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Between the Jagiellons and the Vasas: Research into Late 16th-Century Polish Parliamentarism

Abstract

The death, without a successor, of Sigismund II August on 7th July 1572 opened the epoch of free royal elections, a new phase in the history of the Polish state, marked by a checkered pattern of individual reigns and intervening interregna. Historians specializing in the late 16th century were usually attracted by these interstices, probably because they produced a number of innovations which paved the way for the establishment of the institution of *electio viritum*, in which all members of the nobility were eligible to vote for the future king. The reign of Stefan Batory (1st May 1576 – 12th December 1586), which filled most of the transition period between the rule of the two major royal houses, the Jagiellons and the Vasas, seems to have had less appeal, even to the historians of law and Polish parliamentarism. A researcher of the age of Stefan Batory has to confront a number of difficulties which are not faced by those specializing in the periods directly preceding or following that reign. The main obstacle is the dearth of source material that has been printed or is readily available in the Polish archives; moreover, some of the items that are listed in bibliographies of various studies and monographs of that segment of Polish history are difficult to trace. A thorough sifting of the archives for documentary evidence of the Sejms of 1576–1586 has produced relatively little in all respects, i.e. the circumstances attending their convocation, the preparatory work, the actual proceedings as well as their legal and political consequences. The most acute problem for any research in this field is the lack of parliamentary records, or Sejm diaries – of which there are plenty for the preceding and subsequent periods. Alternatively, a searcher of Batory's sejms, can find out what happened in those convocations from thumbnail descriptions in some contemporary chronicles or by digging up the relevant private and public correspondence, examining parliamentary speeches – some of which were printed – or by trying to infer the agenda and points of debate from the text of the acts adopted by the local sejmiks. As the main subject of my research is the legislative activity of the Polish-Lithuanian Sejm in the period 1576–1586 in the context of the legislative competences of the monarch, I extended my archive trawl to those files that could possibly include the text of both parliamentary and royal legislation, like the *Libri Inscriptionum* of the Polish Crown Register *Metrica Regni Poloniae*, volumes 113–133 as well as the inscriptions of the Cracow Land Register, housed at the Wawel Castle Branch of the National Archives. Another important source for the history of Sejms and the effects of their law-making as well as the royal legislation in the age of Stefan Batory are copies of documents that were deposited in various archives or were collected for publication. There is no comprehensive study of the Sejms convened during the reign of Stefan Batory or their legislation, nor is there much information about that chapter of parliamentary history in the historiography of the 16th century especially when compared with researches made for

the preceding and following periods. However, over the last two decades the standstill has been broken by some scholars. Additionally, some information about the Sejms proceedings and lawmaking during the Batory's epoch can be found in the distinct studies touching the miscellaneous aspects of that time including the biographical ones.

Key words: Stefan Batory, history of Polish parliamentarism, legislation, Sejm, archival researches, studies and monographs.

Słowa kluczowe: Stefan Batory, dzieje polskiego parlamentaryzmu, prawodawstwo, Sejm, badania archiwalne, opracowania monograficzne i syntetyczne.

Although the fifteen-year period 1572–1587 was crowded with complex developments of wide-ranging significance for Poland's future, historians have tended to view it as a gap between the reign of two great European dynasties, the Jagiellons and the Vasas, and focused their attention on the interregnum that lasted practically for four years after the death of the last Jagiellon king. The same type of bias can be found in the studies of Polish parliamentary history.

The death, without a successor, of Sigismund II August on 7th July 1572 opened the epoch of free royal elections, a new phase in the history of the Polish state, marked by a checkered pattern of individual reigns and intervening interregna. Historians specializing in the late 16th century were usually attracted by these interstices, probably because they produced a number of innovations which paved the way for the establishment of the institution of *electio viritim*, in which all members of the nobility were eligible to vote for the future king. The reign of Stefan Batory (1st May 1576 – 12th December 1586), which filled most of the transition period between the rule of the two major royal houses, seems to have had less appeal, even to the historians of law and Polish parliamentarism. Yet, Stefan Batory's is the first *regnum* of the new epoch of elective monarchy, which also saw the inauguration in 1569 of the joint Polish-Lithuanian-Prussian Sejm.

The late Professor Stanisław Płaza, one of the most outstanding historians of the early interregna, was well aware of the research deficits in that area.¹ My personal memories of Professor Płaza are closely connected with the figure of Stefan Batory. When I decided to write my MA thesis on a subject that was not related to that king the Professor did not hide his disappointment. Indeed, when I was still a student, on more than one occasion he expressed his surprise that I had not yet decided to write a PhD on that subject. To my reply that I would rather get on with my MA work first, he smiled as if he knew better than me. The encouragement and advice, which I got from him in his office stacked with grey cardboard boxes crammed with his legendary files, came back to me vividly as I was to choose the research topic of my doctoral thesis. It did not take me long to make up mind: it could not be anything but parliamentarism during the reign of Stefan Batory.

Unfortunately, I was prevented from benefitting from Professor Płaza's invaluable expertise by his death. It happened when my dissertation "Parliamentary and royal legislation during the reign of Stefan Batory (1576–1586)" was still in a very early stage.

¹ He is the author of, among others, *Próby reform ustrojowych w czasie pierwszego bezkrólewia (1572–1574)* [Proposed constitutional reforms during the first interregnum (1572–1574)], „Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego” CCXVI, Prace Prawnicze [Legal Studies], Iss. 42, Kraków 1969; *Wielkie bezkrólewia* [Major Interregna], Kraków 1988.

I successfully defended it on 28th February 2011; it is about to be published in a series of monographs under the auspices of the Sejm Publishers.

A researcher of the age of Stefan Batory has to confront a number of difficulties which are not faced by those specializing in the periods directly preceding or following that reign. The main obstacle is the dearth of source material that has been printed or is readily available in the Polish archives; moreover, the some of the items that are listed in bibliographies of various studies and monographs of that segment of Polish history are difficult to trace.

