

## Index

- absolutum dominium*, 75, III, 203, 230, *see also* power  
 Anonim Senator, 100, 230  
 Aristotle, 7, 60, 61, 87, 239  
   as guide to mixed constitution, 176, 177, 221  
   as guide to political authority, 186  
   as guide to politics, 2, 4, 6  
   as guide to virtue, 142, 150, 153, 157, 158, 211  
   influence on republican ideas, 7, 16, 45, 46, 56  
   reception in Poland–Lithuania, 59–62, 70, 77, 88, 121, 130, 132, 135, 136–8, 144, 146, 151, 154, 155, 171, 196, 197, 214, 215, 224, 233  
 Augustine, St, 6, 22, 45  
 authority, 23, 25, 40, 72, 77, 105, 175, 184, 186, 188, 191, 201, 215, 216, 217, *see also* power  
   in law, 126, 187  
   sources of, 16, 25, 27, 34, 36, 72  
  
 Baranowski, Wojciech, 102  
 Bartolus, de Saxoferrato, 45, 52  
 Biernat of Lublin, 234  
 Bobrzyński, Michał, 21  
 Bodin, Jean, 34, 36, 40, 56, 75, 185, 210, 232, 239  
 Bohemia, 39, 94  
 Botero, Giovanni, 205  
 Bracciolini, Poggio, 140, 160, 213  
 Bracton, Henry, 74  
 Bruni, Leonardo, 53, 74, 83, 139, 144, 157  
 Brutus, Étienne Junius, 39, 40  
 Buonaccorsi, Filippo, *see* Callimachus  
 Burghley, William Cecil, Baron, 233  
 Buridan, Jean, 45  
  
 Callimachus (Filippo Buonaccorsi), 24, 37, 234  
 Casimir the Great, 89, 240  
 Chamber of Envoys, 29, 31, 33, 58, 63, 148, 182, 183, 219, 222, 226, 238, 245  
 Cicero, Marcus Tullius, 2, 3, 5, 34, 159, 169, 175  
   and republican tradition, 7, 73, 109  
   as guide to mixed constitution, 175, 179, 221  
   as guide to *res publica*, 7, 8, 16, 47, 49, 53, 56, 57, 65, 154  
   influence of on republican discourse of Poland–Lithuania, 20, 23, 25, 45, 46, 56, 60, 61, 67, 121, 122, 144, 152, 157  
   on law, 61, 78, 80, 97  
   on liberty, 98  
 citizenship, 12, 15, 16, 58, 59, 66, 107, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 157, 158, 159, 166, 168, 171, 173  
   as *amor patriae*, 158, 159  
*civitas libera*, 3, 7, 12, 44, 51, 53, 69, 71, 73, 107, 125, 128, 131, 156, 159, 164, 166, 183, 192, 210, 218, 225, 240  
 classical republican tradition, 51, 56, 66, 70, 104, 122, 127, 158, 174, 178  
   and political order, 131  
   and republicanism, 6  
   defined, 5  
   in Aristotle, 132, 134  
 common good, 3, 5–7, 22, 23, 53–4, 67, 105, 106, 109, 121, 123, 128–34, 138, 139, 148, 150, 163, 164, 189, 191, 202, 232  
   as remedy against corruption, 150, 155–6, 160  
   concern for, 55, 61, 79, 93, 144, 147, 150  
   in ancient tradition, 150  
 Commonwealth of the Two Nations, *see* *Rzeczpospolita*; Poland–Lithuania  
 Compagni, Dino, 122  
 conciliarism, 24, 46, 188  
 Conrad of Gelnhausen, 26  
 Constant, Benjamin, 103  
 Contarini, Gasparo, 3, 55, 163, 164, 177, 243  
   influence of, 131, 162  
   on the Venetian constitution, 3, 68, 69, 213  
   popularity in Poland–Lithuania, 127  
 corruption, 15, 74, 86, 87, 88, 99, 110, 117, 122, 125, 129, 144, 151, 152, 156, 159, 160, 164, 166, 173, 178, 202, 203, 209, 224, 226, 227, 240, 243  
   as threat to liberty, 144, 157  
 Craig, Thomas, 234  
 Cromerus, Martinus, *see* Kromer, Marcin

- Cusanus, Nicolaus, 73, 185  
 customs, 4, 15, 23, 61, 73, 85, 108, 149, 165,  
 166–7, 171  
