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**JACEK (HIACYNT) BORATYŃSKI – ŻYDACZÓW  
CUPBEARER AND LIEUTENANT OF THE HUSSARS  
DURING THE POLISH-OTTOMAN WARS IN THE 2ND HALF  
OF THE 17TH CENTURY. STUDY OF THE PROFESSION OF  
THE SOLDIER**

Military biography studies devoted to middle and lower-rank officers active in the second half of the seventeenth century has recently proved of great interest and there are more and more extensive monographs, dictionary entries and biographical articles on particular circles of the command staff in the Crown Army. The status of works in this field has recently been discussed in an article on the course of military service in the years 1656-1706 of the Voivode of Podolia Nikodem Żaboklicki<sup>1</sup>. This relieves me of listing earlier accomplishments of Polish historiography in the field of military biographies and prosopography of the latter half of the 17th c. The following observations will be therefore part and parcel of the genre of biographical articles discussing the course of military service of lieutenants of the hussars. Worth mentioning among such texts are those that have introduced the histories of commanders of lancer cavalry such as Aleksander Polanowski, Zygmunt Zbierchowski, the aforementioned Nikodem Żaboklicki, and Władysław Wilczkowski<sup>2</sup>. However, these were officers well-known in the society of the time; thanks to their many years of military service, they enjoyed a clear social, clerical and material advancement, not to mention their military careers. The case of Jacek Boratyński is completely different in that he is familiar only to specialists in the old Polish military of the reign of John III Sobieski. Boratyński did not record staggering successes that would allow him to be more widely remembered by history, but as a typical representative of his professional group he exhibited true professionalism, which earned him the trust of two consecutive patrons of the hussar banner (company) which he commanded. Undoubtedly this makes it worthwhile to shed light on this commander, given the extant relevant historical records, especially that his biography is discussed only

<sup>1</sup> Z. Hundert, J.J. Sowa, "Od towarzysza jazdy do wojewody podolskiego. Przebieg służby wojskowej Nikodema Żaboklickiego w latach 1656-1706", *Res Historica*, 42/2016, pp. 127-181.

<sup>2</sup> Z. Hundert, "Władysław Wilczkowski, porucznik husarski i pułkownik królewski", in: *Na z góry upatrzonych pozycjach*, ed. B. Międzybrodzki et al., Warszawa-Zabrze 2011, pp. 165-173; idem, "Aleksander Polanowski – porucznik husarski oraz pułkownik Jego Królewskiej Miłości", *Studia z Dziejów Wojskowości*, 2/2013, pp. 41-70; M. Wagner, "Zapomniany bohater bitwy wiedeńskiej. Zygmunt Zbierchowski (około 1635–1691) – porucznik husarski", in: *Do szarży marsz, marsz... Studia z dziejów kawalerii*, ed. A. Smoliński, vol. 4, Toruń 2013, pp. 63-86.

in a dictionary entry written by Marek Wagner, and to some extent in a work on the Crown Winged Hussars from the time of the Polish-Turkish War of 1672-1676<sup>3</sup>. However, according to the current state of knowledge, the existing findings on Boratyński clearly require additions and sometimes verification, which is precisely the purpose of this article.

Jacek Boratyński of the Topór coat of arms, appearing in historical records also in the Latin version of the given name of Hiacynt, or Hiacinthus, was a scion of a family with the name of *Boratynia* from the Przemyśl area of the Ruthenian Voivodeship. He was a son of Samuel and grandson of Jan Mikołaj, who as early as 1607 earned the title of the Starost of Lipnica, i.e. had a tenancy in Dobrzyń Land<sup>4</sup>. Jan Mikołaj, who died prior to 1627<sup>5</sup>, may have been a role model for Jacek, as during the Chocim campaign of 1621 he commanded a cavalry regiment of ca. 1,000 horses. Boratyński's cavalry consisted of four hussar banners and three Cossack ones, including a 150-horse colonel's hussar company (*rota*)<sup>6</sup>. Thus Jacek could relate to the officers' and hussar traditions of his family harking back to the military service of his grandfather Jan Mikołaj. At present we do not know when the future Cupbearer of Żydaczów was born, who his mother was and whether he had siblings. As to the first question, if we assume that he began military service in the 1660s, as implied by the mobilisation registers of one company (more on this below), he was most likely born in the 1640s. We can add that he did not come from a family which played a major role in the Ruthenian Voivodeship in the 17th c., as Jacek was the first representative of the Boratyński family of Topór coat of arms holding an estate office in Red Ruthenia during the "silver era"<sup>7</sup>.

It is hard to pin down the onset of Boratyński's military service. The first assignment of the future Cupbearer of Żydaczów may have been the hussar company of Master of the Horse Aleksander Michał Lubomirski. Boratyński's name in a three-horse escort to the colour appears in the lists of this company in the quarter of service starting on 1 August 1666. The extant registers of Lubomirski's *rota* (Lubomirski was as of 1668 Voivode of Krakow), commanded by Starost of Wisznia and Zwinogród Władysław Wilczkowski and structurally part of the royal regiment of John Casimir<sup>8</sup>, include the name of Boratyński as heading

<sup>3</sup> M. Wagner, *Słownik biograficzny oficerów polskich drugiej połowy XVII wieku*, vol. 1, Oświęcim 2013, p. 30, entry: *Boratyński Jacek*; Z. Hundert, *Husaria koronna w wojnie polsko-tureckiej 1672-1676*, 2nd ed., Oświęcim 2014, pp. 216, 250-251 ff; see idem, "Chorągiew husarska Jana Sobieskiego w latach 1673-1676. Aspekty organizacyjne, społeczne i finansowe", in: *Spes in virtute, salus in victoria: Materiały z „IX Ogólnopolskiej Konferencji Studentów Historyków Wojskowości”, Lublin 8-10 grudnia 2011*, ed. A. Gładysz et al., Lublin-Zabrze 2013, p. 131.

<sup>4</sup> A. Boniecki, *Herbarz Polski*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1900, p. 21; M. Wagner, *Słownik biograficzny...*, p. 30, entry: *Boratyński Jacek*.

<sup>5</sup> A. Boniecki, op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>6</sup> "Komput chocimski 1621 z rękopisu Biblioteki Narodowej", ed. Z. Hundert, K. Żojdź, in: *Studia nad staropolską sztuką wojenną*, vol. 2, ed. Z. Hundert, Oświęcim 2013, p. 250.

<sup>7</sup> See *Urzednicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XII-XVIII wieku*, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, vol. 3, no. 1: *Urzednicy województwa ruskiego XIV-XVIII wieku* (hereinafter: *Urzednicy województwa ruskiego*), ed. K. Przyboś, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk-Lódź 1987, p. 311 (index).

