Research Article

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Aleksandra Ziober*

Sapiehas estate document from the end of the 17th century as a source of the family's economic and political history

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Abstract: Property documents and more precisely, the inventories of earthly goods can be very helpful in explaining complicated political affairs. Also the nobles' names, which are mentioned in registers, may show us the influence and the composition of the nobility, from which the lider's property were leased. Residents of manors, which belonged to the Sapieha Family, actually were forced to gain some contact and be dependent on the Family, even if it was a part of economic relations, which could easily be transformed into a personal one. However, the manor reliances undoubtedly opened up opportunities for both sides, which juxtaposed the benefits and losses with possible closer cooperation. Despite property ties, by analyzing the mentioned document we can find out (among other knowledge) the information about subordination and independence. Moreover it is possible to take the notice of the moodiness of the political scene or of the global political tendencies of residents what was the scope of interests for researcher of economists and goods.

Keywords: Sapiehas; Grand Duchy of Lithuania; catalogue.

Property documents, or more precisely inventories of landed and leased royalties, can be used by historians for multidimensional studies not only related to the economic history. Of course, we could find information there about

the number of chimneys² (in Polish: dymów) or leased lands and certainly these data are very important for people specializing in research in the history of taxes and broadly understood economics. On the other hand, land property inventories may serve to answer complicated political questions, and the names of the noblemen listed may show us the influence and composition of the magnate faction, from whom the leader leased property. Thanks to this, the analyzed manuscript material becomes a source of comprehensive application for the historian. Therefore, in this article, I would like to focus primarily on the analysis of socio-political connections of people appearing in the property document referred in the title of the article, and thus demonstrate the legitimacy of using this type of material for extensive research.

The analyzed manuscript containing a list of the Sapieha family property, which at the end of the 17th century obtained a dominant position in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and is kept in the collection of the Science Library of Polish Academy of Learning and the Polish Academy of Sciences in Krakow under the manuscript number 5787³. Unfortunately, the manuscript has not been preserved in its entirety, therefore the date of its preparation and title cannot be found in it. Some cards have been damaged or destroyed, making it difficult or impossible to read the tenants' names recorded there. According to the archivist working on the inventory of the document, it is from the first years of the 18th century and contains information about the chimneys in the estates and properties of the Great Pantler of Lithuania, Jerzy Stanislaw Sapieha. The document was prepared for Timofiej Iwanowicz Czyryk, a lieutenant colonel in the tsarist army. It is most likely that it comes from the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries as some of its elements indicate. Among others, the document mentioned a few

¹ The article was created as a result of scientific research carried out as part of the project PRELUDIUM 12 entitled "Attitudes of the elite of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania towards the election of Wladyslaw IV Waza and Michal Korybut Wisniowiecki" (project no. UMO-2016/23/N/HS3/00679) financed by the National Science Center in Krakow.

*Corresponding author: Aleksandra Ziober, Department of Economic History, Demography and Statistic, Institute of History, University of Wrocław, Poland, E-mail: aleksandra.ziober@uwr.edu.pl

² Unit of tax calculations in the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; a country cottage or farm.

³ Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie, ms. 5787, 1, 4-13, 15, 22-23.

people like the Great Marshal of Lithuanian Jan Karol Dolski, Gedeon (Stanisław?) Hładowicki, Stanisław Massalski and the Cupbearer ("cześnik") of Smolensk Jerzy Bury – all of whom died between 1691 and 1698, and on the other hand, officials who obtained their offices only in 1700 (e.g. Andrzej Hieronim Przeclawski, Deputy District Judge ("podsędek") of Slonim⁴. In this connection, the author inclines to the thesis that the document dates from the beginning of the 18th century, which is also evidenced by the fact that the document was drawn up on the orders of the lieutenant colonel of the tsarist army, who probably stayed in the Commonwealth in the first years of the Great Northern Wars.

Research on the manuscript material would not be complete without, at least in general analysis, the political situation of the Sapieha family during the reign of Jan III Sobieski, whose activity led to mentioned noblemen's hegemony at the end of the seventeenth century. After the election, the King, wanting to overcome the influence of the Pac family in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, decided to oppose the sons of Paweł Jan Sapieha (who died in 1665) – Benedykt Paweł, Kazimierz Jan, Franciszek Stefan and Leon Bazyli. Within a few years after the election of Jan III to be the king, they received several of the most important offices in Lithuania: the Lithuanian Grand Treasurer, the Lithuanian Grand Hetman and the Voivode of Vilnius, and, what is also important, the support of the monarch. Gaining more and more influence in Lithuania, they quickly used their abilities and start to be in opposition to the King, and at the end of the 1680s, they became indisputable hegemonies in the Grand Duchy. The first visible activities of the opposition to the Sapiehas appeared in the first half of the 1690s. The Bishop of Vilnius Konstanty Kazimierz Brzostowski supported by the monarch, cursed Kazimierz Sapieha in relation to the allegedly unlawful distribution of military banners in the priest property. This initiated an avalanche of political events that eventually ended in a civil war and a battle between the republics and the followers of Sapiehas near Olkieniki on November 18, 1700. After losing the battle, the Lithuanian hegemonies were forced to leave Grand Duchy⁵.

4 Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie, ms. 5787, 13; Российский государственный архив древних актов, Москва, ф. 389 (Metryka Litewska), No. 146, 279; A. Rachuba (Ed.), *Urzednicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Spisy*, Vol. 1, Województwo wileńskie, Wydawnictwo DiG Warszawa, 2004, 233 (in Polish); A. Rachuba (ed.), *Urzednicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Spisy*, Vol. 4, Ziemia smoleńska i województwo smoleńskie XIV-XVIII wiek, Wydawnictwo DiG, Warszawa, 2003, 66 (in Polish).

