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Manuscript materials of public life of the Załuski Library in Warsaw from the time of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (the second half of the 16th-18th century)¹

Abstract: The paper discusses a part of manuscript collection of the Załuski Library in Warsaw related to developing, documenting and registering or aimed at influencing public life in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The manuscript collections of the Załuski Library, amounting to about 11-13 000 units, were among the largest and most valuable in Poland up until being dispatched to Saint Petersburg in 1796; following their repossession by Poland after 1922, the vast majority of them (about 80%) were destroyed in 1944. As the old handwritten inventories were lost together with the collection, the paper is based on two printed selective catalogues of manuscripts, later inventory and catalogue records drawn up in Saint Petersburg as well as few reference works and other scientific studies. The number of public life documents held in the Załuski Library can be estimated at approximately 300-400 inventory units. The most important ones include Crown Chancellery official books and collections of records concerning administrative, fiscal and military matters of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. A numerous group of materials was represented by *sejm* diaries, collections of public life documents created by private initiative and for private use as well as official correspondence of Polish kings and state dignitaries.

Key words: Załuski Library in Warsaw – manuscripts – Polish librarianship in the 18th c. – public life materials.

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„Z Badań nad Książką i Księgozbiorami Historycznymi” – Udział zagranicznych recenzentów w ocenie publikacji; Stworzenie anglojęzycznej wersji wydawniczej publikacji; Digitalizacja tomów archiwalnych rocznika w celu zapewnienia otwartego dostępu do nich przez Internet oraz wdrożenie i utrzymanie cyfrowej platformy redakcyjnej – zadanie finansowane w ramach umowy nr 653/P-DUN/2019 ze środków Ministra Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego przeznaczonych na działalność upowszechniającą naukę.

Since the vast majority of the Załuski Library's manuscript holdings² and the archival records concerning their collection, development, storage and accessibility, as well as the great majority of inventory lists and catalogue descriptions drawn up before 1944³ have not survived to the present day, those studying the history of Polish libraries encounter literally enormous difficulties in recreating and characterising their content. Transferring the holdings of this library to Saint Petersburg in 1796 undoubtedly made it increasingly difficult to carry out systematic and comprehensive work on its history and contents, as the Polish scholars who came to Saint Petersburg, used the manuscripts of the Załuski Library mainly for their own research and rarely for documenting its content, let alone cataloguing its collections which was left entirely in the hands of Russian librarians⁴. These works were intensified only after those manuscripts were moved to the National Library in Warsaw, following their repossession from Russia in the years 1922-1934, however, they were not finalised until the outbreak of World War II and their effects were largely destroyed during the war. Therefore, almost all scientific works dedicated to the history of this library, dating from the period both before and after the war, basically fail to characterise its manuscript collections, or provide only superficial information⁵.

The works dedicated to particular types or fragments of these collections are equally modest, which is particularly striking given that it was the largest and most valuable collection of manuscripts in the pre-partition Commonwealth, famous, among others, for holding the oldest monuments of Polish literature. Relatively the greatest and the best systematised knowledge has been preserved

² B. Horodyski, *Spuścizna działu rękopiśmiennego Biblioteki Załuskich*, "Przegląd Biblioteczny" 1948, vol. 16, pp. 46-47, 59-60; K. Kossarzecki, *Z prac Biblioteki Narodowej nad inwentarzem zachowanych rękopisów z dawnej Biblioteki Załuskich*, "Z Badań nad Książką i Księgozbiorami Historycznymi" 2017, special volume: *Polonika w zbiorach obcych*, academic ed. by J. Puchalski, A. Chamera-Nowak, D. Pietrkiewicz, pp. 263, 267-268. According to the latest studies, about 2 270 manuscripts have been preserved to this day of – depending on different estimates – 11 000 to 13 000 manuscripts (volumes?). 61% of the surviving manuscripts are in German language and only 1.6% are in Polish.

³ J. Kozłowski, *Źródła do rekonstrukcji Biblioteki Załuskich*, "Z Badań nad Polskimi Księgozbiorami Historycznymi" 1993, vol. 15, pp. 27 ff. In this respect, the greatest loss is the catalogue of manuscripts compiled by Michał Abraham Trotz in 1757 which have not been preserved to this day. Regrettably, for reasons beyond my control, I could not use a fragment of the manuscript inventory of the Załuski Library manuscripts from the end of the 18th century, kept in the National Library in Warsaw (BN), accession number 17347.

⁴ J. Kaliszuk, *Codices deperditi. Średniowieczne rękopisy łacińskie Biblioteki Narodowej utracone w czasie II wojny światowej*. Vol. 1: *Dzieje i charakterystyka kolekcji*, Wrocław 2016, pp. 117 ff., 138.

⁵ I. Baranowski, *Biblioteka Załuskich w Warszawie*, Warszawa 1912; P. Bańkowski, *Biblioteka Publiczna Załuskich i jej twórcy*, Warszawa 1959; J. Kozłowski, *Szkice o dziejach Biblioteki Załuskich*, Wrocław 1986 (the author devoted one page to the entire manuscript holdings).

in case of medieval manuscripts, which were discussed and described by Polish and foreign scholars in the 19th and the early 20th century, being a source of great scientific interest⁶. Of primary importance are handwritten descriptions of 700 medieval manuscripts recovered from Saint Petersburg and luckily preserved to the present day. These descriptions were created before 1939 by Maria Hornowska in relation to her work on the manuscript collection in medieval Poland. Together with other studies, catalogues and discussions concerning this kind of collections, they allowed the Warsaw historian Jerzy Kaliszuk to reconstruct the primary holdings of medieval manuscripts of this library, which, according to this author, amounted to about 430 manuscripts, and to characterise them as thoroughly as possible⁷.

The situation of the manuscript collection from the 16th to the 18th century, which was the core part of this library's manuscript holdings and totalled at least 10-11 000 copies, is much worse. With few exceptions, it failed to be scientifically recognised and elaborated before 1944. Among these few exceptions are literary manuscripts, which, due to the literary legacy of Polish authors held in the Załuski Library, were of fairly great interest to literary historians, resulting in Janina Kozłowska preparing a catalogue of Polish poetry manuscripts found among materials repossessed from Russia, including those originating from the Załuski Library⁸. These manuscripts were also profusely used in historical and literary works, among others by Aleksander Brückner and Juliusz Nowak-Dłużewski⁹. After World War II, only manuscripts concerning the so-called Recovered Territories, written mainly in German, were discussed comprehensively¹⁰.

This paper is an attempt to fill this gap with regard to one of its types, which are public life materials from the time of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (from the second half of the 16th to the 18th century). In the old Polish times they were most often referred to as "public records" ("*acta publica*") which included official and private records and materials concerning public issues and related to their development, documentation and registration, such as decrees issued

⁶ See J. Kaliszuk, op. cit. Vol. 1, pp. 125 ff.

⁷ Ibidem, Vol. 1, pp. 199 ff. Vol. 2, pts. 1-2, passim.

⁸ J. Kozłowska-Studnicka, *Katalog rękopisów polskich (poezji) wywiezionych niegdyś do Cesarskiej Biblioteki Publicznej w Petersburgu znajdujących się obecnie w Bibliotece Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie*, Kraków 1929.

⁹ E.g. A. Brückner, *Spuścizna rękopiśmienna po Wacławie Potockim*, Kraków 1899; *Poezja Związku Święconego i Rokoszu Lubomirskiego*, prepared for publication, notes and introduction by J. Nowak-Dłużewski, Wrocław 1953; J. Nowak-Dłużewski, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w Polsce. Dwaj królowie rodacy*, ed. from manuscript, compiled and afterword by S. Nieznanowski, Warszawa 1980.

¹⁰ B. Horodyski, *Polonica rękopiśmienne z Biblioteki Załuskich. I. Rękopisy dotyczące Ziem Odzyskanych*, "Przegląd Biblioteczny" 1948, vol. 16, pp. 64 ff.

by authorities, official correspondence, documents of the Polish-Lithuanian diet (Pol. *sejm*) and regional diets (Pol. *sejmiki*), diaries of public meetings, or aimed at influencing public life (e.g. political writings and satires). They are one of the basic historical sources. Since the vast majority of such documents which were held in the Załuski Library no longer exist, the article indicates – if possible – their other copies or derivative materials related to those once found in this book collection¹¹.

While identifying these manuscripts, we usually have to rely on general or fragmentary sources. As the basic collection catalogue compiled by Michał Abraham Trotz has not been preserved, among the documentation before 1795 the most important are the selective catalogues by Jan Daniel Janocki published in print in 1752 and 1771¹². They mainly contain very general information concerning about 50-60 manuscripts which are of interest to us. The entire manuscript collection of the Załuski Library which was moved to Saint Petersburg, was registered by Russian librarians in the years 1806-1807 in a provisional inventory, which was basically limited to providing either the title or a general description of a manuscript, only occasionally indicating the inventory number of the Załuski Library. Although laconic, this inventory, which was scientifically developed by the staff members of the National Library of Russia in Saint Petersburg and published in 2013

¹¹ The following abbreviations of the names of archives or institutions holding manuscript collections have been used throughout this paper: AR – Archiwum Radziwiłłów (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie) [Radziwiłł Archives in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw]; BCz – Biblioteka Czartoryskich w Krakowie [Czartoryski Library in Cracow]; BJ – Biblioteka Jagiellońska w Krakowie [Jagiellonian Library in Cracow]; BK – Biblioteka Kórnicka [Kórnik Library]; BPAU – Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie [The Scientific Library of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow]; BPW – Biblioteka Pawlikowskich (Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu) [Pawlikowski Library in the Ossoliński National Institute Library in Wrocław]; BR – Biblioteka Raczynskich w Poznaniu [Raczyński Library in Poznań]; BUW – Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie [University of Warsaw Library]; BZ – Załuski Library; BZNiO – Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich [Ossoliński National Institute Library]; IPB – Императорская публичная библиотека в Санкт-Петербурге [Imperial Public Library in Saint Petersburg]; MNK – Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie [National Museum in Cracow]; ZACL – Zbiór Aleksandra Czołowskiego, dział 1 (Lwowska Narodowa Naukowa Biblioteka im. W. Stefanyka) [Aleksander Czołowski Collection, section 1 in the Stefanyk National Science Library in Lviv]; ZBB – Zbiór Biblioteki Baworowskich (Lwowska Narodowa Naukowa Biblioteka im. W. Stefanyka) [Baworowski Library Collection in the Stefanyk National Science Library in Lviv]; ZBO – Zbiór Biblioteki Ossolineum (Lwowska Narodowa Naukowa Biblioteka im. W. Stefanyka) [Ossolineum Library Collection in the Stefanyk National Science Library in Lviv]; ZBS – Zbiór Branickich z Sucheja (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie) [Collection of the Branicki Family from Sucha in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw]; ZTD – Zbiór Tarnowskich z Dzikowa [Collection of the Tarnowski Family from Dzików] (privately owned).

¹² J.D. Janocki, *Specimen Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Zalusianae, Dresdae 1752*; idem, *Mysarvm Sarmaticarvm Specimina Nova, Wratislaviae 1771*, pp. 82-116 (chapter “Bibliothecae Zalusianae codices”).

by the National Library in Warsaw, is the most important source to recreate the state of the collections of the Załuski Library¹³. The entire collection of the Załuski Library in Saint Petersburg was again registered in the handwritten catalogue (inventory) of manuscripts of the Imperial Public Library (IPB), prepared in the years 1843-1846. However, the manuscripts originating from the Załuski Library were not approached as a separate part, but were placed among other manuscripts of the IPB, albeit with their provenance being indicated (they were marked with the letter “Z”). On this occasion, these manuscripts were also given new, permanent IPB shelf marks, according to the language and subject classification scheme. The original language of manuscripts became the overarching classification criterion¹⁴: the sections which are important from the perspective of this study are: Polish (Pol.), multilingual (Razn. – from Russian), Latin (Lat.) and German (Deut.) manuscripts. Within each language group, the manuscripts were classified according to their subject, which, however, did not always correspond to their actual content. From our point of view, the most important sections are: II – Law, IV – History and XVII – Miscellaneous (“Polygraphia”); additionally, single manuscripts concerning these subjects can be found in other sections. Only within this group the manuscripts were sorted by format (F – folio, Q – quarto and O – octavo) and given an individual number¹⁵. A separate group of materials were so-called autographs (Aut.) which also included some of the Załuski Library’s manuscripts, such as private correspondence of the Załuski family. The major flaw of this catalogue were general and fragmentary descriptions and numerous factual errors, which undermined its scientific value¹⁶. Regrettably, the work on the Załuski Library holdings in Saint Petersburg ended with this catalogue.