<sup>8</sup> Assignment of Lubomirski's company to the royal regiment in the years 1663-1667 is borne out by Sejm accounts from the years 1668 and 1672, setting the accounts of treasury tribunals from 1667 and 1671 with the army; see Sejm accounts from 1668 and 1672, Main Archives of Old Documents in Warsaw (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, hereinafter: AGAD), Crown Treasury Archives (Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego, hereinafter: ASK), section II, file no. 61, chart 82, 85v and file no. 62, chart 40v. W. Wilczkowski was the commander of this company as of ca. 1653 (then the company belonged to Voivode of Sandomierz, then of Krakow Władysław Myszkowski). On new insights on Wilczkowski related to the edition of his last will and testament of 1683 see J.J. Sowa, "Dysponuję krwawą pracą moją". Testamenty oficerów wojska koronnego z ksiąg grodzkich lwowskich z lat 80.

the three-horse escort to the colour until the end of the second quarter of 1667 (July 31)<sup>9</sup>. The following extant register of this unit dates back to May 1673 and no longer contains Boratyński's name<sup>10</sup>, unlike the register of escorts to the colour of the hussar company of Grand Marshal and Grand Hetman of the Crown Jan Sobieski. As proven by historiography, in this case we can be certain that the Boratyński in the 1673 list of the Hetman's winged hussars is the future lieutenant and Cupbearer of Żydaczów<sup>11</sup>. We do not know when exactly Boratyński enlisted in the company of Hetman Sobieski. We do know, however, that during the auction of the army for the extension of units to wartime capacity in May 1673, Boratyński was mentioned in the hetman's company among the old cadre<sup>12</sup>, so he must have enlisted prior 1673, no earlier however than in 1668. A previous list of Sobieski's banners we know comes precisely from the first quarter of 1668 and does not contain Boratyński's name<sup>13</sup>. It is highly likely that after 1668 the future Cupbearer of Żydaczów transferred from Lubomirski's company to the hussar company of the Grand Hetman, which can be indirectly linked to the fact that before 1671 the hussars of the Voivode of Krakow were part of Sobieski's regiment<sup>14</sup>, commanded by the lieutenant of the hetman's *rota*, Standard Bearer of Sanok Aleksander Polanowski. That Lubomirski's companies belonged to the same regiment as Sobieski's one may have been a natural bridge to Boratyński's change of the unit. We can therefore assume that our hero actually served in the unit of the Master of the Horse as of 1 August 1666. There is no way of knowing, however, whether this marked the onset of his service or its successive stage – another unit where he honed his military expertise.

Boratyński was a companion of Sobieski's banner until 1676, when he was appointed an officer. On June 18, an agreement was drawn up, so-called capitulation, pursuant to which Voivode of Chełmno Jan Gniński appointed Boratyński lieutenant of his hussar company. Gniński wrote: *By the grace of His Majesty the King, having received a command to prepare a company of hussars of one hundred and twenty horses, I hve appointed as lieutenant Honourable Jacek Boratyński, commander of the hussar company of His Majesty the King*<sup>15</sup>. The above provision is main proof that the Boratyński, previously serving in

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XVII wieku”, *Biblioteka Epoki Nowożytnej*, 5/2017: *Hortus bellicus. Studia z dziejów wojskowości nowożytnej*, ed. K. Bobiatyński et al., pp. 583-606.

<sup>9</sup> See mobilisation registers of Master of the Horse A.M. Lubomirski's company of hussars during service third quarter 1663 – second quarter 1667, AGAD, Treasury and Military Files (Akta Skarbowo-Wojskowe, hereinafter: ASW), division 85, file no. 96, chart 31-41; see also E. Janas, L. Wasilewski, “Społeczne aspekty rozwoju husarii w latach 1648–1667 na przykładzie chorągwi hetmana wielkiego koronnego Stanisława Potockiego i wojewody sandomierskiego Władysława Myszkowskiego”, *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*, 23/1981, pp. 65-112.

<sup>10</sup> Mobilisation registers of Voivode of Krakow A.M. Lubomirski's company of hussars in the second quarter of 1673, AGAD, ASW, division 82, file no. 16, pp. 39-40.

<sup>11</sup> Z. Hundert, *Husaria koronna...*, pp. 179, 198, 216; idem, *Chorągiew husarska...*, pp. 121, 131; see M. Wagner, *Słownik biograficzny...*, p. 30, entry: *Boratyński Jacek*.

<sup>12</sup> Register of J. Sobieski's company of hussars in the second quarter of 1673, AGAD, ASW, division 85, file no. 104, chart 142-143.

<sup>13</sup> Register of J. Sobieski's company of hussars in the first quarter of 1668, AGAD, ASK, division III, file no. 5, chart 1154.

<sup>14</sup> Z. Hundert, *Husaria koronna...*, pp. 268-269; idem, *Między buławą a tronem. Wojsko koronne w walce stronnictwa malkontentów z ugrupowaniem dworskim w latach 1669–1673*, Oświęcim 2014, pp. 165, 317.

<sup>15</sup> Capitulation of Voivode of Chełmno J. Gniński with Jacek Boratyński (with the latter's signature), Jaworów, 18 June 1676, AGAD, Zamoyski Archives (Archiwum Zamoyskich, hereinafter: AZ), file no. 3112, p. 451 (former pagination: chart 288).

Hetman Sobieski's company of hussars, is Jacek, a future lieutenant and Cupbearer of Żydaczów. Boratyński served as head of the escort of the colour in the hetman's company, after 21 May 1674 a royal company (after the election of John III), permanently as of the second quarter of 1673 until the second quarter of 1676<sup>16</sup>. He most likely participated in all the military activities involving Sobieski's company of hussars, such as e.g. the battle of Chocim of 10-11 November 1673, the Braclaw (Bratslav) campaign of 1674-1675, the battle of Niemirów of 28 January 1675, and the battle of Lviv/Lesienice of 24 August 1675.<sup>17</sup> The moment Boratyński was appointed lieutenant in another company of hussars, i.e. in the second quarter of 1676, he held a relatively high position in the company hierarchy, i.e. ranked 19th among the 56 companions<sup>18</sup>. Despite his appointment as lieutenant on June 18, the name Boratyński could be found still at the head of the two-horse escort to the colour in the royal company of John III in the following quarter of service, between August 1 and October 31. This shows that during the 1676 campaign, Boratyński, as a lieutenant of another unit, left his escort to the colour in the royal *rota* for the sake of the war, which ended with a truce concluded with the High Porte at Żurawno on October 17<sup>19</sup>.

In 1676 Boratyński became a lieutenant in one of the seven newly-appointed companies of the hussars which were to enter the royal service in the capacity of lancer cavalry on May 1 (six were converted from armoured cavalry companies and the seventh one was being developed from scratch). The establishment of so many units, increasing the number of royal companies of the hussars by 50% (from 14 to 21 units), was meant to decisively increase the company capacity of the army of the Republic on the cusp of the war campaign, which was believed to be decisive<sup>20</sup>. New people were sought to form new hussars' units and e.g. Jan Gniński, closely connected to John III, volunteered to do so<sup>21</sup>. He first assumed the banner of armoured cavalry of Castellan of Kiev Mariusz Jaskólski and then started the process of its re-arming to be a company of hussars<sup>22</sup>. While we have no direct proof, it is highly likely that the king recommended a companion of his banner as a lieutenant in the newly formed lance-bearing cavalry to the Voivode of Chełmno. This is implied by the place of concluding the capitulation between Gniński and Boratyński in Jaworów, one of John III's principal

<sup>16</sup> Register of J. Sobieski's company of hussars between the second quarter of 1673 – first quarter of 1674 and between the first quarter of 1674 – fourth quarter of 1676, AGAD, ASW, division 85, file no. 104, chart 142-147 and file no. 108, chart 78v-90. All the registers have come out in print: Z. Hundert, *Husaria koronna...*, pp. 435-440 (annex 3).