5 A. Rachuba, *Sprawa obsady urzędów litewskich po Sapiechach w początkach XVIII wieku*, In: K. Wajda and others (Eds.), *Mędzy*

One of the most important determinants of the political and social position of the noblemen's family was the landed possessions, both those inherited from the ancestors and those obtained from royal grants. It seems that especially the former were of great political importance, and as Henryk Lulewicz said, they created somehow a bond "in the chain of causes that gave the elite at the same time an intermediary function between the king and the corporations of the county nobility represented by land council and a dominant position over the nobility". So, the magnates with extensive latifundium had the greatest importance, and through their proper distribution, they could expand their political influence among the gentry, who were economically dependent on them⁶.

This is perfectly illustrated by the financial situation of the most influential sons of Paweł Jan Sapieha – Kazimierz Jan and Benedykt Paweł. It should be remembered that their hegemony was based mainly on strong economic foundations. In the 1690s, Kazimierz Jan was the richest nobleman of the Grand Duchy, whose hereditary goods amounted to almost 18 thousand chimneys. From 1695, he also managed to possess very lucrative Neuburg goods (over 14,000 chimneys). His brother, Benedykt Paweł, had a slightly smaller property, presumably about 9,000 chimneys, although for tax purposes he declared less than half of them. Adding all the chimneys belonging to the family (mother, sons, nephews from the Czerejska line), the Sapiehas owned about 10% of them in Lithuania, and with Neuburg goods up to 15%, which gives a sum of around 30,000 chimneys. For example, it could be stated

wielką polityką a szlacheckim partykularzem. Studia z dziejów nowożytnej Polski i Europy ku czci profesora Jacka Staszewskiego, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń, 1993, 253-254 (in Polish); K. Piwarski, *Opozycja litewska pod koniec XVII wieku*, In: *Pamiętnik V Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich w Warszawie 18 listopada do 4 grudnia 1930 r. i referaty*, Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, Lwów, 1930, 262-263 (in Polish); L. Powidaj, *Wojna domowa Sapiechów z szlachtą litewską w ostatnich latach XVII i na początku XVIII wieku. Szkic historyczny*, *Przegląd Polski*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1872, 69 (in Polish); K. Nizio, *Wojna domowa szlachty z Sapiehami na pióra*, *Pamiętniki Biblioteki Kórnickiej*, No. 22, 1988, 125-126 (in Polish); M. Sawicki, *Konflikt biskupa wileńskiego Konstantego Kazimierza Brzostowskiego z Kazimierzem Janem Sapiehą w latach 1693-1696*, In: S. Górzyński, M. Nagielski (Eds.), *Studia z dziejów Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XVI-XVIII w.*, Wydawnictwo DiG, Warszawa, 2014, 383-401 (in Polish).

6 M. Sawicki, *Dom sapieżyński 1666-1685. Droga do hegemonii w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, Opole, 2016, 196 (in Polish); H. Lulewicz, *Elita polityczno-społeczna Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w połowie XVII wieku*, PhD thesis, University of Warsaw, Warsaw, Poland, 1984, 282-283 (in Polish).

that the Radziwills, who were in opposition to them, owned approx. 12,000 chimneys in total at that time. Contrary to the Pac's policy, Benedykt Paweł and Kazimierz Jan were mainly pledging or renting family goods⁷.

Below in the article we present persons or families who had the greatest influence on Poland's national and local political scenes. We will analyze their political attitudes towards the Sapieha family and their attitude to the conflict, which has reached a dramatic climax in the Battle near Olkieniki. The other noblemen listed in the inventory are included in the tables as annexes at the end of the article.

Analyzing the presented document, it is worth paying attention to the members of the Polubinsky family, who were mentioned many times in it and owned goods in various estates belonging to the Sapieha family. Aleksander Hilary should certainly be the most important representative of the Polubinski family. He began his political career under the reign of Jan Kazimierz Vasa. Then, he received the office of the Grand Lithuanian Marshal during the reign of Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki in 1669. Aleksander Hilary died in 1679 and, among other things, he left his daughter Izabella Helena. She is mentioned in the presented material and was to own property in the Lukonicka parish⁸. Interestingly, Izabella Helena married the Lithuanian Pantler Jerzy Stanisław Sapieha, the son of the Grand Lithuanian Hetman, Kazimierz Jan, who was also mentioned in the inventory as the tenant of goods in the Dereczynska parish⁹.

Another member from the Polubinsky family who was mentioned several times in the list, was Leon Kazimierz, voivode of Nowogrodek and Bailiff of Twer ("Ciwun Twerski"). He was supposed to own property in the Dereczyńska parish and in the royal lands leased by the Sapieha family¹⁰. He was the son of Dimitri Samuel Polubinski, voivode of Nowogrodek and Konstancja from Stadnicki family, the daughter of Wiktoryn the Castellan of

Przemysł¹¹. In 1698, Leon Kazimierz Polubinski appeared at a mass mobilization of noblemen (in Polish: *pospolite ruszenie*) gathering in Samogitia (between Lawna and Puzewicze), where on August 14 he signed the act of the state of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In 1699 he was appointed as the deputy from the Duchy of Samogitia to a pacificator parliament against Sapieha's hegemony. Perhaps he participated in the Battle near Olkieniki, however, the resolution of the state of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from November 2, does not mention him as one of the signatories of the document. Probably he was in the Samogitian banner commanded by Hrehory Oginski, which were not included in the above document¹².

