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The Polish Presence  
in the Spanish Military  
Enrique García Hernán (coord.)

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*Cover illustration:*

*Coat of arms of Queen Maria Amalia of Saxony. Consort of Charles III of Spain and daughter of Frederick Augustus II, King of Poland. Author: Heralter. License under Creative Commons license.*

*Soldier of the First Regiment of Polish Lancers of the French Imperial Guard. 1812.*

COMISIÓN INTERNACIONAL DE HISTORIA MILITAR  
INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF MILITARY HISTORY  
COMMISSION INTERNATIONALE D'HISTOIRE MILITAIRE

# **The Polish Presence in the Spanish Military**

**Enrique García Hernán (coord.)**

REVISTA INTERNACIONAL DE HISTORIA MILITAR  
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## Abbreviations

Archive of the Crown of Aragon (ACA)  
General Archive of the Indies (AGI)  
General Military Archive of Ávila (AGMAV)  
General Military Archive of Guadalajara (AGMG)  
General Military Archive of Madrid (AGMM)  
    Liberation War Archive (AGL)  
    Generalísimo Headquarters (CGG)  
General Military Archive Segovia (AGMS)  
General Archive of Simancas (AGS)  
    State (E)  
    War and Navy (GYM)  
    Secretary of War and Navy (GM)  
National Historical Archive (AHN)  
    State (E)  
    Contemporary Funds (FC)  
    Inquisition (Inq)  
    Ministry of State (ME)  
    Ministry of Finance and Public Credit (MH)  
Provincial Historical Archive of Ávila (AHPA)  
Intermediate Military Archive of Ceuta (AIMC)

Tercio de Extranjeros (TE)

Intermediate Military Archive of Melilla (AIMM)

Archive of the Tercio Alejandro Farnesio IV de la Legión Española, Ronda (ATAFLE)

Archiwum Akt Nowych, Varsovia (AAN)

Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych w Warszawie 1918-1939 (MSW)

Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych w Warszawie (1915-1917) 1918-1939 (MSZ)

Archiwum Instytutu Polskiego i Muzeum im. gen. Sikorskiego, Londres (AIPMS)

Poselstwo RP w Madrycie, Hiszpania, 1932-1968 (PM)

Relacje z Kampanii 1939 roku (RK)

National Library of Spain (BNE)

Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe Wojskowego Biura Historycznego im. gen. broni Kazimierza Sosnkowskiego, Varsovia-Rembertów (CAW WBH)

Collection of Unpublished Documents for the History of Spain (CODOIN)

Electronic Biographical Dictionary, Real Academia de la Historia (DBE)

Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Voennyi Arkhiv, Moscú (RGVA)

Secretary General of the High Commissioner of Spain in Morocco (SG ACEM)

University of Varsovia, Faculty de «Artes Liberales», Colección de Marian Szumlakowski (KMS)

carp.: folder

exp.: files

leg.: page

Mss.: manuscript

s.l.: no place of publication

s.n.: without editorial

## Introduction

### **An Overview of the Polish Presence in the Spanish Army**

*Enrique García Hernán*  
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The presence of foreigners in the Spanish Army has been a constant feature throughout our history, and foreigners have therefore played their part in building the nation and, consequently, the state. As the bureaucratisation of the nation's military apparatus advanced, its power as a state increased accordingly; therefore, the greater the fiscal pressure, the better equipped the state's armed forces were to strengthen security and guarantee state resources and national perpetuity. Each time the presence of foreign military officers in the Spanish armed forces in our archival sources has been analysed in this series of publications, it could be seen that, in one way or another, they were recipients, creators and transmitters of culture and that they contributed to the construction of the nation, forging its identity, even though they were not 'natives of these kingdoms'. The case of Poles in the service of the army is even more evident, given the parallels between the two nations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—even though Poland was not one of the nations of the composite Hispanic Monarchy—parallels which Spanish and Polish historians noted in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These parallels are also present in the revolutions (the January Insurrection of 1863-4 in Warsaw and the Dos de Mayo Uprising of 1808 in Madrid), the designation of Spain in 1873 as the

'Poland of the South' (due to the internal crises), in the forging of liberal constitutions and the creation of democratic political transitions following long dictatorships (Francoism and Communism) and even today in the context of general European stability and security. Therefore, we must stress the importance of devoting a monograph to a little-explored topic concerning a nation that is not often the subject of historiographical studies in Spain, and at a time when Spain and Poland are playing an increasingly important role in European politics and defence within the EU and NATO, of which both countries are members<sup>1</sup>.

In this series of publications, we have always endeavoured to highlight and analyse nations that provided military units on a continuous basis in service to Spain, for instance, the Irish, Italians, Germans, Swiss and Walloons. In the case of the Poles, certain names stand out, those of truly outstanding individuals, but also units that fought alongside the Spanish in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on the battlefields of the Holy Roman Empire, France and the Italian Peninsula, achieved distinction with notables such as Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, the Duke of Feria or Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand. Indeed, in 1635 Poles and Spaniards almost made it to the gates of Paris. Nevertheless, the Poles tried to conceal the levies raised and paid for by Spain, as they claimed that they had been recruited by the Empire. Also, there were Poles who fought in the service of France (mainly) and of the Dutch Republic against the Spanish and Imperial forces<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> I am in debt to Declan M. Downey and Séamas de Barra for their support to this English translation. KIENIEWICZ, J.: "La obra de Joachim Lelewel: paralelo histórico entre España y Polonia en los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII (1831)", *Hispania. Revista española de Historia*, 51 (178), 1991, pp. 695-734; BAĞ, G.: "Impresiones de un viaje a España de Wojciech Dzieduszycki: otro paralelo (¿?) decimonónico entre Polonia y España", *Eslavística Complutense*, 5, 2005, pp. 175-184; TARACHA, C.: "La Constitución del 3 de Mayo de 1791 como el último intento de salvar la República de las Dos Naciones en el siglo XVIII", in GONZÁLEZ CAIZÁN, C., FUENTE DE PABLO, P. de la, PUIG-SAMPER MULERO, M. Á. y TARACHA, C. (coords.): *Polonia y España: primeras constituciones*, Madrid, 2013, pp. 23-36; FERNÁNDEZ-MAYORALAS PALOMEQUE, J.: "La Polonia del Mediodía: Un tópico polaco en la historia española", in *Hispania. Revista española de Historia*, 62 (210), 2002, pp. 167-220; WOJNA, B.: *La política de seguridad en España y en Polonia en la transición hacia la democracia: un análisis comparado*. Tesis doctoral dirigida por Juan Carlos Pereira Castañares, Madrid, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2004.

<sup>2</sup> SKOWRON, R.: "Las levas de polacos para los ejércitos españoles en la época de la guerra de los Treinta Años", in GARCÍA HERNÁN, E. and SKOWRON, R. (eds.): *From Ireland to Poland: Northern Europe, Spain and the Early Modern World*, Valencia, Albatros, 2015, pp. 25-44.

In the eighteenth century, there were some recruitment attempts in very strange circumstances because each nation, Spain and Poland respectively had had their own Wars of Succession (1700-1713; 1733-1738). These conflicts may be regarded as a prolongation of the world war between the Habsburgs and the Bourbons. Thus, for a second time in its history, Spain had to participate in wars on the Italian Peninsula to secure the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies for Charles of Bourbon. The first war—the Spanish one—saw the Bourbon side and Philip V emerge victorious, and the second—the Polish war—was won by Augustus III of Saxony, an ally of Emperor Charles VI who did not recognise Philip. This led to a cooling of relations between Poland and Spain<sup>3</sup>. It was in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that significantly large numbers of Poles were once again to be found in the military milieu in Spain. Several Poles, particularly in the famous Polish Legions that even went to America—had fought for Napoleon against the Spanish patriotic forces, while other Poles, though very few, fought on the Spanish side. Later, Poles fought on both sides during the Carlist Wars, and also during the Spanish Civil War. Compared to France, the Polish military presence in Spain was minor; indeed, as early as 1936, two Poles (Jerzy Ostoja Soszyński and Stefan Włoszczewski) published *Les militaires polonais dans les armées françaises*, and a recent study addressed the Polish troops who took refuge in France in 1942<sup>4</sup>. In Spain, on the other hand, it is only recently that studies have addressed key events involving Poles, such as Somosierra in 1808 or the episode of the Sieges of Zaragoza, both during the Peninsular War (1807-1814), following with Poles interned on the island of La Cabrera in deplorable conditions (Adam Penconek, Cristina González Caizán, Grzegorz Bąk)<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> TARACHA, C. y FUENTE DE PABLO, P. de la: "Reclutamiento en el siglo XVIII. El caso del aventurero Michal Dzierzanowski", in GARCÍA HERNÁN, E. and SKOWRON, R. (eds.): *From Ireland to Poland: Northern Europe, Spain and the Early Modern World*, Valencia, Albatros, 2015, pp. 125-138.

<sup>4</sup> ZANIEWICKI, W.: *L'Armée polonaise clandestine en France (1942): D'après des archives inédites. Suivi d'un Essai de méthodologie des problèmes de Résistance et autres travaux*, Paris, Dualpha, 2007.

<sup>5</sup> PENCONEK, A.: "La caballería polaca en Somosierra", *Hispania. Revista Española de Historia*, 113, 1969, pp. 549-561; GONZÁLEZ CAIZÁN, C.: *Por Napoleón en España. Los soldados polacos en los Sitios de Zaragoza (1808-1809)*, Madrid, Foro para el Estudio de la Historia Militar de España, 2017; *El anónimo polaco. Zaragoza en el año 1809. Fragmento de las memorias todavía no publicadas*, estudio, trans. and ed. by C. González Caizán, Zaragoza, 2012; WOJCIECHOWSKI, K.: *Mis memorias de España*, ed. de J. S. Ciechanowski, C. González Caizán, J. Kieniewicz y A. Ziolkowski, Madrid,

The *Spanish Commission for Military History* (CEHISMI) has taken on the challenge of presenting the Polish military officers and their relationship with Spain in this publication. The aim is not just to offer important names and dates, but to place these military officers in their social and historical context, thereby giving their activity greater meaning. This work is in line with the editorial content of the *Cuadernos de Historia Militar* and *International Review of Military History* journals. Therefore, the aim is not only to contribute to the existing literature on the subject, but also to undertake a genuine scientific research project with a common thread, for which purpose unpublished sources in public archives, primarily military ones, and in some cases private ones, have been consulted. The research group comprises Enrique García Hernán (CSIC, Spanish National Research Council), who coordinated the project and penned this introductory overview, Paweł Szadkowski (University of Wrocław) who addressed the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Óscar Recio Morales (Complutense University of Madrid) who covered the eighteenth century, and Cristina González Caizán (University of Warsaw) and Jan Stanisław Ciechanowski (University of Warsaw) who focused on the twentieth century. In addition, Colonel Fernando Fontana acted as secretary of the group and Doctor Beatriz Alonso Acero was responsible for the index.

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Poland is a somewhat peculiar nation in that, despite being in the Orthodox and Lutheran/Calvinist zones of influence, it remained predominantly Roman Catholic. And, although it should have fallen under the sway of the Habsburgs, like Hungary, it managed to maintain its independence through pendulum swings of continuous territorial losses and gains, of rapprochements and estrangements from the French, Prussians, Swedes, Turks and Russians. Yet it always sought to safeguard its peculiar elective monarchy and to protect an overly powerful parliament of nobles, which was perhaps the cause of its successive disappearances. Poland had acted as a mediator between Catholics, Protestants, Orthodox Christians and even Jews. It subsequently paid a heavy price following the Polonisation of Russia in 1596 (Union of Brest) with the reconciliation of the Ruthenian Orthodox Church (Uniate)

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Ministerio de Defensa, 2009; BAŁ, G.: "Els soldats polonesos presos a l'illa de Cabrera", in TUR, M. y CARRIÓ I VIVES, G. (coords.): *Oblidats a Cabrera: el captiveri napoleònic, 1809-1814*, Palma de Mallorca, 2009, pp. 217-230.

with Rome, through to the Russification of Poland in 1685 (when it came under Russian jurisdiction), through to the dissolution of the Greek Orthodox Church in 1875<sup>6</sup>. It is in this context of transition that we must place the publication in 1624 of the account of the martyrdom of a Ruthenian archbishop by Russian Orthodox adherents. This was disseminated by the Jesuits in Spain, and it reflected the bitter internal struggle between Catholics and Orthodox Christians. This conflict was all the more painful because, as Slavs, it was widely felt that they should have remained on the Orthodox side<sup>7</sup>. The parallelism of this socio-religious struggle can be seen when it moves from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of 1569 to its first disappearance in 1795. It was a process of glory and decline that did not end there because the immense suffering of those years continued and caused an irreconcilable rift between the nobility. Some were pro-Russian, others pro-Prussian or pro-Austrian, and there was great tension between them.

