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Officers – Protestants in the Polish Crown army in the second half of the 17th century

Key words: Protestants, Officers, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Reformation

Research on the confession of the officers serving in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth army in the 17th century is limited only to a few articles or fragments of larger monographs concerning the officer corps in the abovementioned period¹. This issue was addressed by the participants of the conference which was held in Cracow, dedicated to different religions in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. There in the printed materials we find several articles referring to the topic we are interested in. The process of confessionalization in the army was noticed by R. Frost². He pointed out that the foreigners – Protestants – served mainly in the Foreign *autorament* (reiters, dragoons and German-type infantry) which increased conflicts and lack of trust between the two types of army, i.e. the *pospolite ruszenie* (Noble Host), evident especially after the end of the war with Sweden in 1660³. In turn, M. Nagielski drew attention to the large haul in the era of the Deluge from the Swedish and Brandenburg captives in the years 1656-1658 when the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth rebuilt the types of troops included in the foreign levy⁴. “After the will and captivity”, officers, non-commissioned officers, like simple soldiers, chose to serve in the Polish ranks when they were threatened with death in the event of refusal, as conceived by a well-known officer of the Swedish reiter and then serving in the regiment of the Grand Marshal of the Crown, Jerzy Lubomirski – Hieronim Christian Holsten⁵. No European army in the abovementioned it could not do without foreigners who, for various reasons, took service under the banners of the imperial forces, Protestant states and also in branches of Orthodox Moscow, as is the case with Patryk Gordon⁶.

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¹ WAGNER 2015: 111-120.

² FROST 2004: 89-98.

³ FROST 2004: 97.

⁴ NAGIELSKI 2004: 99-118.

⁵ Holsten, p.127.

⁶ Gordon.

With the outbreak of Khmelnytsky's uprising and the destruction of the forces of the *wojsko kwarciane* of the “old” enlistment form, it was necessary to reconstruct the armed forces of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and based on the enlistment areas from the central provinces towards going to the side of the Ruthenian insurgents as events in 1648 showed. Already in 1649 the Brandenburg regiment was taken under the command of the General Krzysztof Houwaldt⁷, which consisted of officers and soldiers enlisted in Prussia, and thus in the majority of Protestants. The great losses of this regiment in the campaign of the 1640 Zborów campaign as well as Beresteczko campaign in 1651 caused that due to its permanent supplementation, it lost its purely German character. However, until the defeat of the Polish army at Batoń in June 1652, many Lutherans served in it. Many units taken in the autumn in the area of Royal and Ducal Prussia, including the branches of Prince Bogusław Radziwiłł, had many Germans, most of whom were Lutheran denominations⁸. This also involved the reiter regiments, which were recruited at Żwaniec on October 1, 1653, namely units such as: Bogusław Radziwiłł, General of the Royal Guard – 454 horses; the king under the command of Heinrich von Wallenrodt – 538 horses; the colonel Salomon von Osten-Sacken⁹ – 474 horses; the colonel Teodor Leszkwan (Lessgewang)¹⁰ – 507 horses.

Especially many of the officers and non-commissioned officers with German roots are mostly found in the guards of the last Polish king from the House of Vasa. We find dozens of officers who were Lutherans on over 200 names found in the tax and treasury accounts of ASW AGAD in Warsaw and other narrative sources. This resulted not only from the area of recruitment to the regiments, in which they served as in the case of the general major Ernest Jan Korff¹¹ (in 1658 in the Prussian area) but also from the circumstances of these enlistments (from Swedish and Brandenburg captives, for example to the Lubomirski's calvary and infantry in 1656). Among them it is worth mentioning the names of: Jost Gaspar Berenfeyer, Georg Johann von Bandemer, Christian Brant, Hans Christoph Bromse, Thomas Edelhoff, Jan Szymon Feltmeyer, Christian Dietrich Franck, Johann Erfort Foerster, Mikołaj Friedrich von Kierzbruch, Dormin Herman von Kloster, Tobias Knobelsdorff, Sebastian Jan Lichtenhan, Krzysztof Faltyn Manstein, Waclaw Schreckenfeld, Salomon Schultz¹², Michał Ernest Seidlinger, Jan Ferdynand Palenberg and others¹³.

Many regiments formed in the time of the Deluge in the years 1656-1657 were in terms of both national and religious composition a specific mosaic reflecting the multi-denominational and multinational nature of the Polish-Lithuanian

⁷ WAGNER 2014: 112-113.

