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THE COMPOSITION OF THE ARMY OF THE GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA DURING THE WAR WITH TURKEY (1675–1676) IN THE LIGHT OF FINANCIAL AND MILITARY FILES*

Key words: the Polish-Turkish war 1672–1676, the Lithuanian army, Old-Polish warfare

The participation of the army of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the war between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Ottoman Empire in the years 1672–1676, like the conflict itself¹, has been extensively presented in the literature. The monographs concern not only subsequent stages of military activities, in which the Lithuanian army participated, but also a number of organizational and political aspects which affected the attitude of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania². In the current stage of the research we are familiar with

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¹ Mainly: Marek WAGNER, *Wojna polsko-turecka 1672–1676*, t. 1–2, Zabrze 2009; see also: Zbigniew HUNDERT, *Husaria koronna w wojnie polsko-tureckiej 1672–1676*, Oświęcim 2014², pp. 323–417 – here references to the literature of the subject matter.

² We should enumerate: Aleksander CODELLO, *Litwa wobec wojny z Turcją 1672–1676*, Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości (further cit. SMHW), t. 13: 1970, cz. 1, pp. 136–159; Anna FILIPCZAK-KOCUR, *Od Chocimia do Żórawna (Żurawna). Finansowy udział Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w kampaniach wojennych 1673–1676*, [in:] *Studia historyczno-wojskowe*, t. 3, ed. Tomasz CIESIELSKI, Zabrze 2009, pp. 130–137 (the English version: *The financial contribution of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to the war campaigns in the years 1673–1676*, [in:] *Pralbylyemy intehratsyi i inkarparatsyi w razvitstsi Tsentral'nyi i Uskhodnyay Yewropy w pyerryaad rannyyaha Novaya chasu*, ed. Stsyapan SOKAL, Andrey YANUSHKYEVICH, Minsk 2010 [*Праблемы інтэграцыі і інкарнацыі ў развіціі Цэнтаральнаі і Усходняй Еўропы ў перыяд ранняга Новага часу*, рэд. Сяян Сокал, Андрэй Янушкевіч, Мінск 2010], pp. 358–366); Konrad BOBIATYŃSKI, *Wojsko i polityka – kilka uwag o udziale armii litewskiej w kampaniach*

the exact composition of the Lithuanian army during the Battle of Khotyn [Chocim]³. For the subsequent periods, mostly for the years 1675–1676, the situation looks worse. So far the main source of knowledge about the size and composition of the Lithuanian army at the time were editions of manuscripts of the registers of the Lithuanian army, which were frequently misleading⁴. We shall try to show that most of them referred to unrealized projects, which often concerned another decade.

The basic aim of this edition is to rectify many inaccuracies in the literature of the subject matter, which have arisen owing to the uncritical use of those documents. The main source basis to reconstruct the composition of the Lithuanian army in three quarters of the service in the years 1675–1676 constituted the billings of the Grand Lithuanian Sub-Treasurer Paweł Sapieha prepared for the Grodno Sejm of 1678/79, which are easily available to Polish historians. They illustrate expenditures on individual units of the Lithuanian

przeciwko Turkom i Tatarom w latach 70. XVII w., [in:] *Rzeczpospolita państwem wielu narodowości i wyznań. XVI–XVIII wiek*, ed. Tomasz CIESIELSKI, Anna FILIPCZAK-KOCUR, Warszawa–Opole 2008, pp. 503–519 (the Belarusian version: *Voyska i palityka – nyekal'ki zawah pra wdzyel voyska Vyalikaha Knyastva Litowskaha w kampaniyakh suprats' turkaw i tataraw u 70-kh hh. XVII st.* [Войска і палітыка – некалькі заўваґ пра ўзелі войска Вялікага Княства Літоўскага ў кампаніях супраць туркаў і татараў у 70-х гг. XVII ст.], Arche, 2012, nr 6 (117), pp. 387–402); idem, *W drodze pod Chocim. Litewskie przygotowania do wojny przeciwko Turkom w 1673 roku*, [in:] *Studio z dziejów Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego (XVI–XVIII wieku)*, ed. Mirosław NAGIELSKI, Sławomir GÓRZYŃSKI, Warszawa 2014, pp. 27–47; idem, *Nieznana litewska relacja o bitwie pod Chocimiem w 1673 roku*, Przegląd Historyczny, t. 106: 2015, z. 3, pp. 551–563; Arkadiusz MALEJKA, *Zdobycie Pawołoczy (1675 r.) – epizod z wojny polsko-tureckiej*, [in:] *Traktaty karłowickie 1699 roku i ich następstwa*, red. Ilona CZAMAŃSKA, Witold SZULC, Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et Studia, t. 13: 2003, pp. 85–93. Moreover, the participation of the army of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in military actions in the years 1673–1676 are presented in the biographies of the most important Lithuanian commanders of the time, see: Konrad BOBIATYŃSKI, *Michał Kazimierz Pac. Wojewoda wileński, hetman wielki litewski*, Warszawa 2008, pp. 285–345; idem, *Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł jako hetman polny litewski (1668–1680)*, [in:] *Radziwiłłowie w służbie Marsa*, ed. Mirosław NAGIELSKI, Karol ŻOJDŹ, Warszawa 2017, pp. 229–241; Andrzej Adam MAJEWSKI, Aleksander Hilary Polubiński (1626–1679). *Marszałek wielki litewski*, Warszawa 2017, pp. 431–448.

³ K. BOBIATYŃSKI, *W drodze pod Chocim*, pp. 44–47.