Yet some noble families looked towards the future to advance Polish national interests as well as aggrandise their status abroad, even with members of the Spanish, Neapolitan-Sicilian and French branches of the Bourbon dynasty. For example, Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski who had served Tsar Alexander I as foreign minister and as chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Empire between 1804 and 1806, later became a leading opponent of Tsar Nicholas I, and he became first president of the provisional Polish National Government during the Uprising of 1830 and thereafter in exile. His son Wladyslaw (Ladislaus) first married María Amparo, Countess of Vista Alegre, (daughter of Queen María Christina of Spain and her second husband by morganatic marriage, Augustín Fernando Muñoz y Sánchez, Duke of Riansares). His second marriage was to Princess Marguerite

<sup>6</sup> SKOWRON, R.: "Católicos, ortodoxos y protestantes. El Rey como mediador entre las confesiones en Polonia en la temprana Edad Moderna", in MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN, J., RIVERO RODRÍGUEZ, M. y VERSTEEGEN, G. (coords.): *La corte en Europa: política y religión (siglos XVI-XVIII)*, Madrid, 2012, vol. 3, pp. 1561-1581; POTOCKI, J.: "Polonia y el perenne problema de Oriente europeo, la unión de las iglesias", *Revista Oriente Europeo*, 1962, 10 pp., Conferencia pronunciada en el Centro de Estudios Orientales en Madrid el 29 de enero 1962.

<sup>7</sup> FAJARDO, S.: *Relación verdadera de la muerte y martirio que dieron los cismáticos de la Rusia en el reino de Polonia, a su Arzobispo, llamado Iosafat, porque les exhortaba se convirtiesen a la santa Fe Católica, y detestasen su depravada cisma y error: dase cuenta de los grandes castigos que por el... Rey de Polonia se hizo a los agresores, y culpados en este delito*, 1624.

Adelaide of Orléans (granddaughter of King Louis Philippe of France). Wladyslaw's and Marguerite Adelaide's grandson, Augustyn-Jozef Czartoryski married Princess María de los Dolores de Bourbon of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, maternal aunt of King Juan Carlos I of Spain.

The Polish nation survived thanks to the establishment of the Duchy of Warsaw in 1807, until it was retaken by Russia in 1813. However, it rose again with the Republic of Cracow (1815-1846), in which the Potocki (Józef Mikołaj Potocki, and his son Józef Alfred, who became Plenipotentiary Minister at Madrid) family had major interests. Warsaw launched two uprisings against Russia, in 1830-31 and in 1863-64, but was eventually annexed by Russia, although Warsaw later fell to the Germans in the summer of 1915. Polish historiographers, however, usually consider November 1918 the date Poland was liberated and full independence and sovereignty restored. Then the country heroically defeated the Soviets in 1920, only to disappear for a third time with the invasion of the Nazis in 1939 (1 September) and the Soviets (18 September), making it the only nation to have the unenviable distinction of fighting against Germany and Russia simultaneously, as a result of the German-Soviet Frontier Treaty of the Mólotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 23 August, amended the 28 September. However, it was struck a fourth and unexpected blow when, at the Yalta Conference in February 1945, the allies betrayed the Polish Government-in-exile and a large part of Poland fell into Stalin's clutches, once again causing a movement of peoples and transfer of territories.

Geographically speaking, Spain is undeniably far from Poland. However, during the early-modern period, when it was a major empire, it never let go of its ambition to govern Poland, as the Austrian Habsburgs had done. After Poland became an elective monarchy, the Spanish Crown had a vested interest in maintaining its hegemony in Europe and, particularly control of the North Sea and by extension, the Baltic. Therefore it attempted to lay claim to the Polish throne on two occasions by force: in 1575 and again in 1588, with the archdukes Maximilian II and Maximilian III respectively. Later on, it made further attempts, this time by diplomatic means, with Mariana of Austria in 1674, and with the Duke of Liria in 1730. However, as the attempts proved unsuccessful, it tried to enlist the support of the Poles in various European campaigns against France and the Ottoman Empire in a favour-trading game: the Poles

wanted Sweden and the Spanish wanted to quell the Dutch rebels. The idea was to maintain a balance; if the Turks could be prevented from taking Naples and Sicily, it was expected that they would attempt to invade Poland. If in turn the Empire attacked them on their advance on Poland, then it was thought that the Turks would re-direct their aggression upon the Mediterranean. Militarily speaking, the Spanish ambassador to Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Count of Solre, highlighted the strategic considerations of recruiting some of the more ferocious elements from the region in 1636: 'Your Majesty could also use the Cossacks, and recruit one to two thousand of them if required for Flanders and use them to fight the Dutch in the same manner that they do with the Turks in Constantinople'<sup>8</sup>.

In the geopolitical game, in addition to the perpetuation of the 'Intermarium' concept (a strategic idea the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth that continued among its successor states even to the time of Marshal Józef Piłsudski's leadership in the Republic of Poland (1918-1939), that anticipated the inclusion of neighbouring states in a multinational polity that extended between the Baltic, the Black and the Adriatic Seas), up to our current times, monarchical lineage and choice of spouse were also very important<sup>9</sup>. Such considerations were priorities for successive Polish kings such as Sigismund I and Sigismund II Jagiellon (1385/6-1572); Sigismund III, Władysław (Ladislaus) IV and John II Casimir Vasa (1587-1668); John III Sobieski (1674-1696), Stanisław I Leszczyński (1704-1709 and 1733-36) and Stanisław II Poniatowski (1764-1795).

Since the Congress of Poznań in 1530, the House of Austria had been seeking, with some success, to establish arranged marriage as the most effective means of alliance (entente with Hungary and opposition to the Ottomans and the French). However, relations were further strengthened when Charles III of Spain married Maria Amalia of Saxony, the daughter of Augustus III, in

<sup>8</sup> MORLEY Ch.: "Czartoryski as a Polish Statesman", in *Slavic Review*, 30 (3), 1971, pp. 606-614. Biblioteca Nacional de Francia, Ms. Espagnol, 144; CONDE PAZOS, M.: "Relaciones entre los Habsburgo y los Vasa de Polonia. La embajada a Varsovia del conde de Solre y Alonso Vázquez y la firma del Tratado Familiar (1635-1660)", in SANZ CAMAÑES, P. (coord.): *Tiempo de cambios: guerra, diplomacia y política internacional de la Monarquía Hispánica (1648-1700)*, Madrid, 2012, pp. 283-310.

<sup>9</sup> KIENIEWICZ, J.: "Del Báltico al mar Negro: 'Intermarium' en la política europea", *Política Exterior*, 12 (61), 1998, pp. 59-73.

1737<sup>10</sup>, and this explains the 1741 alliance with Poland, whereby Spain supported Poland in Moravia and Upper Silesia in exchange for Poland respecting future conquests in Italy for Don Philip, Infante of Spain<sup>11</sup>. Charles III sent several Neapolitan ambassadors to Poland (Count Galeazzo 1742-1748; the Count of Sarno, 1761-1765; the Marquis of Malaspina, 1757-1763), and this was perhaps the period when relations with Poland reached a peak, and gave rise to an extensive collection of documents that have barely been explored in the Archivio di Stato di Napoli. Indeed, Charles III was the only monarch who opposed the first partition of Poland (1772) and he supported the Bar Confederation in Podolia (1768-1772) against the controversial king, Stanislaw II August Poniatowski. Charles III supported the sovereign integrity of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth against Russia. This episode was partly a religious conflict between Catholics and Orthodox Christians who were debating religious tolerance. In particular, Charles III favoured Adam Stanisław Krasiński who, following his defeat, prompted the emigration of Polish soldiers from the Confederation to Spain. One such case was Alejandro Siedlecki, who settled in Córdoba, where he married and had several children, which we know on account of an inquisitorial proceeding<sup>12</sup>. There is also the extraordinary case of the Polish gentleman, Landini, who travelled to Malaga in 1773 on the orders of General Casimir Pułaski to request financial aid in the form of a loan of 1.5 million reals for the struggle against Russia. However, he was con-

<sup>10</sup> GONZÁLEZ CAIZÁN, C.: "María Amalia de Sajonia. La pasión de Carlos III", *Estudios Hispánicos. Estudios de lingüística, didáctica y literatura*, 14, 2006, pp. 161-180.

<sup>11</sup> SKOWRON, R.: "Los aliados de las esperanzas fallidas. La Casa de Austria y los Vasa de Polonia (1598-1648)", in MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN, J. y GONZÁLEZ CUERVA, R. (coords.): *La dinastía de los Austria: las relaciones entre la Monarquía Católica y el Imperio*, Madrid, Polifemo, 2011, vol. 2, pp. 997-1022. In 1521 Anna Jagellonica married Archduke Ferdinand, the future Holy Roman Emperor. The following year, Louis II, King of Bohemia and Hungary, married Mary of Austria, the fifth child of Joanna of Castile and Archduke Philip of Habsburg (from 1516), thus creating a double marriage alliance between the dynasties. Sigismund III Vasa pursued the same policy, his two successive spouses being Anne of Austria (1573-1598) and Constance of Austria (1588-1631), granddaughters of Emperor Ferdinand I. Later on, his son Ladislaus married Cecilia Renata of Austria, the daughter of Emperor Ferdinand II.

<sup>12</sup> AHN, Inq, leg. 3734, exp. 7. Inquisitorial proceedings against Alejandro Siedlecki. He was prosecuted for heretical propositions. He spoke fluent Latin and Castilian: "Natural del reino de Polonia, palatinado de Rusia, pueblo de Llopoli, soldado de la Confederación de Bar, que sirvió catorce años en la guerra de Rusia y con la Prusia, y con motivo de retirarse se vino a España a la provincia de Extremadura...".

sidered an imposter and banished<sup>13</sup>. Charles III appeared to be supporting the internal enemies of Stanisław II August Poniatowski when he awarded the Order of the Golden Fleece to Count Branicki. Meanwhile, in Madrid, the Polish ambassador Tadeo Morski was requesting assistance so that Poland would not be wiped off the map of Europe. Spain sent Ambassador Domingo de Iriarte, who witnessed the Kościuszko Uprising and its fatal outcome. A curious report dated to 1794 on the activities of General Kościuszko by a Spaniard who was at his side, and possibly addressed to the Duke of Baena because it is filed in his archive, states as follows: 'Our brave marines have won new laurels in a new battle in which they completely decimated the enemies of humanity'<sup>14</sup>. These and other matters relating to the Bourbon period are addressed by Professor Óscar Recio Morales in his contribution.

Due to its 'geographical disease,' located between two seas (the Baltic and Black seas), Poland was, moreover, a type of 'corridor territory' that ran between great powers, and it was consequently plagued by its neighbours throughout history. As soon as it tried to grow, it encountered opposition from all quarters (the Teutonic Order, Ottomans, Tartars, Muscovites, Moldovans, Swedes and Prussians). Thus, Poland went from a forty-year war against the Teutonic Knights to becoming Europe's *Antemurale Christianitatis* against the Turks (1620) in an odd Spanish-Polish-Persian alliance that began with the Battle of Lepanto in 1571 until the onslaught of the 'Swedish Deluge' (1655-1660). Then Poland stumbled down the three steps of the territorial partitions in the eighteenth century until its complete disappearance in 1795, when it was swallowed up by Russia, Austria and Prussia. However, it survived as a nation —because the soul, like art, transcends borders— and it was resurrected with the aid of Napoleon. It is an incredible paradox that the famous (or infamous) Corsican forced the Spanish nation to take up arms against him as an invader, while he resurrected the Polish nation with the creation of the Duchy of Warsaw (1807-1813). Napoleon was also the one who brought the largest number of Polish soldiers —some 20,000 men— to Spain, who were fighting not so much against the Spaniards, but as they saw it to reaffirm their nation's inde-

<sup>13</sup> *Razón del juicio seguido en la ciudad de Granada ante los Ilmos. don Manuel Doz...*, Madrid, 1781, pp. 71-72.

<sup>14</sup> AHN, E, leg. 3649, 2. Dispatches on the awarding of the Order of the Golden Fleece to Count Branicki, Field Crown Hetman of Poland.

pendence. A few of these, as Cristina González Caizán points out in her contribution to this book, transferred to the Spanish army. When Napoleon's Empire collapsed and a new map of Europe was drawn up at the Congress of Vienna, Russia occupied the Duchy of Warsaw until the revolts that broke out in 1830 caused mass emigration, primarily to France and, from there, some Poles travelled to Spain. This was the case of Alexander Mirecki, whose son Víctor had a major influence on Spanish musicians such as Manuel de Falla, and the Wesolowski family, which made a major contribution to football, as one of the descendants founded the Betis Football Club and his three children not only played with the club, but were also illustrious military officers, one of whom (José Wesolowski Zaldo, Count of Torre Alta) held the rank of general. These characters, among others, are addressed by Professor Ciechanowski in his contribution<sup>15</sup>. In 1831, a Polish lancer regiment was formed and it fought in the First Carlist War (1833-1840) with the French Foreign Legion (Michał Kudła and Cristina González Caizán). The same year, the book by an anonymous author, (DMC, *Diario Mercantil de Cádiz*) *Honor y deber ó El fiel polaco, relación histórica del alzamiento de Varsovia ocurrido en 29 de noviembre de 1830*, was published in Valencia in 1831, while Joaquín Urquizu published *Origen del resentimiento y odio de los polacos contra los rusos* (Zaragoza 1831). A high point of this process was the awarding of the Order of Isabel the Catholic to Colonel Count Szeliski in 1839, among other laureates, which Cristina González Caizán mentions in her study<sup>16</sup>. Judge Joaquín Albert de Álvarez published *Revolución de Polonia en 1863: historia de los heroicos esfuerzos hechos por los hijos de aquel infortunado pueblo para reconquistar su libertad e independencia* in Barcelona in 1863<sup>17</sup>. This demonstrates that there is still a lot to explore in Polish-Spanish connections during in the nineteenth century.