Considering that this catalogue (inventory), located at the National Library of Russia, is not still fully available in Poland¹⁷, “Katalog rękopisów polskich

¹³ *The inventory of manuscripts from the Załuski Library in the Imperial Public Library*, ed. by O.N. Bleskina, N.A. Elagina, with the coop. of K. Kossarzecki, S. Szyller, Warszawa 2013 (hereinafter cited as: BZ manuscript inventory). Very importantly, the publishers provided concordance with later IPB shelf marks for the vast majority of the inventory records, which allows to identify most of the manuscripts included therein.

¹⁴ Another issue is that the classification of manuscripts according to this criterion was applied very arbitrarily, as a result of which there are known cases of different copies of the same work being assigned to different language sections.

¹⁵ In accordance with this classification scheme, the form of IPB shelf marks used in this paper has been modified, moving the format designation to the third place, after the number of subject section.

¹⁶ See J. Kaliszuk, *Codices deperditi...* Vol. 1, pp. 109-112; M.N. Konovalova, *Istoriya katalogizatsiifondov Rossiyskoy natsional'noy biblioteki 1795-1917 gg.*, elab. by G.V. Mikheyeva; ed. by G.V. Mikheyeva, R.S. Gilyarevskiy, Sankt-Peterburg 2014.

¹⁷ According to the information provided by Krzysztof Kossarzecki (National Library in War-

w Cesarskiej Publicznej Bibliotece w Petersburgu” [“Catalogue of Polish manuscripts in the Imperial Public Library in Saint Petersburg”], created around 1859 on the initiative of Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk [Poznań Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences], which was based on it and is known from several handwritten copies available in the Polish collections, is particularly important in this context¹⁸. It contains descriptions of all the manuscripts from the Polish section, in some cases including more or less selective information on their content. Not unlike in the original Russian catalogue, these descriptions are deficient in scientific precision and integrity¹⁹, but in most cases they provide basic information about the content and volume of the manuscripts, and sometimes also about the state of their preservation and the date of their creation. Unfortunately, Polish librarians and historians chose not to share then, in the same way, the manuscripts from other language sections with the Polish scientific community, in particular the multilingual section which probably included the largest number of manuscripts which are of interest to us. This gap is filled only to a certain extent by a reference work on Polish manuscripts in Saint Petersburg libraries, published in print in 1897 by the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow and created by Józef Korzeniowski²⁰. Although it contains descriptions of only about 250 manuscripts from the Załuski Library dated from the 14th to the 18th century²¹, of which only about 25 are of relevance to this study²², among all publications on the Załuski Library manuscripts this one distinguishes itself by a very high scientific quality and informational value. For Korzeniowski did not limit himself to providing

saw) on 3 February 2020, only its fragments have been microfilmed and are kept in BN’s microfilm collections.

¹⁸ I used a copy from ZACL, no. 60. Other copies are: BJ, no. 5554; BZNiO, no. 1349 (in the form of a file); ZBB, no. 575. Also “Spis ważniejszych manuskryptów polskich w bibliotece publicznej (cesarskiej) w Petersburgu” [“List of major Polish manuscripts in the public (imperial) library in Saint Petersburg”], BPAU, no. 290.

¹⁹ An example of poor scientific relevance is the description of over 900-page manuscript Pol. IV.F.105: “Różne pisma publiczne albo urzędowe jako to: kopii listów z responsami, manifestów, uniwersałów, instrukcyi, diariuszów, mowy urzędowe, vota, inne tegoż rodzaju, prawie wszystko w języku polskim, niektóre tylko w łacińskim pisane. Poczyna się: «Oratio illustris dd. Joan. Wielopolski etc.», a kończy się: «tot repetitis vicibus actorum foedum». – Ms ff. 448 nie cały na końcu” [“Miscellaneous public or official papers such as: copies of letters with replies, manifestos, universals, instructors, diaries, official speeches, votes and the like, almost all of them written in Polish, only some in Latin. It begins: «Oratio illustris dd. Joan. Wielopolski etc.» and it ends: «tot repetitis vicibus actorum foedum». - Ms ff. 448 incomplete at the end”].

²⁰ J. Korzeniowski, *Zapiski z rękopisów Cesarskiej Biblioteki Publicznej w Petersburgu i innych bibliotek petersburskich. Sprawozdanie z podróży naukowych odbytych w 1891-1892 i w 1907 r.*, Kraków 1897.

²¹ Ibidem, p. XXIV.

²² The vast majority of them are manuscripts from the “Polish” section and only few belong to the “multilingual” section.

relatively accurate information on the content of the manuscripts, but also acknowledged their form, fate and provenance.

Other works concerning Saint Petersburg collections dating from before 1918²³ have little value for identifying the type of materials we are interested in. The short period of their public functioning in the National Library in Warsaw (1928-1939) changed nothing. Only some information concerning the *sejm* diaries was included by Władysław Konopczyński in the 18th century edition of *Diariusze sejmowe z wieku XVIII [The Sejm diaries from the 18th century]* (vols. 1-3, Warszawa 1911-1937) and the reference work *Chronologia sejmów polskich 1493-1793 [Chronology of Polish sejms 1493-1793]* (Kraków 1948)²⁴, and with regard to political poetry, some information can be found in the already mentioned studies and editions by J. Nowak-Dłużewski.

While considering the state of the Załuski Library's manuscripts, it must not be overlooked that the listings made by Russian librarians do not provide information on the entire manuscript holdings of this library before 1795. At the time they were appropriated by the Russians, and probably even earlier, they suffered damages whose extent is however difficult to determine. This is also the case even for some of the manuscripts mentioned in the printed catalogues of the Załuski Library from 1752 and 1771 prepared by Janocki, which do not appear in the inventory from 1806-1807²⁵. Hence, it is undeniable that since the original inventories created before 1795 have not survived, it is practically impossible to reconstruct in detail the actual inventory of public life materials of the Załuski Library before that date.

In particular, we cannot be sure whether the manuscripts found in the 19th century Polish collections, and which once undoubtedly belonged to the Załuski brothers and their closest family, were first held in the Załuski Library and, under unknown circumstances, avoided being dispatched to Saint Petersburg. The situation is clear only in the case of the miscellanies of Józef Andrzej Załuski concerning political matters during the reign of Stanisław Leszczyński and Augustus III in 1733-1744 (BJ, no. 115) and the miscellanies from the collection of Andrzej Stanisław Załuski mostly relating to the times of Augustus II and Augustus III (BJ, no. 119)²⁶. However, doubts are raised

²³ Such as P. Karge, *Die handschriftlichen Quellen der Kaiserlichen Öffentlichen Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg zur Geschichte Polens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, "Zeitschrift der Historischen Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen" 1907, Vol. 22, pp. 1-58.

²⁴ It is noteworthy, however, that the compilation of *sejm* diaries in the *Chronology of Polish sejms* does not include any manuscripts from the multilingual section which indicates that it was not covered in the Konopczyński's research.

²⁵ E.g. "Acta legationis anno domini 1637 ad Ferdinandum III [...]" (*Musarum Sarmaticarum...*, item 99) or "Acta abdicacionis Joannis Casimiri" 1668 (ibidem, item 110).

²⁶ *Catalogue of Extant Manuscripts from the Former Załuski Library the First Polish National Library*, ed. by K. Kossarzecki, T. Szwaciński, O.N. Bleskina, N.A. Elagina, Warszawa 2019,

over the following manuscripts: the records from the Zebrzydowski Rebellion – an uprising of nobles against Sigismund III Vasa in the years 1606-1607 and the miscellanies concerning the political affairs of the Commonwealth during the reign of Sigismund III and Władysław IV in the years 1605-1640 (BOZ, no. 1154; this manuscript was probably annotated by J.A. Załuski); “Manuskrypta anni 1754” with copies of records concerning the division of the Ostrogski Family Fee Tail²⁷ collected by the Bishop of Cracow A.S. Załuski (ZBS, no. 109/131); the miscellanies containing letters, public and private speeches, poems, satires, news and other materials from approx. 1675-1705 (BCz, no. 530, BZNiO, no. 449, ZBO, no. 448), serving Andrzej Chryzostom Załuski to prepare the source publication *Epistolae historico-familiares* (Brunsbergae 1711) as well as a working copy of these *Epistolae* and *silva rerum* of his brother, Voivode of Rawa, Aleksander Załuski (BZNiO, no. 447; ZBO, no. 450)²⁸.

Moreover, the discrepancies between the content of the manuscript inventory of the Załuski Library from 1806-1807 and the provenance annotations included in the catalogue from 1843-1846 lead to some confusion. For this inventory did not list at least over twenty manuscripts which are of interest to us and which in this catalogue, and also in the later reference works based on it, were indicated as originating from the Załuski Library²⁹. These inconsistencies can be explained at least partially by a collective description of several dozens of manuscripts which did not specify particular copies, in the inventory of 1806-1807³⁰. It is even more likely considering that some of the manuscripts which were not registered in the inventory, can be assumed with a high degree of probability to come to the Imperial Public Library along with other Załuski Library manuscripts, since they were either created or possessed by the Załuski family. These are: “Homagium najniższej submissyi jw. jmci ks. Andrzejowi Stanisławowi Kostce Załuskiemu biskupowi plockiemu przez Franciszka

pp. 855-856. I am most grateful to K. Kossarzecki for providing me with a copy of this publication which was unavailable to me from March to May 2020.

²⁷ It was the largest complex of landed properties in the Commonwealth at that time, established on the basis of family fee tail, divided in 1753 in violation of the applicable law.

²⁸ These manuscripts are not recorded in *Catalogue of Extant Manuscripts from the Former Załuski Library...* For the manuscripts of A.Ch. Załuski, see M. Matwijów, *Zbiory materiałów życia publicznego jako typ książki rękopiśmiennej w czasach staropolskich (1660-1760)*, Warszawa 2020, p. 477.

²⁹ This concerns, among others, the following manuscripts: Pol.II.F.42, Pol.IV.F.34, Pol.IV.F.110, Pol.IV.F.111, Pol.IV.F.116, Pol.IV.F.121, Pol.IV.F.233, Pol.IV.F.237, Pol.IV.F.253, Pol.IV.F.255, Pol.IV.Q.30. Another case is a non-registered in the BZ manuscript inventory manuscript Pol.IV.F.40 (a collection of materials relating to the 1573 election, currently in BN, no. 3083) which was marked in “Katalog rękopisów polskich” as originating from BUW and in the reference work by J. Korzeniowski – as belonging to the Załuski Library.

³⁰ See the BZ manuscript inventory, items 1894 and 2199.

Andrzeja Budziszewskiego w diariuszu niniejszego sejmu grodzieńskiego roku 1727 reprezentowane” [“Homage to His Excellence His Grace father Andrzej Stanisław Kostka Załuski, Bishop of Płock, paid by Franciszek Andrzej Budziszewski, presented in the diary of this Grodno *sejm* in 1727”] (Pol.IV.F.131), miscellanies by Mikołaj Wolski, Court Marshal and Grand Marshal of the Crown from approx. 1570-1588 (Pol.IV.F.140³¹) and a collection of various public writings collected by A.Ch. Załuski or created within his closest circle, among others from 1697 (Pol.IV.F.117) as well as partially preserved miscellanies mainly from 1701-1705 (Razn.IV.F.37). It is possible that the correspondence between the Great Chancellor of the Crown A.S. Załuski and Paweł Benoe, the Crown State Prosecutor and an envoy to Turkey, from 1742 originated from the private archive of the former (Pol.IV.F.54)³². Unfortunately, in some cases these discrepancies should be considered as a result of mistakes made by the authors of the 1843-1846 catalogue or of an unprofessional way of processing the manuscripts which are no longer verifiable³³.