⁴ First of all, editions of the military registers prepared by Janusz Woliński on the basis: Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych in Warsaw [The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw] (further cit. AGAD), Archiwum Zamyskich, sygn. 3112, pp. 417–419, 441–442; see: *Komput lewego skrzydła wojska W. Ks. Lit. in opere zostającego, jak ad praesens zostaje [b.d. 1674/1675]; Chorągwie, które z ks. Jm. powróciły i wiele pod którą teraz zostaje effective [b.d. 1674/1675]*, [in:] *Sobiesciana z 1675 r.*, ed. Janusz WOLIŃSKI, Przegląd Historyczno-Wojenny, t. 5: 1932, z. 2, pp. 223–225; *Komput wojsk W. Ks. L. ad opus belli [1675]*, [in:] *Materiały do dziejów wojny polsko-tureckiej 1672–1676*, ed. Janusz WOLIŃSKI, SMHW, t. 15: 1969, cz. 2, pp. 231–232.

army in the quarter from 15 August to 15 November 1675 and two quarters of 1676 – from 15 May to 15 November⁵. It must be underlined that the materials have been already used by historians, e.g. in order to reconstruct the unitary composition of a banner of the medium cavalry – petyhorcy – in the Lithuanian army in the years 1675–1676⁶. In order to show the composition of the army in the first half of 1675, the author used the register of Lithuanian military units from the Cracow Archive of the Sanguszko Family, which seems to be the best source to present this issue.

The Lithuanian army in the war between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Ottoman Empire participated in all the war campaigns except the first year of the conflict, when it was under the reconstruction after the dissolution of the army in the camp near the village of Dubienka, which had taken place a year before. The reason why the army was gathered was not the threat from the Turkish army, but the necessity to support King Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki in his struggle with the opposition. The magnitude of the reconstructed army, which in November formed the confederation in Kobryń to support the king, was estimated at 4,000 to 5,000 soldiers⁷. In 1673, when the

⁵ *Liczba jaśnie wielmożnego jmści Pana Benedykta Pawła na Czerei Sapiehy, podskarbiego wielkiego, pisarza ziemskiego W. Ks. Lit., roślawskiego, retowskiego, olkienickiego starosty. Z podatków Rzptej ordynacyjnych i ekstraordynacyjnych od objęcia przez jmści urzędu podskarbstwa W. Ks. Lit. tak na sejmie szczęśliwej koronacji in an. 1676 jako też in anno 1677 uchwalonych i prorogowanych do skarbu Rzeczy. W Ks. Lit. [...] Ad productum przed stanami Rzptej na sejm teraźniejszy zgromadzonemi 1678 sporządzona, AGAD, Nabytki Niedokumentowe Oddziału I (further cit. Nabytki), sygn. 36, k. 380–425.*

⁶ Zbigniew HUNDERT, *Kilka uwag na temat chorągwii petyhorskich w wojskach Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1673–1683*, [in:] *Homo Militans*, t. 2: *W pancerzu przez wieki. Z dziejów wojsko-wości polskiej i powszechniej*, ed. Marcin BARANOWSKI, Andrzej GŁADYSZ, Andrzej NIEWIŃSKI, Oświęcim 2014, pp. 136–149 (the Belarusian version with supplementations: *Nyekal'ki zawah nakont pyatsihorskikh kharuhvaw uvoyskakh Rechy Paspalitay u 1673–1683 hh.* [Некалькі заўвах наконт пяцігорскіх хару́хваў у войсках Рэчы Паспалітай у 1673–1683 гг.], Arche, 2015, nr 12 (145), pp. 55–73) – here also the synthetic description of the contribution of the Lithuanian petyhorcy to the military actions of the years 1673–1676. Here, it must be noted that the subject matter of the study was not only this formation, but also units of the Lithuanian army in the 1670s, which belonged to the representatives of the Radziwiłłs and Sapiehas, see: Mariusz SAWICKI, *Chorągwie radziwiłłowskie w II połowie XVII wieku w świetle ksiąg litewskich komisji skarbowo-wojskowych*, [in:] *Radziwiłłowie w służbie Marsa*, s. 243–256; idem, *Chorągwie sapieżyńskie w II połowie XVII wieku w świetle ksiąg litewskich komisji skarbowo-wojskowych*, [in:] *Vyalikaye Knyastva Litowskaye: palityka, ekanomika, kul'tura: zbornik navukovykh artykulau u dzvyukh chastkakh*, ch. 1, ed. Uladzimir HUSAKOW, Minsk 2017 [*Вялікае Княстva Літоўскае: палітыка, эканоміка, культура: зборнік навуковых артыкулаў у дзвюх частках*, ч. 1, ред. Уладзімір Гусакоў, Мінск 2017], pp. 409–418.

⁷ Leszek Andrzej WIERZBICKI, *O zgodę w Rzeczypospolitej. Zjazd warszawski i sejm pacifacyjny 1673 roku*, Lublin 2005, p. 36; K. BOBIATYŃSKI, *Michał Kazimierz Pac*, p. 276; idem, *Wojsko i polityka*, p. 511; Zbigniew HUNDERT, *Między buławą a tronem. Wojsko koronne w wal-*

conflicting parties of the political conflict and the so called pacification Sejm made the decision to continue the war with the Ottoman Porte, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was to provide the army of 12,000 soldiers. Eventually, this number was not reached, but Lithuania supported the royal military units with the contingent of over 8,000 soldiers, which was a significant burden for the financial possibilities of the Grand Duchy. It consisted of:

- 5 hussar banners [Polish: *chorągiew husarska*], 571 horse[s];
- 18 banners of the medium cavalry – *petyhorcy*, 1,980 horses;
- 5 Cossack banners, 524 horses;
- 5 Reiter cavalry cornets [Polish: *kornet rajtarski*], 482 horses;
- 3 Tatar banners, 327 horses;
- 18 banners of dragoons, 1,669 horses (according to other sources 1,675);
- 6 foot regiments and 7 *freicompanies* of the German infantry, 1,893 field rations (according to other sources 1,871);
- 6 banners of the Hungarian infantry, 679 field rations⁸.

