

ARTICLES

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IN THE SERVICE AT SOBIESKI: THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY ACTIVITY OF JAN GORZEŃSKI (CA. 1626–1694)

Słowa kluczowe: clientelism, protection, army, dietines, diplomacy, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

The research on the phenomenon of clientelism – understood most often as a dependence between a person asking for help and the person acting as intermediary or the person granting the favour – has a tradition established by the works of Antoni Mączak¹, Urszula Augustyniak² and Jacek Tarkowski³. They were followed by studies focusing on the careers of persons belonging to the milieu of the Crown Army and the Lithuanian Army. The membership and the *modus operandi* of the services carrying out political and military missions ordered usually by the hetmans, less frequently by the monarchs was or still is the subject of analyses by Violetta Urbaniak⁴, Wojciech Tygiel-

¹ Antoni MĄCZAK, *Wierność i miłość. Z zagadnień motywacji stosunku klientarnego*, Zeszyty Naukowe WSP w Opolu, 1988, z. 2, pp. 103–115; idem, *Klientela. Nieformalne systemy władzy w Polsce i w Europie XVI–XVIII w.*, Warszawa 2000; idem, *Nierówna przyjaźń. Układy klientalne w perspektywie historycznej*, Wrocław 2003; idem, *Rządzący i rządzeni. Władza i społeczeństwo w Europie nowożytnej*, Warszawa 2003.

² Urszula AUGUSTYNIAK, *O przyjaźni. Przyczynki do badania stosunków klientalnych*, [in:] *Necessitas et ars. Studia staropolskie dedykowane profesorowi Jerzemu Pelcowi*, ed. Barbara OTWINOWSKA, Alina NOWICKA-JEŻOWA [et al.], t. 2, Warszawa 1993, pp. 121–128; eadem, *Specyfika patronatu magnackiego w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVII wieku. Problemy badawcze*, Kwartalnik Historyczny, R. 110: 2002, z. 1, s. 97–110; eadem, *Znaczenie pokrewieństwa w układach nieformalnych w Rzeczypospolitej w 1 poł. XVII w. na przykładzie klienteli Radziwiłłów*, [in:] *Kultura staropolska – kultura europejska. Prace ofiarowane Januszowi Tazbirowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Stanisław BYLINA [et al.], Warszawa 1997, pp. 201–211.

³ Jacek TARKOWSKI, *Patroni i klienci*, Warszawa 1994.

⁴ Violetta URBANIAK, *Zamoyszczycy bez Zamoyskiego. Studium dekompozycji ugrupowania politycznego*, Warszawa 1995.

ski⁵, Urszula Augustyniak⁶, Andrzej Rachuba⁷, Marek Wagner⁸, Mirosław Nagiel-ski⁹, Jerzy Ronikier¹⁰, Teresa Zielińska¹¹, and recently by Konrad Bobiatyński¹²,

⁵ Wojciech TYGIELSKI, *Stronnictwo, które nie mogło przegrać*, Przegląd Historyczny, t. 76: 1985, z. 2, pp. 207–231; idem, *Ludzie, listy, władza. Patronat Jana Zamoyskiego w świetle korespondencji*, Warszawa 2007.

⁶ Urszula AUGUSTYNIAK, *Dwór i klientela Krzysztofa II Radziwiłła (1585–1640)*, Warszawa 2001; eadem, *W służbie hetmana i Rzeczypospolitej. Klientela wojskowa Krzysztofa Radziwiłła (1585–1640)*, Warszawa 2004; eadem, *Klientelizm w wojsku litewskim pierwszej połowy XVII wieku*, [in:] *Patron i dwór. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. EWA DUBAS-URWANOWICZ, Jerzy URWANOWICZ, Białystok 2006, pp. 23–36.

⁷ Andrzej RACHUBA, *Działalność wojskowa i polityczna Albrechta Konstantego Ciechanowieckiego, oboźnego litewskiego (około 1630–1675)*, [in:] *Curia Maior. Studia z dziejów kultury ofiarowane Andrzejowi Ciechanowieckiemu*, ed. Maria PROSINKA, Danuta GIEYSZTOR-ROSA, Warszawa 1990, pp. 97–103; idem, *Klientela hetmańska armii litewskiej z lat 1648–1667*, [in:] *Patron i dwór*, pp. 37–56.

⁸ Marek WAGNER, *Kadra oficerska armii koronnej w drugiej połowie XVII wieku*, Toruń 1995; idem, *Stanisław Jabłonowski, kasztelan krakowski, hetman wielki koronny*, Warszawa 2000; idem, *Dwór wojskowy i klientela hetmańska Stanisława Jabłonowskiego w końcu XVII wieku*, [in:] *Patron i dwór*, pp. 67–86; idem, *Zapomniany bohater bitwy wiedeńskiej. Zygmunt Zbierzchowski (około 1635–1691) – porucznik husarski*, [in:] *Do szarzy marsz, marsz... Studia z dziejów kawalerii*, t. 4, ed. Aleksander SMOLIŃSKI, Toruń 2013, pp. 63–86.

⁹ Mirosław NAGIELSKI, *Stanisław Lipnicki. Przyczynek do problematyki awansu kadry zawodowej armii Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, [in:] *Litwa w epoce Wazów*, ed. Andrzej RACHUBA, Wojciech KRIEGSEISEN, Warszawa 2006, pp. 327–341; idem, *Tadeusz Daniel Boubonombek Pers w służbie króla i Rzeczypospolitej*, [in:] *Afryka, Orient, Polska. Prace ofiarowane profesorowi Andrzejowi Dziubińskiemu w siedemdziesiątce rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Stefan K. KUCZYŃSKI, Andrzej RACHUBA, Michał TYMOWSKI, Warszawa 2007, pp. 199–216; idem, *Pierre de Bryon – pułkownik gwardii dragońskiej Jana Kazimierza Wazy. Przyczynek do karier Francuzów w służbie króla i Rzeczypospolitej*, [in:] *Primum vivere deinde philosophari. O ludziach czynu w dziejach Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Profesorowi Janowi Rzońcy z okazji siedemdziesiątych urodzin*, ed. Marek BIAŁOKUR, Andrzej SZCZEPANIĄK, Opole–Toruń 2008, pp. 105–120; idem, *Jerzy Lubomirski i jego wpływ w armii koronnej jako przykład patronatu wojskowego w XVII wieku*, [in:] *Patron i dwór*, pp. 57–66.

¹⁰ Jerzy RONIKIER, *Hetman Adam Sieniawski i jego regimentarze: studium z historii mentalności szlachty polskiej 1706–1725*, Kraków 1992.

¹¹ Teresa ZIELIŃSKA, *Klientela w otoczeniu Jana Klemensa Branickiego kasztelana krakowskiego i hetmana wielkiego koronnego około połowy XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Patron i dwór*, pp. 225–230.

¹² Konrad BOBIATYŃSKI, *Rozwój kariery dowódczej Michała Kazimierza Paca na tle działań militarnych prowadzonych w Inflantach i Kurlandii w latach 1657–1660*, [in:] *Wojny północne w XVI–XVII wieku. W czterechsetlecie bitwy pod Kircholmem*, ed. Bogusław DYBAŚ, Anna ZIEMLEWSKA, Toruń 2007, pp. 113–129; idem, *Michał Kazimierz Pac – wojewoda wileński, hetman wielki litewski. Działalność polityczno-wojskowa*, Warszawa 2008.

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The aim of this article is to present the career of Jan Gorzeński (or Gurzyński / Górzynski) of the Nałęcz coat of arms, who acted on behalf of the marshal and the grand crown hetman – and from 1674 the king – Jan Sobieski. Gorzeński's life story has not yet attracted the researchers' interest¹⁷. The author intends this study to fill the gap in biographical studies on the persons forming the military cadre in the time of Jan III, which has been already postulated by scholars¹⁸. Solely for structural reasons and clarity, the analysis in the text has been divided into parts focusing on political and military activity.

As Kacper Niesiecki noted, the Gorzeński family included those who "are from Gorzeń in Greater Poland; there are some in other voivodeships, but I reckon they are of one coat of arms though some call themselves Gorzyńscy"¹⁹ [trans. Agnieszka Chabros]. The matter of the ancestral seat became in

¹³ Przemysław GAWRON, *Postawa Jakuba Karola Madaleńskiego wobec litewskich magnatów. Kilka uwag na temat relacji patron–klient w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w I połowie XVII wieku*, [in:] *Mahnatski dvor i satsyyal'naye uezayemadzyeyannye (XV–XVIII stst.): zbornik naukovykh prats*, ryed. Vol'ha M. PAPKO, Andrey M. YANUSHKYEVICH, Minsk–Myedysont 2013 [Маенгацкі двар і сацыяльнае ўзаемадзеянне (XV–XVIII стст.): зборнік навуковых праць, ред. Вольга М. Папко, Андрэй М. Янушкевіч, Мінск–Медысонт 2013], pp. 295–317.

¹⁴ Karol ŻOJDŻ, *Jan Mierzeński. Klient i rezydent Bogusława Radziwiłła w latach 1656–1665*, Oświęcim 2012.

¹⁵ Jan Jerzy SOWA, „Upewniam Waszmość Pana i Dobrodzieja, ze mnie Waszmość Pan będzie miał za jednego esklawa sobie”. *Relacje patron–klient w Koronie końca XVII w. w świetle listów braci Wojakowskich do Adama Mikołaja Sieniawskiego*, [in:] *Epistolografia w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, t. 6: *Stulecia XVI–XX. Nowa perspektywa historyczna i językowa*, ed. Piotr BOREK, Marceli OLMA, Kraków 2015, pp. 179–210.

¹⁶ Zbigniew HUNDERT, Aleksander Polanowski – porucznik husarski oraz pułkownik Jego Królewskiej Miłości, *Studia do Dziejów Wojskowości*, t. 2: 2013, pp. 41–70; idem, *Miedzy buławą a tronem. Wojsko koronne w walce stronnictwa malkontentów z ugrupowaniem dworskim w latach 1669–1673*, Warszawa 2014, pp. 153–193; idem, *Husaria koronna w wojnie polsko-tureckiej 1672–1676*, Oświęcim 2014 (ed. 2), pp. 165–273; idem, *Pozycja Jana III w wojsku koronnym w latach 1674–1683. Utrzymanie czy też utrata wpływów wypracowanych w czasie sprawowania godności hetmańskiej?*, [in:] *Król Jan III Sobieski i Rzeczpospolita w latach 1674–1683*, ed. Dariusz MILEWSKI, Warszawa 2016, pp. 121–151; idem, Jan Jerzy SOWA, *Od towarzysza jazdy do wojewody podolskiego. Przebieg służby wojskowej Nikodema Żaboklickiego w latach 1656–1706*, *Res Historica*, t. 42: 2016, pp. 127–181.

¹⁷ The only biographical outline of Gorzeński was made by Janusz Woliński, see idem: *Gorzeński Jan*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny* (further cit. PSB), t. 8, Wrocław–Kraków–Warszawa 1959–1960, p. 329. Magdalena Ujma completely ignores the information about him, see: eadem, *Miedzy Janem III a jego potomkami. Klienci rodziny Sobieskich*, [in:] *Patron i dwór*, pp. 133–146.

¹⁸ Marek WAGNER, *Polityka kadrowa Jana III Sobieskiego w latach 1668–1696*, Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny. Sobótka, t. 35: 1980, z. 2, pp. 261–272.

¹⁹ Kasper NIESIECKI, *Herbarz polski Kaspra Niesieckiego S.J. powiększony dodatkami z późniejszych autorów, rękopismów, dowodów urzędowych*, ed. Jan N. BOBROWICZ, t. 4, Lipsk 1839, p. 217.

the second half of the 19th century a subject of heated discussion between the representative of the family Zygmunt Gorzeński and Józef Łukaszewicz. The former demonstrated that the Gorzyński family mentioned by Niesiecki was an entirely different family, having nothing in common with the Gorzeńskis from the Górzec estate near Leszno²⁰. Using collected archival materials, his opponent argued that the Gorzeńskis *vel* Gorzyńskis come from Goreczki estate in the same Borek county²¹.

Long-term debates notwithstanding, the Gorzeńscy are considered to come from the Nałęcz clan, to which kinship claimed also such families as the Ostrołogs, the Szamotulskis and the Raczyńskis. Their common ancestor is said to be Dzierżykraj (Dirsko) of Czołp, who lived presumably between 1140 and 1200²². The origins of the Gorzeński family, a branch of the house of Ostroróg, can be traced to the descendants of the son of the castellan of Santok Stanisław-Otton, on whom Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg conferred the title of a count of the Holy Roman Empire in 1410. His brother Sędziwów was at that time the voivode of Poznań and the general starost of Greater Poland. Stanisław's inheritance passed to his son Dobrogost, the castellan of Kamieniec and the starost of Drahim, the owner of Kolno, Prusim and Górzec. From his marriage to Wicha of Szubin, a daughter of the voivode of Kalisz, he had three sons, including Mikołaj, who used the title "of Gorzno" (a village near Międzychód). Mikołaj had four sons. His heir Marcin was the first to use the family name Gorzeński. Marcin's firstborn was Piotr, who made religious vows and became the canon of Poznań. The other two sons, Maciej and Andrzej (the judge of Poznań land), ensured the continuation of the family. Maciej's great-grandson, Crown regimental commander (Polish: *rotmistrz*) Stanisław, was married three times: first to Małgorzata Ponińska, then to Zofia Trzcińska, yet it was only the third wife Marianna Rolicz-Jarochowska, the daughter of the chamberlain of Wschowa, who gave him the desired sons Chryzostom and Jan²³. These facts

²⁰ List Zygmunta Gorzeńskiego do Redakcji, *Dziennik Poznański*, nr 219, 29 IX 1865, [p. 5]. Gorzeński criticized the information gathered by Emil Kierski in his publication titled *Opis statystyczny i historyczny powiatu boreckiego*, published in *Rocznik Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Poznania*, volume III of 1864.

²¹ List Józefa Łukaszewicza do Redakcji, *Dziennik Poznański*, nr 223, 30 IX 1865, [p. 6]; A letter of Łukaszewicz to the Editing Board, *ibid.*, nr 226, 2 X 1865, [p. 4].