The inventory also lists the next son of Dymitr Samuel, Michał Aleksander Polubinski, District Judge of Slonim. Probably, he owned goods in the Dereczynska parish¹³. Interestingly, three of his sons were also mentioned twice: Hieronim, Kazimierz and Franciszek. All three were supposed to possess property in the royal lands of the Sapiehas and in the Kosonska parish¹⁴.

The collection also lists several other members of the Polubinsky family. One of them was recorded under the name "Remian" and as a son of voivode of Nowogrodek, so it certainly had to be another son of Dymitr Samuel, Remigian Stanisław, Chamberlain of Slonim, whose career was associated primarily with the army. Among other things, he was the Standard-bearer of the banner (in Polish: *chorazy choragwi*) of the Hussar belonging to the Grand Lithuanian Marshal Aleksander Hilary Polubinski. He owned property in the royal lands leased by the Sapiehas and in the Dereczynska parish¹⁵.

The inventory also mentioned twice Ludwik Polubinski, but without the office he held. We could assume that it was Ludwik Aleksander who was a Cupbearer of Slonim from 1690. He owned property (as did

7 A. Rachuba, *Hegemonia Sapiechów na Litwie jako przejaw skrajnej dominacji magnaterii w życiu kraju*, In: J. Urwanowicz, E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, P. Guzowski (Eds.), *Władza i prestiż. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVII wieku*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, Białystok, 2003, 223, 225 (in Polish); M. Sawicki, *Dom sapieżyński 1666-1685. Droga do hegemonii w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, Opole, 2016, 199 (in Polish).

8 Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie, ms. 5787, 6.

9 A. Rachuba, *Sapieha Jerzy Stanisław*, *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Vol. 35, No. 1, Warszawa-Kraków 1994, 21 (in Polish).

10 Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie, ms. 5787, 5v, 8.

11 A. Rachuba, *Połuński Dymitr Samuel*, *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Vol. 27, No. 3, 366 (in Polish).

12 M. Nagielski, *Połuński Leon Kazimierz*, *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Vol. 27, No. 3, 369 (in Polish).

13 Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie, ms. 5787, 6; A. Rachuba, *Połuński Dymitr Samuel*, *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Vol. 27, No. 3, 366 (in Polish).

14 Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie, ms. 5787, 4v, 8-8v.

15 Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie, ms. 5787, 5v and 8; A. Rachuba, *Połuński Dymitr Samuel*, *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Vol. 27, No. 3, 366 (in Polish); A. A. Majewski, *Aleksander Hilary Połuński (1627-1679). Marszałek wielki litewski. Działalność polityczno-wojskowa*, Wydawnictwo Neriton, Warszawa, 2017, 432 (in Polish).

the above-mentioned Polubinsky) in the royal lands and in the Dereczyńska parish¹⁶.

Lease of many goods in Sapieha's latifundia may testify to the fact that they attempted to make the Polubinsky family depend on them, which is also confirmed by the aforementioned marriage of the son of Kazimierz Jan, Franciszek Stefan with Izabela Helena. Based on the analyzed inventory, it seems very likely that after the death of its most influential member, Aleksander Hilary, the Sapieha family wanted to use the opportunity to persuade the members of his family and faction to join their side. However, it seems that their efforts did not end well.

Jan Władysław Brzostowski, son of Cyprian Brzostowski and Rachela Rajeka, was also mentioned in the analyzed inventory. He was the brother of Konstanty Bishop of Vilnius, who cast the aforementioned curse on Kazimierz Jan. He began his career under the rule of Michał Korybut Wisniowiecki and in 1669 he became a Starost of Subocz. He obtained the highest office in his career in 1681 when he became a Lithuanian Referendary. He belonged to the opposition movement to the Sapieha family, and in 1698 he was one of the noble plenipotentiaries in negotiations with them. He had goods in the royal lands leased by the Sapiehas, but it does not seem that he cooperated with them politically¹⁷.

Michał Karol Haraburda, the Marshal of Slonim, son of Mikołaj Jerzy, was also mentioned in the inventory. He owned property in the Lukonicka parish in Ostrewia, Bajki, Klimowicze and Rewtowicze. Between the Haraburda and Aleksander Hilary Polubinski from 1667, there was a serious conflict, which began with the rivalry for the Lithuanian Lord High Steward. Probably the Grand Lithuanian Marshal even invaded the armed goods of Haraburda, then the "wojski"¹⁸ of Slonim. As a result, the political scene in Lithuania was polarized, the Pac family supported Polubinski, and Haraburda – the Radziwill-Sapieha party. In 1671, Benedykt Paweł Sapieha openly wrote to Haraburda that he supported his case against

the approaching land councils. After the death of Michał Kazimierz Radziwill in 1680, the Sapieha family began taking over his party, probably also including Haraburda, who could be described as their follower. It seems that he also maintained contacts with the Radziwill family. He probably abandoned service for Sapiehas at the beginning of the 1690s. In 1698, he was part of the opposition to the Sapieha family and brought to the Republican camp the banner of the Slonim gentry. Together with Władysław Wollowicz, he represented the Slonim County during the negotiation with Sapiehas. A year later, he was elected a deputy for the pacification parliament. During the Battle near Olkieniki he commanded the Slonim banner¹⁹.

