

Załącznik 3 (Appendix no. 3)

KAROL ŁOPATECKI

SUMMARY OF PROFESSIONAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS

BIAŁYSTOK 2015

I. Full name: Karol Łopatecki

II. Diplomas, academic/artistic degrees held – with indication of the name, place and year of obtaining and the title of the doctoral dissertation:

Diploma of master of legal sciences (*magister nauk prawnych*) at the Faculty of Law of University of Białystok – 18th March 2003; supervisor: dr Piotr Fiedorczyk.

Diploma of master of history (*magister historii*) at the Faculty of History and Sociology of University of Białystok – 10th July 2003; supervisor: dr hab. Jerzy Urwanowicz, professor of UwB.

13th October 2011: at the Institute of History and Political Sciences of University of Białystok, defence of a doctoral thesis titled: *Disciplina militaris w wojskach Rzeczypospolitej do połowy XVII wieku. Ewolucja prawodawstwa wojskowego w teorii i praktyce [Disciplina Militaris in the Commonwealth Army Until the Middle of the 17th Century. Evolution of Military Legislation – Theory and Practice.]*. Supervisor: dr hab. Jerzy Urwanowicz, professor of UwB; reviewers: dr hab. Andrzej Zakrzewski professor of UW, and prof. dr hab. Teresa Chynczewska-Hennel. The Scientific Council of the Institute of History and Political Sciences of University of Białystok unanimously adopted the resolution on awarding the candidate an honours doctoral degree.

III. Information on previous employment at academic units:

Since 11th February 2005, an assistant professor at the Institute of History and Political Sciences of University of Białystok.

Since 1st March 2013, an associate professor at the Department of Early Modern Period World History, Institute of History and Political Sciences, Faculty of History and Sociology of University of Białystok.

IV. Indication of the achievement resulting from Article 16 section 2 of the Act of 14 March 2003 – Law on Academic Degrees and Title and Degrees and Title in the Arts (Journal of Laws Dz. U. No. 65, item 595 as amended).

a) Author, title, year of issue, name of the publishing house:

The monograph which is presented as an achievement in accordance with Article 16 section 1 of the Act of 14 March 2003 – Law on Academic Degrees and Title and Degrees and Title in the Arts (Journal of Laws Dz. U. No. 65, item 595, as amended.) is the book by Karol Łopatecki, *Organizacja, prawo i dyscyplina w polskim i litewskim pospolitym ruszeniu (do połowy XVII wieku)* [Organization, Law and Discipline in Polish and Lithuanian Mass Mobilisation Until the Middle of the 17th Century], Białystok 2013, published by Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy, ISBN: 978-83-64103-00-1.

b) Description of the scientific / artistic aim of the above-mentioned work(s) and the obtained results and of their potential use

The title of the habilitation dissertation is: “Organizacja, prawo i dyscyplina w polskim i litewskim pospolitym ruszeniu (do połowy XVII wieku)” [Organization, Law and Discipline in Polish and Lithuanian Mass Mobilisation Until the Middle of the 17th Century] The work analyses the phenomenon of so-called property-based military service (“*szługa ziemska*”) – military expeditions based on the duty to send a military group (*poczet*) from land property owned. The initial personal vassal and lord relationship was transformed into a levy based on estate grants pursuant to chivalry or feudal law. The classic form involving land owners’ or possessors’ personal participation can be referred to as mass mobilisation (“*pospolite ruszenie*”), which was used in Wielkopolska and Małopolska. One of its varieties was “personal łan-based expedition” (“*osobista wyprawa łanowa*”), which involved the participation of a group depending on the size of the land property, headed by the property owner. This solution was used in Podlasie, for some time in Mazowsze, and in Łuków district (in Lubelskie Voivodeship). Another form of mass mobilisation was “łan-based expedition” (“*wyprawa łanowa*”), which regulated the details of sending soldiers on the basis of the size of land property, but without the personal participation of the land owners. This form began to prevail in the second half of the 17th century, but it had also been occasionally applied in the 15th, 16th and the first half of the 17th century. A variety of “łan-based expedition” was “household-based expedition” (“*wyprawa dymowa*”), where the military group was dependent on the number of households. It basically refers to Lithuanian military service

based on the scope of services (this solution was used until the end of the 1560s and, with modified conditions, in the 2nd half of the 17th century). Ideologically and organisationally similar to property-based military service were poviats-based units enlisted *in vim* of mass mobilisation, when those with the obligation to turn up for the expedition did come but during the service decided to find a substitution in the form of companies they paid for, which meant they had to form units mainly made up of participants coming to register (*popis*).

The institution of mass mobilisation functioned until the end of the Commonwealth; it was used e.g. during the Kościuszko Uprising. What is more, it even survived the collapse of the country: with direct reference to medieval and early modern period examples, it was also used in the years 1806-1807. This testifies to the great cultural and political importance of mass mobilisation, which was a clear manifestation of the ideology justifying the highest position of the nobility in the country. The above-mentioned facts indicate that even in military categories, despite omnipresent criticism, many obvious shortcomings and failures, it was used for military purposes all the time in the Middle Ages and the early modern era.

Legislation has been one of the vital elements decisive for the level of the military until the present day. This also refers to units made up of owners or possessors of land estates, but in this case it is only an introduction to in-depth deliberations concerning institutions and regulations applying to the nobility. In the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, during the few or more weeks when the knights were personally participating in military actions, nearly all state authorities and courts suspended their work. Instead, kings, the *sejm*, and beginning from the 2nd half of the 16 c. also (with increasing frequency) *ductors* and the nobility (at military assemblies and *sejmiks*) developed frameworks necessary for the efficient work of the convened knights and their assistants. Poviats, district or voivodeship camps were the places where the whole political sphere of the administrative unit were gathered, which allows us to observe the main problems and weak points of the contemporary authorities and nobility.

In the book I focus on legal and organisational reforms of mass mobilisation, which occurred among others in 1509, 1534–1535, 1537, 1566, 1588, and 1620–1621. Other kinds of military forces formed using the model of mass mobilisation are equally important. I mean particularly the Lithuanian Tartars, a defence organization established in lands recuperated from the Muscovite Empire (Smolensk and Czernikhov districts), local (reserve) mass mobilisation in Wielkopolska and Podlasie, and the troops of Ostrogski Estate. The above examples show that the model of military service based on land property was not abandoned in the 16th and 17th centuries and continued to evolve.

The subject of military law and military discipline in mass mobilisation is a very important and still insufficiently recognised issue. It generates many questions. The key question refers to the reasons for the decline of that military formation. Why was it the basic military force in the Crown only until the early 16th century (1509), whereas in Lithuania it remained popular for the next 60 years? To what extent did legal regulations (or the lack of such regulations) contribute to lowering the quality of the forces, and to what extent did they delay the inevitable process?

I also tried to analyse how the law, organisation and judicature existing in the quarter army ("*wojsko kwarciane*") and supplemental army ("*wojsko suplementowe*") affected the form of mass mobilisation. Studies of military articles applicable in property-based military service need to be compared to law existing in other kinds of army. This will allow further findings concerning the particularities of military law and patterns transfer between different formations.

In previous research regarding military law, judiciary procedure and practice has been given little attention. This element, however, seems to be crucial for proper understanding of the ways of enforcing and maintaining military discipline. Thus, a question arises to what extent we created original solutions and to what extent the models used at hetman, town or land courts were applied.

The organisation of Polish mass mobilisation suited the military needs and at the same time justified the supreme position of the nobility in the country. Keeping the order and applying the law during an expedition was important, not only from the military but also (maybe predominantly) from the political and social point of view. During mass mobilisation we can see vividly the attempts to create ideal order: the law, organisation and the judicature. Therefore, it provides very interesting material for researchers studying the political and legal culture of the nobility. That is why in the book I attempted to analyse the issue of legitimization of legal standards, the functioning of camp (mounted) *sejms* and *sejmiks* of the time of mass mobilisation, the nobility's participation in the legislative, organisational and mobilisation procedure and the role of mass mobilisation military assemblies. Additionally, I also studied the nobility of the Ostrogski Estate, who – referring to the levy of property-based military service – in 1621 effected their political subjectivity.

The time frame of the dissertation ranges from the beginning of the 14th century to the middle 17th century. It is connected with the oldest preserved legal relics, and the research finishes with wars referred to as the Swedish and Muscovite Deluge. In the later era, there were deep social, military and political transformations, whose analysis in terms of property-

based military service would require separate studies. The process of replacing mass mobilisation by *lan*-based expeditions occurred then.