After the Chocim campaign there took place a division in the Lithuanian army since the majority of soldiers commanded by the voivode of Vilnius and Grand Hetman of Lithuania Michał Kazimierz Pac had left Moldavia and returned home while some of the units (about 200 people) commanded by the sub-chancellor and Field Hetman of Lithuania Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł stayed on the scene of the military operations. The situation did not affect greatly the composition of the army, but after the session of officers with Grand Hetman in Brześć in December 1673 several banners decided to leave, like e.g. the Cossack banner of Hieronim Teodor Obuchowicz⁹. Nevertheless, the majority of the Lithuanian army remained on duty, and the convocation Sejm of 1674 eventually maintained the size of the army established a year before – 12,000 army remunerations¹⁰.

ce stronnictwa malkontentów z ugrupowaniem dworskim w latach 1669–1673, Oświęcim 2014, p. 276. See also: Konrad BOBIATYŃSKI, *W walce o hegemonię. Rywalizacja polityczna w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w latach 1667–1674*, Warszawa 2016, pp. 165–167, 214–215.

⁸ K. BOBIATYŃSKI, *W drodze pod Chocim*, pp. 27–47. The composition of the army on the basis of: *Zapłata wojsku W.Ks.L. in subsidium Koronie Polskiej in anno 1673 zaciągnionemu*, Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas in Vilnius [Office of the Chief Archivist of Lithuania] (further cit. LVIA), fondas Senieji Aktai (further cit. SA) 3444, k. 511–580v; Edward KOTŁUBAJ, „Dzieje wojenne Polski [...], t. 1, cz. 2, Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie, sygn. 1404, pp. 164–253.

⁹ *Pamiętnik Teodora Hieronima Obuchowicza*, [in:] *Pamiętniki Filipa, Michała i Teodora Obuchowiczów (1630–1707)*, ed. Henryk LULEWICZ, Andrzej RACHUBA, Warszawa 2003, p. 414; K. BOBIATYŃSKI, *Michał Kazimierz Pac*, pp. 297–298; idem, *Wojsko i polityka*, pp. 511–512.

¹⁰ K. BOBIATYŃSKI, *Michał Kazimierz Pac*, p. 299. It should be underlined here that treasury bills have been preserved (presented during the Sejm in Grodno in 1678–1679), which allow us to reconstruct the composition and size of the Lithuanian army (according to the registers

Another retreat of Pac during the Bracław campaign of the king-elect Jan III at the autumn of 1674 had a much more significant influence on the shape of the army of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The major part of the Lithuanian forces – including the whole conscription of foreigners – remained in Ukraine with Sobieski and Field Hetman of Lithuania (about 3,000 people), while many officers who so far had been advocates of the voivode of Vilnius now turned away from him¹¹. A good example is the ally of the Pac family – Grand Marshall of Lithuania Aleksander Hilary Połubiński, who dissolved his hussar banner because, contrary to his order, it had refused to stay with the king in Ukraine, returning to Lithuania with Grand Hetman¹². The result of Pac's actions was the reestablishment of the division of the Lithuanian army operating prior to 1667 consisting in the split of the army into two independent divisions, which in practice meant taking some part of the army out of the control of Grand Hetman. The situation was maintained until the coronation Sejm, during the sessions of which Jan III did not decide to confront Pac totally – despite the pressure of his brother-in-law Radziwiłł. The reason was that Jan III needed all the Lithuanian army to conduct subsequent military actions against the Ottoman Porte. In fact, the partition into divisions was maintained in 1676 with the reservation that the Field Hetman and his soldiers were to be subordinated to the jurisdiction of the Grand Hetman's mace. The normalisation of the relations between the hetmans took place on the strength of the agreement signed on 30 March 1676¹³.

The result of the division in the Lithuanian army at the turn of 1674 and 1675 and the actions of the Sub-Chancellor Radziwiłł, the aim of which was to deprive his older colleague the power over the army, was the creation of various dangerous projects of the army compositions, which historians have assumed to have been the actual army division. It so happened for example with

of the compositions of units) not only during the Chocim campaign, but also during the four subsequent quarters of the service – until November 1674 (see: LVIA, SA 3444, k. 511–617v).

¹¹ K. BOBIATYŃSKI, Michał Kazimierz Pac, pp. 315–319; idem, *Wojsko i polityka*, pp. 512–514; idem, *Stosunki Jana III Sobieskiego z litewską elitą władzy w pierwszym okresie rządów (1674–1676)*, [in:] *Sobieski wokół spisków i konfederacji*, ed. Miroslaw NAGIELSKI, Biblioteka Epoki Nowożytnej, 2015, nr 2, pp. 134–137; idem, *W walce o hegemonię*, pp. 274–279.

¹² Recently: A. A. MAJEWSKI, *Aleksander Hilary Połubiński*, pp. 432–435; idem, *Chorągiew husarska marszałka wielkiego litewskiego Aleksandra Hilarego Połubińskiego w latach 1670–1675*, [in:] *Hortus bellicus. Studia z dziejów wojskowości nowożytnej*, ed. Konrad BOBIATYŃSKI, Przemysław GAWRON, Krzysztof KOSSARZECKI, Dariusz MILEWSKI, Piotr KROLL, Biblioteka Epoki Nowożytnej, 2017, nr 5, pp. 405–420.