One of the most important officials who was mentioned in the inventory was Jan Karol Dolski, the Grand Lithuanian Marshal. He owned property in the royal lands leased by Sapieha²⁰. In the 1670s, he became associated with the royal court, in which he received the office of the Lithuanian Royal Cupbearer (in Polish: "podczaszy") in 1676, and after the death of Jan Karol Młocki, he became a Starost of Pińsk. In the 1680s, the Sapiehas tried to drag him to their faculties by the timely and comprehensive settlement of financial obligations towards his branch, which amounted to 12,240 Polish zloty for two-quarters of service. Possession of property in Sapieha-administered goods could have meaning in a political configuration, and it seems that Lithuanian hegemony intended to persuade Dolski to join their side. They could apply the tenant's persuasion to the possessors of certain goods, or simply to influence the number of various obligations that were to be paid to the Sapieha treasury. In the case of Dolski, all Sapieha's actions ended in failure, and the aforementioned entered into a sharp conflict with Kazimierz Jan, which nearly ended with a sabres duel. In 1689, there was an agreement between Dolski and the Sapiehas, and the antagonisms between the two diminished in strength. After receiving in 1691 the office of the Grand Lithuanian Marshall, upon the death of Stanisław Radziwill, Dolski moved away from political life, occupied with private matters. In the end, the plans

¹⁶ Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie, ms. 5787, 5v and 8; A. A. Majewski, Aleksander Hilary Połubiński (1627-1679). Marszałek wielki litewski. Działalność polityczno-wojskowa, Wydawnictwo Neriton, Warszawa, 2017, 432 (in Polish).

¹⁷ Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie, ms. 5787, 10v; K. Piwarski, Brzostowski Jan Władysław, Polski Słownik Biograficzny, Vol. 3, No. 1, Kraków, 1937, 49 (in Polish).

¹⁸ Polish lower office. The assistant of the starost during the mass mobilization (in Polish: *pospolite ruszenie*); he looked after left families and estates.

¹⁹ Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie, ms. 5787, 6; M. Sawicki, Dom sapieżyński 1666-1685. Droga do hegemonii w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, Opole, 2016, 66-69, 151-152 (in Polish); T. Wasilewski, Haraburda Michał Karol, Polski Słownik Biograficzny, Vol. 9, No. 3, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1960-1961, 290 (in Polish).

²⁰ Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie, ms. 5787, 8.

of Benedykt Paweł and Kazimierz Jan ended in fiasco, and Dolski remained faithful to the court²¹.

One of the more recognizable magnates, who was connected economically with the Sapiehas, is starost, and later the voivode of Minsk, Krzysztof Zawisza and his wife Teresa from the Tyszkiewicz family. Both of them owned goods in the Lukonicka parish²². Through this marriage, Zawisza became involved with the Sapieha family, because the mother of Teresa Zawisza (nee Tyszkiewicz) was Teodora Aleksandra, daughter of Grand Lithuanian Hetman Paweł Jan Sapieha²³. The starost of Minsk was a deputy for parliaments several times in the 1680s and 1690s. He also took part in the parliament in 1693 during which he was to cooperate “well with the Sapiehas”. After the death of Jan III, he was appointed to the law court during the interregnum and held the post of a deputy for the convocation parliament. The good relations between Zawisza and the Sapiehas deteriorated, however, after an incident which took place during the period of the confederation in Lithuania. It was reported to the Voivode of Minsk that the soldiers led by Paleja intend to get to Hetman Sapieha, and therefore they were detained by Zawisza, which was to Kazimierz Jan’s dissatisfaction and led to a breakdown of cooperation. Despite this misunderstanding, however, the district head of Minsk tried to maintain good relations with the Sapiehas. During the interregnum in 1696, the hegemony sought to strengthen their cooperation with Zawisza again. However, the position that the starost found in the court of the new king did not suit them. In 1698 he was elected the Marshal of a land council in Minsk during which he effectively blocked the nobility’s demands regarding to the invasion of the Sapieha’s estate. He informed the Sapieha family about the moods among the nobility and that “he was not against them, and that he did not want to ruin them, even if he had reasons to let the nobles go free”. Over the next few months, Zawisza tried to ease the nervousness of the nobility, who were already very opposed to Sapieha’s domination. In the end, both families reconciled, which led to a decrease in popularity of the starost of Minsk among the nobility. When he appeared in the camp at

Kamionka, where a mass mobilization (in Polish: *pospolite ruszenie*) against the hegemony was gathered “he found a stir, that was threatening, and anger”. Still faithful to the Sapiehas he appeased the mood of the nobility during the “gromniczny” council in Minsk in 1700 “and seeing that more and more was leading to a civil war” he decided to make a pilgrimage to Rome and therefore did not take part in the Battle near Olkieniki. Therefore, he did not have to talk to any of the parties in the conflict²⁴.

It seems that Krzysztof Zawisza and his wife were one of the few representatives of the nobility who cooperated with the Sapiehas until the end of their hegemony. Through the marriage with Paweł Jan’s granddaughter, as well as economic dependence from Kazimierz Jan and Benedykt Paweł, the Starost of Minsk was in a way condemned to cooperate with the family. Faithful to his ideals of protecting the nobility’s freedom and family ties with the Sapiehas, he probably decided to withdraw from the conflict in Lithuania and, not wanting to stand up to either side and consequently lose his authority among the nobility, he went on a journey to Rome. However, we have information that in 1702 Krzysztof Zawisza was recruited by the Sapieha family and formed an armed Cossack banner against the Republicans. He also participated in further fights with the Sapiehas’ opposition²⁵.