In the dissertation I analysed military articles concerning mass mobilisation (of 1509, 1534, 1537, 1621) and other acts regulating that formation, e.g. edicts on marching, wartime letters, *sejm* constitutions, the Statutes of Lithuania etc. Maintaining discipline in the army was not only based on criminal law but also on the organisation of troops and institutions which guaranteed the observance of the law. It is possible to comprehensively characterize these institutions and their evolution only on the basis of court decrees and the views of the contemporary people of mass mobilisation. This work includes the analysis from the normative, social and also economic perspective, as the latter contributed to maintaining the proper military discipline as much as did the letter of the law. I used particularly two camp registers of 1497 and 1621, as well as town registers of the Bielsk district and service registers of mass mobilisation. I also studied Old Polish military theoreticians and performed a search query of diaries, chronicles and letters referring to the issues in question.

The above-mentioned assumptions determine the format of the work, which is subject- and chronology-based. The habilitation dissertation is made up of five chapters divided into sections. The summary is included in the conclusion, which is supplemented with an appendix including source materials (three military articles existing in 1621). In the beginning of the book I concentrate on the development of military law in the Crown. In particular I characterize the military law before the existence of military articles and present it against the background of solutions used in other European countries, especially England, the Czech state and Serbia. Then I focus on two great reforms of 1509 and 1537. Chapter 2 includes an analysis of mass mobilisation functioning in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It also stresses the crucial moments: 1507–1511, 1534–1535, 1566, 1588. Chapter 3 is all focused on the attempts to reform mass mobilisation, which was finally achieved in 1621. The extension of the topic of *expeditio generalis* and the analysis of other similar military formations is presented in chapter 4. In the last part of the work, I elaborate on the transformations of mass mobilisation occurring at the end of the 16th century and the 1st half of the 17th century. It presents the practice of mass mobilisation military courts and the activity of the nobility, who used to execute civil law contracts before the expeditions, concerning substitution for the time of expedition.

So as to show the image encompassing the evolution of organisations and law of mass mobilisation, I decided to approach the chronological frame of the work very broadly. I analysed the oldest, medieval relics of law regulating the matter of military discipline. As part

of this, I described edicts on marching that originated in the reigns of Władysław Łokietek and Kazimierz Wielki. The main deliberations, however, concentrate on the period from the late 15th century to the mid 17th century, regarding which period it is possible to analyse the practice of law application and observance as well as the noble community discourse concerning the need of reforming this formation. Transformations of military discipline based on the dominance of moral and religious norms and supremacy of common law over statute law occurred in the first decades of the 16th century. Generally, the modern reforms of mass mobilisation ended with the 3rd Statute of Lithuania (*III Statut litewski*) in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1588) and codification by the Warsaw sejm in 1621. In order to confront regulations with practice, it was necessary to use source information from local expeditions and *expeditio generalis* of 1649 and 1651 in the Crown, and Lithuanian property-based service functioning in the years 1654-1655. After that, various forms of łan-based expeditions became more and more common and finally replaced mass mobilisation. Moreover, the Deluge dramatically changed the social, economic, political and military situation in the Commonwealth, so separate in-depth research should be carried out for the later period.

So as to answer the study questions raised, it was necessary to find and use sources regarding court practice and other documentation of offices functioning during mass mobilisation in addition to normative acts. Luckily, we have two camp registers available (of 1497 and 1621). The first of them refers to Jan Olbracht's expedition to Moldova, and it includes documentation of camp courts from Kalisz and Poznań voivodeships, most of which was published in 1882 by Michał Bobrzyński. The other one covers the mass mobilisation of Wizna district of 1621 and was found as part of the preliminary research carried out for the purpose of this work. Accidentally, these are the only two preserved military records until the mid 17th century. In order to supplement this source material, it was necessary to analyse town registers containing records of documents created during mass mobilisation as well as entries of contracts concluded for the time of expeditions. Due to the huge amount of the material, I chose one set of well-preserved registers: that of the Bielsk district (in Podlaskie Voivodeship), which has hardly been studied in detail so far. I analysed all the preserved town registers from the discussed period, which resulted in finding many institutions which were completely unknown before. Additionally, I took into consideration the Lithuanian and Crown service registers, most of which unfortunately have not been printed so far. Obviously the diaries, correspondence and chronicles referring to the subject of mass mobilisation were an important contribution, too.

The research described in the monograph provided evidence to prove the following research theses:

1. In the 15th century, during mass mobilisation, military courts applied the customary district law (in certain cases, stricter), and camp registers replaced the offices of district and town courts.
2. The military law applying in the 15th century in the Crown was backward in comparison to the solutions used in Central and Eastern Europe and did not meet the expectations of enforcing military discipline.
3. The special laws regulating discipline for mass mobilisation must have originated from the edicts on marching (the oldest one of 1331).
4. Modern disciplinary regulations in mass mobilisation in the Crown appeared in the years 1503-1509.
5. The oldest military articles in the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania date back to 1509.
6. The military articles adopted by Zygmunt Stary in 1509 had to be approved by the three estates present at the *sejm*.
7. In the field near Lviv in 1509 a camp *sejm* occurred of which there is no information in historiography. It approved the military articles and the expedition beyond the boundaries of the Crown.
8. Mass mobilisation was used by rulers (especially the Jagiellons) as an instrument of imposing extra taxes on nobles.
9. The military articles of 1537 were formally adopted at the *sejm* (but without the participation of deputies who had left Cracow before to express their protest).
10. The military articles of 1537 included regulations which radically extended the structure of *crimen laesae maiestatis*.
11. The convention of the nobility near Lviv in 1537 was the “Chicken War” (“*Wojna kokosza*”) – it was neither a *rokosz* or a mounted *sejm*, only mass mobilisation *sejmiks* were convened in September 1537. Near Lviv the nobility still observed the disciplinary regulations, and whenever discipline was violated, mass mobilisation courts were organised.
12. Until 1537, also hetmans had been allowed in the Crown to command mass mobilisation troops.
13. In Lithuania, military law was drawn up in the 1507-1511 period.

14. In Lithuania, the crucial reform of discipline in mass mobilisation took place in 1534-1535 (military articles were adopted then, the earliest known military assembly was convened, a mass mobilisation officer was first sentenced to death, and military laws were first read aloud publicly for all the chivalry).

15. Reforms of mass mobilisation resulted in more efficient use of property-based military service (until the end of 1560s), while in the Crown the mass mobilisation declined in 1537.

16. In the Lithuanian mass mobilisation, regulations of Chapter 2 of the Statute of Lithuania as well as hetman's articles applied.

17. During wars, rulers could use the construct of treason with regard to nobles: the defendants were temporarily arrested, and after being found guilty, sentenced to qualified death penalty.

18. In Lithuania, alternative organisation of property-based service was applied to the Tartars.

19. In the Crown, the law regulating mass mobilisation was codified in 1621.

20. During mass mobilisation in 1621, *Artykuły i porządek kasztelański [Castellan Articles and Organisation]* and *Artykuły obozowe [Camp Articles]* applied.

21. During mass mobilisation (both general and particular), the nobility had the right to establish special disciplinary regulations.

22. In the Commonwealth, during mass mobilisation the king was authorised to convene *sejms* (1509, 1520, 1651) or *sejmiks* (1537, 1621).

23. In the 17th century, Lithuanian hetmans convened *sejmiks* of mass mobilisation, when the nobility established taxes, changed the principles of mass mobilisation and presented poviats troops as a replacement for property-based service.

24. In the situation of decline of mass mobilisation in the Crown (1537), particular mass mobilisation became more and more popular. In Lithuania a similar process occurred after the adoption of the Henrician Articles.

25. In the Smolensk district, a unique defence system was created, involving mass mobilisation of the nobility and Cossack property-based service which resulted from the levy connected with possessing land on the basis of feudal law.

26. The Ostrogski Estate was obliged to support the Crown army with a 600 person contingent, formed on the basis of dependent nobility who possessed Estate land.

27. In the years 1620-1621, Kropiwnicki Confederation occurred, which resulted in privileges for dependent landowners, equalizing their rights with those of the Crown nobility.

28. During mass mobilisation, strict internal security regulations of 1563 applied on the lands left by the landowners.

29. In Podlasie, so-called *reserve mass mobilisation* was used, which meant that particular mass mobilisation could be called out after the nobility left for *expeditio generalis*.

30. In the 17th century, the organisation of mass mobilisation became similar to that of professional army (colonels, company commanders, companies, lieutenants, musicians and standard bearers).

31. In 1621, the level of external military discipline (behavior towards the civilians) was higher than in professional and contract armies.

32. In 1651, at Beresteczko, there was a session of Crown mounted sejm. The mass mobilisation drafted by Jan Kazimierz then discussed further war with the Cossacks. Taxes were established and the participants refused to do further property-based service.

33. The mass mobilisation created institutions that were not described by the law, i.e. the appointment of *ductors* and company commanders, company reconnaissance, military assemblies etc.

34. In the 1st half of the 17th century, the percentage of paid groups was from 1/4 to 1/2 in the Crown and from 1/2 to 3/4 in Lithuania. Mass mobilisation was only nominally unpaid.