Poland was made an official province of the Russian Empire in 1867, but Spain maintained a consulate in Warsaw between 1878 and 1913. It was not until November 1916 —during World War I— that Germany and Austria declared Poland an independent nation, although it was not a declaration of independence

<sup>15</sup> CHAVARRI ALONSO E.: *La recepción de Chopin en España en el siglo XIX* (doctoral thesis), Madrid 2019.

<sup>16</sup> AHN, E, leg. 6322, exp. 166.

<sup>17</sup> AHN, Personal file of Judge Joaquín Albert de Álvarez, FC-Mº\_JUSTICIA\_MAG\_JUECES, leg. 4277, Exp. 537.

*per se*. Bilateral relations were officially resumed after the confirmation of its independence in 1919. Following the Treaty of Versailles, Poland was recognised as a democratic republic and Józef Piłsudski served as Chief of State (Naczelnik Państwa) from 1918 to 1922, and subsequently held the post of prime minister. He attained fame for defeating the Soviets at Warsaw in 1920, although Poland was in fact a dictatorship (albeit a relatively benign one) under his leadership from 1926 to 1935<sup>18</sup>.

As we have seen, therefore, Spanish-Polish relations have been marked by geographical and dynastic circumstances, but there were also other elements that are more difficult for history to explain, such as the Poles' deep religious faith and great artistic sensitivity for music, painting and literature to express what history had denied them. There were Poles who made pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela, including Jakub Sobieski (1590-1646), the father of the heroic king, who visited Santiago in 1611<sup>19</sup>. In addition, many members of the clergy came to be educated at Spanish universities and then returned to Poland, such as the Jesuits, Dominicans, Augustinians and Carmelites, to the point that it was quite common to see Poles in Spain<sup>20</sup>. It was therefore not unusual when, in the seventeenth century, a passport was requested for one Juan Estanislao Moderski, a Polish nobleman, who wished to travel to Malta<sup>21</sup>. Indeed, as early as 1635, the diplomat, Count of Solre, said that Poland was a nation of travellers because 'most gentlemen make pilgrimages throughout the

<sup>18</sup> ZAMOYSKI, A.: *Varsovia 1920: el intento fallido de Lenin de conquistar Europa*, trad. española de A. Resines y H. Bevia, Madrid, Siglo XXI, 2008.

<sup>19</sup> PRESA GONZÁLEZ, F. and MATYJASZCZYK GREYDA, A. (eds.): *Madrid a los ojos de los viajeros polacos: un siglo de estampas literarias de la villa y corte (1850-1961)*, Madrid, Huerga y Fierro editores, 2003; MATYJASZCZYK GREYDA, A. and PRESA GONZÁLEZ, F. (eds.): *Viajeros polacos en España (a caballo de los siglos XIX y XX)*, Madrid, Huerga y Fierro editores, 2001; TARACHA, C.: "El polaco Jakub Sobieski: peregrino a Santiago en 1611", *Peregrino: revista del Camino de Santiago*, 28, 1992, pp. 22-23.

<sup>20</sup> SKOWRON, R.: "Un obispo, un diplomático y un noble de letras. Tres relaciones polacas de peregrinación a Santiago de Compostela de la segunda mitad del siglo XVI", *Iacobus: revista de estudios jacobinos y medievales*, 23-24, 2008, pp. 407-428. We can cite Estanislao de Vedereke, Francisco de Schubyn, Clemente de Mocrsco and Jacobo Cztan de Rogow. For further reading on Polish clergymen who applied for viatica to return to Poland, see Enrique GARCÍA HERNÁN, *Base de Datos Misión de Irlanda*, Digital CSIC. See also WOŚ, J. W.: "Un episodio de las relaciones polaco-españolas al fin del siglo XVI (Del *Diario de viaje a Polonia* de Juan Pablo Mucante)", *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, Serie III, 7 (4), 1977, pp. 1389-1394.

<sup>21</sup> ACA, Consejo de Aragón, leg. 929, f. 159.

world and learn many languages'. And there were also women, such as Mariana Pawłowska, who took a vow of pilgrimage and who, upon her arrival to the Philippines in 1671, requested the governor for assistance so that she could continue her 33-year pilgrimage<sup>22</sup>. The paradigm was set by Miguel de Cervantes, who, in the third book of *The Travails of Persiles and Sigismunda* (Book III, Chapter VI) mentions the presence of Poles as if it were natural, as indeed summed-up by Ortel Banedre: 'I, gentlemen, although you might not care, want you to know that I am a foreigner from the Polish nation, a boy who left his land and came to Spain, a centre for foreigners and mother of all nations, I served Spaniards, I learned the Castilian language which, as you can see, I speak'.

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A precedent had already been set in Spanish-Polish relations with the marriage of Alfonso VII of León and Castile and a Polish woman in the twelfth century. A Polish military officer, Count Koszarski, arrived in Spain during the Granada War and in 1530 Charles V conferred on him the title of marquis in recognition of his military service to Spain. This nobleman was appointed governor of Gerona in 1493 and remained there until 1520 when he returned to Poland to primarily oversee military affairs<sup>23</sup>. Pawel Szadkowski writes about these military officers in the first chapter of the book.

During the conquest of Granada, the Catholic Monarchs received assistance from Polish gentlemen such as Piotr Pawel de Gurowo, who married a Castilian in 1492 before moving to his castle in Wyszyna, which still stands today. He was subsequently sent to Spain several times as an emissary, as was his son Samuel, on account of the legacy of Bona Sforza, and the saga continued. As a descendant of the family, Ignatius de Gurowski, married Infanta Isabel Fernanda of Bourbon in 1842<sup>24</sup>. Centuries earli-

<sup>22</sup> AGI, Filipinas, 341, libro 7, ff. 129-130. Madrid, 6 September 1671. Royal Decree to Manuel de León, governor of the Philippines, requesting that he grant permission to Mariana Paulosca, of the Polish nation, who took a 33-year vow of pilgrimage, so that she may travel from those islands to wherever she needs to go in order to continue her pilgrimage.

<sup>23</sup> It was published by the Duke of Alba in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, October-December 1951

<sup>24</sup> PIFERRER, F.: *Nobiliario de los reinos y señoríos de España*, Madrid, 1858, t. II, p. 217.

er, Count Andrzej Tęczyński accompanied Charles V on his first visit to Spain; a Polish envoy —Dantyszek— was present at his coronation in Bologna<sup>25</sup>, and Nicolás Broniewski offered the emperor-king his services in 1535 with eight light cavalymen and remained by his side for the rest of his life. Stanisław Łaski visited several European countries, including Spain. Something similar happened with other marriages between foreign nobles, such as that of Princess María Clementina Sobieska and the exiled Stuart claimant to the British throne, James III (half-brother of the 1st Duke of Berwick) – which had major consequences for art<sup>26</sup>. Another was the Duke of Vista Alegre, a title created in 1876 for Prince Augusto Francisco Czartoryski y Muñoz (1864-1893), a first cousin of the king and the son of Prince Ladislaus Czartoryski, Duke of Klewan and María Amparo Muñoz y Borbón, 1st Countess of Vista Alegre, as mentioned with greater detail earlier. After an encounter with John Bosco, their son August Czartoryski joined the Salesian Order and was ordained a priest in 1892, and died in an odour of sanctity on 8 April 1893 after a painful bout of tuberculosis. He was beatified by Pope John Paul II on 25 April 2004. We would like to point out that his vocation was inspired by Józef Kalinowski (canonised in 1991), a lieutenant of engineers who was sentenced to ten years' hard labour in Siberia for participating in the January Uprising against Russia, in 1863. He later entered the Carmelite Order, and from 1874 to 1877 he served as tutor to the young prince, on whom he had a major influence. As Carmelite he wrote a biography of St. Therese of Jesus, but what is of more relevance to us is that he penned a book about the Polish martyrs of the seventeenth century<sup>27</sup>. However, the most interesting marriage was perhaps that of María de la Cerda y Seco and the engineer Estanislao Federico Granzow, whose son Casimiro, Duke of Parcent, immortalised in a painting by Sorolla at the age of ten, acted as if he were a commercial attaché in Warsaw where he was born in 1895 and where he wrote (or at least prepared) the first *History of Poland* in Spanish in 1919 in a bid to give wings to the new nation-state<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> FONTÁN, A. and AXER, J. (eds.): *Españoles y polacos en la Corte de Carlos V. Cartas del embajador Juan Dantisco*, Madrid, Alianza, 1994.

<sup>26</sup> BETHENCOURT PÉREZ, F. and KOWALCZYK, E.: "A la búsqueda de Polonia en las colecciones pictóricas madrileñas", *La Gatera de la Villa*, 36, 2019, pp. 66-73..

<sup>27</sup> JIMÉNEZ, F. and SALCEDO, M.: *Augusto Czartoryski: Príncipe de Polonia-Duque de Vista Alegre: sobrino de Isabel II de España*, Madrid, Editorial CCS, 2004.

<sup>28</sup> GRANZOW Y DE LA CERDA, C.: *Polonia: su gloria en el pasado, su martirio y su resurrección*, San Sebastián, 1919.

Another aspect that was inextricably linked to Spanish-Polish relations was the matter of Naples. In the Habsburgs' case it was due to the legacy of Bona Sforza, who became the second wife of Sigismund I in 1518, and this created a nightmare for the Poles and a problem for the Spanish Habsburgs. It was, and indeed still is a matter of dispute, both on account of the loan she had granted Philip II for the wars against France, and due to the terms of her last will and testament. Her possessions, particularly in Bari, were often used as a bargaining chip for Silesia and were almost always a cause for mutual distrust. Indeed, in 1551, it was feared that Bona might open the gates of Italy to the Turks through Bari at the height of the Mediterranean conflict, out of revenge, as the Viceroy of Naples noted: 'considering the claim that Your Majesty had to that state'<sup>29</sup>. Charles V had a major interest in Bona Sforza's legacy, which is why he sent Juan de Ayala to Poland. The emperor-king's death gave rise to a protracted dispute with the Polish crown throughout the sixteenth century on account of the loans that Bona had granted him<sup>30</sup>. In the Bourbons' case, Charles III as king of the Two Sicilies, had built up important contacts in Poland, and the Poles could provide him with assistance during the Italian Wars. In addition, it is estimated that hundreds of Italians went to Poland in the mid-sixteenth century, including well-known figures such as the engineer Ambrosio Mariano Azzaro, and Ludovico Monti, and many Poles also travelled to Italy<sup>31</sup>. Azzaro, a doctor of both Canon and Civil Law from Bologna, was a *peritus* during the Council of Trent and he had responsibility for German affairs. In 1553, he moved to Poland to take up the post of advisor to Catherine of Austria, the wife of Sigismund II, and in 1557 he placed himself at the service of Philip II as a military engineer before eventually entering the Carmelites. Another im-

<sup>29</sup> FACO, A. (ed.): *L'ultimo testamento di Bona Sforza*, Bari, 2000. Bona was the daughter of Gian Galeazzo Sforza and Isabella of Aragon. She became a highly influential figure after managing to have her son Sigismund II crowned king of Poland in 1530. However, from 1554 relations with her son began to deteriorate, to the point that she decided to abandon Poland, against her son's wishes, and return to the Duchy of Bari in late 1556, where she died in 1559. She left a legacy of financial problems as a result of her immense wealth and the naming of Philip II as her heir.

<sup>30</sup> POCIECHA, W.: *Królowa Bona: Czasy i ludzie Odrodzenia*, Poznań, 1949-1958, 4 vols.; RIVERO RODRÍGUEZ, M.: "The Kingdom of Naples in the Spanish Monarchy and its Relationship with Poland", in SKOWRON, R. (ed.): *The House of Vasa and the House of Austria*, Katowice, 2016, pp. 187-204.