A thorough sifting of the archives for documentary evidence of the Sejms of 1576–1586 has produced relatively little in all respects, i.e. the circumstances attending their convocation, the preparatory work, the actual proceedings as well their legal and political consequences. My conclusion is that the relatively little interest in the parliamentarism of the Stefan Batory's reign can be explained by the paucity of sources from that period. It seems that the scarcity cannot be blamed just on the devastations caused by the wars of last century; after all, historians of the late 19th and early 20th century are known to have complained of this problem.² The most acute problem for any research in this field is the lack of parliamentary records, or Sejm diaries – of which there are plenty for the preceding and subsequent periods. The single exception is the Sejm of 1585, the last one of Batory's reign, which produced a few diaries compiled by its participants and observers.³ The remaining sessions either have no diary *sensu stricto* – though we can get some information about them from contemporary chroniclers, and in one case, the Coronation Sejm of 1576, that source allows us to reconstruct the proceedings with sufficient accuracy⁴ – or the extant diaries are barely fragmentary, e.g. the Sejms of 1581 and 1582.⁵ There are also parliaments of the age of Stefan Batory that have left no direct record whatsoever, for example the Sejm of Toruń in 1576 and the Warsaw Sejms of 1578 and of 1579–1580. What we know of them comes primarily from thumbnail descriptions

² One of them was Oswald Balzer, whose habilitation dissertation *Geneza Trybunału Koronnego. Studium z dziejów sądownictwa polskiego XVI wieku* [The Origins of Poland's Crown Tribunal: A Study in the History of Polish Courts of Justice in the 16th Century] published in Warsaw in 1886 contains the following comment. "It was for the second time during Stefan's reign that the Sejm was to have a debate on justice and bring the project [of reform] to a successful conclusion. If we had had a diary with a detailed record of the proceedings, we would have been able to get a better insight into the battles that were fought between the supporters and the opponents of reform and why the reformists carried the day. Unfortunately, apart from a handful of short and rather insubstantial notes there are no extant records of that extraordinary important Sejm. In these circumstances we cannot but feel proud of our work which has brought those recesses to light" (*ibidem*, p. 308). Balzer's words about the Sejm of 1578 are equally applicable to most sejms of that epoch.

³ They were published by Aleksander Czuczynski in: *Dyaryusze sejmowe r. 1585. Dodatki. Sejm walny koronny w Warszawie A.D. 1582* [Sejm Diaries of 1585, Appendixes, Polish General Sejms A.D. 1585], ed. A. Czuczynski (SRP, Vol. XVIII), Kraków 1901.

⁴ According to Świętosław Orzelski's chronicle *Interregni Poloniae Libros (1572–1576)*, ed. E. Kuntze (SRP, Vol. XXII), Cracoviae 1917; Polish version: *Bezkrólewia ksiąg ośmioro czyli dzieje Polski od zgonu Zygmunta Augusta r. 1572 aż po r. 1576 skreślony przez Świętosława z Borzejowic Orzelskiego...* [The Interregnum in Eight Books, or A History of Poland from the Death of Zygmunt August in 1572 until 1576, written by Świętosław of Borzejowice Orzelski...], ed. W. Spasowicz, Vol. II, III, Petersburg–Mohilew 1856.

⁵ *Dyaryusze sejmowe, Cz. I: 1581, 1681, 1726 r.* [Sejm Diaries, Part I: 1581, 1681, 1726], Teki A. Pawińskiego [Adolf Pawiński Files], Vol. VI, Warszawa 1900; *Dyaryusze sejmowe r. 1585. Dodatki...*

in some contemporary chronicles.⁶ Alternatively, of course, it is possible to try and find out what happened in those convocations by digging up the relevant private and public correspondence, examining parliamentary speeches – some of which were printed⁷ – or by trying to infer the agenda and points of debate from the text of the acts adopted by the local sejmiks. However, the principal editions of the acts adopted by the sejmiks of Proszowice, Poznań, Kalisz and Sądowa Wisznia between 1576 and 1586 have numerous lacunae, which reflect, as the editors admit, the missing records.⁸ As a result of my

⁶ Among the most important chroniclers' accounts of the period are: Świątosław Orzelski of Borzejowice (cf. footnote No. 4); Reinhold Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski od śmierci Zygmunta Augusta do roku 1594. Książ XII* [A History of Poland from the Death of Zygmunt August until 1594, in Twelve Books], translated from Latin by M. Gliszczyński, Vol. I–II, Petersburg 1857; *idem*, *Pamiętniki wojny moskiewskiej w 6 księgach* [Memoirs of the Muscovy War in Six Books], translated by J. Czubek, Biblioteka dla Młodzieży [Young People's Library], Ser. II, Vol. 11), Lwów 1894; Jan Ch. Albertrandi, *Panowanie Henryka Walezyusza i Stefana Batorego królów polskich, Wyjęte z rękopismów Albertrandego biskupa zenopolitańskiego przez: Żegotę Onacewicza* [The Reigns of Henryk Walezy (de Valoi) and Stefan Batory, Kings of Poland, Extracted from the MSS of Albertrandi, Titular Bishop of Zenopolis, by Żegota Onacewicz], Vol. I–II, Warszawa 1823; Marcin Bielski, *Kronika* [Chronicle], Vol. III, Book VI, Sanok 1856; Alessandro Guagnini, *Rerum Polonicarum tomi tres* [A History of Poland in Three Books], Vol. I, Frankfurt am Main 1584; Jan Dymitr Solikowski, *Krótki pamiętnik Rzeczy polskich od zgonu Zygmunta Augusta, zmarłego w Knyszynie 1572 r. w miesiącu lipcu, do r. 1590* [A Brief Commentary on the History of Poland from the Death of Zygmunt August at Knyszyn in June 1572 until 1590], translated by W. Syrokomla, Petersburg-Mohilew 1855; K. Zebrzydowski, *Chronicon seu vera historiae tabula rerum polonicarum*, eds. Z. Kowalska-Urbankowa, A. Kozłowska, Z. Pieterzyk, Kraków 1990; the chronicles edited by Henryk Barycz (*Kronika z czasów króla Stefana Batorego 1575–1582* [A Chronicle of the Times of King Stefan Batory 1575–1582], Kraków 1939; *Kronika mieszczańska krakowskiego z lat 1575–1595* [A Chronicle of a Cracow Burgher from 1575–1595], Kraków 1950); as well a number of lesser sources such as *Kronika Pawła Piaseckiego, biskupa przemyskiego* [The Chronicle of Paweł Piasecki, Bishop of Przemyśl], Kraków 1870; the memoirs of Wawrzyniec Miler, *Pamiętniki Milerowe do Panowania Stefana Batorego, Króla Polskiego...* [Miler's Memoirs of the Reign of Stefan Batory, King of Poland...], Poznań–Trzemeszno 1840); the memoirs of Teodor Jewłaszewski, *Pamiętnik Teodora Jewłaszewskiego, nowogrodzkiego podsędką, 1546–1604* [Memoirs of Teodor Jewłaszewski, Deputy Judge of County Court of Nowogródek], ed. J.T. Lubomirski, Warszawa 1860; the memoirs collected by Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce...* [A Selection of Historical Memoirs about the Old Poland...], ed. J.U. Niemcewicz, Vol. I, IV, Warszawa 1822; *Pamiętniki do życia i sprawy Samuela i Krzysztofa Zborowskich zebrał Żegota Pauli* [Memoirs about the Life and the Case of Samuel and Krzysztof Zborowski compiled by Żegota Pauli], Lwów 1846; *Pamiętniki o Samuelu Zborowskim. Zebrane z współczesnych dzieł i rękopismów biblioteki kórnickiej przez L.[ucjana] S.[iemińskiego]* [Memoirs about Samuel Zborowski: Compiled from Contemporary Books and Manuscripts in the Kórnik Library by L.S.], Poznań 1844; or what looks like a compilation of intelligence reports by August Mosbach, *Wiadomości do Dziejów Polskich z Archiwum Prowincyi Szląskiej* [Reports on Polish History from the Archives of the Province of Silesia], Wrocław 1860.