<sup>17</sup> Z. Hundert, *Husaria koronna...*, passim. More on the warfare between 1673 and 1676 see M. Wagner, *Wojna polsko-turecka w latach 1672–1676*, vol. 1-2, Zabrze 2009.

<sup>18</sup> Register of J. Sobieski's company of hussars in the second quarter of 1676, AGAD, ASW, division 85, file no. 108, chart 87v-88. This was a gradual promotion, as three years previously, in the second quarter of 1673, he ranked 25th out of the 40 companions of the old cadre (ibidem, file no. 104, chart 142-143).

<sup>19</sup> Z. Hundert, *Husaria koronna...*, p. 260; idem, *Chorągiew husarska...*, p. 121. More on the truce of Żurawno see M. Wagner, *Wojna polsko-turecka...*, vol. 2, pp. 281-287.

<sup>20</sup> Z. Hundert, *Husaria koronna...*, p. 116-128; see J. Wimmer, *Wojsko polskie w drugiej połowie XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1965, pp. 190-192.

<sup>21</sup> A. Przyboś, *Gniński Jan*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 8, 1959, pp. 149-151. Like Sobieski, Gniński learned great politics from King John Casimir and Marie Louise. He was commonly said to belong to so-called new people, whose alliance with the courts of successive monarchs benefited the financial standing of their families. Gniński was also the first representative of the family to be elected senator; see S. Ciara, *Senatorowie i dygnitarze koronni w drugiej połowie XVII wieku*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1990, passim.

<sup>22</sup> Z. Hundert, *Husaria koronna...*, p. 122. Gniński came to possess the company most likely through his family connections, as he was related to the Jaskólskis through his wife, Dorota née Jaskólska.

residences<sup>23</sup>. This was not the first time when a companion from Sobieski's company became a lieutenant in a military unit of the political allies of King John III, elected in 1674. When before 1669 a friend and one of the major aides of the then hetman and marshal, Field Scribe of the Crown Jakub Potocki (d. 1671) prepared his banner of the hussars, its lieutenant was a companion of the hetman's *rota* Stanisław Jan Achingier<sup>24</sup>. In fact Sobieski's company of hussars since it was taken over by the future king in 1667 became a training ground for future commanders, Boratyński being one of the many similar cases<sup>25</sup>.

Becoming a lieutenant of the hussars in Gniński's company on 18 June 1676, under his contract Boratyński was tasked with the organisation of the unit. He received consent to cash an assignat for pay for the soldiers and for the distribution of the money among the companions. He moreover received from Gniński 5,000 zlotys for the heads for the lances and the patron assured him that he would himself buy the standard, lances and pennants in Lviv, the place where the army had to gather for the 1676 campaign. Gniński conceded to Boratyński the profits from so-called vacant assignments, to maintain music at the standard or to cover unexpected expenses. Boratyński moreover was eligible for a yearly remuneration of 4,000 zlotys. In return: *The Honourable Lieutenant will reciprocate by assuming all due care of the erection and conservation of said banner and will execute it in camps in all places for our common fame, minding all grievances at consistencies and during draft, for the maximum benefit of His Royal Highness and the Republic and the honour of my name.* Moreover, the capitulation obliged the lieutenant to arrive at the army camp with the ready unit by the end of August, no later than on September 10<sup>26</sup>. The formation of new companies of the hussars in 1676 proved next to impossible. None took part in the Żurawno campaign and only two made it to the army camp in Lviv, where the supplementary corps was organised<sup>27</sup>. Gniński's company under Boratyński, although the Voivode of Chełmno himself stayed in Lviv during the military operations in the autumn of 1676, did not reach its collection spot and as a result, like four other companies of the hussars, was not to receive pay for the fourth quarter of 1676.<sup>28</sup> We know, however, that the hussars under Boratyński tried to reach Lviv.

<sup>23</sup> See e.g. J. Woliński, "Warszawa czasów Sobieskiego jako ośrodek dyspozycji politycznej", *Rocznik Warszawski*, 7/1966, p. 115.

<sup>24</sup> Z. Hundert, *Między buławą a tronem...*, pp. 73, 150-151, 175; idem, "'Kopijników, czyli husarzy chorągwie, owo czoło wojska, owa nieodparta w wojnie potęga, powinny być pomnożone' – Hetman Jan Sobieski a husaria koronna w latach 1667–1673", in: *Marszałek i hetman koronny Jan Sobieski i jego czasy (1665–1674)*, ed. D. Milewski, Warszawa 2014, pp. 258, 266.

<sup>25</sup> Boratyński was at least the ninth companion of Sobieski's hussar company to be a commander in the years 1667-1676. He was preceded by: in 1667: Michał Wilmont and Piotr Branicki (both light cavalry captains); ca. 1668/1669 S.J. Achingier (lieutenant of the hussars); in 1673: Marcin Cieński (captain of the armoured unit), Michał Wasilkowski, Krzysztof Chełmski (lieutenants of the armoured unit); in 1674 Michał Wilkoński (lieutenant of the armoured unit); in 1675 Michał Kazimierz Pusłowski (standard bearer of the hussars in the Lithuania supplemental unit); see Z. Hundert, *Między buławą a tronem...*, p. 174-175; idem, "'Kopijników, czyli...'", p. 266; idem, *Husaria koronna...*, 196-198; idem, *Chorągiew husarska...*, pp. 129-132.

<sup>26</sup> Capitulation of Voivode of Chełmno J. Gniński with Jacek Boratyński, Jaworów, 18 June 1676, AGAD, AZ, file no. 3112, p. 451. The contents of the document and a discussion: Z. Hundert, *Husaria koronna...*, pp. 250-253; M. Wagner, *Korpus oficerski wojska polskiego w drugiej połowie XVII wieku*, Oświęcim 2015, pp. 87-88.

<sup>27</sup> On the organisation of the reinforcement corps for John III's army besieged at Żurawno see M. Wagner, *Wojna polsko-turecka...*, vol. 2, pp. 287-294; Z. Hundert, *Husaria koronna...*, pp. 404-408.

<sup>28</sup> Z. Hundert, *Husaria koronna...*, pp. 127, 407-408. Importantly, the captain of one of the seven newly-established companies of the hussars, Deputy Master of the Pantry of Lviv Marcin Zamoyski wrote to his father-in-law J. Gniński at the end of May 1676: "I cannot in any way provide a company of hussars as no one wants to

Gniński himself notified John III in late September that his *rota* had been marching four weeks from Babi Most (Babimost) towards the capital of the Voivodeship of Ruthenia<sup>29</sup>. It did not reach its destination prior to the signing of the truce on October 17 and in this way Boratyński lost his chance to participate in the first wartime campaign as an officer.