 in Machiavelli, 73  
 democracy, 30, 181, 188, 195  
 of the noblemen, 181, 182, 219  
*szlachta's* vision of, 68  
 Demosthenes, 221  
 Denmark, 39, 94  
 Diogenes, 80  
 education, 4, 88, 130, 131, 134, 139, 141, 163,  
 166–71, 237  
 civic, 149, 199  
 elective monarchy, 37, 40, 185, 229–31, *see also*  
 royal election  
 Elyot, Thomas, 134, 213, 242  
 England, 18, 32, 39, 55, 63, 72, 94, 118, 127, 128,  
 129, 130, 135, 165, 169, 184, 197, 207, 210, 222,  
 233, 234, 236, 243  
 Erasmus, Desiderius, 28, 38, 54, 134, 169  
 Estreicher, Stanisław, 181  
*executio legum*, 35, 39, 43, 62, 113, 177, 179, 215, 219  
 Florence, 2, 5, 43, 52, 53, 83, 98, 129, 130, 192  
 Foord, John, 233  
 Fortescue, John, 184  
 France, 2, 33, 38, 39, 89, 94, 98, 115, 185, 197  
 Francesco Patrizi da Siena, 53  
 Fredro, Andrzej Maksymilian, 106  
 free election, *see* royal election  
 freedom, *see* liberty  
 Frost, Robert, 32, 36  
 Frycz Modrzewski, Andrzej (Andreas Fricius  
 Modrevius), 11, 21, 28, 42, 66, 173–4  
 and Aristotle, 62, 138  
 on Church and state, 125  
 on citizens, 140, 154  
 on customs, 85, 87, 129  
 on education, 139, 167  
 on homicide, 84, 110, 120  
 on justice, 76  
 on law, 74, 77–8  
 on liberty, 109, 123  
 on mixed constitution, 76, 193, 210  
 on nobility, 162  
 on religious toleration, 123–4  
 on *res publica*, 59–62, 66, 139  
 on virtue, 143  
 Germany, 33, 38, 89, 94, 115, 118, 185  
 Gerson, Jean, 185  
 Giannotti, Donato, 145, 164  
 Giles of Rome, 45, 48  
 Giovanni da Viterbo, 147  
 Goslicius, Laurentius Grimalius, *see* Goślicki,  
 Wawrzyniec Grzymała  
 Gostyński, Andrzej (Andreas Gostinius), 169  
 Goślicki, Wawrzyniec Grzymała (Laurentius  
 Grimalius Goslicius), 4, 7, 42, 55, 62, 92,  
 145, 146, 160–1, 223–4, 242  
 on citizens, 151, 153, 168  
 on education, 169  
 on elective monarchy, 232–3  
 on justice, 83  
 on law, 80–2, 228  
 on liberty, 109  
 on majority vote, 208, 225  
 on mixed constitution, 193–4  
 on moral order, 82  
 on *res publica*, 63–4, 146, 163  
 on *scientia civilis*, 63, 194, 223  
 on senate and senators, 91, 120, 134, 145, 194  
 on the rule of law, 79, 91, 93  
 on virtue, 165  
 Górnicki, Łukasz, 88–9, 139, 227  
 on absolute power, 200–1  
 on justice, 153  
 on liberty, 109, 115–18, 152  
 on manners, 166  
 on mixed constitution, 201–3  
 on the *szlachta*, 165  
 on virtue, 144, 151–2  
 Górski, Jakub, 169  
 Grabowski, Piotr, 228  
 Grzybowski, Konstanty, 19  
 Guicciardini, Francesco, 7, 76, 144, 183, 229,  
 242, 243  
 Harrington, James, 105, 164, 209, 243  
 Henri de Valois, 4, 36  
 Heraclitus, 10  
 Herodotus, 46  
 Hesiod, 221  
 Heywood, John, 213  
 Hobbes, Thomas, 57, 105, 107, 108, 129, 185  
 Holland, 129, 191  
 Homer, 221  
 Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus), 21  
 human nature, 54, 114, 135, 210, 236  
 humanism, 19, 20, 28, 37, 40, 41, 167  
 civic, 16, 144  
 Hungary, 19, 118  
 Italy, 2, 18, 19, 38, 53, 62, 89, 94, 98, 115, 126, 128,  
 132, 198, *see also* Florence, Venice  
 Jakub of Paradyż, 25  
 Jan of Kluczbork, 24

- Jan of Ludzisko, 20–1  
 Januszowski, Jan, 79, 210  