²² Teodor ŻYCHLIŃSKI, *Złota księga szlachty polskiej*, t. 1, Poznań 1879, pp. 228–232. About the Nałęczów family in the Middle Ages see: Jan PAKULSKI, *Nałęcze wielkopolscy w średniowieczu. Genealogia, uposażenie i rola polityczna w XII–XIV w.*, Warszawa 1982; Krystyna GÓRSKA-GOŁASKA, *Dobra Nałęczów w Wielkopolsce w średniowieczu*, Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza, t. 15, 1984, pp. 172–210.

²³ Gorzeńscy h. Nałęcz, Biblioteka Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk w Poznaniu [Library of The Poznań Society for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences], sygn. 1651/2, k. 11r–15v.

lead to the conclusion that the Gorzeńskis did not marry women from noble houses, content with establishing connections to the local gentry. Both their estate and the rank of the spouses they took lead to the assumption that they represented landed gentry of average affluence.

Jan, the second son of Stanisław and Marianna, was born in 1626 in Pułdiszki estate in Kalisz voivodeship²⁴, so he was almost of age with his later patron Jan Sobieski, who was born in 1629 in Olesko.

Not many facts from Gorzeński's youth can be accurately established. It is known that, like his father, he belonged to the congregation of the Bohemian Brethren. Based on this single piece of information, it can be assumed with great probability that he was educated in nearby Leszno. His involvement in the life of the religious community can be confirmed by induction of pastor Daniel Epenet to the congregation in Bucz in

Wolsztyn county in 1648²⁵. At that time Jan Gorzeński also acted as a guardian of the estate and family of late Jadwiga Gorzeńska, neé Bielińska (d. 1647)²⁶.

We know nothing of the course of Jan Gorzeński's career prior to the 1650s as the first mention of him concerns the time when Gorzeński, as a companion in the banner of *pospolite ruszenie* (mobilized gentry troops, *levée en masse*) in the regiment of Władysław Michał Skoraszewski, took part in the Battle of



1. A coffin portrait of Jan Gorzeński (1626–1694), the National Museum in Poznań, No. 2360

²⁴ Ibid., k. 15v.

²⁵ Józef ŁUKASZEWCZ, *O kościołach braci czeskich w dawnej Wielkopolsce*, Poznań 1835, p. 273; Jolanta DWORZACZKOWA, *Bracia czescy w Wielkopolsce w XVI i XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1997, pp. 103, 121. Jan's father – Stanisław Gorzeński along with his brother Melchior and part of the nobility of Greater Poland in 1609 protested against the bishop of Poznań, who had forbidden the construction of a Protestant temple in Międzychód, which is the evidence of their attachment to the Bohemian Brethren.

²⁶ Testament Jadwigi z Bielińskich, wdowy po Wojciechu Gorzeńskim, 3 VIII 1647 r., [in:] *Testamenty szlacheckie z ksiąg grodzkich wielkopolskich z lat 1631–1655*, ed. Paweł KLINT, Wrocław 2008, p. 124.

Ujście (24–25 July 1655) against Swedish troops led by Arvid Wittenberg²⁷. As we know, that battle ended in capitulation of the *pospolite ruszenie* forces and signing the act of Greater Poland's subjugation to the reign of Carl X Gustav. According to Marek Wagner, in 1656 Jan Gorzeński served in the infantry regiment of Crown Court marshal Łukasz Opaliński²⁸. We do not know, however, in what circumstances Gorzeński moved to serve Swedish military authorities, for which he was pronounced infamous; this censure was removed only in 1659²⁹. Little is known either about his service as a soldier in the Swedish army or about the details of his war trail in the years 1655–1660. Some light can be cast by the resolution of the *sejmik* (dietine/local parliament) in Środa from August 1661, in which the gentry decided to assign 600 Polish zlotys to ransom Jan Gorzeński from Tatar captivity³⁰. This probably means that he fought on the Swedish side in Masovia or in the Duchy of Prussia and most likely it was there, maybe during the Battle of Prostki (8 October 1656), that he was taken prisoner, as was the Lithuanian Equerry Bogusław Radziwiłł, also a participant in this battle³¹.

Due to the lack of sources, the political career of Jan Gorzeński can be followed only starting from 1666, when he was for the first time a deputy of the Środa *sejmik* for the autumn Sejm (a gathering of the Parliament) (9 November – 23 December 1666)³² and together with the rest of *sejmik* representatives

²⁷ Andrzej KAMIEŃSKI, Skoraszewski (Skoroszewski) Władysław Michał, [in:] PSB, t. 38, Warszawa–Kraków 1997–1998, pp. 256.

²⁸ Marek WAGNER, Korpus oficerski wojska polskiego w drugiej połowie XVII wieku, Oświęcim 2015, p. 338.

²⁹ Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu [The National Archives in Poznań], Księgi Grodzkie Kaliskie (further cit. APP, Ks. Gr. Kal.), sygn. 283, k. 1123–1123v.

³⁰ Teki Dworzaczka. Materiały historyczno-genealogiczne do historii szlachty wielkopolskiej XV–XX wieku. CD – wersja 1.2.0 dla Windows. Biblioteka Kórnicka Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Kórniku (further cit. Teki Dworzaczka, BK), Księgi Grodzkie Poznańskie – Relacje, nr 2840a, k. 60.

³¹ Tadeusz WASILEWSKI, Zarys dziejów Bogusława Radziwiłła, [in:] Radziwiłł Bogusław. Autobiografia, introduction / intro. and ed. idem, Warszawa 1979, pp. 68–69; Sławomir AUGUSIEWICZ, Prostki 1656, Warszawa 2001; idem, W służbie dwóch władców – rzecz o Bogusławie Radziwiłlu, [in:] Między Barokiem a Oświeceniem. Sarmacki konterfekt, ed. Stanisław ACHREMCZYK, Olsztyn 2002, pp. 111–120.

³² Apart from Gorzeński the following people were elected to represent the Voivodships of Greater Poland and Kalisz: the district judge Stanisław Krzycki, the deputy starost of Wschowa Wojciech Malczewski, the burgrave of Konin Franciszek Goliński, the chamberlain of Poznań Jakub Mieliński (Miliński), the starost of Nowy Dwór Andrzej Gembicki, the starost of Powidz Hieronim Pogorzelski, the cavalry master [*rotmistrz*] of the county of Wschowa Piotr Żychliński, Gabriel Sokolnicki, Franciszek Smogulecki, Jan Chelkowski and Mikołaj Złotnicki, see Paweł KRAKOWIAK, Dwa sejmy z 1666 roku, Toruń 2010, p. 486.

was considered a supporter of the *rokosz* (a rebellion against the king) led by Jerzy Sebastian Lubomirski³³.

Gorzeński's next appearance on the public scene took place in March 1668, when he led the proceedings of the post-*Sejm sejmik* in Środa. The resolution issued by the *sejmik* included a complaint that the deputies did not manage to deal with the matter of the peace treaty with Moscow, nor did they ratify the agreement concluded by Sobieski with the Tatars and hetman Petro Doroshenko after the Battle of Podhajce (19 October 1667). Following the motion of all the gentry at the Środa *sejmik*, Gorzeński also asked for a parade of the *pospolite ruszenie*: "Wanting to maintain any leadership, with the aim of saving the declining rights and position of the nobility in the voivodship (of Poznań), maintaining liberty and freedoms of the nobles, preventing them from being lifted and for fear of frolicsome actions undertaken by the army scattered at home and abroad after the battle of Podhajce, so that the most noble golden freedom of the nobility did not disappear, the noblemen confirm the reunion at the assembly on 24 April to recognize old rights and customs"³⁴ [trans. A.C.]. There was also a sharply worded condemnation of the parliamentary deputies spreading rumours about the king's abdication and the projects of electing the French candidate Louis de Bourbon, the Prince of Condé, or Philip Wilhelm Wittelsbach, the Duke of Palatinate-Neuburg. It was also announced that "Through concluding the confederation, the advocates of the king want to undermine the laws of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, including the right of free election. They want to attack the political system which constitutes the foundation of the noblemen's freedoms"³⁵ [trans. A.C.]. However, praises were given for the adoption of the constitution forbidding an election during a king's reign and the resolution limiting the length of foreign envoys' stay at the monarch's side to the period not longer than six weeks. This was connected with the demands that the French envoy Pierre de Bonza should leave the royal court as soon as possible. The *sejmik* resolution also insisted that at the next meeting of the *Sejm* the matter of the agreement with the Tatars should be raised in order to ensure the safety of the south-eastern border³⁶.

Gorzeński's opinions, which he so clearly articulated during the *sejmik*, were probably already known to the castellan of Poznań Krzysztof Grzymultowski, who also opposed the king's abdication. We can hypothesise that the shared

³³ Władysław CZAPLIŃSKI, *Opozycja wielkopolska po krwawym potopie (1660–1668)*, Kraków 1930, pp. 45–48; P. KRAKOWIAK, op.cit., pp. 327–356.

³⁴ Laudum Sredense Mareschalcatus M. Ioannis Gorzeński, Biblioteka Kórnicka Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Kórniku [The Kórnik Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences] (further cit. BK), sygn. 12930, k. 6.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

views may have led to establishing closer relations between both gentrymen. However, it is also possible that these relations had been established earlier if we assume that Gorzeński could have been elected the marshall of the Środa *sejmik* only with Grzymułtowski's help. There is, however, no evidence supporting this theory. What is certain is the fact that with the support of the castellan of Poznań, in July 1668 Gorzeński was sent on a mission to the grand marshal and hetman of the crown Jan Sobieski. During his stay in Jaworów, Gorzeński reported in detail the intentions of the delegates from Greater Poland elected to participate in the abdication *Sejm*³⁷. If we consider the long years of Gorzeński's military service, supposedly this mission was a renewal of his contacts with the future king and his patron; however, it is difficult to pinpoint the moment when they met for the first time³⁸.

The plan negotiated by Grzymułtowski, Sobieski and the grand chancellor of the crown Jan Leszczyński – which involved convincing the king to abandon the idea of abdication or postpone the date of the Sejm gathering – was soon inadvertently revealed to Gorzeński. Then the grand chancellor of the crown reprimanded the treasurer of the crown, who was the reason of this confusion: "I am complaining to Your Grace about His Grace Mr Treasurer [i.e. Jan Andrzej Morsztyn – J.P.], who treated me unbrotherly. My letter written to him – not only did he show it to the representatives, particularly to Mr Gorzeński, but also he let it be copied. I do not deny what I have written, nor am I ashamed of it, but His Grace Mr Treasurer, knowing how the brothers [i.e. the gentry – J.P.] find a smallest thing offensive, should not have exposed me *ad invidiam*. For now they are saying that *bene* is my *scriptum*, *male intellectum*. For it was not to rebuke the *Sejmik*, but those who *ingratissime* wanted the King not to be let *placide* from the State, but to be pushed"³⁹ [trans. A.C.]. The content of this letter points out that the "conspirators" did not yet trust Gorzeński entirely, and the complexity and importance of the matter demanded full discretion. Gorzeński's faithfulness was soon tested again as Grzymułtowski entrusted him with another mission to Ruthenia. The purpose of this journey was to investigate the intentions of Jan Sobieski with regard to the person of the future

³⁷ Krzysztof SYCHOWICZ, *Współdziałanie Krzysztofa Grzymułtowskiego z Janem Sobieskim (1668–1676)*, Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny. Sobótka, R. 51: 1996, z. 1–3, pp. 138–140.

³⁸ Krzysztof Grzymułtowski do Jana Sobieskiego, Warszawa, 18 VII 1668, [in:] *Pisma do wieku i spraw Jan Sobieskiego*, ed. Franciszek KLUCZYCKI, t. 1, cz. 1, Kraków 1880, pp. 395–396.

³⁹ Jan Leszczyński do Aleksandra Michała Lubomirskiego, Poznań, 12 IX 1668, [in:] *ibid.*, pp. 409–410. See more about the political situation on the eve of the abdication *Sejm*: Wiktor CZERMAK, *Ostatnie lata Jana Kazimierza*, ed. Adam KERSTEN, Warszawa 1972; Maciej MATWIJÓW, *Ostatnie sejmy przed abdykacją Jana Kazimierza 1667 i 1668*, Wrocław 1992; Witold KŁĄCZEWSKI, *Abdykacja Jana Kazimierza. Społeczeństwo szlacheckie wobec kryzysu politycznego lat 1667–1668*, Lublin 1993.

monarch. The date of the convocation *Sejm* had been already set for 5 November 1668⁴⁰. The issue of calling the *Sejm* to gather upset Jan Leszczyński, who maintained that overly hasty actions, not conforming to the laws, could contribute to the spreading of discord. Another person involved besides Gorzeński in the mediation between Sobieski and Leszczyński was deputy chancellor and field hetman of Lithuania Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł⁴¹.

At the end of July 1668 in Środa the pre-*Sejm sejmik* took place, at which the gathered gentry condemned the monarch's intention to abdicate. The king's behaviour was according to them an extraordinary act, almost unheard of, or even groundless. A large part of the instruction was devoted to protecting the state against the danger of interregnum. To this aim it was proposed – if the agreement to abdicate was granted – to force an oath from the commanders of fortresses in Prussia and to pacify the Lithuanian military forces. The representatives of Greater Poland also expressed their unwillingness to join any faction or to support the candidates for the throne that were presented to them⁴². The deputies elected for the *Sejm* again included Górzynski, still considered to be Grzymułtowski's man, like the starost of Osiek Waclaw Zalewski⁴³.

At the *Sejm* of Jan Kazimierz's abdication (27 August – 16 September 1668), Gorzeński presented a critique of the king's plans and opposed his abdication⁴⁴. He accused the king that in *pacta conventa* he swore to rule until his death. By deciding to abdicate – according to Gorzeński – the king intended to return to the old plans of electing the French candidate. "This abdication of the king, started to be announced at the Sejm of 1661, when the king explained that sovereigns were mortal while the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and

⁴⁰ J. Leszczyński do J. Sobieskiego, Poznań, 12 IX 1668, [in:] *Pisma do wieku*, t. 1, cz. 1, pp. 409–410; Waclaw URUSZCZAK, *Fakcje senatorskie w sierpniu 1668*, [in:] *Parlament, prawo, ludzie, studia ofiarowane profesorowi Juliuszowi Bardachowi w sześćdziesięciolecie pracy twórczej*, Warszawa 1996, pp. 313–316.