Even more problematic than determining the state of the holdings of public life materials is to recreate the process of their accumulation. However, taking into consideration the subject of manuscripts, everything seems to indicate that the most fruitful period in this regard lasted until about 1767, i.e. when the library remained under the custody of Józef Andrzej Załuski, Bishop of Kiev. It seems that it was at that time that the main core of these materials entered the collection. After 1767, the pace of acquisition of this kind of manuscripts significantly slowed down – this is indicated by the fact that the public life materials concerning the events after 1767 (especially the manuscripts relating to the Radom and Bar Confederations from 1767-1772 which were so widely in public circulation) were represented rather sparsely in the collection, provided, of course, that we consider the Russian inventory from 1806-1807

³¹ According to J. Korzeniowski (op. cit., p. 230) this manuscript belonged to J.A. Załuski, as evidenced by the title of the manuscript written in his own hand: “Miscellanea polonica 1572-1584”.

³² We do not know, however, whether it was the original correspondence or its copies, which can also be found among A.S. Załuski’s documents in BJ, no. 115.

³³ According to the data included in “Katalog rękopisów polskich”, some of the manuscripts marked with the letter “Z”, i.e. originating from the Załuski Library (e.g. Pol.IV.F.255, Pol.IV.F.257, Pol.IV.F.260), also contained materials from the beginning of the 19th century, which means that they could not come from the Załuski Library and undermines the credibility of these provenance annotations. However, it cannot be ruled out that during inventorying and library cataloguing of these manuscripts and other manuscripts in the IPB, the fragments of the Załuski Library manuscripts were artificially merged and mingled with the fragments of manuscripts of other provenance (this seems to be the case especially with Pol.IV.F.255). On the other hand, there are also opposite cases in which the manuscripts originating from the Załuski Library were assigned other provenance – this concerns the collection of speeches in the Senate council of 1758 (Pol.IV.F.41) marked with the letter “V” (i.e. The Public Library at the University of Warsaw), while this manuscript is included in the BZ manuscript inventory from 1806-1807.

as reliable³⁴. It can be assumed with a high degree of probability that during the internment of J.A. Załuski in Russia between 1767 and 1773, and especially after his death in January 1774, the successive administrators of the library did not pay much attention to collecting such materials.

The number of manuscripts including public life materials can be estimated at approximately 300-400 units. They represented the field of chancellery and archival documentation which was an outcome of the official and professional activity of the institutions and people engaged in their creation and collection as well as the field of so-called library manuscripts which were an expression of private activity and personal preferences and interests of people collecting and registering such materials. The first category of materials of the Załuski Library was dominated by the records related to the activity of the Crown Chancellery – an office responsible for matters of internal administration and foreign policy of the state. These records mainly adopted the form of books of entries, representing the primary type of official documentation of the Crown Register (Pol. *Metryka Koronna*)³⁵. They included the most important documentation concerning the functioning of the state and, depending on the subject, were kept in several series. In the Załuski Library collection there were at least seven or eight such books. The series of legation books, containing documentation concerning the diplomatic relations of the Commonwealth (correspondence, instructions to the envoys, speeches, accounts and other records)³⁶ was represented by “Liber legationum aliorumque negociorum externorum Anno Domini MDLXXXII et LXXXIII Illri. et Mgfco Ioanni de Zamoście [...] in cancellaria regni tractatorum expeditorumque”, with documentation for the years 1582 and 1583. Its original from the end of the 16th century, coming from the library of King John III Sobieski (Razn.IV.F.140) and a copy from the 17th or 18th century in two volumes (Lat.IV.F.129 and Lat.IV.F.155)³⁷ were found in the Załuski Library. This book has been preserved to this day in other copies from the 17th/18th centuries (among others, ZTD no. 33/52).

³⁴ The only materials from that period mentioned in this inventory are the manifesto of the Bar Confederation from 1769 (Pol.IV.F.143) and the political writing “Moje myśli jako ziemianina w interesie publicznem 1769 anno” [“My thoughts as a landowner in the public interest anno 1769”] (Pol.IV.O.8). According to “Katalog rękopisów polskich”, there could also be found “Pisma różne do historii polskiej należące” [“Miscellaneous writings belonging to Polish history”] from the years 1764-1769 (Pol.IV.F.237), but since one of the writings included in this manuscript originated from 1798, it is doubtful whether this manuscript actually came from the Załuski Library. Cf. Also footnote 29.

³⁵ See I. Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, M. Woźniakowa, *Inwentarz Metryki Koronnej. Księgi wpisów i dekretów polskiej kancelarii królewskiej z lat 1447-1795*, Warszawa 1975.

³⁶ Cf. I. Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, J. Wejchertowa, *Księgi poselskie (Libri Legationum) Metryki Koronnej*, “Archeion” 1968, vol. 48, pp. 61-73.

³⁷ J. Korzeniowski, op. cit., pp. 106, 144-145, 295-296 (items 129, 172 and 384).

Several books appear to be related to the category of chancellery books of public affairs, which contained copies of the most important documents concerning foreign and internal affairs of the Commonwealth, issued or received by the Crown chancelleries. Such books were created occasionally in the 17th century and systematically from the first years of the 18th century³⁸. It is possible that until the 1730s they were private cartularies used by chancellors and vice-chancellors, and only from 1735 they become a part of the official registration of the Crown Register records.

The two oldest books were created in relation to the activity of father Jakub Zadzik in the Crown Chancellery from the beginning of the 17th century and holding offices as Vice-Chancellor and Grand Chancellor of the Crown during the years 1627-1635. These were “Acta publica ad ducatum Prussiae spectantia” (Lat.IV.F.117) and “Acta cancellariatus anni 1532 usque ad 1611. Ex manuscripto illmi. ac rev. d. Jacobi Zadzik olim supremi cancellarii Regni” (Razn.II.F.11, in BZ no. 258). The second of these manuscripts, beautifully handwritten, contained in 875 leaves numerous copies of public documents, mainly from the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, including records and writings “from the times of the Zebrydowski Rebellion [1606-1608] in a beautiful set” – according to J. Korzeniowski’s words³⁹. Its value is even greater, given that no equivalent can be found in any contemporary collection⁴⁰. Another three books of this kind originated from the first half of the 18th century. These were: “Protocollon expeditionum cancellariatus regni illmi [Joannis] Szembek, A. 1712” (Razn.IV.F.108, in BZ no. 340) and “Protocollon expeditionum cancellariatus regni cancellariatu illmi [Joannis] Szembek, A. 1713” (not recorded in IPB?, BZ no. 341)⁴¹ as well as “Księga różnych ekspedycyi mianowicie Kurlandyi tykających się według rejestru na końcu przydanego, ab A. 1735 ad 1745” [“Book of various official documents, namely concerning Courland, according to the register included at the end, ab A. 1735 ad 1745”] (Razn.IV.F.139)⁴². The protocols of the documents sent by the Grand Crown Chancellery of 1712 and 1713 have an equivalent in a copy no. 819 found

³⁸ I. Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *Księgi kanclerskie (księgi spraw publicznych) Metryki Koronnej*, “Archeion” 1974, vol. 60, pp. 143-155; W. Krawczuk, *Metrykanci koronni. Rozwój registratury centralnej od XVI do XVIII wieku*, Kraków 2002, pp. 48-52.

³⁹ J. Korzeniowski, op. cit., p. 273, item 365.

⁴⁰ There are several other books of this kind from the time when J. Zadzik held office in the Crown Chancellery with copies of public records: for the years 1626-1628 (BJ, no. 7; BZNiO, no. 209), for the years 1627-1629 (BCz, no. 357), for the years 1630-1632 (BCz, no. 365) and for the years 1561-1589 and 1620-1635 (BPW, no. 201).

⁴¹ J.D. Janocki, *Musarum Sarmaticarum...*, pp. 114-115.

⁴² It cannot be excluded that materials concerning the Courland affairs “Transactiones Curo-nicae ab anno 1723 ad annum 1727 ad huc temporis regiminis Ferdinandi ultimi ducis Curlandiae de linea Ketteriana” could also fell into that category (Lat.II.F.8, Razn.IV.F.128).

in the Czartoryski Library (“Protocollon expeditionum cancellariatus Regni [...] Joannis [...] Szembek supreme Regni cancelarii [...] anni 1712mi ad 24 decembris 1713”). Although the book on Courland affairs is not known from another copy, copies of records concerning this subject appear in numerous collections of public life materials which seem to be created on the basis of the Crown Register records⁴³.

It is, however, impossible to determine whether “[Acta] cancellariatus Regni, Andreae Chrysostomi Załuski ep[isco]pi Varmiensis, anno 1702[-1710]” (Razn.II.F.26; in BZ without no.)⁴⁴ can be ascribed to the same category of chancellery books. It is more likely that they belonged to a series of books of entries (inscriptions), containing entries of royal grants, nominations for offices, confirmations of transactions conducted between noblemen and other similar documents⁴⁵. In turn, “Acta decretorum S.M.R. comitialium relationum et assesorialis iudiciorum” from 1653 (Lat.II.F.106; in BZ no. 194)⁴⁶ should be included in the series of books of the relational, parliamentary and assessorial courts.

A collection of correspondence between King Sigismund II Augustus and the Turkish Sultan as well as other diplomatic records (BZ, no. 246) most likely had a chancellery provenance and so did a collection of (original?) international treaties concluded by the Republic with the Holy Roman Empire, Brandenburg and Moscow during the reign of John III, along with the attached instructions for the Bishop of Przemyśl, Jan Zbąski, an envoy to Pope Innocent XI and Emperor Leopold I in 1687 (Razn.IV.F.68, BZ no. 274)⁴⁷. Among the holdings of the Załuski Library, there was probably the original act of approval of the statute of the Order of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary from 1634 issued by Pope Urban VIII (without shelf mark in IPB or no. in BZ) and a copy of this order’s statute from the same year made by Jerzy Ossoliński, which was clearly indicated in the inventory from 1806-1807 (Razn.II.F.43). It is, however, impossible to establish whether “Testamentum Stephani primi Poloniae regis” along with the attached records “quae ad inferiora tempora pertinent” had a similar provenance (BZ, no. 2025) – the inclusion of this

⁴³ The most valuable contain over 1 000 pages cartularies of records concerning the history and political affairs of Courland and Semigallia in the years 1561-1763 (ZTD, no. 11/52) and “Elenchus rerum ad ducatus Curlandiae et Semigalliae spectantium collectus anno 1759” (BCz, no. 1116).

⁴⁴ See J.D. Janocki, *Specimen catalogi...*, p. 43, item 110.

⁴⁵ This supposition is supported by the fact that before 1945, the group of records of the Crown Register included the chancellery book of entries from the period when A.Ch. Załuski held his office, covering the years 1710-1715 (MK, no. 221), which can be regarded as a continuation of the above mentioned book.

⁴⁶ In the inventory from 1806-1807, this manuscript was described as “Decreta cancellariae regni ab A° 1653 a [Stephano] Hankiewicz collecta”.