35. The pay in mass mobilisation groups was 3 to 5 times higher than in the quarter troops.

36. It was very common to conclude written contracts before mass mobilisation and record them in towns. As part of such contracts, one party was obliged to provide military service during the expedition, and the other, to pay the wage and fulfill other responsibilities (supply the weapons, armors, horses etc.).

37. *Ductors* kept the registers of mass mobilisation, in which (district) army scribes recorded service registers, annual reviews, universals, military articles and decrees of mass mobilisation courts.

38. Mass mobilisation courts generally sentenced fines (half of the amount for the victim, half for the court).

39. The proceeding was open, claim-based and contradictory.

40. The court procedure in front of mass mobilisation authorities was like this:

- a) The victim entered the claim to the register kept by the army scribe.
- b) During a stoppage, the *ductor* announced a special court session called “*roki*”.
- c) The instigator charged the defendants mentioned in the register and the *bedel* announced the cases in the camp.
- d) At the instigator’s request, the *bedel* informed the defendant of the trial. The summons was always oral. Usually the *bedel* summoned the defendant by touching him with his hand or staff (*rok przytkniony*, in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, *poklep*), or – if the defendant had escaped from the camp – the summons was signalled with a trumpet.
- e) In the determined place and time, the nobility formed a military assembly, in the middle of which the jury sat.
- f) The parties (the plaintiff and the defendant) appeared in the assembly unarmed.
- g) The court decree was publicly announced and immediately enforced.

Nobility conventions which took place within the structures of mass mobilisation need to be discussed separately. From the moment of registration of the chivalry for service until the dismissal of the mass mobilisation, three types of conventions occurred: mass mobilisation *sejmiks*, military assemblies, and illegal conventions (*sedycie*). They differed in the mode of convening, the chair persons, and the range of people entitled to participate, but first of all in the scope of decisions made. Military assemblies regulated the internal matters of the army and did not interfere with the competence of public authorities. This self-governance involved (unless the state authorities took over the competence) the appointment of commanders, approval of military articles, judicature, strategic and tactic decisions, reception of political and military information, as well as articulating problems and demands. A military assembly by assumption was not authorised to establish universal or local laws, impose taxes, or appoint district officials, which by assumption was reserved for *sejmiks*.

Sejmiks of mass mobilisation were of the ordinary or extraordinary type. The first type mainly concerned deputy (*deputackie*) and report (*relacyjne*) *sejmiks*, which could take place during the time of property-based service. No legal standard regulated this issue, so the nobility each time decided what to do: postpone the convention, organize it as usual, or do it in a military assembly. The other type of *sejmik* was convened by the king or voivode (for the purpose of service register). In exceptional cases, the sejm granted consent to organize *sejmiks* of mass mobilisation. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in particular, the decisions of noble conventions of mass mobilisation exceeded the competence of military assemblies. In practice, if the ruler did not oppose these decisions, they became valid, and the resolutions were legal *ex tunc*. It is hard to categorize such meetings. We can assume that military

assemblies debating this way were *sejmiks*, on the condition that their decisions were not questioned by the ruler.

Military assemblies were the basic form of association of the nobility who participated in mass mobilisation. There were two types: general assemblies, which were compulsory for all the comrades-in-arms, including proxies (*zachodźcy*), and military councils, which were exclusive, following the pattern of company commanders' assemblies in the professional army. They were convened by military musicians, each time on the initiative of the *ductor*, usually in front of the commander's tent. In special cases, they could be established by individual soldiers if certain demands needed to be presented.

Illegal assemblies, so-called *sedycje*, were always one of the most serious crimes in military law, liable with absolute death penalty. These were sessions convened autonomously by the nobility, not only without the approval of the king or *ductor*, but also against their will (as military articles introduced bans on organising "bottom-up" assemblies)

The Lithuanian property-based military service is worth giving more attention. I seek its beginning in the late 14th century, when grand dukes began to form – by granting estates involving the duty of military service – a social group that was subject to the military rigour. The process lasted in the 15th century by means of subsequent privileges grand dukes granted boyars. In the dissertation, there is an analysis of social distinctions that affected the form of Lithuanian property-based service, for example the existence of a large group of people who performed military duties, possessing land only on the basis of feudal law, or utilising grand duke's land (*'putny'* and *'pancerny'* boyars etc.). I emphasized the ambiguity of the term "service" in the first half of the 16th century. In my opinion, it was only in the mid-1560s that the rule was introduced making a *włóka* the basis for the military duties. Probably from the middle of the next decade, the belief (likely deriving from the Crown) became popular that the person obliged to do the service could autonomously determine the scope of the levy (*sicut melius potuerint*).

Analysing the concept of property-based service in the Statutes of Lithuania, I introduced the term "ability to military service", referring to all the people obliged to participate in expeditions. I also indicated the sanctions faced by those who failed to perform the obligations included in the statutes. Besides, I pointed out the differences in the organisation and mode of convening mass mobilisation after the Union of Lublin. Although the Henrician Articles and the 3rd Statute of Lithuania required the consent of the sejm for property-based service to be called out, this law was often violated for practical reasons. Mass mobilisation

was called out upon the decision of the king, Vilnius convocation or conventions of senators and the nobility.

The 3rd Statute of Lithuania adopted in 1588 allowed the Grand Hetman to take the command of mass mobilisation and to divide the formation into smaller, autonomous units. The coming into force of the Henrician Articles was connected with the beginning of practice of triple call to arms (*wici*) like in the Crown, instead of single or double issuance of war letters in the case of a planned campaign. The organisational unit of mass mobilisation was a *poviat*, and the captain was responsible for its functioning. There were also lord's banners, a phenomenon related to huge material disproportions in Lithuania.

In the 15th century, regulations concerning discipline in property-based troops had the nature of customary law. At the beginning of the next century, wartime acts became to grow in importance. I emphasize that there were two kinds of them: *wartime act letters* issued by the *hospodar* together with the lords council during *sejms* (but without the participation of the nobility), and *wartime acts* which only regulated food prices. I also characterize the act on the competence of Great Hetman Stanisław Kiszka, issued by the *hospodar* and the council at the Minsk sejm in 1507, and similar wartime act letters of 1508 and 1511. These acts were supplemented with customary law standards; district law was also used, especially *Sudiebnik* by Kazimierz Jagiellończyk of 1468. I point out the clear difference between Polish and Lithuanian military law acts, both in terms of the form and the subject. I analysed the provisions concerning discipline in mass mobilisation included in the 1st Statute of Lithuania of 1529, the Wartime Act Letter [*List o ustawie wojennej*] of 1534 and military articles of 1535, applicable to Lithuanian property-based service. The author of the latter act must have been the Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Olbracht Gasztold, not hetman Tarnowski, as provided in the literature of the subject.

The 1535 campaign led to a new division between the scope of application of the 1st Statute and military articles. The first of these legal acts referred to organisation and mobilisation of property-based military service, and the other, to military discipline. The above-mentioned division was also kept after the introduction of the 2nd and 3rd Statute, whose provisions concerned property-based service. The relationships between the provisions of the Statute of Lithuania, *sejm* constitutions and military articles in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania should be discussed against this background. I argue that Chapter II article 21 of the 3rd Statute authorised the hetman to establish legal standards applying both to professional forces and to mass mobilisation, which meant that the hetman's power in the Grand Duchy was broader than in the Crown, where his counterpart did not have such competence.

Finally, it is worth elaborating on the phenomenon of solutions existing in the professional army which were followed in the organisational sphere of mass mobilisation. The division of soldiers into units commanded by the castellan and those commanded by voivodes, present both in the customary law and the statutory law, was already obsolete in the 2nd half of the 16th century. The lack of changes in the law, however, forced some changes which *de facto* modified statutory law regulations. The *ductor* appeared as the commander of mass mobilisation. In my opinion, it originated during the “Great Interregnum” (1572-1576) It was only the 1621 *sejm* resolutions that gave the dominant position in making personal decisions concerning the command of mass mobilisation back to the ruler and senators, although the actions of the nobility after 1621 differed from the letter of the law adopted at that moment. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, until the 17th century the competence of the nobility in that regard was limited by the provisions of the 3rd Statute and the customary law. In the 1st quarter of the 17th century, the office of company commander (*rotmistrz*) was established. I discussed the mode of his appointment, showing that it was influenced by the participants of the expedition (both in the Crown and in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania). In the dissertation I introduce the concept of *ductor's* letter in which the king appointed the commander of mass mobilisation. In my opinion this document a counterpart of *Litterae inscriptionis stipendii (list przypowiedni)* in professional forces. I point out the existence of military officials in the mass mobilisation appointed *ad hoc*: the watchman, the quartermaster, the equerry, musicians, chaplains and supply masters. The participants of mass mobilisation began to autonomously divide themselves into companies (*roty*). In Lithuania, this phenomenon occurred even in the late 16th century. As a result, there were also attempts to limit the freedom of choice of the company to serve in. It was done e.g. by using the soldiers' parishes as the basis for company formation, or to setting the maximum number of company members.

