda ziemi rawskiej i województwa rawskiego...*

⁷ See R. Kołodziej, M. Zwierzykowski, *Bibliografia parlamentaryzmu Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej*, Poznań 2012, pp. 21–35.

⁸ J. Michalski, *Sejmiki poselskie 1788 roku*, part I–III, "Przegląd Historyczny" 1960, vol. LI, issue 1–3, pp. 53–71, 331–365, 452–476.

gielski⁹ and Zofia Zielińska¹⁰ proves, that those sources have been known to only few Polish scientists. A few references to the Lithuanian parliamentary instructions in W. Szczygielski's book (the Upytė instruction of 1790¹¹) and Z. Zielińska's article are not surprising, as those works do not refer to the pre-Sejm congregations, but to the February sejmiks in 1790 and 1792. In his article on the pre-Sejm sejmiks of 1788, J. Michalski quoted four parliamentary instructions from the Grand Duchy, and one from Livonia¹². In her book, Z. Zielińska used parliamentary instructions of the Upytė county and the Brest voivodship. She referred to the stance of other Lithuanian sejmiks of November 1790 on the succession to the throne primarily on the basis of the correspondence¹³.

The structure of the publication is as follows: table of contents (*turinys*, pp. 3–5), preface (*pratarmė*, pp. 7–8), list of abbreviations (*santrumpos*, pp. 9–10), introduction (*ivadas*, pp. 21–34), documents (*dokumentai*, pp. 35–382), table of illustrations (*ilustracijų sąrašas*, p. 383), indexes (*rodyklės*, pp. 385–424), summaries (*santraukos*) – Polish (pp. 426–430) and English (pp. 431–435).

The preface was written by doc. Robertas Jurgaitis Ph.D. from the Lithuanian University of Educational Sciences (Lietuvos Edukologijos Universitetas) in Vilnius. He is a well-known Lithuanian researcher on a parliamentarism in the 18th century. He wrote two books on the subject. His dissertation of 2007 was devoted to the Vilnius sejmik (1717–1795)¹⁴. In 2016, a monograph on the Vilnius sejmik was published, which contains the results of a much broader study of that sejmik since 1717 (the book has almost twice as many pages as the dissertation)¹⁵. Moreover, Robertas Juragitis

⁹ W. Szczygielski, *Referendum trzeciomajowe. Sejmiki lutowe 1792 roku*, Łódź 1994, pp. 294–361.

¹⁰ Z. Zielińska, "O sukcesyji tronu w Polsce" 1787–1790, Warszawa 1991, pp. 207–221; eadem, *Sejmiki 8 lutego 1790 – pierwsze referendum na temat dokonania sejmku*, "Wiek Oświecenia" 1993, vol. IX, pp. 113–137.

¹¹ W. Szczygielski, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

¹² J. Michalski, *op. cit.*, p. 56 (footnote 6).

¹³ Z. Zielińska, "O sukcesyji tronu w Polsce"..., pp. 216–218, 272 (footnote 68–87).

¹⁴ R. Jurgaitis, *Vilniaus seimelio veikla 1717–1795 m. Daktaro disertacija*, Kaunas 2007, p. 279.

¹⁵ Idem, *Nuo bajoriškosios salivaldos iki parlamentarizmo: Vilniaus seimelio veikla 1717–1795 m. Monografija*, Vilniaus 2016, p. 542.

is an author of numerous articles on the history of the Lithuanian parliamentarism (also in Polish)¹⁶.

From the preface we can learn, that the reviewed publication is a result of a research project funded by the Lithuanian Scientific Council (Lietuvos mokslo taryba) as a part of the National Lithuanian Development Program of 2009–2015. The publication is the first volume of the new series “*Fontes historiae parlamentorum Lituanicorum*”. The author underlined, that in a discussed publication there were used findings of Lithuanian researcher, Adolfas Šapoka¹⁷ (1906–1961), who in 1933 was first to start work on the identification and rewriting of the Lithuanian parliamentary instructions.

An important part of the volume is an introduction by R. Jurgaitis and A. Stankevič. A. Stankevič Ph.D. from the Institute of Lithuanian History is a young historian, who in 2013 wrote at the University of Vilnius (Vilniaus universitetas) a dissertation on the Lithuanian Tribunal in the second half of the 18th century¹⁸. The authors of an introduction presented publications of the Grand Duchy’s parliamentary instructions taking into account the entire Old Polish period. Here, one could find information on, very interesting for historians working on the Diet and sejmiks, instructions included in the Vilnius Archaeological Commission’s records published in Russian in the second half of the 19th century, as well as on sources published in the 21st century by Belarusian and Lithuanian historians (pp. 12–13).