⁷ So for instance the speeches delivered at the Sejm of Toruń in 1576 were printed in Ś. Orzelski, *Bezkrólowia książ ośmioro czyli dzieje Polski od zgonu Zygmunta Augusta r. 1572 aż po r. 1576 skreślony przez Świątosława z Borzejowic Orzelskiego...* [The Interregnum in Eight Books, or A History of Poland from the Death of Zygmunt August in 1572 until 1576, written by Świątosław of Borzejowice Orzelski...], ed. W. Spasowicz, introductory volume, Petersburg–Mohilew 1858 and in Stanisław de Broel-Plater, *Zbiór pamiętników do dziejów polskich* [A Collection of Memoirs on Polish History], Vol. IV, Warszawa 1858.

⁸ *Akta sejmikowe województwa krakowskiego* [Acts of the Sejmik of the Cracow Voivodship], Vol. I (1572–1620), ed. S. Kutrzeba, Kraków 1932; *Akta sejmikowe województw poznańskiego i kaliskiego* [Acts of the Sejmik of the Poznań and Kalisz Voivodships], Vol. I: (1572–1632), Part I: (1572–1616), ed. W. Dworzaczek, Poznań 1957; *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej...* [Castle and Land Acts of the Polish[-Lithuanian] Commonwealth...], Vol. XX, Lwów 1909. Cf. also *Dyaryusz sejmiku proszowickiego przedsejmowego roku 1584* [Diary of the Pre-Sejm Sejmik of Proszowice of 1584], ed. J. Siemiński, PH 1912, Vol. 15.

comprehensive searches it has been possible to close some of the gaps and recover some records of other local sejmiks. However, the additional material is not significant enough to alter the general assessment that the parliamentary sources of Stefan Batory's reign remain patchy and irreparably incomplete.

As the main subject of my research is the legislative activity of the Polish-Lithuanian Sejm in the period 1576–1586 in the context of the legislative competences of the monarch, I extended my archive trawl to those files that could possibly include the text of both parliamentary and royal legislation.⁹ I was thinking primarily about the *Libri Inscriptionum* of the Polish Crown Register *Metrica Regni Poloniae*, volumes 113–133.¹⁰ It turned out that no parliamentary legislation of 1576–1586 was entered in the register except that of the Coronation Sejm of 1576. So, with respect to the legislative acts of other Sejms, I assumed that their most reliable record could be found in the inscriptions of the Cracow Land Register, housed at the Wawel Castle Branch of the National Archives. While short on some key records, the *Metrica Regni Poloniae* contains copies of quite a number of acts known as *uniwersaly* (mainly those issued by the king) and other documents (e.g. remonstrances), which were debated in the Sejms.

To get a sense of the full range of legislative acts adopted by the Sejms or issued by the king as well as other documents that were connected with the parliamentary proceedings I had to examine source materials held in numerous archives in Poland. In the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw I looked through the *Libri Inscriptionum* as well as the relevant materials in the Fond of the Crown Chancery, the *Acta Terrestria et Castrensia Varsaviensis*, the Warsaw Archives of Radziwiłł Family and some minor collections. The National Archives in Cracow, the Wawel Castle Branch, has a number of interesting data apart from the parliamentary acts inscribed in the *Acta Castrensia Palatini Cracoviensis*. More insights into the history of the Sejms and sejmiks can be gleaned from the materials held in the private Archives of the Sanguszko Family and, above all, in the records of the Prussian Estates (*Rezessen der preussischen Ständetage*) in the National Archives in Gdańsk. In the Library of the Czartoryski Family in Cracow most information about the sejms and sejmiks, including copies of various documents and legislative acts, can be found in the so-called Naruszewicz Files. A similar collection of Batoriana, the Stanisław de Broel-Plater Files, is housed in the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław. No less valuable, from the point of view of this research project, are the Pawiński Files in the Library of the Polish Academy of Arts and Science in Cracow.

⁹ I.e. not included in any of editions of *Volumina Legum* (*Volumina legum*, Vol. I, II, ed. J. Ohryzko, Petersburg 1859; *Volumina legum. Prawa konstytucye i przywileje...* [Volumina legum: Laws, Constitutions and Privileges...], Vol. 2, Warszawa 1733; *Volumina Constitutionum*, Vol. II, Part 1: (1550–1585), eds. S. Grodziski, I. Dwornicka, W. Uruszczak, Warszawa 2005; Vol. II, Part 2: (1587–1609), ed. S. Grodziski, Preface by W. Uruszczak, Warszawa 2008).

¹⁰ Unfortunately there is no Summarium for that portion of the *Metrica*. The Old Series of the Summaries of *Metrica Regni Poloniae*, initiated by Teodor Wierzbowski, reached the reign of Henryk Walezy (*Matricularum Regni Poloniae Summaria...*, Pars. 6. *Henrici Valesii regis tempora complectens* (1573–1574), contexit Maria Woźniakowa, Varsoviae 1999; the New Series, edited by Wojciech Krawczuk, begins with the legislation enacted after the coronation of Zygmunt III Waza, though it does list a few acts from Batory's reign, e.g. in *Sumariusz Metryki Koronnej. Księga wpisów podkanclerzego Wojciecha Baranowskiego MK 123 z Archiwum Głównego Akt Dawnych w Warszawie 1587–V 1588*, [Summaries of the Polish Crown Register: The Register Book of Deputy Chancellor Wojciech Baranowski MK 123 from the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (1587–May 1588)], ed. W. Krawczuk, New Ser., Vol. III, Kraków 2004.

