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## **The use of treasury files as a primary source when conducting research on old polish military formations during the Vasa Dynasty (1587–1668)**

**Keywords:** Crown army, military expenses, treasury files, Vasa dynasty

**Słowa kluczowe:** wojsko koronne, wydatki wojskowe, akta skarbowe, dynastia Wazów

### REVIEW OF RESEARCH

The first research on the Crown Treasury during the Vasa dynasty was conducted in the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which resulted in the valuable 1881 study by Adolf Pawiński on King Stefan Batory.<sup>1</sup> Twelve years later, „Historia Piechoty Polskiej” (The History of the Polish Infantry), the first of three dissertations by Konstanty Górski on Polish military history was published. It was followed by „Historia Jazdy Polskiej” (The History of Polish Cavalry) and „Historia Artylerii Polskiej” (The History of Polish Artillery) – published posthumously, reflecting the efforts of Tadeusz Korzon.<sup>2</sup> All three of these invaluable works were based primarily upon treasury files, often quoted *in extenso* in footnotes. Unfortunately, for the following reasons, Górski’s editing does not meet current research standards: firstly, no bibliographic data is provided to accompany the quoted notes in the manuscript – the volume covering the history of artillery is a notable exception here; furthermore, Górski omitted

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<sup>1</sup> PAWIŃSKI 1881.

<sup>2</sup> GÓRSKI 2003 (reprint of the Krakow edition from 1893); GÓRSKI 2004a (reprint of the Krakow edition from 1894); GÓRSKI 2004b (reprint of the Warsaw edition from 1902).

to mark the abbreviations he made and frequently misread the data. Nevertheless, Górski's studies still remain the definitive source for researchers of military finance for the period in question.

Following these works, in 1891 Ferdynand Bostel published a Sejm (Parliamentary) bill that included the settlement of Grand Treasurer (*supremus thesaurarius*) Hermolaus Ligęza during the first Sejm of 1629. This had been kept in Lviv's State records office.<sup>3</sup> Seven years later – thanks to the work of Teodor Wierzbowski – an edited overview of the Sejm bills that had been kept in Warsaw, which included the settlements of Grand Treasurer Stanisław Warszycki, from the Sejm of 1611 and the ordinary Sejm of 1613, was published for the first time.<sup>4</sup> Wierzbowski's publication remains the basis of any research on the first stage of the Polish-Muscovite War (1609–1618). In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Roman Rybarski published a monograph covering Jan II Kazimierz's reign, as well as those of the „compatriot kings” (*królowie rodacy*).<sup>5</sup> Other publications include those by Leon Babiński and Józef Rafacz. These focus on the Crown Treasury Tribunal.<sup>6</sup> It is also important to mention the work of Jadwiga Karwańska, who collated the treasury files stored in the Central Archives of Historical Records (AGAD) in Warsaw during the interwar period. Her work later helped to measure the scale of damage caused by the German occupation.<sup>7</sup>

Post war research on the Crown and Lithuanian Treasury during the Vasa dynasty, which included references to military finance, is indebted to Władysław Pałucki, Jan Wimmer, and Anna Filipczak-Kocur. Pałucki focused in particular on the history of the Crown Treasury from the period of Zygmund I Stary up to the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century; this included the implementation of fiscal reforms undertaken in the last decade of the reign of Zygmunt II August, paying particular attention to the raising of finances for national defence (*obrona potoczna*), along with the royal revenue, and the frequent conflicts between the monarch and tenants over the division of income from the royal estates.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> BOSTEL 1891. The basic manuscript of this edition is now in the Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv (Центральний Державний Історичний Архів України, м. Львів), f. 9, op. 1, case 381, pp. 21–69). This edition was used i.a.l. by PARADOWSKI 2020.

<sup>4</sup> WIERZBOWSKI 1898. Wierzbowski's edition was based on two documents: *Rationes Thesaurii ex proventibus publicis in comitiis anni 1611 factae per illustrem et magnificum dominum Stanislaum Warszycki, supremum Regni Tesaurarium, Kobrinensem, Osiecensemque capitaneum factae* (present AGAD, ASK II, ms. 40, k. 119–294) and *Regestrum rationis publicae in comitiis Varsoviensibus generalibus anno 1613 factae*, of which only that part relating to treasury revenues has been preserved (AGAD, ASK II, ms. 41), while the expenditures published by Wierzbowski could be found in the manuscript of Ossolineum Library (ms. 9530).

<sup>5</sup> RYBARSKI 2015.

<sup>6</sup> BABIŃSKI 1923; RAFACZ 1924. Both texts were republished as a compilation by Dariusz Kupisz in Radom in 2013.

<sup>7</sup> KARWASIŃSKA 1929; KARWASIŃSKA 1957.

<sup>8</sup> PAŁUCKI 1974.

The fiscal reforms that were known as the *reforma kwarciiana* were also studied by Anna Sucheni-Grabowska.<sup>9</sup> More than a half of the century ago, Jan Wimmer completed an extensive article on the state of the Crown Treasury and the financing of the army in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This appeared in his „*Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*” („*Studies and Materials for Military History*”).<sup>10</sup> Despite having no access to the sources stored in the archives and libraries of the former Soviet Union countries, this study still retains considerable cognitive value. Wimmer’s work was the inspiration for Przemysław Gawron’s research on the organisation of the Polish-Lithuanian army, in which treasury and military files became the primary source.<sup>11</sup> The relations between the treasury and the military in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania has been researched by Henryk Wisner.<sup>12</sup> A valuable contribution to the history of a particular kind of army unit *wojsko kwarciiane*, which was a feature at the beginning of the reign of Zygmunt III, is Maciej Adam Pieńkowski’s article, which comes complete with references attached to all of its sources.<sup>13</sup> Treasury and military matters (including the financing of the army from special sources – *źródła ekstraordynaryjne* – and the receipt of foreign aid) were dealt with by, among others, Eugeniusz Janas,<sup>14</sup> Dariusz Milewski,<sup>15</sup> and Mirosław Nagielski.<sup>16</sup>

Anna Filipczak-Kocur devoted almost thirty years to researching the treasury of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which has resulted in monographs<sup>17</sup> and numerous articles<sup>18</sup> on the Crown and Lithuanian Treasury during the Vasa dynasty. The author not only described revenues and expenditures against the backdrop of the political and military situation of the Polish-Lithuanian state, but also

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<sup>9</sup> SUCHENI-GRABOWSKA 1973; SUCHENI-GRABOWSKA 1967; SUCHENI-GRABOWSKA 1965.

<sup>10</sup> WIMMER 1968; vide also WIMMER 1969. B. Baranowski dealt with treasury matters to a lesser extent, focusing both on the organization of the Crown army during the reign of Władysław IV, and the first few years of the reign of Jan Kazimierz, BARANOWSKI 1951.

<sup>11</sup> GAWRON 2016; GAWRON 2017a; GAWRON 2017b; GAWRON 2017c; GAWRON 2020a; GAWRON 2020b; GAWRON 2021; GAWRON 2022.

<sup>12</sup> WISNER 1973; WISNER 1976; WISNER 1978; WISNER 2004; vide also a valuable article by RACHUBA 1994.

<sup>13</sup> PIENKOWSKI 2021.

<sup>14</sup> JANAS 1996, pp. 201–216.

<sup>15</sup> MILEWSKI 2018; MILEWSKI 2019a; MILEWSKI 2019b; MILEWSKI 2021; MILEWSKI 2022.

<sup>16</sup> NAGIELSKI 2016; NAGIELSKI 2022.

<sup>17</sup> FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 1985; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 1991; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 1994; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 2006a. (second, revised edition 2023).