⁴⁷ In *Musarum Sarmaticarum...* (p. 31) described there as “memorabilis codex”.

collection of records in Janocki's catalogue from 1771 may suggest that it was the original documentation and not its copies⁴⁸. The same doubts arise regarding other collections of records related to the functioning of the Commonwealth, such as the collection of universals and resolutions of regional diets from 1658 (Pol.II.F.20), "Kopie skryptów królowi jmci Janowi III podanych od r. 1678 i dawniej" (Pol.IV.F.126) ["Copies of documents handed to His Majesty King John III from 1678 and after"], "Pakta polsko-brandenburskie w Welawie 1657 r." ["The Polish-Brandenburg pacts in Welawa 1657"] (Lat.II.Q.144, in BZ no. 2023), "Senatus consilium po niedoszłym sejmie ordynaryjnym in anno 1758" ("Senatus consilium after the failed ordinary sejm in anno 1758" (Pol.IV.F.41)⁴⁹ and "Diariusz komisji kurlandzkiej 1727 r." ["Diary of the Courland commission from 1727"], chaired by the Bishop of Warmia, Krzysztof Andrzej Szembek in order to regularise the status of the Duchy of Courland (Pol.II.F.59, Pol.IV.F.88). In the last three cases, these documents are known from numerous other copies⁵⁰.

As far as the legislative documentation of the state is concerned, the one which stands out is the original document "Coequatio iurium stanów W.X.Lit. z Koroną" ["*Coequatio iurium* between the states of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Crown"] adopted at the election *sejm* in 1697, complemented by the list of the Lithuanian noble levy of an unknown year, apparently bearing the signatures of senators and provincial envoys to the *sejms*, since this manuscript was included in the collection of IPB autographs (Aut. 183, currently in the National Library of Russia). At least four copies found in the Załuski Library contained the Statutes of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the second half of the 16th century, sometimes appearing together with the Statute of Volhynia (Pol.II.F.9, Pol.II.F.21, Pol.II.F.23, Pol.II.F.36; in BZ no. 309 and 311), of which two were written ornamentally⁵¹ and one copy of a set of privileges and rights of Courland, Semigallia and Livonia (Lat. IV. F.49, in BZ no. 672). Two copies of the act of formation of the General Confederation in Dzików from November 1734 printed in the time of Załuscy

⁴⁸ However, it cannot be ruled out that the manuscript was identical to the copy of Stephen Bathory's described in *Specimen catalogi* (p. 87, item 297), drawn up by the register-keeper (Pol. *metrykant*) Stefan Hankiewicz in the 17th century.

⁴⁹ The collection of records relating to this Senate council is known from several copies, among others, ZBB, no. 268 and BPAU, no. 1129.

⁵⁰ As for the Courland commission, at least 15 copies are known in the present library and archival collections (AR, sec. VI, no. II-55, AR, sec. VI, no. II-56, AR, sec. VI, no. II-57, BK, no. 948, BK, no. 1645, BN, no. 6655, ZBS, no. 23/34, BUW, no. 90, BCz, no. 543, BCz, no. 563, BCz, no. 1116, BCz, no. 3241, BZNiO, no. 294, BZNiO, no. 3574, ZBO, no. 5744).

⁵¹ Cf. I. Daniłowicz, *Opisanie bibliograficzne dotąd znanych exemplarzy Statutu Litewskiego, rękopiśmiennych i edycyji drukowanych, tak w ruskim oryginalnym, jako też w polskim i łacińskim języku*, "Dziennik Wileński" 1822, vol. 2, pp. 5, 13.

(Pol.II.F.18, Pol.II.F.25) were considerably less valuable, unless, of course, it was the original document.

The treasury documentation was represented by “Liczba [...] Jarosza Wołłowicza podskarbiego ziemskiego i pisarza W. Ks. Litewskiego z pieniędzy za administratij i za podskarbstwa ziemskiego [...]” [“Account [...] of Jarosz Wołłowicz, district treasurer and scribe of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, of the money from administration and district treasury office [...]”] from the years 1604-1615 (Pol.IV.F.110), “Konskrypcja miast, miasteczek i wsi z rejestrów oryginalnych dwojga pogłównego A. 1676” [“The list of cities, towns and villages based on the original registers of double head tax A. 1676”] (Pol.IV.F.139) and “Xięga N^o2, zamykająca papiery tyżące się dochodów skarbu publicznego” [“Book no. 2, closing public treasury income documents”] in 1702-1718 (Pol. II.F.5). While “Konskrypcja” from 1676 seems to have an equivalent in “Rejestyry podatkowe” [“Tax Registers”] of the Archives of the Crown Treasury (Department 1) in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw and in the Czartoryski Library manuscripts nos. 1099 and 1100 (head tax registers of the Małopolska and Wielkopolska provinces from 1676), the content of the third manuscript seems quite vague. Several manuscripts were related to the affairs of the Crown and Lithuanian state properties, including “Regestr lustratiewi woiewodztw płockiego y mazowieckiego roku Bożego 1570” [“Register of inspections of Płock and Mazovian Voivodeships in the year of our Lord 1570”] (BN, no. 3082, formerly Pol.IV.F.102), once held by King Sigismund II Augustus, and “Regestr rewiziej i postanowienia płatow i pozytkow etc starostwa berestejskoho [?] na rok 1566” [“Census and register of charges and income etc. of Berestejsk [?] state property for the year 1566”] (without shelf mark in IPB and no. in BZ). Some of those documents were connected with the exercise of treasury and fiscal functions by the noble local governments, such as “Regestr województwa nowogrodzkiego majątności dóbr ichmość obywatelów” [“Register of properties of the honourable citizens of Nowogród Voivodeship”] (Pol.IV.F.87), “Taryffa ziemie warszawskiej pogłównego dwojga a. 1676” [“Tariffs of double head tax in the land of Warsaw a. 1676”] (Lat. II. F.180, in BZ no. 360) and originating from unknown voivodeships or lands “Regestrum contributionum fumulium duarum ex vi constitutionum regni in comitiis a. 1661 laudatarum, per Kłodziński exactarum” (Lat. II. F.176, in BZ no. 362) and “Regestrum contributionum fumulium (Taryffa 1650, per Kotowski)” (Lat.II.F.127). “Akta trybunału [skarbowego] radomskiego” [“Records of the [Treasury] Tribunal at Radom”] from 1719 and 1719-1721 (without shelf mark in IPB and Pol.II.F.30, in BZ no. 350) and unspecified records of “Kommissyja zupp wielickich i bocheńskich” [“Committee on salt mines in Wieliczka and Bochnia”] (Razn.IV.F.35), known from many other copies from different years, were of no greater value, as can be deducted from their modest size.

The documentation concerning military matters included: “Porządek praw rycerskich wojennych który KJM postanowił raczył gdi woisko miał przeciwko Iphliantom [Inflantom] Anno 1557, 3 Augusti” [“The laws of chivalry granted by His Majesty to his army against Livonia Anno 1557, 3 Augusti”] (Pol.IV.Q.45); “Рестръ Попису войска Господарскаго великаго княжества Литовскаго 1565” (without shelf mark in IPB and no. in BZ); “Regestr a popis żołnierzów polskich za rozkazaniem [...] Zygmunta Augusta [...] króla polskiego [...] przeciwko wielkiemu kniazium moskiewskiemu do ziemie inflandzkiej przyjętych i popisanych pod sprawą wp. Floriana Zebrzydowskiego [...] w roku [...] 1561 [-1563]” [“ Register of the Polish soldiers by order of [...] Sigismund August [...] King of Poland [...] recruited and enlisted under His Lordship Florian Zebrzydowski [...] to fight against the Grand Prince of Moscow in the Livonian lands in the year [...] 1561 [-1563]”] (Pol.IV.F.159); “Regiestra popisowe wojska JKMcі, które w Inflanciech pod regimentem ... Chryzstofa Radziwiłła księżęcia r.p. 1621 służyło, przez urodzonego Pawła Baranowskiego pisane” [“Register of His Majesty’s army which served in Livonia in the regiment ... under the Prince Krzysztof Radziwiłł a.d. 1621, written by Paweł Baranowski”] (Pol.IV.F.47); a collection of army lists and tax rates of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from around 1690-1710 (Pol.IV.F.113); “Popis wojska Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego in praesentia [...] księżęcia jmci Radziwiłła kasztelana wileńskiego, hetmana polnego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego przede mną Karolem Sapieho [!] pisarzem polnym Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego [...] anno 1744 ekspedjowany” [“Register of the army of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at the presence [...] of His Grace Prince Radziwiłł, Castellan of Vilnius, Field Hetman of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania conducted before me, Karol Sapieha [!] Field Clerk of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania [...] anno 1744”], in two copies, including the original one: Pol.IV.F.37 and Pol.IV.F.59 and an unspecified manuscript entitled “Sprawy wojskowe 1621 roku” [“Military affairs of 1621”] (Lat. IV. F.161).

The Załuski Library held plenty of loose official documents of different subject and nature. Some of them were remnants of various state and private archives, however, it appears that such documentation was compiled in manuscript units (fascicles) mostly in an artificial way, from randomly selected materials of different provenance. Unfortunately, our knowledge of them generally remains fragmentary, as only a few were recognised and characterised more precisely by J. Korzeniowski. One of the most important was a collection of documents from around 1573-1764 (Pol.IV.F.254) which, as far as this scholar is concerned, was at least partly connected with the archives of the Crown Chancellery. This very large collection, consisting of over 500 leaves, included about a dozen of *sejm* diaries (the *sejms* of 1649/50, 1729, 1730, 1732, the pacification *sejm*

of 1735, the *sejms* of 1738, 1739, 1752, 1758, 1760), numerous resolutions and instructions given by the regional diets from almost all of the Commonwealth lands to the envoys to the *sejms* and state dignitaries and to the Synod of Brest of 1595 etc., preserved both in the originals and in the excerpts from the municipal or district and tribunal books⁵². It was very valuable material, although most of the included manuscripts (e.g. *sejm* diaries, records of regional diets) undoubtedly had equivalents either in chancellery and municipal books, or in various noble and magnate miscellanies and *silvas*. Another similar example of such collection of archival records is a “huge” (according to J. Korzeniowski) collection of legal and historical materials, both public and private, from the 15th and 17th centuries, referring mainly to the political and ecclesiastical history of Poland in the 16th century, including the interregnum period between 1572 and 1573 (Razn. IV.F.105, in BZ no. 334)⁵³. A collection of various political writings, drafts and *sejm* acts, mostly from the time of the election and reign of Augustus III (Razn. II.F.7) was superior in size. It included, apart from the materials known from elsewhere (such as “Akta przednieysze trzech seymow za trzech dyrekcji JMci Pana Jakuba Sobieskiego Marszałka koła poselskiego... z lat 1623, 1626, 1628” [“Major records of three *sejms* led thrice by His Grace Lord Jakub Sobieski, Marshal of the deputies circle... from the years 1623, 1626, 1628”]), unique manuscripts, such as the report of an unknown royal commissioner to John III, from Gdańsk, 17 November 1677⁵⁴. Of a similar nature were: an unspecified collection of various official writings (letters of officials, universals, memorials, manifestos, and instructions) concerning Poland’s political affairs from an unknown period (Pol.IV.F.39); a collection of similar materials in the original copies from 1661-1678 (Aut. 311); “Acta publica gestorum in Livonia” from 1672 (Aut. 329, as the above mentioned, found in the National Library of Russia), as well as a collection of various public writings from 1572-1700, compiled from various loose copies (Pol.IV.F.253) – it is unknown, however, whether they originate from the Załuski Library⁵⁵.

Apart from the original archival documentation, the Załuski Library also contained copies of documents and letters from the Radziwiłł archives in Biała and Niesvizh, probably made at the request of J.A. Załuski (Razn. IV.Q.49, Pol.IV.F.49). On the other hand, the manuscript described laconically in the inventory from 1806-1807, entitled “Scripta inter summos status habita et ratione temporum distincta ab A. 1527-1576” (Razn.IV.F.112) is quite mysterious – it is possible that it was a collection of various state documents.

⁵² J. Korzeniowski, op. cit., pp. 253-254, item 330.

⁵³ J. Korzeniowski, op. cit., pp. 284-288, item 380.

⁵⁴ Ibidem, pp. 271-272, item 363.

⁵⁵ Cf. ibidem, pp. 251-253, item 329; *Catalogue of Extant Manuscripts from the Former Załuski Library...*, p. 827.