⁴¹ Jan Gorzeński to Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł, 29 III 1669., Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie [The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw], Archiwum Warszawskie Radziwiłłów (further cit. AGAD, AR), dz. V, sygn. 4549, pp. 1–3.

⁴² Instrukcja sejmiku średzkiego, Środa, 23 VII 1668, APP, Ks. Gr. Kal., sygn. 288, k. 539v–541v.

⁴³ K. Grzymułtowski do A. M. Lubomirskiego, Środa, 27 VII 1668, Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie [The National Archives in Cracow], Archiwum Krzeszowickie Potockich, sygn. 3227, pp. 45–47; J. Gorzeński to A. M. Lubomirski, Środa, 27 VII 1668, ibid., pp. 48–49.

⁴⁴ Jan Antoni CHRAPOWICKI, *Diariusz, cz. 2: Lata 1665–1668*, ed. Andrzej RACHUBA, Tadeusz WASILEWSKI, Warszawa 1988, pp. 437–438; Włodzimierz DWORZACZEK, *[Wielkopolska] od najazdu szwedzkiego [1655 do końca wojny siedmioletniej 1763 r.]*, [in:] idem, *Studia nad dziejami społeczeństwa, polityki i kultury dawnej Polski w wiekach XVI–XVIII*, ed. Zbigniew CHODYŁA, Zofia SPRYS, Warszawa 2010, pp. 339–340; Stefania OCHMAN-STANISZEWSKA, *Sejm Rzeczypospolitej za panowania Jana Kazimierza Wazy. Prawo – doktryna – praktyka*, t. 1, Wrocław 2000, pp. 588.

its political system were immortal. He wanted his successor to be Duke Conde so that the Polish noblemen did not shed their blood during the elections to the throne. The noblemen do not agree to the abdication of the king. This matter should be discussed with senators”⁴⁵ [trans. A.C.]. Gorzeński accused the monarch of lack of care for the state and reminded Jan Kazimierz that he let the fratricidal Battle of Mątwy happen and by his decisions he contributed to the defeat of Polish forces at Brailów in December 1666, which resulted in many Poles being captured by the Tatars. “Everything that the king has been doing for eight years in connection with his prospective abdication so as to make his rule be successful, constitutes the contradiction of the rule of free election. The monarch does not take into consideration the noblemen’s being defeated at the battle of Mątwy (along with the army of *rokoszanie* of Jerzy Sebastian Lubomirski), nor the misery of noblemen captured and imprisoned in Crimea”⁴⁶ [trans. A.C.]. Gorzeński also disapproved of the king’s idea of retaining the income from Malbork, Sambor and Grodno, land and water taxes as well as the profits from Wieliczka salt mines, expressing his disapproval in these words: “Now he wants to deserve immortality, when instead of doing what he was to do he squandered and impoverished everything. By setting such heavy conditions of his stepping down, he wants to ruin the state, taking away *vitulum* and leaving the Commonwealth with *titulum*”⁴⁷ [trans. A.C.]. For his speeches Gorzeński was reprimanded by royal supporters, e.g. crown sword-bearer Jan Franciszek Bieliński and standard-bearer of Chełm Jan Karol Romanowski, who disapproved of the fact that Gorzeński was so insistently rebuking the God’s anointed king as if he was his fosterling⁴⁸. Gorzeński was then defended by Wacław Zaleski, who pointed out the king’s stubbornness and the soulless way in which he treated the gathered delegates. The increasingly tumultuous atmosphere of the meeting led to the decision of the marshal of the *Sejm* Chamber Stefan Sarnowski to close the session. On 5 September 1668 Gorzeński together with Dębiński, the deputy from Kalisz, attacked the king and demanded that he should stay on the throne⁴⁹.

The next known actions of Gorzeński on the parliamentary forum come from the period before the election of Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki. At the convocation *Sejm* in November 1668, during the debate on the matter of re-

⁴⁵ *Diariusz sejmu abdykacyjnego die 27 Augusti zaczątego 1668*, ed. Maciej MATWIJÓW, Ze skarbcia kultury. Biuletyn Informacyjny Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu, z. 7, 1998, p. 45.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 51–52.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 53.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 71.

⁴⁹ J. A. CHRAPOWICKI, *Diariusz*, cz. 2, p. 440.

ligious dissidents' rights, he spoke in favour of upholding those rights and proposed that potential complaints of Catholics, e.g. regarding annexation of church property, should be brought before the Crown Tribunal in Lublin. By this he sharply spoke against handing such matter to church courts to deal with – a demand of the bishop of Poznań Stanisław Witwicki and the bishop of Warmia Jan Stanisław Wydżga. In another speech Gorzeński spoke against breaking the provisions of the Warsaw Confederation from 1573, questioning the legality of the 16th century decision of Janusz the Duke of Mazovia which ordered expulsion of Protestants⁵⁰. Another record from that time suggests that Gorzeński supposedly supported the candidacy of Philip Wilhelm, the Prince of Palatinate-Neuburg, which undoubtedly would put him close to the faction gathered around Jan Sobieski⁵¹.

The alliance between Jan Gorzeński and the faction of marshal and grand hetman of the crown Sobieski was tightened between 1669 and 1670. Still at the coronation Sejm Gorzeński attacked the new monarch in harsh words, maintaining that "It would have been a better government if blind Grzesiek Hadziewicz was made king"⁵² [trans. A.C.]. It can be assumed that this voice – though indirectly – allowed the senators voting on 13 October 1669, including the voivode of Pomerania Jan Ignacy Bąkowski and the voivode of Czernihów Stanisław Kazimierz Bieniewski, to make further verbal forays against king Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki. The breaking of the constitutional Sejm at the end of 1669 foreshadowed a future serious confrontation of the new monarch with the opposition – the so-called malcontents, who were against

⁵⁰ Jacek Witold Wołoszyn, *Problematyka wyznaniowa w praktyce parlamentarnej Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1648–1696*, Warszawa 2003, pp. 162–167; Elżbieta HAJIZADEH-ARMAKI, *Wielkopolska szlachta protestancka pierwszej połowy XVII w. Sprawy wyznaniowe na przykładzie Jana Jerzego Szlichtyngi (1597–1658)*, [in:] *Rycerze – szlachta – ziemianie. Szlachetnie urodzeni na ziemi wschowskiej i pograniczu wielkopolsko-śląskim*, ed. Paweł KLINT, Marta MAŁKUS, Kamila SZYMAŃSKA, Wschowa–Leszno 2014, pp. 153–171.

⁵¹ Jan Andrzej Morsztyn do Katarzyny z Gordonów Morsztynowej, Kraków, 20 I 1669 r., [in:] *Listy Jana Andrzeja Morsztyna*, ed. Stefania OCHMANN-STANISZEWSKA, Wrocław 2002, pp. 255–257. See about what happened behind the scenes of the election battle Mieczysława CHMIELEWSKA, *Początek interregnum po abdykacji Jana Kazimierza. Pretendenci do tronu polskiego*, [in:] *Studia i materiały z dziejów nowożytnych*, t. 13, ed. Krystyn MATWIJOWSKI, Stefania OCHMANN-STANISZEWSKA, Wrocław 1995, pp. 93–95; eadem, *Sejm elekcjny Michała Korybuta Wiśniowieckiego 1669 roku*, Warszawa 2006; Maciej MATWIJÓW, *Problem klientelizmu wśród szlachty sandomierskiej*, [in:] *Miedzy Lwowem a Wrocławiem. Księga jubileuszowa Profesora Krystyna Matwijowskiego*, ed. Bogdan ROK, Jerzy MAROŃ, Toruń 2006, pp. 533–542

⁵² Gorzeński referred to the real person of a hunter from Przemysł Grzegorz Krzysztof Hadziewicz. See more: *Diarium sejmu koronacyjnego 1669 roku*, ed. Kazimierz PRZYBOŚ, Marek FERENC, Kraków 2004, p. 82; Jan Antoni CHRAPOWICKI, *Diarium, cz. 3: Lata 1669–1673*, ed. Leszek Andrzej WIERZBICKI, Warszawa 2009, p. 40.

the rapprochement between the king and the Habsburgs. Numerous disputes about his marriage to Archduchess Eleonora of Habsburg, her crowning, increasing the military forces, strengthening the fortresses, then the matter of the *starostwa* occupied by the Elector of Brandenburg, finally the gentry exiled after the 1667 truce of Andruszowo demanding compensation for their lost estates – all this widened the gap between the court and Sobieski's supporters. Starting from 1670, the malcontents focussed on the project of dethroning the king and placing on the throne the nephew of the Prince of Condé, Charles of Orleans, the Count de Saint-Paul de Longueville et d'Estouteville⁵³. The arena of the disputes and the implementation of this plan was the above mentioned extraordinary (spring) Sejm. Sobieski clearly counted on the compliance of some deputies, which can be confirmed by the order given to Gorzeński regarding letter exchanges between trusted persons, entrusting him with money for bribing the deputies⁵⁴ and the very statement of the marshal and crown hetman that “though we meet *fata contraria*, yet we still have at this Sejm good friends in need”⁵⁵ [trans. A.C.].

At the extraordinary Sejm which began on 5 March 1670, Gorzeński spoke again as the deputy of the Środa sejmik. There is no need to discuss the course of the proceedings except for its tragic ending, which is worth mentioning. After the Easter break the malcontents were attacked by the supporters of the court and accused by the starost of Radziejów Andrzej Gąsiorowski of hatching a plot against the king. On 17 April the cup-bearer of Bracław Aleksander Benedykt Żabokrzycki demanded expulsion of foreign envoys and being given Sucha and Suska Wola as a compensation for his lost estates⁵⁶; he then speedily

⁵³ See more in: Leszek Ziątkowski, *Jan Sobieski a kształtowanie się opozycji po elekcji Michała Korybuta Wiśniowieckiego w 1669 r.*, Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny. Sobótka, R. 51: 1996, z. 1–3, pp. 126–137; Adam Przyboś, *Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki 1640–1673*, Kraków 2007; Joanna MATYASIK, *Obóz polityczny króla Michała Korybuta Wiśniowieckiego*, Warszawa 2011.

⁵⁴ J. Sobieski do Marii Kazimiery d'Arquien Sobieskiej, z obozu 14 III [...], [in:] *Listy Jana Sobieskiego do żony Marii Kazimiery wraz z listami innych znakomitych osób przez Jerzego Samuela Bandtkiego z oryginału niegdyś archiwum Sobieskich przepisane*, ed. Antoni Z. HELCEL, Kraków 1860, pp. 191–192.

⁵⁵ J. Sobieski do M. K. Radziwiłła, Jaworów, 10 III 1670 r., [in:] *Pisma do wieku*, t. 1, cz. 1, pp. 495–496.

⁵⁶ Also the following people participated in the struggle for the estates left after the death of the castellan of Sandomierz Stanisław Witowski: the starost of Radom Piotr Kochanowski, the field clerk of the crown Jakub Potocki, Sebastian Machowski and the cavalry master [*rotmistrz*] and standard-bearer of Chełm Jan Karol Romanowski, see: Michał KULECKI, *Wygnanci ze Wschodu. Egzulanci w Rzeczypospolitej w ostatnich latach panowania Jana Kazimierza i za panowania Michała Korybuta Wiśniowieckiego*, Warszawa 1997; Z. HUNDERT, *Miedzy buławą a tronem*, pp. 283–285.

lodged a protest and left Warsaw. His demands were initially supported by the royal cup-bearer of Bracław Jan Kordysz, who called the deputies to separate from the Senate and return to the chamber. Another Sobieski's supporter, the pantler of Płock Władysław Łoś demanded a report from the talks with the tsar's envoys. During the attempts to placate the Bracław deputies and satisfy their demands, Jan Gorzeński stepped out and delivered a speech breaking the *Sejm* proceedings⁵⁷. This event was described by Jan Antoni Chrapowicki: "Jan Gurzyński said: 'Let the Commonwealth *ruam in suam securitatem*, and I *non impendio* the votes, but I do not want to witness it myself' and left. Then already at seven in the evening the marshal of deputies [i.e. Jan Kazimierz Kierdej – J.P.] greeted the departing king and then the deputies *solutio* more. And thus the *Sejm* is broken for this unfortunate faction"⁵⁸ [trans. A.C.]. This event did not remain unnoticed by leading politicians, conscious of the backstage actions of Sobieski, for which the bishop of Chełm and the deputy chancellor of the crown Andrzej Olszowski did not hesitate to rebuke him: "For – God's mercy upon us – the *Sejm* was broken yesterday by Mrs Żabokrzycki, Kordysz and Gurzyński, contributed *ad parricidium Reipublicae*; which *alliunde constabit* Your Grace"⁵⁹ [trans. A.C.]. A similar conviction was held by the gentry of Greater Poland gathered at the post-*Sejm* *sejmik* in Środa on 20 May 1670. Before the proceedings started, a rumour had spread that the castellan of Poznań Krzysztof Grzymułtowski and the voivode of Kalisz Jan Opaliński agreed in Poznań to break the *sejmik*. A proof of this "treason" was to be a ciphered letter from the deputy treasurer Jan Andrzej Morsztyn to Grzymułtowski and the letter of Jan Sobieski addressed to Opaliński, in which the sender maintained that the election of Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki was a political mistake and thanked Opaliński for supporting the pro-French party⁶⁰. Besides Grzymułtowski, the starost of Lipiny Mikołaj Smogulecki, Jerzy Cikowski and Crown huntmaster Jan Żelęcki, also Jan Gorzeński became the focus of the scorn during the proceedings. Very significant words were directed at him, condemning his behaviour at the *Sejm* and his affiliation with the hetman's party: "Also he is of the French faction [...] reminded of Mr Gorzeński that the latter fully joined Mr Sobieski the marshal and crown hetman's party, that no matter how many *Sejms* there are, he is ready to break each of them; and when

⁵⁷ *Diariusz sejmu nadzwyczajnego 1670 roku*, ed. Kazimierz PRZYBOŚ, Marek FERENC, Kraków 2004, p. 109.