Groups were also transformed to resemble those in the professional army. Although in Wielkopolska and Małopolska the idea of mass mobilisation was still implemented by personal participation of the obliged noblemen, in Podlasie, Łuków district or Mazowsze the system was developed which I call *personal lan-based expedition (osobista wyprawa lanowa)*, It involved sending one well-armed landowner from estates of a certain size. A similar solution was also used in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Consequently, the institution of participation (*uczestnictwo*) developed in the nobility, which meant that several noble families chose one soldier from among their members. There were also proxies (*zachodźcy*), who served as substitutes for the obliged noblemen in return for financial gratification.

According to my calculations, in 1621 *proxies* and *participants* accounted for more than 70% of the mass mobilisation of Volkovysk and Trakai poviats, and more than a half in the Braslaw one. The percentage of those who served for money was clearly lower in the Crown (around 42.9% in the Wieluń powiat and 24.6% among the nobility from the Nakło powiat); however, in the case of the Liw district it was 72.1% – similar to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In the case of Smolensk voivodeship, in the years 1648 and 1654 it was 35.5 and 51.8%, respectively. All that leads to the question: Can we really say that mass mobilisation was unpaid service based on the possession of estates? The presence of proxies, group members (*pocztowy*) and participants in the formation made it similar to professional forces. In my opinion the phenomenon on the one hand resulted in problems with recruiting professional forces, but on the other, facilitated sending powiat troops if the need arose.

Finally, it is worth emphasizing that military articles reflected the model of the legal standard typical of the Old Polish law, including five elements: preamble, hypothesis, instruction, sanction and justification, though not all of them had to occur at the same time. The relations between customary district and military law were regulated by the principles of *lex specialis derogat legi generali*, which should be understood as abrogation of the district law during a military expedition, and *lex posterior derogat legi priori*, in accordance to which, whenever new acts were issued to regulate the organisation and discipline in mass mobilisation, these acts superseded the ones issued before. In the discussed area, the particular character of military law is clearly visible.

V. Description of other scientific and research achievements

The other scientific and research achievements are presented in accordance with the requirements of regulations of the Minister of Science and Higher Education of 1 September 2011 on the evaluation criteria of the achievements of a person applying for the degree of habilitated doctor (Journal of Laws Dz. U. No. 196, item 1165).

- a) **Pursuant to § 3 item 2 of the above-mentioned regulation, evaluation criteria for the habilitation candidate's scientific and research achievements in social sciences cover the authorship or co-authorship of scientific publications included in the Journal Citation Reports (JCR) database or on the European Reference Index for the Humanities (ERIH) list.**

My scientific and research achievements in the field of legal sciences are mostly connected with the history of law, predominantly Polish and Lithuanian law in the early modern era. That is why my research profile does not correspond to the specificity of JCR journals. However, I have published five scientific articles and one review in ERIH journals.

K. Łopatecki, *Regulacje prawne obowiązujące podczas polskich i litewskich misji dyplomatycznych w 1. połowie XVII stulecia – poselskie artykuły wojskowe* [Legal Regulations Applying During Polish and Lithuanian Diplomatic Missions in the 1st Half of the 17th Century], „Barok. Historia-Literatura-Sztuka” 20 (2013), 2, pp. 59-78.

In the article I introduce a new type of normative source, previously unknown to scholars. It is “envoy military articles” “*poselskie artykuły wojskowe*”, issued by great deputies sent to foreign lands with the diplomatic missions. Thus, diplomats (envoys) are another group of officials who could establish and enforce disciplinary regulations in the Nobles’ Republic. These normative acts are a very interesting element in the development of international law. The laws were announced at the border of the country and were to apply abroad to all the expedition participants, such as e.g. servants, assistants, merchants and soldiers. The aim of normative acts was to ensure a proper discipline level among the people. They were to regulate the relations between the expedition participants, and its main goal was to reduce the risk of causing misunderstandings with the locals, which could end up in pogroms. This special legal regime was introduced with three documents: a universal appointing judges, announcement of one of the versions of military articles existing in the Commonwealth, and issuance of an act complementing military laws: “*Artykuły dla rządu przy Panach Posłach*” [*Articles for Envoys’ Government*].

An article published in “Barok” journal shows detailed legal solutions known from the expedition of Aleksander Piaseczyński, Kazimierz Leon Sapieha and Piotr Kazimierz Wiazewicz, who in 1635 went to Moscow as envoys in order to confirm the eternal peace. The practice of applying those regulations was shown with the example of the expedition to Istanbul of 1640. In the light of the preserved sources, the envoy military articles were well known and willingly applied by the envoys. They were adjusted to the legal culture of the nobility: their announcement was conditional on the consent of all the participants, and their form, corresponding to hetman’s articles, was perfectly suited to the expectations and really influenced the attitudes of the procession members. The diary made by Zbigniew Lubieniecki

shows not only how well the comrades-in-arms knew the applicable regulations but also how well they realized the need for such regulations and (in the case of the author himself) were able to use them for their own purposes.

K. Łopatecki, *Najstarszy polskojęzyczny traktat o ruchu pojazdów kołowych z 1769 roku autorstwa Christopa Friedricha Pfleiderera [The Oldest Polish Language Treatise on the Use of Wheeled Vehicles of 1769 by Christoph Friedrich Pfleiderer]*, „Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki” 60 (2015), 2, pp. 57-68.

Ch.F. Pfleiderer, *Uwagi nad mechanicznością powozu [On the Mechanical Nature of a Wagon]*, ed. by K. Łopatecki, „Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki” 60 (2015), 2, pp. 69-92.

My recent research mostly focuses on the formation and development of School of Chivalry (*Szkoła Rycerska*) established in 1765 and functioning until the end of the Commonwealth. In the analysis I concentrate on these outstanding but currently forgotten scientists brought to Poland from abroad, whose aim was to reform education, the knowledge of the military, law, or particular fields of study such as physics or mathematics. The two articles mentioned above are supplemented with a monograph I published in 2014, titled Antoni Leopold Oelsnitz, *O bagażach wojska w polu będącego*, [Antoni Leopold Oelsnitz, *On the Possessions of the Army in the Field*], ed. by K. Łopatecki, Oświęcim 2014, published by Napoleon V, pp. 245. ISBN: 978-83-7889-261-8. These two Germans – Christoph Friedrich Pfleiderer and Anton Leopold Oelsnitz – started to work together on a military treatise concerning military wagons. In the 18-century, a column of military wagons drawn by four or six horses was sometimes longer than 150-200 km and was accompanied by a huge number of people: assistants, women and children, plus the drivers. So as to impose some disciplinary frame on this multitude accompanying the army, the authors proposed the introduction of special “military train articles” “*taborowe artykuły wojskowe*”. The specially developed military laws were to be adjusted to the needs of people who accompanied the army but were not soldiers. For that purpose, Antoni Oelsnitz studied the military laws existing in Europe and then, on the basis of those laws and his own experiences, he created an original version of wartime regulations applying in the Commonwealth. Apart from that, he prepared rules for transport services, he proposed various exercises connected with driving horse-drawn wagons and leading columns, and he described the principles of functioning of military train escorts. Pfleiderer tried to

explain the physical laws applied to wheeled vehicles. From those studies he drew practical conclusions: the procedure of construction of wagons (wheels and the body), the way of loading the cargo etc.

K. Łopatecki, *Les Misères et les Malheurs de la Guerre Jacques'a Callota – wymowa ideologiczna serii [Les Misères et les Malheurs de la Guerre by Jacques Callot – The Ideological Message of the Series]*, „Barok. Historia-Literatura-Sztuka” 16 (2009), 2, pp. 157-183.

In 1633, Jacques Callot created and published a series of 18 drawings titled *Les misères et les malheurs de la guerre*. The “protagonist” of the series is war, treated here as a mighty force that leads soldiers to moral decline and causes a lot of suffering to civilians.

As I argue, the work by Jacques Callot should be regarded as a legal and philosophical treatise presenting moral and political demands. The military revolution which became fully evident during the Thirty Years' War forced states to send larger and larger armies. This entailed problems with timely payments and food supply for the soldiers. The solution lay in the contribution system based on the assumption that “the war will feed itself”. The author opposes to such a system, showing its great negative consequences. He stresses the disastrous effect of this policy on soldiers' behaviour. Sanctioning murders, rapes and thefts causes the demoralisation of soldiers. As a result, it leads to desertion and lack of military discipline. According to the author of the series, strict enforcement of military law would solve the problem. Only strict and inevitable punishment may stop the excesses. With this end in view, an efficient judicature enforced by officers is necessary. And this can be achieved thanks to the rulers awarding commanders who properly care for the discipline in the army. Radical change of behaviour will not only make the lives of civilians better but also improve the lot of soldiers, who will no longer be the victims of revenge motivated by violence and oppression.