In the further part of an introduction the authors characterized in detail the published source material. It included an analysis of the Lithuanian parliamentary instructions in terms of the number of points (paragraphs, according to the publication’s terminology). The classification similar to A. Šapoka’s proposal, who

¹⁶ Idem, *Funkcjonowanie sejmiku wileńskiego w latach 1717–1795: między szlacheckim parlamentaryzmem a samorządem*, [in:] *Praktyka życia publicznego w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w XVI–XVIII wieku*, eds U. Augustyniak, A.B. Zakrzewski, Warszawa 2010, pp. 35–53.

¹⁷ As regards A. Šapoki’s contribution to the research on Lithuania during the “Deluge” see H. Wisner, *Rok 1655 w Litwie: pertraktacje ze Szwecją i kwestia wyznaniowa*, “*Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*” 1981, vol. XXVI, pp. 83–84, p. 94 (footnotes 38 and 39).

¹⁸ A. Stankevič, *Lietuvos Vyriausiojo Tribunolo veikla XVIII a. II pusėje: bajoriškosios teisės raiška. Dakataro disertacija*, Vilniaus 2013, p. 375.

distinguished short, relatively short, relatively long, long and very long instructions, was adopted. Yet, the authors of an introduction slightly modified that division, as they distinguished four categories of documents, according to the number of paragraphs in the instruction (pp. 18–19, p. 429, 434). Such classification is justified. It is worth mentioning here, that the problem of the number of paragraphs in instructions has been repeatedly analyzed by Polish historians, too¹⁹. Still, the number of paragraphs is not always a good indicator of the length of the instruction, as there are paragraphs written in a concise, or very elaborate way, as we can notice when analyzing documents published in the reviewed book (the phenomenon was described by the publishers, too, see p. 429, 434). For example, 23 paragraphs of the instruction of the Połock voivodship (in Ushachy) of November 22, 1790, covered nine pages (pp. 204–212), while 29 paragraphs of the Vawkavysk instruction of the same year covered eight pages (pp. 260–267). At the same time, 36 paragraphs of the Pinsk instruction of November 18, 1790, covered only six pages of the publication (pp. 313–318, all examples do not refer to the entire instruction, but numbered paragraphs only).

According to the authors' criteria, instructions were divided into four categories, including the following number of paragraphs: 1) up to 9; 2) 10–19; 3) 20–29; 4) over 30 (p. 19). In total, among 34 parliamentary instructions adopted in the pre-Sejm sejmiks, only four were included in the first group (i.e. short ones). As many as 16 instructions had over a dozen paragraphs. The third and fourth category (the longest resolutions) consisted of 14 instructions (seven in each group). Instructions of November 1790 (p. 19, pp. 96–114, 357–366) adopted at the Trakai (48) and Rechytsa county (40, adopted in Babruysk) sejmiks had most paragraphs. The publishers made an interesting discovery, when taking into account a relation between the number of paragraphs and the time of the passing of the instruction. It turns out, that recommendations for deputies of November 1790 were significantly longer than those adopted in August 1788. Among 19 documents addressed to representatives of the nobility in the second term, there were

¹⁹ S. Achremczyk, *Reprezentacja stanowa Prus Królewskich w latach 1696–1772*, Olsztyn 1981, pp. 186–188; W. Kriegseisen, *Sejmiki Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1991, pp. 81–84; W. Filipczak, *Sejm 1778 roku*, Warszawa 2000, pp. 137–138.

no instructions with several paragraphs. Seven instructions had a dozen or more paragraphs. Twelve resolutions fell into the third and fourth category (six per each). For sejmiks of 1788, in each of the last two groups there was one instruction only. During meetings preceding the Great Diet, instructions of several (nine), or a few (four) paragraphs clearly dominated. The authors of an introduction underlined that phenomenon. It is, therefore, worth to point out at least one factor, that contributed to the formulation of more extensive recommendations for deputies in the autumn of 1790. In October 1790, at the request of the Chełm deputy, Wojciech Suchodolski, who was supported by a representative of the Volyn voivodship, Walerian Stroynowski, the parliament made a decision (which was quoted by the authors, p. 20), that parliamentary instructions should be adopted before deputies were elected²⁰, which was not consistent with an earlier practice. In result, local parliamentary elites (also the royalist ones), that were following a political conformism, were eager to accept even very conservative proposals of the instructions' paragraphs. They did not want to reduce electoral chances of candidates promoted to the parliament²¹. Such a situation must have influenced the size of recommendations for the sejmik representatives of November 1790.