After the Turkish War ended, the company of hussars of 120 horses under Boratyński was assigned for the distribution of the wintertime military tax, within the regiment of the Voivode of Ruthenia and Field Crown Hetman Stanisław Jan Jabłonowski<sup>30</sup>. It then sustained the reduction of the army and in the new mobilisation, in force as of 1 May 1677, was among the banners of the regiment of the field hetman of 80 horses<sup>31</sup>. Ever since (we will come back to this later), Boratyński was in fact until the end of the 17th c. an officer of the hetman's cavalry regiment. He was then in the direct zone of impact of the Voivode of Ruthenia and Field Hetman, as of 1683 Grand Hetman. In 1677, apart from reduction of the units, a permanent dislocation of the royal forces was introduced along the still volatile border with the High Porte. Gniński's banner under Boratyński was part of the units of the field hetman (within his cavalry regiment) at Trembowła, Halich land<sup>32</sup>. Boratyński, however, did not head for the assigned place as he took part in the mission of the patron of his *rota*, J. Gniński, to Istanbul. Gniński evidently appreciated his lieutenant and believed his participation in the mission indispensable.

Boratyński took off with a group of companions of the banner he commanded. He was no doubt one of the most trusted companions of the first envoy<sup>33</sup>. As one of few envoys, he took part in the sultan's first audience on 12 September 1677 and in the evening banquet afterwards<sup>34</sup>. In late 1677 Boratyński was to be dispatched by Gniński to deliver his wife and

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grant me money in lien against any of my properties. I would have done at Your Excellency's command and as a favour for His Royal Majesty, yet *Deus testor* I have no way to obtain money and am at a dead end" (*Usarskiej chorągwi żadną miarą wystawić nie mogę, gdyż na żadną majątność nie chcę mi dać ani na zastaw, ani na arendę. Uczyniłbym już to na rozkazanie WMM pana dobro[dzieja] i na przysługę JKM PMM ale Deus testor że żadnego nie mam sposobu zaciągnięcia pieniędzy, cóż tedy mam czynić*; M. Zamoyski to J. Gniński, Lublin, 23 May 1676, AGAD, AZ, file no. 455, p. 136). Although the difficulties were overcome and Zamoyski's *rota*, partly adjusted to the hussar mode, entered the army camp at Lviv still before 29 September 1676 (Z. Hundert, *Husaria koronna...*, pp. 278-279, 404-406).

<sup>29</sup> J. Gniński to John III, Lviv, 29 September 1676, in: "Materiały do dziejów wojny polsko-tureckiej 1672-1676", ed. J. Woliński, *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*, 16/1970, part 2, p. 242; Z. Hundert, *Husaria koronna...*, pp. 404-406.

<sup>30</sup> *Komput wojska polskiego zaciągu koronnego ex senatus consilis ordynowany i dla hiberny podany*, Lwów 24 XI 1676, Biblioteka XX. Czartoryskich w Krakowie (hereinafter: B. Czart.), MS 174, pp. 438-444 and MS 426, pp. 505-520, AGAD, AZ, file no. 3112, p. 456-460 (published: "Materiały do dziejów...", *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*, 16/1970, part 2, pp. 254-259).

<sup>31</sup> See e.g. treasury and accountancy documents for the years 1677-1679, AGAD, ASW, division 86, file no. 65, p. 31-32 ff. Supplemental units of the royal army of 28 April 1677, with the signature of the Grand Hetman of the Crown Dymitr Wiśniowiecki and King John III, *ibidem*, file no. 61 chart 31-33v, 38-40v.

<sup>32</sup> Z. Hundert, "Dyslokacja partii wojska koronnego w 1677 roku. Przyczynek do badań pogranicza polsko-tureckiego oraz organizacji armii w dobie pokoju 1677-1683", *Klio*, 36/2016, no. 1, p. 52.

<sup>33</sup> Incidentally, the second in rank envoy was colonel of the royal army and a lieutenant of the hussars, too (in the *rota* of Voivode of Podlaskie Waclaw Leszczyński), Starost of Chełm, Michał Florian Rzewuski; see M. Nagielski, *Rzewuski Michał Florian*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 34, 1992, pp. 130-133.

<sup>34</sup> *Relacja legacji tureckiej jaśnie wielmożnego Jana Gnińskiego, wojewody chełmińskiego, kowalewskiego, knyszyńskiego, grodeckiego, radzyńskiego starosty, do Mechmed soltana, cesarza konstantynopolskiego z sejmku warszawskiego wyprawionego, w roku pańskim 1677, czyniona na sejmie w Grodnie dnia 8 miesiąca februaru roku pańskiego 1679*, in: *Źródła do poselstwa Jana Gnińskiego, wojewody chełmińskiego do Turcyi w latach 1677-1678*, ed. F. Pułaski, Warszawa 1907 (hereinafter: *Relacja legacji*), p. 38. We can consent with M. Wagner that

son-in-law Marcin Zamoyski (at that time Castellan of Lviv) correspondence and a diary of the events, yet eventually the Turks did not consent to his departure and in mid-December the entourage heading for Poland first was led by a companion of Gniński's company, Wojciech Prusak<sup>35</sup>. The diary of the mission reads as follows: *Honourable Lieutenant himself was to have returned to the homeland to attend an urgent business – together with other noteworthy envoys – yet they were not allowed to go under any circumstances and a register from the vizier [Kara Mustafa – Z.H.] was brought of the persons to stay here and those who were ordered to proceed*<sup>36</sup>. This was partly due to the plague to which some Polish envoys succumbed, including Boratyński's (postal) apprentice by the name of Czerkawski<sup>37</sup>. As a result of the *pestilent air*, in January 1678 the lieutenant of the Voivode of Chełmno was quarantined in Galata<sup>38</sup>.

Incidentally, during the mission Gniński took care of the financial obligations with respect to his lieutenant, who in December 1677 issued a note confirming the receipt of his allowance (*jurgielt*). Boratyński represented in the document that he had received half of his remuneration for 1677, i.e. 2,000 zlotys still in Warsaw, then received 600 zlotys via a plenipotentiary and on October 18 in Istanbul he had got 1,200 zlotys. Gniński paid his lieutenant the remaining 200 zlotys on December 6<sup>39</sup>.

Participation in Gniński's mission was not without influence on the further development of the lieutenant's career, even though the diplomatic mission eventually ended in failure<sup>40</sup>. During the Grodno Sejm, on 8 February 1679, the Voivode of Chełmno twice recommended Boratyński to the king's favour, in an address preceding the reading of an account and in the very report from the mission to Istanbul<sup>41</sup>. John III recognised thanks to Gniński's recommendation the hardships suffered in the capital of the Ottoman Empire by an old companion of his banner and the king granted to Boratyński in late 1679 the office of the Cupbearer of Sanok, having promoted to the Subiudex of Lviv another lieutenant of lance-bearing cavalry (in the *rota* of Starost of Lviv Jan Cetner), Andrzej Kamiński, which occurred on November 15<sup>42</sup>. Thus, after identified thirteen years of military service in the ranks of the hussars, including three years in the rank of an officer, Boratyński received his first estate office. The following year, also thanks to Gniński's recommendation, he received the tenancy of the village of Bystrzyce in Sandomierz Voivodeship (County of Pilzno)<sup>43</sup>.