The artist does not present soldiers only as oppressors of civilians. Their lot is as tragic as that of peasants. After the end of military actions, the state forgets about the soldiers. Left broke and often permanently injured, they become the dregs of society. Finally they die lonely and poor. Also in this case Callot suggests the introduction of military hospitals, which would alleviate the misery of veterans.

K. Łopatecki, *Kościół p. w. Św. Teresy od Dzieciątka Jezus w Białowieży – ideologiczne uzasadnienie budowy [Saint Thérèse of Lisieux Church in Białowieża – Ideological Justification of Construction]*, „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki” nos 3-4 (2009), pp. 1-20.

In the inter-war period, in Białowieża settlement there was one of the most evident ideological programmes of in the whole Białystok voivodeship. The architecturally splendid imperial complex and Orthodox church was a symbol of the Romanovs' empire. After the restoration of independence, no campaign was carried out to regain the property from the Orthodox Church. But in order to reduce the Russian heritage, a Catholic church was built. The church and government authorities, in cooperation with social organisations, began to construct a church which was to be a symbol of restoration of this area to Poland. The article presents the legal and artistic stages of the construction. Both the site of the construction and the architectural design were well thought out. The assumption referred to the traditions of the Nobles' Republic and stressed the dominant role of Greek Catholics in the area. The very initiative of building the church was connected, not with the wish to Polonize the locals (although this argument also played a role) but rather with the fear of Ruthenization of Polish people who came to this area in great numbers to look for jobs in the forestry.

b) Evaluation criteria for the habilitation candidate's scientific and research achievements in all fields, pursuant to § 4 of the above-mentioned regulation

- 1) Authorship or co-authorship of monographs, scientific publications in international or national journals other than included in databases or on the list referred to in § 3, in the scientific field**
- 2) Authorship or co-authorship of compilations, collection catalogues, documentation of research works, expert opinions and works of art in the scientific field**

Apart from the monograph *Organizacja, prawo i dyscyplina w polskim i litewskim pospolitym ruszeniu (do połowy XVII wieku)* [Organization, Law and Discipline in Polish and Lithuanian Mass Mobilisation Until the Middle 17th Century], already presented in this Summary, and five articles published in ERIH journals, my other scientific and research achievements after obtaining the doctoral degree include seven scientific monographs, five works I have edited,

as well as 23 scientific articles and two reviews. All in all, the monographs, edited works and scientific articles published in the years 2012-2015 received 311 MNiSW points.

In my scientific and research work I can identify four research areas, all of which are related to issues connected with the history of law.

a/ After obtaining the doctoral degree, I continued research on military law applying in professional and contract troops in the early modern era. The main result of the research is the monograph: *„Disciplina militaris” w wojskach Rzeczypospolitej do połowy XVII wieku* [“*Disciplina Militaris*” in the Commonwealth Army Until the Middle 17th Century], Białystok 2012, pp. 802. ISBN: 978-83-934920-1-5. In addition, after the doctorate I published a number of articles which provide new information concerning this issue. These include: *Udział „sejmików” wojskowych przy tworzeniu i ogłaszaniu artykułów wojskowych w XVI i XVII stuleciu*, „*Miscellanea Historico-Iuridica*” 12 (2013), s. 75-102; *Charakterystyka „miejskich artykułów wojskowych” na przykładzie „Rigischer Artikelsbrieff” z 1600 roku*, „*Zapiski Historyczne*” 78 (2013), 2, s. 5-38; *Najstarsze północnoamerykańskie artykuły wojskowe*, „*Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*” 65 (2013), 1, s. 175-200; *Udział parlamentu angielskiego i sejmu Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej w pracach nad artykułami wojskowymi*, [w:] *Kultura parlamentarna epoki staropolskiej*, red. A. Stroynowski, Warszawa 2013, s. 421-436; *Wydawanie artykułów wojskowych jako element walki politycznej i działalności propagandowej magnatów – przykład Jana Zamoyskiego*, [w:] *Wobec Króla i Rzeczypospolitej. Magnateria w XVI-XVIII wieku*, red. E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, J. Urwanowicz, Kraków 2012, s. 611-636; *Geneza kozackiego prawa i sądownictwa wojskowego. Z badań nad artykułami wojskowymi w Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej*, [w:] *Od Kijowa do Rzymu. Z dziejów stosunków Rzeczypospolitej ze Stolicą Apostolską i Ukrainą*, red. M. R. Drozdowski, W. Walczak, K. Wiszowata-Walczak, Białystok 2012, s. 167-182; *Czy Jan Tarnowski jest twórcą prawa wojskowego na terenie Korony i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego?*, [w:] *Kultura społeczna i religijna Małopolski od XIII do XVI wieku*, red. W. Szymborski, J. Kozioł, Tarnów 2011, s. 13-21; *Artykuły wojskowe autoramentu cudzoziemskiego Władysława IV – okoliczności powstania i ich charakterystyka*, „*Zeszyty Prawnicze UKSW*” 11 (2011), 2, s. 235-255..

In the light of the foregoing publications I evaluated the relationships of customary law, jurisprudence and religious norms with the statutory law. I also indicated the crucial role of military articles in the process of formation of professional forces in the Crown. I showed

transformations in the law, which made unit commanders criminally liable for their actions (the first executions of company commanders occurred in 1601). The discovery of the way military articles were implemented was extremely important. The regulations were prepared by hetmans, then approved by company commanders' assemblies, and finally all the comrades-in-arms had to sign the normative acts, which meant subjecting themselves to the special legal regime. This was necessary because the obligation to swear oaths of allegiance to military law had been abolished in the Crown and Lithuania. Studying military law, I found a number of entities authorised to issue normative acts. This was the competence of rulers, the parliament, the town council, commanders in chief, in the Commonwealth it was also customary for soldiers to establish military laws autonomously in general assemblies (in the case of *Lisowczyks* and confederate forces). This led to particularisms, when five or six different legal systems were sometimes used in the Commonwealth at the same time. Besides, I questioned the existence of subsidiarity principle in military law before the middle of the 17th century. In my research I stressed that military law had an advanced hierarchy. In early modern period armies there was the rule of legal personality. It meant that whole units enlisted abroad usually kept the law they had observed before.

In the article *Związki małżeńskie i pozamałżeńskie w armii koronnej i litewskiej w XVI i XVII stuleciu – prawo i stan faktyczny [Marriages and Extramarital Affairs in Crown and Lithuanian Armies in the 16th and 17th Centuries – the Law and the Reality]*, „Miscellanea Historico-Iuridica” 13 (2014), 2, pp. 47-72, I concentrated on the position of women in Polish and Lithuanian troops. In these countries, there was a tendency in military law to maximally reduce the number of women. Jan Tarnowski introduced a principle, observed until the end of the analysed period, that soldiers (as well as merchants and assistants) could be accompanied by their wives at war. However, it prohibited the presence of prostitutes, sexual slaves and servants in the camp. The most difficult issue occurred in the case of concubines, because soldiers established long-term relationships with women, and if accused, they defended themselves by claiming they had married the person. The period of the 2nd half of the 16th century and the 1st half of the 17th century was a continuous process of law improvement as a response to soldiers' ingenuity. The legal standard regulating the presence of women in military camps is an example of the legal culture of soldiers, who knew the valid laws but did everything to evade the ones they did not like. This resulted in a lasting process of casuistic regulations, whose aim was to provide a response to more and more pathological phenomena.

As a consequence, subsequent versions of the regulations included justifications which were to convince soldiers of the meaningfulness of the bans.

b/ Apart from military law, I have presented significant achievements in studies on regional history, particularly in the legal/historic perspective. These works resulted in the book *Projekt prawa prowincjonalnego Obwodu Białostockiego z 1811 roku [Draft Provincial Law of the Białystok District]*, edited by K. Łopatecki, M. Piłaszewicz-Łopatecka, introduction by S. Godek, K. Łopatecki, Białystok-Oświęcim 2015, pp. 367. ISBN: 978-83-7889-278-6. It presents a unique draft of law code prepared for the Białystok District established in 1807. The intention was to combine the Old Polish law with the Lithuanian one, but in reality many of the legal regulations originated from Prussian or Russian laws. The code is a part of the broader campaign of Russian law codification which took place at the beginning of the reign of Alexander I Romanov. On the one hand, the draft testifies to the level of development of the local law and the image of it shared by the eminent persons of the Białystok District. On the other hand, the draft informs of the current condition of Lithuanian and Crown law and testifies to the huge impact of the Prussian law on the legal culture of the residents of former New East Prussia.