Finally, many individual documents and acts are scattered throughout other MS and old print holdings in the Jagiellonian Library, the National Library and the Kórnik Library.

Another important source for the history of Sejms and the effects of their law-making as well as the royal legislation in the age of Stefan Batory are copies of documents that were collected for publication. In particular, the Pawiński Files contains a lot of material of this kind about the Sejms, the parliamentary sessions, and even the king himself. Many valuable documents of the age found their way into the printed editions of sources, e.g. Adolf Pawiński's contributions to the monumental series *Źródła Dziejowe* [Historical Sources],¹¹ Jan Piotrowski's edition of Batory's diary of the Psków Campaign,¹² Ignacy Janicki's *acta historica* of Batory's reign,¹³ Ignacy Polkowski's collection of Batory's *militaria*,¹⁴ the four volumes of the *Jan Zamoyski Archives*,¹⁵ Teodor Wierzbowski's *Uchańsciana*, featuring Jakub Uchański, Primate of Poland for most of Batory's reign¹⁶ and correspondence of the papal nuncios officiating in Poland during the epoch.¹⁷ As the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was a multi-national state, a fact reflected in the composition of the Sejm, it is also necessary to take into account those printed sources that contain information about the parliamentary work of representatives of the non-

¹¹ *Akta Metryki Koronnej co ważniejsze z czasów Stefana Batorego 1576–1586* [Acts of the Polish Crown Register – The More Notable Ones from the Reign of Stefan Batory 1576–1586], *Źródła Dziejowe*, Vol. XI, Warszawa 1882; *Początki panowania w Polsce Stefana Batorego 1575–1577 r. Listy, uniwersały, instrukcje* [The Beginning of the Reign of Stefan Batory 1575–1577: Letters, Official Proclamations (uniwersały), Instructions], *Źródła Dziejowe*, Vol. IV, Warszawa 1877; *Skarbowość w Polsce i jej dzieje za Stefana Batorego* [Poland's Finances and Its History during the Reign of Stefan Batory], *Źródła Dziejowe*, Vol. VIII, Warszawa 1881; *Stefan Batory pod Gdańskiem w 1576–77 r. Listy, uniwersały, instrukcje* [Stefan Batory versus Gdańsk in 1576–1577: Letters, Official Proclamations (uniwersały), Instructions], (*Źródła Dziejowe*, Vol. III, Warszawa 1877).

¹² Jan Piotrowski, *Dziennik wyprawy Stefana Batorego pod Psków r. 1581* [Diary of Stefan Batory's Psków Campaign in 1581], Nowa Biblioteka Uniwersalna, Vol. VIII, Ser. II, Iss. 89, Kraków 1894.

¹³ *Akta historyczne do panowania Stefana Batorego króla polskiego od 3 marca 1578 do 18 kwietnia 1579* [Historical Acts of the Reign of Stefan Batory from 3rd March 1578 until 18th April 1579], ed. J. Janicki Biblioteka Ordynacji Krasieńskich, Vol. 5, 6, Warszawa 1881.

¹⁴ Ignacy Polkowski, *Sprawy wojenne króla Stefana Batorego. Dyjaryjusze, relacje, listy i akta z lat 1576–1586* [King Stefan Batory's Military Affairs: Diaries, Reports, Letters and Acts 1576–1586], *Acta historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia ab Anno 1507 ad Annum 1795*, Vol. XI, Kraków 1887.

¹⁵ *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego kanclerza i hetmana wielkiego koronnego* [The Archives of Jan Zamoyski, Chancellor and Grand Hetman of Poland], Vol. I: (1553–1579), ed. W. Sobieski, Warszawa 1904, Vol. II: (1580–1582), ed. J. Siemieński, Warszawa 1909, Vol. III: (1582–1584), ed. J. Siemieński, Warszawa 1913, Vol. IV: (1585–1588), ed. K. Lepczyński, Kraków 1948.

¹⁶ *Uchańsciana, czyli zbiór dokumentów, wyjaśniających życie i działalność Jakóba Uchańskiego...* [Uchańsciana, or a Collection of Documents Explaining the Life and Activities of Jakób Uchański...], ed. T. Wierzbowski, Vol. I, II, IV, Warszawa 1884, 1885, 1892.

¹⁷ T. Wierzbowski, *Vincent Laureo, Évêque de Mondovi, Nonce Apostolique en Pologne, 1574–1578...*, Varsovie 1887; *Relacje nuncjuszów apostolskich i innych osób o Polsce od roku 1548 do 1690* [Relations of the apostolic nuncios and other persons about Poland 1548–1690], Vol. I, Berlin–Poznań 1864, *Elementa ad Fontium Editiones, T. LVIII, Documenta ex Archivo Cardinalis Ioannis Morone ad Poloniam spectantia Quae in Archivo Secreto Vaticano Asservantur, I Pars: 1561–1580*, ed. K. Lanckorońska, Rzym 1984; *II Pars: 1539–1579*, Rzym 1984.

Polish provinces and regions, i.e. the Lithuanians,¹⁸ the Prussians,¹⁹ the inhabitants of the Voivodship of Inflanty (Livonia) and the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia.²⁰

As I have mentioned earlier – most probably due to the paucity of source material in the archives – there is no comprehensive study of the Sejms convened during the reign of Stefan Batory or their legislation, nor is there much information about that chapter of parliamentary history in the historiography of the 16th century especially when compared with researches made for the preceding and following periods. This deficit was noted by number of legal and constitutional historians and restated emphatically in a state-of-research survey published in 1995: “All of Stefan Batory’s Sejms have been waiting in vain for an authoritative, full-length article, let alone a monographic study”.²¹ However, over the last two decades the standstill has been broken by Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz. In a series of books and articles she analyzed the parliamentary practices of that period, focusing on the growing rift between the king and the gentry. In her view that tension was a harbinger of a constitutional crisis which was to come to a head during the reign of the Vasa kings.²² However, without a careful examination of the circumstances at-