Some of the materials documented public activity of their owners, being part of their private archives. The most valuable of these were related to diplomatic activity. Among them were: copies of documents concerning the diplomatic missions of the chamberlain of Bratslav, Ławryn Piaseczyński in the years 1601-1603, among others to the Crimean Khan (BN, no. 3086; formerly Pol.IV.F.71, in BZ no. 325); “Acta legationis” probably of Jan Lipski, Bishop of Chełmno, and Kasper Denhoff, Voivode of Sieradz, to Emperor Ferdinand III on the marriage of King Władysław IV and Archduchess Cecilia Renata in 1637 (Lat.II.F.13, in BZ no. 266); “Acta legationis” by Andrzej Olszowski, Regent of the Crown Chancellery, to Emperor Leopold I in 1658 (BN, no. 3372, formerly Lat.IV.F.93); a collection of records regarding the peace treaties with Moscow in 1674, probably originating from the legacy of one of the commissioners at those treaties (Pol.IV.F.82)⁵⁶ and finally “Acta legationis de latere [...] Bernardi [...] cardinalis Maczieiowski [...] ad [...] Sigismundum III Poloniae et Suaeciae regem [...] A.D. 1605” on the marriage of Sigismund III to Archduchess Constance of Austria (Lat.II.F.81)⁵⁷. To this group of materials belongs a cartulary of documents and other materials concerning the Polish-Swedish negotiations in Oliva in 1659-1660, including a diary of these negotiations, written on the request of the Grand Chancellor of Lithuania, Krzysztof Pac (Razn.IV.F.107, in BZ no. 332).

The correspondence of rulers and state dignitaries related to the performance of official functions was a separate category of public life materials. Among them were letters from Sigismund III to Pope Clement VIII and to Polish and Swedish dignitaries (Lat.IV.F.160, in BZ no. 256, 257) as well as the collection of letters of kings Sigismund I the Old, Sigismund II Augustus, Sigismund III (BZ, no. 258). The correspondence concerning the relations with the Papacy and the Empire included the letters – or most likely their copies – from Pope Urban VIII and Emperor Ferdinand II to the Crown and Lithuanian dignitaries recommending the election of Prince Władysław as King of Poland as well as the replies from the Commonwealth’s states from 1632 (Razn.IV.Q.55, in BZ no. 2020)⁵⁸. It seems that a collection of letters from Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski, Grand Marshal of the Crown, to King John III Sobieski, foreign

⁵⁶ It might be added that the collection of originals and copies of records concerning the negotiations with Moscow in 1674-1675, originating from the archives of Cyprian Paweł Brzostowski, has been preserved in the BCz manuscript no. 2114.

⁵⁷ See J.D. Janocki, *Specimen catalogi...*, p. 40, item 102.

⁵⁸ About 100 letters from Pope Urban VIII to the princes Władysław and Aleksander, members of the episcopate and lay senators are known from copies in the manuscript “Acta interregni Anni Domini 1632 post mortem serenissimi Sigismundi III regis Poloniae”, Collection of Augustyn Gorzyński (in the Archdiocesan Archives in Poznań), no. 1 (chapter “Literae intercessionales summi pontifici Urbani VIII ad omnes senatores Regni Poloniae et M.D.L. ut sibi eligant pro rege Vladislaum regem Sveciae”).

rulers and state dignitaries, together with documents relating to the events at that time (not recorded in IPB, in BZ no. 336) can be considered as valuable manuscripts. We can presume that the collections of correspondence (mainly cartularies) of other state dignitaries, apart from referring to private matters, were also largely related to public issues. This is the case with Jan Lipski, Archbishop of Gniezno from the first half of the 17th century (Razn.XVII.F.129)⁵⁹, Mikołaj Prażmowski, Archbishop of Gniezno (not recorded in IPB)⁶⁰, Andrzej Olszowski, Vice-Chancellor of the Crown and Archbishop of Gniezno in 1665-1676 (“*Epistolae variae in materiis publicis in Anno 1665, 1667 et sequentibus ad 1676 Andreae Olszowski primatis Regni*”, Razn.IV.F.57, in BZ no. 209), Jan Stefan Wydźga, Bishop of Łuck in 1662-1677 (Lat. IV. F.48), A.Ch. Załuski, Grand Chancellor of the Crown (among others, Lat. XV.F.20)⁶¹, A.S. Załuski, Grand Chancellor of the Crown and Bishop of Cracow (among others, BN, no. 3238-3270, formerly Aut. 270), and unspecified “*Epistolae variorum magnatum Poloniae 1719-1725*” (without shelf mark in IPB, in BZ no. 2191)⁶².

The *sejm* diaries, lying between chancellery and official documentation and private documentation, were quite numerous represented in the Załuski Library. Apart from copies scattered over various collections of public life materials, of which we mostly have only fragmentary and incomplete knowledge⁶³, there were also diaries in the form of separate manuscript units. They were related to the following *sejms*: the *sejm* of 1563 (BN, no. 3081, formerly Razn.IV.F.36); the election *sejm* of 1632 (two copies: Pol.II.Q.11 and not recorded in CBP, in BZ nos. 1560 and 2166); the *sejm* of 1693 (Pol.II.Q.13, in BZ no. 2193); the convocation *sejm* of 1696 (Pol.II.Q.14); the election *sejm* of 1697 (Pol.IV.F.65, in BZ no. 377); the *sejm* of 1699 (Razn.IV.Q.19, in BZ no. 2195); the *sejm* of 1701 (two copies: Pol.IV.F.74 in BZ, no. 378 and BN, no. 4345, formerly Deut.IV.F.113); the *sejm* of 1718 (two copies: Pol. IV.F.67, in BZ no. 380 and BN no. 4349, formerly Deut.IV.F.123); the *sejm* of 1722 (Pol.IV.F.69, in BZ no. 384); the *sejm* of 1724 (three copies: Pol. IV.F.63, Pol. IV.F.70⁶⁴, Pol.IV.F.75, in BZ nos. 386 and 385); the *sejm* of 1726

⁵⁹ In J.D. Janocki, *Specimen catalogi...* (p. 65, item 197) described as “perpulcer et venustus”.

⁶⁰ See J.D. Janocki, *Specimen catalogi...*, p. 65, item 198 (it was described as equal to J. Lipski’s correspondence in terms of “pulchritudinis et venustatis”). It may be added that other copies of their correspondence are not known in the Polish holdings (probably the largest compact collection of copies of letters by Primate Lipski from the years 1637-1641 can be found in BZNiO, no. 637, ff. 1-67v.).

⁶¹ See J.D. Janocki, *Specimen catalogi...*, p. 66, item 202.

⁶² BZ manuscript inventory, item 1968.

⁶³ See further in this paper.

⁶⁴ According to W. Konopczyński, *Chronologia sejmów polskich 1493-1793*, Kraków 1948, p. 36. in the BZ manuscript inventory and in “Katalog rękopisów polskich” described as “Diary of Grodno sejm, 1726”.

(three copies: Pol.IV.F.131 and without shelf mark in IPB, in BZ nos. 387 and 388); the *sejms* of 1729 and 1730 (Pol.IV.F.64, in BZ no. 389); the *sejm* of 1733 (Razn.II.F.41); the *sejm* of 1735 (two copies: Pol.II.Q.9, Pol.IV.F.79, in BZ no. 390); the *sejm* of 1736. (Pol.II.Q.8, Pol.II.Q.9)⁶⁵; the *sejm* of 1740 (BN, no. 4356, formerly Deut.IV.F.114); the *sejm* of 1752 (Pol.IV.F.83, in BZ no. 392); the *sejm* of 1754 (Pol.IV.F.62, in BZ no. 393) and others. Moreover, they appeared in separate collections including several diaries: the *sejms* of 1623, 1626, 1628 and the election *sejm* of 1632 led by J. Sobieski (Pol.IV.F.96), the *sejms* of 1681, 1696, 1699, 1710 and the Warsaw Council from 1735 (Pol.II.F.60, in BZ no. 375) and the *sejms* of 1718, 1719-1720 and 1724 as well as the sessions of the Treasury Tribunal in Radom of 1718 (Pol.IV.F.141, in BZ no. 382).

All of the diaries mentioned above are known from many other copies⁶⁶, which of course does not determine their source value. With the exception of the *sejm* diaries of 1752, 1754 and 1758, identified by W. Konopczyński as identical to the versions known from other copies⁶⁷, we don't know much about their content, which is all the more important considering that they appeared in various editions and versions, which sometimes differed quite considerably from each other.

Several reports from foreign diplomatic missions held in the Załuski Library took the same form. These were an account of Krzysztof Zbaraski, the Crown Equerry, of the mission to Turkey, presented to King Sigismund III in 1623 (Pol.IV.F.98, in BZ no. 326) and an account of Rafał Leszczyński, Voivode of Łęczyca, of an audience with the Turkish Vizier in 1700 (Pol.IV.F.86). Several such accounts submitted by the diplomatic envoys to Turkey: Wojciech Miaskowski in 1641, Jan Gniński in 1679 and R. Leszczyński in 1700 were found in the manuscript no. 334 (IPB's shelf mark is unknown). Due to their official character⁶⁸, they are an important type of public life materials and they were widely disseminated and are known from many other copies.

The second group of manuscripts which was connected with personal interests in collecting and registering the documents of public life, was much more numerous than the chancellery and archival field. They were characterised by great formal diversity, ranging from the collections compiled randomly

⁶⁵ According to W. Konopczyński, *Chronologia sejmów...*, p. 38, who does not mention the diary Pol.II.Q.8, though.

⁶⁶ See W. Konopczyński, *Chronologia sejmów...*, pp. 140, 147-165.

⁶⁷ *Diariusze sejmowe z wieku XVIII*. Vol. 3: *Diariusze sejmów z lat 1750, 1752, 1754 i 1758*, ed. by W. Konopczyński, Warszawa 1937, pp. VII, IX and X.

⁶⁸ However, this category of materials does not include diaries written by Elias Pielgrzymowski (of Lew Sapieha's diplomatic mission to Moscow) and Joachim Pastorius (of J. Leszczyński's diplomatic mission to Sweden in 1655 and the Polish-Swedish negotiations in Oliva in 1660, BZ, nos. 2026 and 270) which are in fact literary or historiographic works.

and provisionally of *silva rerum* type to a kind of “publications of public life documents” carefully considered in terms of arrangement and selection of materials. However, determining their character as well as their number is severely hindered by the fact that most of them are lost. The number of such manuscripts from the period in question (around 1550-1795) can be only carefully estimated at about 140 copies⁶⁹. Although in the vast majority of cases we do not have detailed knowledge of the content of these manuscripts, it is known from numerous other examples that this type of collections contained unique materials, especially in regard to the documentation which was not collected in official books of entries, such as political writings, lampoons, satires, speeches and private correspondence concerning public matters. They were also a testimony to the literary culture of the society of the time.

Among this group of manuscript materials, “Acta Tomiciana” were an adornment to the Załuski Library. It was a work by the canon of Cracow Stanisław Górski containing copies of various public materials from the reign of Sigismund I the Old and the beginning of Sigismund II Augustus’ rule. The Załuski Library held ten original volumes of their first and third editions, from the so-called Jagiellonian collection from around 1553 (vol. 1: Lat.IV.F.145a)⁷⁰ and Stanisław Karnkowski’s collection from around 1570 (vol. 1, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15, 16, 25: Lat.IV.F.146a, f, h, i, l, m, p, z; in BZ nos. 229-236, 238) and, moreover, the copies of volumes 1, 13, 17 and 20 (Lat.IV.F.146q, Lat.IV.F.147, Lat.IV.F.148; in BZ nos. 237, 238, 235) dating from the 17th and 18th centuries⁷¹.