Information on the functioning of the parliamentary life in Lithuania during the Great Diet was also included in an introduction. In this section, the publishers discussed instructions and letters to deputies, that were adopted at the Lithuanian Candlemas sejmiks (deputational and economic) of February 1790 (pp. 20–21). From an introduction we may find out, that documents such as: an instruction, a supplement to an instruction, and a letter to deputies were also adopted at Candlemas sejmiks (the Lida and Orsha counties, the Połock voivodship) in 1791 (p. 21), but they were not included in the publication. The publishers decided, that materials for years 1791–1792 should be described in a separate publication.

²⁰ In a resolution entitled *The Warning* we may read that: "If we want to have good instructions, during present sejmiks that will take place on November 16, before the deputies were elected, instructions should be decided on *unanimitate* or *pluralitate* at the place of the sejmiks", *Volumina legum*, vol. IX, Kraków 1889, p. 185. On the circumstances of the adoption of the resolution see A. Lityński, *Sejmiki ziemskie 1764–1793. Dzieje reformy*, Katowice 1988, p. 155.

²¹ W. Szczygielski, *Sejm Wielki (1788–1792). Studium z dziejów łagodnej rewolucji*, Łódź 2015, pp. 99–100.

Places, where instructions of the Lithuanian sejmiks for years 1788–1790 are kept are described in a separate section of an introduction (pp. 21–28). In this section of the publication A. Šapoka's research started in 1933 is also discussed. He elaborated 27 Lithuanian parliamentary instructions (seven of 1788, and 20 of 1790, p. 24), nine of which were copied as manuscripts, and 18 were typewritten (it is illustrated by scans of selected sample documents, p. 25, 27). These materials are available in A. Šapoka's fonds (fonds 233) in the Vrublevskiai Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (further on: BLAN) in Vilnius (Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių bibliotekos). The publishers also discussed the extent, to which the Lithuanian instructions for years 1788–1790 were used in the current literature of the subject (p. 28). In this respect A. Šapoka (18 instructions of 1788, and 18 of 1790), as well as Richard Butterwick (13 instructions of 1788, and 18 of 1790) are the leaders. To be accurate, however, R. Butterwick refers to 14 Lithuanian parliamentary instructions of 1788, and 18 adopted at the November sejmiks (without two from Livonia)²².

In the last part of an introduction (pp. 29–34) the authors discussed the principles they followed in the publication of sources. Without going into details, they based their publication on Kazimierz Lepszy's *Editing instruction for historical sources from 16th to the mid-19th century* (p. 30, 430, pp. 434–435). Such a choice is understandable, because sources are published in Polish. However, it should be emphasized, that the publishers adopted a solution very beneficial for a Polish reader.

To sum up, an introduction by R. Jurgaitis and A. Stankevič is a very competent and well-written part of the publication. Unfortunately, it is written in Lithuanian only. Yet, the publishers, as a compensation for those who do not know the language, repeated chosen extracts of an introduction in the Polish and English summary of the publication (pp. 426–435).

Texts of parliamentary instructions are the main part of the book. They are presented in a territorial arrangement, according to voivodships, and within them, according to counties (taking into account the administrative division of that time). Out of 22 sejmiks of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (without Livonia; the data

²² R. Butterwick, *Polska rewolucja a Kościół katolicki 1788–1792*, tr. M. Ugniewski, Kraków 2012, pp. 266–267 (footnotes 37 and 38), 666–667 (footnote 37).

refers to the period before the administrative reform of the autumn of 1791²³), the publishers managed to find out resolutions for 20 of them, and additionally the Livonia instructions. As regards the Vilnius voivodship, there were no parliamentary recommendations for the Ashmyany and Braslau counties. The inclusion of the Livonia voivodship (“duchy”) is questionable, since it was not a part of the Grand Duchy. Traditionally, six deputies were elected there, two from Livonia, the Crown and Lithuania, respectively. Such a model was preserved after the First Partition (when almost entire Livonia ceased to be the Commonwealth’s part), as it had been functioning since 1778, when the Livonia pre-Sejm sejmik had been restored²⁴. It should be noted, however, that for territorial reasons some historians treat the Livonia sejmiks as a part of the Lithuanian parliamentary province²⁵ (the nobility participating in those sejmiks lived in the Grand Duchy). Regardless of that legal-constitutional doubt, as far as I am concerned, the inclusion of the Livonia instructions is a beneficial solution for practical reasons (e.g. an easy access to sources).