¹⁸ In this case the most notable collection of source material is Henryk Lulewicz’s (ed.), *Akta zjazdów stanów Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego* [Acts of the Assemblies of the Estates of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania], Vol. I: *Interregna*, Warszawa 2006; Vol II: *Reigns of the Elected Monarchs in the 16th–17th C.*, Warszawa 2009; and the relevant volumes of the *Lithuanian Register*, e.g. *Lietuvos Metrika: Knyga Nr. 71 (1585–1586)*, Vilnius 2008; *Nr. 593 (1585–1604)*, Vilnius 2009; *Nr. 594 (1585–1600)*, Vilnius 2006; *Метрыка Вялікага Княства Літоўскага. Кніга № 70 (1582–1585)..., Кніга № 272 (1576–1579)...* [*Metrica of Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Book No. 70 (1582–1585)..., ed. A.A. Miacelski, Mińsk 2008; and no. 272 (1576–1579), ed. A.A. Miacelski, Mińsk 2015.*

¹⁹ Gottfried Lengnich, *Geschichte der Preußischen Lande Königlich Polnischen Antheils seit dem ableben Sigismundi Augusti bis auf dem Todt Königes Stephani, der zu Ende des Jahr s 1586 eingefallen. Alles aus geschriebenen Nachrichten zusammen getragen und mit nöhtigen Urkunden versehen*, Vol. III, Danzig 1724, and the appended *Documenta*; and M. Dogiel, *Codex diplomaticus Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Litvaniae tomus IV in quo totus Prussiae res continentur*, Vilnae 1764.

²⁰ Maciej Dogiel, *Codex diplomaticus Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Litvaniae tomus V in quo ut universae Livoniae, ita speciatim Curlandiae et Semigalliae Ducatum res continentur*, Vilnae 1759.

²¹ Anna Filipczak-Kocur and Jan Serejdyka, *Stan badań nad dziejami parlamentaryzmu polskiego w latach 1573–1647 i postulaty* [A Survey of Research into Polish Parliamentaryism in 1573–1647 with Recommendations] [in:] *Parlamentaryzm w Polsce we współczesnej historiografii* [Polish Parliamentaryism in Contemporary Historiography], eds. J. Bardach, W. Sudnik, Warszawa 1995, p. 74.

²² Cf. E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, *Koronne zjazdy szlacheckie w dwóch pierwszych bezkrólewich po śmierci Zygmunta Augusta* [Assemblies of the Polish Nobility during the First Two Interregna after the Death of Zygmunt August], Białystok 1998; *eadem*, *Król i szlachta na sejmach batoriańskich. Konflikty i kompromisy* [The King and the Nobility at the Sejms during Stefan Batory’s Reign] [in:] *Między monarchią a demokracją. Studia z dziejów Polski XV–XVIII wieku* [Between the Monarch and Democracy: Studies in the History of Poland in the 15th–18th Centuries], eds. A. Sucheni-Grabowska, M. Żaryn, Warszawa 1994; *eadem*, *O nowy kształt Rzeczypospolitej. Kryzys polityczny w państwie w latach 1576–1586* [Attempts to Reform the Commonwealth: Poland’s Political Crisis 1576–1586], Warszawa 2013; as well as her numerous articles, among them: *Bezpieczeństwo wewnętrzne a geneza Trybunału. Sądownictwo koronne dwóch pierwszych bezkrólewich* [Inner Security and the Origins of the Tribunal: Polish Justice System during the First Two Interregna] [in:] *Praktyka życia publicznego w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w XVI–XVIII wieku. Materiały XVIII konferencji Komisji Lituanistycznej przy Komitecie Nauk Historycznych PAN w dniach 22–23 września 2009 roku* [The Practice of Public Life in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 16th–18th Century: Papers of the 18th Conference of the Commission of Lithuanian Studies at the Committee of Historical Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences Held on 22–23 September 2009], eds. U. Augustyniak, A.B. Zakrzewski, Warszawa 2010; *Diariusz konwokacji senatu w Lublinie z sierpnia 1584 roku* [Diary of the Convocation of the Senate in Lublin in August 1584], Białostockie Teki Historyczne 2010, Vol. 8; *Główne siły wpływające na politykę*

tending the summoning of each of the general Sejms, the reasons why it was convened and its proposed agenda, it is hardly possible to offer a convincing account of its work, procedures and the situation in which a given piece of legislation was passed (very often both the decisive vote as well as the shape of the law depended on shifts in the balance of power in the house). There are only few studies that address the problems of parliamentary procedure and the legislative process in the age of Stefan Batory. The pioneering work in this field was done in a series of articles and books, most of them by Wincenty Zakrzewski, commemorating tercentennial of Batory's death.²³ In the early 20th century Zakrzewski was joined by Kazimierz Lepszy.²⁴ More short articles on the parliamentary practices under Batory were written in the 1930s by Józef Siemieński;²⁵ and in the

wewnętrzna Rzeczypospolitej w dobie panowania Stefana Batorego [The Major Players in Poland's Inner Politics during the Reign of Stefan Batory] [in:] *Stefan Batory – król Rzeczypospolitej i książę Siedmiogrodu / Báthory István lengyel király és erdélyi fejedelem* [Stefan Batory, King of Poland and Prince of Transylvania], eds. A. Körmendy, R. Lolo, Pułtusk 2008; *Królestwo bez króla? Kompetencje monarchy w dwóch pierwszych bezkrólewicach po śmierci Zygmunta Augusta* [Kingdom without King? The Monarch's Competences during the First Two Interregna after the Death of Zygmunt August], PH 2002, Vol. XCIII, Iss. 2; *Król i Rzeczypospolita w polemice Zborowskich z Janem Zamoyskim do 1584 roku* [The King and the Commonwealth in the Zborowski's Polemics against Jan Zamoyski until 1584] [in:] *Wobec króla i Rzeczypospolitej. Magnateria w XVI–XVIII wieku* [Facing the King and the Commonwealth: The Magnates in the 16th–18th Centuries], eds. E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, J. Urwanowicz, Kraków 2012; *Metody i formy walki politycznej podczas obrad sejmików koronnych w dobie panowania Stefana Batorego* [Methods and Forms of Political Struggle at Polish Sejms during the Reign of Stefan Batory] [in:] *Kultura parlamentarna epoki staropolskiej* [Parliamentary Culture in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth], ed. A. Stroynowski, Warszawa 2013; *Senatorowie duchowni wobec koncepcji politycznych Stefana Batorego* [Ecclesiastic Senators and the Political Views of Stefan Batory] [in:] *Antonio Possevino SJ (1533–1611). Życie i dzieło na tle epoki* [Antonio Possevino SJ (1533–1611): His Life and Work against the Background of His Times], ed. D. Quirini-Popławska, Kraków 2012; *Senat Rzeczypospolitej wobec sprawy Zborowskich na sejmie 1585 roku* [The Senate and the Case of the Zborowski Brothers at the Sejm of 1585] [in:] *Ars historiae – historia artis. Prace ofiarowane Profesorowi Andrzejowi Wyrobiszowi* – historia artis – historia artis: Papers Dedicated to Professor Andrzej Wyrobisz], eds. E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, J. Maroszek, Białystok 2012; *Sprawa Zborowskich na sejmikach koronnych 1584 roku* [The Case of the Zborowski Brothers at the Polish Sejms of 1584] [in:] *Po unii – sejmiki szlacheckie w Rzeczypospolitej XVI–XVIII wieku* [In the Aftermath of the Union [of Lublin] – Noblemen's Sejms in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 16th–18th Centuries], eds. H. Lulewicz, M. Wagner, Siedlce 2013; *Uchwała szlachty-secesjonistów ze zjazdu w Sępcy, 4 czerwca 1575 roku* [The Secessionists' Proclamation Adopted at the Convocation of Sępcyca on 4th June 1575], From Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Wien, Polen, I, 25 (no pagination), Białostockie Teki Historyczne 2005, Vol. 3; „*Warunek warszawski*” z września 1574 r. a status prawno-polityczny państwa [“The Warsaw Condition” of September 1574 and Poland's Legal and Political Status] [in:] CPH 2008, Vol. LX, Iss. 1; and *Wesele Jana Zamoyskiego z Gryzeldą Batorówną* [The Marriage of Jan Zamoyski and Gryzelda Batory], Białostockie Teki Historyczne 2011, Vol. 9.