¹³ Konrad BOBIATYŃSKI, *Spór o prerogatywy bulawy wielkiej litewskiej podczas sejmu koronacyjnego Jana III Sobieskiego w 1676 roku*, [in:] *Król Jan III Sobieski i Rzeczpospolita w latach 1674–1683*, ed. Dariusz MILEWSKI, Warszawa 2016, pp. 155–176.

the composition of the left wing, which Janusz Woliński dated for the turn of the years 1674 and 1675. It seems that it was only a project of the division of the end of 1675, or even the beginning of 1676 since in the cited documents the composition of the army reminds what was found in the registers of accounts of the Sub-Treasurer B. P. Sapieha of 1678/1679 for the quarter from 15 May 1676. For instance, only in this quarter in the register of military units there appear two hussar banners and two banners of *petyhorcy* of M. K. Radziwiłł designed in the project of the division of the left wing¹⁴.

Historians had a bigger problem with another composition, in which the Lithuanian army was divided into two wings. Janusz Woliński dates this register for 1675. However, it must be stressed that the composition of the military units presented in the register does not correspond to the bills of the Sub-Treasurer for the quarter of 15 August to 15 November 1675. Supposedly, the register may be the unrealized project of the partition of the Lithuanian army (not all of it) into divisions, which probably came from the beginning of 1684 – the time when the Sub-Cup-Bearer of Lithuania Jan Karol Dolski was accused of the intention to pull out some military units from the commandry of the Voivode of Vilnius and Grand Hetman Kazimierz Jan Sapieha, which he eventually did not manage to do. Anyway, in this edition of Janusz Woliński, we may surely refer to the year 1675¹⁵.

It seems that the greatest quantity of the precious information about the actual composition of both divisions of the Lithuanian army is included in

¹⁴ *Komput lewego skrzydła wojska W. Ks. Lit. in opere zostającego*, pp. 223–224; por. AGAD, Nabatyki, sygn. 36, k. 380–386: “Expenses on the army for the quarter of the service 15 May – 15 August 1676” [trans. Agnieszka Chabros]. Konrad Bobiatyński noticed that this composition came from at least the end of 1675 (see: idem, *Nieznana litewska relacja o bitwie pod Chocimiem*, p. 558, fn. 41). Damian Orłowski in his monograph (*Chocim 1673*, Warszawa 2007, pp. 168–171) assumed the composition of the division of the left wing taken from the edition of Janusz Woliński, as the soldiers who had stayed with the king in Ukraine at the turn of 1674/1675.

¹⁵ K. BOBIATYŃSKI, *Stosunki Jana III Sobieskiego*, p. 136. Almost all the units enumerated in the register shall be found in the act of the distribution of hiberna tax of March 1684; that is why it may be concluded that the document was written at the beginning of 1684; *Komput wojsk W.Ks.L., ad opus belli [1675]*, pp. 231–232; comp. *Komput wojska JKM Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego nowego zacięgu do rozdania hiberny w roku 1684 dnia 24 miesiąca marca*, [in:] Jan Władysław POCZOBUT ODŁANICKI, *Pamiętnik (1640–1684)*, ed. Andrzej RACHUBA, Warszawa 1987, pp. 349–353; AGAD, Nabatyki, sygn. 36, k. 387v–394v: “To this army for the first unpaid quarter of their service 15 August–15 November 1675” [trans. A.C.]. It was noticed in the Belarussian version of the article about ‘*petyhorcy*’ that the composition did not refer to the 1680s (Z. HUNDERT, *Nyekal'ki zawvah*, p. 67, fn. 42). Earlier, according to the discussed edition, it erroneously assumed that three hussar banners were to have supported the crown hussars in the battle of Lviv / Lesienice of 24 August 1675, see: Z. HUNDERT, *Husaria koronna*, pp. 384–385.

a document now found in the collections of the Archive of the Sanguszko Family in Wawel¹⁶. It is probable that it presents the situation from the first half of 1675 (or maybe even from the first quarter of 1675) since among the military units of the right wing there appears, among others, the hussar banner of A. H. Połubiński, which – as we remember – had been dissolved upon the order of its patron a few months before, when, along with the Grand Hetman, it withdrew from Ukraine at the end of 1674¹⁷. According to this register, the Lithuanian army consisted of 10,900 horses and:

- 5 hussar *rota* cavalry or infantry units, 660 horses;
- 20 *rota* cavalry or infantry units, 2,520 horses;
- 2 cavalry cornets, 200 horses;
- 2 Cossack *rota* cavalry or infantry units, 240 horses;
- 9 *rota* cavalry or infantry units, 1,130 horses;
- 9 military units of dragoons, 1,080 horses;
- 4 regiments of German infantry, 4 separate squadrons and 15 *freicompanies*, 3,660 field rations;
- 7 Hungarian *rota* infantry units, 700 field rations¹⁸;

The document assigns to the division of the right wing the units consisting of 4110 horses and field rations, while to the division of the left wing – 3,960 horses and field rations. Such an annotation is missing only next to *freicompanies* of the German infantry and *rota* infantry units of Hungary – which in total have 2120 field rations. As can be seen, the size of both divisions must have been comparable, with a minor prevalence of the units of the Grand Hetman.

Subsequent decisions concerning the size of the Lithuanian army to meet the necessity of the war situation were brought by the coronation Sejm of Jan III, which had sessions from 4 February to 4 April 1676. According to what was recorded in the script to the archive: “[...] The Grand Duchy of Lithuania, ruined financially by the enemy, declared painstakingly to save the common motherland, to provide 10,000 soldiers for half a year from 15 May and to introduce taxes to support the Crown in the upcoming war campaign. His Majesty gives orders to the grand hetman of Lithuania that he should accompany the Crown in the struggle against the common enemy. If the peace treaty were to be signed with the enemy in the first or second quarter of the service, upon the decision of the sejm the hetmans of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania are

¹⁶ Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie [The National Archives in Krakow] (further cit. ANK), Archiwum Sanguszków ze Sławuty (further cit. ASS), sygn. 190, pp. 115–117.

¹⁷ A. A. MAJEWSKI, *Chorągiew husarska*, pp. 416–418.