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Boratyński was at that time commander of the envoy's personal guards; idem, *Słownik biograficzny...*, p. 30, entry: *Boratyński Jacek*.

<sup>35</sup> See J. Gniński to M. Zamoyski, Istanbul, 9, 16, 22 December 1677, in: *Źródła do poselstwa...*, pp. 267, 272-273, 281.

<sup>36</sup> *Relacja legacyi*, p. 61; see J. Gniński to M. Zamoyski, Istanbul, 22 December 1677, in: *Źródła do poselstwa...*, p. 281; see also Z. Hundert, *Husaria koronna...*, p. 261 (about W. Prusak).

<sup>37</sup> *Relacja legacyi*, p. 63.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 64, 108.

<sup>39</sup> Boratyński's note confirming the receipt of the *Jahrgeld*, Istanbul, 6 December 1677, in: *Źródła do poselstwa...*, p. 449; see Z. Hundert, *Husaria koronna...*, p. 253.

<sup>40</sup> On the course and consequences of the mission see e.g. D. Kołodziejczyk, *Podole pod panowaniem tureckim. Ejalet kamieniecki 1672–1699*, Warszawa 1994, pp. 86-96; M. Wagner, *Wojna polsko-turecka...*, p. 2, pp. 305-308.

<sup>41</sup> *Mowa J. Gnińskiego na sejmie grodzieńskim poprzedzająca czytanie relacji*, Grodno, 8 February 1679, in: *Źródła do poselstwa...*, p. 427; *Relacja legacyi*, p. 195.

<sup>42</sup> *Urzędnicy województwa ruskiego*, p. 138, 259. On A. Kamiński see Z. Hundert, *Husaria koronna...*, p. 214.

<sup>43</sup> M. Wagner, *Słownik biograficzny...*, p. 30, entry: *Boratyński Jacek*.

Informal ties with the patron of his unit, undoubtedly strengthened during the mission to Istanbul in 1677-1678, began to yield profit.

The following years of the army's functioning as part of the peace mobilisation, i.e. until the army was enlarged during the Vienna Campaign in May 1683, did not bring Boratyński any major changes. In fact, only two events are worth noting. First, the patron of the Cupbearer of Sanok was promoted first to Voivode of Malbork (late 1680 and early 1681), and then, in March 1681, upon entering the clerical estate (his wife died in 1679), to Crown Vice Chancellor<sup>44</sup>. The other question was the introduction in 1679 of a pay system within repartitions, or the payment of military units by local self-government, circumventing the central treasury. Gniński's hussar company was then assigned to the voivodeships of Royal Prussia, which resulted in Boratyński's and his troops' closer relations with this area<sup>45</sup>.

In 1683, when it was decided that the army will be extended to reach its wartime capacity, the banner of Vice Chancellor was extended to 120 horses<sup>46</sup>. In the repartition system, it was to further belong to the Prussian voivodeships<sup>47</sup>, and took part in the Vienna campaign most probably within the regiment of Grand Hetman S.J. Jabłonowski<sup>48</sup>. Boratyński continued to command the banner, which was stressed by Wespazjan Kochowski, the king's historiographer accompanying the troops, in his text on the mission and the battle at the emperor's capital<sup>49</sup>. During the Battle of Vienna fought on 12 September 1683, Boratyński commanding his company and the hussar units of Starost of Szczurowice Aleksander Cetner and Voivode of Płock Samuel Prażmowski (both from the royal regiment) was assigned to the left wing of the line of the allied troops commanded by Prince Charles of Lorraine<sup>50</sup>. Thus Boratyński, who in the rank of a lieutenant commanded his hussars for the first time in a major battle, was entrusted with a responsible task of supporting the imperial troops and also to demonstrate

<sup>44</sup> S. Ciara, op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>45</sup> *Podział wojska JKM i Rzpiej obojga zaciągów na województwa i ziemie na trybunale skarbowym lwowskim in anno 1679 uczyniony*, B. Czart., MS 426, pp. 173-176; Z. Hundert, "Wykaz koronnych chorągwi i regimentów w okresie od 1 V 1679 do 30 IV 1683. Przyczynę do organizacji wojska koronnego w dobie pokoju 1677-1683", in: *Studia Historyczno-Wojskowe*, vol. 5, ed. M. Nagielski, K. Bobiatyński, P. Gawron, Zabrze-Tarnowskie Góry 2015, pp. 275-276, 278; idem, "Wykaz repartycji jednostek wojska koronnego, zgodnie z podziałem komisji lwowskiej w 1679 roku", *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy*, 58/2016, no. 2-3, p. 31.

<sup>46</sup> *Komput wojsk JKM i Rzpiej polskiego i cudzoziemskiego zaciągu, starego i nowego, podług ordynacji Rzpiej na sejmie anni 1683 uczynionej i postanowionej*, B. Czart., MS 2563, p. 9.

<sup>47</sup> *Podział wojska JKM i Rzpiej koronnego starego i nowego zaciągu ad proportionem podatków na sejmie anni 1683 uchwalonych na województwa i ziemie uczyniony*, Warszawa 10 May 1683, ibidem, MS 2656, p. 138.

<sup>48</sup> The only known document which shows the division of hussar and armoured companies (*chorągiew*) into regiments in 1683 does not include the hussar company of J. Gniński at all, although this one undoubtedly took part in the Viennese campaign. It seems that was a simple omission during the drafting of the act; see *Komput wojska koronnego z aktów komisji dystrybucji hibernowej ex anno 1683 in annum 1684 za szczęśliwym powrotem z wiedeńskich i strygońskich okazji najjaśniejszego króla jmści Jana Trzeciego, za buławwy jmp. wojewody ruskiego Stanisława Jabłonowskiego, HWK, a polnej Mikołaja Steniewskiego, wojewody wołyńskiego, HPK*, B. Czart., MS 2589, pp. 97-102; see J. Wimmer, *Wiedeń 1683. Dzieje kampanii i bitwy*, Warszawa 1983, p. 220.

<sup>49</sup> W. Kochowski, *Commentarius belli adversum Turcas ad Viennam, & in Hungaria, Anno CH: M.DC.LXXXIII. Gestis, ductu & auspicio serenissimi ac potentissimi Ioannis III, Regis Poloniarum, Mag: Duc: Lithuanie, Kraków 1684*, p. 32.

<sup>50</sup> *Relatio a comitiis anni 1683 biennialium gestorum et laborum exercitus tam in horizontibus Viennensibus & Hungaricis, quam Podoliensibus, & Subistrensibus sub clava Stanisłai Jabłonowski, palatini & generalis terrarum Russiae, ducis supremi Regni ad eodem facta*, in: *Epistolarum historico-familiarum*, vol. 1, part 2, ed. A.Ch. Załuski, Brunsbergae (Braniewo) 1710, p. 844; J. Wimmer, *Wiedeń 1683...*, p. 300. See also R. Sikora, *Husaria pod Wiedniem 1683*, Warszawa 2012, pp. 143, 226, 242-243.

to the allies the quality of Polish soldiers. The Cupbearer of Sanok and his hussars must have performed really well during the battle and the subsequent operations of the 1683 campaign as they received the king's honours. First, on 10 January 1684 in Krakow, John III appointed a companion of Gniński's banner, Mikołaj Łastowiecki, Deputy Master of the Pantry of Braclaw (upon the death of Tomasz Gajewski), and 15 days later honoured the lieutenant himself. For his participation in the Vienna Campaign, Boratyński was appointed Cupbearer of Żydaczów, after Konstanty Wapowski's promotion to Standard Bearer of Sanok<sup>51</sup>. Thus, thanks to his conduct in the 1683 operations, Boratyński reached the last official promotion in his career. His conduct moreover led to Boratyński's selection in 1683 as one of the five military commissioners of the division of winter military tax, a rather prestigious and responsible task<sup>52</sup>.