²³ Cf. W. Zakrzewski, *Jak należałoby badać dzieje Stefana Batorego. (Z powodu 300-letniej rocznicy śmierci króla Stefana)* [What Would Be the Right Way to Study Stefan Batory (On the Tricentennial of King Stefan's Death)], “Przegląd Polski” 1886, December, Vol. XXI, Iss. VI; *Po ucieczce Henryka. Dzieje bezkrólestwa 1574–1575* [After Henryk's Flight [i.e. Henryk III Walezy's]: A History of the Interregnum 1574–1575], Kraków 1878; and *Stefan Batory. Przegląd historii jego panowania i program dalszych nad nią badań. Z powodu 300-letniej rocznicy śmierci Króla Stefana* [Stefan Batory: A Survey of the History of His Reign and a Programme of Further Studies of that Subject. On the Tricentennial of King Stefan's Death], Kraków 1887.

²⁴ K. Lepszy, *Prusy Książęce a Polska w latach 1576–1578* [The Duchy of Prussia and Poland in 1576–1578], Cieszyn 1912; *Stefan Batory a Gdańsk. Rzut oka* [Stefan Batory and Gdańsk: A Brief Look], Gdańsk 1933; *Strażnicy morza Stefana Batorego* [Stefan Batory's Sea Guards], Gdańsk 1934.

²⁵ J. Siemieński, *Króla Stefana polityka sejmowa* [King Stefan's Parliamentary Politics], PH 1937–1938, Vol. 34, Iss. 1, p. 31–53, and its French version, *La politique parlementaire en Pologne du roi Etienne Batory*

1980s by Witold Rodkiewicz²⁶ and, with the focus on Royal (Polish) Prussia, by Andrzej Klonder.²⁷ More recently a number of more broadly-based studies were published by Leszek Kieniewicz,²⁸ Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz and Dariusz Makiła.²⁹ The new century was marked by the Warsaw historians with the inauguration of a series of monographs on Polish-Lithuanian relationships and the birth of Lithuanian parliamentarism.³⁰ A comprehensive study of the functioning and the competences of the Sejm during the reign of Stefan Batory (in the series ‘History of the Polish Sejm’) came from the pen of Anna Sucheni-Grabowska.³¹ This list would not be complete without several biographies of the king himself (most notably “Stefan Batory” by Jerzy Besala) and some remarkable figures from his entourage.³² Well-researched studies of Poland’s foreign relations in the age of Batory were published by Kazimierz Dopierała,³³ Ludwik Boratyński,³⁴ Janusz

[in:] *Etienne Batory roi de Pologne prince de Transylvanie*, L’Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres et L’Académie des Sciences Hongroise, Cracovie 1935, p. 263–291.

²⁶ W. Rodkiewicz, *Kariery posłów koronnych na sejmy Stefana Batorego* [The Careers of Polish Parliamentarians of Stefan Batory’s Sejms], PH 1987, Vol. LXXVIII, Iss. 1, p. 167–189.

²⁷ A. Klonder, *Prusacy na sejmie 1579–1580 – ostatnia próba przekreślenia Unii Lubelskiej* [The Prussians at the Sejm of 1579–1580 – the Last Attempt to Repeal the Union of Lublin] [in:] *Władza i społeczeństwo w XVI i XVII w. Prace ofiarowane Antoniemu Mączakowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin* [Poland’s Political Rulers and Society in the 16th–18th Century: Papers Dedicated to Professor Antoni Mączak on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday], Warszawa 1989; *Szlachta a królewsczyzny Prus Królewskich za Stefana Batorego (1576–1586)* [The Nobility and Crown Estates in Royal Prussia during the Reign of Stefan Batory], *Zapiski Historyczne* 1987, Vol. LII, Iss. 3; and *Szlachta Prus Królewskich wobec zagadnienia podatków w latach 1576–1586* [The Nobility of Royal Prussia and the Problem of Taxation in 1576–1586], *Zapiski Historyczne* 1984, Vol. XLIX, Iss. 1.

²⁸ L. Kieniewicz, *Senat za Stefana Batorego* [The Senate during the Reign of Stefan Batory], Warszawa 2000.

²⁹ D. Makiła, *Artykuły henrykowskie (1573–1576). Geneza – Obowiązki – Stosowanie* [The Henrician Articles (1573–1576): Origin, Validity, Implementation], Warszawa 2012.

³⁰ H. Lulewicz, *Gniewów o unię ciąg dalszy. Stosunki polsko-litewskie w latach 1569–1588* [More Quarrels over the Union [of Lublin]: Polish-Lithuanian Relations in 1569–1588], Warszawa 2002; and A. Rachuba, *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie w systemie parlamentarnym Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1569–1763* [The Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Parliamentary System of the Commonwealth in 1569–1763], Warszawa 2002.