An arrangement of published documents according to voivodships and counties is very helpful in grasping the completeness of materials related to individual sejmiks (the authors also wrote about it in an introduction). Unfortunately, the Ashmyany and Braslau counties were completely omitted, as no instructions had been found for them. Perhaps it was worth to mention, whether other resolutions of the pre-Sejm sejmiks (e.g. authorizations for deputies), in which there are references to the adopted instructions, are preserved. For the majority of sejmiks two documents are published: of August 1788, and of November 1790. Yet, there are exceptions to that rule (see p. 29). For the Starodub sejmik-in-exile (which after 1776 was deliberating in Żieźmariai²⁶), only a parliamentary instruction of August 18, 1788 (pp. 190–196) was preserved. As for

²³ W. Szczygielski, *Referendum trzeciomajowe...*, p. 43, 49.

²⁴ An authorization of August 17, 1778, for the Livonia deputies, and the Livonia instruction for deputies of the Diet of 1778, Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas, f. SA, ref. code 13933 (Vilkmergės pilies teismo knygoje 1778), pp. 271–278v. On August 29, 1778, both documents were written down in the municipal books of Ukmergė. On the circumstances of the restoration of the Livonia sejmik see W. Szczygielski, *Referendum trzeciomajowe...*, pp. 325–326; W. Filipczak, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

²⁵ W. Szczygielski, *Referendum trzeciomajowe...*, pp. 325–330.

²⁶ S. Kościałkowski, *Antoni Tyzenhauz. Podskarbi nadworny litewski*, vol. I, Londyn 1970, pp. 119–120; A.B. Zakrzewski, *Sejmiki Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego epoki stanisławowskiej (do 1788 r.). Zmiany w ustroju i funkcjonowa-*

the Pinsk county, there are two instructions, both of 1790 (February 8, and November 18, pp. 310–319).

For some sejmiks three documents were published. The third one is most commonly a parliamentary instruction of February 1790, or parliamentary letters to deputies. Additional instructions of that time are given to: 1) the Grodno county (pp. 122–126); 2) the Smolensk sejmik-in-exile (deliberating in Alytus, pp. 180–182); 3) the Slonim county (pp. 240–243). Letters to representatives in the parliament were addressed by: 1) the Ukmerge sejmik (February 9, 1790, pp. 77–80); 2) the Ashmyany sejmik in Cholopienicze (February 13, 1790, it was a response to information of the Ashmyany deputies on the activities of the Diet, pp. 278–280). It is probable that the letter in question is the same as the one used by Z. Zielińska in her article *A letter from the citizens of the Orsha county from the Candlemas sejmik to the deputies of that county. Year 1790*. It was dated February 13, 1790²⁷, but the publishers did not notice the fact. There are also three documents for the Połock voivodship. In this case an instruction for delegates to the king and the parliament, who were elected “at the session of the extraordinary sejmiks, November 22, 1790”, is published (pp. 214–216). It included complaints on the Połock governor, Tadeusz Żaba, under whose leadership a parliamentary instruction was adopted at the session in Ushachy on November 22 (pp. 203–213). Behind that split, there were long-lasting conflicts between T. Żaba and a part of the local gentry led by Józef Sielicki, the castellan of Połock²⁸. Three documents were also published for the Lida county. In addition to the parliamentary instructions of August 18, 1788, and of November 16, 1790 (pp. 58–71), the publishers also published a paragraph enclosed to the instruction on Ignacy Kostrowicki’s request, which was made during the November sejmik. It was written down in the Lida municipal books (p. 72).

Each of the published documents is preceded by short information in Lithuanian (texts of instructions are edited in the source language, that is Polish). The short information is given on: 1) the original of instructions; 2) entries in the court books with an indi-

niu, [in:] *Ziemie północne Rzeczypospolitej polsko-litewskiej w dobie rozbiorowej 1772–1815*, ed. M. Biskup, Warszawa–Toruń 1996, p. 60.

²⁷ Z. Zielińska, *Sejmiki 8 lutego 1790...*, p. 123.

²⁸ See W. Szczygielski, *Referendum trzeciomałowe...*, pp. 331–333. The economic sejmik of February 1791 also sent a delegation to the king on that matter (the former was not received), and wrote a special instruction.

cation of the place, where they can be found, as well as information on a person giving and accepting the document; 3) excerpts from those books; 4) duplicates of the text; 5) summaries of instructions (in all cases with information enabling their easy finding).