 John of Salisbury, 23, 25  
 justice, 22–3, 79, 80–2, 83, 114, 133, 215, 220  
   love of, 147
- Karnkowski, Stanisław, 149, 220, 223, 225, 226  
 Kelsen, Hans, 118  
 Kochanowski, Jan, 28, 158, 159, 170  
 Koehler, Krzysztof, 44, 159  
 Kot, Stanisław, 56, 141, 211, 212  
 Kromer, Marcin (Martinus Cromerus), 9,  
   57, 194
- Latini, Brunetto, 20, 98, 147  
 law, 22, 23, 72–9, 80  
   and justice, 79  
   and liberty, 3  
   Roman, 21, 52, 89–90  
   rule of, 52, 73, 75, 79, 82, 91, 179, 182, 235  
   supremacy of, 4, 47  
 liberal, 15, 98, 108, 148, 180, *see also civitas libera*,  
   *res publica libera*  
   and equality, 177  
   and individual rights, 136, 145  
   as absence of arbitrary power, 8, 239  
   civil, 3, 125, 126, 177, 204  
   conditions of, 3–4, 12, 16, 106, 183, 225, 229,  
   230, 240  
   from domination, 16, 95, 103, 104, 105, 106,  
   109, 116, 124, 130, 136, 138, 176  
   republican, 15, 105, 108, 122, 124, 152, 239–40  
*liberum veto*, 93, 123, 164, 208, 237  
 licence, 109, 116, 117, 118, 120, 132, 221, 222, 227,  
   231, 240  
   and liberty, 94, 98, 103, 110, 111, 112, 113  
 Lippomano, Girolamo, 180, 205  
 Lithuania, 13, 30, 120–1  
 Livy (Titus Livius), 5, 21, 45, 46, 71  
 Locke, John, 57, 129, 171  
 Łaski, Jan, 34  
 Łukasz of Wielki Koźmin, 24, 27
- Machiavelli, Niccolò, 55, 92, 99, 104, 107, 128,  
   130, 176, 184, 185, 208, 216, 221  
   reception of in Poland–Lithuania, 137  
 magistrates, 40, 64, 74, 75, 80, 85, 213, 227  
 manners, 85–6, 135, 165–6, 201, 228, 240, *see also*  
   customs  
   improvement of, 172, 227  
 Marsiglio (Marsilius) of Padua, 25, 48, 72, 75, 184,  
   188, 232  
   on the sovereignty of the people, 184, 189  
 Mateusz of Cracow, 24, 25  
 mirror for princes (*specula*), 62, 169–70, 223  
 mixed constitution, 3, 11–12, 15, 16, 31, 36, 119,  
   198–201, 203, 221, 229  
   as mixed monarchy, 16, 29, 176, 183, 192, 195,  
   197, 218, 221  
   in the *Rzeczpospolita*, 34–6  
*monarchia mixta*, *see* mixed constitution  
 Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat,  
   243  
 More, Thomas, 54, 94  
 Morison, Richard, 160  
 Mussato, Albertino, 98  
 Myszkowski, Piotr, 113, 149
- Nidecki, Andrzej Patrycy, 169  
*Nil Novi* constitution, 33, 99, 101, 183  
 nobility, 140, 156, 160, 162, 170, 189, *see also*  
   *szlachta* (nobility)  
 nominalism, 26, 46, 72, 165, 184
- Ogonowski, Zbigniew, 103, 104  
 Oleśnicki, Zbigniew, 21  
 Olizarowski, Aron Aleksander, 154  
 Olszewski, Henryk, 181  
 Opaliński, Edward, 29, 58, 140  
 order, 5, 9, 15, 23  
   concept of, 10–11  
   in Plato and the Greeks, 10  
   institutional, 16  
   republican, 11, 30, 57  
 Orzechowski, Stanisław (Stanislaus Orichovius),  
   19, 28, 41, 44, 46, 57, 103, 170, 215  
   and Contarini, 68–9  
   and Frycz Modrzewski, 78, 83, 92, 120,  
   124  
   on Catholic Church, 216  
   on citizens, 143  
   on kingship, 216, 217, 218–19  
   on law, 30, 76, 89  
   on liberty, 94, 100, 118–19, 120–1  
   on mixed constitution, 119, 195–7  
   on nobility, 143  
   on *res publica*, 65–8  
   on royal election, 190, 231  
 Ostroróg, Jan (ca. 1435–1501), 19, 21, 24, 45, 74, 82,  