³¹ A. Sucheni-Grabowska, *Sejm w latach 1540–1587* [The Sejm in 1540–1587] [in:] *Historia sejm polskiego* [History of the Polish Sejm], Vol. 1 (Until the Decline of the Commonwealth of the Nobility), ed. J. Michalski, Warszawa 1984, p. 114–216; cf. the relatively meagre amount of information in W. Kriegseisen, *Sejm Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej (do 1763 roku)* [The Sejm of the Commonwealth of the Nobility (until 1763)], Warszawa 1995.

³² Cf. J. Besala, *Stefan Batory*, Warszawa 1992; J. Bartoszewicz, *Anna Jagiellonka*, Vol. I–II, Kraków 1882; K. Olejnik, *Stefan Batory 1533–1586*, Warszawa 1988; E. Jezierski, *Stefan Batory*, Warszawa 1934; K. Tyszkowski, *Stefan Batory*, Lwów 1933; H. Mościcki, *Stefan Batory*, Warszawa 1933; A. Śliwiński, *Stefan Batory*, Warszawa 1922; L. Szádeczky, *Báthory István lengyel királylyá választása 1574–1576* [The election of Stefan Batory as Polish king 1574–1576], Budapest 1887; W. Sobieski, *Trybun ludu szlacheckiego. Studium historyczne* [A Tribune of the Noble Folk: A Historical Study], Warszawa 1905; S. Grzybowski, *Król i kanclerz* [The King and the Chancellor], Kraków 1988; and I. Horn, *Andrzej Batory*, Warszawa 2010 (Polish translation of *idem*, *Báthory András*, Budapest 2002).

³³ K. Dopierała, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne Polski z Turcją za Stefana Batorego* [Poland’s Diplomatic Relations with Turkey during the Reign of Stefan Batory], Warszawa 1986.

³⁴ L. Boratyński, *Stefan Batory i plan ligi przeciw Turkom (1576–1584)* [Stefan Batory and Plans of an Anti-Turkish League (1576–1584)], Kraków 1903; *Kozacy i Watykan. Kartka z dziejów dyplomacji kozackiej za Stefana Batorego* [The Cossacks and the Vatican: A Note on the History of Cossack Diplomacy during the Reign of Stefan Batory], “Przegląd Polski” 1906, XLI, 2nd Quarter, II, Vol. 162.

Pajewski,³⁵ and Aleksander Kraushar.³⁶ Stefan Batory's religion and the position of the Catholic Church during his reign were discussed in two articles published in the 1920s by Michał Morawski³⁷ while more recently the relations between various religious denominations at that time were examined by Jan Dziegielewski.³⁸

My research into the legislation produced during reign of Stefan Batory provided the basis not only for my doctoral dissertation on the parliamentary and royal legislation of that period but also on more than a dozen articles.³⁹ Together they present a picture of

³⁵ J. Pajewski, *Turcja wobec elekcji Batorego* [Turkey and Batory's Election], Kraków 1935.

³⁶ A. Kraushar, *Stefan Batory w sprawie walk o niepodległość Niderlandów (1586 roku)* [Stefan Batory on the Netherlands' Struggle for Independence (1586)], Lwów 1894.

³⁷ M. Morawski, *Batory a katolicyzm* [Batory and Catholicism], „Kronika Dyecezzji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej: Czasopismo poświęcone sprawom diecezji” 1924, Vol. XVIII, No. 6–7; and *Sprawy kościoła na sejmach 1576–1585 za Batorego* [Church Issues at the Sejms 1576–1585], „Kronika Dyecezzji Kujawsko-Kaliskiej: Czasopismo poświęcone sprawom diecezji” 1924, Vol. XVIII, No. 8–9, no. 10.

³⁸ J. Dziegielewski, *Sprawy wyznaniowe w Rzeczypospolitej w czasach panowania króla Stefana I* [Religious Issues in the Commonwealth during the Reign of king Stefan I] [in:] *Stefan Batory – król Rzeczypospolitej i książę Siedmiogrodu / Báthory István lengyel király és erdélyi fejedelem* [Stefan Batory, King of Poland and Prince of Transylvania], eds. A. Körmendy, R. Lolo, Pułtusk 2008.

³⁹ They are: “*Woiewodztwa pruskie do Trybunału Koronnego przystępują*” – *konstytucje sejmu A.D. 1585* [‘The Prussian Voivodships Are Acceding to the Crown Tribunal’ – the Proclamations of the Sejm of 1585 A.D.] [in:] *Vetera novis augere. Studia i prace dedykowane Profesorowi Waclawowi Uruszczakowi* [Vetera novis augere: Studies and Papers Dedicated to Professor Waclaw Uruszczak], eds. S. Grodziski, D. Malec, A. Karabowicz, M. Stus, Kraków 2010, p. 397–409; *An attempt to reform the constitutional system of 16th century Poland: A study of an unknown bill of 1587* [in:] *Actes du 57e congrès de la CIHAE: Assemblées et parlements dans le monde, du Moyen-Age à nos jours / Proceedings of the 57th ICHRPI Conference: Representative and Parliamentary Institutions in the World, from Middle Ages to Present Times*, dirs. J. Garrigues, E. Anceau, F. Attal, N. Castagnez, N. Dauphin, S. Jansen, O. Tort, Assemblée nationale, Paris 2010, p. 773–785; *Prawodawstwo sejmowe i królewskie za panowania Stefana Batorego (1576–1586). Autoreferat z obrony pracy doktorskiej, Kraków 28 lutego 2011 r.* [Parliamentary and Royal Legislation during the Reign of Stefan Batory (1576–1586): A Summary of the Thesis, Cracow, 28 February 2011], “*Krakowskie Studia z Historii Państwa i Prawa*” 2012, Vol. 5, p. 121–132; *Sejm czy król? Przyczynek do problemu prawodawstwa dla Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego za panowania Stefana Batorego (1576–1586)* [Sejm or King? A Note on the Legislation for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the Reign of Stefan Batory (1576–1586)] [in:] *Świat, Europa, mała ojczyzna. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Stanisławowi Grodzkiemu w 80-lecie urodzin* [The World, Europe, the Little Homeland: Studies Dedicated to Professor Stanisław Grodzki on His 80th Birthday], ed. M. Małecki, Bielsko-Biała 2009, p. 189–207; *Sprawy sejmowe i dorobek prawodawczy “tempore Conventi Generalis Torunensis A.D. 1576” w świetle Metryki Koronnej* [Parliamentary Matters and the Legislative Legacy ‘tempore Conventi Generalis Torunensis’ A.D. 1576 in the Light of the *Metrica Regni Poloniae*], “*Krakowskie Studia z Historii Państwa i Prawa*” 2008, Vol. 2, eds. D. Malec, W. Uruszczak, p. 73–90; *Stosunki wyznaniowe w Rzeczypospolitej za panowania Stefana Batorego (1576–1586) w świetle prawodawstwa sejmowego i królewskiego* [Religious Issues in the Commonwealth during the Reign of King Stefan Batory (1576–1586) in the Light of Parliamentary and Royal Legislation], [in:] *Cuius regio eius religio? Publikacja po Zjeździe Historyków Państwa i Prawa Lublin, wrzesień 2006 r.* [Cuius regio eius religio? Papers Presented at the Convention of Polish Constitutional and Legal Historians in Lublin, September 2006], Vol. II, eds. G. Górski, L. Ćwikła, M. Lipska, Lublin 2008, p. 69–83; *Szlachecka wolność słowa: fikcja czy rzeczywistość? Cenzura państwowa w XVI-wiecznej Polsce* [The Nobles' Free Speech: Fiction or Reality? State Censorship in 16th-century Poland] [in:] *Prace poświęcone Pamięci Adama Uruszczaka* [In Memory of Adam Uruszczak], Prace Instytutu Prawa Własności Intelktualnej UJ, Iss. 96, Kraków 2006, p. 137–150; *The legal activities of King Stefan Batory in Livonia (1576–1586)* [in:] *Einheit und Vielfalt in der Rechtsgeschichte im Ostseeraum / Unity and Plurality in the Legal History of the Baltic Sea Area*, Rechtshistorische Reihe B. 428, eds. M. Luts-Sootak, S. Osipova, F.L. Schäfer, Frankfurt am Main 2012, p. 109–122; *The Polish-Lithuanian Sejm under Stefan Batory's reign (1576–1586) and its law-creating activity* [in:] *Culture parlamentari a confronto. Modelli della rappresentanza politica e identità nazionali*, ed. A. Romano, Centro