The document also mentions the Chamberlain of Polock Benedykt Ignacy Przysiecki, who probably possessed property on the royal lands leased by Sapieha²⁶. He was related to Celestine Przysiecki and both came from a well-off family in the Voivodeship of Polock. Kazimierz Jan Sapieha gave the latter properties called Skakuny in 1681. The Przysiecki family was probably a clientele of Aleksander Hilary Polubinski, which is evidenced by the fact that he gave Benedykt, the chamberlain of Polock, goods named *Kozmiany* in the voivodeship of Polock, what was confirmed in 1670. In addition, Benedykt Przysiecki married Konstancja from Chaleccy, the niece of the Grand Lithuanian Marshal, which in a way bound him to Polubinski. This may, therefore, confirm the aforementioned thesis that after the death of Polubinski the Sapiehas tried to take over his clientele by offering them lands and making them economically dependent

21 K. Piwarski, Dolski Jan Karol, *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Vol. 5, No. 3, 288-289 (in Polish); M. Sawicki, *Dom sapieżyński 1666-1685. Droga do hegemonii w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, Opole, 2016, 120, 223, 239 (in Polish).

22 Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie, ms. 5787, 6.

23 A. Rachuba, Sapieha Paweł Jan, *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 147 (in Polish); K. Zawisza, *Pamiętnik Krzysztofa Zawiszy wojewody mińskiego 1666-1721*, J. Bartoszewicz (Ed.), Drukarnia Gazety Polskiej, Warszawa, 1862, 8 (in Polish).

24 K. Zawisza, *Pamiętnik Krzysztofa Zawiszy wojewody mińskiego 1666-1721*, J. Bartoszewicz (Ed.), Drukarnia Gazety Polskiej, Warszawa, 1862, 9-17 (in Polish).

25 T. Ciesielski, *Wojsko litewskie w latach 1698-1709*, In: B. Dybaś (Ed.), *Wojny północne w XVI-XVIII wieku. W czterechsetlecie bitwy pod Kircholmem*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń, 2007, 174 (in Polish).

26 Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie, ms. 5787, 8.

on them²⁷. It seems that the Przysiecki family, through property donations and leases held in Sapieha-controlled areas, was their political clientele.

The three members of the Wollowicz family were also mentioned in the analyzed document: Władysław, the Carver ("krajczy") of Samogitia; Kazimierz, the Pantler ("stolnik") of Uputa; and Jerzy, the Chamberlain of Slonim. All of them possessed property in the royal lands leased by the Sapiehas, and Kazimierz also owned goods in the Dereczynska parish²⁸. In their case, it is difficult to find accurate information about their political affiliation, but it is highly probable that they were clients of the Grand Lithuanian Marshal Alexander Hilary Polubinski. We only have more information about the Pantler ("stolnik") of Uputa Kazimierz Aleksander, whom Andrzej A. Majewski counted as one of the servants of the aforementioned Lithuanian Marshal. In his youth, he was to be a companion in his Cossack banner. Wollowicz was even mentioned by Polubinski in his will, in which he offered him 2,000 Polish zloty for his loyalty²⁹. The mention of the Wollowicz family, especially of Kazimierz Aleksander, in the inventory, confirms that the Sapiehas tried to intercept the clientele of Aleksander Hilary Polubinski with a positive result and through the property contacts become more tied to the faction of Benedykt Paweł and Kazimierz Jan.

The inventory also mentioned Dominik Aleksander Tyszkiewicz, Pantler ("stolnik") of Slonim, who was supposed to possess property in the Kosonska parish³⁰. He was associated with the faction of Sapiehas since the 1680s³¹. His brother Mikołaj Castellan of Smolensk, son of Piotr, was also mentioned in the inventory. He possessed property in the royal lands leased by the Sapiehas³². It can be assumed that, as a brother, he was in their faction.

The Sapiehas' political strength and influence was also impacted by the masses of the petty gentry who, through participation in the sessions of a local council and the election of suitable deputies for parliament, could have been instrumental in decisions taken at the highest state level. This group includes Kazimierz Pusłowski, Steward ("podstoli") of Rzeczyca, who owned the property in the Olszewska parish and the royal lands leased by Sapiehas. The nobleman were certainly their supporters, because during the session of the regional council of Starodub in Vilnius in 1695, he supported the memorial published by them, and took part in the local councils, which were to devise ways of calming the tensions in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth³³. The analyzed inventory also mentions, but only by name, Owsiany and Brodowski. It is possible that it refers to Adam Owsiany, who was a Standard-bearer ("chorąży") of Wolkowysk and to Stanisław Brodowski. Both were mentioned in 1695 and both also supported the Sapiehas' memorial during the local nobility council of the county of Wolkowysk, which was managed by Owsiany. Nobles gathered at this regional council also attacked Konstanty Brzostowski for casting a curse on Kazimierz Jan Sapieha³⁴.

In the inventory, we also find confirmation that the Sapiehas intercepted the Radziwiłł clientele after the death of Michał Kazimierz. In addition to the aforementioned Michał Karol Haraburda, we could mention the land judge of Slonim, Stefan Brzuchanski, who as Slonim's Deputy District Judge ("podsędek"), supported Bogusław Radziwiłł's activities at the local council at the end of the 1660s³⁵.