<sup>31</sup> KOZIŃSKA-DONDERI, D.: *I viaggi dei polacchi in Italia attraverso i secoli*, Roma, 2006; TYGIELSKI, W.: *Italians in Early Modern Poland. The Lost Opportunity for Modernization?*, Bruxelles, 2015.

portant military officer in the Spanish army was *maestre de campo* Vincenzo Tuttavilla, who spent almost a year in Poland in 1640 working on the large-scale recruitment of Cossacks; however, the project did not materialise, even though a contract had been signed. We also know that in the eighteenth century, many Italians, mostly from Naples, became naturalised Polish citizens<sup>32</sup>.

A good way of ascertaining the presence of Polish military officers in Spain is to look at both Polish embassies in Spain and Spanish embassies in Poland. This subject has been addressed by Skowron and Przeździecki, respectively. However, they did not examine diplomatic correspondence in order to identify specific military officers because this was beyond the scope of their study objectives. Certain Polish ambassadors became prominent figures in Spain, the best known being, perhaps, Jan Dantyszek<sup>33</sup>. Indeed, Philip II's royal secretary, Diego Gracián, married one of Dantyszek's daughters. Gracián published military works such as *Del oficio del capitán general de los de a caballo* and five volumes of *De re militari*. Dantyszek's successor, Fabián Damerau-Wojanowski, took part in the expedition to Tunisia in 1535. Subsequent Polish diplomats posted to Madrid included Kryski, Piotr Barzy and Piotr Dunin-Wolski<sup>34</sup>. Also, diplomats such as Konarski, Paweł Stempowski and Stanisław Kłodziński were assigned to Naples. King Sigismund II sent Piotr Barzy (†1569), royal secretary, castellan of Przemyśl and captain of Lviv, to the Spanish court in 1566. He travelled throughout Italy, visiting Naples, and arrived in Madrid in late 1568. We know that one of his servants was accused of heresy during the Inquisition, although he was actually believed to be a spy. Thanks to his trial, we know that there were Polish individuals at the court, such as the doctor Matías Nikolaweski, 'a natural of Poland popularly known as the Polish doctor as he is from Poland'. As he arrived at the court in 1535 at the age of 15, and became a doctor in Spain, we believe that the student registration records of universities, particularly those of Salamanca and Alcalá, should be examined to see if there were Poles enrolled<sup>35</sup>. Erich Lassota served as a soldier in the Spanish

<sup>32</sup> DAUGNON, F.F. de: *Gli italiani in Polonia dal IX secolo al XVIII*, Crema, 1905.

<sup>33</sup> KIENIEWICZ, J., ALVAR EZQUERRA, A., GONZÁLEZ CAIZÁN, C., URJASZ-RACZKO, M. y CONDE PAZOS, M. (coords.): *Cartas latinas en la época de los Jagellones. Años 1519-1572*, Madrid, 2019.

<sup>34</sup> Other well known ambassadors were Stanisław Fogelweder (1575-1585), Adam Mąkowski (1622-1623) and Stanisław Mąkowski (1638-1647), and in the eighteenth century Tadeusz Morski (1790) and Kajetan Zbyszewski (1791-1794).

<sup>35</sup> AHN, Inq, leg. 32, exp. 10.

army during the war with Portugal (1580-1584) and kept a diary of his time in Spain. Then there is the case of the Pole who tried to poison Philip II in 1596<sup>36</sup>. In the context of the 'conquest' of the Polish throne by the Habsburgs, the book *Una breue i sumaria descripcion del Reyno de Polonia: colejida de la Polonia de Martin Cromero Obispo de Varmia* by Sękowski was published in Madrid in 1588<sup>37</sup>. On this point, mention must also be given to the Polish translators of the works of Saint Therese, Friar Louis of Granada, Juan de la Cruz, Ceriol and Saavedra Fajardo, of Quevedo and Calderón (Krzysztof Warszawicki, Andrzej Brzechwa and Stanislaw Herakliusz Lubomirski) and of *Don Quixote*, which was translated in the nineteenth century by Leon Borowsky, a professor of rhetoric at the University of Vilnius, who learned Spanish from a soldier in Napoleon's army *en marche* for Russia around 1812<sup>38</sup>. Mention must also be made of the Spanish missionaries who travelled to Poland, particularly Jesuits, such as Salmerón, Francisco de Toledo, Francisco Suñer, Pedro Viana, Antonio Arias and Diego Ortiz, who not only made contributions to the fields of philosophy and theology, but also mathematics and engineering; and before them, there was the humanist from Teruel, Pedro Ruiz de Moros, who spent much of his life in Cracow<sup>39</sup>. On the other hand, we know that some Poles studied at the Colegio Imperial de Madrid and attended classes on *Re militari*, while others were educated at the Dominican convent in Atocha. Of course, mention must also be made of the Spanish Brothers Hospitallers of St. John of God who travelled to Poland in the early seventeenth

<sup>36</sup> GARCÍA HERNÁN, E.: "Planes militares de Felipe II para conquistar Irlanda, 1569-1578", in GARCÍA HERNÁN, E., RECIO MORALES, Ó., GARCÍA GARCÍA, B. J. and BUNES IBARRA, M. Á. de (eds.): *Irlanda y la Monarquía Hispánica: Kinsale, 1601-2001: guerra, política, exilio y religión*, Madrid, CSIC, 2002, pp. 185-204.

<sup>37</sup> URJASZ-RACZKO, M.: "Centros y periferias de la Monarquía Hispánica a finales del siglo XVI. Mikołaj Sękowski, un diplomático polaco en Nápoles y Madrid", in CIECHANOWSKI, J. S. y GONZÁLEZ CAIZÁN, C. (eds.): *Spain – India – Russia. Centres, Borderlands, and Peripheries of Civilisations. Anniversary Book Dedicated to Professor Jan Kieniewicz on His 80th Birthday*, Varsovia, 2018, pp. 283-292.

<sup>38</sup> CIESIELSKA-BORKOWSKA, S.: "Les voyages de Pologne en Espagne et en Portugal au XV et au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle", *Archivum Neophilologicum*, 1, 1934, pp. 296-377; MORAWSKI, J.: "Espagne et Pologne. Coup d'œil sur les relations des deux pays dans le passé et le présent", *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, 16 (1), 1936, pp. 225-246.

<sup>39</sup> KORANYI, C.: "Jurisconsultos y jurisprudencia españoles en Polonia desde el siglo XV hasta el siglo XVIII", *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 9 (5), 1928, pp. 227-245; DAROWSKI, R.: *Studies in the Philosophy of the Jesuits in Poland in the 16th to 18th centuries*, Kraków, 1999; GUILLÉN CABAÑERO, J.: "Un gran latinista aragonés del siglo XVI. Pedro Ruiz de Moros", *Cuadernos de historia Jerónimo Zurita*, 12-13, 1961, pp. 129-160.

century and left their mark on medicine. Some Spanish historians at the end of the sixteenth century, such as Francisco Peña and Diego Mas, played a decisive role in the canonisation of the thirteenth-century Dominican priest Saint Hyacinth of Poland, heavily promoting the Catholicism of Poland and the fact that the saint was the evangelist of Ukraine. The aforementioned Ambassador Piotr Dunin-Wolski, born in 1531, had studied at the University of Padua before going on to hold the post of secretary to Queen Bona. After her death, he was sent as ambassador to Spain in an attempt to improve relations and recover the loans that Bona had granted to the king. Dunin-Wolski compiled a well-known library, stocked with many books on spirituality, and by authors that included St John of Ávila and Friar Louis of Granada.

On Poland's part, there was a keen interest in having young Poles study at the newly created Collegium Germanicum Jesuit seminary in Rome, for which purpose Ambassador Adam Konarski requested assistance from Vice-Chancellor Przerembski, the trusted contact in Rome. In addition, in his contribution, Paweł Szadkowski speaks of the good relationship between the Vienna-based Jesuit, Claudio Jayo and his confessant Jan Krzysztof Tarnowski (1537–1567). The latter was the son of one of Poland's most accomplished military officers, Jan Tarnowski, who, like Ignatius of Loyola, had made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. When Jan Tarnowski was castellan of Cracow, Charles V & I made him a Count of the Empire and Commander of the Imperial troops fighting against the Turks. He published tracts on the art of war in Tarnów in 1558, and dedicated his book *De bello*<sup>40</sup> to Charles V. We also know that Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, a Polish humanist influenced by Juan Luis Vives, praised Charles V's caution in the Battle of Mühlberg (1547) in his book *De Republica*. On the other hand, a number of Jesuits from Vienna travelled to Krakow to attend the marriage of Catherine of Austria and Sigismund II in July 1553 —at which the military displayed the Cross of Burgundy flags (the Spanish military ensign)— and it was here that they first formally requested permission to found a college, for which they had the support of Marcin Kromer and the future cardinal, Stanislaus Hosius. Years later, some of Sigismund III Vasa's troops also carried the Burgundian Cross flags. Sigismund III

<sup>40</sup> *De bello cum iuratissimis Christianae fidei hostibus Turcis gerendo disputatio sapientissima*, I ed. – J. G. Schedius, 1552 Würzburg 1595, imprenta G. Fleischsamnn, (ed. Jehan van der Straten vel Strasius, 1552). *Consilium rationis bellicae*, Tarnów, 1558, publisher Łazarz Andrysowic.

sent his ambassador Krzysztof Koryciński to Madrid in 1615 to arrange the marriage of his son Ladislaus and Infanta Maria Anna. Another important ambassador was Adam Małkowski (to whom we owe the image of Poland as the *Antemurale Christianitatis*) who ordered the Spanish translation of Maciej Tytlewski's work, *Relación diaria de las guerras tenidas entre Polacos y Turcos por los años 1620 y 1621* (Madrid 1623). This idea was strengthened with John Casimir, and later at the raising of the Siege of Vienna in 1683 by the heroic feats of John III Sobieski against the Turks, with other similar accounts. This was the first debt that Europe acquired with Poland; the second was in 1920, the only one that clearly defeated the Soviets<sup>41</sup>.

In 1623 negotiations were initiated to organise a joint navy in the Baltic Sea, and some joint operations were even carried out. Where Spanish ambassadors to Poland are concerned, the best known were probably the Count of Aranda and Pedro Normande in the eighteenth century<sup>42</sup>. From a military point of view, however, other important figures, because of the information they provide us with, were Guillén de San Clemente during the reign of Philip II, Solre and Auchy in 1635, Pedro Ronquillo in 1674<sup>43</sup>, and in the eighteenth century, Field Marshal Marquis of Revilla<sup>44</sup> and Domingo de Iriarte in 1793. Indeed, in 1919, Fernando Gómez Contreras found himself in an extremely delicate position

<sup>41</sup> PIŁAT-ZUZANKIEWICZ, M.: "La elección y coronación de Juan Casimiro Vasa, rey de Polonia, en las relaciones de sucesos españolas", in GARCÍA LÓPEZ, J. and BOADAS CABARROCAS, S. (coords.): *Las relaciones de sucesos en los cambios políticos y sociales en la Europa Moderna*, Barcelona, Universitat Autònoma, 2015, pp. 297-308; GÓMEZ DE BLAS, J.: *Relación verdadera de las insignes vitorias que Dios Nuestro Señor ha sido servido co[n]ceder a las Armas del señor Iuan Casimiro Rey de Polonia, contra las de Carlos Adolfo Rey de Suecia...*, 1683.

<sup>42</sup> GONZÁLEZ CAIZÁN, C., TARACHA, C. and TÉLLEZ ALARCIA, D. (eds.): *Cartas desde Varsovia: correspondencia privada del Conde de Aranda con Ricardo Wall (1760-1762)*, Lublin, Twerset, 2005; GONZÁLEZ CAIZÁN, C.: "El 3 de Mayo de 1791 en la correspondencia diplomática española. La misión de Pedro de Normande y Mericán en Varsovia", in GONZÁLEZ CAIZÁN, C., FUENTE DE PABLO, P. de la, PUIG-SAMPER MULERO, M. Á. and TARACHA, C. (coords.): *Polonia y España*, op. cit., pp. 63-76; CONDE PAZOS, M.: "La Monarquía hispana y la dinastía sajona de Polonia, 1697-1734", in MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN, J., CAMARERO BULLÓN, C. and LUZZI, M. (coords.): *La Corte de los Borbones: Crisis del modelo cortesano*, Madrid, 2013, vol. 1, pp. 559-588.

<sup>43</sup> CONDE PAZOS, M.: "La misión diplomática de don Pedro Ronquillo en Varsovia con motivo de la elección de Juan Sobieski como rey de Polonia en 1674", *Pedralbes: Revista d'història moderna*, 38, 2018, pp. 187-227; ID.: "Relaciones entre los Habsburgo y los Vasa de Polonia", op. cit.