   139, 150, 188, 207, 234  
 Ostroróg, Jan (1565–1622), 31
- paideia*, 149, 168, 170  
 Palczowski, Paweł, 180  
 Palmieri, Matteo, 73, 144  
 Paruta, Paolo, 163  
 Paul, St, 5, 13, 20, 25, 140, 142  
 Paweł of Wórczyn, 21  
 Persons, Robert, 233  
 Pettit, Philip, 97, 104, 105

- Plato, 6, 7, 8, 10, 20, 45, 46, 64, 72, 80, 84, 89, 93, 130, 131, 137, 144, 146, 147, 158, 193, 197, 217, 221, 224, 243
- Plutarch, 221
- Pocock, J. G. A., II, 164
- Poland–Lithuania, I, 12, 29, 49, 69, 102, 125, 177, 181, 182, 183, 192, 195, 208, *see also*  
*Rzeczpospolita*  
 union of, 13, 50
- politeia*, 7, 67, 137, 176, 179
- Polybius, 5, 34, 45–6, 108, 132, 175, 179, 194, 198
- Ponet, John, 210
- power, 177, 184–6, 232, 233  
 absolute, III, 201  
 and law, 75  
 and liberty, 177  
 arbitrary, 106, 109  
 balance of, 34, 119, 222  
 distribution of, 61, 175, 180, 198, 201  
 limits of, 42, 74, 75, 119, 195  
 of the *szlachta*, 40  
 royal, 29, 30, 34, 35, 36, 39, 47, 72, 179, 181, 199, 207, 211, 222  
 sources of, 48, 186–8
- Przyłuski, Jakub, 81, 157, 215  
 on *res publica*, 64–5, 66
- Ptolemy of Lucca, 53
- public good, *see* common good
- Quintilian (Marcus Fabius Quintilianus), 85
- Rej, Mikołaj, 28
- representation, 25, 68, 147, 175
- republicanism, 3, 6, 243  
 early modern, 12, 51  
 Machiavelli's, 9
- res publica*, I, 3, 5, 6–7, 8, 18, 22, 23, 36, 39, 52, 56, 58, 59, *see also* *Rzeczpospolita*  
 and liberty, 70  
 and monarchy, 53, 55  
 and sovereignty, 192  
 as a mixed polity, 15  
 concept of, 7–8, 9–11, 15, 43, 49, 53–4, 66, 79, 131  
 emendation of, II, 160  
 endurance of, 77, 79, 106, 132, 137, 164  
 foundations of, 15, 61  
*libera*, 7, II, 12–13, 44, 209, 232, 242  
 order of, II, 39, 52, 60
- Rinuccini, Alamanno, 192
- Rojzjusz, Piotr (Pedro Ruiz de Moros), 90
- Rome, 3, 5, 9, 39, 74, 98, 99, 108, 118, 119, 130, 204, 226, 230  
 Republic of, 2, 8, 37, 51, 53, 57, 101, 153, 180, 189, 205, 210, 242
- Rotundus, Augustyn, 121–2, 123
- Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 92  
 royal election, 101, 106, 112, 113, 177, 184, 185, 190, 211, 229, 232, *see also* elective monarchy
- Ruggiero, Giulio, 205
- Rzeczpospolita*, VII, I, 7, 14, 18, 31, 34, 36, 37, 40, 47, 48, 50, 56, 58, 68, 90, 96, 99, 100, 101, 125, 129, 130, 135, 147, 148, 165, 172, 178, 179, 181, 183, 189, 195, 197, 205, 238, 241, 244, 245  
 emendation of, 42, 133, 135, 138
- Sacchi, Bartolomeo (Platina), 144
- Saint-Germain, Christopher, 72, 80
- Sallust (Gaius Sallustius Crispus), 5, 22, 23, 71, 85, 99, 107, 108, 234
- Sarpi, Paolo, 7
- Sebastian Petrycy of Pilzno, 69–70, 92, III, 112, 136, 171, 228  
 on citizenship, 155, 158  
 on education, 170  
 on justice, 133  
 on liberty, 109–10  
 on mixed constitution, 197–8  
 on monarchy, 236, 242  
 on nobility, 162  
 on *res publica*, 132, 137, 150
- Sejm, 14, 29–35, 116, 123, 149, 160, 177, 225  
*sejmik* assemblies, 31, 33, 99
- Senate, 35, 64, 120, 134, 182, 196, 219, 222, 225
- Sigismund Augustus, 40, 63, 134
- Sigismund I 'the Old', 79, 89, 134, 162
- Sigismund III Waza, 58, 236
- Skarga, Piotr, 44, 67, 77, 172, 199, 210, 220