In 1684 the Vice Chancellor, most probably due to his ill health (he died the following year), assigned his military units, primarily the hussars commanded by Boratyński, to his son Jan Krzysztof, Voivode of Czernihów (Chernihiv), as of 1685 Voivode of Braclaw. The new patron of the banner also concluded an act of capitulation with Boratyński; the document bears the date 24 June 1684. In this manner the Cupbearer of Żydaczów is currently the only known example of a lieutenant of the hussars whose acts of capitulation with two successive patrons of the banner have survived. The agreement between the Voivode of Czernihów and his lieutenant basically reiterated the provisions of Boratyński's contract with his previous superior of June 1676. The Cupbearer of Żydaczów was to continue to get an allowance in the amount of 4,000 zlotys and receive money from captain's escorts to the colour to have *good music* played at the standard. The lieutenant was contractually obligated to permanently stay with his company and manage its ongoing problems, i.e. matters related to its *erection and conservation [...] in camps and in any other place*<sup>53</sup>. Equally important is the fact that the previous capitulation was concluded in John III's residence in Jaworów, and the one from June 1684 in Busk, the headquarters of Grand Hetman Jabłonowski. Undoubtedly, this was due to the fact that Boratyński and his unit, part of Jabłonowski's cavalry regiment, were in the zone of military influence of the hetman's patronage. This assignment was retained when the hussars of his father were taken over by J.K. Gniński, as conformed by numerous supplement units of the royal army from the 1680s and 1690s. A company of lance-bearers of the Voivode of Braclaw, as of 1694 Voivode of Pomerania, was included in Jabłonowski's regiment (as of 1692 Castellan of Krakow) until the end of the war with Turkey in 1699 – e.g. in the suppliant units from 1686, 1687, 1689, 1690, and 1698<sup>54</sup>. In line with the reorganisation

<sup>51</sup> *akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z archiwum tak zwanego bernardyńskiego we Lwowie*, vol. 10: *Spis oblat zawartych w aktach grodu i ziemstwa lwowskiego*, ed. K. Liske, Lwów 1884 (hereinafter: *Spis oblat*), p. 350-351; *Urzednicy województwa ruskiego*, p. 175.

<sup>52</sup> Sejm accounts 1685, AGAD, ASK, division II, file no. 68, chart 26.

<sup>53</sup> Capitulation of J.K. Gniński with J. Boratyński, Busk, 24 June 1684, in: K. Górski, *Historia jazdy polskiej*, Kraków 1894, p. 328. Published on the basis of: Biblioteka Ordynacji Krasińskich, MS 708, p. 208; manuscript destroyed in 1944; see J. Wimmer, *Wojsko polskie...*, p. 260, note 1; Z. Hundert, *Husaria koronna...*, p. 253; M. Wagner, *Korpus oficerski...*, p. 88.

<sup>54</sup> See *Komput wojska JKM i Rzptej na kampanię in anno 1686*, Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu (hereinafter: B. Ossol.), MS 250/II, chart 144-147; *Komput Wojska JKM i Rzptej na hibernę in anno 1686*, ibidem, chart 148-151v; "Connotatia popisu wojska JKM i Rzptej kawaleriej die 20 July pod Jagielnicą odprawionego, 20 VII 1687", in: *Źródła do dziejów wojny polsko-tureckiej w latach 1683-1699*, ed. M. Wagner, Oświęcim 2016, p. 77-82; *Komput wojska JKM i Rzptej na kampanię in anno 1689 z popisu generalnego w ćwierci augustowej roku tegoż*, AGAD, ASW, division 86, file no. 70, p. 3; *Komput wojska JKM i Rzeczypospolitej koron-*

of the royal unit capacity from 1690, Gniński's company numbered 100 rather than 120 horses and changed its assignment in the repartition system; it was to receive pay from the Voivodeship of Krakow rather than from the voivodeships of Royal Prussia<sup>55</sup>. After the war with the High Porte concluded in 1699 and the army was reduced to peace-time capacity, the hussars of the Voivode of Pomerania of a mere 60 horses remained within the regiment of Castellan of Krakow and Grand Hetman Jabłonowski<sup>56</sup>. This makes Boratyński an officer of the hetman's cavalry regiment at the time of the wars with Turkey in the second half of the 17th c.

The military career of the Cupbearer of Żydaczów after 1684 is far more difficult to ascertain than that of the earlier period. The combat itinerary of Boratyński was most probably identical to that of his company, of which he was the actual commander. As a result, he most probably took part in the campaigns of the years 1684 and 1685 (Żwaniec and Bukowina, respectively)<sup>57</sup>, although we have no direct evidence for this. Then he took part in the 1686 Moldova campaign of King John III; on September 22, in the camp at Sormosser, the king appointed Boratyński mayor of Bartodowo, Gródek County. The king's appointment may have been a reward for the conduct of Gniński's company's lieutenant in the unsuccessful campaign, but it is not certain, either<sup>58</sup>. The 1686 ledger of Jabłonowski's commands has survived, yet analysis of its extensive contents provides no information related directly to the Cupbearer of Żydaczów. As the actual commander of Gniński's banner, he most probably followed the orders issued for this unit, which the hetman's book includes. According to Jabłonowski's will of March 1686, the company commended by the Cupbearer of Żydaczów was to transfer after the wintertime period to the command of the Master of the Pantry of Latyczów Jan Aleksander Wronowski, and upon his illness to the command of the Standard Bearer of Braclaw Nikodem Żaboklicki<sup>59</sup>. Later, with his company, he should be in the section of the army of regimentary and Deputy Master of the Pantry of Sandomierz Andrzej

nego na sejmie anni 1690 ad numerum 30 000 redukowany i spisany, B. Czart., MS 2562, p. 1; "Komput wojsk JKM i Rzptej na kampanię in anno 1698 w obozie pod Mużyłowem 17 IX reformowany", in: *Materiały do dziejów kampanii podhajeckiej 1698 r.*, ed. J. Wojtasik, *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*, 15/1969, part 2, pp. 269-280.

<sup>55</sup> *Podział wojska JKM i Rzptej z komputu na sejmie terażniejszym anni 1690 postanowionego w skrypcie ad Archivum danym wyrażonego, ad proportionem no. 45 podymnych na tymże sejmie in vim placy placu wojsku pomienionemu deklarowanych uczyniony*, B. Czart., MS 2562, p. 45.