The Załuski Library contained a large number of representatively selected collections of public life records and materials relating to particular historical events and representing the type of handwritten “source publications” in terms of systematic selection and redaction of materials. They included: “Acta interregni post Sigismundi Augusti regis mortem ad Henrici usque coronationem” (Lat. IV. F.33, in BZ no. 364, in the Janocki’s catalogue from 1771 described as “grande et memorabile volumen”); “Acta interregni

⁶⁹ The record in the BZ manuscript inventory, item 1894 (p. 192) creates significant doubts as it collectively lists 48 volumes “miscellaneorum ad historiam Poloniae pertinentium”, of which only 25 have been identified by publishers with the manuscripts described in the IPB catalogue from 1843-1846. It is thus uncertain whether the remaining 23 manuscripts were described under other inventory numbers and, thereby, their number was duplicated.

⁷⁰ It is noteworthy that after 1778 the remaining 17 volumes from the so-called Jagiellonian collection were temporarily held in the Załuski Library, being borrowed from the Jagiellonian Library. After the repossession from Russia, they were returned to this library in 1934, thus avoiding destruction in 1944.

⁷¹ J. Korzeniowski, op. cit., pp. 109-116, 129-138; R. Marciniak, “Acta Tomiciana” w kulturze politycznej Polski okresu odrodzenia, Warszawa-Poznań 1983, pp. 186-189 and 224-235 and table after p. 180.

post mortem [regis] Stephani” (not recorded in IPB)⁷²; “Akta rokoszu pod Sandomierzem zgromadzonego 1606 r.” [“Records of the rebellion formed near Sandomierz 1606”] (Pol.II.F.55, in BZ no. 404) and an extensive (582 leaves) cartulary of records mainly from 1605-1607 concerning this rebellion (Pol.IV.F.111)⁷³; “Acta interregni po smierci Króla Jego Miłości Zygmunta III i diariusz aktu i sejmu koronacyi Władysława III w domu jmcí pana Sobieskiego krajczego koronnego pisane i przez jmść samego accurate trutinowane” [“*Acta interregni* after the death of His Majesty King Sigismund III and the diary of the coronation of King Władysław III and the coronation *sejm* written in the house of His Grace Lord Sobieski, the Crown Carver, and carefully considered by His Grace”] (Pol.IV.F.93; in BZ no. 365); “*Acta interregni*” from 1696-1697 following the death of John III (Pol.IV.F.38, probably also Razn. IV.F.32; in BZ nos. 366 and 367); “Akta konfederacyi tarnogrodzkiej 1715 [-1716] r.” [Records of the Tarnogród Confederation 1715 [-1716]] (Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, Archival Varia from the Załuski Library, no. 205, formerly Pol.II.F.12); “Diariusz kongresu lubelskiego 1716 r.” [“Diary of the Lublin congress in 1716”] featuring numerous records concerning negotiations held between the royal party and the Tarnogród confederates (Pol.IV.F.61); “Acta interregni post fata fata [...] Augusti II regis Poloniae ab A. 1733 ad 1735” (Razn.II.F.10, in BZ no. 369; probably also Razn. IV.F.25). All of the above – with the exception of the interregnum records from 1586-1587 – are known from other copies preserved in library and archival collections⁷⁴, and some of them might be considered luxurious manuscripts due to their craftsmanship, such as aforementioned “Acta interregni post fata fata [...] Augusti II regis Poloniae ...”, defined by Janocki as “elegantissimus [...] et praestantissimus codex”⁷⁵. This category of manuscripts also includes

⁷² J.D. Janocki, *Specimen catalogi...*, p. 63, item 185.

⁷³ According to J. Korzeniowski, “one of the best manuscripts containing historic material from the time of Zebrzydowski Rebellion”.

⁷⁴ “Acta interregni post Sigismundi Augusti mortem...” are known from the copies in BK, no. 274, ZBS, no. 36a/50 and probably ZTD, no. 3/52. The records of the Sandomierz (or Zebrzydowski) rebellion representing different redactions are known, among others, from the copies in AR, sec. II, no. 13, and the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg, no. 31. 3.28, BK, nos. 315 and 317, BPAU, nos. 1910 and 3916, BCz. nos. 337, 338, 339, 1368, 2729, BR, nos. 18, 118, Bartoszewicz Family Archives (in the State Archives in Łódź), no. 502. For the others, see M. Matwijów, “Acta interregnum” - rękopiśmienne zbiory materiałów dokumentujących dzieje bezkrólewí w Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej w XVII i XVIII wieku, “Roczniki Biblioteczne” 2016, vol. 60, p. 192, footnote 17, p. 194 footnotes 26 and 28, p. 195, footnotes 30 and 31; idem, *Zbiory materiałów...*, pp. 202-206.

⁷⁵ J.D. Janocki, *Musarum Sarmaticarum...*, p. 115, item 127. It is possible that it is his content description that can be found in A.S. Załuski’s papers, BJ, no. 115, ff. 4-11v. In this case, this manuscript would consist of 1269 leaves and in terms of content it would correspond to the manuscript in BZNiO, no. 6611.

the third volume of the great documentary work by the Crown State Prosecutor, Andrzej Lisiecki from the first decades of the 17th century, containing copies of documents and letters concerning the reign of Sigismund III during the years 1605-1614, mainly covering the period of the Zebrzydowski Rebellion (BN, no. 3087; formerly Pol.IV.F.119, in BZ no. 322)⁷⁶.

Containing at least 660 leaves, “Volumen interregnorum serenissimorum Poloniae regum Ioannis Casimiri et Ioannis III” (Razn. IV.F.111, in BZ no. 366), which was probably a composite or a fascicle, apparently consisting of two or three separate manuscripts⁷⁷, seems to be of particular value among the manuscripts of that period. In terms of its content concerning the interregnum after John II Casimir’s death, we only know that it included a diary of the election *sejm* of Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki from 1669, while as far as the interregnum period of 1696-1697 is concerned, it appears to be the richest of all the Załuski Library manuscripts, regarding political poetry of that time. Apart from the works which are found in a number of other manuscripts, it also contains poetry which does not appear elsewhere⁷⁸, therefore, making it difficult to determine whether it is some extended version of “Actorum interregni [post mortem] Joannis III” or a unique, wholly original collection. Since the librarians of the Imperial Public Library assigned it to the “historical” and not “literary” category of manuscripts, it seems that other types of public life materials, especially official documents and political writings, were equally abundantly present in it. In contrast, “Akta konfederacji tarnogrodzkiej” [“Records of the Tarnogród Confederation”] was one of rather modest collections of materials concerning this confederation, especially in comparison with the most extensive of them – “Compendium actorum podczas konfederacyi primo wojskowej pod Gorzycami, potym generalnej tarnogrodzkiej” [“*Compendium actorum* first during the military confederation near Gorzyce and then the General Confederation of Tarnogród”] or “Theatrum różnemi polskich rewolucyi od roku 1715 do 1718 indukcyami [...] wystawione” [“Theatre of various Polish changes exhibited from 1715 to 1718”] which were not held in the Załuski Library, though.

The miscellanies created for specific historical events or issues belonged to a similar category of manuscripts. During the reign of Sigismund III, most

⁷⁶ Other volumes of Lisiecki’s work are unknown, it is not even sure whether they existed at all.

⁷⁷ The same manuscript no. 366 was also supposed to include “Acta różne j.o. księcia jmci kardynała Radziejowskiego przy bytności króla jmci szwedzkiego 1698-1701” [“Various papers of His Eminence His Grace Prince Cardinal Radziejowski at the presence of his Grace King of the Sweden 1698-1701”], see J.D. Janocki, *Musarum Sarmaticarum...*, pp. 113-114. In this case – as the chronological scope of the manuscript would indicate – it could be the alleged chancellery cartulary of public records and correspondence by Michał Radziejowski, known today from three copies (AR, sec. II, nos. 37 and 38, BN, no. 6650), see M. Matwijów, *Zbiory materiałów...*, p. 158 footnote 36.

⁷⁸ The information on its contents is based on J. Nowak-Dłużewski, *Bibliografia staropolskiej okolicznościowej poezji politycznej (XVI-XVIII)*, Warszawa 1964, pp. 79-107.

of them concerned the Dimitriad and Polish intervention in Moscow of 1606-1613 and the Zebrzydowski Rebellion from 1606-1608. The most extensive were: a collection of public writings of 458 leaves mainly concerning matters related to *sejms* between 1606 and 1611 (Pol.IV.F.121) and a manuscript entitled “Historia Dmitra fałszywego” [“The history of false Dmitry”] with copies of materials from 1603-1625, including the diary of the Dimitriad and the Muscovite War of 1604-1613 (Pol.IV.F.33, currently in the National Library of Russia) and also miscellanies with copies of materials from 1603-1607 concerning mainly the Zebrzydowski Rebellion and the Dimitriad (Pol.IV.F.97) as well as “Miscellanea polityczne [dotyczące] rokoszu a. 1606-1607” [“Political miscellanies [concerning] the rebellion a. 1606-1607”] (without shelf mark in IPB and no. in BZ)⁷⁹. As the data concerning their content is limited, it is difficult to assess how valuable and unique the materials contained therein were, as several manuscripts of similar content have been preserved in various libraries, including similar materials such as “Początek i progres [proces] wojny moskiewskiej” [“The beginning and progress [process] of the Muscovite War”] by Stanisław Żółkiewski or the diary of the Dimitriad and the expedition to Moscow of 1604-1609⁸⁰. The same concerns the collections related to later public life events, such as “Miscellanea polonica ab A. 1613-1626” or “Miscellanea ad res Poloniae A. 1632” (without shelf mark in IPB and no. in BZ)⁸¹. They also contain materials which are known and appear in other manuscripts, such as already mentioned “Acta przedniejsze trzech sejmów” [“Major records of three *sejms*”] from the years 1623-1628⁸², found in the miscellanies under the shelf mark Pol.IV.F.76.

Also “magnus codex chartaceus” included copies of public life materials from the years 1648-1657 known from elsewhere (e.g. concerning the surrender of the Crown nobility to the Swedes in 1655). Its inventory number is unknown, though⁸³. A collection of materials concerning the siege and surrender of Smoleńsk to the Muscovite army in 1654 (Pol.IV.F.48) can be considered as more original, especially that apart from the copies (including the inventory of armaments and supplies and the list of the Smoleńsk crew), it also contained original “komput Ich Miłościow Panów Obywatelow Województwa Smollenskiego [...] w oblężeniu na Smoleńsku przy J. W. J. M. Panu Philippie Kazimierzu Obuchowiczu woiewodzie Smoleńskim osobami

⁷⁹ BZ manuscript inventory, item 1421.

⁸⁰ E.g. BCz, nos. 1633 and 1654; BK, no. 1709; BR, no. 33.

⁸¹ The BZ manuscript inventory, items 1641 and 1783.

⁸² “Acta przedniejsze trzech sejmów” have been preserved in the copies of, among others, the Potocki Public Archive (in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw), no. 37 and BK, no. 338.

⁸³ J.D. Janocki, *Specimen catalogi...*, pp. 111-113, item 371.

swemi zostających” [“Register of the Honourable Citizens of the Smoleńsk Voivodeship [...] staying with His Lordship Filip Kazimierz Obuchowicz during the Smoleńsk siege”].

The political conflicts of 1660-1673 were represented by several such collections. The most interesting among them is the collection of public writings concerning Polish political affairs from 1661-1663 and relating to the projects of election *vivente rege* and Crown army confederations (Pol.IV.F.125), apart from the materials found in numerous thematically similar manuscripts containing materials rarely found elsewhere, in particular including the *sejm* diary of 1662⁸⁴. Nothing more can be said about the other manuscripts of the Załuski Library concerning these events. These are: miscellanies containing copies of various writings concerning Polish political affairs from 1668-1675 (Pol.IV.Q.67), “Kopie listów i innych pism publicznych dotyczących historii Polski od 1665 r. poczynając” [“Copies of letters and other public writings concerning Polish history from 1665 onwards”] (Pol.IV.Q.73), “Ad regimen Joannis Casimiri spectans manuscriptum” (Razn.IV.F.5), and “Poloniae miscellanea 1656-1666” (without shelf mark in IPB and no. in BZ)⁸⁵. The content of the manuscript described in the Załuski Library catalogue and entitled “Acta abdicationis Joannis Casimiri, regis Poloniae” from 1668 (BZ, no. 333)⁸⁶ seems particularly intriguing – there is no manuscript of a similar title among the documents known today and, with one exception (found in the Gdańsk collection), there is neither any manuscript particularly dedicated to the abdication of King John Casimir⁸⁷.

