

Dariusz Kupisz, *Zbigniew Gorajski (1596–1655). Studium z dziejów szlachty protestanckiej w Małopolsce w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku (Zbigniew Gorajski (1596–1655). A Study in the History of the Protestant Nobility in Little Poland in the First Half of the 17th Century)*, Warszawa 2000, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 230 pp., bibliogr., index of persons, genealogical tables, maps.

Dariusz Kupisz's study on Zbigniew Gorajski, one of the leaders of the Protestant nobility, raises a question which played an important role in the history of the Commonwealth of the Two Nations. The hero of Kupisz's monograph was an interesting personality who undoubtedly deserves a biographical study. This outstanding representative of Little Poland's dissident nobility exemplifies a question connected not only with the then weakening Polish heresy but also with the parliamentary system, the power élite, political culture and even with the possibility of social, economic and political advance for new people from the middle nobility. Kupisz's treatise covers all these questions and shows the author's hero against a broad background of political life in the Commonwealth.

The author has made use of many sources. In presenting Zbigniew Gorajski's vigorous activity at dietines, he made use of the castle court records of Lublin and Chełm. Gorajski's participation in the Sejms in 1629–1641 is described on the basis of mostly unpublished parliamentary diaries, and so is his activity in the Senate. His economic work is presented on the basis of castle court books. Vestiges of Gorajski's correspondence have been found in many archives and libraries. The author could have extended his research to foreign archives, for instance, Geheimnis Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, which has materials concerning negotiations in Lübeck in which Gorajski took part, but there are enough sources concerning this question in Polish archives. However, as regards Gorajski's mission to Königsberg in 1642, the Berlin archives would have enabled the author to go beyond the rather enigmatic description of the royal mission and define the ties which the castellan of Chełm established with the elector Frederick William.

The book is arranged chronologically and thematically and its construction is logical. It consists of five chapters. In the first the author presents the history of the Gorajski family, starting with its founder, Dymitr of Goraj, royal treasurer and grand marshal at the end of the 14th century. The author devotes most space to Adam Gorajski the younger and Piotr Gorajski, that is, to the father and uncle of Zbigniew, which is fully justified for these two men exercised a great influence on the personality of the future castellan of Chełm. Moreover, since they played an important political role, they, in particular the uncle, introduced Zbigniew into

the world of politics. It is interesting that the uncle and the father of our hero were the first of the Gorajski family to have studied abroad. They both cast in their lot with Chancellor Jan Zamoyski. They were energetic men, very active in their region; they were deputies to Poland's Tribunal and deputies to the General Sejm, and were also elected to various posts in the Protestant synod in the Lublin region.

Chapter II deals with the studies and foreign travels of the young Gorajski. Despite the scantiness of sources concerning Zbigniew Gorajski's education, the author has taken up this subject and has convincingly presented the vast intellectual interests of the future castellan of Kiev. In 1607 Gorajski was enrolled in a secondary school in Gdańsk and studied there for five years. He continued his studies in Heidelberg (1613–1615), Basle (1615–1616) and then in Leiden, and returned to Poland in 1618. In 1623 Gorajski visited Germany, Belgium, England, France, Italy, Greek islands, Egypt and Constantinople. One cannot but agree with the author that Gorajski's long studies and foreign travels were a good preparation for his later public activity.

The next two chapters are the core of the book. Chapter III covers the period up to 1641 when Gorajski was nominated senator for the first time. Chapter IV presents his work as senator. The author describes not only Gorajski's political work but also his economic activity, including such financial transactions as loans, loans on pawn, land dealings and his patronage over the Calvinist Church in the Lublin district. Chapter IV also presents Gorajski's work in the Commonwealth's diplomatic service. The division of this part of the book into two chapters, logical though it is, makes one ask to what extent the senatorial nomination changed Gorajski's opportunities and range of activity. The last, fifth, chapter deals with Gorajski's court and his family.

The young Gorajski, well educated and intellectually wide awake as he was, was well prepared for the activity expected of him by the dissident nobility of Little Poland. He embarked on political activity relatively late, when he was 32 years old. The end of Sigismund III's reign and the beginning of Ladislaus IV's rule were not a period propitious for Protestants' careers. But the young Gorajski conducted political activity in the Lublin region, where the political influence of the Protestant activity was still strong. Besides, he was a talented man and thanks to the confidence of the Lublin nobility, his connections with the Radziwills and the Slupeczkis, and his marriage in 1629 with the daughter of Rafał Leszczyński, vovode of Lublin, he was the first in the Gorajski family to become a minor castellan and then castellan of Kiev.