<sup>44</sup> AGS, Secretaría de Guerra, leg. 5462, ff. 72-76. The Marquis of Revilla was promoted to the rank of field marshal on 3 April 1763.

over the Bolshevik issue when a Polish Bolshevik committee organised by Count Alexander Dzieduszyck, was discovered in Madrid. He had served as a military attaché in the Austro-Hungarian Embassy, and later he became the first official representative of the Polish National Committee. Dzieduszyck, together with Tadeusz Peiper, Józef Pankiewicz and Marian Paszkiewicz, founded the Polish Press Agency in Madrid in December 1918 with the goal of checking and rectifying anti-Polish news published in the Spanish press at the instigation of German agencies (above all in relation to the conflicts in Lviv and the surrounding area and the situation of the Jews in Poland)<sup>45</sup>. Indeed, in 1927, the Spanish minister in Warsaw, Silvio Fernández-Vallín, warned the Ministry of State of the emerging Communist threat –perhaps he was exaggerating or had unreliable information- within the Polish army: 'terror, espionage and propaganda were used in the army to prepare a revolution like the Russian one'<sup>46</sup>.

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In relation to the parallels between Spain and Poland, we can mention the historian and father of Polish historiography, Joachim Lelewel. He gave a number of lectures on the subject in 1820 that were immediately published as a book. The early twentieth century saw a resurgence in the study of Spanish-Polish relations thanks to Ambassador Count Józef Potocki, Adam Szełagowski and Walerian Meysztowicz, and later on with the great Hispanist Jan Kieniewicz, in addition to Spaniards such as the Duke of Parcent, although his work was more popular than scientific (he was Chargé d'Affaires in Poland). Furthermore, there was the historian Felipe Ruiz Martín and his important thesis of 1944 entitled *Carlos V y la Confederación polaco-lituana* and, years later, there was Rafael Ródenas Vilar, José Gentil da Silva and José Alcalá-Zamora, although the last generally focused on the Austrian Habsburg period. This was possibly due to the influence of the great historian, Fernand Braudel, who also influenced other historians such as Witold Kula and Bronisław Geremek, they were convinced of the importance of Europe's roots. Right at the

<sup>45</sup> AHN, Exteriores, leg. 2065. Polonia 1919. The General Directorate for Security requested that he be expelled on 19 January 1919, but there is no record that this was carried out. Other members of the committee were the painter Józef Pankiewicz and his pupil Waław Zawadowski and the lawyer and military officer Marian Paszkiewicz. There is a possibility that this data is erroneous or falsified by a Pro-German informer (my thanks to Ernest Kowalczyk for this interesting suggestion).

<sup>46</sup> AHN, Exteriores, leg. 2605. Vallín to State, Warsaw, 22 March 1927.

end of the eighteenth century, the book *Memorias del caballero Lovzinski: historia de la Polonia hasta su desmembramiento* was published and translated from French by Benito Redondo de Toledo (Madrid 1799). However, until Pedro Voltes Bou in 1954, there were scarcely any serious publications on the subject during the eighteenth century, and although it opened up a line of research, it was not revisited until much later<sup>47</sup>. More recently, there is the work on the painter of Charles III, Tadeusz Kuntze, the grandfather of Federico de Madrazo y Kuntz (1815-1894). In the contemporary period, in 1941 José María de Azcona published a work on Prince Felix von Lichnowsky's support for the Carlist cause in 1837, at a time when Carlism was at an apogee following the Civil War<sup>48</sup>. The pioneering cultural history journalist María Luz Morales provided an overview of the history of Poland in her book published in Barcelona in 1945 under the pseudonym Luzscienski, and she also translated Édouard de Moreau's book entitled *Cómo vivió Chopin en Mallorca* in 1960. However, the most important work is perhaps that penned by a witness to the events in Warsaw, the Duke of Parcent, whose book deserves to be republished<sup>49</sup>.

Archival sources had to be accessed to reconstruct the history of relations between the two countries, and as sources such as *Acta Tomiciana* and *Elementa ad Fontium Editiones* (1963-1970 in seven volumes, and in the Nova series in 2015) were published, historians became increasingly aware that they were dealing with a European story. Recent works have highlighted the parallels and importance of the Jagiellon and Vasa dynasties – Sigismund III (1587-1632) and his two sons Ladislaus IV (1632-1648) and John II Casimir (1648-1668) (M. Conde Pazos and R. Skowron). Parallels are drawn between characters such as John of Austria the Younger and John Sobieski (Fernando Sánchez-Marcos), and even between the Renaissance and the Baroque in the two countries (E. C. Brody and Eugeniusz Górski)<sup>50</sup>. Poles travelling in

<sup>47</sup> VOLTES BOU, P.: "Aspectos de la política de Carlos III en Polonia", *Hispania. Revista española de Historia*, 14, 1954, pp. 53-119.

<sup>48</sup> AZCONA Y DÍAZ DE RADA, J. M.: "Recuerdos de la Guerra Carlista (1837 a 1839) por el Príncipe Félix von Lichnowsky", *Príncipe de Viana*, 5, 1941, pp. 74-91.

<sup>49</sup> PARCENT, duque de: *El drama de Varsovia 1939-1944*, Madrid, 1946; HELLÍN ORTUÑO, R.: "Impacto del levantamiento de Varsovia de 1944, visión oficial en España durante el franquismo", *Revista Historia Autónoma*, 10, 2017, pp. 163-181.

<sup>50</sup> BRODY, E. C.: "Spain and Poland in the Age of the Renaissance and the Baroque: A Comparative Study", *The Polish Review*, 15 (4), 1970, pp. 86-105; GÓRSKI, E.: "La recepción en Polonia del pensamiento español de la Contrarreforma y del Barroco", in

Spain expressed their views (Janusz Tazbir), the Slavic languages were studied (Gabriela Makowiecka, Fernando Presa, Grzegorz Bąk)<sup>51</sup>, and the Bourbon era began to be studied in the wake of Voltes' work (Cezary Taracha, Pablo de la Fuente de Pablo, Barbara Obtulowicz and Kamila Maria Szparkowska). The military activities of Polish officers in the service of the monarchy are retold in the various historical accounts of wars and in the *Gazeta Nueva* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, it was in the mid-seventeenth century that two Italian historians (Bisaccioni and Avogradro) underscored the crisis confronting Europe on account of the numerous internal insurrections in the great empires, in Portugal, Catalonia, Poland, Naples, Moldova, Switzerland and France, and the importance attached to the military. Nevertheless, it is only recently, with the resurgence of military history, that we learned that between 1623 and at least 1631, Sigismund III was working with Madrid and Vienna on a plan devised by the Duke of Olivares to create a Spanish-Polish fleet to halt Dutch and Swedish trade in the Baltic. Research has also been undertaken on a matter that was first spoken of in the seventeenth century, namely, that in the context of the crisis of the monarchy in 1640, with insurrections in Portugal, Catalonia and Naples, talks were held with Ladislaus IV to discuss the recruitment of Poles to fight the French. However, the plan was unworkable because it would have required a sort of *Spanish road* in reverse, which France would never have allowed. At the time, the rival diplomats were striving to prevent both France and Spain from recruiting Cossacks. The organiser of the recruitment campaign, the Duke of Medina de las Torres, suggested to Philip IV that the Cossacks could be used against the Catalans, as 'the Poles' [Cossacks'] way of fighting is unusual because they take care to leave space at their backs and fortify what other armies do not ordinarily do and, thus, if introducing this nation into Spain in such a number is not considered a great inconvenience, I would consider them useful for the recovery and punishment of the Catalans... seeing themselves without that aid and with this army in the principality they will throw themselves at Your Majesty's feet'. The agreement was concluded in 1641, yet it was

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HEREDIA SORIANO, A. (dir.): *Exilios filosóficos de España*, Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, 1992, pp. 269-286.

<sup>51</sup> BĄK, G.: *La imagen de España en la literatura polaca del siglo XIX (Diarios, memorias, libros de viajes y otros testimonios literarios)*, Tesis Doctoral, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2002; PRESA GONZÁLEZ, F. (ed.): *Historia de las literaturas eslavas*, Madrid, Cátedra, 1997.

first published in 1740 (*Colección de tratados de paz*), thereby revealing the Cossacks' peculiar method of fighting<sup>52</sup>.

At this time, John Casimir, who was a Jesuit for a brief time, was of crucial importance. In 1635, as an ally of the emperor in the Thirty Years' War, he commanded a Polish Cuirassier regiment against the French in Alsace. Upon his return, he expressed a desire to visit Spain and enter the service of Philip IV, who appointed him Viceroy of Portugal, but he was captured and imprisoned by French agents before he was able to take up the post. This event is also known thanks to Juan Sánchez's pamphlet *Relación cuarta y carta verdadera enviada de la villa de Bruselas*<sup>53</sup> that was distributed in Madrid. Another prominent propagandist was the Jesuit from Granada, Benito Sojo, professor at Vilnius, who penned two important works<sup>54</sup>. The accounts continued in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but towards the end they were mainly translations from French because Spain had an ever diminishing presence in Poland<sup>55</sup>. On this point, mention must be made of Raimondo Montecuccoli, an officer in the service of the Empire, who travelled to Poland in 1658 to aid John Casimir, and whose military knowledge was immortalised in his famous work on the art of war, where he stated that the best thing the Poles had was the cavalry, but that this was wasted because the soldiers lived in a 'dissolute freedom'.

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The nineteenth century saw a resurgence in military relations from a historical and journalistic perspective. On this point, reference should be made to *Fragmentos de la vida de un polaco*

<sup>52</sup> CONDE PAZOS, M.: "El tratado de Nápoles. El encierro del príncipe Juan Casimiro y la leva de polacos de Medina de las Torres (1638-1642)", *Studia historica. Historia moderna*, 33, 2011, pp. 123-139; SKOWRON, R.: "Las levas de polacos", *op. cit.*, pp. 25-44.

<sup>53</sup> PIŁAT-ZUZANKIEWICZ, M.: *Op. cit.*

<sup>54</sup> SOJO, B. de (S.I.): *Vitorias que el Rey de Polonia ha tenido contra los hereges de Suecia; y espantosos milagros, que Dios ha obrado en aquel Reyno, que los Catholicos tienen por anuncio de sus buenos sucessos, y los enemigos por señales de su total destruycion. Dase cuenta de vn espantoso caso que sucedio en la Mezquita de Constantinopla, estando dentro el Turco, al tiempo de celebrar las ceremonias de su maldita seta*, Sevilla, 1628; ID., *Copia de capítulos de una del padre Sojo de la Compañía de Jesús en el reino de Polonia*, ca. 1625. It is an account of the martyrdom of Saint Josaphat, Archbishop of Polatsk, in 1623. The account was published in Seville by Simón Fajardo in 1625.

<sup>55</sup> БАК, G.: "Noticias del norte: la Polonia de los años 1683-1703 en las páginas de la prensa española de la época", *Eslavística Complutense*, 1, 2001, pp. 371-380.

*y su muerte política* by an anonymous Galician author in 1843. Mention must also be made of Józef Leonard Bertholet (assistant to General Michał Heydenreich-Kruk in the war against the Russians in 1864), who came to Spain in 1868 to participate in the September Revolution, and went on to write for the *Gaceta de Madrid*. Another military engineer was Lieutenant Colonel Tomasz Bartmański (1845-48) who founded Madrid's first gas factory and carried out a number of railroad projects. Also noteworthy at this time was Esteban von Jacobson, a pharmacy graduate from Warsaw who studied at the Central University of Madrid in 1872<sup>56</sup>. It is worth noting here the contribution of Cristina González Caizán, as her essay provides extensive information on the participation of Poles in the Peninsular War and in the First Carlist War, and Colonel Tadeusz Sulikowski, who became general commander of Murcia. In the twentieth century, the most important case is Sofía Casanova, the first female war correspondent with *ABC*<sup>57</sup>, who married a Pole. In addition, there is the recent work by Antonio Checa Godoy on the role of the press in Poland's independence process, entitled *La prensa en el proceso de independencia de Polonia (1914-1920): ideologías, minorías y transformaciones* (Madrid 2017). Ciechanowski examines the Polish military presence in the Foreign Legion prior to the Civil War, in the national side and, most especially, in the Polish international brigade; in the latter case he provides detailed and hitherto unknown information derived from extensive archival research.

We would like to highlight two key moments in Poland's contemporary military history and its relations with Spain. The first was when Colonel Vicente Rojo, in his plan of operations for the defence of Madrid in October 1936, proposed to Largo Caballero the use of the model that had been followed by Marshal Piłsudski in Warsaw sixteen years earlier, which he had most likely learned at the Military Academy from his mentor, Fernando Moreno Calderón, or because he had taught it himself while there as an instructor<sup>58</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> BAŃ, G.: *La imagen de España*, op. cit.; MATYJASZCZYK GREŃDA, A. and PRESA GONZÁLEZ, F. (eds.): *Op. cit.*

<sup>57</sup> CASANOVA, S.: *De la Guerra: crónicas de Polonia y Rusia: primera serie*, Madrid, 1916; CABRERA PÉREZ, C.: "Sofía Casanova, primera corresponsal de guerra", in VÁZQUEZ BERMÚDEZ, I. (coord.): *Investigaciones multidisciplinares en género: II Congreso Universitario Nacional "Investigación y Género" (Sevilla, 17 y 18 de junio de 2010)*, Sevilla, 2010, pp. 149-173; AHN, Universidades, leg. 1086, exp. 17.