⁸ CIESIELSKI 2003: 58-60.

⁹ NAGIELSKI 1992: 273-274.

¹⁰ CIESIELSKI, NAGIELSKI 2003: 271.

¹¹ NAGIELSKI 2015: 53-71.

¹² NAGIELSKI 1995: 32-33.

¹³ The list of the officers of both levies in the guard units of Jan Kazimierz: NAGIELSKI 1989: 170-184.

Commonwealth. An example of this is the reconstructed infantry regiment of the Grand Marshal of the Crown J. Lubomirski under the command of the lieutenant colonel Mikołaj Konstanty Ghissa (Giza), who previously was in the infantry guard of the King Jan Kazimierz (r. 1648-1668)¹⁴. Thanks to the extracts of T. Nowak made before 1939 showing the structure of this unit and commanders of individual companies, we can roughly give its composition. This is all the more important because we have very few documents of this type of units of the division No. 77, where there were the show *regestr popisowy* of the foreign levy. They were being held in ASW AGAD in Warsaw and buried in 1944. At the head of this unit, beside the lieutenant colonel M.K. Ghissa (Giza), starting from March 31, 1656 the major Jan Magnus von Ochapp (c. 1630-1697) from the Silesian nobility from the Principality of Opava¹⁵ and a large group of officers of German descent. However, we do not know what religion they were, though probably many of them were Lutherans. It is worth mentioning here some of them: captain Heinrich Kirschbrock (Kierschenbroch), captain Otto Klebeck, captain Albrecht Thale von Thalen, captain Dawid Goldschmidt, captain lieutenant Kessel, lieutenant Johann Schermacker, lieutenant Lorenc Iben, lieutenant Pusch, lieutenant Jakob Mautner or lieutenant Thomas Fresch. Among officers, we can observe also the Scotsman captain lieutenant Robert Stuart and unknown number of Italians. In next years the headmen of the company were captain James Magnifico, captain Isidor Affayt or captain Filip Borattini and Jan Sieni was the secretary of this unit. This did not mean that the composition of this regiment in terms of the officer corps was thoroughly alien; we can, in fact, name a large Polish group. In the years 1656-1658 we can see in his composition also indigenous Poles, such as: captain Andrzej Wierzbicki, lieutenant and then captain Tomasz Herbst, captain Jasiński, lieutenant Jan Wierzbicki, lieutenant Morawski, *chorąży* (ensign) Jan Zamoyski, ensign Dubrawski or lieutenant Michał Baron¹⁶. We can see, therefore, that the composition of this unit in both national and religious terms was very diverse. On the battlefield in the era of struggle with Moscow, Sweden and Rakoczy's armies, it did not bother anyone, because the skills and the degree of training that recruited people had in the first place counted. This is confirmed by H.Ch. Holsten, who often on the pages of his diary illustrating his service in the Crown Army, writes about the solidarity that took place between the reiters even serving on opposite sides. Unfortunately, he rarely identifies his companions by the religion, as is with *rotmistrz* (calvary captain) Jan Mautner's as the "baptized Jew"¹⁷.

¹⁴ NAGIELSKI 1989: 23-24.

¹⁵ WAGNER 2013: 205-206.

¹⁶ AGAD ASW dz. 77 nr 8, 9, 12, 18, 21, 82 (The manuscripts burnt in 1944, the copies made by Tadeusz Nowak remain in possession of the current Author).

¹⁷ Holsten, p.127.

The determination of the confession of officers and non-commissioned officers serving in the crown army in the second half of 17th century is very difficult because we do not have genealogical and heraldic materials concerning these people, and from the pronunciation of the German names it is difficult to judge their religion. Those soldiers could have been Polish Kingdom citizens living in Royal Prussia or Greater Poland, where many people with nobility roots took up service in foreign enlistment units, with no information about their religion (Catholic, Protestant or Calvinist). Such a situation is confirmed by the Poznań's garrison's records from 1658-1659 of the infantry regiment of Grand Treasurer of the Crown, and then Deputy Chancellor of the Crown B. Leszczyński under the command of a Lutheran lieutenant colonel Krzysztof Unrug (Christoph von Unrug)¹⁸. Lieutenant colonel Unrug was cavalry captain, starost of Gniezno and Wałcz, Lutheran, coming from a well-known family in Greater Poland¹⁹. This presentation is interesting because description gives not only the place of recruitment of individual officers and non-commissioned officers but also their confession regarding to the company staffs. And so Peter de Wal, Frenchman and catholic is leading the regiment (*leibkompania*) of B. Leszczyński. Among the nine soldiers mentioned by name or surname, Catholics dominate.