¹⁸ ANK, ASS, sygn. 190, pp. 115–117.

obliged to dissolve the Lithuanian army so that they do not do harm to Polish territories while marching through them [...]" [trans. A.C.]¹⁹.

Thus, the Lithuanian army contracted the service for two quarters of 1676. Had the treaties terminating the war been signed earlier, hetmans of Lithuania would have been obliged to dissolve the army. According to the bills of the Sub-Treasurer Sapieha of 1678/1679, the army which started their military service on 15 May 1676, owned 10,300 horses and field rations. It consisted of:

- 5 hussar *rota* cavalry or infantry units, 660 horses;
- 22 *rota* banners of the medium cavalry – *petyhorcy*, 2,670 horses;
- 1 Reiter cavalry *rota*, 80 horses;
- 2 Cossack *rota*, 240 horses;
- 10 Tatar *rota*, 1,090 horses;
- 10 military units of dragoons, 1,180 horses;
- 4 regiments of the German infantry, 3 separate squadrons and 16 *frei-companies*, 3,620 field rations;
- 7 *rotas* of the Hungarian infantry, 760 field rations²⁰.

In comparison with the quarter of 1675, which was taken into account in the calculations for the Grodno Sejm of 1678/1679, the composition of the army underwent minor modifications. In the quarter of 15 August – 15 November the Lithuanian army consisted of 10,040 horses and field rations and included:

- 4 hussar *rota* cavalry or infantry units, 540 horses;
- 20 *rota* banners of the medium cavalry – *petyhorcy*, 2,430 horses;
- 1 Reiter *rota* cavalry or infantry units, 100 horses;
- 2 Cossack *rota* cavalry or infantry units, 240 horses;
- 9 Tatar *rota* cavalry or infantry units, 1,130 horses;
- 10 military units of dragoons, 1,200 horses;
- 4 regiments of the German infantry, 3 separate squadrons and 14 *frei-companies*, 3,620 field rations;
- 7 Hungarian *rota* infantry units, 780 field rations²¹.

As may be seen, in the subsequent quarter of 1676 the Lithuanian army was much weaker since, according to the accounts, it was much less numerous. In order to illustrate this condition, one may use the register of the army from the Warsaw Archive of the Radziwiłł Family, which was also edited by Janusz

¹⁹ Skrypt ad archivum W.Ks.Lit., b. m. i d. (Kraków 4 IV 1676), [in:] Materiały do dziejów wojny, SMHW, t. 16: 1970, cz. 1, p. 281.

²⁰ AGAD, Nabytki, sygn. 36, k. 380–386: "Expenses on the army for the quarter of the service 15 May – 15 August 1676" [trans.A.C.].

²¹ Ibid, k. 387v–395: "to this army for the unpaid first term from 15 August to 15 November 1675 the money was paid" [trans. A.C.].

Woliński. It includes data, which basically overlap with what said the accounts of B. P. Sapieha²². According to the accounts for the quarter of August 1676, the army of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania consisted of merely 5,733 horses and field rations. It included:

- 4 hussar *rota* cavalry or infantry units, 283 horses;
- 21 *rota* banners of the medium cavalry – *petyhorcy*, 1,813 horses;
- 1 Cossack *rota* cavalry or infantry units, 67 horses;
- 10 Tatar *rota* cavalry or infantry units, 908 horses;
- 8 military units of dragoons, 676 horses;
- 3 infantry regiments, 3 separate squadrons and 12 *freicompanies*, 1,480 field rations;
- 5 Hungarian *rota* infantry units, 506 field rations²³.

In comparison with the May quarter, the military powers of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the so called Żurawno quarter (the period of the so called Żurawno campaign of 24 September to 17 September 1676) had 4,567 fewer field rations. It resulted from the fact that military units and people who had not taken part in the military actions in the Battle of Żurawno, or even had not managed to reach the concentration point near Lviv, were not paid. Moreover, nine out of twenty-one banners of the medium cavalry – *petyhorcy* – received the Cossack pay (41 zlotys) – their remuneration was not calculated according to the rate of *petyhorcy* (46 zlotys) because during the war actions they had failed to use lances²⁴.

The source edition enclosed below presents the quantity of the units of the Lithuanian army, the service of which was documented in four periods in the years 1675–1676. The document from the Archive of the Sanguszko Family became the foundation to reconstruct the condition of the army in the first half of 1675 and to assign the majority of the units to the division of the left or right wing. The accounts of the Sub-Treasurer B. Sapieha allowed us to reconstruct the composition and the size of the army in three quarters: 15 August – 15 November 1675, 15 May – 15 August 1676 and 15 August – 15 November 1676.

²² Komput wojska JKM i Rptej W. Ks. Lit., jako in opere zostawało w ćwierci zaczątej od d. 15 augusti, a na dniu 15 novembra kończącej się w r. 1676 w obozie pod Żórawinem, tak i tych chorągwi, które in opere były, AGAD, Archiwum Warszawskie Radziwiłłów (further cit. AR) II, nr 1578, pp. 40–43, druk: Materiały do dziejów wojny, SMHW, t. 16: 1970, cz. 2, pp. 259–262.

²³ AGAD, Nabytki, sygn. 36, k. 395v–404v: “to this army for the Żurawno quarter from 15 August to 15 November 1675 the money was paid” [trans. A.C.].

²⁴ Ibid.; Komput wojska JKM i Rptej W. Ks. Lit., AGAD, AR II, nr 1578, pp. 40–43, print: Materiały do dziejów wojny, SMHW, t. 16: 1970, cz. 2, pp. 259–262; Z. HUNDERT, Kilka uwag, p. 145.