<sup>56</sup> *Komput Wojska JKM i Rzptej na radzie post komicjalnej warszawskiej anni 1699, a podczas komisji hibernowej lwowskiej do skarbu hibernowego w tymże roku die 3 novembris podany*, AGAD, Zbiór Czołowskiego, file no. 17, p. 9-15. Upon Jabłonowski's death in 1702, Gniński's company was incorporated into the regiment of royal prince August; see M. Wagner, *Bitwa pod Kliszowem 19 lipca 1702 roku*, Oświęcim 2013, p. 79.

<sup>57</sup> More see M. Wagner, *Kampania żwaniicka 1684 roku*, Warszawa 2013; W. Wasilewski, *Wyprawa bukowińska Stanisława Jabłonowskiego w 1685 roku*, Warszawa 2002. Neither author mentions any activity of Boratyński and his company between 1684 and 1685.

<sup>58</sup> *Spis oblat*, p. 356. More on the 1686 campaign see C. Chowaniec, "Wyprawa Sobieskiego do Mołdawii w 1686 r.", *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy*, 4/1931, no. 1, pp. 1-117.

<sup>59</sup> S.J. Jabłonowski's orders, Busk, 9 and 19 March 1686, B. Ossol., MS 250/II, chart 22-22v, 28v-29; M. Wagner, *Stanisław Jabłonowski (1634-1702). Polityk i dowódca*, vol. 1, Siedlce 1997, p. 229; J.J. Sowa, *Jednostki komputowe Adama Mikołaja Sieniawskiego do 1702 roku*, part 1: *Udział w działaniach wojennych do 1696 roku*, in: *Studia nad staropolską sztuką wojenną*, vol. 4, ed. Z. Hundert, J.J. Sowa, K. Źojdź, Oświęcim 2015, p. 216; Z. Hundert, J.J. Sowa, op. cit., p. 150.

Chełmski<sup>60</sup>. He was a lieutenant of the hussars and commander of Jabłonowski's entire regiment, i.e. Boratyński's immediate superior in the regiment.

On 16 December 1687, the documents of the Wisznia assembly of the Ruthenian Voivodeship indicate Aleksander Maksymilian Fredro as the Cupbearer of Żydaczów. This prompted Marek Wagner to claim that Boratyński died before 1687 and the office vacated by him was taken over by another person<sup>61</sup>. Our hero, however, appears in the rank of a lieutenant of Gniński, with the office of Cupbearer of Żydaczów in the land registrars of Lviv area on 2 November 1693. The document appended to the books notified about the payment by the Voivode of Braclaw of all outstanding debts of his hussars<sup>62</sup>. As a result, the claim that Boratyński died before 1687 is to be rejected. The very question of the office is a problem, too, since after 1687 Fredro was consistently listed in the files of the Wisznia assembly as the Cupbearer of Żydaczów<sup>63</sup>. Cases when two or more people held the same estate title were not rare, due to the far-from-perfect work of royal major and minor chanceries, issuing privileges for offices which were not vacated<sup>64</sup>. Why the title of Cupbearer of Żydaczów was simultaneously claimed by Boratyński and Fredro is unresolvable in light of recognised sources.

Boratyński was J.K. Gniński's lieutenant of the hussars still in the mid-1690s. the accounts of the Lviv winter military tax commission of 1695, the commander of Gniński's winged hussars was mentioned in a list of officers receiving an additional allowance from the winter military tax money as a military deputy to the Warsaw Sejm of 1695. In his capacity as deputy he received from the commission an amount of 800 zlotys<sup>65</sup>. The military mission including Boratyński and e.g. the Grand Hetman's younger son, Crown Standard Bearer Aleksander Jabłonowski, arrived in Warsaw after the parliamentary session was disrupted. As a consequence, the deputies were only received at a private audience by the king<sup>66</sup>. Subsequently Boratyński was mentioned in the files of the 1697 winter military tax commission, in the account for the period of military confederacy of Piotr Bogusław Baranowski 1696-1697. As a lieutenant of Gniński's hussars, he was to receive an allowance of 400 zlotys<sup>67</sup>. This is the last known piece of information about Boratyński. It is therefore possible that his service in the Crown Army ended during the military confederation.

<sup>60</sup> See *Konnotacja chorągwi i regimentów wojska JKM i Rzptej na partie rozordynowanych pod różnemi kome[n]dami ex initiis kampaniej anni 1686*, B. Ossol., MS 250/II, chart 140-143; S.J. Jabłonowski's orders for different sections of the army, Busk, 13 April 1686, *ibidem*, chart 38-39v, 47; C. Chowaniec, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

<sup>61</sup> The *laudum* and instruction of Wisznia Assembly, Sądowa Wisznia, 16 December 1687, in: *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z archiwum tak zwanego bernardyńskiego we Lwowie* (hereinafter: AGZ), vol. 22: *Lauda wiszeńskie 1673-1732*, ed. A. Prochaska, Lwów 1914, p. 201-202, 212; *Urzędnicy województwa ruskiego*, pp. 175-176; M. Wagner, *Słownik biograficzny...*, p. 30, entry: *Boratyński Jacek*.

<sup>62</sup> *Spis oblat*, p. 369.

<sup>63</sup> See documents of the Wisznia Assemblies of 17 May 1688, 5 December 1689, 23 September 1690, 5 May 1692, 27 July 1696, 1 June 1699, 16 September 1702 in: AGZ, vol. 22, pp. 217, 226, 233, 243, 244, 248, 254, 284, 328, 330, 378, 382.

<sup>64</sup> See np. S. Ciara, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 14, 24; T. Zielińska, "Stanisław Antoni Szczuka jako referendarz koronny w latach 1688-1699", *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 111/2004, no. 3, pp. 14-15.

<sup>65</sup> Files of the wintertime army tax commission of 1695, B. Czart., MS 2524, p. 57. I am thankful to Mr. Jan Jerzy Sowa for the information on the mention of Boratyński in the files of this extensive set of manuscripts.

<sup>66</sup> See R. Kołodziej, "*Ostatni wolności naszej klejnot*". *Sejm Rzeczypospolitej za panowania Jana III Sobieskiego*, Poznań 2014, pp. 388-389.

<sup>67</sup> *Kombinacja hibernowa warszawska 1697*, B. Czart., MS 2524, p. 214.

Baranowski's confederacy was markedly biased against officers; the confederates did not let their direct commanders come too close to them so that they would not be used by the powerful protectors to dissolve the confederacy<sup>68</sup>. As an officer of the hetman's cavalry regiment (and a person remaining in the zone of the hetman's influence as after all he was a military deputy to the Sejm of 1695), Boratyński could therefore arouse distrust among the confederates. Undoubtedly, however, the exact date of the end of his military service and the date of Boratyński's death (we do not know if they coincided) requires further research. At this point, however, I am inclined to accept an arbitrary date for the end of our hero's service in the Crown Army as the year of Baranowski's confederacy, i.e. 1696. Incidentally, other issues remain to be solved, e.g. family connections apart from those indicated at the onset of this article. We only know from the files of the Royal Registry Office that Boratyński had a son by the name of Samuel<sup>69</sup>, but the name of his wife remains a mystery.