Apart from that, I studied in detail the property transformations occurring in Białystok estate, resulting in four monographs: K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, *The history of Branicki Palace until 1809. The influence of "Versailles of Podlasie" on the development of Białystok*, Białystok 2015, ss. 220. ISBN: 978-83-64103-55-1; *Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, t. I: *Inwentarze z XVII i XVIII stulecia*, cz. 1-2, oprac. K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Białystok 2012, ss. 296 i 292. ISBN 978-83-934920-4-6 oraz ISBN 978-83-934920-6-0; *Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, t. II: *1802-1809*, ed. by K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Białystok 2015, ss. 326 ISBN 978-83-64103-53-7. I stressed the fact that the Białystok estate changed its status many times: once it was private property, then state-owned land, and so on. For example the last male representative, Krzysztof Wiesiołowski, bequeathed the Białystok estate as to the hospital for veterans, being built in Tykocin at the time. The action was illegal, since real estate could not be disposed of by means of testament. After the death of his wife, Aleksandra Wiesiołowska, the estate was included for 16 years (1645–1661) in the Tykocin starosty belonging to the state. Afterwards, a Swedish deluge hero, Stefan Czarniecki, received the starosty (again illegally) as hereditary property by virtue of a sejm constitution. Thanks to the marriage of Katarzyna Aleksandra Czarniecka and Jan Klemens Branicki, the Białystok estate became part of the legacy of Branicki family. The owners were: first, Stefan Mikołaj Branicki, and

then, Jan Klemens Branicki. After the death of the Grand Hetman of the Crown in 1771, the estate was administered for 38 years by Izabela Branicka, née Poniatowska, on the basis of the life estate right. After her death in 1808, the legal heirs – Jan Potocki, Feliks Potocki and Joanna Szymanowska, née Potocka – began the execution of a contract of sale of the estate. It was preliminarily agreed upon and signed in 1802 with Prussian authorities, and finally performed in 1809 with the Russian government, as pursuant to the Treaties of Tilsit of 1807 the Białystok region was incorporated to the Romanovs' empire. Since then, the estate has never been private property again.

In two articles (K. Łopatecki, R. Poniak, E. Zalewska, *Pomnik w Uroczysku Jaroszkówka – świadek akcji komasacji gruntów w II Rzeczypospolitej*, „Pogranicze. Studia Społeczne” 23 (2014), s. 97-110 and K. Łopatecki, E. Zalewska, *Historia Uroczyska Jaroszkówka. Badania nad przemianami własnościowo-osadniczymi na pograniczu Wasilkowa i Białegostoku*, „Studia Podlaskie” 21 (2013), s. 51-87) I discussed the trade with so-called instruction property. In 1864, Mikhail Muravyov took the initiative to sell on attractive conditions the state property and property confiscated from the insurgents in the western provinces of the Russian Empire to the Russians. One year later, Alexander II approved the instruction drawn up at the Ministry of State Property. By virtue of this normative act, so-called instruction estates were earmarked for sale. Two groups of people were entitled to purchase them. The first group was officials employed in western provinces since 1863 or planning to settle in the western borderland of the empire, and the other one was officials who received permits to purchase land at their own request. The regulation introduced institutions which guaranteed that the allotted estates would remain in the hands of “Russian” citizens. Further sale, lease or donation could only take place if the stakeholders were Orthodox or Protestant (since 1867, this also included muslim Tartar nobility). I also analysed the practical implementation of the act on land merging of 31/07/1923 (Journal of Laws Dz.U. item 718, no. 92).

c/ The third research field concerns the State-Church relations in the inter-war period. The previous research concerning relationships between the 2nd Polish Republic with the Apostolic See and the Catholic Church was only based on state and church archive materials stored in Poland. It was so because until recently the documents from 1922 were classified by the Apostolic See. By virtue of the decision of pope Benedict XVI of 2006 the documentation from the years 1922-1939 was declassified (the cut-off date was the consistory in 1939, so the sources do not cover the events of the WWII).

Thanks to the study of these collections, I have been able to discover the actions of the Apostolic See after 1926, when the government of Poland decided to regulate the issue of religion and recognition of churches and religious associations (*Ostatnia misja Lorenzo Lauriego w Polsce. Próba ujednoczenia przepisów o zmianie wyznania oraz uznawania kościołów i związków religijnych w 1927 r.*, [w:] *Nuncjatura apostolska w Rzeczypospolitej*, red. T. Chynczewska-Hennel, K. Wiszowata-Walczak, Białystok 2012, s. 435-456; *Przebieg prac nad projektami rozporządzeń prezydenta o uznawaniu związków religijnych oraz o zmianie wyznania w Polsce w latach 1926–1927 w świetle dokumentów Archivo Segreto Vaticano*, „*Miscelanea Historico-Iuridica*” 11 (2012), s. 427-456). I have found that the secret Polish works on the decrees which were to be issued by the president were revealed to the Church by Józef Beck. From the moment of revealing, the draft normative acts were thoroughly consulted with the Polish Episcopate and Vatican.

In 1927, the sanation authorities were very close to regulating the issues of religion. The government's works were, however, stopped by the activities of the nunciature, with special participation of Lorenzo Lauri. The governmental attempts to achieve a consensus with the Catholic Church, made by the Minister of Justice Aleksander Meysztowicz and ambassador of the Republic of Poland in the Apostolic See Władysław Skrzyński, failed. The stance of pro-nuncio in the situation is somewhat ambiguous, as in order to prolong the negotiation he initially approved the content of the decree on the recognition of new churches in accordance with the project by minister Meysztowicz. From the middle of 1927, Carlo Chiarlo began to coordinate the activity of Catholic Church, and the main actions were taken by cardinal August Hlond. Prolonging the negotiation gave measurable effects. First the negotiators waited for the coming of the new nuncio, and then worked as a bilateral committee. Finally, in the face of clear opposition of secretary of state Pietro Gasparri and pope Pius XI, in the middle of 1929 the government of the Republic of Poland discontinued the works on the project.

The other issue that needed to be studied was the circumstances of an extremely long (more than one and a half year) process of appointment of the nuncio after Francesco Marmaggi left the office (*Problemy z obsadzeniem nuncjatury w Polsce (XI 1935 – V 1937)* [*Problems With Appointing the Nuncio in Poland (11/1935 – 05/1937)*], „*Zeszyty Prawnicze UKSW*” 13 (2013), 1, pp.125-152). Pius XI had the greatest impact on the choice of candidates, which was unusual and commonly associated with the fact that before becoming the pope, he himself had served as a nuncio in Warsaw. Additionally, an important role was

played by the Secretary of State and the nuncios who had served in Warsaw before. The Polish government and bishops also had an impact on the ultimate result. Contradictory interests of different circles and the unstable political situation in Europe, especially in Spain and Yugoslavia, considerably affected the whole process.

It must be emphasized that in June 1936, Carlo Chiarlo was already preliminarily approved by the pope as the nuncio of the Apostolic See in the 2nd Republic of Poland. Yet, the unanimous negative attitude of the Polish bishops, especially cardinals Kakowski and Hlond, prevented the appointment at the last moment. The government, in turn, tried to avoid the appointment of Ermenegildo Pellegrinetti. In the nuncio appointment process, we can see that the potential candidates did not really want to accept the office in Warsaw. Although Pius XI enhanced the prestige of the office by appointing Lauri and Marmaggi as cardinals (1926-1927 and 1935-1936), both Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli and Angelo Rotta rejected the proposal. It was made clear that the decision was the effect of Poland's extremely difficult situation on the international arena and a complicated internal situation. It should be emphasized that Filippo Cortesi also expressed his doubts about the choice. But his situation was worse because he had already been officially revoked from the office of nuncio in Buenos Aires, and the promised office in Madrid could not be taken due to the civil war.

VI. Participation in conferences – organization and papers

In my scientific career, I have organised four scientific conferences, and two others are scheduled for September and October 2015.