Table: The composition and size of the military units of the army of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania according to the classification into divisions from the beginning of 1675 and in three quarters of the service in the years 1675–1676

HUSSAR BANNERS					
No.	MILITARY UNIT	The 1 st half of 1675 ²⁵	The quarter of 15 August – 15 November 1675 ²⁶	The quarter of 15 May – 15 August 1676 ²⁷	The quarter of 15 August – 15 November 1676 ²⁸
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	of Michał Kazimierz Pac, the voivode of Vilnius, Grand Hetman of Lithuania under the command of Krzysztof Białożor's, Marshall of Upita	150 R	150	150	105
2.	of Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł, Sub-Chancellor and Field Hetman of Lithuania, under the command of Samuel Kmicic, Standard-Bearer of Orsha, from 1676 Grand Guardian of Lithuania	150 L	150	150	105
3.	The second unit of Field Hetman of Lithuania, under the command of Kazimierz Przyjalgowski, Standard-Bearer of Dorpat	—	—	120	—
4.	of Marcjan Ogiński, voivode of Trakai	120 L	120	120	70
5.	of Aleksander Hilary Połubiński, Grand Marshall of Lithuania, under the command of Standard-Bearer of Smoleńsk Aleksander Rejnold Połubiński	120 R	—	—	—

²⁵ The data on the basis: ANK, ASS, sygn. 190, pp. 115–117. R – right wing, L – left wing.

²⁶ AGAD, Nabytki, sygn. 36, k. 380–386.

²⁷ Ibid., k. 387v–395.

²⁸ Ibid., k. 395v–404v. Among the numerical data concerning the banners of ‘*petyhorcy*’ in this quarter, the author underlined the data referring to the unit without lancers remunerated on the basis of the Cossack rate.

1	2	3	4	5	6
6.	of Krzysztof Zygmunt Pac, Grand Chancellor of Lithuania	120 R	120	120	103
BANNERS OF THE MEDIUM CAVALRY – PETYHORCY					
No.	UNIT	The 1 st half of 1675	The quarter of 15 August – 15 November 1675	The quarter of 15 May – 15 August 1676	The quarter of 15 August – 15 November 1676
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	of Michał K. Pac, voivode of Vilnius, Grand Hetman of Lithuania, under the command of Piotr Pac, Standard-Bearer of Braslaw	150 R	120	120	95
2.	The second unit of Grand Hetman of Lithuania, under the command of Jan Kazimierz Wołłowicz, starost of Fejdany	150 R	120	120	94
3.	The third unit of Grand Hetman of Lithuania, under command of Jan Stetkiewicz	—	—	120	96
4.	of Michał K. Radziwiłł, Sub-Chancellor and Field Hetman of Lithuania, under the command of Michał Karol Haraburda, <i>Wojski</i> of Slonim	150 L	150	150	108
5.	The second unit of Field Hetman of Lithuania	—	—	120	—
6.	of Marcjan Ogiński, Voivode of Trakai	120 L	120	120	76
7.	of Kazimierz Jan Sapieha, Voivode of Polotsk	120 L	120	120	77
8.	of Jan Jacek Ogiński, Voivode of Mstislaw	—	120	120	103
9.	of Aleksander Hilary Połubiński, Grand Marshall of Lithuania	150 R	120	120	<u>100</u>
10.	of Benedykt Paweł Sapieha, Court Sub-treasurer, later Grand Sub-Treasurer of Lithuania ²⁹	120 L	120	120	106

²⁹ In the edition of Janusz Woliński – Grand Sub-Treasurer of Lithuania Hieronim Kirszenstein (*Materiały do dziejów wojny*, SMHW, t. 16: 1970, cz. 2, p. 260).

1	2	3	4	5	6
11.	of Michał Antoni Kryszpin Kirszensztein, Field Clerk of Lithuania	120 R	120	120	<u>49</u>
12.	of Franciszek Stefan Sapieha, Equeerry of Lithuania	120 L	120	120	<u>85</u>
13.	of Jan Karol Dolski, Carver, and from 1676 Cupbearer of Lithuania	120 L	120	120	101
14.	of Bonifacy T. Pac, Guardian, and from 1676 Quartermaster of Lithuania ³⁰	—	120	120	<u>92</u>
15.	of Krzysztof Potocki, Cupbearer of Lithuania	120 L	—	—	—
16.	of Józef Bogusław Śluszka, Master of the Hunt, and from 1676 Grand Standard-Bearer of Lithuania ³¹	120 L	120	120	<u>99</u>
17.	of Michał Leon Drucki Sokoliński, Grand Clerk of Lithuania.	120 R	—	—	—
18.	of Władysław Tyszkiewicz, starost of Pieniany, and from 1676 Carver of Lithuania	120 R	120	120	<u>43</u>
19.	of Stanisław Lipnicki, Starost of Sejwy	120 L	120	120	74
20.	of Jerzy Karol Chodkiewicz, Starost of Błudnień	120 R	120	120	<u>66</u>
21.	of Stanisław Sapieha, Starost of Traby	120 L	120	120	<u>79</u>
22.	of Krzysztof Zbigniew Vorbek-Lettow, District Judge of Starodub, Field (military) Guardian ³²	120 R	120	120	<u>104</u>
23.	of Hieronim Lacki, Starost of Merecz [Lit. Merkinė]	120 R	120	120	77
24.	of Michał Kocieł, Starost of Skirstymoń [Lit. Skirsne-munė] (at the beginning of 1675 he appears under the name of his father, Hieronim S. Kocieł, Chamberlain of Oszmiany [Ashmyany])	120 R	120	120	89 ³³

³⁰ In the edition of Janusz Woliński – of Quartermaster of Lithuania Albrycht Ciechanowiecki (*ibid.*).

³¹ In the edition of Janusz Woliński – of Zygmunt Adam Śluszka (*ibid.*).

³² In the edition of Janusz Woliński – of Guardian of Lithuania Samuel Kmicic (*ibid.*).