There are only two non-commissioned officers of the Evangelicals – that is cadet Martin, a native of Landsberk and corporal Martin Chyc from Międzychód. In turn, probably not accidentally, we can see the majority of evangelicals in the headquarters of lieutenant colonel Krzysztof Unrug (evangelical), including: lieutenant Jerzy Weber from Międzyrzecz, ensign Stefan Gorzyński and corporal Christian Dziembowski all from the Poznań province. Also among the staff of the company of captain Herman Adolf Mięsicki, who is evangelical, we observe mainly evangelicals. There is only one Catholic among six names where a confession was assigned to them. On the other hand, the rest five soldiers are evangelicals: H.A. Mięsicki nobleman from Kościan county²⁰, lieutenant Matias Chwałkowski from Greater Poland, ensign Florian Łuka nobleman from Międzyrzecz county, corporal Martin Hempel from Międzychód and corporal Hans Wilhelm straightly from the Czech²¹. Interesting, but another company under the command of captain Andrzej Drohojewski, probably a Catholic, is composed mainly of Catholics. In the captaincy of this company, we won't find a single evangelical just there is a domination of roman-catholics, including sergeant Jan Podlesiecki – originate from Halych Land, Galicia region, a greek-catholic.

¹⁸ Popis regimentu B.Leszczyńskiego pod Poznaniem 23 V 1658 r. in: AP Poznań, księgi grodzkie relacyjne poznańskie nr 184, k. 8v-14.

¹⁹ WAGNER 2014: 238-239.

²⁰ He had a brother, named Jan, also member of Evangelical Church, who served in the infantry regiment of general Ernest Magnus Grotthauz in 1663. H. Mięsicki himself received the indygenat (i.e. his noble status was recognized by the Polish Republic) on the Sejm of 1662 under condition of accepting Roman Catholicism, we do not know however if he did so. see. WAGNER 2013: 191-192.

²¹ AP Poznań, ks. rel. Gr. Poznańskie nr 184, k. 8v-14.

The presented material shows that from eleven officers in the rank from captain to ensign, nine are Poles and nobles who, in the face of an increasingly difficult economic situation, did not despise the service in units of foreign recruitment and in the infantry. Their confession was described briefly either as Catholic (2 cases) or as Evangelic (6 cases). It is interesting that the commander of the company, if he was an evangelical, chosen junior officers and non-commissioned officers of the same confession as himself, f. e. K. Unrug and H. A. Miaskowski. On the other hand, if he was a Catholic, the Catholics dominate in the company staff as in the case of B. Leszczyński and A. Drohojewski. Was it a norm – doubtful, but there is no much more of that type sources, therefore it is difficult to say whether that was the rule. As for the non-commissioned corps, 28 people listed by name or name and surname were identified in only 16 cases (57%); clearly dominated by Catholics (9 people), then Evangelicals (5 people) and 2 Orthodox religions. Such a religious composition of this regiment determined the recruitment to this unit in the area of Greater Poland and Royal Prussia, where the percentage of the Evangelical population was greater than other provinces of the Commonwealth. And that's where from in the years 1656-1658 the most soldiers were recruited to these regiments to fight the Swedes²².

M. Wagner paid a lot of attention to the religious issues of the royal army in the mid-seventeenth century. In his opinion, despite the repressions against the dissenters, primarily the Arians (Sejm constitutions from 1638 and 1658) and restrictions on other religions despite Roman Catholic (access to indygenats and ennoblement) in the army of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth tolerated the existence of officers and soldiers of other religions, such as Lutherans, Calvinists, Orthodox, Armenian monophysitics and even representatives of Judaism. After all, in the national levy units, mainly in the Vlach-Tatar regiments we have many Wołochs, Moldovans, Tatars and even Turkish. According to M. Wagner, among the officers of the Crown army in the second half of the 17th century, there were about 80% of the followers of the Roman Catholic religion, 10% of the Protestant religion (Kurland, Infland, Prussia, Pomerania) and the same Orthodox²³. This view is probably compatible with the situation after the end of the war with Sweden (may 3, 1660), but in the era of the Swedish Deluge when units of foreign levy were reconstructed from Swedish or Brandenburg prisoners, the percentage of evangelists was certainly greater. The representatives of the third state from Greater Poland and Royal Prussia were also attracted, where the element of dissent in the small towns and cities of the region dominated.