<sup>58</sup> Vicente Rojo may have been acquainted with General L. Sikorski's book *La campagne polono-russe de 1920*, Paris 1928. He most likely also studied *Apuntes sobre las conferencias explicadas por el teniente coronel de Estado Mayor, profesor, Fernando*

The second was when General Władysław Anders was head of the Polish Government-in-exile in London and his work *Sin capítulo final* was published in Barcelona in 1948, most likely because of the summers he had spent in Spain and his friendship with Ramón de Dalmases y Villavecchia<sup>59</sup>. In 1939, Spain recognised the Polish Government-in-exile and its representative, Count José Potocki, a friend of the Spanish ambassador in London, the Duke of Alba, was a prominent figure in Madrid. Meanwhile, military officers paid close attention to how operations were being carried out in the occupation of Poland<sup>60</sup>. After the surrender of France in June 1940, Potocki received groups of Polish soldiers at the consulate in Barcelona. On the other hand, the Duke of Parcent played a key role in Poland in 1939, where, from October that year, he was responsible for looking after Spain's interests there (reporting to the ambassador in Berlin, the condition imposed by the Nazis) as the chancellor of the Spanish consulate in Warsaw and head of mission until his departure in July 1944. In his book *El drama de Varsovia, 1939-1944* (1946), he described the terror unleashed by the Nazis and the destruction of Warsaw<sup>61</sup>. On the other hand, the Franquist establishment received documents relating to numerous alleged attacks on Germans by Poles in Upper Silesia, and in 1940 the Spanish language Germany's account of the origin of the war <sup>62</sup>.

When modernists hear the name Potocki, it immediately calls to mind his ancestor, Count Jan Potocki, who died in 1815, and who

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Moreno Calderón, *durante el curso de 1923 a 1924* (1923), Madrid 1923 (published by the Ministry of the Navy), an important 570-page volume produced by the War College.

<sup>59</sup> MACKIEWICZ, J.: *El crimen de Katyn: a la luz de los documentos, con prefacio del General Wladyslaw Anders y traducción directa del texto polaco de Józef Łobodowski*, revisado por J. Sáinz Mazpule, México, 1952.

<sup>60</sup> FUENTE DE PABLO, P. de la: "Los militares españoles y la campaña de Polonia (1939): lecciones aprendidas", in TARACHA, C. and FUENTE DE PABLO, P. de la (coords.): *Entre Oriente y Occidente. Actas del Primer Congreso de Hispanistas*, Lublin, 2014, pp. 43-68.

<sup>61</sup> CIECHANOWSKI, J. S.: *Czarna legenda Mirandy. Polacy w hiszpańskim obozie internowania w Miranda de Ebro 1940-1945*, Varsovia, Oficyna Wydawnicza RYTM, 2019, t. I, pp. 57-68; KACZOROWSKI, B.: "España ante la invasión alemana y soviética de Polonia en septiembre de 1939", *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea*, 35, 2013, pp. 177-192; FUENTE DE PABLO, P. de la y TARACHA, C.: "España, Gran Bretaña y la defensa de Gibraltar (1940-1941)", *Aportes: Revista de historia contemporánea*, 32 (95), 2017, pp. 145-178.

<sup>62</sup> *El martirio de los alemanes en la Alta Silesia: atrocidades y actos de violencia de los polacos durante la tercera insurrección de la Alta Silesia en mayo y junio de 1921; Documentos polacos sobre los antecedentes de la guerra: primera serie* (1940), Berlín, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores del Reich, 1940.

wrote the novel *The Manuscript Found in Saragossa*. The book was translated into Polish by Edmund Chojecki (1822-1899), published in French by Roger Caillois in 1958, and republished in the Spanish language several times due to its vision of Spain, and, on this point, the work of Cristina González Caizán is particularly interesting. On the other hand, at the start of the First Republic, many feared that Spain would suffer the same fate as Poland, and there was a resurgence in modernist studies. Research sources were consulted, such as Rodríguez Villa's study on Ambassador Ronquillo, published in 1874 (*Revista Europea*), a major reference for experts on the subject<sup>63</sup>. In 1892, the Marquis of Ayerbe published the correspondence of Guillén de San Clemente during the reigns of Philip II and Philip III. In addition, at the end of that century, several volumes of the *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España* were devoted to Polish ambassadors. As knowledge of Poland improved, the Poles began to pursue closer relations with Spain. For instance, Prince Paul Salvator Riedelski-Piast (1884-1944), recipient of the Silver Medal of the Spanish Red Cross in 1910, requested García Prieto to recognise Poland in 1911. Riedelski-Piast was in reality the pretender to the Polish throne during the First World War and, as President of the Polish National League, he had made the following plea in 1916, in anticipation of a future peace conference: 'this Congress must determine the non-reserved frontiers of the Kingdom of Poland which has received so many dangerous attacks. It should even end the disgraces, the hatred, the ambition and the dissensions that have been created there, and then will adopt a course where justice and dignity are preserved for the acceleration of a definitive arrangement'<sup>64</sup>.

It should also be pointed out that, following Rodríguez Villa's publication, Antonio Paz y Meliá the secretary (and to a certain extent the instructor) of the Duke of Alba, who had also been archivist of the General Archive of Simancas and librarian of the National Library in Madrid, published various articles on Ambassador

<sup>63</sup> FERNÁNDEZ-MAYORALAS PALOMEQUE, J.: *Op. cit.* One of the few works that addressed Spanish-Polish relations was published in 1874, see RODRÍGUEZ VILLA, A.: *Misión secreta del embajador D. Pedro Ronquillo en Polonia (1674)*. Shortly afterwards, the Institución Libre de Enseñanza organised a lecture at the Ateneo in Madrid on "La moderna literatura polaca y José Ignacio Kraszewski", impartida por José Leonard, see *Revista de España*, 42 (1-2), 1875, p. 139.

<sup>64</sup> AHN, Exteriores, leg. 2605. Paul Zabica Piat-Riedelski to García Prieto, 25 October 1910; to the Minister of State, Liverpool, 8 November 1916.

Jan Dantyszek at the court of Charles V (1524-1527)<sup>65</sup>. During the Second Republic, attempts were made to promote Spanish culture abroad and Polish researchers were given access to archives and museums. The main concern, however, was to promote trade, and five Spanish-Polish chambers of commerce were created between 1931 and 1936, in addition to the publication of an annual commercial bulletin. In February 1933, the Polish legation in Spain requested the Directorate-General for Fine Arts for permission for the famous Polish photographer Mojżesz Woro-biejczyk to photograph the interior of museums and churches accompanied by a guide; however, he was only granted permission to photograph national monuments and museums. In 1934, Ignacio Bauer published *Un manuscrito sobre Polonia en la Biblioteca de don Pedro de Aragón*<sup>66</sup>. In November 1935, the press reported that Count Jacques Potocki, whose funeral had taken place, had bequeathed his entire estate, valued at 150 million pesetas, to the Government<sup>67</sup>. The time spent in Madrid by the scientist, Marie Skłodowska Curie, the avant-garde poet, Tadeusz Peiper (1915-1920) and the pianist, Arthur Rubinstein —expelled from France for having Austro-Hungarian passports— have been mentioned, as well as the influence of Estanislao Makowiecki Pomian (the husband of Gabriela Makowiecka)<sup>68</sup> on aeronautical engineering.

Perhaps the Duke of Alba's greatest contribution was to entrust Miguel Gómez del Campillo with the translation and publication of Count Renaud Przezdziecki's book *Diplomatie et protocole a la cour de Pologne* in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, which has proved extremely useful to researchers<sup>69</sup>. During the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), there was a Polish international brigade, while other Poles —albeit few— fought on the Nationalist side such as Ambassador Marian Szumlakowski, who hosted the

<sup>65</sup> *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, XI (1924), pp. 54-69, 305-320, 427-444, 586-600 y XII (1925), pp. 73-93.

<sup>66</sup> The following year, Bauer Landauer published the second account of Poland he had found in the library of Pedro Antonio de Aragón: *Un manuscrito sobre Polonia en la biblioteca de Don Pedro Antonio de Aragón*, 1935. The accounts were those of the nuncio Giulio Ruggieri (1934) and the Venetian ambassador Girolamo Lippomano (1935).

<sup>67</sup> *Polonia contemporánea: su vida política, cultural y económica*, Varsovia-Madrid, Cámara de Comercio Polaco-Latino-Americana, 1933.

<sup>68</sup> MORAWIŃSKA, A. (coord.): *Tadeusz Peiper. Heraldo de la vanguardia entre España y Polonia*, Warszawa. 2005.

<sup>69</sup> PRZEZDZIECKI, R.: *Diplomatie et protocole a la cour de Pologne*, Paris, 1934-1937, 2 vols.

Marquis of Ibarra and Gregorio Marañón among others, in the legation, although Poland sold arms to both sides<sup>70</sup>. In this book, Professor Ciechanowski examines the unhappy fate of those Poles who found themselves without a nation. In 1939, Poland disappeared again with the Nazi and Soviet occupations, and its government went into exile. After 1945 when it was absorbed into the Soviet Bloc, the situation for Polish exiles and émigrés was not unlike that which their forebears had experienced at the end of the nineteenth century. We now have historians specialised in this period, such as José María Faraldo Jarillo, José Luis Orella Martínez and, in particular, Ciechanowski. General Franco favoured the Polish Government-in-exile, hence, Potocki's freedom of movement<sup>71</sup>. In 1948, he revived the Association of Polish Students through lectures. In one of them, he stated: 'Every Pole abroad has two tasks: to fulfil their duty and to represent the cultural level, tradition, aspirations and values of their homeland so that the characteristics of Poland are understood and appreciated as best as possible and so that this mutual contact will expand cultural, political and economic relations between a free Poland and foreign countries in the future'<sup>72</sup>.

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To conclude this overview of the Polish presence in the Spanish army, I would like to add that readers will find here numerous examples of Polish military officers in Spain, whose contribution to our history was by no means small, that the subject merits further research and that a database of Polish military officers in Spain should be created, similar to those on other nationalities, such as the Irish. The members of this research team would like to thank CEHISMI for its initiative, the President of the Commission,

<sup>70</sup> MOLINA FRANCO, L.: "Polonia y el tráfico de armas en la Guerra Civil Española", in ID. (coord.): *Treinta y seis relatos de la guerra del 36*, Valladolid, 2006, pp. 97-100.

<sup>71</sup> EIROA, M.: *Las relaciones de Franco con Europa Centro-Oriental (1939-1955)*, Barcelona, Ariel, 2001; CIECHANOWSKI, J. S. "El totalitarismo comunista en Polonia (1944-1989). Su génesis y evolución", *Brocar*, 24, 2000, pp. 93-103; BAĞ, G.: "Por nuestra libertad y la vuestra. Polonia sigue luchando (1945) de Józef Łobodowski", *Estudios Hispánicos*, 15, 2007, pp. 149-156.

<sup>72</sup> On 3 April 1948, Potocki sent the Duke of Alba the lecture entitled 'Polonia en la historia de España' (Poland in the history of Spain), translated into Spanish, which he had given to Polish students in March at the Colegio Mayor Apóstol Santiago, the epicentre for Polish students in exile in Madrid. It is worth pointing out that Potocki refers to the Polish historian Boratyński in his work Stefan Batory and the revolt in Flanders about an alliance between Poland and Spain against Moscow and Turkey after quashing the revolt, a work which was never published.

Lieutenant General Francisco de Paula Bisbal Pons, the Vice-President, Hugo O'Donnell, and the other members for the interest shown. We are also grateful to the staff at the various archives of the Ministry of Defence who assisted in locating files, and the Subdirector General for Publications for the publication of this issue and the English version.

## Chapter one

### The Polish presence in the Spanish Military in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century

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#### Abstract

The aim of this study is to demonstrate the presence of Polish military forces in the Spanish army in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During that period, Poland and Spain began to establish diplomatic relations, as they discovered the advantages that a political alliance could bring. However, Spain was still very much an unfamiliar country for the Poles, who tended to travel more to France and Italy. Most Poles that arrived in the Iberian Peninsula during these centuries were noblemen looking to achieve fame in the European courts and armies. Some of these, such as the captain general of the Polish army Jan Tarnowski, went on to hold important positions during the campaigns of Charles V, or played prominent roles in Spain's anti-Turkish policy. There were also Polish adventurers and mercenaries that fought in the Netherlands, either in the Habsburg armies or on the side of the Dutch armed forces. There are even records of Polish soldiers that came to Spain after recruitment campaigns were conducted in Poland and Silesia.