There were about 40 manuscripts of this kind in the Załuski Library originating from the reign of John III Sobieski, and to some extent also the interregnum period after his death, and the beginning of Augustus II’s rule. Little is known about their content, except for the miscellanies from the years 1696-1705, the only ones which have survived to our times, written down by father Serapion Kocielkowicz (BN, no. 3097, formerly Pol.IV.F.108; in BZ no. 2172) distinguishing themselves by the richness of the collected public life materials as well as their thoughtful

⁸⁴ Currently, only two different diaries of this *sejm* are known (one of them being incomplete), preserved in single copies, see S. Ochmann-Staniszevska, *Sejmy lat 1661-1662. Przegrana batalia o reformę ustroju Rzeczypospolitej*, Wrocław 1977, pp. 5-6.

⁸⁵ BZ manuscript inventory, item 1457.

⁸⁶ It was probably this manuscript which was described in the *Specimen catalogi...*, p. 67, item 207. It contained standard records from that time, i.e. copies of correspondence of state dignitaries and speeches delivered at the abdication *sejm*.

⁸⁷ At the beginning of the 18th century, the manuscript “Abdicatio Joannis Casimiri regis Poloniae anno 1668” could be found in the library of Tytus Liwiusz Boratini (see K. Targosz, *Hieronim Pinocci. Studium z dziejów kultury naukowej w Polsce w XVII wieku*, Wrocław 1967, p. 176), however, it probably had nothing to do with the manuscript held in the Załuski Library.

arrangement⁸⁸. Although the content of the manuscript entitled “Collectanea albo zbieranina różnych transakcyi” [“*Collectanea* or miscellany of various transactions”] by Ludwik Osmolski (Pol.XVII.Q.8), dating from the last years of John III’s reign and the interregnum after his death, is unknown, its continuation “Collectanea różnych transakcyi ab anno 1696to” [“*Collectanea* of various transactions ab anno 1696to”] with copies of public life materials from the years 1696-1703 (MNK, no. 218) gives us the idea of its content and redaction. Due to the identical chronological range, it is also possible that “Acta sejmu grodzieńskiego et alia miscellanea rerum polonicarum anno 1688 ad 1693” [“Records of Grodno *sejm et alia miscellanea rerum polonicarum anno 1688 ad 1693*”] (without shelf mark in IPB, in BZ no. 466) had an equivalent in the manuscripts originating from the Radziwiłł holdings in Biała and Niasvizh (BK, no. 390 and AR, sec. II, no. 29).

This group of manuscripts also includes the miscellanies from the beginning of John III’s reign which contained among others: diaries of the election *sejm* of 1674 and the coronation *sejm* of 1676 (not recorded in IPB, BZ no. 442); speeches and other records of the *sejm* of 1693 (Pol.IV.Q.104); a collection of political satires and lampoons from the end of John III’s reign (Pol.XIV.Q.83, in BZ no. 2761); “Diaria comitorum Poloniae a. 1695 et 1699 et miscellanea 1695-1697” (without shelf mark in IPB, in BZ no. 376)⁸⁹; voluminous (329 leaves) miscellanies from 1697-1705 (Pol.II.F.13), containing a wide selection of copies of the most important materials concerning the events at that time (political writings, manifestos, diplomatic correspondence, international treaties); “Miscellanea historica ad res Polon[ic]as spectantia 1684-1713” (Razn. XVII.F.35) distinguished by the richness of political poetry, as highlighted in the inventory from 1806-1807 (“ubi et satirica carmina plura”)⁹⁰ or “Projekta i ekspedycyje sejmu grodzieńskiego r. 1718 seu potius miscellanea wojenne i wojskowe” [“Official and non-official documents of Grodno *sejm* of 1718 seu potius war and military miscellanies”] (without shelf mark in IPB, in BZ no. 1101)⁹¹. From the reign of Augustus III, these were, among others, “Vota czyli zdania arcybiskupów, biskupów, wojewodów, kasztelanów, podane na radzie senatu 1758 podczas inwestytury królewicza Karola w Warszawie” [“Votes, i.e. opinions of archbishops, bishops, voivodes, castellans, given at the senate council

⁸⁸ See M. Matwijów, *Zbiory materiałóv...*, pp. 305, 340.

⁸⁹ BZ manuscript inventory, item 1369.

⁹⁰ Since *Bibliografia poezji politycznej...* by J. Nowak-Dłużewski does not include any reference to the manuscript of such shelf mark, it seems that it could be mistakenly mentioned therein under the shelf mark Razn.XVII.F.36 (cf. *ibidem*, pp. 69-71, 73, 76, 90, 93, 94, 96, 101, 103, 105-107, 113, 151, 155). In addition, this supposition is supported by the chronological range of satirical poems originating from this manuscript, recorded by J. Nowak-Dłużewski, which covers the years around 1691-1700 and thus falls within the scope of the manuscript Razn.XVII.F.35.

⁹¹ BZ manuscript inventory, item 1516.

in 1758 during the investiture of Prince Charles in Warsaw”] (Pol.IV.F.41), known from many equivalents preserved to our times, both in the form of an extensive diary of sessions and a set of speeches delivered there⁹².

We have no information about many similar collections, such as “Zebranie mów i listów różnych publicznych i prywatnych, mianych w roku 1695” [“Collection of various public and private speeches and letters in 1695”] by Andrzej Przybyłowski (Pol.IV.Q.68) or two copies of the miscellanies from the interregnum period of 1733 and the reign of Augustus III (Pol.IV.F.148, Pol.IV.F.154). We can only assume that due to a certain similarity in title and chronological range, “Zbiór rzeczy ciekawych dziejących się w latach 1757 i 1758, spisany w roku 1759” [“A collection of interesting things occurring in 1757 and 1758, written down in 1759”] (Pol.IV.O.5) may have an equivalent in the manuscript no. 643 entitled “Manuskrypt anni 1758, najciekawsze w Polsce roku namienionego skrypta zawierający” [Manuscript of 1758 containing the most interesting scripts in Poland from this year] found the Sanguszko Archive (the National Archives in Cracow).

A large group of manuscripts contained materials from longer historical periods or concerned specific issues of public life. These included: a cartulary of royal letters, public documents and writings from the years 1527-1570, compiled around 1573 by Marcin Kromer, later Bishop of Warmia, for Jan Kostka, Castellan of Gdańsk (Lat.IV.F.150, w BZ no. 244); miscellanies containing materials on the history of Livonia and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the reigns of Sigismund Augustus and Stephen Bathory, probably compiled on the initiative of or for Mikołaj Radziwiłł, Voivode of Nowogródek (Razn.IV.F.144); miscellanies relating to Polish internal affairs in the second half of the 16th century (Razn.IV.F.131), containing in particular copies of records from 1561 and 1562 as well as a huge collection of copies, drafts, etc., fair copies of various acts and documents relating to both interregna of the years 1573-1575. The more valuable ones included voluminous (308 leafs) political and literary miscellanies from the first half of the 17th century, including mainly copies of records and writings concerning the events of the Zebrzydowski Rebellion, the Dimitriad from 1605-1611, the Muscovite War of 1633-1634 and the Cossack wars of 1648-1651 (Pol.IV.Q.30), created by some Lithuanian, as J. Korzeniowski supposed. This list is completed by miscellanies with copies of public materials originating mainly from the reign of Stephen Bathory and Sigismund III (Pol.IV.F.21), which in terms of content are very similar to the manuscript no. 27 of the Raczyński Library, dating from the early 17th century, and whose copy made in 1857 by the Polish librarian and historian Wiktor

⁹² See, among others, ZBB, no. 268; BK, no. 456; BN, no. 6680; BPAU, nos. 304 and 1129; BPW, no. 236.

Kalinowski can be found in the Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius (F.17-185)⁹³.

The matters related to dissidents were included in a collection of writings devoted to them (*gravamina*, “puncta dissidentium”, political writings) from the first half of the 17th century (Razn.II.F.9). A collection of writings relating to the constitutional and political affairs of the Commonwealth, probably dating back to the late 16th century and early 17th century, included, among others, the *sejm* constitutions of 1588 (BZ, no. 306)⁹⁴. However, the Załuski Library held no cartularies including records of regional diets, which is not surprising, considering that such records were created relatively rarely – the only exception were copies of the resolutions of regional diets of Royal Prussia concerning public matters from 1530-1730 (Razn.II.F.14, in BZ no. 636). It is worth adding that similar collections of copies of records of Prussian regional diets records are known from other copies (although covering slightly different time spans) held in the Gdańsk Library of Polish Academy of Sciences – namely nos. 1230-1232a (for the years 1600-1713 and 1600-1735) and in the Czartoryski Library – nos. 975-980 (for the years 1599-1769).

A separate group consisted of collections of public life materials gathered and created in relation to public activity of its participants. Among them, undoubtedly the most valuable are those created by state dignitaries or within their circles. The oldest of them included *silva rerum* from 1567-1570, probably of Stanisław Szafraniec, Castellan and Voivode of Sandomierz (Pol IV.F.116) and miscellanies with copies of public life materials from the years around 1570-1588 compiled within the closest circle of Mikołaj Wolski, then Crown Sword-bearer and later Court Marshal and Grand Marshal of the Crown (Pol.IV.F.140). Miscellanies with copies of public records from 1611-1624 collected by Piotr Wiesiołowski, Grand Marshal of Lithuania (Pol.II.F.42) and “Miscellanea Jacobi Sobiesky, patris Joannis III regis Poloniae, sermones comitia[lia] et alia miscellanea latino-polonica” (without shelf mark in IPB, in BZ no. 2905)⁹⁵ dated from the first half of the 17th century. In addition, the holdings of the Załuski Library also included collections of Sobieski’s speeches delivered at *sejms*, regional diets and

⁹³ See *Opisaniye Rukopisnogo otdeleniya Vilenskoj publichnoy biblioteki*. Vyp.4, Vil’na 1903, p. 34. It can be added that the manuscript of BR no. 27 also bears the endorsement “rewritten by Kalinowski”.

⁹⁴ BZ manuscript inventory, item 1504.

⁹⁵ BZ manuscript inventory, item 2965. It cannot be ruled out that “Apographum variorum antiquorum scriptorum publicorum et particularium notatorum scitu curioso vel maxime dignorum ex archivo et proprio manuscripto ill. et exc. domini olim Jacobi Sobieski castellani cracoviensis parentis ser. D. Joannis III regis Poloniae excerptum [...]” is a copy of this manuscript created in 1737, see BZNiO, no. 3581.

on other occasions (e.g. Pol.II.F.28)⁹⁶ which were very popular at the time and known from numerous copies.

Regarding the later manuscripts, the first to be mentioned are the miscellanies of father A. Olszowski (d. 1677), Bishop of Chełmno, Vice-Chancellor of the Crown and Archbishop of Gniezno, containing, apart from various public materials, copies of his correspondence. Although we do not know and will never know their exact content, the value of these manuscripts is unquestionable, given the role of A. Olszowski in the public life at the time as the one who actually steered the ship of state of the Commonwealth in the years 1666-1674⁹⁷. His miscellanies found in the Załuski Library are all the more important given that no other copies are known at present – apparently the entire Olszowski’s manuscript legacy was kept in this book collection and was lost together with its holdings⁹⁸. These were: “Miscellanea politica, historica Poloniae Andreae Olszowski primatis Regni” including, among others, copies of materials concerning the uprising of Bohdan Khmelnytsky in 1648 (Razn.IV.F.150, in BZ no. 328); “Manuscriptum Andreae Olszowski, continens epistolas nomine Nicolai Prażmowski primatis scriptas” (Razn.XVII.F.22, in BZ o. 452); “Listy różne jako i mowy Andrzeja Olszowskiego” [“Miscellaneous letters and speeches of Andrzej Olszowski”] (Razn.XVII.F.57, in BZ no. 360); “Scripta et acta publica, literae et publicae et privatae primatis Olszowski, et pacta aliqua (Razn.XVII.F.84), and possibly also a modest fragment of the once large manuscript, containing an otherwise unknown and enigmatic text “«Rozmowy na sejmie na dwa dni podzielone» przez Andrzeja Olszowskiego” [“«*Sejm* conversations divided into two days» by Andrzej Olszowski”] and a copy of the Polish-Brandenburg Treaty of 1657 (Pol.II.F.52).