The decrease in the number of dissenters in the ranks of the Crown army was related to the intensification of xenophobia and megalomania among the nobility in the final period of the reign of the last Vasa. Thus, even officers who received

²² NAGIELSKI 2004: 106-107.

²³ WAGNER 2015: 112.

indygenats, serving in the guards units of Jan Kazimierz, left the service as it was in the case of Elias Hagenthorn – reiter captain in the squadron of F. Bielinski and then in the *guardia arkabuzerska JKMc* under the command of M.Ś. Chełmski²⁴. After the war with Sweden ended in 1660, there were many Swedish in the Polish army, who as prisoners of war were included mainly in the levy of foreigners regiments. One of them – colonel Wrangel – took the infantry regiment after the colonel's Ernest Ewald Blumberg command, starting from February 1, 1664 in the comput of the Crown army²⁵. The return of Swedish soldiers was demanded by the secretary of the Swedish delegation from the Grand Chancellor of the Crown Mikołaj Prażmowski. The same man, in July 1664 wrote to J. Lubomirski that “ after the pact, these Swedes need to be returned, unless he voluntarily takes up the service, for they are admonishing them and the Swedish secretary has shown up their great evidence, specifying each reiter not only the officers”²⁶.

The number of foreigners promoted to indygenat is also decreasing due to the constitution of the Sejm from 1673 where it was ordered to give indygenatys and ennoblement only to Catholics. This closed the path to the jewel of nobility to the dissenters, including Lutherans. Hence, from the 60s of 17th century onward, the necessity to profess a Catholic religion by the officer was increasingly emphasized in granting nobility. As well as Reiter colonel Tomasz Makowski and lieutenant colonel Herman Adolf Mięszicki received indygenat for war merits, but under condition of confirming the religion change to roman catholic at the next Sejm²⁷. Foreigners are also becoming more and more important to foreigners for having obtained indygenatys and ennoblements, which was aimed at limiting the number of people willing to become a nobleman. And so Zygmunt Ksawery Hollo from Krompach in Hungary received indygenate for war services from the Jan Sobieski in 1673 and 1676, but he had to commit himself to issue for the needs of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth a branch of 200 hussars and 100 horses of the medium-armoured cavalry (*petyhorcy*) or Croats with full weaponry²⁸. In turn, Adam Kalkrayter the Silesian nobleman received an indygenat in 1676 and together with his brother Karol Magnus they were to put up 50 Reiters with weapons for the needs of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. A proper oath was filed in 1678, probably fulfilling the duty imposed on them²⁹. Many of the indium-rated winners had to pay substantial sums to the treasury of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, either for the purchase of prisoners from captivity or for

²⁴ NAGIELSKI 1989: 148-160.

²⁵ WIMMER 1960: 242-243.

²⁶ M.Prażmowski do J.Lubomirskiego z Warszawy 12 VII 1660; PAN Kr., rkps 1065, p.18-19: “tych Szwedów według pakt wrócić potrzeba, chyba żeby który dobrowolnie służbę przyjął, bo się ich upominają i sekretarz szwedzki wielki ich regestr podał, specyfikując każdego rajtara nie tylko oficyjerów”.

²⁷ *Album armorum Nobilium Regni Poloniae XV- XVIII saec.*, nr 972, p. 361 and nr 979, p. 363.

²⁸ *Album armorum Nobilium Regni Poloniae XV- XVIII saec.*, nr 1082, p. 390.

²⁹ *Album armorum Nobilium Regni Poloniae XV- XVIII saec.*, nr 1195, p. 417.

other needs of the Polish-Lithuanian army. An example can be captain Jan Jakub Gonffouz, who received indygenat at the Coronation Sejm of Jan III Sobieski (r. 1674-1696) in 1676 on the recommendation of the Lithuanian hetmans, and by the power of the constitution of the Sejm in 1685 he was released from the *subsydium milicji husarskiej* because he made a substantial sum for the redemption of prisoners³⁰. Another foreigner Antonio Nossadini from Venice, the prefect of the Royal Mail in Lublin was ennobled in 1673, but he had to oblige to give over 6 cannons with horses and gunny to the Crown artillery³¹.