In the years 2009-2012, in cooperation with dr Wojciech Walczak, I organised three scientific conferences co-financed by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage and the Ministry of Science and Higher Education.

a/ The first of them took place on 1-3 October 2009 and was titled: *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*. [The State of Research on Multicultural Heritage in the Old Commonwealth]. Its outcome was a three-volume anthology: *(Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej [The State of Research on Multicultural Heritage in the Old Commonwealth], vol. I-II, eds W. Walczak, K. Łopatecki, Białystok 2010; Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej. Streszczenia referatów międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej [The*

State of Research on Multicultural Heritage in the Old Commonwealth. International scientific conference paper abstracts]: Białystok 1-3 X 2009, eds K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Białystok 2009).

b/ The second conference of the series took place in Kraków on 17-20 November 2010 and was titled *Dawne Inflanty Polskie: dziedzictwo, historia, stan badań* [*Former Polish Livonia: Heritage, History, and the State of Research*] (<http://repcyfr.pl/pdfy/program1-8.pdf>). Thanks to the collected works, in 2012 we managed to publish another anthology (*Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, t. III: *Inflanty Polskie* [*The State of Research on Multicultural Heritage in the Old Polish Commonwealth, vol. III: Polish Livonia*], eds K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Białystok 2012).

c/ The third conference was prepared in Warsaw on 12-14 November 2012 as *II Międzynarodowy Kongres Naukowy. Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* [*2nd International Scientific Congress. The State of Research on Multicultural Heritage in the Old Polish Commonwealth*] (<http://repcyfr.pl/pdfy/program.pdf>). The materials gathered then provided the basis for editing and publishing three more volumes of *The State of Research on Multicultural Heritage in the Old Polish Commonwealth*, vol. IV-VI, eds W. Walczak, K. Łopatecki, Białystok 2013, pp. 452, 487 and 636.

d/ Together with dr Jacek Brzozowski I organised in Białystok a conference titled *Nad społeczeństwem staropolskim. Kultura, instytucje i struktury społeczne*, [*The Old Polish Society. Culture, Institutions and Social Structures*], which took place on 12-13 October 2005. The effect of the papers presented then was an anthology published in 2007 (*Nad społeczeństwem staropolskim*, t. I: *Kultura – Instytucje – Gospodarka w XVI-XVIII stuleciu* [*The Old Polish Society, vol. I: Culture – Institutions – Economy in the 16th-18th Century Period*], eds K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Białystok 2007).

f/ On 10-12 September 2015 in Augustów I am organising together with dr Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz, prof. Jerzy Urwanowicz and mgr Marta Kupczewska a conference titled: *Honestas et turpitude. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVIII wieku* [*Honestas et Turpitude. The Magnate Class of the Commonwealth in the 16th-18th Centuries*] (<http://historia.uwb.edu.pl/index.php/badania/konferencje>).

f/ Between 30th September and 2nd October 2015 in Białystok I am organising together with dr Wojciech Walczak *III Międzynarodowy Kongres Naukowy. Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* [*3rd International Scientific Congress. The State of Research on Multicultural Heritage in the Old Polish Commonwealth*]

(https://www.academia.edu/11954663/III_International_Scientific_Congress_The_State_of_Research_on_Multicultural_Heritage_in_the_Old_Polish_Commonwealth).

Participation in scientific conferences:

1. *Religia wobec historii, historia wobec religii*. Kraków: 7-9. 10. 2005. Lecture: *Bitwa jako sąd Boży. Koncepcja pana Boga Historii wśród żołnierzy Rzeczypospolitej na przełomie XVI–XVII w.*
2. **(conference organizer)** *Nad społeczeństwem staropolskim. Kultura, instytucje i struktury społeczne*. Białystok: 12 – 13. 10. 2005. Lecture: *Ideowa wymowa ozdób armatnich z przełomu XVI i XVII w.*
3. *Sprawiedliwość: tradycje i współczesność*. Kraków: 8. 12. 2005. Lecture: *Prawo wojny w Rzeczypospolitej Szlacheckiej. Ze studiów nad ochroną ludności cywilnej podczas działań zbrojnych.*
4. *Sesja naukowa w 350 rocznicę bitwy o Sandomierz w okresie Potopu szwedzkiego*. Sandomierz: 15. 05. 2006. Lecture: *Oblężenie Karola X Gustawa w widłach Wisły i Samu w świetle źródeł ikonograficznych.*
5. *Reformacja w Rzeczypospolitej: kultura, polityka, gospodarka*. Białystok: 25 – 26. 05. 2006. *Koncepcja Boga – Pana Historii reprezentowana przez Krzysztofa Radziwiłła.*
6. 7 sesja *Między barokiem a oświeceniem pt.: Troski i radości dnia codziennego*. Mrągowo: 22 – 24. 06. 2006. Lecture: *Życie rodzinne w warunkach polowych. Funkcjonowanie stadła w wojskach zaciężnych Korony i WXL.*
7. *Nad społeczeństwem staropolskim. Polityka i ekonomia – społeczeństwo i wojsko – religia i kultura w XVI – XVIII wieku*. Siedlce: 27 – 28. 09. 2006. Lecture: *Pozycja prawna muzyków wojskowych w Rzeczypospolitej.*
8. *Wokół potopu szwedzkiego i moskiewskiego w północno-wschodniej Polsce: militaria - polityka – społeczeństwo*. Białystok: 19-20. 10. 2006. Lecture: *Stan fortyfikacji Brześćcia Litewskiego w dobie wojny północnej.*
9. *Po tym jak ludzie przestali być szczęśliwi. Człowiek a miary czasu i przestrzeni w przeszłości*. Białystok: 26 – 27. 10. 2006. Lecture: *Cykl dobowy w obozie wojskowym połowy XVIII stulecia.*
10. *Żydzi w Lublinie – Żydzi we Lwowie (Miejsca – Pamięć- Współczesność)*. Lublin: 21-22. 11. 2006.
11. *Religijność - wymiar prywatny i publiczny*. Kraków 15. 12. 2006. Lecture: *Publiczny wymiar religijności w wojskach Rzeczypospolitej Obojgu Narodów.*

12. Twierdza Brześć - wspólne dziedzictwo historyczno – kulturowe. Krotoszyn: 25-26. 05. 2007. Lecture: *Brześć Litewski okresu nowożytnego jako element promocji dziedzictwa kulturowego Twierdzy Brześć*.
13. *Fundator i mecenas. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej XVI-XVIII wieku*, Supraśl 14-16. 05. 2007. Lecture: *Szpitala wojskowe w Rzeczypospolitej na tle europejskim*.
14. *IX Ogólnopolskie Forum Historyków Wojskowości. Polska myśl wojskowa na przestrzeni dziejów*. Olsztyn-Waplewo 12–14. 09. 2007. Lecture: *Prawo wojny w świetle artykułów wojskowych w Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej*.
15. *Rzeczypospolita państwem wielu narodowości i wyznań XVI-XVIII wiek*, Opole 27-28. 8. 2007. Lecture: *Nabożeństwa wojskowe w Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej: zarys organizacyjno-prawny*.
16. *Miłosierdzie – teoria i praktyka życiowa*, Kraków 14. 12. 2007. Lecture: *Lazarety wojskowe w Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej - przejaw miłosierdzia czy konieczności*.
17. *Ziemia Oświęcimska w czasach Renesansu*, Oświęcim 13. 06. 2008, lecture: *Propozycje reform wojskowych w XVI wieku autorstwa Floriana Zebrzydowskiego kasztelana oświęcimskiego*.
18. *XVII spotkanie Komisji Lituanistycznej: Środowiska kulturotwórcze i kontakty kulturalne Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do XIX wieku*, Warszawa 23-23 IX 2008, lecture: *Kultura prawna WXL w aspekcie prawa wojskowego na przełomie XVI-XVII wieku*.
19. *Po unii – sejmiki szlacheckie w Rzeczypospolitej XVI – XVIII wieku*, Siedlce 28-29 XI 2008, lecture: *Kompetencje prawodawcze kół wojskowych*.
20. *Hadziacz 1658-2008*, Warszawa, lecture: *Koncepcja unii hadziackiej w rzekomej „Konstytucji Baranowskiego z 1696 r.*
21. *Прававыя і палітычныя інстытуты Польскай Кароны і Вялікага Княства Літоўскага: узаемадзеянне і ўзаемаўплывы, 9-11 кастрычніка 2008 г. у Мінску*, lecture: *Odziaływanie koronnych artykułów wojskowych na litewskie prawo wojskowe do 1635 roku*.
22. *Wobec króla i Rzeczypospolitej. Magnateria w XV-XVIII wieku*, Białowieża 23-25. 04. 2009. Lecture: *Kształtowanie prestiżu rodów poprzez wydawanie artykułów hetmańskich*.
23. **(conference organizer)** Białystok, 1-3. 10. 2009: *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, organizacja, udział w dyskusji.
24. *Armia i społeczeństwo*, Opole – Brzeg, 6-7. 11. 2009, lecture: *Kobiety w wojskach autoramentu narodowego”*.