In the analyzed inventory of goods of the Sapiehas, we could also find many more surnames of nobles holding various types of land offices, in particular, in the county of Slonim, including, among others: Chamberlain ("podkomorzowie"), Starosts, Deputy District Judges ("podsędkowie") and District Clerk ("pisarze ziemscy"). Residents of the royal economy leased by the Sapiehas, had to maintain contact with them and have some form of dependence on this family. For example, some types of

27 M. Sawicki, *Dom sapieżyński 1666-1685. Droga do hegemonii w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, Opole, 2016, 200-201 (in Polish); A. A. Majewski, Aleksander Hilary Połubiński (1627-1679). *Marszałek wielki litewski. Działalność polityczno-wojskowa*, Wydawnictwo Neriton, Warszawa, 2017, 19, 301, 433 (in Polish).

28 Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie, ms. 5787, 5 i 8.

29 A. A. Majewski, Aleksander Hilary Połubiński (1627-1679). *Marszałek wielki litewski. Działalność polityczno-wojskowa*, Wydawnictwo Neriton, Warszawa, 2017, 439-440 (in Polish).

30 Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie, ms. 5787, 4v.

31 M. Sawicki, *Dom sapieżyński 1666-1685. Droga do hegemonii w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, Opole, 2016, 151 (in Polish).

32 Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie, ms. 5787, 8.

33 Ibidem, 5, 8; A. Rachuba, Litwa wobec projektu zwołania sejmiku konnego w 1695 r. i walki Sapiehów z biskupem Brzostowskim, *Zapiski Historyczne*, Vol. 51, No. 1, 1986, 73-74 (in Polish).

34 Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie, ms. 5787, 5v and 8; A. Rachuba, Litwa wobec projektu zwołania sejmiku konnego w 1695 r. i walki Sapiehów z biskupem Brzostowskim, *Zapiski Historyczne*, Vol. 51, No. 1, 1986, 74 (in Polish).

35 K. Bobiatiński, W walce o hegemonię. Rywalizacja polityczna w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w latach 1667-1674, Wydawnictwo Neriton, Warszawa, 2016, 62.

economic connections could have easily be transformed into client and personal relations. Not every person among the large number of tenants mentioned in the document was willing to cooperate, which does not mean that attempts to take over individual people's loyalties were not made, although with different results. It should also be remembered that inconsistent "foreign policy" (the corruption of relations with Vienna, impermanent alliance with France, or finally the transition to the Swedes) of Sapiehas led to the depletion of their party and loss of trust in the society. Undoubtedly, however, property dependencies opened up some possibilities for both parties, who combined benefits and losses from possible closer cooperation.

Table 1: List of noblemen living in the estates of Jerzy Stanislaw Sapieha – division into parishes³⁶.

Leased goods: no data available	
Name, surname of tenant	Office, held dignity
Boguslaw Zienkowicz	
Zofia Kosakowska	
Janowa (?) Sawicka	
Wierzejska	
Molczadzka parish	
Name, surname of tenant	Office, held dignity
Stefan Wojnilowicz	
Wollowicz ³⁷	
Janowa Michalowska	
Stefan Michalowski	
Wladyslaw Okulicz	
Szabranski	
Szyszka	
Stefan Brzuchanski	District Judge of Slonim
Wojciech Buczynski	Tresurer of Rzeczyca
Jerzy Wollowicz	Chamberlein of Slonim
Bagiński	
Kazimierz Wieckiewicz	
Stanislaw Kirojwa (?)	
Stefan Miechenski (?)	
Jan Ladzinski	
Zawadzka	
Laniewski	
Jacynicz	
Bankonscy family (?)	
Aleksander Czeczot	

³⁶ Unreadable words have been marked with a sign: (?). As far as possible, the author tried to decipher and identify the persons listed in the inventory.

³⁷ Perhaps the above mentioned Stefan Wołłowicz.

Continued **Table 1:** List of noblemen living in the estates of Jerzy Stanisław Sapieha – division into parishes.

Molczadzka parish	
Name, surname of tenant	Office, held dignity
Ludwik Gieysztor	
Piotr Kurocki	
Michał Borkowski	
Chryzostom Karp	Son of Chamberlain
Kuroczyski	
Kosonska parish	
Name, surname of tenant	Office, held dignity
Franciszek Suchodolski	
Albrycht Mierzejewski	“wojski” of Lida
Dominik Aleksander Tyszkiewicz	Pantler (“stolnik”) of Slonim
Stanisław Tuteński	
Żabka	
Komorowicz	
Hieronim Polubinski	Son of District Judge of Slonim
Kazimierz Polubinski	Ibid.
Franciszek Polubinski	Ibid.
Dernalowicz	
Hieronim Suchodolski	
Stanisław Massalski	Master of Hunt (“łowczy”) of Oszmiana
Olszewska parish	
Name, surname of tenant	Office, held dignity
Andrzej Hieornim Przecławski	Deputy District Judge (“podsędek”) of Slonim
Andrzej Olszewski	
Kazimierz Olszewski	
Pustowska	
Adamowa Paplinska	
Franciszek Kuszel	
Berguszewski	
Władysław Olszewski	
Kazimierz Pusłowski	Steward (“podstoli”) of Rzeczyca
Eustachy Suchodolski	
Sterpińska (?)	

Table 1: List of noblemen living in the estates of Jerzy Stanislaw Sapieha – division into parishes.