³³ In the edition of Janusz Woliński – 86 horses (*ibid.*).

REITER CAVALRY					
No.	UNIT	The first half of 1675	Quarter of 15 August – 15 November 1675	Quarter of 15 May – 15 August 1676	Quarter 15 August – 15 November 1676
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	of Michał K. Pac, voivode of Vilnius, Grand Hetman of Lithuania	100 R	100	—	—
2.	of Michał K. Radziwiłł, Sub-Chancellor and Field Hetman of Lithuania	100 L	100	80	—
COSSACK BANNERS					
No.	UNIT	The first half of 1675	Quarter of 15 August – 15 November 1675	Quarter of 15 May – 15 August 1676	Quarter 15 August – 15 November 1676
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	of Stefan Wojciech Czarniawski, Starost of Marienhaus	120 R	120	120	67
2.	of Samuel Grocholski	120 L	120	120	—
TATAR BANNERS					
No.	UNIT	The first half of 1675	Quarter of 15 August – 15 November 1675	Quarter of 15 May – 15 August 1676	Quarter 15 August – 15 November 1676
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	of Michał K. Pac, Voivode of Vilnius, Grand Hetman of Lithuania	200 R	200	150	139
2.	of Michał K. Radziwiłł, Sub-Chancellor and Field Hetman of Lithuania	120 L	120	120	104
3.	of Aleksander H. Połubiński, Grand Marshall of Lithuania	120 R	120	120	64
4.	of Michał A. Kryszpin Kirszensztein, Field Clerk of Lithuania	120 R	120	100	89

1	2	3	4	5	6
5.	of Bonifacy T. Pac, Guardian, and from 1676 Quartermaster of Lithuania	—	100	100	95
6.	of Antoni Paweł Pierzchowski, Steward of Chełm, and from August 1675 of Krzysztof Białożor, Marshall of Upita ³⁴	100 L	100	100	93
7.	of Krzysztofa Z. Vorbek-Lettow, District Judge of Starodub, Field (military) Guardian	150 R	150	120	97
8.	of Florian Szlagier	120 L	120	100	74
9.	of Eliasz Niekraszewicz Treasurer of Brześć	100 L	100	100	83
10.	of Aleksander(?) Murzy Szczucki	100 L	—	—	—

DRAGOON UNITS

No.	UNIT	The first half of 1675	Quarter of 15 August – 15 November 1675	Quarter of 15 May – 15 August 1676	Quarter 15 August – 15 November 1676
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	of Michał K. Pac, voivode of Vilnius, Grand Hetman of Lithuania	200 R	200	200	200
2.	of Michał K. Radziwiłł, Sub-Chancellor and Field Hetman of Lithuania	200 L	200	200	76
3.	of Kazimierz J. Sapieha, Voivode of Polotsk	80 L	100	100	—
4.	of Jan J. Ogiński, Voivode of Mstislaw	—	100	80	47
5.	of Krzysztof Z. Pac, Grand Chancellor of Lithuania.	80 R	80	80	—

³⁴ See the manifestation of Stefan Podolewski, Lieutenant of the banner under the command of A. P. Pierzchowski describing the circumstances of the unit being taken over in the summer of 1675 by the advocates of Grand Hetman (LVIA, SA 4691, k. 247–250), also the document confirming the conflict between Pierzchowski and the entourage of standard-bearers (Нацыянальны Гістарычны Архіў Беларусі [National Historical Archives of Belarus], Мінск [Minsk], f. 1705, op. 1, nr 19, pp. 2611–2614).

1	2	3	4	5	6
6.	of Benedykt P. Sapieha, Court Sub-Treasurer, later Grand Treasurer of Lithuania	80 L	100	100	100 ³⁵
7.	of Jan K. Dolski, Carver, and from 1676 Cupbearer of Lithuania	80 L	80	80	66
8.	of Krzysztof Potocki, Cupbearer of Lithuania	100 L	—	—	—
9.	of Maciej Kazimierz Gosiewski, Artillery General	160 with the annotation "at a cannon"	160	160	82
10.	of Krzysztof Zbigniew Vorbek-Lettow, District Judge of Starodub, Field (military) Guardian	100 R	100	100	36
11.	of Jan Kazimierz Pac, Captain of His Majesty	—	100	100	69

REGIMENTS, SQUADRONS, FREICOMPANIES OF THE GERMAN INFANTRY

No.	UNIT	The first half of 1675	Quarter of 15 August – 15 November 1675	Quarter of 15 May – 15 August 1676	Quarter 15 August – 15 November 1676
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	of Michał K. Pac, Voivode of Vilnius, Grand Hetman of Lithuania	600 R	600	600	359
2.	of Michał K. Radziwiłł, Sub-Chancellor and Field Hetman of Lithuania	400 L	600	600	—
3.	of Marcjan Ogiński, Voivode of Trakai	320 L	320	320	136
4.	of Aleksander Hilary Połubiński, Grand Marshall of Lithuania	320 R	320	320	248
5.	of Krzysztofa Z. Pac, Grand Chancellor of Lithuania	160 R	160	160	89
6.	of Michał A. Kryszpin Kirszensztein, Field Clerk of Lithuania	160 R	160	160	26

³⁵ In the edition of Janusz Woliński – 80 horses (*Materiały do dziejów wojny*, SMHW, t. 16: 1970, cz. 2, p. 261).