⁵⁸ J. A. CHRAPOWICKI, *Diariusz*, cz. 3, p. 84.

⁵⁹ Andrzej Olszowski do J. Sobieskiego, Warszawa, 27 IV 1670 r., [in:] *Pisma do wieku*, t. 1, cz. 1, p. 501.

⁶⁰ Z sejmiku szredzkiego 20 maii 1670 A[nno] 1670, Biblioteka Narodowa [The National Library of Poland], Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamoyskich, sygn. 1313, pp. 279–280.

the trusted man told him that he will answer for that before the voivodeship, he said: ‘I don’t care for the voivodeship, I have so much bread from Mr Marshal that it is not hard for me to remember the Motherland’⁶¹ [trans. A.C.]. Despite Grzymułtowski’s conciliatory speech, the heated gentrymen attacked the malcontents with sabres⁶². Gorzeński with part of the gentry managed to escape from Środa⁶³. Meanwhile the gentry of Poznań and Kalisz voivodeships, worried by the breaking of two subsequent *Sejms* and the conspiracy games of the opposition, formed a confederation to defend the king and free election⁶⁴. In the resolution prepared at the *sejmik*, they referred to the internal troubles caused in the country by the malcontents. It also mentioned the names of the persons who opposed the points included in the *sejmik*’s instruction and promised to start a fight against *Sejm* “breakers” as the enemies of the state. The gentrymen lodged in the town records a manifesto against Jan Żelęcki, Mikołaj Smogulecki, the pantler of Kalisz Stanisław Kożuchowski, the pantler of Kijów Jerzy Maniecki, Jerzy Cikowski and Jan Gorzeński; by the power of this document they were excluded from holding any public functions or official posts in the future⁶⁵. A similar manifesto was written against Grzymułtowski and Morsztyn, accusing them of treason and aiming for putting them on trial before the *Sejm* court⁶⁶. Directly after the escape from Środa Gorzeński came to

⁶¹ *Relatia Seymiku Sredzkiego który się odprawował 20 maia 1670*, [in:] *Pisma do wieku*, t. 1, cz. 1, p. 522.

⁶² *Zyivot Krzysztofa Grzymultowskiego*, [in:] *Krzysztofa Grzymułtowskiego wojewody poznańskiego listy i mowy*, ed. Aleksander JABŁONOWSKI, Warszawa 1876, pp. XXXII–XXXIII; K. Grzymułtowski do J. Leszczyńskiego, [b. m.], [...] 1671 r., [in:] *ibid.*, p. 54; Jacek KANIEWSKI, *Sejmiki koronne wobec problemów wewnętrznych Rzeczypospolitej za panowania Michała Korybuta Wiśniowieckiego (1669–1673)*, Katowice 2014, pp. 124–126.

⁶³ *Księga rodowa Opalińskich*, Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego [University of Warsaw Library], sygn. 47, p. 67; Henryk SZEMBORSKI, *Rok 1670 w życiu politycznym województwa poznańskiego i kaliskiego*, Acta Universitatis Wratislaviesnis. Historia, t. 66: 1988, pp. 194–199.

⁶⁴ Konfederacja województwa poznańskiego i kaliskiego, Środa, 20 V 1679 r., APP, Księgi Grodzkie Poznańskie (further cit. Ks. Gr. Poz.), sygn. 1220, k. 55–55v.

⁶⁵ Laudis Contus Sredensis Oblata, APP, Ks. Gr. Kal., sygn. 290, k. 635–636v; APP, Ks. Gr. Poz., sygn. 744, pp. 206v–209; Manifestatio officios palatinatum Maioris Poloniae contra nuncios suos ad comitia novissime dissoluta deputatos, Środa, 20 V 1670, Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku [The National Archives in Gdańsk], Akta miasta Gdańsk, Recesy Stanów Prus Królewskich (further cit. APG, AMG, RSPK), sygn. 300, R/Ee, 18, pp. 423; Laudum sejmiku relacyjnego województwa poznańskiego i kaliskiego, Środa, 20 V 1670, BK, sygn. 828, część 5, k. 231v–233v.

⁶⁶ The noblemen of Greater Poland also put forward the claim to take away the hetman’s mace from Sobieski, see: Oblata Literarum SRM Comitiis, APP, Ks. Gr. Poz., sygn. 707, k. 561–563v; Puncta Laudi Committitorum Sredensium 20 Maii, anno Domini 1670, [in:] Joachim JERLICZ, *Latopisiec albo kroniczka Joachima Jerlicza*, t. 1, ed. Kazimierz Władysław WÓJCIKCI, Warszawa 1853, p. 154.

Jaworów, the seat of Jan Sobieski⁶⁷, from where he attempted to protest against the manifesto of the Greater Poland gentry⁶⁸.

As infamy was placed on Jan Gorzeński, depriving him of the right to represent the gentrymen during parliamentary proceedings, the duties of a faithful supporter of Sobieski's interests in the public forum were taken over by his brother Chryzostom Gorzeński, the *wojski* of Poznań and the *żupnik* of Bydgoszcz⁶⁹. The extraordinary *Sejm* of 1672, meeting under the threat of a Turkish-Tatar attack on the Commonwealth, was dominated by the matters of the country's defense⁷⁰. Another argument confirming the cooperation of Chryzostom with Sobieski was the course of the session of the Greater Poland province in the Augustine church of St. Martin in Warsaw, during which Gorzeński entered into a verbal sparring with the bishop of Chełm Krzysztof Żegocki, an ardent defender of the king. Chryzostom Gorzeński and the deputy Kazimierz Minor-Ligęza proposed that the proceedings should start only after the arrival of the Primate Mikołaj Prażmowski, who belonged to the malcontents' camp. However, Bishop Żegocki protested. Under his influence the deputies from Greater Poland wrote down the act of general confederation, in which they promised to come upon the third *wici* (a call to arms) to the

⁶⁷ J. Sobieski do Jana Opalińskiego, Jaworów, 24 III 1670 r., [in:] *Pisma do wieku*, t. 1, cz. 1, p. 524.

⁶⁸ Oblata Literarum SRM Comitiis, APP, Ks. Gr. Poz., sygn. 707, k. 560–561; Joanna MATYASIK, *Bohater czy buntownik? Jan Sobieski w oczach szlachty w latach 1669–1673*, [in:] *Jan Sobieski wokół spisków i konfederacji*, ed. Mirosław NAGIELSKI (Biblioteka Epoki Nowożytnej, nr 2), Warszawa 2015, pp. 112–113.

⁶⁹ Chryzostom appears later as an envoy of the Środa dietine to the coronation *Sejm* of Jan III Sobieski and the heir of Pudliszki and Kuczyny in the voivodeship of Kalisz, see: Robert KOŁODZIEJ, „Ostatni wolności naszej klejnot”. *Sejm Rzeczypospolitej za panowania Jana III Sobieskiego*, Poznań 2014, p. 601; Teki Dworzaczka, BK, Poznań, Księgi Grodzkie Poznańskie – Inkrypcje, nr 13892.

⁷⁰ The information about the sessions of the *Sejm* and court celebrations comes from the correspondence of Chryzostom Gorzeński. Jan's brother transmitted the news from the south-eastern border about the mobilization of the Tatar forces and about the possible mediation offered by the Prince of Transylvania between Poland and Turkey. He also mentioned the negotiations to get back to good graces for Arians. Chryzostom's correspondent was a cooperator of Jan A. Komensky, the Minister of the Unity of the Bohemina Brethren and the pastor of Kiejdany [Kędainiai] Jan Bytnar, who at the beginning of the 1670s got in touch with the Gorzeński brothers. See more about the above-mentioned issues and about Jan Bytnar: Chryzostom Gorzeński do Jana Bytnara, [...] 1672 r., APP, Akta Braci Czeskich (further cit. ABCz.), sygn. 111, pp. 1–2; Chryzostom Gorzeński do Jana Bytnara, Warszawa, 22 V 1672 r., ibid., pp. 3–5; Chryzostom Gorzeński do Jana Bytnara, Warszawa, 3 VI 1672 r., ibid., pp. 14–17; Marianna Gorzeńska do Jana Bytnara, [b.m., b.d.], ibid., sygn. 112, pp. 1–2; Arnold STARKE, *Bytnar Jan*, [in:] PSB, t. 3, Kraków 1937, pp. 182–183; J. DWORZACZKOWA, *Bracia czescy*, pp. 120–123, 173–180; eadem, *Zbór braci czeskich w Karminie*, Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce, t. 13: 1968, p. 194; J. W. WOŁOSZYN, op.cit., p. 176.

king's side to defend the Commonwealth, the freedoms and the rights. This act was supported also by the deputies from Lesser Poland and Lithuania⁷¹.

The conflicts in the *Sejm*, including the protests logged by the deputies of the court party Andrzej Gąsiorowski and Stanisław Michał Ubysz who wanted to break the proceedings, and the fact that part of the deputies separated and joined the Senate while the others proceeded on their own – these are some of the few examples of obstruction in the public arena⁷². A greater threat to the continuation of the proceedings emerged with the news that Jan Sobieski entered Warsaw at the head of his own military and the comput troops of his supporters⁷³. In Sobieski's train, his faithful supporter Jan Gorzeński came at the head of a reiter company⁷⁴. The demonstration of force was combined with the ultimatum addressed to the king by Sobieski and Primate Prażmowski, which was to force the monarch to abdicate. Ultimately, due to lack of will to compromise on both sides, the *Sejm* was broken on 30 June 1672⁷⁵.

Influenced by the political events, including the open confrontation between the malcontents and the court party, and the unavoidable threat of Turkey, Jan Gorzeński officially joined the faction of the "dissatisfied", signing on 1 July 1672 the act of confederacy⁷⁶. In actuality, this document was a proof of the conspiracy of 38 senators, ministers, senior officials and military officers under the banner of defending the motherland, rights, freedoms and *pacta*

⁷¹ Ch. Gorzeński do J. Bytnera, Warszawa, [...] 1672 r., APP, ABCz., sygn. 111, pp. 26–27; Anna FILIPCZAK-KOCUR, *Konfederacja litewska na nadzwyczajnym sejmie w 1672 roku*, Studia z Dziejów Państwa i Prawa Polskiego, t. 5: 2000, pp. 131–137.

⁷² Ch. Gorzeński do J. Bytnera, Warszawa, 3 VI 1672 r., APP, ABCz., sygn. 111, pp. 14–17; *Diarium Seymu Roku Tysiąc Sześćset Siedemdziesiątego wtórego, miesiąca Maia, dnia ośmnastego*, [in:] *Pisma do wieku i spraw Jan Sobieskiego*, ed. Franciszek KLUCZYCKI, t. 1, cz. 2, Kraków 1881, pp. 900, 1489. About the proceedings in the *Sejm* see Tadeusz KORZON, *Dola i niedola Jana Sobieskiego 1629–1674*, t. 3, Kraków 1898, pp. 1–79; Adam PRZYBOŚ, *Konfederacja gólska*, Tarnopol 1936, pp. 8–30; idem, *Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki*, pp. 61–121; Marcin SOKALSKI, *Między królewskim mająstem a szlachecką wolnością. Postawy polityczne szlachty małopolskiej w czasach Michała Korybuta Wiśniowieckiego*, Kraków 2002, pp. 96–142.

⁷³ On 26 June the information was issued that Andrzej Potocki was going to Warsaw commanding 14 banners. On 5 July the information was that Potocki arrived assisted by as many as 25 military units, while Duke Aleksander Janusz Ostrogski-Zaslawski stopped one mile and a half of Warsaw with 15 banners, see: Zbigniew HUNDERT, *Między buławą a tronem. Wojsko koronne w walce stronnictwa malkontentów z ugrupowaniem dworskim w latach 1669–1673*, Oświęcim 2014, pp. 324–327; Leszek A. WIERZBICKI, *Bunt malkontentów w połowie 1672 roku*, [in:] *Wobec króla i Rzeczypospolitej. Magnateria w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. Jerzy URWANOWICZ, Ewa DUBAS-URWANOWICZ, Kraków 2012, pp. 374–389.

⁷⁴ *Avisy z Warszawy*, 14–23 VI 1672 r., [in:] *Pisma do wieku*, t. 1, cz. 2, p. 982.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ [Akt konfederacyi „Malkontentów” zawiżaney, w Warszawie dnia 1-go lipca 1672 r. po zerwaniu Sejmu], [in:] *Pisma do wieku*, t. 1, cz. 1, p. 1004.

conventa against the king neglecting his duties. The signatories, as the “most humble, most devoted subjects”⁷⁷ commended themselves to the protection of Louis XIV, believing in the help of the French monarch which would involve defusing the conflict with the Turks, restoring order in the Commonwealth and nominating a worthy candidate for the throne, who – according to the malcontents – was Charles of Orleans duke de Longueville and count Saint-Paul⁷⁸. For the Greater Poland gentry gathered at the post-*Sejm sejmik* in Środa in November 1672, this fact was a confirmation that “in their [i.e. that of Jan and Chryzostom Gorzeński – J.P.] hand were the keys to the French factions and all the unvirtuous practices”⁷⁹ [trans. A.C.].

The years 1672–1674 advanced the military career of Jan Gorzeński to a significant extent. I will leave this topic for a while in order to focus on his further political activity. Still during the reign of Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki, in 1673 Gorzeński received the starostship of Starogard in Pomeranian voivodeship after the death of Władysław Denhoff⁸⁰, although not without a conflict with the gentry of Royal Prussia. In January 1674 the gathering at the *sejmik* in Malbork did not agree to assigning the administration to Gorzeński, nor to the nomination of Mikołaj Smogulecki as the castellan of Gdańsk, arguing that neither of the candidates had Prussian *indygenat*, which referred to the origins and length of settlement of gentrymen in Prussia⁸¹. The Gdańsk City Council, which sent its representatives to the general gathering of Prussia, tried to mitigate the conflict. The situation was exacerbated after the votum of the voivode of Malbork Stanisław Działyński, appealing to preserve the principle of *indygenat*. To counter this, the chamberlain of Malbork Jan Piotr Tuchołka took the side of Gorzeński, postulating to confer the *indygenat* in this case, but his speech was not well received among the gentry. The issue of *in-*

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 1005.