parliamentarism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the years 1576–1586. In my account I tried to describe the facts and processes with maximum objectivity and studiously avoid the temptation, familiar to all historians, to judge and to moralize or to speculate about the causes, the effects, or the possible scenarios. My study is intended to show that the parliamentary procedures and the dual legislative process (parliamentary and royal) in the epoch of Stefan Batory had a distinct profile, different from those of the adjacent epochs of the Jagiellons and the Vasas. I hope that my contribution, in a way prompted by the encouragement of the late Professor Stanisław Płaza, has brought some light into a relatively unexplored tract in the history of Polish parliamentarism.

Między Jagiellonami i Wazami: badania nad dziejami parlamentaryzmu staropolskiego schyłku XVI w.

Streszczenie

Moment dziejowy obejmujący 15 lat, które rozdzielają panowanie dwóch wielkich europejskich monarchicznych dynastii: Jagiellonów i Wazów, stanowił początek nowej ery w historii polskiej państwowości zwanej epoką królów elekcyjnych. Badacze polskich dziejów schyłku XVI w., jeśli zajmowali się tym okresem, z reguły koncentrowali się na periodach bezkrólewii, mniejszym zainteresowaniem obdarzając czas panowania Stefana Batorego, swoim trwaniem (od 1 maja 1576 r. do 12 grudnia 1586 r.) obejmującego większość wspomnianego piętnastolecia. Badacz epoki Stefana Batorego spotyka się z wieloma trudnościami, które zasadniczo obce są uczynym zajmującym się okresami zarówno bezpośrednio poprzedzającymi, jak i następującymi po niej. Dotyczą one materiałów źródłowych znajdujących się w polskich archiwach oraz wydrukowanych, a także pozycji literatury naukowej o monograficznym czy też syntetycznym charakterze. Kwerenda źródeł, które przechowywane są w polskich archiwach, ukazała ubogość danych dotyczących sejmów obradujących w latach 1576–1586, szczególnie problematyczna okazała się znikoma liczba diariuszy sejmowych, w które obfitują okresy panowania Jagiellonów i Wazów, a które dla historyka parlamentaryzmu stanowią podstawę badań. Uczony próbujący poznać obrady sejmów epoki batoriańskiej zdany jest na bardzo ogólnikowe opisy zdarzeń w kronikach oraz na rekonstruowanie ich przebiegu z korespondencji prywatnych i urzędowych, przemów poselskich czy też uchwał sejmikowych. Biorąc pod uwagę przedmiot badań, a więc omówienie prawodawczych funkcji polsko-litewskiego sejmu w latach 1576–1586 w konfrontacji z legislacyjnymi kompetencjami monarchy, kwerendą źródłową objęte zostały przede wszystkim te jednostki archiwalne, w których prawdopodobne było znalezienie tekstów aktów prawodawczych zarówno sejmowych, jak i królewskich, w tym Metryka Koronna, Księgi Wpisów, Księgi Ziemskie Krakowskie znajdujące się w Archiwum Narodowym w Krakowie, Oddziale na Wawelu. Cennym źródłem wiedzy w zakresie obrad sejmowych i skutków jego działalności legislacyjnej, jak i aktów prawnych wydanych przez króla w czasie panowania Stefana Batorego, są wydrukowane lub też zdeponowane w archiwach kopia-riuszce różnych dokumentów. Sejmy obradujące za panowania Stefana Batorego, w tym ich działalność prawodawcza (w przeciwieństwie do okresów wcześniejszego Jagiellonów i późniejszego Wazów), nie mają żadnego opracowania monograficznego, a informacje na ich temat zawarte w repetytoriach syntetycznych zajmują proporcjonalnie mało miejsca. Dopiero niedawno nieliczni badacze podjęli tematykę rządów księcia siedmiogrodzkiego na polsko-litewskim tronie, również w kontekście jego relacji

interuniversitario per la storia delle università italiane. Studi 29, Bologna 2016, p. 111–120; *Współdziałanie króla i stanów w tworzeniu prawa za panowania Stefana Batorego* [Legislative Co-operation of the King and the Estates during the Reign of Stefan Batory] [in:] *Spoleczeństwo a władza. Ustrój, prawo, idee* [Society and the Political Rulers: Constitutional Order, the Law, Ideas], ed. J. Przygodzki, M.J. Ptak, Kolonia Limited, Wrocław 2010, p. 239–251.

z innymi stanami sejmującymi. Niektóre dane na temat praktyki sejmowania i tworzenia prawa w tym czasie znaleźć można także w innych opracowaniach dotyczących różnych aspektów epoki batoriańskiej, również w tych o charakterze biograficznym.

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