<sup>18</sup> FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 2008a; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 2008b; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 2006b; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 1981a; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 2002a; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 2002b; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 1986a; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 1984; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 1988; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 1990; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 1999; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 1980; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 2011; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 2010; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 2009; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 2003a; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 1981b; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 2003b; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 2007; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 2003c; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 1977; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 1993; FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 1986b.

examined the role of the Sejm and its relationship to the treasury; the treasurer's position; treasury and military commissions (including the Lviv crown commission of 1630) and the Lithuanian Treasury Tribunal. Our knowledge of the general outline of the Lithuanian Treasury is based upon the work of Andrzej B. Zakrzewski.<sup>19</sup> At this point, however, it is also worth mentioning the contribution of the Lithuanian historian Antanas Tyla in researching the Lithuanian Treasury during the Vasa epoch. He is the author of two main monographs<sup>20</sup> and many valuable articles, focusing especially on the wars of 1648–1667.<sup>21</sup> Several studies on the structure of expenditures of the Lithuanian Treasury during the reign of Jan Kazimierz, as well as career models of the Lithuanian tax officials of the time have been written by Konrad Bobiatyński.<sup>22</sup>

A valuable source of knowledge about the Crown Treasurers are the biographies on the pages of the *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (Polish Biographical Dictionary). Jan Seredyka has dealt with the parliamentary activities of the treasurers as senators.<sup>23</sup> We are also indebted to these researchers for their analyses of the draft of treasury reforms prepared by the Warsaw commission of 1627, and the problem of settlements with the imperial army of Ferdinand II Habsburg, which in 1629 supported the Commonwealth during the war against the Swedes in Royal Prussia.<sup>24</sup> Nor should the achievements of research on Polish parliamentarism, especially the monographs of particular Sejms, which often engaged in matters of assistance with the financing of wartime costs on the state, be omitted. As a result of research conducted by Jan Dzięgielewski, more is now known about the election Sejms.<sup>25</sup> In the case of the Grand Duchy, however, it is necessary to refer to the work of Andrzej Rachuba.<sup>26</sup> Sejm legislation from the period in question was published as a part of the series *Volumina Constitutionum*. Treasury matters often bothered the nobility, however, a fact which is reflected in the works on *comitia minora* in the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and in the collectively published *lauda* and instructions for sejmiks. Work on the parliamentary discourse on the monetary policy of the state in the second half of the reign of Jan Kazimierz has been discussed by Bartosz Dziewanowski-Stefańczyk,<sup>27</sup> while a study on the financial burdens of the clergy has been compiled by Father Henryk Karbownik.<sup>28</sup> It is also worth mentioning the work by Katarzyna Wagner concerning

<sup>19</sup> ZAKRZEWSKI 2013, especially Chapter IX; vide also: WISNER 2002; WISNER 2008.

<sup>20</sup> TYLA 2012; TYLA 2010.

<sup>21</sup> TYLA 1995; TYLA 2003; TYLA 2006a; TYLA 2004; TYLA 2006b.

<sup>22</sup> BOBIATYŃSKI 2022a; BOBIATYŃSKI 2022b.

<sup>23</sup> SEREDYKA 2003.

<sup>24</sup> SEREDYKA 1977; SEREDYKA 1976; SEREDYKA 1965.

<sup>25</sup> DZIEGIELEWSKI 2003.

<sup>26</sup> RACHUBA 2002.

<sup>27</sup> DZIEWANOWSKI-STEFANŃCZYK 2020.

<sup>28</sup> KARBOWNIK 1980; KARBOWNIK 1984.

the taxing of townspeople,<sup>29</sup> while the issue of royal lands (*królewszczyzny*) has been described by Jerzy Luciński and Krzysztof Chłapowski.<sup>30</sup>

The treasury files played an extremely important role in research on the history of the Crown artillery during the reign of Władysław IV and Jan Kazimierz. This was conducted by Tadeusz Marian Nowak, who has provided us with a detailed description of the organization, armament, equipment, and personnel of „fire weapons” during this period.<sup>31</sup> We are further indebted to Nowak for his work on those treasury files that concern the state of the Crown artillery in the early 1640s.<sup>32</sup> Mirosław Nagielski has also referred to a wide range of military and treasury sources when describing the organisation and functioning of the Guard units in the army of the Commonwealth.<sup>33</sup> Questions of finance are often present in research conducted on specific military campaigns, as well as diplomatic matters undertaken by the Vasa dynasty. This is especially so when in problems occurred with the raising of funds to pay the soldiers enlisted by the Commonwealth.

For an exceptionally turbulent period in the history of the Polish-Lithuanian state, that which was experienced during the reign of Jan Kazimierz, i.e. a time of frequent conflict with Cossacks, Tatars, Muscovites, Swedes, Transylvanians and Brandenburgers, the situation is similar, in that there are numerous works available.

Matters of military finance and salaries have also been raised in two fundamental collective works devoted to the Polish-Swedish war of 1655–1660,<sup>34</sup> principally in the works of Jan Wimmer, who laid the foundations for further research on the organization and structure of the crown army in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century by referring to military and treasury sources.<sup>35</sup> Treasury files have also been used in research on the military confederations, and these include works by Marek Ciara, Antoni Stefan Michalek, Jerzy Pietrzak, Eugeniusz Janas and Andrzej Rachuba.<sup>36</sup> A valuable collection of materials, including treasury summaries (*sumariusze skarbowe*), military lists (*komputy*) and reports on the level of Swedish intelligence during the wars with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century have been researched by Michał Paradowski.<sup>37</sup> Our knowledge of materials relating to the Lithuanian Treasury are largely a result of interpretations of work initially conducted by the military and treasury commissions. As a result, Andrzej Rachuba has been able

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<sup>29</sup> WAGNER 2020.

<sup>30</sup> LUCIŃSKI 1970; CHŁAPOWSKI 1984.

<sup>31</sup> NOWAK 1970; NOWAK 2001.

<sup>32</sup> NOWAK 1961.

<sup>33</sup> NAGIELSKI 1989; NAGIELSKI 1992.

<sup>34</sup> *Polska 1957; Wojna 1973.*

<sup>35</sup> For the period covering 1648–1667 there are: WIMMER 1960a; WIMMER 1958; WIMMER 1960b; WIMMER 2013.

<sup>36</sup> CIARA 1989; JANAS 1998; MICHAŁEK 1966–1968; MICHAŁEK 1969–1971; PIETRZAK 1973; RACHUBA 1989; RACHUBA 2010.

<sup>37</sup> PARADOWSKI 2013.

to reconstruct the composition of the Lithuanian army during the war with Moscow in 1654–1667, along with the expedition against Lubomirski's rebels (*rokosz Lubomirskiego*) in 1665,<sup>38</sup> and Krzysztof Kacprzyński – during the civil war in 1666.<sup>39</sup>

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SOURCE DATABASE

A summary of treasury sources – based on the materials stored in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw – has been prepared by Jadwiga Karwasińska<sup>40</sup> and Jerzy Senkowski, while Jan Wimmer has briefly discussed their usefulness for military historians.<sup>41</sup> Of the categories listed by them, the most important ones while researching on the military of the Vasa dynasty are, of course, the fiscal and military files (Central Archives of Historical Records, Treasury and Military Archives, AGAD, sections 85 and 86). Materials covering the period 1587–1592 and 1648–1668 have been preserved, although these require a separate source edition on account of their length. When dealing with the period 1587–1648 in particular, the Sejm accounts are invaluable (AGAD, Crown Treasury Archives, section II, manuscripts 33–46, Library of the Czartoryscy Princes Museum in Kraków, manuscript 1772, and the Library of the Ossoliński National Institute in Wrocław, manuscripts 9530–9531), while the files of the military and treasury commissions in Lviv focus more on the period 1630–1642 (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv, fond 9, description 1, cases 357, 381, 386, 391 and the Library of the University of Wrocław, manuscript Akc. 1949/440, Raczyńskis' Library in Poznań, manuscript 149). Regrettably, there are few surviving parliamentary accounts and files of fiscal and military commissions for the period 1643–1648, making it necessary to refer to the summaries of parliamentary accounts (AGAD, ASK, section III, manuscript 6).

The Sejm accounts have been extensively discussed by J. Senkowski and J. Wimmer, which relieves the authors of the obligation to present this category of sources in detail, both in terms of their origin and structure. It should be mentioned, however, that the Sejm accounts from the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. the settlement of the Crown Treasurer on the funds received by him and the manner in which they were spent, consisted of two or – more rarely – three parts. The first of these contained a summary of treasury revenues from the taxes passed by the Sejm (the so-called *percepta*), commencing with treasury arrears (*retenta*), which sometimes reached back several years, to any benefits granted by the previous Sejm gathering. The second part of the Sejm accounts, however, comprised the expenses of the Crown Treasury (the so-called *dys-trybuta*), covering the period from the previous Sejm settlement up to that which was then current. These related in the main to the maintenance of the army and what was

<sup>38</sup> RACHUBA 2007a; RACHUBA 2011.

<sup>39</sup> KACPRZYŃSKI 2001.

<sup>40</sup> Vide footnote 7.