⁷⁸ Józef SZUJSKI, *Pierwsze związki polskie z hr. St. Paul de Longueville*, [in:] *Dzieła Józefa Szujskiego*, t. 8, Kraków 1888, pp. 188–232; idem, *Opat Paulmiers i dalsze stosunki polskie z hr. Paul de Longueville*, [in:] ibid., pp. 232–285.

⁷⁹ *Diariusz kołowania i konfederacji pod Gołębiem i Lublinem w 1672 roku wraz z aktem konfederacji*, ed. Adam PRZYBOŚ, Kazimierz PRZYBOŚ, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1972, p. 77–78.

⁸⁰ Paweł CZAPLEWSKI, *Senatorowie świeccy, podskarbiowie i starostowie Prus Królewskich 1454–1772*, Toruń 1921, p. 181; Zbigniew HUNDERT, *Władysławów Denhoffów dwóch*, *Przegląd Historyczny*, t. 107: 2016, z. 2, p. 310.

⁸¹ About the importance of naturalisation in Prussia see: Michał CIEŚLIEWICZ, *Parę uwag o indygenacie pruskim*, *Zeszyty Naukowe Wydziału Humanistycznego Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego*, 1974, z. 2, pp. 19–29; Zbigniew Naworski, *Indygenat w Prusach Królewskich (1454–1772)*, *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne*, t. 35: 1983, z. 1, pp. 31–58; Stanisław ACHREMCZYK, *Życie polityczne Prus Królewskich i Warmii w latach 1660–1703*, pp. 268–272; idem, *Indygenat Prus Królewskich w drugiej połowie XVII wieku*, [in:] *Miedzy Lwowem*, pp. 543–553.

dygenat and handing the starostship to Gorzeński returned at the convocation *Sejm* in mid-January 1674. Then the Prussian deputies led by Leonard Bystram demanded confirmation of the Royal Prussia's rights⁸². After a prolonged strife, Gorzeński obtained the *indygenat* in 1678, that is, already during Sobieski's reign⁸³. This constitutes one of the multiple examples of the king's nomination policy, working towards creating a uniform faction by introducing representatives of new families to the elite of Royal Prussia⁸⁴, giving them profitable Pomeranian tenancies and securing the lands near the Brandenburg border, as Andrzej Kamieński pointed out⁸⁵.

As mentioned, Jan Gorzeński was an ardent supporter of Sobieski and his intentions, including the election to the Polish throne, but he hid the marshal and grand crown hetman's intention to stand as a candidate. This is suggested by the conversation of Gorzeński with the Brandenburg envoy Johann von Hoverbeck at the end of 1673 on the road from Podlasie to Gdańsk. Gorzeński promised support for the candidacy of Karl Emil, the son of the Elector Friedrich Wilhelm, on the condition that he would convert to Catholicism and return the Duchy of Prussia to the Commonwealth. When asked whether he supported the candidacy of Sobieski, Gorzeński denied that the marshal and grand crown hetman was running for the crown at all. The envoy did not believe those words, considering Sobieski to be a man with close connections to the French party⁸⁶. The diplomat's suppositions turned out to be true when on 21 May 1674 Gorzeński, as a member of Sobieski's military entourage, signed

⁸² Diariusz sejmu konwokacyjnego, Warszawa, 16 I 1674 r., APG, AmG, RSPK, sygn. 300,29/172, k. 140.

⁸³ Aleksander Klemp erroneously gave the year 1683, see: Aleksander KLEMP, *Protestanci w dobrach prywatnych w Prusach Królewskich od drugiej połowy XVII do drugiej połowy XVIII wieku*, Gdańsk 1994, p. 75.

⁸⁴ Stanisław ACHREM CZYK, *Szlachta Prus Królewskich w latach 1660–1720*, Echa Przeszłości, t. 2: 2001, pp. 121–124.

⁸⁵ Jan Sobieski was a landowner of the following starosties: the starosty of Osiek, Puck, Międzylesie and Gniew. Royal estates situated in this part of Poland were also owned by his advocates, among others, sub-chancellor and field hetman of Lithuanian Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł – the estates of Wejherowo and the starosty of Czlichów (from 1659), the Crown sword-bearer Franciszek Jan Bieliński – the starosty of Malbork [Marienburg], the voivode of Ruthenia Stanisław Jan Jabłonowski – the starosty of Świecie, the grand crown sub-treasurer starostwo Jan Andrzej Morsztyn – the starosty of Tuchola, the voivode of Pomerania Jan Ignacy Bąkowski – the starosty of Skarszewy and the general major of the royal forces Franciszek de Buy – the starosty of Tczew, see: Andrzej KAMIEŃSKI, *Polska a Brandenburgia-Prusy w drugiej połowie XVII wieku. Dzieje polityczne*, Poznań 2002, p. 99.

⁸⁶ Janusz WOLIŃSKI, *Zabiegi brandenburskie o koronę polską w czasie bezkrólewnia 1673–1674*, [in:] idem, *Z dziejów wojny i polityki w dobie Jana Sobieskiego*, Warszawa 1960, pp. 155–156; A. KAMIEŃSKI, *Polska a Brandenburgia-Prusy*, pp. 98–99; idem, *Działania dyplomacji brandenburskiej w Polsce podczas elekcji 1674 roku*, Wiek Stare i Nowe, t. 8 (13): 2015, p. 33.

[87] In the Service at Sobieski: the Political and Military Activity of Jan Gorzeński... 87
the document from Pomeranian voivodeship, espousing the candidacy of the marshal and grand crown hetman for the Polish throne⁸⁷.

As Sobieski developed his so-called Baltic policy, the Polish-Brandenburg relations deteriorated. The crisis in the Commonwealth's relations with the Elector was exacerbated by the international situation, which had changed due to the wars waged by Louis XIV against the Republic of the Seven United Provinces and Brandenburg. The king of France worked towards creating an alliance of Sweden, Poland and Turkey. On 11 June 1675 in Jaworów Jan III signed a treaty with France, which allowed the Polish king to annex the Duchy of Prussia and attack Friedrich Wilhelm with the help of the Swedish army. Additionally, on 21 August 1677 Sobieski signed a treaty with Sweden concerning the joint attack on the Duchy of Prussia. Soon after the retreat of the Swedes after the Battle of Fehrbellin (28 June 1675) and bombarding a Swedish navy squadron by the Danish fleet, the Elector started a siege of Szczecin that lasted from October 1677 to February 1678 and ended with the capture of the fortress⁸⁸.

During his stay in Gdańsk from August 1677 to February 1678, Jan III closely observed the situation evolving in West Pomerania and attempted to react with appropriate quickness to the steps taken by the elector. Still during the siege of Szczecin two envoys of Jan III came to the court of Friedrich Wilhelm: the abbot Michał Antoni Hacki and Jan Gorzeński⁸⁹. The envoys demanded freedom for pastor Strauch imprisoned in Kostrzyn on the Odra, respecting the rights of Catholics in Pomerania in connection with the recent religious unrest in Drahim, and handing over Sobieski's property captured by Brandenburg privateers⁹⁰. Gorzeński also received from Sobieski an instruc-

⁸⁷ *Volumina legum* (further cit. VL), t. 5, wyd. Jozafat OHRYZKO, Petersburg 1860, p. 150.

⁸⁸ See more: Kazimierz PIWARSKI, *Polityka bałtycka Jana III w latach 1675–1679*, [in:] *Księga pamiątkowa ku czci prof. Wacława Sobieskiego*, t. 1, Kraków 1932; Janusz WOLIŃSKI, *Sprawa pruska 1673–1675 i traktat jaworowski*, [in:] idem, *Z dziejów wojny*, pp. 16–56; Krystyn MATWIJOWSKI, *Pierwsze sejmy z czasów Jana III Sobieskiego*, Wrocław 1976, pp. 32–36; Michał KOMASZYŃSKI, *Jan III Sobieski a Bałtyk*, Gdańsk 1983, pp. 22–31; Marek WAGNER, *Wojna polsko-turecka w latach 1672–1676*, t. 2, Zabrze 2009, pp. 130, 136–137; A. KAMIEŃSKI, *Polska a Brandenburgia*, pp. 125–158; Sławomir AUGUSIEWICZ, *Bitwa pod Fehrbellinem 28 czerwca 1675 roku w świetle aktualnego stanu badań*, [in:] „Trzeba dyscypliny – bez niej nie da się pasji składanie wyrazić...”. *Studia z dziejów nowożytnych (XVI–XVIII w.)*, ed. Maciej FORYCKI, Adam PERŁAKOWSKI, Filip WOLAŃSKI, Poznań 2012, pp. 65–76.

⁸⁹ About sending the mission see: Francis Sanderson do Josepha Williamsona, Dantzigk, 10 XI 1677 r., National Archives in London, State Papers – Foreign Office 88/15, vol. 10.

⁹⁰ J. Gorzeński do Jana III Sobieskiego, Szczecin, 22 XI 1677 r., National Historical Archives in Minsk, Archiwum Sobieskich z Oławy (dalej cyt. NAHB, ASO), f. 695, op. 1, nr 75, k. 15r. See more about the above-mentioned controversies in the Polish-Brandenburgian relations: Edmund CIEŚLAK, *Jan III Sobieskiego wobec spraw katolików w czasie walk społeczno-politycznych 1674–1680*, Zeszyty Naukowe Wydziału Humanistycznego Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego. Prace hi-

tion to carry out a secret mission to establish contact with the Swedish general Otto Königsmarck so that he would send several thousand riders to Prussia⁹¹. The envoys met with a cold welcome from the elector. Gorzeński also tried to set the imperial envoy against Friedrich Wilhelm, pointing out the increasing power of Brandenburg in the region⁹². The mission was a failure, and the elector sent letters to the Commonwealth senators of the arrogance and haughtiness demonstrated by the envoy during his mission⁹³. It should be also added as a side note that from October to November 1677 Gorzeński carried out another mission from the king. It involved preparation of the visit of the monarch and other dignitaries at the observatory of Gdańsk astronomer Jan Heweliusz and ensuring the scientist of Jan III's favour⁹⁴.

Without getting into the intricacies of the new international situation, it should be noted that the fall of Szczecin, the indolence of Swedish command which was unable to take offensive steps against Prussia, and finally the opposition of the Pac family allied with the elector as well as the consciousness of the growing threat of Turkey after the failed mission of the voivode of Chełm Jan Krzysztof Gniński to Istanbul resulted in Sobieski abandoning his Baltic plans.

After his failed mission Gorzeński appeared multiple times as a participant in *sejmik* proceedings in Royal Prussia. The analysed source material does not, however, contain any information about his appearances in the *Sejm*. The starost of Starogard was for the first time elected a deputy to the *Sejm* from Pomeranian voivodeship in 1677⁹⁵. It should be added here that Gorzeński together with Krzysztof Grzymułtowski and the starost of Bydgoszcz Franciszek Gałecki became involved – on Sobieski's orders – in the pre-*Sejm* campaign in Greater Poland, attempting to convince the local gentry to further participate

storyczno-literackie, t. 10–11: 1986, pp. 185–203; Claudia DRESE, „...was für ein blutbad wäre nicht zu sorgen?“ Zu den Streitigkeiten in Danzig 1674/1675 oder: Ägidius Strauch, ein in Wittenberg geprägter Lutheraner, *Zapiski Historyczne* (further cit. ZH), t. 75: 2010, z. 4, pp. 33–49.

⁹¹ Those actions were supported by the voivode of Pomerania Władysław Denhoff, see: Władysław Denhoff do Jana III Sobieskiego, [b.m., b.d.], Biblioteka Czartoryskich w Krakowie [Czartoryski Library in Cracow] (further cit. BCz), sygn. 2895/V, p. 85; A. KAMIEŃSKI, op.cit., pp. 158–166.

⁹² J. Gorzeński do Jana III Sobieskiego, Szczecin, 13 XII 1677 r., NAHB, ASO, f. 695, op. 1, nr 75, k. 17–19.

⁹³ Fryderyk Wilhelm do Jana III Sobieskiego, Cölln an Spree, 15/26 I 1678 r., NAHB, ASO, f. 695, op. 1, nr 75, k. 23–27; Krystyn MATWIJOWSKI, *Sejm grodzieński 1678–1679*, Wrocław 1985, pp. 21–22.

⁹⁴ Karolina TARGOSZ, *Jan III Sobieski mecenasem nauk i uczonych*, Warszawa 2014 (ed. 2), pp. 564–565.

⁹⁵ Instructio Statum et Ordinum Terrarum Prussia ad Comitia Regni Generalia, Malbork, 14 I 1677 r., APG, AmG, RSPK, sygn. 300,29/180, k. 83v.

in the costs of military actions⁹⁶. The research did not manage to discover later activity of Gorzeński, for example during the *Sejm* proceedings. In the following year, however, he participated in *sejmik* in Starogard, where instructions were written for the deputies going to Grudziądz for the general *sejmik* on 7 November 1678. The deputies were obliged to thank the king for his work at maintaining external security, to confirm the incomes for the queen's court that came from the *starostwa* in Pomeranian voivodeship, to issue assignations for military troops, to punish those guilty of demolishing the Carmelite church in Gdańsk, to provide for the cloister of the Bridgettine Order in Gdańsk, to confirm the right of Prussian *indygenat*, to punish unruly soldiers and to mediate in the dispute between the Starogard burghers and Gdańsk City Council⁹⁷. At the general *sejmik* Gorzeński was elected for the second time the deputy from Pomeranian voivodeship⁹⁸. The same thing happened in 1685⁹⁹. The starost of Starogard was mentioned once more in 1689, at the proceedings of the general *sejmik* in Malbork during a discussion regarding Samuel Schelwig, a theologian, Lutheran polemist and professor of philosophy at the Academic Gymnasium in Gdańsk¹⁰⁰. Since early 1680s he entered into a dispute with the Jesuit Jan Franciszek Hacki, who acted against religious dissenters; Schelwig published a series of four treatises strongly condemning the intolerance of the Catholic clergyman¹⁰¹. Gorzeński, a dissenter himself, in his speech defended the pastor, who since 1685 had been the rector of the Gymnasium and the professor of theology. During the *sejmik* proceedings, he received for the fifth time the mandate for the *Sejm* of the Commonwealth¹⁰².