We know from the above findings that Jacek (Hiacynt) Boratyński served at least 30 years in the military, at least 10 years as a companion and at least another 20 years as a lieutenant<sup>70</sup>. At that time, he was associated with only one cavalry formation, i.e. the hussars, which, taking into account the "hussar" family tradition (begun by his grandfather Jan Mikołaj) is very telling. The subsequent stages of his service in the "pre-officer" period are quite ordinary. In the rank of a companion, he served first in the hussars' "magnate" company, then in the hetman's and royal banner, and serving in the latter was appointed lieutenant in the hussars' "magnate" *rota*. Thus, he completed a good military school in the Sobieski company which, as we have had a chance to see, served as a centre preparing the command staff for both suppliant units of the Polish Army. In addition, however, at that time officers were appointed also from among other hussars' companies. Suffice it to mention Balcer (Baltazar) Wilga, after 1683 captain, colonel, regimentary, and commissioner of the Cossacks of the Commonwealth (1692-1699), who in the 1670s served in the hussar company of Crown Vice-Chancellor Jan Andrzej Morsztyn (converted from armoured cavalry in 1676)<sup>71</sup>. As an officer of the royal cavalry, Boratyński served at least two long decades as an officer of the hussars. The same seniority was had by the commander of hussars, his earlier superior Aleksander Polanowski (1663-1683), yet the lieutenant of hussars of Sobieski (prior to 1667 of Jerzy Sebastian Lubomirski) was earlier lieutenant in a company of Cossacks (1658-1663)<sup>72</sup>. Despite the duration of his service as lieutenant, Boratyński did not achieve any lucrative offices and assignments. Nor did he advance within the army structures. Still, we do not know the details of Boratyński's military activity except for his participation in the

<sup>68</sup> J.J. Sowa, "Zawiązanie konfederacji Baranowskiego a posłuszeństwo oficerom i dyscyplina wojskowa", in: *Homo Militans*, vol. 4: *Przysięga wojskowa. Idea i praktyka. Z dziejów wojskowości polskiej i powszechnej*, ed. A. Niewiński, Oświęcim 2017, pp. 80-87 – there further references.

<sup>69</sup> Register of documents issued by the Chancellery of the Crown in 1673, AGAD, Metryka Koronna, *Sigillata*, file no. 12, chart 84v. Pursuant to this document, Boratyński and his son were exempt from the expulsion ruled by the Tribunal of Lublin; see M. Wagner, *Słownik biograficzny...*, p. 30, entry: *Boratyński Jacek*.

<sup>70</sup> According to the classification created by Marek Wagner, Boratyński falls into a group of professional officers, due to his military service of over 20 years. However, Wagner himself places Boratyński in the group of qualified officers (serving between 10 and 20 years), due to the fact that the time of his service was specified as 1659-1684 (it is unclear why the lower limit is assumed as such); see idem, *Korpus oficerski...*, pp. 237, 238.

<sup>71</sup> See M. Wagner, "Baltazar Wilga Godzimirski – ostatni komisarz kozacki Rzeczypospolitej (1692–1699)", *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego: Prace Historyczne*, 143/2016, no. 2, pp. 327-334.

<sup>72</sup> Z. Hundert, *Aleksander Polanowski...*, pp. 41-70; idem, *Husaria koronna...*, pp. 223-224.

Vienna Campaign, after which he got the last official promotion in his life. It seems that the slowdown in Boratyński's career development was connected with the death of Vice-Chancellor Gniński, who was better connected than his son Jan Krzysztof. However, to further address the influence of Jabłonowski's military patronage, he should be able to obtain protection from the hetman. Although there are no obvious traces of it, at a time when the army's operational matters almost entirely began to depend on Hetman Jabłonowski (as of 1683), Boratyński twice performed important tasks on behalf of the army – that of the winter military tax commissioner (1683) and a military envoy (1695). Thus, it can be seen that to some extent he enjoyed the hetman's trust, since he was entrusted with these duties.

Boratyński's military service is quite interesting, as rarely did any of the commanders of this level have the opportunity to get to know first-hand the very core of the Ottoman Empire in Istanbul through his participation in the Gniński's mission. Another point is that Boratyński's example, due to the fact that the acts of capitulation concluded with two successive heads of the company which he commanded are extant, is in fact the only point of reference for how the hussars' banners' patrons created conditions of service for their lieutenants. This example probably cannot be referred to the hussar companies of royal and hetman rank, who held high positions in the command structure of the Crown Army (as well as in the social and clerical structure), but definitely to other commanders of magnates' companies. Suffice it to mention Jarosz (Hieronim) Lipiński, who like Boratyński became a lieutenant of a company of hussars converted from armoured cavalry of Castellan of Krakow Stanisław Warszycki in the second quarter of 1676. The receipt confirms that Lipiński had the same commander's allowance as Boratyński, whose capitulation agreement specified the amount of 4,000 zlotys<sup>73</sup>. It is therefore highly probable that Lipiński was offered by the patron of the company conditions of service similar to those described by Gniński in the capitulation concluded with Boratyński. Thus the Cupbearer of Żydaczów can serve as a case study in relation to a group of other hussar lieutenants enjoying a similar status in the army. The very subject of Boratyński's military service has certainly not been exhausted, and a query in this matter in the town and land registers from the area of the Ruthenian Voivodeship may reveal new information.

**Jacek (Hiacynt) Boratyński – Żydaczów Cupbearer and Lieutenant of the Hussars  
During the Polish-Ottoman Wars in the 2nd Half of the 17th Century. Study of the  
Profession of the Soldier – summary  
Summary**

Throughout his military career, Jacek Boratyński served in one formation – the winged hussars (*husaria*). Between 1666 and 1676, he was a companion (*towarzysz*) in two hussars' banners (companies): initially in one of Aleksander Michał Lubomirski, Voivode of Krakow, then after 1668 in that of Jan Sobieski, Grand Marshal and Grand Crown (Polish) Hetman (since 1674 King John III). In 1676 he became lieutenant in the hussars' banner of Jan Gniński, Voivode of Chełmno (since 1682 Crown Vice-Chancellor). In this capacity, as an officer of Polish lancers, he took part in Gniński's mission to Istanbul (1677–1678) and in

<sup>73</sup> J. Lipiński's note confirming the receipt of money from S. Warszycki for a company of hussars, Pilica, 2 May 1676, National Library in Warsaw, MS 6649, chart 212; Z. Hundert, *Husaria koronna...*, p. 253.

the relief operation of Vienna in 1683. He was part of the group of soldiers that were under patronage of Grand Crown Hetman Stanisław Jabłonowski. Between 1676 and 1696 (exact date unknown), Boratyński was one of the commanders in charge of the hetman's cavalry regiment (*pulk*). Thanks to military service and patronage, especially of Gniński, he received land office ranks: first Cupbearer (*cześnik*) of Sanok, then Deputy Cupbearer (*podczaszy*) of Żydaczów. His military service offers a perfect benchmark for biographical studies of other crown officers of the same rank.

**Keywords:** Jacek Boratyński, Hussars' Lieutenants; Polish-Ottoman Wars in the 2nd half of the 17th c.; Military Patronage; Crown Winged Hussars.

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