<sup>41</sup> SENKOWSKI 1954; WIMMER 1969, pp. 6–8.

a relatively rickety tax apparatus, as well as the sending and receiving of legations respectively. It is also possible to find here the sums spent on the maintenance of deputies for quite specific units: the *wojsko kwarciane* and the Zaporozhian army. Very occasionally, there is a list of deputies to the Sejm. In some cases, the *percepta* and *dys-trybuta* were accompanied by an account of the Crown *notarius campestris* (vide, for example, the settlement of the Sejm of 1607, the common Sejm (*sejm zwyczajny*) of 1629, the coronation of Władysław IV's Sejm of 1633 and the Sejm of 1639). In 1606, the account was accompanied by the original settlement of the Grand Hetman of Lithuania, Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, covering the expenses incurred by him in connection with the war in Livonia between 1604–1607; this was presented at the Sejm of 1607 (AGAD, ASK II, manuscript 38).

The settlements of the military and treasury commissions still require comprehensive research,<sup>42</sup> with the result that only the Lviv commission of 1630 is discussed in detail in current literature.<sup>43</sup> Appointed by the Sejm, this consisted of representatives of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, and included a hetman and two representatives of the army, who had been delegated to attend the military courts. The main task of the deputation was to settle any arrears owed to the army, i.e. to first determine, and then pay, any monies owing. At the same time, the commission was given the power to make settlements and adjudicate on matters concerning tax collectors. The latter were expected to bring money to the actual meeting, which thereby became a substitute for the Crown Tax Tribunal. It also served as a military court, settling disputes between soldiers, or between soldiers and civilians. The commission usually confined itself to these roles, but during the 1622 confederation, the commissioners acted as a court of appeal against the judgment of the confederate court.<sup>44</sup> Between 1630–1642, the final act of the commission that was sitting in Lviv was usually recorded – with the exception of 1638 – in the castle records of Lviv (*akta grodzkie relacyjne*).

Generally speaking, the settlements left by the commissions contained similar data to that which can be found in the Sejm accounts, i.e. with the exception of the section concerning any income received by the commission in the form of payments from tax collectors. There is also a fragment concerning expenses, which includes information on the size, organization and logistics of the Crown army. With reference to the commissions from 1630, 1634 and 1642, the data from the final files do not have a parliamentary equivalent, so it is the information and numbers shown therein that allows us to at least partially reconstruct the state of the Crown army for the periods 1629–1630, 1633–1634 and 1640–1642.

Neither the Sejm settlements nor the files of the treasury and military commissions covering the last years of the reign of Władysław IV have survived; consequently,

<sup>42</sup> R. Rybarski has devoted the most space to the Crown commissions: RYBARSKI 2015, pp. 46–49, but it must be remembered that these remarks are focused solely on the reign of Jan Kazimierz. With regard to the Lithuanian commissions vide FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 2002a.

<sup>43</sup> FILIPCZAK-KOCUR 2006b.

<sup>44</sup> CDIAUL, fond 9, op. 1, ms. 812, pp. 737–756, 789–792, 929–931, 933–1015.

the *sumariusze*, i.e. abbreviated treasury reports, sent to members of the Sejm, which contain general data on state income and expenditure from the previous Sejm, are enormously helpful.<sup>45</sup> All existing summaries that were written before the coronation Sejm of Jan Kazimierz, and the ordinary Sejm of 1649, enable us to reconstruct the units serving in the *wojsko kwarciane* between 1643–1648 and to determine their approximate, nominal numbers.

The wars during the reign of Jan Kazimierz (1648–1668) led to military reforms of great importance, transforming the small *wojsko kwarciane* into the *armia komputowa* (1652). This also resulted in an exponential growth of the military and treasury sources of the Crown. Despite the loss of some records as a result of wartime damage, the historian has a much easier task here, having at their disposal hundreds of pages of materials, the most important of which are undoubtedly the books of settlements between the Crown Treasury and the army, kept in the Warsaw Central Archives of Historical Records in the Crown Treasury Archives, Section 86: „Accounts from revenues and expenses for the army, 1472–1794” (*Rachunki z przychodów i wydatków na potrzeby wojska, 1472–1794*). The basic source material, which is also the subject of this edition, are the files of the commissions from 1650,<sup>46</sup> 1653,<sup>47</sup> 1659,<sup>48</sup> 1662,<sup>49</sup> 1663<sup>50</sup> and 1667.<sup>51</sup> Sejm bills from 1658, presenting a list of settled payments to the Crown army from 1652–1655,<sup>52</sup> currently kept in the collections of the Ossolineum Library, are also important.

The nature of the commission’s documentation did not change significantly after the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Nevertheless, the volume of files increased significantly, reflecting the increase in the number of troops in the service of the Commonwealth. When we compare, for example, the first commission from 1650 – which to a large extent still settled the wages for the *wojska kwarciane*, which from 1647 was recruited on an ongoing basis to fight against the Cossacks of Bohdan Khmelnytsky (Bohdan Chmielnicki) – with files from the later commissions, a change is clearly visible. Whereas in 1650 a book comprising 54 pages was sufficient for the whole documentation, by 1653 the volume of files had almost doubled (94 pages); in 1658 there were already 156 pages; in 1659 – 85 pages; in 1662 – 140 pages; and in 1663 – as many as 258 pages.

Treasury sources, useful for research on the Lithuanian military in the times of Jan Kazimierz, have been preserved mainly in the Vilnius archives.<sup>53</sup> In general,

<sup>45</sup> WIMMER 1969, p. 7.

<sup>46</sup> AGAD, ASK, dpt. 86, ms. 39.

<sup>47</sup> AGAD, ASK, dpt. 86, ms. 42.

<sup>48</sup> AGAD, ASK, dpt. 86, ms. 48.

<sup>49</sup> AGAD, ASK, dpt. 86, ms. 50.

<sup>50</sup> AGAD, ASK, dpt. 86, ms. 54 (untitled files).

<sup>51</sup> AGAD, ASK, dpt. 86, ms. 57.

<sup>52</sup> B. Ossol., ms. 9532/II.

<sup>53</sup> Vide concise description of the contents of the Vilnius archives containing treasury files: OLECHNOWICZ 2000, pp. 3–7.

they refer to the period following 1655, as the Lithuanian treasury archive documents relating to the earlier period were lost after the capture of Vilnius by the Muscovite army in August 1655.

These materials, like the crown files, can be divided into several categories. The first one is, of course, the bills of the Sejm, i.e. the settlements of the treasurers or of the tax officials acting in their names. Three such documents have been preserved for 1648–1668. The first of them, the register of the administrator of the Lithuanian treasury Adam Maciej Sakowicz, for 1659–1661, was published in print over a hundred years ago.<sup>54</sup> The other two registers: that of the acting treasurer of the Lithuanian treasury Gabriel Karol Kimbar for 1662–1663 (in two copies) and of the treasurer Hieronim Kryszpin-Kirszensztein, covering the period from 1663, can now be found in the archives in Vilnius (LVIA, SA, 3410, 3414, 3418).<sup>55</sup> In general, the internal layout of this type of documentation resembles the crown accounts. Nevertheless, the substantive content sometimes varies, a result of the distinct structure of expenditures of the Lithuanian treasury, reflecting certain differences in the political system in both parts of the Commonwealth, e.g. in the prerogatives of the ministerial offices (hetman and treasury).

Unfortunately, due to a lack of treasurer's registers for the first period of the reign of Jan Kazimierz (until what is commonly known as the Deluge), historians are forced to make use of the receipts issued to treasurers by the monarchs. While these were entered into *The Lithuanian Metrica*, historians can use the summaries (*sumariusze*) of their settlements<sup>56</sup> less often.

The documentation of the work of the Lithuanian military and treasury commissions from the period after 1660 has, fortunately, been preserved almost in its entirety. Consequently, we have three books containing materials detailing the proceedings of the commissions for 1662/1663, 1664 and 1667 at our disposal (LVIA, SA, 4106, 4107, 4111). They contain settlements with the army for the period from 1654 and are considered to be one of the best sources, having already been used several times in the historiography in order to reconstruct the organization of the Lithuanian army during the war with Moscow in 1654–1667, as well as during the civil war of 1665–1666. Additional supplementary material for military historians are the books of the tax courts, which functioned during the commission's sessions. We have two such sources from 1662/1663 (LVIA, SA, 2650, 2651) and one from 1667 (LVIA, SA, 2411).