Gorzeński's activity, although focused on local matters, was not unnoticed by the monarch, who in 1685 awarded his faithful service with the office of the Lithuanian huntmaster. The circumstances of this nomination can be described as complex. In 1684 the Lithuanian grand huntmaster Jan Kazimierz Kierdej was promoted to the office of the voivode of Troki, yet due to a chronic illness

⁹⁶ K. MATWIJOWSKI, *Pierwsze sejmy*, p. 174; Kazimierz Michał Pac do Kazimierza Jana Sapiehy, Monte Pacis, 27 VI 1678, BCz, sygn. 5911/IV, nr 42036, pp. 13–14.

⁹⁷ Instrukcja sejmiku starogardzkiego generalnego województwa pomorskiego, Starogard, 3 XI 1678 r., APG, AmG, RSPK, sygn. 300/29/181, k. 20–23v.

⁹⁸ Instructio Statum et Ordinum Terrarum Prussia, Grudziądz, 5 XII 1678 r., APG, AmG, RSPK, sygn. 300,29/181, k. 113v.

⁹⁹ Instructio Statum et Ordinum Terrarum Prussia, Malbork, 20 I 1685 r., APG, AmG, RSPK, sygn. 300,29/188, k. 238v.

¹⁰⁰ Recessus Conventus Ante-Comitialis, Malbork, 16 XII 1689 r., APG, AmG, RSPK, sygn. 300,29/192, k. 105–106.

¹⁰¹ Lech MOKRZECKI, *Schelwig (Schelguig) Samuel*, [in:] PSB, t. 35, Warszawa–Kraków 1994, pp. 441–442.

¹⁰² Instructio Statum et Ordinum Terrarum Prussia, Malbork, 16 XII 1690 r., APG, AmG, RSPK, sygn. 300,29/192, k. 120v.

he did not take up the post. At the same time the office of the huntmaster – *de iure* vacated – was given to the starost of Chwiejdany Jan Kazimierz Wołłowicz¹⁰³. After Kierdej's death, in May 1685 the king unexpectedly gave the post of the huntmaster to Gorzeński, which was met with protests from Wołłowicz. Only in 1690, after handing over to Wołłowicz the office of the Lithuanian quartermaster vacated by the death of Jerzy Karol Chodkiewicz, the king was able to sign the nomination of Gorzeński to the office of the Lithuanian huntmaster¹⁰⁴. At this stage of the research it has not been determined which of the estates in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Gorzeński took over, as this was a *sine qua non* condition of nomination to the office. It should be underlined, however, that due to his high position he was able to recommend other people who wanted to be promoted and to create a pro-court party¹⁰⁵. An example of such activity is the application for the promotion of Jan Kazimierz Kotowicz from the office of the pantler of Orsza to the posts of the chamberlain of Grodno and the land notary of Grodno¹⁰⁶.

Awarding Gorzeński the office of the Lithuanian huntmaster was an element of Sobieski building a court faction in Lithuania¹⁰⁷. On the one hand Sobieski relied on the Crown gentrymen introduced onto Lithuanian offices – besides Gorzeński there was Ernest Denhoff, who in 1683 took over the castellany of Wilno¹⁰⁸ – and on the other hand, on the members of the Radziwiłł family holding ministerial offices (Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł was the deputy chancellor in the years 1668–1680; Dominik Mikołaj Radziwiłł was the

¹⁰³ Jan Kaczanowski do Kazimierza Jana Sapiehy, Jaworów, 21 VI 1684 r., [in:] *Listy z czasów Jana III i Augusta II*, ed. G[otard] B[aron] U[NN], Władysław SKRZYDŁKA, Kraków 1870, p. 97.

¹⁰⁴ Kazimierz Sarnecki do Karola Stanisława Radziwiłła, Warszawa, 5 XII 1690 r., AGAD, AR, dz. V, sygn. 13939/I, p. 78; *Urzędnicy centralni i dostońcy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XVI–XVIII wiek. Spisy*, ed. Henryk LULEWICZ, Andrzej RACHUBA, Kórnik 1994, pp. 67, 102. See about the controversies connected with the double bestowal of offices: Krzysztof MIKULSKI, *Podwójna obsada urzędów ziemskich, urzędy „tytularne”/„nielegalne” w Rzeczypospolitej w XVII–XVIII w. – kilka uwag wstępnych*, ZH, t. 81: 2017, z. 2, pp. 71–83.

¹⁰⁵ See more: Konrad BOBIATYŃSKI, *Jan Sobieski i jego litewscy sojusznicy w okresie „przedkrólewskim”*, [in:] *Marszałek i hetman wielki koronny Jan Sobieski*, ed. Dariusz MILEWSKI, Warszawa 2014, pp. 153–173.

¹⁰⁶ J. Gorzeński do Jana III Sobieskiego, Grodno, 11 VII 1690 r., AGAD, Archiwum Publiczne Potockich (further cit. APPot.), sygn. 12, pp. 477–478.

¹⁰⁷ K. BOBIATYŃSKI, *Jan Sobieski*, pp. 153–173. Other factors may have included: the facility in acquiring wealth, higher life conditions and privileges for the reformed denominations, see: Maria Barbara TOPOLSKA, *Polacy w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVI–XVIII wieku. Przyczynki do dziejów polskiej emigracji na Wschód w okresie staropolskim*, Acta Lituano-Slavica Posnaniensia, t. 2: 1987, pp. 147–166.

¹⁰⁸ Kazimierz PIWARTSKI, *Denhoff Ernest*, [in:] PSB, t. 5, Kraków 1939–1945, pp. 108–109; Stefan CIARA, *Senatorowie i dygnitarze koronni w drugiej połowie XVII wieku*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1990, p. 11 f.

Lithuanian deputy chancellor in 1681–1690, and from 1690 the grand chancellor of Lithuania; in turn, his nephew Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł received in 1690 the office of the Lithuanian deputy chancellor, and Stanisław Kazimierz Radziwiłł in the years 1680–1690 was the grand marshal of Lithuania). Besides them, the king had in Lithuania merely a handful of supporters from the Ogiński, Zawisza and Śluszko families¹⁰⁹.

The monarch was forced to begin the struggle with the increasingly powerful Sapiehas. Already in 1676, with the king's agreement, the office of the grand treasurer of Lithuania was sold by Hieronim Kryspin-Kirszensztein to the court treasurer Benedykt Paweł Sapieha. In 1682 Kazimierz Jan Sapieha was promoted to Wilno voivodeship, and a year later he received the grand mace of Lithuania (since 1681 he had been the field hetman of Lithuania). In turn, in 1692 took place the nomination of Aleksander Paweł Sapieha to the office of Lithuanian court marshal¹¹⁰. By this cumulation of military and treasury offices, the Sapiehas gained full control of the administration, Lithuanian treasury and the military. By elevating the Sapiehas, Jan III Sobieski *de facto* lost control over military spending, influence on the treasury-military committee meetings, management of estates and taxes and influence on military appointments¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁹ One must underline here some nominations which led to the constitution of this party. In 1683 the office of the field hetman of Lithuania was given to Jan Jacek Ogiński, who held it until 1684. In 1684 the office of the grand chancellor of Lithuania was taken over by Marcjan Aleksander Ogiński. In the same year the office of the cup-bearer of Lithuania was given to the voivode of Polotsk Hrehory Antoni Ogiński, and Krzysztof Zawisza – the new chancellor's nephew – was appointed starost of Mińsk. In 1685 the marshall of Vawkavysk Mikołaj Franciszek Ogiński took over the office of the sword-bearer of Lithuania, while his uncle Szymon Karol Ogiński was given the voivodship of Mścisław. Apart from both the Ogiński family, advocates of Sobieski included the castellan of Vilnius Józef Bogusław Śluszka, who in 1685 was given the hetman's smaller mace, and the Sapiehas from the Kodeń line – Władysław Jozafat Sapieha, from 1684 the carver of Lithuania and his brother Kazimierz Władysław, the sub-treasurer of Lithuania from 1686. See more: Jarosław STOLICKI, *Rozdawnictwo wakansów przez Jana III jako metoda tworzenia partii dworskiej*, [in:] *Faworyci i opozycjonisi. Król a elita polityczna Rzeczypospolitej XV–XVIII*, ed. Mariusz MARKIEWICZ, Ryszard SKOWRON, Kraków 2006, pp. 364–366; Arkadiusz MALEJKA, *Spór o pieczęć wielką litewską w latach 1684–1685: z dziejów polityki nominacyjnej Jana III Sobieskiego*, Studia Historyczne, t. 44: 2001, z. 2, pp. 301–311; Gintautas SLIESORIŪNAS, *Walka stronnicztw w przededniu i podczas wojny domowej na Litwie XVII/XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Władza i prestiż. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVII wieku*, ed. Jerzy URWANOWICZ, Ewa DUBAS-URWANOWICZ, Piotr Guzowski, Białystok 2003, pp. 243–253.

¹¹⁰ Andrzej RACHUBA, *Sapieha Benedykt Paweł*, [in:] *Dom Sapieżyński*, ed. Eustachy SAPIĘHA, Warszawa 1995, pp. 325–326; idem, *Sapieha Kazimierz Jan*, [in:] *ibid.*, s. 340–341.

¹¹¹ Ludwik POWIDAJ, *Wojna domowa Sapiehów ze szlachtą litewską w ostatnich latach XVII wieku i na początku XVIII w.*, Przegląd Polski, R. 7: 1872, z. 4, pp. 68–88, 211–231; Kazimierz PIWARSKI, *Opozycja litewska pod koniec XVII wieku*, [in:] *Pamiętnik V Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich w Warszawie*, t. 1, Lwów 1930, pp. 261–269; Andrzej RACHUBA, *Hegemo-*

The atmosphere of rivalry between the king's supporters and the Sapiehas is displayed by the then popular lampoon in the form of Jan Gorzeński's letter addressed to Kazimierz Jan Sapieha. It is evoked here not as a sample of real correspondence but as an example of political writing. The Lithuanian huntmaster accused Sapieha of quartering his banners in the king's pantry estates at the time when the monarch was planning to go to Białowieża and Sobota to hunt. Gorzeński protested that Sapieha was trying to interfere in the competences of his office, that he makes decisions concerning the state of the forests of Białowieża, Przełom and Perstuń, and in addition he arbitrarily collects taxes and contributions from beekeepers, ore miners and pitch burners. In Gorzeński's eyes the action of Sapieha grew to the dimension of law violation and lese-majesty: "The news coming from Lithuania that you, your Grace, against the law that *securitati bonis mensa Regia quam amplissimae prospexit* in the foresteries of His Majesty in Białowieża and Sobota destined to supply king's table and entertainment, ordered to quarter your banners [...]. I, as your Grace's present action when you attacked the bread and table against His Majesty's own person *directa esse videtur*. [...] As I understand, your Grace, whoever has attacked his table, in a while will reach for the crown"¹¹² [trans. A.C.]. In his response, which is another example of a lampoon, Sapieha rebutted those accusations, maintaining that he had not broken law and, all the more, he had not humiliated the monarch with his action. Sapieha also stressed that Gorzeński, as a king's trusted servant, cannot dictate the grand hetman of Lithuania how the latter should act¹¹³.

As a part of the process of actual discrediting Sapiehas' moves, Gorzeński informed the monarch about the circumstances of his meeting with the grand treasurer of Lithuania Benedykt Paweł Sapieha, although its place has not been established. The intentions of the grand hetman of Lithuania regarding taking over the command of the banners left by Lithuanian equerry Franciszek

nia Sapiehów na Litwie jako przejaw skrajnej dominacji magnaterii w życiu kraju, [in:] Władza i prestiż. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku, pp. 217–229; Przemysław ROMAŃUK, Instytucjonalne podstawy hegemonii Sapiehów w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w drugiej połowie XVII wieku, [in:] W cieniu wojen i rozbiorów. Studia z dziejów Rzeczypospolitej XVIII i początków XIX wieku, ed. Urszula Kosińska, Dorota DUKWICZ, Adam DANILCZYK, Warszawa 2014, pp. 29–37; Mariusz SAWICKI, Konflikt biskupa wileńskiego Konstantego Kazimierza Brzostowskiego z Kazimierzem Janem Sapiehą w latach 1693–1696, [in:] Studia z dziejów Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, ed. Sławomir GÓRZYŃSKI, Mirosław NAGIELSKI, Warszawa 2014, pp. 383–401; idem, Dom Sapieżyński 1666–1685. Droga do hegemonii w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim, Opole 2016, pp. 111–247.

¹¹² J. Gorzeński do Kazimierza Jana Sapiehy, Lwów, 5 I 1687 r., BK, sygn. 969, pp. 8–10 (the same letter also available under a different entry number 971, k. 135–136v; Biblioteka Raczyńskich w Poznaniu [The Raczyński Library in Poznań], sygn. 360, pp. 202–204).

¹¹³ K. J. Sapieha do J. Gorzeńskiego, [s.l., s.d.], BK, sygn. 969, pp. 10–12.

Stefan Sapieha were revealed to Gorzeński at that time¹¹⁴. In 1690 Gorzeński reported that Benedykt Paweł Sapieha foiled the operations of the collectors and sub-collectors of the chimney tax so that “the Lithuanian treasury tribunal [...] brought very little money as the current collections of the chimney taxes amount merely to a third of the old collections’ tariff in the Duchy of Lithuania”¹¹⁵ [trans. A.C.].

His faithful service to the marshal and grand crown hetman, later the king of Poland, and the related official nomination were not the only reason of Gorzyński’s advancement¹¹⁶. In 1672 he married a relative of Jan Sobieski, Elżbieta – the daughter of Barbara *de domo* Kuropatnicka (2° v. Grabiączyna) and Ludwik Sobieski – who was the widow of the starost of Starogard Władysław Denhoff¹¹⁷.