**Keywords**

Polish army, Poland, Jan Tarnowski, military thought

### Geographical and historiographical distance

Although the Iberian Peninsula was not a major destination for Polish pilgrims and travellers in the modern period, there are a relatively large number of diaries, memoirs and references by Polish people who travelled to Spain. It is estimated that 86 Poles visited the Iberian Peninsula in the sixteenth century, and 172 Poles the following century<sup>1</sup>. Most of these were pilgrims<sup>2</sup> and travellers (both the sons of noblemen who left Poland to be educated and adventurers eager to see the world)<sup>3</sup>. Another important source of information on the subject is diplomatic correspondence<sup>4</sup>. In the travellers' accounts, we see a fascination with the architecture, culture and the women, but also criticism of the political system and style of politics. The Poles' analysis of the Hispanic world in the modern period is not in-depth due to the lack of

<sup>1</sup> MAJDER, Elżbieta, "Polska obecność wojskowa na Półwyspie Iberyjskim w epoce nowożytnej" in TARACHA, Cezary (ed.): *Od Lepanto do Bailén. Studia z dziejów wojskowości hiszpańskiej (XV-XIX wiek)*, Lublin, 2012, p. 54. See also SAWICKI, Piotr, *Polacy a Hiszpanie. Ludzie, podróże, opinie. Los polacos y los españoles. Hombres, viajes, ideas*, Wrocław, 1995.

<sup>2</sup> KNAPIŃSKI, Ryszard (ed.), *Kult św. Jakuba Większego Apostoła w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*, Lublin, 2002. For more information on the importance of Spain for Polish pilgrims (and also for the Silesians from the Late Middle Ages) based on archaeological sources, see WACHOWSKI, Krzysztof, "Średniowieczne pielgrzymki mieszkańców Śląska" in *Archeologia Polski*, t. L, 2005, pp. 103-128.

<sup>3</sup> There is an abundance of literature on the subject, both in Spanish and Polish historiography. For an overview of this type of source, see ALBURQUERQUE GARCÍA, Luis, "Consideraciones acerca del género relato de viajes en la literatura del siglo de oro" in MATA INDURAIN, Carlos, and ZUGASTI ZUGASTI, Miguel (Eds.): *El Siglo de Oro en el nuevo milenio*, Pamplona, 2005, pp. 129-141; DZIECIŃSKA, Hanna, *O staropolskich dziennikach podróży*, Warszawa, 1991. See also PIŁAT-ZUZANKIEWICZ, Marta, "El misionero aragonés Pedro Cubero Sebastián en Polonia: un relato del viaje realizado en 1674" in *itinerarios*, no. 24, 2016, pp. 263-280; PARTYKA, Joanna, "Enciclopedistas y viajeros polacos antiguos acerca de España y los españoles: lo imaginado y lo visto" in PRESA GONZÁLEZ, Fernando (ed.), *España y el mundo eslavo: relaciones culturales, literarias y lingüísticas*, Madrid, 2002, pp. 133-144. The most complete work on Polish travellers to Spain from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century is KUCHARSKI, Adam, *Hiszpania i Hiszpanie w relacjach Polaków*, Warszawa, 2007.

<sup>4</sup> SKOWRON, Ryszard, *Dyplomaci polscy w Hiszpanii w XVI i XVII wieku*, Kraków, 1997; PRZEŹDZIECKI, Renaud, "Los embajadores de España en Polonia. Desde la edad media al siglo XVII" in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, no. CXXI, 1941, pp. 397-441; FONTÁN, Antonio, and AXET, Jerzy (Eds.): *Españoles y polacos en la Corte de Carlos V: cartas del embajador Juan Dantisco*, Madrid, 1994; KIENIEWICZ, Jan, "Dantisco: diálogo y futuro de las relaciones hispano-polacas" in SAWICKI, Piotr (ed.): *Miscelánea en homenaje a Florian Ludwik Śmieja*, Wrocław, 1997, pp. 29-40; FONTÁN, Antonio, "Juan Dantisco (1485-1549). Humanista y político, testigo de España y de Europa" in KIENIEWICZ, Jan (ed.): *Terra marique*, Warszawa, 2001, pp. 99-100.

stable relations between the two countries, given that the Spanish Habsburgs' contact with Poland was mainly through the embassy in Vienna<sup>5</sup> and correspondence was therefore infrequent.

Although the Catholic religion played a crucial role in both countries, the differences between their political models (absolute monarchy in Spain and Golden Liberty in Poland) and the influence of the 'black legend' prevented the creation of a basis for a common policy. As Piotr Sawicki has pointed out, 'it is not surprising therefore that, as our aristocratic (it is tempting to say 'libertarian') democracy grew stronger, the Poles of the time became increasingly mystified by the Spanish political system based on centralised and authoritarian power (...) However, this Polish-Hispanic spiritual communion was overshadowed by a wall of incomprehension, perplexity and, finally, disdain and almost contempt'<sup>6</sup>.

Several reasons, not just political ones, can explain the discontinuous relations. For instance, those cited by José Alcalá-Zamora in his book *España, Flandes y el Mar del Norte*:

"Europe's move towards cultural *horizontality* was still far from fruition at the time of Philip IV. There were light-years between Spanish bureaucratic organisation and tsarist autocracy, between the prodigious refinement of the decadent cities of the Apennine peninsula and Scandinavian coarseness, between the financial prowess of Amsterdam and the economic concepts of the Sublime Porte, which are difficult for our egalitarian mindset to grasp"<sup>7</sup>.

The Spanish historian ascribed Poland the role of a bridge or intermediate world. According to his view of the hidden world of the

<sup>5</sup> The diplomats sent to Poland were never appointed by Philip II personally. This was done by officers residing in Vienna in, for example, the first (1573) and third free election (1587). See RODRÍGUEZ PÉREZ, Raimundo A., "Servir al rey, servir a la casa. La embajada extraordinaria del III marqués de los Vélez en el Imperio y Polonia (1572-1575)" in MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN, José, and GONZÁLEZ CUERVA, Ruben (Eds.): *La dinastía de los Austria: las relaciones entre la Monarquía Católica y el Imperio*, t. 1, Madrid, 2011, pp. 439-478.

<sup>6</sup> SAWICKI, Piotr, "Entre el rechazo y la admiración. España de Carlos V y Felipe II, vista por los polacos" in *Pensamiento y Cultura*, no. 5, 2002, p. 100.

<sup>7</sup> ALCALÁ-ZAMORA Y QUEIPO DE LLANO, José, *España, Flandes y el Mar del Norte (1618-1639)*, Madrid, 2001, p. 53. For further reading on Poland's role in the strategy of northern Spain, see URJASZ RACZKO, Matylda, "La estrategia diplomática de Felipe II frente a la tercera elección libre en la República Polaco-Lituana, 1586-1589", *Studia Historica. Historia Moderna*, no. 36, 2014, pp. 213-232.

north, two major political entities (Poland and Russia) commanded the attention of the Western states, but only at certain times or, in other words, the political horizon broadened as key events unfolded, particularly when these concerned war:

“Russia, with its large plains and rivers, posed a fabulous alternative route towards the products of the Far East (...) and the English and Dutch were quick to realise this. (...) As for the Polish subspace, that of sad historical destinies, it was experiencing difficult times, subjected to the pressures of Scandinavians, Germans, Turks and Muscovites, while the anachronisms of the internal political superstructures and its relative isolation from the large cities that were forging the modern world condemned it as an independent entity<sup>8</sup>”.

Therefore, the image Poland conveyed in political treatises, diplomatic correspondence and art was formed by political and geographical factors. The Marquis of Aitona adopted a critical tone in his letter to Philip IV in 1627: ‘because after forty years of that king’s reign [Sigismund III Vasa – P.S.], he still has to deliberate over every single decision as if it were the first day (...) the son should take pains to avoid appearing too Spanish (...) because they feel that some of the freedom they so cherish is taken away and they wish to support the king but without giving him more power’<sup>9</sup>. Anthony Sherley, an Englishman in the service of the Spanish king, shared the same view of the Polish government. In his accounts of his travels through Europe and the Middle East (published in Spain in 1623 under the title *Peso político de todo el mundo*), he wrote ‘there is no change whatsoever, no resolution about peace or war, about alliances, leagues with other princes or rulers, no diet sessions, which are attended by all aristocrats and noblemen’. Indeed, it is thanks to Sherley that we have one of the first —albeit brief— Spanish descriptions of the Polish army:

“Its army consists more of cavalry than infantry, the natives are for the most part cavalymen, and the infantry haiduci [*Les Haidouks* – in French, P.S.], (...) who are Hungarian, and Cossacks who are a mixture of peoples (...) To defend the Polish border against attacks by the Precopian Tartars, there are Cossacks who are groups of bandits from all nations, a

<sup>8</sup> ALCALÁ-ZAMORA Y QUEIPO DE LLANO, José, op. cit., p. 54.

<sup>9</sup> SKOWRON, Ryszard (ed.), *Documenta Polonica. Ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas. Nova series.*, V. 1, Cracow, 2015, p. 336.

warlike people, always moving and unsettled, cruel, capable of the greatest endurance but also the most rascally in the world<sup>10</sup>”.

Although Poland played an important role in Spain's strategic plans, particularly in the first half of the seventeenth century, in the Iberian Peninsula it was considered, according to Beata Baczyńska, 'a fabled country whose borders are dispersed in the northern fog'<sup>11</sup>. Poland's geopolitical importance on account of its vast territory between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea made it a natural ally in anti-Turkish policy, and also in the Baltic Sea and during the wars with France. However, the country's lack of diplomatic structures and distance (apart from a few exceptions) made the continuous presence of Polish troops in the Spanish army impracticable.

The other challenge historians face lies in the field of historiography. Both the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Spain were initially excluded, in the case of the former, or marginalised, in the case of the latter, from the debate on the concept of 'military revolution' that began in the 1950s<sup>12</sup>. Poland —along with the rest of Eastern Europe— was regarded as maintaining the mil-

<sup>10</sup> FLORES, Xavier A. (ed.), *Le "Peso político de todo el mundo" d'Anthony Sherley, ou un aventurier anglais au service de l'Espagne*, Paris, 1963.

<sup>11</sup> BACZYŃSKA, Beata, *Polonia y el mar: en torno al verso 1430 de La vida es sueño de Pedro Calderón de la Barca* in GONZÁLEZ MARTÍNEZ, Dolores (ed.): *Estudios sobre el teatro del Siglo de Oro*, Lleida, 2002, p. 52. And although this paper does not aim to show how the Poles and Poland were perceived in Spain in the modern period, it should be noted that the limited exchanges of information have made it very difficult to locate Poles who fought in the Spanish army. For an overview of these limitations, see STRZAŁKOWA, Maria, "La Pologne et les Polonais dans le théâtre du XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles espagnols" in FRIEDRICH, Werner P. (ed.): *Comparative Literature Proceedings of the Second Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association*, v. II, Chapel Hill, 1959, pp. 635-649; SKOWRON, Ryszard, *Polonia en las relaciones de los diplomáticos españoles de la segunda mitad del siglo XVI*, in PICADO, Blanco, and EM-INOWICZ, Teresa (Eds.): *Europa del Centro y del Este y el mundo hispánico*, Kraków, 1996, pp. 29-37.

<sup>12</sup> This theory was first presented by Michael Roberts in a lecture at Queen's University in Belfast in 1956, and was subsequently modified and developed in the 1970s and '80s (by Geoffrey Parker and Jeremy Black, among others). For a more comprehensive overview of the theory and evaluation of different perspectives, see RODGERS, Clifford J. (ed.): *The Military Revolution Debate. Reading on the Military Transformation of Early Modern Europe*, Boulder, 1995. In the Spanish language, the subject was recently addressed by MARTÍNEZ RUIZ, Enrique, *Historia militar de la Europa Moderna*, Madrid, 2016, pp. 9-45. See also WHITE, Lorraine, "Guerra y revolución militar en la Iberia del siglo XVII" in *Manuscripts*, no. 21, 2003, pp. 63-93; QUATREFAGES, René, *La revolución militar moderna. El crisol español*, Madrid, 1996.

itary tradition of the Middle Ages, where the role of the cavalry prevailed, while Spain, despite introducing some military innovations, had massive, deep, unwieldy squadrons, according to Michael Roberts, in contrast to the reforms made by the Dutch and Swedes<sup>13</sup>. And although historians did address the Habsburg army in their writings, most did not afford much attention to the Polish forces, and the theory cannot therefore be reformulated or expanded on<sup>14</sup>. The findings of comparative research on modern Turkish, Russian and Chinese armies question the validity of the theory when applied to the armed forces of the East<sup>15</sup>. In the case of Poland, the few comparative studies that exist on the Polish art of war in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries yield similar results, both in terms of military theory and practice<sup>16</sup>. This paper not only aims to demonstrate the presence of Poles in the Spanish army (individual soldiers and levies in Poland) but, moreover, the circulation of military ideas, thought and culture from the reign of Charles I to the end of Philip IV's rule. Particular attention will be afforded to the findings of new research studies, and an overview of the studies conducted in Poland in recent decades will be presented, as we believe these will be very useful for Spanish readers.