Unfortunately, for the period before 1655, the fiscal and military documentation of only one commission, held in Vilnius in 1650, is well preserved.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup> *Akty* 1909, pp. 441–541.

<sup>55</sup> Numerous summaries (*sumariusze*) of Lithuanian treasury expenses from the 1660s have been preserved as part of the legacy of Treasurer H. Kryszpin Kirszensztein, and are currently stored in Kiev: NBU, fond 1, ms. 5953.

<sup>56</sup> TYLA 2010, pp. 17–18. It appears that from this period, only the summary (*sumariusz*) of the Treasurer Gedeon M. Tryzna, concerning the expenses from the years 1650–1652 have survived (NGAB, fond 1737, op. 1, ms. 24, p. 304–315v).

<sup>57</sup> *Korespondencja* 2019, pp. 342–344, and 351–362; see also: RACHUBA 1996, pp. 279–288.

## SIGNIFICANCE FOR RESEARCH ON THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN WARFARE

Any material consisting of Sejm bills and the settlements of the treasury and military commissions is an invaluable source when researching the size of the Polish-Lithuanian army during the Vasa dynasty, as they contain information on the number of pay rates paid by the public treasury, which enables us to determine the approximate size of the army both in times of peace and war. However, important caveats need to be borne in mind. As with other types of sources, the figures therein should be treated with caution, and they certainly ought to be viewed alongside other materials, especially military lists (*komputy*), muster registers (*rejestrzy popisowe*) and narrative sources. In fact, experience shows that the numbers of pay rates indicated in the accounts may differ significantly from the actual state of affairs, both *in plus* and *in minus*.

The Crown army in the final stage (1629) of the war over who controlled the estuary of the River Vistula illustrates this problem well. According to the settlement of the Lviv commission from 1630, in the quarter from September 1 to November 30, 1629 the hussar companies of Prince Władysław Zygmunt and the Field Crown Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski numbered 216 and 230 horses respectively. Meanwhile, according to the preserved *popis* (list of recruits), compiled on September 15, 1629, only 100 horses were present in camp, but there were twice as few horses in the hetman's company. We can find both smaller or larger discrepancies between the enrolled and actual status in several other units too.<sup>58</sup> An interesting case is the numerical strength of Mikołaj Łysakowski's Cossack company, which, according to the Lviv settlement, possessed 97 horses between September and the end of November, but according to the register of September 15, there were as many as three horses more on the payroll. Meanwhile, a court clerk from Bielsko, Krzysztof Brzozowski, who was present in the Polish-Lithuanian army camp, reported that in August of the same year, Łysakowski's company was comprehensively beaten by the Swedes, who, following the battle, imprisoned the former.<sup>59</sup> However, there are also cases where it seems that, after referring to the appropriate list, a company had more horses than its official status would permit. We can see such a situation, for example, in the hussar companies of the Grand Marshal of Lithuania Jan Stanisław Sapieha and the Lithuanian referendary Aleksander Korwin Gosiewski during the autumn of 1625. The number of the marshal's company was limited to 200 horses, while Sapieha claimed to have had 251 horse at his disposal, while in the case of Gosiewski, there is a discrepancy of 200 to 214 horses.<sup>60</sup> Eleven years earlier, a similar phenomenon occurred in the Lithuanian army that was fighting under the command of the Grand Hetman of Lithuania

<sup>58</sup> CDIAUL, fond 9, op. 1, ms. 381, p. 1621, *Rationes thesauri regni perceptae atque distributae pecuniae publicae in commissione leopoliensi*; AGAD, Archiwum Zamoyskich, ms. 3116, p. 10.

<sup>59</sup> AGAD, AZ, ms 409, p. 132, K. Brzozowski to T. Zamoyski, Toruń 28 VIII 1629.

<sup>60</sup> RNB, fond 971, op. 2, d. 321/2, no. 86, p. 1, *Popis wojska JKM do Inflant zaciagnionego na cwić pierwszą w roku 1625*; WISNER 2004, p. 131.

Jan Karol Chodkiewicz against the Muscovite forces.<sup>61</sup> It should be pointed out, however, that the issue of discrepancies between the official figures and the actual figures occurred in the other European countries of that period, for example, in France between 1635–1642; the United Provinces of the Netherlands in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century; or Saxony during the Thirty Years' War.<sup>62</sup>

Bearing this caveat in mind, it seems reasonable to state that the various collections of source material indicate a small but clear increase in the numbers mobilized for successive military campaigns. In 1601, for example, the Crown mobilized approximately 13,000 soldiers for the Livonian expedition, during the aforementioned war for possession of the estuary of the River Vistula, the Crown Treasury provided money for about 16,500–20,000 troops, not counting the reinforcements sent by Ferdinand II in 1627 and 1629; and in 1633, Poland and Lithuania mobilized about 24,000. The Khotyn campaign of 1621, however, was unprecedented. The Crown forces – including mercenary troops accompanying king Zygmunt III, Tomasz Zamoyski, the voivode of Kiev, and those engaged at Kamieniec Podolski – totaled approximately 40,000.<sup>63</sup> This phenomenon, which reflected the pan-European trend for mobilizing larger numbers than previously, continued throughout the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, especially during wartime, provided there was enough money in the treasury.<sup>64</sup>

A similar process, albeit slightly later, can also be observed in the case of the Lithuanian army in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Until 1648, the Grand Duchy had no permanent armed forces, apart from the garrisons in the most important fortresses (Smolensk, or Dyneburg/Daugavpils). The largest army, numbering about 9,000 soldiers, was raised in 1621 to combat the invading Turkish and Swedish forces. The situation changed dramatically, however, following the outbreak of the Khmelnytsky Uprising as it became necessary to conduct continuous military operations – first against the Cossacks, and later against forces from Moscow and Sweden. Following the ending of subsequent campaigns against the Tatars and the Turks, the army was not disbanded.<sup>65</sup> In fact, it is possible to see a steady increase in its size. In 1648, it numbered 4,000, a year later – 7,300, and there were plans to raise as many as 15,000 for the campaign of 1651, although of course this

<sup>61</sup> RNB, fond 971, op. 2, d. 321/2, no. 2, P. 1: *Respons JMści pana hetmana wielkiego WXL na punkta i dubitacje z strony rejestrów i place wojska inflantskiego od JKM przez pana pisarza polnego poslane.*

<sup>62</sup> PARROT2001, pp. 164–222; NIMWEGEN2010, pp. 45–47; STAIANO-DANIELS2019, pp. 1001–1020.

<sup>63</sup> WIMMER 1968, pp. 19, 38–39; GAWRON 2021, pp. 37–52; KUPISZ 2017, pp. 267–270.

<sup>64</sup> Vide: FREDHOLM VON ESSEN 2020, vol. 1, pp. 95–96; vol. 2, 1632–1648, pp. 158–161; HOCHEDLINGER 2019, pp. 698–700; LYNN 1997, pp. 32–64; LYNN 1994, pp. 881–906, Lynn's considerations are worth juxtaposing with the findings of D. Parrott, cited in one of the earlier footnotes; NIMWEGEN, PRUD'HOMME VAN REINE 2019, pp. 372–373.

<sup>65</sup> RACHUBA 1994, pp. 379–382, 398–400.

was not possible in practice,<sup>66</sup> although around 10,000 soldiers were deployed for the 1654 campaign against Moscow. Nonetheless, the Lithuanian army grew steadily from 1656 and reached a much higher number (possibly as high as 20,000) during subsequent conflicts with the tsar, as well as during the Swedish Deluge. A record 22,800 pay rates were recorded at the end of 1661. Of course, maintaining such a number of personnel was far beyond the capabilities of the Lithuanian treasury.<sup>67</sup> An analysis of the treasury records allows us to state, fairly accurately, how many soldiers were (in theory) in each quarter of the service, commencing November 1654, until the Treaty of Andruszów in January 1667, which was followed by a drastic reduction of the armed forces over the following months.<sup>68</sup>

Treasury accounts are an excellent source for structure of Polish-Lithuanian army and its actual dynamics during the Vasa dynasty in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. As a rule, the policy that had been pursued in previous centuries was continued. This was aimed at adapting the organization of the army so that it was prepared for facing the enemy following the outbreak of war. For this reason the *wojsko kwarciane*, intended to defend the south-eastern borderlands of the Crown against such a fast and agile opponent as the Tatars, was dominated by cavalry. In 1626, on the eve of the war with the Swedes over control of the mouth of the River Vistula, Stanisław Koniecpolski had an army in Ukraine, which numbered 7,650 on the payroll. The ratio of cavalry to infantry in this force was 58:42, but, generally speaking, the dominant group is the infantry (*wybrańcy*), comprising 38%, peasants from the royal estates, while Polish-Hungarian and other foreign infantry personnel each accounted for 31% of the entire formation.<sup>69</sup> Similar ratios became typical for the army in Ukraine between 1630–1632, although here it was considered to secure an important place for dragoon regiments, which were more than enough to replace the German infantry that had been stationed there in 1626.<sup>70</sup>

In the event of the conflict with the Muscovy or Sweden, however, it was necessary to recruit a larger number of infantry. This often relied on foreign units, and was thus referred to as a Batorian model. A notable example dates from the siege of Smolensk in 1609, during which the army of Zygmunt III had one infantry regiment, with 1,400 on the payroll at the beginning of the campaign, two reiters units and one arquebusier unit.