Interestingly, at that time Gorzeński also was a widower. We do not know much about his first wife Ewa Bronikowska from Bucz except that she married Jan in 1651 and handed over a dowry of 8,000 Polish zlotys¹¹⁸.

Besides the connections to the Sobieski and Denhoff families, the second wife brought Jan a significant fortune, including the mentioned Starogard *starostwo*, to which she had had joint ownership right since 1669¹¹⁹. Besides this property, since 1687 the Gorzeńskis also held the tenancy of Tajno, which until

¹¹⁴ J. Gorzeński do Jana III Sobieskiego, Grodno, 5 III 1687 r., AGAD, APPot., sygn. 12, pp. 252–255.

¹¹⁵ J. Gorzeński do Stanisława Antoniego Szczuki, Wilno, [s.d.] 1690 r., AGAD, APPot., sygn. 163a, t. XVII, p. 665.

¹¹⁶ The sign of Sobieski’s trust in Gorzeński were the loans he used to give to the Master of the Hunt of Lithuania from his private resources. In 1690 Gorzeński’s debt amounted to 100 minced thalers, see: AGAD, Zbiory Aleksandra Czołowskiego, sygn. 392, k. 41.

¹¹⁷ The wedding of Elżbieta with Denhoff took place in 1667 in Lviv, see: J. Sobieski do Katarzyny z Sobieskich Radziwiłłowej, Lwów, 3 II 1667 r., [in:] *Pisma do wieku*, t. 1, cz. 1, p. 259.

¹¹⁸ Teki Dworzaczka, BK, Księgi Grodzkie Poznańskie – Inskrypcje, nr 133, k. 47v; nr 208, k. 82.

¹¹⁹ P. CZAPLEWSKI, op.cit., p. 181.



2. A coffin portrait of Elżbieta Sobieska 1°v. Denhoff
2°v. Gorzeńska (?), the National Museum
in Poznań, No. 2361

mid-17th century was a part of Augustów *starostwo*¹²⁰. The tenancy brought significant income from the marketplace established by Jan III in 1676¹²¹, bee-keeping, ore mining, fishing and wood industry¹²². The Gorzeńskis also managed to expand their estate, adding the villages of Tajenko, Solistówko, Reszki and Wólka, which were *nota bene* king's property. After Gorzeński's death on 4 September 1694¹²³, the office of the Lithuanian huntmaster and the right to Starogard *starostwo* in December of that year were handed over by the king to Franciszek Michał, the son of Władysław Denhoff and Elżbieta *de domo* Sobieska, 2^o v. Gorzeńska¹²⁴. The issue of the estates in Podlasie was more troublesome. The mentioned Franciszek Michał Denhoff endeavoured to take them over, appealing in this matter to the queen Maria Kazimiera Sobieska¹²⁵. Due to lack of support, he abandoned his intentions¹²⁶. In 1698 Elżbieta Gorzeńska *de domo* Sobieska ceded the Tajno tenancy to her daughter, the wife of the starost of Czerkasy – Konstancja *de domo* Denhoff, 1^o v. Wielhorska, 2^o v. Po-

¹²⁰ AGAD, Archiwum Potockich z Radzynia (further cit. APR), sygn. 245, k. 2, 5, 7–9v; AGAD, Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego, sygn. 70, p. 920. This bestowal should be considered in the context of the phenomenon of the military settlement, which developed in the second half of the 17th century and which was to secure the communication routes and the border lands, see: Marek WAGNER, „Pers na Podlasie”. *Z dziejów osadnictwa wojskowego na ziemiach podlaskich w drugiej połowie XVII wieku*, Rocznik Bialskopodlaski, t. 8–9: 2000–2001, pp. 21–22.

¹²¹ Józef MAROSZEK, *Targowiska wiejskie w Koronie Polskiej w drugiej połowie XVII i XVIII wieku*, Białystok 1990, p. 237.

¹²² Jerzy WIŚNIEWSKI, *Dzieje osadnictwa od XVI do XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów Pojezierza Augustowskiego*, ed. Jerzy ANTONIEWICZ, Białystok 1967, pp. 186–187; Bogumiła JĘDRZEJEWSKA, Tomasz SAMOJLIK, *Kontrakty Jana III Sobieskiego z lat 1675–1686 w sprawie dzierżawy i użytkowania Leśnictwa Białowieskiego*, Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej, t. 52: 2004, nr 3, pp. 321–330.

¹²³ Jerzy Koziński do K. S. Radziwiłła, Warszawa, 12 XII 1694 r., AGAD, AR, dz. V, sygn. 7626, p. 84. In May 1693 Gorzeński participated in the conference organized in the palace of Primate Radziejowski on occasion of the reception of a Tatar envoy, see: Kazimierz SARNECKI, *Pamiętniki z czasów Jana Sobieskiego*, t. 1: *Diariusz*, ed. Janusz WOLIŃSKI, Wrocław 2004, pp. 51–52.

¹²⁴ M. K. d'Arquien Sobieska do Jana Albrechta Denhoffa, [s.l., s.d.], AGAD, Archiwum Kozierowskich (furthe cit. AKom.), sygn. 76/101, p. 195; J. Koziński do K. S. Radziwiłła, Warszawa, 19 II 1695 r., [in:] Kazimierz SARNECKI, *Pamiętniki z czasów Jana Sobieskiego*, t. 2: *Relacje*, ed. Janusz WOLIŃSKI, Wrocław 2004, p. 439; P. CZAPLEWSKI, op.cit., p. 182; *Urzędnicy centralni i dostojnicy*, p. 68. Franciszek Michał Denhoff received the nomination for the office of the Master of the Hunt on 10 February 1695. He was also a secretary in the crown grand chancery.

¹²⁵ M. K. d'Arquien Sobieska do Franciszka Michała Denhoffa, Wilanów, 11 VI 1696 r., Stefnik National Science Library in Lviv, Autografy Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, f. 5, op. 2, nr 2631, p. 2.

¹²⁶ The queen confirmed the widow's right to inherit the estates after the death of Gorzeński, see: M. K. d'Arquien Sobieska do Elżbiety z Sobieskich Gorzeńskiej, [s.l.], 24 VI [1695?], AGAD, AKom., sygn. 76/101, p. 95.

tocka¹²⁷; however, her death in the same year put an end to these plans. The Tajno estate was given to Stanisław Antoni Szczuka by the privilege issued by Augustus II from 13 June 1968 as a reward for the support given to the Elector of Saxony during the election. On 28 June 1698, universals were sent to the subjects and the pretendent party, announcing the coming of royal commissioners who were to take over the property¹²⁸. Only after the death of the grand chancellor of Lithuania Szczuka in 1710, the Tajno tenancy was returned to the Gorzeński family. Heavily indebted estates were then taken over by Jan's brother Chryzostom, and passed down to his son, the standard-bearer of Wscho-wa and a colonel in the king's army Władysław Gorzeński.

* * *

The military career of Jan Gorzeński began in 1655 with participation in the Polish-Swedish wars, which was discussed above in detail. The next turning point was the year 1662, which brought the promotion of Gorzeński to the rank of an infantry captain¹²⁹. In 1670 he received a nomination to *oberszt*, or the commander of the lifeguard arquebuser company at the regiment of Marcjan Ścibor Chełmski. However, this promotion did not occur without commotion. It should be explained that already before 1667 the commander of the lifeguard arquebuser company in Jan Kazimierz's guard, counted together with the royal regiment under Chełmski, was Sobieski's brother-in-law, Louis Anne d'Arquien. In 1667 the regiment together with the lifeguard company ceased to be king's troops and from 1 August 1667 they were kept in the comput forces, in the section from Kraków voivodeship, as a unit of 400 horses. At the 1670 *Sejm* it was decided to abolish the arquebuser troops, so the chevalier d'Arquien lost his posting. Then Jan Sobieski contracted from Jan Linkhauz a regiment of dragoons for Louis. Meanwhile, on the basis of Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki's universal from May 1671, the reiter troops were kept in service. The problem, however, was that d'Arquien did not have Polish *indygenat*, which gave rise to the gentry protesing against giving him the command of the arquebusers. Therefore Sobieski handed the lifeguard company to Gorzeński, together with service nomination¹³⁰. This was clearly a proof of Sobieski's patronage, which protected Gorzeński against widespread ostracism after the

¹²⁷ AGAD, APR, sygn. 245, pp. 116–118.

¹²⁸ Inwentarz Dzierżawy Tayeńskiej w Województwie Podlaskim w Ziemi Bielskiej leżącej po śmierci JMści Pani Łowczyney Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego Starościney Starogardzkiej odebraney na osobę Jaśnie Wielmożnego JMści Pana Referendarza Koronnego za przywilejem Jego Kr. Mości conferowaney spisany przez nas Komissarzów Jego Kr. Mści dnia IV Mca Lypca Roku Państkiego MDCXCVIII, AGAD, APR, sygn. 245, pp. 94–95.

¹²⁹ M. WAGNER, *Korpus*, p. 424.

¹³⁰ T. KORZON, op.cit., t. 3, pp. 80–81; Z. HUNDERT, *Miedzy buławą*, pp. 157–158, 236–239; M. WAGNER, *Korpus*, p. 521.

events at the 1670 *Sejm* which he provoked. Let us add that the marshal and grand crown hetman made this exchange against the king's will and breaking the regulations about *oberszt* posts for landed gentry. "And this company, [i.e. of reiters – J.P.] in which Mr Krzywicki no longer wanted to be – having taken him into my regimen, so that he does not stay in this camp without a rank – I gave to Mr Gorzeński, or rather threw this problem onto him; and I did this without His Majesty's knowledge"¹³¹ [trans. A.C.].

With the reiter company Gorzeński took part in Sobieski's 1671 expedition to Ukraine against the Cossack hetman Petro Doroshenko, allied with the Sultan Mehmed IV and the Tatar Khan Selim Giray¹³². Sobieski set out on 20 June 1671. In August of that year the Crown forces were victorious at Bracław, yet Gorzeński at the head of two reiter squadrons was in the reserve of the group led by the commander of hetman's dragoons Krzysztof Landuy de Bohun and the general of artillery Marcin Kątski, which occupied the town of Bracław and blocked the upper castle until October 1671¹³³. The reiter company marched then to Kalnik and Mohylew, scoring subsequent victories. As there was no help from the king, and the grand hetman of Lithuania Michał Kazimierz Pac distanced himself fully from the fight, Ukraine was not fully conquered, and thus Sobieski did not utilize his string of victories. A year after the presented events Gorzeński fought against Tatars at Niemirów, for which he received an accolade from Sobieski¹³⁴. The difficulties of the expedition are represented in one of Gorzeński's letters in which he explains his health affliction: "The nature allowed me to return and to explain to Your majesty that I had been ill with rubella and I cannot take home-made medicine. However, despite my weakness, I have to fulfil my duties, which means I am at Your Majesty's service. Nevertheless, if I become weak again, I would like you to know that the main reason for my suffering is taking pills and using ointments"¹³⁵ [trans. A.C.].

Soon after the described events, in January 1673 Gorzeński led his unit of reiters to Łowicz, the location of the headquarters of Sobieski, who was at the head of the Szczebrzeszyn Confederation, and where the seat of Primate Mikołaj Prażmowski was¹³⁶. After this event, we know nothing about

¹³¹ J. Sobieski do M. K. d'Arquien Sobieskiej, à Bar, 6 XI [1671], [in:] *Listy Jana*, pp. 220–221; Ulryk WERDUM, *Dziennik wyprawy polowej 1671*, ed. Dariusz MILEWSKI, Warszawa 2012, pp. 228.

¹³² See more: Jan PERDENIA, *Hetman Piotr Doroszenko a Polska*, Kraków 2000, pp. 207–307.

¹³³ J. Sobieski do Michała Korybuta Wiśniowieckiego, obóz pod Barem, 31 VIII 1671 r., [in:] *Pisma do wieku*, t. 1, cz. 1, Kraków 1880, p. 669; T. KORZON, op.cit., t. 3, pp. 23–37, 55–57.

¹³⁴ J. Sobieski do Michała Korybuta Wiśniowieckiego, spod Niemirowa, 8 X 1672 r., [in:] *Pisma do wieku*, t. 1, cz. 2, p. 1082.

¹³⁵ J. Gorzeński do N.N. pułkownika, [s.l.], [...] 1672, AGAD, AR, dz. V, sygn. 4549, p. 5.

¹³⁶ Before his arrival in Łowicz, Gorzeński went to the general dietine in Malbork as a mili-

Gorzeński's possible participation in the negotiations between the malcontents and the court party, and his participation in the pacification *Sejm*¹³⁷.

What is known about later military activity of Gorzeński is that he took part in the Battle of Chocim (11 November 1673) during which he led a regiment consisting of three companies, including his own lifeguard company¹³⁸. As it turned out, the participation in the battle brought Gorzeński infamy. We learn about it from the events that took place three years later. At Jan III Sobieski's coronation *Sejm* in 1676, the group of Sandomierz deputies demanded that certain officers should be excluded from *sejmik* and *Sejm* proceedings, including Marcjan Ścibor Chełmski, the pantler of Płock Władysław Łoś, the leader of the dragoon regiment Kazimierz Zawadzki and Jan Gorzeński, who were suspected of desertion from the battlefield at Chocim. On 7 March, the *Sejm* courts judged Zawadzki and Gorzeński by default, sentencing them to the loss of honour and respect¹³⁹. It should be marked, however, that independently of that, around 1676 Gorzeńskie arquebuser unit received the status of

tary deputy, and to the voivode of Malbork Stanisław Działyński in order to encourage him to join the Confederation of Szczebrzeszyn. Noblemen at the dietine supported the king, notwithstanding underlining Sobieski's merits for the field of defence, by which noblemen wanted to stress their desire to remain neutral. Gorzeński received the average remuneration of 100 ducats. The dietine sent the pantler of Płock Władysław Łoś with the reply letter to Sobieski and the canon of Ermland [Warmia] Albert Działyński to the king with the declaration of obedience, loyalty and subjection, see more: Instrukcja od Wojska Koronnego JKMści Rzeczypospolitej do Jaśnie Oświeconego, Jaśnie Wielmożnych etc. na Sejmik Generalny w Malborku zgromadzonym dana JMP. Janowi Gurzyńskiemu Pułkownikowi JKMściw Szczebrzeszynie podczas Generalnego Koła, d. 30 Novembris Anno 1672, BCz, sygn. 978/IV, p. 481; J. Sobieski do Stanisława Działyńskiego, Szczebrzeszyn, 9 XII 1672 r., [in:] *Pisma do wieku*, t. 1, cz. 2, p. 1151; Jan Sobieski do Stanisława Działyńskiego, [s.l.], 24 XII 1672, [in:] ibid., p. 1159; J. KANIEWSKI, *Sejmiki*, pp. 343–344, 632.