The publishers did not manage to find any of original parliamentary instructions, so they used court registers – municipal (mostly), and manorial (14 documents, p. 22, 180), which are kept in the Vilnius archives (Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyva), as well as the Minsk archives (Nacyjanalny Gistaryčny Archiu Belarusi). Excerpts from municipal books came from the Vilnius BLAN²⁹ and the Central Archives of Historical Records (further on: AGAD) in Warsaw (the Popiel Collection, the Roski Archive). The Minsk instruction of August 20, 1788, is known from its excerpt (from the Popiel Collection), containing only two paragraphs (pp. 322–323). The Trakai instruction of November 16, 1790, and the Upyte instruction of November 19, 1790, were published from duplicates (p. 96, 156) from the Vilnius BLAN and the Roski Archives (of AGAD). For one instruction (of the Brest Litovsk Voivodship sejmik of August 19, 1788), a previously published text was used (in 1867 – pp. 290–295). Duplicates and excerpts of instructions came from other (apart from the above-listed) scientific libraries included in the query: The Princes Czartoryski Library in Cracow, and the Scientific Library of PAU and PAN in Cracow. Because of the broadness of the source material, the publishers did not manage to reach all available sources. The Trakai instruction of 1788, included in the manuscripts of the National Library of Poland in Warsaw, to which Andrzej B. Zakrzewski referred in his monograph³⁰, was not taken into account. The “proclamation” of February 8, 1790, of the Trakai voivodship to the deputies (The Public Archives of Potocki’s Family, AGAD), mentioned by W. Szczygielski³¹, was not used, too.

Two indexes: of persons (pp. 386–420) and of places (pp. 421–424), which were prepared by Astra Verbickienė from the Vilnius Mykolas Romeris University (Mykolo Romerio universitetas, p. 8, 427, 432), are a valuable part of the publication.

²⁹ In the Vrublevskiai Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius there is a rich collection of excerpts, transcripts and summaries of Lithuanian and Crown sejmiks’ instructions of November 1790: Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka, f. 17, ref. code 9, pp. 43–187v.

³⁰ A.B. Zakrzewski, *Sejmiki Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XVI–XVIII w. Ustrój i funkcjonowanie: sejmik trocki*, Warszawa 2000, p. 116.

³¹ W. Szczygielski, *Referendum trzeciomajowe...*, p. 305.

The publication of a team headed by R. Jurgaitis is a very valuable source edition based on a reliable source query. Undoubtedly, it will be of great importance for future scientific research concerning the history of Lithuania, as well as the Polish-Lithuanian parliamentary system in the Great Diet's era. It does not mean, however, that the publishers managed to fully satisfy needs of researchers interested in the subject matter of the publication. I am writing this not as any kind of objection, because I am aware of limitations of an external nature, that may arise, for example, from financial and temporary requirements of such scientific projects. It is hard not to notice, however, that resolutions of the sejmiks at which sessions parliamentary instructions were adopted have not been, unfortunately, included in the publication. An optimal solution would be to include resolutions (e.g. accreditations for deputies) of the pre-Sejm sejmiks and Candlemas sejmiks, at which additional instructions, or letters to deputies were formulated. It would show to a reader the circumstances in which recommendations for representatives of the nobility in the parliament were written down. It is worth to mention, that in Lithuania resolutions or accreditations for deputies were signed "massively" (from the Saxon times) by the sejmik participants³². As regards parliamentary instructions that practice was also used, although not always, as evidenced by the reviewed publication (e.g. only the marshal signed the instructions of Smolensk of August 21, 1788, and Ashmyany of August 19, 1788 – p. 179, 277). Therefore, publication of the sejmik resolutions (with signatures) would enrich our knowledge on the noblemen, who participated in deliberations during which instructions were adopted. Such data may be useful for various types of research, e.g. on the number of participants in noble assemblies, or on writing skills among the sejmik participants. A large number of people signing with a cross in the instructions of Grodno of 1790 (pp. 135–139), and of Wolkowysk (pp. 258–259, 268–271) is remarkable.

Regardless of the above-mentioned remarks, I would like to emphasize once again, that the reviewed source edition is very useful, even necessary, for a researcher of the history of the parliamentarism of the Stanisławian era. I think, that the best solution would be to publish it in Poland in the current formula (but with

³² A.B. Zakrzewski, *Sejmiki Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XVI–XVIII w. ...*, pp. 51–53.

a Polish introduction, possibly also with an introduction in one of the congressional languages). Perhaps in the future it should be considered to publish the book again, taking into account remarks I have already described.

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