In 1612, the monarch mobilized two infantry regiments for an expedition to Moscow, which probably amounted to approximately 4,000 on the payroll. In both of these campaigns, the infantry suffered a significant number of casualties, over 60% of the original force, but there was a heavy presence of reiters and foreign-recruited

<sup>66</sup> NGAB, fond 1737, op. 1, ms. 24, pp. 308v–310.

<sup>67</sup> RACHUBA 2007a, pp. 43–60; vide BOBIATYŃSKI 2004, pp. 47, 233–236.

<sup>68</sup> LVIA, SA, ms. 3414, 4106, 4107, 4111.

<sup>69</sup> *Wojsko Kwarciane na polu w roku 1626*, in: PARADOWSKI 2013, pp. 85–87.

<sup>70</sup> GAWRON 2021, pp. 47–48.

infantry – including the first dragoon company of the Polish-Lithuanian army, commanded by Conti – which were mobilized in order to break the siege of Smolensk and, subsequently, during the expedition of Prince Władysław Zygmunt to Moscow in 1617–1618.<sup>71</sup>

With time, the role of the reiters, infantry and dragoons grew in importance, with a corresponding decline in the role of the cavalryman and any infantry formations that were composed of national conscripts. In 1601, Jan Zamoyski led a force to Livonia which included 500 cavalry horses and 1,100 Scottish and German infantry on the payroll. These comprised about 12% of the total force. The ratio of cavalry to infantry was 40:60, but most of the infantry were units of the Polish-Hungarian type, the *wybrańcy* and Zaporozhian Cossacks (around 85% in total). A quarter of a century later, in 1627, the infantry still constituted about 55–60% of the combined forces commanded by Stanisław Koniecpolski in Royal Prussia, but  $\frac{3}{4}$  of this formation and 43% of the total forces of the Field Crown Hetman were made up of foreign personnel. Experience from Royal Prussia was again taken into account six years later by Władysław IV, when he led an army comprising 60% infantry and dragoons to Smolensk.<sup>72</sup>

Treasury sources also show us a change in the organization of units formed from foreign enlistment during the war for control of the estuary of the River Vistula. In earlier wars under Zygmunt III, two basic formations were used: the enlistment of single companies (1601, 1625–1626) and the formation of regiments (1612, 1616–1617). However, it was frequently the case that both formations existed simultaneously (1609, 1621, 1627). Treasury sources and correspondence suggest that in 1627 the royal court made an attempt – in which it was partially successful – to create infantry regiments and dragoons in Royal Prussia. This move was connected with the disbandment of any independent companies still in existence, but the policy was extended following the cessation of hostilities, most notably during the Smolensk expedition of 1633–1634, the preparations for war against the Turks (1634), and against the Swedes (1635).<sup>73</sup> Between 1630–1648 in the *wojsko kwarciane*, the presence of dragoon regiments and companies is noticeable. It is especially visible after 1638, when, as part of the new organization of the Cossack register, the commissioner and the colonels became, among others, dragoon company commanders.

<sup>71</sup> WIMMER 1968; GAWRON 2017c, pp. 64–73; 85–96.

<sup>72</sup> WIMMER 1968, p. 19; GAWRON 2021; on the importance of hussars in the Lithuanian army at the time vide GAWRON 2020b.

<sup>73</sup> 1601: HERBST 2006, p. 117; 1609–1618: GAWRON 2017c; 1625–1629: GAWRON 2021; 1634–1635: BUWr, ms Akc. 1949/439, k. 338, *Komput wojska koronnego w obozie pod Kamieńcem przeciw cesarzowi tureckiemu będącego A*. 1634; ibidem, k. 360, *Krótkie zebranie zasłużonego pieszych regimentów tak dawnego iako y terażniejszego zaciągu gdzie któremu płaca jest ukazana w obozie pod Czerwonym Dworem roku 1635 w Wigilię S. Michała*; BJ, ms. 166, k. 382, *Komput wojska JKMsici przeciwko Turkom 1634 pod Kamieńcem będącego tak za pieniądze Rzeczypospolitej jako i prywatne Ichmsici tych którzy się jedni z ochoty swej do usługi JKMsici stawili drudzy ludzie swe przysłali*.

It is worth adding at this point that a similar model of infantry organization was dominant in Western European armies at the time.<sup>74</sup>

After 1648, a new period began in the history of the Crown forces, which is apparent from an examination of the military and treasury files. This was principally a result of the ongoing developments in warfare, which necessitated a reorganization of the army following a series of defeats (1648, 1649, 1652, 1655). The reforms resulted in the shifting of recruitment areas to the central voivodships of the state, and, concurrently, it is possible to notice an increase in the king's influence on the army. This was a consequence of the calling-up of the guard units of the *wojsko komputowe*, which was paid for with funds from the state treasury. Frequent engagements with a combined Cossack-Tatar force also saw an increase in the number of Wallachian and Tatar companies, as well as Cossack (armored) companies, and a corresponding decrease in heavy cavalry companies (hussars and arquebusiers), who were more expensive and less useful, both during the fight against Zaporozhian wagenburg and the Tatar light cavalry. Foreign units were encouraged as they were particularly useful as a result of their higher firepower: dragoons, reiters, and, especially, the large infantry regiments.<sup>75</sup> This period also shows a gradual increase in the size of the Crown army, from approximately 3,880 pay rates in the state army at the beginning of 1648, to as many as 15,000 in the Zborów-Zbarazh campaign, reaching more than 37,000 at the end of 1652, but falling to 25,500 at the beginning of the Swedish Deluge. The Crown army peaked in 1659, when it was operating in two theaters, with over 40,000 pay rates. It then began to decline, for both political and economic reasons. Finally, as a result of the cessation of hostilities, the army was reduced in 1667 to about 16,000 on the payroll.<sup>76</sup> Significantly, usually whenever the commission met, the state treasury had to settle not only the amounts due for the previous period, but also any earlier arrears, for which the previous commission had lacked sufficient funds. For example, the debt to the army for the period 1663–1667 was still being regulated by the Radom Tribunal in 1671, while some sums still remained unpaid in 1673.<sup>77</sup>

The treasury files are also an invaluable source for reconstructing the structure of the Lithuanian army in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In the first three decades of this century, hussars still played the dominant role, being the perfect formation in engagements against both the Swedes and Moscow-led forces. Recent research shows that the largest amount, 40% of heavy cavalry, was in the Lithuanian army in 1600 (where it constituted as much as 80% of the total cavalry force), the least – 19% and 17%

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<sup>74</sup> CORVISIER 1992a, pp. 341–342; CORVISIER 1992b, pp. 361–363; HOCHEDLINGER 2019, pp. 687–690; FREDHOLM VON ESSEN 2020, vol. 1, pp. 124–145, vol. 2, pp. 162–170; MAROŃ 2008, pp. 20–61; SPRING 2021, pp. 35–50; SPRING 2016, pp. 220–253; TEKIELA 2010, pp. 19–25.

<sup>75</sup> NAGIELSKI 2002, pp. 309–316; NAGIELSKI 1989, pp. 14–23, 35–41.

<sup>76</sup> WIMMER 2013, pp. 68, 78, 89, 121–125.

<sup>77</sup> HUNDERT 2014, pp. 202–203.