¹³⁷ Leszek A. WIERZBICKI, *O zgodę w Rzeczypospolitej. Zjazd warszawski i sejm pacyfacyjny 1673*, Lublin 2005, pp. 158–159; idem, *Konfederaci szczebrzeszynscy. Przywódcy związku wojska koronnego na przełomie 1672 i 1673 roku*, Studia z Dziejów Wojskowości, t. 1: 2012, pp. 177–184; Z. HUNDERT, *Miedzy buławą*, pp. 342–343; Wiesław Jan WYSOCKI, *Niedoszły rokoss łowicki 1672–1673 (Sobieskiego związki z Łowiczem)*, Łowicz 1984.

¹³⁸ AGAD, Archiwum Skarbowo-Wojskowe (further cit. ASW), dz. 82, nr 16, pp. 90–99; Z. HUNDERT, *Miedzy buławą*, pp. 233, 241, 363; Mirosław NAGIELSKI, *Organizacja rajtarii i arkanabuzerii koronnej w XVII wieku*, [in:] *Organizacja armii w nowożytnej Europie. Struktura – urzędy – prawo – finanse*, ed. Karol ŁOPATECKI, Zabrze 2011, p. 203 n. The universal of the sub-treasurer of the crown Jan Andrzej Morsztyn brought a very important piece of information, on the basis of which in 1677 the arquebus corps commanded by Gorzeński received the pay of 9000 and 5000 Polish złotys for the years 1673–1674, via the sub-treasurer of the Prussian lands Jan Ignacy Bąkowski, see APG, AmG, RSPK, sygn. 300,29/180, k. 176–176v.

¹³⁹ Diariusz sejmu koronacyjnego, BCz, sygn. 425, pp. 410–414; K. MATWIJOWSKI, *Pierwsze sejmy*, p. 127; M. WAGNER, *Korpus*, p. 492. The sentence was abolished at the *Sejm* of 1690, but only in relation to Władysław Łoś, the voivode of Pomerania, see: VL, t. 5, p. 378.

the guard regiment of Jan Sobieski¹⁴⁰. Gorzeński also took place in the Wiedeń expedition in 1683, during which he led the royal arquebuser regiment of 293 horses¹⁴¹. Probably Gorzeński was the commander of the regiment until 1685, when the *Sejm* decided about reorganization of the army and he himself as a civil deputy became a member of the commission for winter accommodation¹⁴².

* * *

Summing up these deliberations, it should be stated that Jan Gorzeński's political and military activity at Sobieski's side was possible owing to his earlier cooperation with Krzysztof Grzymułtowski and Jan Leszczyński, who attained the strongest position in Greater Poland during the second half of the 17th century. The cooperation resulted in Gorzeński being entrusted with missions that drew to his person the attention of the marshal and grand crown hetman. Starting from the abdication *Sejm* – at which Gorzeński as a deputy clearly opposed the plans of king Jan Kazimierz, fulfilling thus the order of his masters – the position of this moderately affluent gentryman began to rise. The subsequent events at the political scene in the country undermined the trust provincial gentry had in him. Perceived as Sobieski's confidant, he lost the possibility to participate in public life. Further activity of Jan Gorzeński – until Sobieski's ascension to the throne – was connected with commanding a reiter unit, thanks to which he showed his abilities, beginning from the 1670–1673

¹⁴⁰ Z. HUNDERT, *Pozycja Jana III*, pp. 140, 142; Marek WAGNER, *Armia koronna w latach 1677–1678*, [in:] *Król Jan III Sobieski*, p. 185. According to the composition recorded at the coronation *Sejm*, the regiments consisted of 250 horses. At the coronation *Sejm* of Jan Sobieski Gorzeński was given the punishment for the failure to take part in the autumn campaign of 1674. In the times of peace of 1677–1683 the regiment was recorded under the name of the guard company of Jan III and was part of the army of Dymitr Wiśniowiecki located at Bucniów (Ukr. *Буцнів*). In practice, the company did not want to belong to this unit, and its soldiers frolicked in the estates of the Cracow bishop Andrzej Trzebicki, ruining it. See more: AGAD, ASW, dz. 86, nr 61, k. 28; Zbigniew HUNDERT, *Wykaz koronnych chorągwi i regimentów w okresie 1 V 1679 – 30 IV 1683. Przyczynek do organizacji wojska koronnego w dobie pokoju 1677–1683*, Studia Historyczno-Wojskowe, t. 5: 2015, p. 284; idem, *Dyslokacja partii wojska koronnego w 1677 roku. Przyczynek do badań pogranicza polsko-tureckiego oraz organizacji armii w dobie pokoju 1677–1683*, Klio, t. 36: 2016, z. 1, pp. 51, 64.

¹⁴¹ Jan WIMMER, *Wyprawa wiedeńska 1683 r.*, Warszawa 1957, p. 182.

¹⁴² VL, t. 5, p. 346. The attestation issued by hetman Stanisław Jan Jabłonowski states that Gorzeński appeared at the *komisja hibernowa* in Lviv on 11 December 1686 as a civil deputy. From 1686 Michał Brandt was the commander of the arquebus unit, which makes the accounts of the Treasury Tribunal of 1691 reliable, see: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu, sygn. 250, k. 124–124v; Deklaracja arkabuzeriej jmp. Górzynskiego, Lwów, 18 II 1691 r., Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv, f. 10, op. 1, ks. 86, p. 507; [Deklaracja] jmp. Branta, 20 II 1691 r., ibid., p. 614 (I have this information thanks to the kind help of Jan Jerzy Sowa, MA from the Institute of History of Warsaw University).

campaign and ending during Sobieski's expedition to Vienna in 1683. The last stage of Gorzeński's activity can be described as diplomatic service considering his mission to the Brandenburg court, although no discernible success was achieved there.

Gorzeński, called by Kazimierz Piwarski "the court partisan in Lithuania"¹⁴³, undoubtedly counted among the members of the court faction recruited from moderately affluent gentry¹⁴⁴. Different factors contributed to Gorzeński's advancement. First, a decisive elements were his features of character, including discretion, faithfulness and loyalty towards Sobieski. The marshal and grand crown hetman and future king could fully depend on Gorzeński. Second, the contacts between Gorzeński and Jan Sobieski became closer as the former married a relative of the – at this time – marshal and grand crown hetman. We can also risk an opinion that thanks to this, the cliental relations grew tighter¹⁴⁵. The marriage also contributed to the increase of Gorzeński's fortune, which opened before him new ways of gaining income. Third, the coronation of Jan Sobieski became for Gorzeński – though not at once – a lever owing to which he obtained a prestigious central office, in this way far surpassing the other representatives of his family, who had held provincial offices so far. The issue of Gorzeński's religion should be also briefly addressed; as a member of the Bohemian Brethren's congregation, he not only defended his fellow dissenters but also climbed up the officials' ranks, obtained Prussian *indygenat* and a high position in the army. The career of the eponymous hero can be thus considered exceptional, considering the times in which numerous legal solutions blocked dissidents from holding offices, limited their rights in the courts, refused them

¹⁴³ Kazimierz PIWARSKI, *Między Francją a Austrią. Z dziejów polityki Jana III Sobieskiego w latach 1687–1690*, Kraków 1933, p. 24.

¹⁴⁴ The groups included: Marek Matczyński, Stefan Bidziński, Stanisław Antoni Szczuka, Stanisław Godlewski, Eustachy Grothus, Stanisław Dunin Karwicki, Franciszek Gałecki; see more in: Kazimierz PIWARSKI, *Projekt reformy państwa za Jana III Sobieskiego*, [in:] *Studia historyczne ku czci Stanisława Kutrzeby*, t. 1, Kraków 1938, pp. 350–363; Henryk KOTARSKI, *Matczyński Marek*, [in:] PSB, t. 20, Wrocław 1975, pp. 175–176; Wojciech SZCZYGIELSKI, *W kręgu idei narodowego monarchy*, Acta Universitatis Lodzienensis. Folia Historica, t. 26: 1986, pp. 21–31; Franciszek MINCER, *Franciszek Zygmunt Gałecki – starosta bydgoski i przyjaciel króla Jana III*, Kalendorz Bydgoski, 1985, pp. 11–13; Magdalena UJMA, *Faworyt dwóch monarchów? – Atanazy Walenty Miączyński podskarbi nadworny koronny i wojewoda wołyński*, [in:] *Faworyci*, pp. 377–388; Maria KONOPKA, *Stanisław Antoni Szczuka – dygnitarz i przyjaciel Jana III*, [in:] *Studia z dziejów epoki Jana III Sobieskiego*, ed. Krystyn MATWIJOWSKI, Wrocław 1984, pp. 211–219; Anna MICHAŁOWSKA-MYCIELSKA, *Stanisław Antoni Szczuka – początek kariery patrona*, *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, t. 102: 1995, z. 3–4, pp. 61–90; Teresa ZIELIŃSKA, *Stanisław Antoni Szczuka jako referendarz koronny w latach 1688–1699*, ibid., t. 111: 2004, z. 3, pp. 5–22; Marek WAGNER, *Towarzysze broni Jana Sobieskiego*, [in:] *Jan Sobieski – Wódz i polityk (1629–1696)*, w trzechsetną rocznicę śmierci, ed. Janusz WOJTASIK, Siedlce 1997, pp. 50–61.

¹⁴⁵ Z. HUNDERT, *Władysław Denhoffów*, pp. 308–309.

the right to property and presented them with the choice between religious conversion and emigration. It can be supposed that Sobieski's protection left its mark also in this sphere of Gorzeński's life. The future Lithuanian huntmaster could feel safe thanks to the favour of the marshal and grand crown hetman and the future king.

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IN THE SERVICE AT SOBIESKI:

THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY ACTIVITY OF JAN GORZEŃSKI (CA. 1626–1694)

Summary

Key words: clientelism, protection, army, dietines, diplomacy, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

So far the figure of Jan Gorzeński was treated marginally by researchers dealing with the subject matter of the political and military clientele of Jan III Sobieski. The activity of Gorzeński in the institutions of political life in the province of Greater Poland became the starting point to his further activity in the Sejm. Obedience and loyalty which were evinced by Gorzeński first towards the castellan, next to the voivode of Poznań Krzysztof Grzymułtowski allowed him to get closer to the people associated with Sobieski. Upon his inspiration, Gorzeński recruited members of the Sejm and converted them into supporters of the marshal and grand crown hetman. In the 1670s the activity of Gorzeński was also discernible in the military field. His participation in war campaigns against the Tatars, Turks and Cossacks made him a recognizable and praiseworthy commander of the dragoon regiment.

The coronation of Jan Sobieski constituted the turning point in Gorzeński's career as he was promoted and entrusted with the starost estates. His marriage with Sobieski's relative – Elżbieta – the widow after Władysław Denhoff (died 1671) also helped him to be one of the co-operators of the king. Thanks to this, Jan won respect and had the opportunity to rise above the level of middle-income noblemen. In the last years of his life Gorzeński focused on the struggle with the Sapiehas, who at the end of the reign of Jan III Sobieski set up a faction which was in opposition to the court.

IM DIENST VON SOBIESKI

DIE POLITISCHE UND MILITÄRISCHE TÄTIGKEIT VON JAN GORZEŃSKI (UM 1626–1694)

Zusammenfassung

Schlüsselwörter: Klientelismus, Protektion, Armee, Landtage, Diplomatie, Republik beider Nationen

Die Gestalt von Jan Gorzeński tauchte bisher eher am Rand der Forschungen zur politischen und militärischen Klientel von Johann III. Sobieski auf. Die Tätigkeit von Gorzeński im Umkreis der Institutionen des politischen Lebens der Provinz Großpolen wurde zum Ausgangspunkt für seine Aktivität beim Sejm. Der Gehorsam und die Treue, durch die sich Gorzeński gegenüber Krzysztof Grzymułtowski, dem Kastellan und dann Wojewoden von Posen, ausgezeichnet hatte, machte es ihm möglich, sich dem Kreis der Personen anzunähern, die mit Sobieski in Verbindung standen. Auf seine Weisung hin gewann Gorzeński Abgeordnete und zog sie auf die Seite des Marschalls und Großhetmans der Krone. In den siebziger Jahren des 17. Jahrhunderts machte sich die Aktivität von Gorzeński auch im Bereich der Armee bemerkbar. Die Teilnahme an Kriegszügen gegen Tataren, Türken und Kosaken machte aus ihm einen bekannten und gerühmten Anführer eines Dragonerregiments.

Die Krönung Sobieskis zum König wurde für Gorzeński zu einem Wendepunkt im Hinblick auf seinen Aufstieg in Ämtern und die ihm zur Nutzung überlassenen Güter in Starościn. Auch die Heirat Gorzeńskis mit einer entfernten Verwandten von Johann III. namens Elżbieta, der Witwe von Władysław Denhoff (gest. 1671) förderte seine Zugehörigkeit zum Kreis der Mitarbeiter des Monarchen. Sie brachte ihm die entsprechende Wertschätzung und die Chance ein, sich aus dem Kreis des mittleren Adels abzuheben. In seinen letzten Lebensjahren konzentrierte sich Gorzeński auf den Kampf gegen die Sapieha, die gegen Ende der Regierungszeit von Johann III. eine gegen den Hof gerichtete Partei bildeten.

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