The tendency of the requirement of Protestants to change their religion in obtaining indigenous or ennoblement as in other promotions or broadcasts is evident in the reign of Jan III. Protestants had an impeded way to obtain assignments and senior positions in the army and offices. Their conversion to Catholicism was done in 1679 by Marcján Ścibor Chełmski, Colonel of the *arkabuzeria JKMc* of the King Jan Kazimierz. The same was with well-known representative of the Denhof family – Colonel Henryk in 1667 as well as general major Jerzy Henryk Bartsch (around 1650-1718). That last one, orginately from the Warmia family, being the heir of Bażyna village in Braniewo county, changed his confession to Catholic during his military service and, according to K. Niesiecki, “significant officalist in the Polish army”, he converted to Catholicism³².

As M. Wagner rightly pointed out, those officers who owned property outside the borders of the Commonwealth usually remained faithful to the religion of their ancestors, such as general Krzysztof von Houwaldt³³ or general lieutenant Jan Fryderyk von Groeben³⁴. Others, however, originating from noble families from Greater Poland or Royal Prussia, usually moved to Catholicism against a specific ostracism of the local community. The author distinguishes, from the officers in the second half of the 17th century, a substantial group originating from the Netherlands like K. Bockhorn, M. Broden, K. Humel, A. Jaspers or J. Szwan and from Saxony (Ch. Born, J. Hofmann or H. Thalau) who were of a different religion than Catholic, but without having genealogical or heraldic evidences, it is hard to state unambiguously whether they were Lutherans, Calvinists or followers of other confessions³⁵.

³⁰ *Album armorum Nobilium Regni Poloniae XV- XVIII saec.*, nr 1173, s.413.

³¹ *Album armorum Nobilium Regni Poloniae XV- XVIII saec.*, nr 1108, s. 397.

³² WAGNER 2014: 17.

³³ K. Houwaldt served in numerous armies: imperial, armies of the protestant princes, Swedish, Saxonian, Brandenburgian and Polish. He received the nobility in the Empire and Sweden as well as Polish indygenat on the Sejm of 1652 despite the protests of the Polish nobility. He owned the properties in Ducal Prussia as well as Lower Łużyce in Strapitz in vicinity of Chociebuż; WAGNER 2014: 112-113.

³⁴ J.F. von Groeben, son of Fryderyk (captain in Brandenburgian army) started his military career in the regiment of his uncle Georg Heinrich Groeben in 1656. From 1671 till 1703 he served in the army of the Crown as the commanded of komput (professional standing force) infantry regiment. After that he served again in Prussia; WAGNER 2014: 103-105.

³⁵ WAGNER 2015: 117.

Due to biographical materials referring to the officer's staff of the Crown Army in the second half of the 17th century issued by M. Wagner, it follows that out of several dozen surnames of senior officers, often of bourgeois condition were evangelicals. Also those who came from Ducal or Royal Prussia, starting their military service in units of the Elector of Brandenburg, could be Protestants, however, due to the lack of data about their family relationships, it is difficult to deduce their confession apart from noticing their service in individual units. In just a dozen cases, it was stated that they were Protestants faithful to their confession, which did not make it easier for them to pursue a career in the Crown Army in the 2nd half of the 17th century. For example, we will confine ourselves to several careers of senior officers serving in the Crown forces of Jan III. Noteworthy is the service of brothers Jan and Jakub Berens who come from Denmark and settled in Ducal Prussia. Jan was the head of his infantry regiment in the years 1683-1703, the commandant of the city of Lviv, and in 1690 he was promoted to general major degree. Significantly, on August 5, 1669, he received the act of ennoblement from the Elector of Brandenburg Friedrich Wilhelm confirmed by Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki (r. 1669-1673) in December 5, 1669. However, he obtained the Polish privilege of nobility only during the Sejm in 1683 after 24 years of service in the Polish army. Because of his confession he was called "luther"³⁶. His brother James, a captain major and then lieutenant colonel in the infantry regiment of the Hetman of the Crown S. Jabłonowski and also has received the ennoblement at the Sejm in 1683, but under the clear condition of transit to Catholic faith³⁷.