(only 28% and 26% of the total cavalry force), in recruits to K. Radziwiłł's force for two quarters of service during engagements with the Swedes between 1625–1626.<sup>78</sup> In general, however, a decrease is visible, because at the expense of the heavy cavalry, more and more reiters' companies began to be recruited. The reduced importance of heavy cavalry, however, is clearly visible during the Smolensk War – in the Lithuanian army alone in 1633 only 19% of the total force comprised hussars. During preparations for the war with Sweden (1635), it was estimated that it would constitute only 16% of the total forces.<sup>79</sup>

However, it was not until the wars of 1648–1667 that this steady decline of the Lithuanian hussar in favor of lighter cavalry – Cossack and Tatar, who were both easier to recruit and cheaper to arm, became irreversible. It was found that these reforms worked well in operations, both against the Cossacks and the peasant troops supporting them, which were often carried out in difficult conditions. This was commented upon at the beginning of the Chmielnicki Uprising by Field Hetman Janusz Radziwiłł, recognizing that for operations against the rebels: „*levioris armaturae* people are needed, because this rabble in the mud and forests will be sought, in which I would have *nullum usum* of a hussar.”<sup>80</sup>

In 1649, hussars still constituted more than 33% of the cavalry force and over 16% of the army in Lithuania, while at the beginning of the war with Moscow in 1654 – less than 8% of the cavalry force and 3.5% of the total armed forces. As the treasury records show, despite the enlistment of new companies of heavy cavalry over the following years, it never regained its importance, so much so that during the Moscow campaign and the Swedish Deluge (1654–1667) it usually comprised 5% to 7% of the entire army and slightly more than 10% of the cavalry force.<sup>81</sup>

It should be noted that the treasury files allow us to understand better the reforms that Krzysztof II Radziwiłł and Janusz Radziwiłł attempted to introduce in the Lithuanian army. Influenced by the changes that had been taking place in the Crown army since the late 1620s, they systematically tried to strengthen the role of both the infantry and the dragoons. Consequently, by 1649, the so-called „fire people” (*lud ognisty*) constituted 52% of the armed forces (likewise in 1651), but by 1653, this had risen to more than 63%. Due to their versatility, relative cheapness and easy recruitment, dragoons were also favored during the wars with Moscow and Sweden. In 1661, numbers increased to a record 9,000, i.e. about 40% of the entire army, but at the same time, there was a corresponding fall in numbers of the more expensive

<sup>78</sup> GAWRON 2020b, pp. 159–162; compare with earlier estimates: RACHUBA 1994, pp. 400–401; WISNER 1973, pp. 69–75; WISNER 1976, pp. 7–8; WISNER 1978, pp. 88–97.

<sup>79</sup> KUPISZ 2017, pp. 117, 265–266; RACHUBA 2007b, p. 38.

<sup>80</sup> J. Radziwiłł to K.L. Sapicha, from the camp near Puchowicze, 24 IX 1648, in: *Korespondencja* 2020, pp. 47–48.

<sup>81</sup> BOBIATYŃSKI 2020, pp. 109–128; BOBIATYŃSKI 2022c, pp. 7–45; RACHUBA 2007a, pp. 43–60.

German infantry units.<sup>82</sup> Along with the above-mentioned increase in the number of records concerning the fiscal and military commissions during the reign of Jan Kazimierz, there is a corresponding increase in the actual amount and detail of information recorded. For example, in the records of the Lublin commission of 1650, the sources and sum of revenues at the disposal of the commission are described,<sup>83</sup> followed by settlements showing the nature of the units within each formation, as well as any separately, newly recruited units or individuals who had accepted payment from the state.<sup>84</sup> Other expenses related to the army, such as salaries for commissars, the costs of ransoming prisoners, or the receiving of Tatar emissaries, were also listed there.<sup>85</sup> In the files of the Lviv commission from 1659, in the section devoted to revenues, it is possible to find information on the sources of financing the army during a particularly difficult period – taxes passed at the Sejms of 1658 and 1659, along with a list of sums borrowed from private individuals to pay for the Confederate Crown Army.<sup>86</sup> In the section devoted to expenditure, a summary of the amounts transferred to individual units was compiled. There is also information about their numbers for particular quarters of a year. Since the commission did not have adequate sums to even partially satisfy the demands of the army, the files also contain a list of the sums that were used to bribe deputies from the companies. Złoty 50–60 was paid for each cavalry unit of both enlistments. Infantry units and dragoons received various sums, depending on the size of the unit – 100, 60 or 40 zloty each.<sup>87</sup> Part of the debt to the army for the period 1656–1658, along with any outstanding payments for the 1653 campaign near Żwaniec were also settled. These accounts also allow us to reconstruct the compositions of some cavalry regiments, including both regiments commanded by Stanisław Potocki and Jerzy Lubomirski.<sup>88</sup>

The files of the Lviv commission of 1663, however, which was set up to settle the payroll after the dissolution of the military confederation, include much more precise calculations of the money due (along with any relevant deductions) for individual units. When calculating the figures for each unit, payment was usually made

<sup>82</sup> RACHUBA 1994, pp. 400–401; vide also detailed data on particular units: LVIA, SA 3414, 4106.

<sup>83</sup> AGAD, ASK, dpt. 86, ms. 39, pp. 3–6v: *Percepta pieniędzy na komisję*: 4 025 509 zł 29 gr 5 d.

<sup>84</sup> AGAD, ASK, dpt. 86, ms. 39, pp. 5–18: *zapłata wojskom rozgromionym pod Korsuniem*: 650 674 zł 15 gr; pp. 19v–21: *zapłata ludziom lwowskiego i zamojskiego zaciągu* 328 833 zł; pp. 22–34: *zapłata wojskom kwarcianym i suplementowym na sejmie koronacyjnym 1649 uchwalona*; pp. 34v–36v: 1 783 607 zł 15 gr; *ludziom różnym, co pod Kamieńcem, Zbarażem i Zborowem byli* 131 113 zł; pp. 37–43v: *placa pocztom panięcym, które były pod Zbarażem lub z królem* 586 773 zł; pp. 51–54v: *zapłata regimentom rajtarskim, pieszym i dragońskim w Warszawie 2 V 1650 r.* – 942 708 zł 20 gr.

<sup>85</sup> AGAD, ASK, dpt. 86, ms. 39, pp. 44–45v: *na donatywy pewne (w tym wykup hetmana polnego koronnego M. Kalinowskiego i place dla komisarzy)* 230 680 zł; pp. 46–47v: *upominki tatarskie i inne wydatki, w sumie* 4 477 422 zł 4 gr.

<sup>86</sup> AGAD, ASK, dpt. 86, ms. 48, pp. 4–16.

<sup>87</sup> AGAD, ASK, dpt. 86, ms. 48, pp. 19–28.

<sup>88</sup> AGAD, ASK, dpt. 86, ms. 48, pp. 74–77.

for the number of horses; various deductions were then made to account for any costs incurred, for example, compensation for damage done to billets, etc. Some of these amounts were paid directly in commodities (*fanty*) or sent in the form of assignats to mints or individual lands or voivodeships. Pay was calculated separately, usually at the basic rate, but a higher rate was available for the two additional installments, along with a further one from revenue raised from the *fordon* tax and the so-called *fant* million. For example, a Cossack company received 9 zl, 26 gr per horse, 13 zl, 16 gr per horse for two additional installments, and 12 zl per horse from the *fordon* money and 50 zl, 8 gr from the *fant* million, these amounts having been calculated on the market price for silk cloth and baize. It is worth adding that the *fant* sum was calculated for only some of the horses listed in the company.<sup>89</sup> The accounts for the commission of 1667 include only the expenses for individual units, along with a list of their numbers for the period of 1663–1667 and a list of deductions from the pay due to them. This is supplemented by records of settlements, with most of them carried out at the Radom Tribunal in 1671. Apart from this information, there are also comments about the service of some units in Ukraine, together with the Cossack Hetman Jerzy Chmielnicki from the period of the confederation of the Crown army for 1661–1663.<sup>90</sup>

Extensive files from the commissions of the Jan Kazimierz era are also a good source, not only when wanting to understand more about the mechanisms and costs of the army, but also when appreciating its functioning in society (numerous comments about deductions from pay „for wine” taken near Zawichost or Solec (for example) or „bread taken” (*przebrany chleb*)<sup>91</sup>). We can also find compensations calculated for individual persons or groups (e.g. monastic communities) there. Sums are also given in the form of assignats, which were paid to various lands and provinces. These were used to calculate the financial costs for certain regions of the Crown.