25. *Polonica w zbiorach państw nadbałtyckich*. Konferencja naukowa z okazji 350-rocznicy Pokoju w Oliwie, Warszawa, AGAD, ul. Długa 7, 20. 04. 2010, lecture: *Zasób Łotewskiego Państwowego Archiwum Historycznego w Rydze. Stan wiedzy i rodzaje gromadzonych dokumentów o Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej do 1621 r.*
26. *XXIII Zjazdu Historyków Państwa i Prawa*, Warszawa-Zegrze 2010, 17-19. 09. 2010, lecture: *Artykuły wojskowe autoramentu cudzoziemskiego Władysława IV – okoliczności powstania i ich charakterystyka.*
27. *Kultura parlamentarna epoki staropolskiej*, Radomsko 23 – 25. 09. 2010. Lecture: *Udział sejmu Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej w kształtowaniu artykułów wojskowych na tle porównawczym.*
28. *Nuncjatura Apostolska w Rzeczypospolitej. Stan badań i perspektywy*, Białystok 7-9. 10. 2010, lecture: *Ostatnia misja Lorenzo Lauriego w Polsce.*
29. **(conference organizer)** *Dawne Inflanty Polskie: dziedzictwo i historia. Stan badań*, Kraków, 17-20. 11. 2010.
30. IV Międzynarodowa Konferencja Programu Pamięć Świata UNESCO pt. *Kultura - Pamięć – Tożsamość*, Warszawa 18-20. 05. 2011, participate in the discussion.
31. *Kultura religijna i społeczna Małopolski od XIII do XVI wieku*, 20-21. 05. 2011, lecture: *Okoliczności wydania „Consilium rationis bellicae” Jana Tarnowskiego.*
32. *Wojna i dyplomacja. Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie w polityce europejskiej*, XXI Spotkanie Komisji Lituanistycznej, Instytut Historii Prawa UW, Instytut Historyczny UW, IH PAN, 25-26. 09. 2012.
33. **(conference organizer)** II Międzynarodowy Kongres Naukowy. *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa 12-14. 11. 2012.
34. *XXI Spotkanie Komisji Lituanistycznej przy KNH*, Instytut Historii Prawa UW, Instytut Historyczny UW, IH PAN, Warszawa, 25 - 26.09.2013.
35. *Związki pozamałżeńskie na przestrzeni wieków*, Białystok 22-23. 10. 2013. Lecture: *Związki pozamałżeńskie w świetle prawa wojskowego w XVI-XVII wieku.*
36. *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie nowe źródła – nowe metody – nowe zagadnienia*. XXIII konferencja Komisji Lituanistycznej przy Komitecie Nauk Historycznych PAN, Warszawa 23–24. 09. 2014. Participate in the discussion.
37. *Na polach chwały. Asymetryczne działania wojenne od starożytności po dzień dzisiejszy*. Niepołomice, 26-28. 09. 2014. Lecture: *Karol Łopatecki, Zielone piekło – wojna o Brazylię w latach 1633-1637 oczami Krzysztofa Arciszewskiego i Władysława Konstantego Wituskiego.*

38. *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie XV-XVIII w. problemy historiografii – translacje kulturowe. XXIV konferencja Komisji Lituanistycznej przy Komitecie Nauk Historycznych PAN.*

VII. Participation in international and national research programmes

1. *Polskie dziedzictwo utracone. Badania, kwerendy naukowe nad polonikami znajdującymi się w Riksarkivet w Sztokholmie (zespół Extranea IX Polen) digitalizacja i opracowanie inwentarza zasobów* (MKiDN No. 2762/09/FPK/DDK of 03/04/2009 – implementing entity Ośrodek Badań Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej) - executor.
2. *Disciplina militaris w wojskach Rzeczypospolitej do połowy XVII wieku. Ewolucja prawodawstwa wojskowego w teorii i praktyce: grant promotorski* (prof. Jerzy Urwanowicz) No. N N108 325337. 13 X 2009 – 30 VII 2011 r. Grant was settled by Narodowe Centrum Nauki of 4/06/2012 (NCN-DBR-ZGS/48/TZ/12) – executor.
3. *Badania i kwerendy w celu przygotowania do druku publikacji „Mapy i plany Rzeczypospolitej XVII w. znajdujące się w archiwach szwedzkich”* (MNiSW No. 882/DBW/P/2009 of 9/12/2009, implementing entity - Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy) - executor.
4. *Elektroniczne repozytorium poloników znajdujących się poza granicami Kraju* (MNiSzW nr 639/DBW/P/2010 of 16/06/2010, implementing entity - Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy) - executor.
5. *Białystok – dobre miejsce do studiowania: 2010-2011*, Europejski Fundusz Społeczny - executor.
6. *POLONIKA w Watykanie – badania, kwerendy i digitalizacja* (MNiSzW No. 537/DWB/P/2010, implementing entity - Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy) - executor.
7. *Polonika z Instytutu Historii w S. Petersburgu* (MNiSzW No. 909/DWB/2010 of 7/01/2011, implementing entity - Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy) - executor.
8. *Polonika z Instytutu Historii Rosyjskiej Akademii Nauk w S. Petersburgu* (MKiDzN No. 00649/11/DDK of 1/06/2011, implementing entity - Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy) - executor.

9. *Badania nad twórczością Jana Dymitra Solikowskiego*, research grant awarded by the Department of History and Sociology of Białystok from research to development of Young Scientists: 2011-2012. (BMN No. 289) – manager grant.
10. *Pozyskanie kopii cyfrowych Ksiąg Trybunału Litewskiego (1762-1763 rok) z Archiwum Państwowego w Wilnie* (MNiSzW No. 562/P-DUN/O/ZO/2011 of 26/09/2011 r., implementing entity - Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy) - executor.
11. *Polonika z Instytutu Historii Rosyjskiej Akademii Nauk w St. Petersburgu* (MNiSzW No. 626/P-DUN/O/ZO/2011, implementing entity - Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy) - executor.
12. *Archiwalia-polonika Metryka Koronna z zespołu Skoklostersamlingen E 8636* (MNiSzW No. 625/P-DUN/2012, implementing entity - Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy) - executor.
13. *Peregrynacje Władysława Konstantego Wituskiego*, research grant awarded by the Department of History and Sociology of Białystok from research to development of Young Scientists: 2012–2013. (BMN 297) – manager grant.
14. *Kolekcja archiwaliów „POLSKA: z Instytutu Historii Rosyjskiej Akademii Nauk w Sankt Petersburgu – opisanie, digitalizacja i udostępnienia* (MNiSzW No. 0040/NPRH2/H11/81/2012 of 13/12/2012, implementing entity - Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy) - executor.
15. *Pozyskanie kopii cyfrowych Trybunału Litewskiego z 1679 r.* (MNiSzW No. 502/P-DUN/2013, implementing entity - Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy) - executor.
16. *Trybunał Litewski – księgi dekretowe z lat 1766-1777. Digitalizacja i opisanie* (MNiSzW No. 502/P-DUN/2013, implementing entity - Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy) - executor.
17. *Archiwalia-polonika z zespołu 13 (Judicium Castrense Premisliense) z Centralnego Archiwum Historycznego Ukrainy we Lwowie* (MNiSzW No. 614/P-DUN/ZO/2013, implementing entity - Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy) - executor.
18. *Archiwalia-polonika Archiwum Watykańskiego i Biblioteki Apostolskiej w Watykanie – Etap I: rozpoznanie* (MKiDzN No. 00036/13/DDK of 09/05/2013, implementing entity - Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy) - executor.

19. *Polonika-archiwalia z kolekcji Pawła Dobrochotowa z Instytutu Historii Rosyjskiej Akademii Nauk w St. Petersburgu. Uzupełnienie opisów i tłumaczeń* (MNiSzW No. 660/P-DUN/ZO/2013, implementing entity - Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy) - executor.
20. *Działalność wojskowa Krzysztofa Arciszewskiego w Brazylii w latach 1634-1637*: research grant awarded by the Department of History and Sociology of Białystok from research to development of Young Scientists: 2014 r. (BMN No. 284) – manager grant.
21. *Digitalizacja, opisanie i udostępnienie materiałów z zespołów Skoklostersamlingen (Riksarkivet w Sztokholmie) E 8671 - E 8909* (MNiSW No. 1248/P-DUN/2014, implementing entity - Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy) – manager grant.
22. *Związki literatury polskiej i kartografii w XVI i 1 poł. XVII w.* (Narodowe Centrum Nauki No. DEC-2014/15/B/HS2/01104 of 11/05/2015, implementing entity – Uniwersytet Jagielloński) – executor.

VIII. AWARDS AND DISTINCTIONS

1. 10 X 2008. Award rector of the University of Białystok for organizational activities [Nagroda rektora Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku za działalność organizacyjną].
2. 10 X 2010. Award rector of the University of Białystok for organizational activities [Nagroda rektora Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku za działalność organizacyjną].
3. 10 X 2011. Award rector of the University of Białystok for organizational activities [Nagroda rektora Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku za działalność organizacyjną].
4. 10 X 2012. Award rector of the University of Białystok for scientific activity [Nagroda rektora Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku za działalność naukową].
5. II – III 2013. Scholarship awarded by Lanckoroński Foundation [stypendium przyznane przez Fundację Lanckorońskich z Brzezia] (No. 41-2/11).
6. 3 X 2014. Scholarship for outstanding young scientists [Stypendium dla wybitnych młodych naukowców] (<http://www.nauka.gov.pl/komunikaty/informacja-o-rozstrzygnieciukonkursu-na-stypendia-dla-młodych-wybitnych-naukowcow-w-2014-roku.html>)

Karol Łopatecki