1	2	3	4	5	6
7.	of Kazimierz Kłokocki, Pantler of Płock ³⁶	240 L	240	200	113
8.	of Jan J. Ogiński, Voivode of Mstislaw	—	—	80	—
9.	of Stanisław Kazimierz Radziwiłł, Pantler of Lithuania	200 L	—	—	—
10.	of Jan Karol Dolski, Carver, and from 1676 Cupbearer of Lithuania	80	80	80	37
11.	of Franciszek Stefan Sapieha, Equerry of Lithuania	80	80	80	18
12.	of Bonifacy T. Pac, Guardian, and from 1676 Quartermaster of Lithuania	80	80	80	67
13.	of Józef Bogusław Śluszka, Master of the Hunt, and from 1676 Grand Standard-Bearer of Lithuania	80	80	80	52
14.	of Michał Leon Drucki Sokoliński, Grand Clerk of Lithuania.	80	80	80	41
15.	of Władysław Tyszkiewicz, Starost of Pieniany, and from 1676 Carver of Lithuania	80	80	80	4
16.	of Samuel Kmicić, Standard- Bearer of Orsha, from 1676 Grand Guardian of Lithuania	—	—	80	—
17.	of Piotr Rudomina Dusiacki, Starost of Starodub	80 with the annotation “in Vilnius”	80	60	60
18.	of Krzysztof Białozor, Marshall ³⁷ of Upita	120	120	100	65 ³⁸
19.	of Stanisław Lipnicki, Starost of Sejwy	80	80	80	52
20.	of Jerzy Karol Chodkiewicz, Starost of Błudnień	80	80	80	35
21.	of Stanisław Sapieha, Starost of Traby	80	80	80	18

³⁶ In the edition of Janusz Woliński – of Pantler of Płock Władysław Łoś (*ibid.*).

³⁷ In the accounts for the August quarter of 1675 and 1676 the unit is presented as commanded by the starost of Upita (in 1678 the office was taken over by Białozor).

³⁸ In the edition of Janusz Woliński – 68 field rations (*Materiały do dziejów wojny*, SMHW, t. 16: 1970, cz. 2, p. 262).

1	2	3	4	5	6
22.	of Jan Andrzej Plater, Starost of Dyneburg	100 with the annotation "in Dyneburg"	100	60	60
23.	of Leonard Gabriel Pociej, District Judge of Brześć	80	80	80	—
24.	of Konstanty Jan Szuijski, District Clerk of Brześć	80	80	80	—
25.	of Gedeon Aleksander Chalecki, Starost of Nowosielsk	80	—	—	—
HUNGARIAN INFANTRY					
No.	UNIT	The first half of 1675	Quarter of 15 August – 15 November 1675	Quarter of 15 May – 15 August 1676	Quarter 15 August – 15 November 1676
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	of Michał K. Pac, Voivode of Vilnius, Grand Hetman of Lithuania	200	200	200	200
2.	of Michał K. Radziwiłł, Sub-Chancellor and Field Hetman of Lithuania	100	100	100	—
3.	Janissary Banner of Field Hetman of Lithuania	—	100	80	—
4.	of Marcjan Ogiński, Voivode of Trakai	100	100	100	90
5.	of Kazimierz J. Sapieha, Voivode of Polotsk	100	100	100	53
6.	of Aleksander Hilary Połubiński, Grand Marshall of Lithuania	100	100	100	88
7.	Banner of the Zaporozhian Cossacks of Michal K. Pac, Voivode of Vilnius and Grand Hetman of Lithuania	100	—	80	70

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**THE COMPOSITION OF THE ARMY OF THE GRAND DUCHY
OF LITHUANIA DURING THE WAR WITH TURKEY (1675–1676)
IN THE LIGHT OF FINANCIAL AND MILITARY FILES**

Summary

Key words: the Polish-Turkish war 1672–1676, the Lithuanian army, the Old Polish army

The aim of this source edition is to reconstruct thoroughly the composition of the Lithuanian army in the years 1675–1676 during the next stage of the war between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with Turkey (1672–1676), in which the Grand Duchy of Lithuania took an active part. The source basis used to reconstruct the composition of the army during three quarters of the service in the years 1675–1676 were the accounts of the Grand Sub-Treasurer of Lithuania Benedykt Paweł Sapieha, which were prepared for the Grodno Sejm of 1678–1679. They include the expenditure of the treasury on individual units of the Lithuanian army in the quarters from 15 August to 15 November 1675 and two quarters of 1676 – in total from 15 May to 15 November 1676. In order to present the composition of the army in the first half of 1675 the authors used the list of the Lithuanian military units found in the Sanguszko Archive in Cracow.

**DIE ZUSAMMENSETZUNG DER ARMEE
DES GROSSFÜRSTENTUMS LITAUEN ZUR ZEIT DES TÜRKENKRIEGS 1675/76
IM LICHT VON FINANZ- UND MILITÄRAKTAEN**

Zusammenfassung

Schlüsselwörter: polnisch-türkischer Krieg 1672–1676, litauisches Heer, altpolnisches Heerwesen

Ziel der vorliegenden Quellenedition ist eine genaue Rekonstruktion der Zusammensetzung der litauischen Armee in den Jahren 1675–1676, in einer bestimmten

Phase des Kriegs der Adelsrepublik gegen das Osmanische Reich (1672–1676), an dem sich das Großfürstentum Litauen aktiv beteiligte. Als Quellengrundlage für eine Rekonstruktion der Zusammensetzung des Heers während dreier Dienstquartale in den Jahren 1675/76 dienten Abrechnungen des litauischen Großkämmerers Benedykt Paweł Sapieha, die für den Sejm in Grodno von 1678/79 vorbereitet wurden. Sie enthielten die Ausgaben des Staatsschatzes für die einzelnen Einheiten der litauischen Armee im Quartal vom 15. August bis zum 15. November 1675 sowie für die zwei Quartale zwischen dem 15. Mai und dem 15. November 1676. Dagegen benutzten die Autoren für die Feststellung der Zusammensetzung der Armee in der ersten Hälfte des Jahres 1675 eine Aufstellung der litauischen Einheiten, die sich im Archiv der Familie Sanguszko in Krakau befindet.

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