The career of a well-deserved officer in the service of the Polish general lieutenant Michał Brandt (around 1640-1710) was similar. He came from a bourgeois family from Wilster in the Schleswig-Holstein principality to later settle in Royal Prussia. In Polish army he was from 1656, serving also in the guard units of Jan Kazimierz and Jan III. Between 1692-1696 he was the commanding the garrison located in the he Ramparts of the Holy Trinity to block Kamieniec Podolski fortress. He received the title of Saxon baron in 1706 lately from king August II (r. 1694-1733) although the postulates of the Halych nobles (among others in 1689 and 1693) to his efforts to obtain the indygenate were rejected. Until He was faithful to Lutheran confession whole his life, as he was buried in 1710 in Luther in the parish church in Gdańsk. The Polish indygenate was blocked just because of its Lutheran religion³⁸.

It is worth to know that there are some officers who's Lutheran religion doesn't raise any doubts like f. e. gunner captain Sebastian Aders, who fallen in the Cossack-stricken Zbaraz. His person was used as one of the heros in the novel by H. Sienkiewicz. Krzysztof Bombek (Bombeck) was also a descendent from

³⁶ WAGNER 2014: 19-21.

³⁷ WAGNER 2014: 15-16.

³⁸ WAGNER 2014: 35-36.

the Protestant family, who served as lieutenant colonel of the infantry regiment under general artillery of the Crown Marcin Kazimierz Kański³⁹. This group includes the infantry in the regiment of general Waclaw Wilhelm Dobszyc – Henryk Wilhelm Forstfelder, who came from a Protestant bourgeois family originating from Forstfeld near Hagenau in Alsace or Johann Baner of Swedes serving in the infantry regiment of general Jan Kazimierz Zamoyski⁴⁰. Probably this denomination was different Swede Peter von Wittenberg captain lieutenant in the infantry regiment of Stefan Stanisław Czarniecki, in the 70s, lieutenant colonel of the infantry of the prince Konstanty Wiśniowiecki, voivode of Belz⁴¹. It is also worth mentioning Fene Weygrand, captain Jakub Weyher's reigns, the voivode of Malbork, who came from the German nobility in the Neuburg Duchy and was a Lutheran⁴². In the other cases even though officers were originally from Reich duchies, Ducal Prussia or Inland their religion wasn't obvious. Some of them under pressure of their masters – the headmen of their military units were converting to Catholicism in 80-90s of 17th century as it was in the case of general major Jan Krzysztof von Hondorff. He was originally from noble Lutheran family with Saxon roots, living in Prussia. He converted to Catholicism and two of his daughters – Anna and Joanna were being nuns in Lviv⁴³. This was not an incidental example towards the slow nationalization of the foreign levy. That already took place during the reign of Jan III and was what the Polish nobles demanded in the local sejmik (regional parliament) instructions to the Sejm; demanding that the officers in this enlistment should come from the nobility of the property of the Polish and Lithuanian people. Such a demand was being confirmed by M. Kukiel's researches contributed to the role of the guardian military units by the time of Jan III⁴⁴.

To sum up, in view of the limited number of sources for defining the confessions serving in the army as officers as soldiers, it must be stated that many of them originally from the Ducal Prussia, Royal Prussia, Pomeranian, German Reich and Livonia provinces were Protestants, which did not facilitate their promotion in the army as of the Kingdom of Poland as of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the second half of the 17th century, especially in the era of the reign of two kings of countrymen: Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki and Jan III. There is no data from the destroyed section 77 of ASW at AGAD, where there were *popisy* of the foreign levy units of that period and also such materials as the presented display of B. Leszczyński's regiment under the command of K. Unrug, which makes it impossible to clearly define the confession of many officers of this levy. This did not mean, however, that in the ranks of the Crown army, we find no officers of a different

³⁹ WAGNER 2014: 7-8, 32.

⁴⁰ WAGNER 2014: 88-89.

⁴¹ WAGNER 2013: 292.

⁴² WAGNER 2013: 285.

⁴³ WAGNER 2014: 110-111.

⁴⁴ KUKIEL 1931; KUKIEL 1938.

confession than a Roman Catholic; no army of contemporary Europe was homogeneous in terms of national or denominational composition.

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Summary

Officers – Protestants in the Polish Crown army in the second half of the 17th century

Research on the confession of officers serving in the Polish army in the 17th century is very limited. The different confession than a Roman Catholic, serving in the army as officers as soldiers did not facilitate their promotion in the army.

Keywords: Protestants, Officers, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Reformation