The author of the monograph did not fall to the temptation of presenting Gorajski as a client of magnates. On the contrary, though he perceives Gorajski's natural political links with the Protestant magnates, he emphasises that his hero's judgments and attitudes were fully independent. Although Gorajski had substantial wealth consisting in 1636 of the town of Bilgoraj, 18 villages, 8 manorial farms, parts of 14 villages and jurisdiction over two areas, Kupisz rightly does not regard this as a magnatial fortune, even though some researchers treat owners of 10 villages as magnatés. None the less, the book shows that as late as the middle of the 17th century new people, also from Protestant families, could become senators, even though the situation of the dissident nobility had deteriorated.

A deeper reflection is sometimes wanting in this interesting book. For instance, in discussing the reasons why Ladislaus IV sent Gorajski to Königsberg to attend the funeral of the elector George William in 1642, the author emphasises the role played by the elector's envoy Hoverbeck in this matter. The Brandenburgian diplomat recommended Gorajski, believing that he would respect procedure and would not be too inquisitive in investigating Frederick William's conflict with the Prussian estates, in particular with Königsberg. In Kupisz's opinion religious questions did not play a significant role in this case. Let us have a closer look at this nomination. An important point in the Brandenburgian diplomat's opinion was his conviction that Gorajski lacked diplomatic experience, for this is how one can interpret Hoverbeck's statement that the Polish envoy would strictly observe

procedure. As a rule, this is what characterises inexperienced diplomats. What is more important, however, is Hoverbeck's conviction that Gorajski would not get to the core of the elector's conflict with the estates. This conviction could have been due to natural reasons, for compared with his rival to the post, the castellan of Gdańsk, Jan Zawadzki, Gorajski did not know much about the situation in the Duchy of Prussia. This means that he was preferred by the Brandenburgian side because of his lack of diplomatic experience and ignorance of facts. The attitude of the Brandenburgian elector is understandable from the point of view of his own interest, but what did the Polish King want to achieve by sending such an envoy? Kupisz writes about court intrigues which exerted an influence on the nomination of Gorajski, but was this the decisive factor? And there is still one more question connected with this matter. In my view, religious considerations played an important role in this nomination. Both the elector and the Polish envoy were Calvinists while the inhabitants of Königsberg were Lutherans. Let us not forget that religious differences overlapped the conflict between the estates in the Duchy of Prussia and the elector. The elector was undoubtedly the main beneficiary of Gorajski's mission to Königsberg; this is borne out by the fact that the Polish envoy supported the plan for Frederick William's marriage with the Swedish Queen Christina, and he did this contrary to the will of the King, the attitude of the Senate and Poland's *raison d'état*. A deeper examination would have also been advisable in the analysis of Gorajski's speech at the Sejm in 1647. The speech was wholly devoted to the wrongs suffered by dissidents in the Commonwealth. Gorajski said that the Catholics in Holland fared better than the Protestants in the Polish-Lithuanian state. Gorajski's speech opened a parliamentary discussion on the question of dissidents, but it brought more harm than profit to the Protestants and angered the Catholics. Moreover, the king had declared he was against the proposal to strengthen the Warsaw confederation by new legal acts. In Kupisz's view, what Gorajski wanted was to secure a law that would have abolished the Tribunal's decrees against the Protestants. If he is right, one can only say that Gorajski did all he could in the Sejm to achieve nothing. His speech was a great political provocation. Had he wanted to gain the monarch's approval for his proposals he should not have ignored the royal proposals in his speech and should not have dealt with matters which were of secondary importance from the point of view of the royal court. How could he provocatively irritate the Catholic majority in the Senate and in the Chamber of Deputies? Gorajski behaved like a politician who attends a parliamentary debate for the first time. But being, as he was, an experienced parliamentarian, what did he count on and what was the purpose of his speech? Was it only a desperate attempt to gain something for his coreligionists or was something more important behind his words?

Despite these reservations it must be stated that Dariusz Kupisz has written an interesting book based on solid materials. His analysis is logical and convincing. He has corrected many erroneous opinions concerning Zbigniew Gorajski's life. His book is a valuable supplement to our knowledge of the situation of Protestantism in Poland from the end of Sigismund I's reign to the beginning of John Casimir's rule.

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