Rozanska parish	
Name, surname of tenant	Office, held dignity
Aleksander Bykowski	
Franciszek Mieleszko	
Piotr Mieleszko	
Zalecilo	
Jerzy Giedroyc	
Karnicki	
Ślizień	
Świechoński (?)	
Brodowski	
Kolyszko (?)	
Stefan Mizgier	
Mikolaj Mizgier	
Aleksander Mrokowski	
Krzysztof Mizgier	
Stefan Hutycz	
Marcinkiewicz from Mizgierowie	
Dereczyńska parish	
Name, surname of tenant	Office, held dignity
Jerzy Stanislaw Sapieha	Great Pantler (“stolnik”) of Lithuania
Bykowska	wife of Starost of Slonim
Michał Polubinski	District Judge of Slonim
Kazimierz Aleksander Wizgin Wollowicz	Pantler (“stolnik”) of Upita
Leon Polubinski	Bailiff of Twer (“ciwun twerski”)
Remian Polubinski	
Ludwik Polubinski	
Wincenty Bulhak	
Franciszek Choinski	
Haraburda ³⁸	
Kos (?)	
Lukonicka parish	
Name, surname of tenant	Office, held dignity
Izabella Polubinski from Sapieha family	wife of Pantler (“stolnik”) of Lithuania
Michał Karol Haraburda	Marshall of Slonim
Bujno[?]	

³⁸ Perhaps Michał Karol Haraburda, Marshall of Slonim.

Continued **Table 1:** List of noblemen living in the estates of Jerzy Stanisław Sapieha – division into parishes.

Lukonicka parish	
Name, surname of tenant	Office, held dignity
Pienicki	
Makowiecki	
Jan Konstanty Ciechanowicz	Master of the Hunt (“łowczy”) of Smolensk
Lesonski [?]	Master of the Hunt (“łowczy”) of Slonim
Makowiecki	
Jakub Sznetla	
Hordziewski	
Paweł Wojniłowicz	
Kaciuciewicz	
Sasuliczowie	
Haraburda ³⁹	
Michał Siehen	
Jan Plawski	
Florian Kosikonski (?)	
Czarniszewski	
Kotowicz	
Jerzy Zukowski	
Czernik	
Jarasewicz	
Jakimowicz	“horodniczy” of Slonim
Rohotenska and dworzecka prishes. Parts in county of Slonim	
Name, surname of tenant	Office, held dignity
Krzysztof Zawisza	Starost of Minsk and Cieczew
Michał Czyżewski	
Rafał Czechowicz	
Piasecki	
Konstanty Włochowicz	
Teresa Zawisza from Tyszkiewicz family	wife of Starost of Breslaw
Totokowski (?)	
Rychalski	
Szulc	
Jacenty Zelisławski	
Krzywkowski (?)	
Hieronim Strzyzewski	

³⁹ Perhaps Michał Karol Haraburda.

Table 1: List of noblemen living in the estates of Jerzy Stanisław Sapieha – division into parishes.

Rohotenska and dworzecka prishes. Parts in county of Slonim	
Name, surname of tenant	Office, held dignity
Kazimierz Podkowdenski (?)	
Janusz Terlikowski	
Stanisław Wierzbicki	
Szabraska	
Sebastian Nieczajski	
Opoka	
Gumowski	
Kazimierz Tymoszewicz	
Bazyli Izdebski	
Aleksander Zienkowicz Cichinski	Cupbearer (“podczaszy”) of Slonim
Michał Tyzenhauz	Starost of Szmeltyn
Władysław Zienkowicz	
Aleksander Prokopowicz (?)	
Jerzy Dolman	
Odachowska	
Trzescinska	
Jakub Idzikowski	
Baranowicze	
Paweł Dobrzynski	
Milkiewicz	
Royal lands	
Name, surname of tenant	Office, held dignity
Mohuczy	
Batkiewicz	
Bazylii Godebski	District Clerk of Pinsk
Benedykt Przysiecki	Steward (“podstoli”) of Polock
Mikołaj Tyszkiewicz ⁴⁰	Son of Castellan of Smolensk
Michał Tyzenhauz	Starost of Szmeltyn
Jan Karol Dolski	Great Marschall of Lithuania
Władysław Aleksander Wollowicz	Carver (“krajczy”) of Samogitia
Kazimierz Aleksander Wizgin Wollowicz	Pantler (“stolnik”) of Upita
Jerzy Wollowicz	Son of Chamberlain of Slonim
Leon Kazimierz Polubinski	Bailiff of Twer (“ciwun twerski”)

⁴⁰ Son of Piotr Tyszkiewicz, Castellan of Smolensk, Marshal of Slonim who died in 1663.; Urzędnicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Spisy, Vol. 4, Ziemia smoleńska i województwo smoleńskie XIV-XVIII wiek, Wydawnictwo DiG, Warszawa, 2003, 90 (in Polish).

Continued **Table 1:** List of noblemen living in the estates of Jerzy Stanisław Sapieha – division into parishes.