- Skinner, Quentin, 97, 98, 106
- Smith, Thomas, 55, 73, 164, 233, 243  
 on *res publica*, 55
- Socrates, 80
- Solikowski, Jan Dymitr, 172
- Solon, 159
- Spain, 94
- Sparta, 163, 193, 194, 200
- Stanisław of Skarbimierz (Stanislaus de Scarbimiria), 22, 27
- Starkey, Thomas, 73, 134, 136
- Starowolski, Szymon, 126–7
- Stephen Báthory, 173
- Suárez, Francisco, 71, 126
- Sweden, 39
- Szczucki, Lech, 12
- szlachta* (nobility), 3, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35–6, 43, 52, 119, 143, 194, 230  
 as a politic nation, 32  
 political position of, 37  
 rights and privileges of, 31–2, 48, 230
- Szymon Marycjusz of Pilzno, 132, 167

- Tacitus, Publius Cornelius, 46, 133, 137, 235  
 Tarnowski, Jan, 169–70  
 Tarnowski, Stanisław, 42  
 Tazbir, Janusz, 105  
 Thomas Aquinas, St, 135, 152, 216  
 toleration (religious), 40, 101, 123, 219  
   Act of, 124, 241
- Ulpian (Gnaeus Domitius Annius Ulpianus), 75,  
   77, 81, 119, 188  
 unanimity, 112, 122, 204  
 University of Cracow, 2, 18, 20, 24, 25, 37, 48, 232
- Varsevicius, Christophorus, *see* Warszewicki,  
 Krzysztof
- Venice, 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, 32, 37, 39, 43, 52, 62, 115, 119,  
 125, 126, 129, 130, 145, 153, 163–4, 169, 180,  
 189, 193, 200, 204, 227, 229, 230, 232, 240,  
 243, 244  
   and Poland–Lithuania, 68–9, 209–10
- Viroli, Maurizio, 9, 243
- virtue, 11, 45, 55, 64, 69, 86, 93, 114, 128, 131–2, 135,  
 145, 153, 197, 226  
   and citizenship, 82, 95, 152, 157, 240  
   and corruption, 160  
   and education, 166  
   and institutions, 164  
   and justice, 73, 79, 82  
   and law, 77, 81  
   and liberty, 94, 103, 109, 111, 116, 117, 144  
   and mixed government, 199  
   and nobility, 143, 160  
   and normative order, 136–7, 238  
   and the common good, 138  
   civic, 23, 39, 44, 49, 99, 106, 118, 130, 137, 149,  
     176, 214, 243  
   military, 161  
   prince's, 211, 216  
   royal, 241  
   senator's, 223–4
- Vladimiri, Paulus, *see* Włodkowiec, Paweł  
 Volanus, Andreas, *see* Wolan, Andrzej
- Walicki, Andrzej, 103, 104
- Warszewicki, Krzysztof (Christophorus  
 Varsevicius), 44, 54, 148  
   and Machiavelli, 137, 220–1  
   on consent, 208  
   on liberty, 149  
   on monarchy, 199, 219–22  
   on noblemen's democracy, 199  
   on parliament, 227  
   on *res publica*, 147  
   on *Rzeczpospolita*, 135  
   on the *szlachta*, 159
- Wawrzyniec of Racibórz, 21, 22
- Wereszczynski, Józef, 220
- Wirszubski, Chaim, 98
- Włodkowiec, Paweł (Paulus Vladimiri), 14,  
 26–7, 124  
   on *ius gentium*, 26  
   on natural law, 81
- Wolan, Andrzej (Andreas Volanus), 42, 84, 114,  
 123, 152, 154–5  
   on authority, 189  
   on elective monarchy, 231  
   on equality before the law, 96, 115  
   on liberty, 84–5, 95  
   on nobility, 162  
   on *res publica*, 69  
   on the *szlachta*, 231  
   on towns, 115
- Xenophon, 221
- Zaborowski, Stanisław, 25, 31, 74, 82, 187, 190,  
 239  
   on law, 75  
   on political authority, 189–90, 214  
   on *res publica*, 150
- Zamoyski, Jan, 36, 96, 102, 112, 204,  
 210  
   on elective monarchy, 36  
   on freedom, 96  
   on *res publica*, 36