The materials collected by the Bishop of Warmia and the Grand Chancellor of the Crown A. Ch. Załuski (d. 1711) are a similar case. These were collections (cartularies?) of public writings, diaries, letters, universals and other materials from the years 1696-1697 (Pol.IV.F.112, Pol.IV.F.117) and 1701-1705 (Razn. IV.F.37) – probably used by Załuski to prepare *Epistolae historico-familiares*, unknown “Miscellanea od historiam Poloniam spectantia” (without shelf mark in IPB, in BZ no. 77) and a collection of his speeches, votes and letters from 1702-1703 (Pol.IV.F.124)⁹⁹, thus materials beyond the chronological scope

⁹⁶ It cannot be ruled out that this was an author’s copy of Sobieski originating from the Sobieski library in Żółkiew.

⁹⁷ They were partly used by his nephew A.Ch. Załuski in the publication *Epistolae historico-familiares*.

⁹⁸ It is possible that the records on the marriage of King Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki to the Archduchess Eleonora of Austria (BK, no. 377) formed part of the materials collected by A. Olszowski, and, as evidenced by the old pagination preserved therein, were a small fragment of a much larger manuscript.

⁹⁹ BZ manuscript inventory, item 4108.

of the collection of speeches issued in print in the 1702, 1718 and 1734 editions. Among the members of the Załuski family, the author of such collections was the brother of Andrzej Chryzostom, Franciszek Załuski, Voivode of Czernihów and Płock, who wrote two such manuscripts, i.e. “Scripta varia politica ad rem publicam Poloniae spectantia, annorum 1696 et 1697” (Razn.XVII.F.23) and “Notata varia et collectanea ad comitia anni 1704 [?]” (Razn.IV.Q.26) and a collection of political speeches from 1696-1703 (BN, no. 3204, formerly Pol.II.F.62).

Regarding other prominent personalities, also Primate Stanisław Szembek (d. 1721) collected materials of this kind, as evidenced by the title of the manuscript “Acta et scripta publica Stanislai Szembek, primatis regni, et alia varia collecta” with materials from 1706-1712 (Razn.XVII.F.26, in BZ no. 339) probably written by himself as it was described by J. D. Janocki as “codex autographus”¹⁰⁰. It is also worth to mention “Miscellanea historico-politica” by Stanisław Jacek Świącicki, Bishop of Chełm, dating from the second half of the 17th century (without shelf mark in IPB, in BZ no. 450)¹⁰¹ or miscellanies by Jerzy Dzieduszycki, the Crown Equerry, a political writer from the early 18th century (Pol.IV.F.34).

At the other extreme, are found noble *silvas* and miscellanies, interesting as a testimony to the mentality and interests of the society at the time. They are of great value primarily because of documenting public life at the provincial level, but sometimes also containing important material on national politics. They include Jan Osmólski’s miscellanies, containing copies of materials mainly concerning political and religious matters during the reign of Sigismund II Augustus (BN, no. 3043, formerly Razn.XVII.F.58) and the miscellanies of the political history of 1563-1576, probably compiled by Walenty Orzechowski, district judge of Przemyśl, which contained, among others, diaries of the *sejms* of 1563/64 and 1569 (BN, no. 3081, formerly Razn.IV.F.36). The more interesting include *silva* (miscellanies) probably of the Cielecki family of Zarembo coat of arms from the early 17th century, containing in its main part copies of various documents from the 15th to 17th centuries, probably originating from the records of the Crown Chancellery, including a cartulary of letters and documents issued by the Crown Chancellery in 1611 and 1612 (Lat.II.F.145).

As for noble *silvas* and miscellanies from the first half of the 17th century, the manuscript by Wojciech Rylski (d. ca. 1655), *wojski* of Żytomierz, entitled “Pharetra politica to iest Sahaydak polityczny” [“Pharetra politica i.e. political quiver”] (Pol.IV.F.127, in BZ no. 398) is the one of which we have the most

¹⁰⁰ J.D. Janocki, *Musarum Sarmaticarum...*, p. 114.

¹⁰¹ BZ manuscript inventory, item 2588.

information about. It contained, among others, copies of records and writings from the period of Zebrzydowski Rebellion and the interregnum in 1632. A *silva* from the first half of the 17th century, probably compiled by a well-known Polish Arian activist Samuel Przyppkowski (Pol.XVII.F.14), contained a few public life materials, mainly occasional literary works and private speeches. It is possible that the miscellanies comprising a cartulary of Bogusław Radziwiłł's correspondence and copies of other political as well as political writings and literary materials from the years 1657-1672, possibly partly written down by Zbigniew Morsztyn, a poet and official serving the Radziwiłłs of Birżai (BN, no. 3092, formerly Pol.IV.F.151)¹⁰² originated from the circles of the Arian diaspora in the Duchy of Prussia after 1660. From later manuscripts, the miscellanies which can be hypothetically considered as valuable were collected by Franciszek Alojzy Łoski (d. 1728) – one of the more active noble politicians of his time, a poet and regent of the Crown Chancellery at the turn of the 17th and the 18th centuries (Pol.XVII.F.16). The bourgeoisie circle was represented by a *silva* probably by Cyprian Cwarkowicz, the Mayor of Wiślica (Razn.IV.F.73), which contained materials concerning trade in the first half of the 17th century (customs houses' tariffs on import and export of goods, weights, measures, product prices, fees).

In the light of this background, the most interesting is the collection of public life miscellanies created by Jakub Kazimierz Rubinkowski (d. 1749), a postmaster of Toruń and a keen historian. It probably consisted of about a dozen of volumes¹⁰³ and contained copies of materials mostly from the reign of Augustus II, to a lesser extent also from the reign of John III Sobieski and the interregnum period of 1733-1735, as well as from earlier years (BN, no. 3099 – formerly Razn.XVII.F.126, Pol.IV.F.155, Pol.IV.F.156, Pol.IV.F.157, Razn IV.F.31, Razn.IV.F.60, Razn.XVII.F.3, Razn.XVII.F.37, Razn.XVII.F.74 and one without shelf mark in IPB – in BZ no. 432, and possibly also Pol.IV.F.106)¹⁰⁴. It seems that the only surviving manuscript from this compilation containing historical materials from the 16th century is not a representative sample of the entire collection – a more accurate assessment of the documentary value of the manuscripts created by Rubinkowski can be provided by the manuscript no. 123 of the National Museum in Cracow,

¹⁰² See *Katalog rękopisów* [of National Library]. Ser. 2. Vol. 2: *sygn. 3006-3300. Rękopisy z Biblioteki Żaluskich i innych zbiorów polskich, zwrócone z Leningradu w latach 1923-1934*, elab. by B.S. Kupść, K. Muszyńska, Warszawa 1980, p. 171.

¹⁰³ In the BZ manuscript inventory in item 1894, of 48 miscellanies, 19 are indicated as Rubinkowski's manuscripts, and in item 2199, of 17 miscellanies, three are indicated as Rubinkowski's manuscripts. However, it is not certain whether at least some of them are included in the inventory under other numbers. About ten manuscripts can be attributed to Rubinkowski with certainty.

¹⁰⁴ In "Katalog rękopisów polskich" a comment: "From the Rubinkowski Library" is added to the description of this manuscript.

which can be in part or in whole a copy of the manuscript Razn.XVII.F.74 created around 1730 and including, among others, extensive documentation on the Wielkopolska Confederation from 1703-1704¹⁰⁵. Also in terms of political poetry included in these manuscripts which sometimes featured rare or otherwise unknown works, at least some of Rubinkowski's manuscripts should be valued very highly¹⁰⁶.

The discourses on political and constitutional issues were closely connected to public life in terms of subject matter. The Załuski Library held four independent copies of one of the most popular political discourses from the 1720s, disseminated exclusively in manuscript form, i.e. "Apologia pro libertate Reipublicae et legibus regni Poloniae contra callidos novi juris repertoires posterior et auctior [...]" by A. Lisiecki (Pol.II.F.10, Pol.II.F.38, Pol.II.F.65, Razn.IV.F.4)¹⁰⁷ and one copy of each of the following works: "Nowy nieprzyjaciel Polski (to jest niesprawiedliwość w Trybunałach)" [The new enemy of Poland (i.e. injustice in Tribunals)] of father Paweł Chotecki (Pol.II.Q.19)¹⁰⁸; "Gratis albo Dyskurs ziemianina z plebanem" ["Gratis or discourse between a landowner and a parish priest"] of Jan Brożek (Pol.II.F.34) printed at that time; "De corrigendis defectibus in statu reipublicae Polonae, discursus XXXV" from 1708 of Stanisław Dunin-Karwicki (Lat.II.Q.451)¹⁰⁹ and "Głos wolny" ["A free voice"] of Stanisław Leszczyński (Pol.II.Q.3), although printed at that time, also widely disseminated in manuscript form and known from many such copies¹¹⁰.

Even such general overview of public life materials from the time of the Commonwealth from the second half of the 16th to the 18th century, once found in the Załuski Library, leave no doubt that it was one of the richest and most valuable collections of these documents ever gathered in the history of Polish librarianship. If we were to compare this collection with the holdings of contemporary Polish libraries, only the Czartoryski Library in Cracow, the Ossoliński National Institute Library and the Kórnik Library could

¹⁰⁵ See M. Matwijów, *Zbiory materialów...*, p. 298, footnote 329.

¹⁰⁶ This concerns the following miscellanies: Razn.IV.F.60 ("Miscellanea jp. Rubinkowskiego ex anno 1701 ad 1706") [Miscellanies of His Lordship Rubinkowski ex anno 1701 ad 1706"], Razn.XVII.F.3 ("Miscellanea ad historiam Poloniae a. 1702 et sequentium scripta [ab] Rubinkowski"), Razn.XVII.F.37 ("Miscellanea ad historiam Polonicam collecta a Rubinkowski"), see J. Nowak-Dłużewski, *Bibliografia...*, pp. 66-160.

¹⁰⁷ For a list of other copies of this work, see M. Matwijów, *Zbiory materialów...*, p. 41, footnotes 99 and 100.

¹⁰⁸ Several copies of this treatise are known, see BPAU, no. 370 and BZNiO, no. 654, among others.

¹⁰⁹ For a list of other copies of this work, see M. Matwijów, *Zbiory materialów...*, pp. 42-43, footnotes 104 and 105.

¹¹⁰ M. Matwijów, *Zbiory materialów...*, p. 43, footnotes 110 and 111.

equal it. It was characterized by great formal diversity, holding all the most important types of public life materials in a very wide selection, and thematic representativeness – despite some gaps, the Załuski brothers managed to collect materials concerning all the most important events and aspects of public life until the end of the Saxon times, both in relation to internal affairs and foreign policy of the Commonwealth. We do not know, though, and probably will never find out what wealth of public life materials could be found in the manuscripts known only from general inventory records. Although some of these manuscripts or materials included therein certainly or with high probability have equivalents in manuscripts preserved in other library and archive collections, these manuscripts should be considered not only in terms of their value as a source for historical research, but also as testimonies to the intellectual culture of the society at that time. Their loss is thus painful, as it resulted in a significant impoverishment of the Polish cultural heritage and the initiatives to document manifestations of public life, taken at the time. In this view, the intensification of documentation work on the manuscript collections of the Załuski Library in the National Library in Warsaw in recent years will hopefully result in further scientific works in this field and expand our knowledge on this first Polish national library.

Translated by Magdalena Górska

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