The files of the commission are also a great source for prosopographic research. This focuses primarily upon military men, but individuals connected in various ways with the work of the commission – for example, collectors elected by individual regional assemblies, or others who lent funds from their own pocket to subsidize the army are also included. Thanks to these records, we can – by verifying the parliamentary *lauda* with the commission’s files – be fairly confident in our knowledge

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<sup>89</sup> For example, the Cossack company of Sebastian Machowski, with 253 horses according to the final list (AGAD, ASK, dpt. 86, ms. 54, p. 254) settled pay at 9 zl, 26 gr for a total of 1,809 horses, the last two installments at 13 zl, 16 gr also for 1,809 horses, and out of the *fant* million it was paid 50 zl, 8 gr for just 100 horses. At the same time, a mere 85 horses were paid for from the *fordon* tax at the rate of 12 zl per horse (*ibidem*, k. 211).

<sup>90</sup> AGAD, ASK, dpt. 86, ms. 57.

<sup>91</sup> For example, for the total amount of wine taken 360 and 400 zl was deducted from the Cossack companies of Fr. Konstanty Wiśniowiecki (AGAD, ASK, dpt. 86, ms. 54, p. 14) and Franciszek Myszkowski respectively (*ibidem*, p. 28), while the Cossack company of Hieronim Lanckoroński was required to pay 700 zl for bread taken in the region of Wiślica.

of the implementation of the resolutions enacted by land dietines and the actual involvement of selected collectors in the treasury's work (an example being the sub-voivode of Krakow, Filip Kuczowski).

Artillery records are another important elements of the treasury's accounts. They show expenses for the maintenance of cannoneers and their assistants. Using the files, it is possible to (partially) reconstruct a list of people employed to operate the guns; it is also possible to tell something about their ethnicity. Many of the notes are concerned with the repair of damaged artillery equipment and its transport to the camp or castles. The treasury also purchased various items, including the raw materials needed to keep the cannons operational: metal, wood, ropes, etc. It also paid for the employment of the craftsmen necessary to conduct any repairs: blacksmiths, smelters and carpenters. The accounts of the cannon master from the late 1630s and 1640s are more detailed, and have been comprehensively analyzed and described by Tadeusz Marian Nowak.

Unfortunately, little source material of this kind for the Lithuanian artillery in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century has survived. We do know, however, that artillery was extremely underfunded and underinvested at the time. Between 1650–1652, the great Treasurer Gedeon M. Tryzna spent only about 4% of his „budget” on the maintenance of artillery<sup>92</sup>. Proportionally, very similar expenditures were incurred on artillery between 1662–1663 by the Lithuanian *thesaurarius* (*skarbný*) Gabriel Kimbar, who at that time held the position of administrator of the treasury.<sup>93</sup>

The treasury accounts allow to also build a more detailed picture of the command structure of the Polish-Lithuanian army. The Crown Treasury paid the salaries of the hetmans: both grand and field ones, *strażnik koronny* (a guard), *obożny* (wagonmaster) and a camp notary. However, whenever military operations were taking place in several different theaters simultaneously, it is also possible to encounter instances when additional guards and camp wardens were appointed. The staff of the Livonian army commanded by Jan Karol Chodkiewicz included the commander of a flotilla of vessels called *baty*, as well as a military judge. It is important to point out that in the Crown army the rank of infantry captain was only introduced as late as the second half of the 1620s, while that of Master of the Ordnance was introduced from 1637, (the latter was also called the general of the Crown artillery in the 1640s). Crown accounts suggest that there was some attempt to appoint an official or officials charged with provisioning the army during a campaign. These were usually called the provisions ‘magisters’ or provisions masters, who first appeared in the Livonian army in 1605.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>92</sup> NGAB, fond 1737, op. 1, ms. 24, pp. 314–315.

<sup>93</sup> LVIA, SA 3414, pp. 463v–468.

<sup>94</sup> GAWRON 2017b, pp. 156–158; AGAD, ASK II, ms. 34, pp. 124v–125; *ibidem*, ms. 35, p. 145; B. Czart., ms. 1772, p. 537; CDIAUL, fond 9, op. 1, ms. 381, p. 1686; *ibidem*, ms. 386, p. 271.

Unfortunately, treasury accounts devoted much less space to the command structure of specific units, but it seems reasonable to suggest that these were far less developed than in the imperial, Bavarian or Swedish armies, both as regards the infantry and the cavalry.<sup>95</sup> In the case of hussars and Cossack cavalry, the command was held by cavalry captains (*rotmistrzowie*) and – failing that – lieutenants; it is far rarer to encounter warrant officers (*chorąży*). The headquarters of the Polish-Hungarian infantry corps were constructed in a similar way – this is probably best illustrated for all formations in the accounts of the Sejm, which even included payments for decurions (*dziesiątnicy*).

Regiments of reiters, foreign infantry and dragoons were commanded by obersts (*oberszterowie*) and oberst-lieutenants (*obersztlejtanci*), but there are also references to majors. Captains commanded cavalry units (*kornety*) and infantry companies, but in their absence this responsibility fell on the shoulders of lieutenants. From the few surviving muster lists, it is clear, however, that the officer corps of reiters and foot companies was a little more developed,<sup>96</sup> although this was still smaller – especially in the case of reiters – to analogous units in the imperial or Swedish service.

The treasury accounts give detailed information regarding the officer corps, allowing us to reconstruct – at least partially – its members, primarily at the level of colonels, cavalry captains and, to a much lesser extent, lieutenants. As a result, it is possible to study the social and ethnic background, as well as the level of professionalization in the officer corps. Of course, a certain amount of caution is required because some commanders, especially in the case of hussar companies, were content with the rank of titular cavalry captains, and, consequently, entrusted the command of their units to lieutenants. This situation is well illustrated in the case of the Ruthenian Voivode (from 1638, Krakow Voivode) Stanisław Lubomirski or the Deputy Chancellor (Crown Chancellor from 1635) Tomasz Zamoyski, whose units remained in the camp of *wojsko kwarciane*, although they themselves were not listed there for several years.<sup>97</sup> It is also easier to conduct research on Old Polish biographies, axiology and the personal patterns of behavior among the gentry, as well as the methods and reception to Western European approaches to warfare through an analysis of the composition of the officer corps.

This is especially so when looking at the level of officers' financial involvement in the maintenance of their subordinate units. There is no doubt that keeping an army in camp or castle would not have been possible without relying on the private income of individual officers, especially hetmans. Study of the settlement of military expenses made by Jan Karol Chodkiewicz for 1604–1608. The Starost of Samogitia, who from 1605 held the position of the Grand Hetman of Lithuania, reveals that

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<sup>95</sup> For the command structure of troops in Western Europe vide: MAROŃ 2008, pp. 61–64; TEKIE-LA 2010, pp. 25–35; BAGI 2018, pp. 3–15.

<sup>96</sup> RNB, fond 958, op. 1, F. IV 90, pp. 229 v–240 v.

<sup>97</sup> GAWRON 2013, pp. 108–109, 113–114.

he paid from his own funds for the costs of communication both with the garrisons of the Livonian castles and with the hinterland; the latter comprised the king, Frederick, Duke of Courland, and several Lithuanian dignitaries. He also provided specific sums for the army, as well as individual soldiers, including advanced payments and awards for particularly meritorious acts. Additionally, he funded the purchase and repair of weapons and equipment, especially artillery, bought food for the garrisons of castles and the field army, financed spies and gave financial support to prisoners and deserters from the Swedish army.<sup>98</sup> Similar issues have been thoroughly examined in the case of Lithuanian commanders from the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, whether from the period of the Swedish Deluge or the Moscow Deluge (Grand Hetman Paweł Jan Sapięha and the regimental commander of the right flank division Aleksander Hilary Połubiński<sup>99</sup>), or the later war with Turkey (Field Hetman Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł<sup>100</sup>). It should be added that such behavior did not differ from standards adopted elsewhere in Europe at the time, according to which the commander was obliged to finance military expenses from his own pocket, counting on a reward in the form of various royal endowments at some time in the future.<sup>101</sup> A similar situation is illustrated by cavalry captains, as exemplified by the activity of Tomasz Zamojski while serving as cavalry captain of a hussar company.<sup>102</sup>

Furthermore, treasury accounts are a real mine of information in relation to the logistics of the Polish-Lithuanian army, especially in the field of provisioning. Admittedly, not all documents are as detailed as the bill drawn up at the Sejm of 1606 (AGAD, ASK II, manuscript 37), which meticulously calculated the amount and types of food: rye, barley, lard, butter, etc., delivered to the Livonian castles and the cavalry companies located in camp, but, nevertheless, all of them contain information on those individuals responsible for the purchase and delivery of food products, amounts spent for this purpose and transport costs. Some of the entries were devoted to the purchase of weapons, mainly muskets, for soldiers recruited abroad. Gunpowder, bullets, lead, sulfur and saltpeter were purchased and transported to camp, especially during the Livonian Wars of 1601–1611, the River Vistula Estuary War and the Smolensk War of 1633–1634. According to the prevailing custom, the Treasury paid for *barwa*, i.e. the cloth for the attire of the Polish-Hungarian infantry. Many notes refer to the costs of hiring the means of transport – mainly carts – used to carry food and military equipment; the expenditure for carters appears in almost every bill. It is also possible to find expenses for peasants who were

<sup>98</sup> GAWRON 2020a.