Royal lands	
Name, surname of tenant	Office, held dignity
Remian Polubinski	Son of voivode of Nowogrodek
Ludwik Polubinski	
Kazimierz Przeslawski	Starost of Bialsk
Stefan Przeslawski	Pantler (“stolnik”) of Brzesc Litewski
Gedeon (Stanisław?) Hladowicki	Steward (“podstoli”) of Grodno
Chryzostom Karp ⁴¹	Son of Chamberlain of Bielsk
Albrycht Bogusław Mirzejewski (Mierzejewski?)	“wojski” of Lida
Michał Posowski (?)	Master of Hunt (“łowczy”) of Slonim
Aleksander Uniechowski	Son of Standard-bearer (“chorąży”) of Minsk
Pokorszenska (?)	
Owsiany ⁴²	
Aleksander Bykowski	Cupbearer (“cześnik”) of Slonim
Hieronim Polubinski	Son of District Judge of Slonim
Kazimierz Polubinski	Ibid.
Franciszek Polubinski	Ibid.
Kazimierz Pusłowski	Steward (“podstoli”) of Rzeczyca
Bykowska	Wife of Vice-starost of Slonim
Aleksander Chłusewicz	
Jan Konstanty Ciechnowicz	Master of Hunt (“łowczy”) of Smolensk
Makowiecki	
Krzysztof Wojniłowicz	Royal cupbearer (“podczaszy”) of Mozyrz
Hieronim Suchodolski	
Franciszek Suchodolski	Tresurer of Slonim
Stanisław Massalski	Master of Hunt (“łowczy”) of Oszmiana
Michał Karnicki	
Jan Zabka	
Mateusz Jesman	Son of Standard-bearer (“chorąży”) of Slonim
Pacyna	
Franciszek Jordan	Royal Cupbearer (“podczaszy”) of Brasław
Franciszek Antoni Choinski	“wojski” of Krasnystaw
Jan Jurjewicz	Sword-bearer (“miecznik”) of Polock

⁴¹ He was probably the son of Józef Karp, Chamberlain of Bielsko; Elektorów poczet, którzy niegdyś głosowali na elektorów Jana Kazimierza roku 1648, Jana III. roku 1674, Augusta II. roku 1697, i Stanisława Augusta roku 1764, najjaśniejszych Królów Polskich, Wielkich Książąt Litewskich, itd., composed and published by Oswald Zaprzaniec from Siemuszowa Pietruska, Lwów, 1845, 140.

⁴² Perhaps it was about Adam Owsian, Standard-bearer of Wołkowysk; A. Rachuba, Litwa wobec projektu zwołania sejmu konnego w 1695 r. i walki Sapiechów z biskupem Brzostowskim, Zapiski Historyczne, Vol. 51, No. 1, 1986, 74 (in Polish).

Table 1: List of noblemen living in the estates of Jerzy Stanisław Sapieha – division into parishes.

Royal lands	
Name, surname of tenant	Office, held dignity
Aleksander Prokopowicz	
Władysław Bulhak	
Jerzy Bury	Cupbearer (“cześnik”) of Smolensk
Szymon Ichmowicz (?)	
Baginski	
Wojciech Buczynski	Tresurer of Rzeczyca
Pietkiewicz (?)	
Szymon Cyprianowicz (?)	
Ludwik Serwatowski	
Gabriel Polubinski	
Karpiowa	
Tomasz Strzeszewski	
Jerzy Dolman	
Stanisław Bulhak	
Andrzej Olszewski	
Kazimierz Olszewski	
Władysław Olszewski	
Pawłowa Sterpiska	
Jachow Pasławska[?]	
Adamowa Paplinska	
Boguszewski	
Franciszek Kuszel	
Telecily (?)	
Michał Grzymolowski (?)	
Stanisław Wierzbicki	
[imię nie czytelne] Dostojewska Janowa Michalarka (?)	
Stefan Michalarka (?)	
Kazimierz Podhorodenski	
Polokowski	“horodniczy” of Bresław
Stanisław Odachowski	
Jakub Rychalski	
Aleksander Szulc	
Jacenty Zelislowski	
Konstancja Wojniłowiczówna	
Janowa (?)	
Teresa Kuczynska	

Continued **Table 1:** List of noblemen living in the estates of Jerzy Stanislaw Sapieha – division into parishes.

Royal lands	
Name, surname of tenant	Office, held dignity
Sebastian Nieczajski	
Mikolajowa Zawadzka	
Jan Gumowski	
Kazimierz Mickiewicz	
Daniel Ladzinski	
Opoka	
Andrzej Zaburk (?)	
Teodor Pupik (Tupik?)	
Aleksander Kuncewicz	
Womperski	
Stankiewicz	
Czerkaski	
Stanislaw Wolk	
Andrzej Piskun (?)	
Stefan Mizgier	
Mikolaj Mizgier	
Konstanty Wlochowicz	
Michal Gejzewski	
Jan Wladyslaw Brzostowski	Great Referendary of Lithuania
Malkiewiczowie	
Wawrzyniec Szebranski	
Aleksander Czczot	
Piotr Kuwczycki (?)	
Lukasz Gieysztor	
Brzuchanski	City Judge ("sędzia grodzki") of Slonim
Jacynicz	
Zabka	
Kirczyz	
Susewiczowie	
Skorulski	
Dominik Bulhak	
Okulicz	
Bulhak	
Suchodolski	
Baranowicz	
Mohuczy	

Table 1: List of noblemen living in the estates of Jerzy Stanisław Sapieha – division into parishes.

Royal lands	
Name, surname of tenant	Office, held dignity
Jezierski family	
Gujski	
Bobola	
Pacyna	
Komorowicz	

Undoubtedly, the analyzed economic document is an invaluable source not only for examining financial, tax or other related issues. Studying it also influences the recognition of the correlation between the owner and the tenant on many levels. We can find information about subordination and independence, in spite of property connections, and in the longer term about the changing moods on the political scene, or global political tendencies of residents, which is a valuable source for economics and goods researchers⁴³.

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⁴³ G. Silesoriūnas, Walka stronnictw w przededniu i podczas wojny domowej na Litwie XVII/XVIII wieku, In: J. Urwanowicz, E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, P. Guzowski, Władza i prestiż. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVIII wieku, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, Białystok, 2003, 231-232.

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