<sup>99</sup> MAJEWSKI 2020a, pp. 567–587; MAJEWSKI 2020b, pp. 194–208.

<sup>100</sup> BOBIATYŃSKI 2019, pp. 41–59; BOBIATYŃSKI 2022d, pp. 199–223.

<sup>101</sup> CHAGNIOT 2001, p. 46, for slightly different solutions adopted in the United Provinces of the Netherlands and the role of the *soliciteur-militair* in financing the army vide NIMWEGEN, PRUD' HOMME VAN REINE 2019, pp. 370–372.

<sup>102</sup> GAWRON 2011, pp. 341–360.

employed in the construction of dykes or as carriers. References to doctors, barbers, architects or even executioners are less frequent, however. Nevertheless, one has the impression that the efforts of the treasury were rather haphazard, and far from routine, especially if we compare them with the efforts of the Dutch or Spanish in the Netherlands or the imperial army in Upper Lusatia.<sup>103</sup> Clearly, much depended on the commander of the expedition, his organizational skills, influence at the court and experience. Hence, there was a greater effort by the Treasury in the field of logistics during Zamoyski's Livonian expedition than during the Prussian war or the relief of Smolensk in 1633.

The data from the treasury accounts can also be used for research on the financing of the army during the Vasa dynasty. Although the issue of military expenditure in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and its relation to the total revenue and expenditure of both treasuries: the Crown's and the Lithuanian, has been discussed exhaustively in publications by Anna Filipczak-Kocur, there still remain some detailed problems that require further research. The material for this exists in the accounts of the Sejm and the settlements of the tax and military commissions. One of the problems is that of the issue of creditors lending the state the money necessary for the maintenance or repayment of debts to the army, including that due to Crown hetmans and cavalry captains. Information on the amount of loans and their repayment appear in treasury accounts for 1601–1603, 1630, and 1659. The data obtained in this way is worth comparing with the results of research conducted by researchers of the finances of 17<sup>th</sup>-century France, the United Provinces of the Netherlands or the Habsburg monarchies.<sup>104</sup>

Lithuanian military and treasury files, in turn, allow for a comprehensive assessment of the role of military expenditure in the structure of the Lithuanian treasury during the reign of Jan Kazimierz. Such research was commenced by Antanas Tyla, but has lately been added to. In the period prior to 1655, almost all the funds that were raised by the Treasury were spent on the military. In 1649, they constituted 89% of the „budget”, while between 1650–1652 this fell to 88.8%; from 1650, however, after adding the costs of repayments taken for the same purposes, this rose to as much as 96.8%. A record sum equal of more than 97% was spent on the army in 1653.<sup>105</sup>

This trend continued into the 1660s. Between 1662–1663, about 75–80% of the funds were either transferred for outstanding payments for the army or for gratuities to officers and soldiers during the period of the military confederation. Another 10% was allocated for the repayment of debts to the creditors, while a smaller percent

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<sup>103</sup> NIMWEGEN 2010, pp. 123–132; PARKER 1972, pp. 161–166; TEKIELA 2010, pp. 202–224; the logistics of the Swedish army, however, followed principles similar to those adopted by Polish-Lithuanian forces, FREDHOLM VON ESSEN 2020, vol. 1, pp. 148–151, vol. 2, pp. 174–176, excluding, of course, the production and transport of weapons, especially artillery.

<sup>104</sup> Vide: DESSERT 1984; BAYARD 1988; DRELICHMAN, VOTH 2014; 'T HART 1992; RAUSCHER 2019, pp. 193–212; RAUSCHER 2008, pp. 234–258; TRACY 1985.

<sup>105</sup> TYLA 2010, pp. 73–74, 122–123, 140.

was set aside for the maintenance of artillery, state fortresses and the purchase of war materials.<sup>106</sup> Amounts for 1665–1667 were similar.<sup>107</sup>

Of course, despite this contribution to military expenditure in the state budget, Lithuania was unable to cover the enormous costs of military operations against the Cossacks, Moscow-led forces or the Swedes. There was a chronic lack of funds to maintain such important state functions as diplomacy, tax administration and the postal service. The analyzes show how archaic the fiscal system of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had become by the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and how far it had become unsuited to the requirements faced by the state, especially in the prolonged conflicts of 1648–1667.

An equally intriguing issue is the matter of the cost of financial services for the army, or – in other words – discovering what part of the money from the collected taxes was used for the remuneration of tax officials, sending money from the treasury either to the camp or the location where a commission was being held, and what part actually went into the pockets of the actual soldiers. This issue is specifically related to the question of the methods employed when paying the soldiers any payment due: to what extent did these payments involve tax officials, and to what extent were they carried out at a local level, relying on the relationship between tax collectors and soldiers, and thus bypassing the intermediary of the treasury and his officials.<sup>108</sup> The analysis of treasury accounts in this aspect raises another question about the degree of decentralization of the fiscal and military apparatus in the Commonwealth of Vasa dynasty, the answer to which is partly found in the treasury documentation.

*Transl. Urszula Ruzik-Kulińska*

## WYKAZ CYTOWANYCH ŹRÓDEŁ I LITERATURY PRZEDMIOTU

### ŹRÓDŁA RĘKOPIŚMIENNE I MATERIAŁY NIEPUBLIKOWANE

AGAD [= Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie]

ASK [= Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego] departament II, ms. 34, 35, 40, 41; departament 86, ms. 39, 42, 48, 50, 54, 57

AZ [= Archiwum Zamoyskich] 409, 3116

B. Czart. [= Biblioteka Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie], ms 1772

B. Ossol. [= Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu], ms. 9532/II

BJ [= Biblioteka Jagiellońska w Krakowie], ms 166

BUWr [= Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego], ms Akc. 1949/439

<sup>106</sup> BOBIATYŃSKI 2022a.

<sup>107</sup> TYLA 2010, pp. 301–302.

<sup>108</sup> Vide the stimulating deliberations on this issue for France in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century by COLLINS 1988, pp. 9–12.

- CDIAUL [= Central'nyj derżawnyj istorycznyj archiw Ukrainy, m. L'wiv], fond 9, op. 1, ms. 381, 386, 812
- LVIA [= Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas], SA [= Senieji aktai], ms. 3414, 4106, 4107, 4111
- NBU [= Nacional'na biblioteka Ukrainy im. W.I. Wernads'koho], fond 1, ms. 5953
- NGAB [= Nacyjanal'ny Gistoryczny Archiw Bielarusi, Minsk], fond 1737, op. 1, ms. 24
- RNB [= Rossijskaja Nacional'naja Biblioteka, Sankt-Peterburg], fond 958, op. 1, F. IV 90; fond 971, op. 2, d. 321/2, ms. 2, 86

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### Summary

The article deals with the usefulness of military treasury records for military historians of the Vasa era (1587–1668). After a brief discussion of the current state of research, the authors characterise the state of the source base, which comprises manuscripts stored in numerous archives and libraries in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe as well as Scandinavia (for example, in Warsaw, Kraków, Wrocław, Vilnius, Minsk, Kyiv, Lviv, Vienna, Stockholm). The authors demonstrate the tremendous usefulness of the presented sources in the study of issues like the financing, size and organisation of the Polish-Lithuanian army, the composition and degree of professionalisation of the officer corps, discipline, and the influence of Western European art of war on Poland-Lithuania's army. At the same time it should be pointed out that military treasury sources require critical analysis and confrontation with other types of sources, especially narrative sources and correspondence.