<sup>13</sup> 'For Londoño drill and exercises had been designed primarily to promote physical fitness; for Lipsius they were a method of inculcating Stoic virtues in the soldier'; 'In place of the massive, deep, unwieldy squares of the Spanish *tercio* (...) they [Maurice of Orange and Gustavus Adolphus] relied upon a multiplicity of small units ranged in two or three lines'. See ROBERTS, Michael, *The Military Revolution, 1560-1660* in RODGERS, Clifford J. (ed.): op. cit., pp. 13-14.

<sup>14</sup> See MAJEWSKI, Wiesław, "The Polish art of war in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" in FEDOROWICZ, J.K. (ed.): *A Republic of Nobles. Studies in Polish History to 1864*, Cambridge, 1982, pp. 179-198.

<sup>15</sup> A salient example: BÖREKÇİ, Günhan, "A Contribution to the Military Revolution Debate: The Janissaries' Use of Volley Fire during the Long Ottoman-Habsburg War of 1593-1606 and the Problem of Origins" in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, no. 59 (4), 2006, pp. 407-438. For more information on the current status of the theory and its future, see "Is *The Military Revolution* Dead Yet?" by Geoffrey Parker (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P8JonajoenM> accessed on 29.10.2019).

<sup>16</sup> FROST, Robert, "The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Military Revolution" in PULA, James S., and BISKUPSKI, Mieczysław B. (Eds.): *Poland and Europe: Historical Dimensions Selected Essays from the Fiftieth Anniversary International Congress of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America*, V. 1, Columbia, 1994, pp. 19-46; SZADKOWSKI, Paweł, "Staropolskie i hiszpańskie piśmiennictwo wojskowe XVI wieku w kontekście teorii rewolucji militarnej. Próba porównania [A comparative analysis of Polish and Spanish military treatises of the sixteenth century in the context of the military revolution]" in *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, no. 3, 2018, pp. 597-631.

Most of the documents cited in this study come from the State Section of the General Archive of Simancas and form part of the applications made by military officers to the Council of War, while the Polish sources were taken from the *Elementa ad fontium editiones*<sup>17</sup> volumes. The third set of material consulted consists of Polish soldiers' diaries and military treatises that have scarcely been mentioned at all in Spanish literature. Although there are no complete studies on the Polish army in the Spanish language, Fernando Weyler y Santacana did present an initial overview of the evolution of the hussars in his book, highlighting, in particular, the appearance they adopted in Poland in the modern period<sup>18</sup>. Furthermore, later articles provided a more in-depth insight into the evolution of Polish forces throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which was influenced by both geographical factors and the power of the nobility in those territories<sup>19</sup>.

### Nobles and adventurers

The military presence of Poles in Spain in the modern period has not been afforded much attention in literature<sup>20</sup>. However, political relations between Poland and Spain have been addressed and therefore give us an indication of how Polish soldiers might have arrived in Spain<sup>21</sup>. Considering that the influence of Dutch culture was important in Poland during the sixteenth and seven-

<sup>17</sup> MEYSZTOWICZ, Walerian (ed.), *Elementa ad fontium editiones. Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas*, Rome, 1963-1970, vols. VIII, XI, XII, XV, XVI, XIX, XXI; SKOWRON, Ryszard (ed.), *Documenta Polonica ex Archivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas Nova series*, vol. I, Kraków, 2015.

<sup>18</sup> WEYLER Y SANTACANA, Fernando, *Los Húsares. Primera Parte. Sus orígenes. Los extranjeros* Madrid, 1906.

<sup>19</sup> For additional reading on the evolution of the Polish forces, see SKWARCZYNSKI, Paweł, *Polonia y Lituania in Historia del Mundo Moderno*, vol. III, Cambridge, 1970, pp. 413-424, and KONOPCZYŃSKI, Ladislas, *Le "liberum veto". Étude sur le développement du principe majoritaire*, Paris, 1930; GUILLAMON ÁLVAREZ, Francisco J., "Notas sobre el Estado polaco en el siglo XVII. Orígenes, caracteres y consecuencias" in *Anales de la Universidad de Murcia*, no. 3-4, 1982, pp. 291-312.

<sup>20</sup> Apart from Majder's article, some examples of soldiers are mentioned by KUCHARSKI, Wojciech, op. cit., pp. 64-65. Makowiecka also speaks on occasion of how echoes of the Polish chivalry culture arrived in Spain in the sixteenth century, see MAKOWIECKA, Gabriela, *Po drogach polsko-hispańskich*, Kraków, 1984, pp. 80-82.

<sup>21</sup> SKOWRON, Ryszard, *Olivares, los Vasa y el Báltico: Polonia en la política internacional de España en los años 1621-1632*, Varsovia, 2008; EMINOWICZ, Teresa J., *Las relaciones políticas y culturales entre España y Polonia en la época de Felipe II in: Felipe II (1527-1598): Europa y la monarquía católica*, Vol. IV, Madrid, 1998, pp. 89-99; CONDE PAZOS, Miguel, *La Monarquía Católica y los confines orientales de la cristian-*

teenth centuries, this paper will also look at the experiences of Poles who fought against the Spanish army in the Netherlands. The presence of Poles in Spain can primarily be demonstrated, at least up to the 1680s, by examples of noblemen participating in campaigns, or mercenaries looking for work in foreign armies. The first group would include, for instance, the voivode Andrzej Tęczyński, who travelled to Spain and fought with Charles V against Suleiman I in 1532<sup>22</sup>. There are records of the nobleman's participation in this conflict with a squadron of 300 cavalrymen. However, as Kucharski has pointed out, it is unlikely that Tęczyński arrived in Spain with 300 Polish cavalrymen, and more likely that he commanded a squadron of the imperial army. Another record that can possibly be linked to Tęczyński is the report on Poland that the papal nuncio Giulio Ruggieri presented to Pope Pius V in 1568. Among other subjects, the nuncio described the Polish army and highlighted the important role of the cavalry. According to Ruggieri, in 1532 '3,000 Poles in Charles V's army defeated 13,000 Turks'<sup>23</sup>. If Ruggieri's description is true, it is very likely that Tęczyński was part of this army. We also know that in 1527 the emperor rewarded both Tęczyński and his family for their deeds during the war with the Turks<sup>24</sup>. After Tęczyński's death in December 1561, Maximilian II, King of Bohemia, commended his son Jan (who in 1561 was in Vienna) to King Philip II:

"As the Count of Thenczin is journeying to these parts desirous to visit these kingdoms, and being a friend of my Lord the Emperor, I have entrusted him with this letter so that Your Highness may acquaint yourself with him, and beseech you to offer him all that is favourable, for which I will be most grateful to Your Highness, and may Our Lord protect you and enhance your power and grant your every wish<sup>25</sup>".

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*dad. Relaciones entre la Casa de Austria y los Vasa de Polonia*, Tesis Doctoral, Madrid, 2016.

<sup>22</sup> BOGUCKA, Maria, "Z dziejów stosunków polsko-holenderskich w XVI-XVII wieku" in *Czasy nowożytne*, no. 24, 2011, pp. 61-75.

<sup>23</sup> *Relacye nuncyuszów apostolskich i innych osób o Polsce od roku 1548 do 1690*, T. 1, Berlin-Poznań, 1863, p. 200.

<sup>24</sup> 'This voivode (...) took part in several battles with the enemy of religion, and accompanied Emperor Charles V to Spain to fight against the Turkish Emperor Suleiman' (PAPROCKI, Bartosz, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego na pięcioro ksiąg rozłożone*, Kraków, 1858, p. 79).

<sup>25</sup> General Archive of Simancas [AGS], State Section "E", File [leg.] 651, f. 14, Vienna, 4 May 1562, Maximilianus, rex Bohemiae to Philip II, "Comitem de Thenczin commendat". See KURTYKA, Janusz, *Latyfundium tęczyńskie: dobra i właściciele, XIV-XVII wiek*, Kraków, 1999.

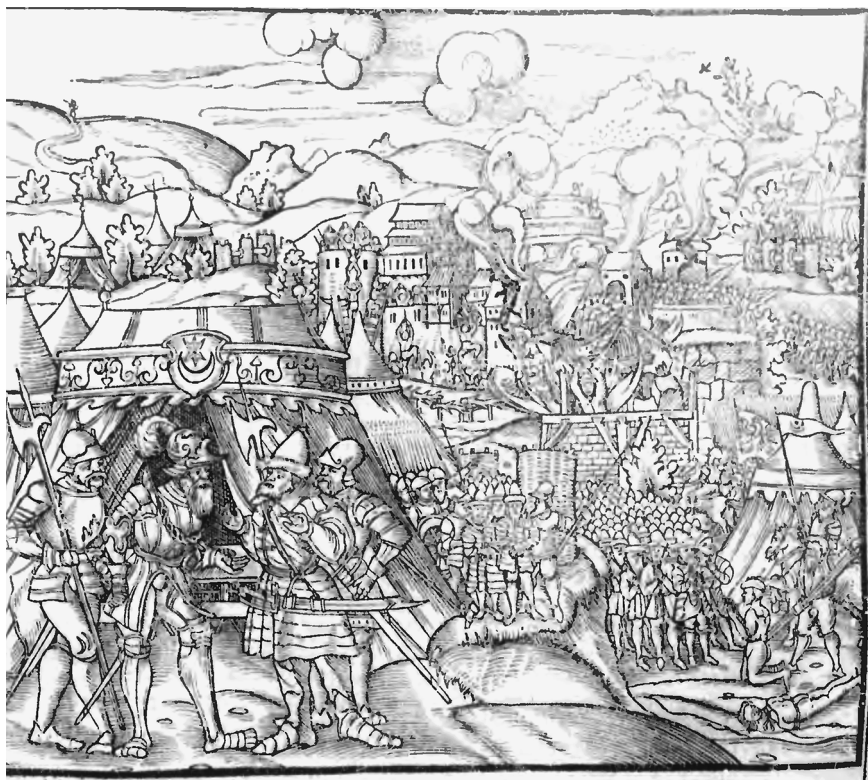
There are also records of military officers that fought in the war of the Netherlands, both on the Spanish and Dutch sides. Unfortunately, however, there are very few records of their deeds, and the accounts were sometimes taken from later documents. For instance, the *podkomorzy* (chamberlain) of Kraków, Marcjan Chełmski, fought against the Spanish in Italy and then against the French with the Spanish army (before 1641)<sup>26</sup>. After completing his studies in Ingolstadt, Prokop Pieniążek, the leader of a hussar rota (equivalent to a company or squadron) travelled to Western Europe and fought in the battles against the Turks in Africa before joining the fleet of John of Austria in 1573<sup>27</sup>. However, it is not known whether he continued in the service of the Spanish army. Nevertheless, it can be demonstrated that there were a number of Poles who, in addition to serving in the Spanish army, had another thing in common – after completing their service, they drafted military treatises which included proposals to reform the army along the lines of the Western model. One such Pole was Mikołaj Chabielski (who died in 1615), a professional soldier who fought in the Netherlands, Germany, Hungary, Persia and Ethiopia<sup>28</sup>. After years of service, and now back living in Poland, he published a brief treatise in which he advocated the need to fight against Turkey, and another in which he outlined his views on how to modernise the Polish army, in which artillery would play a pivotal role. Chabielski advocated the construction of several modern fortresses, the introduction of light artillery that was easy to transport and criticised mass recruitment as the main means of defending the country. Instead, he stressed the need to increase the quality and quantity of the *wybraniecka* or infantry to make it the backbone of the Polish armed forces<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> KUCHARSKI, Adam, op. cit., p. 145; TAZBIR, Janusz, "Staropolskie opinie o Hiszpanach" in *Przegląd Historyczny*, no. 58 (4), 1967, p. 607.

<sup>27</sup> KOWALSKA, Halina "Pieniążek Prokop z Krużlowej h. Odrowąż (1589)" in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, T. 26, Wrocław, 1981, pp. 106-107.

<sup>28</sup> MIKULSKI, Tadeusz, "Mikołaj Chabielski" in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, T.3, Kraków 1937, pp. 245-246.

<sup>29</sup> SIKORSKI, Janusz, *Polskie piśmiennictwo wojskowe od XV do XX wieku*, Warszawa, 1991, pp. 129-130. "Piechota wybraniecka" (lit. "drafted or selected infantry") was a project presented to the Sejm in 1578, with the goal of creating a peasant infantry corps. The members were to be exempted from the obligation of working in the fields in exchange for full dedication to military service. However, as the nobility and clergy opposed the creation of such a corps, King Stephen Báthory was only allowed to recruit peasants from royal estates (NOWAK, Tadeusz M., and WIMMER, Jan, *Historia oręża polskiego 963-1795*, Warszawa, 1981, pp. 310-314).



Jan Tarnowski during the Siege of Starodub in 1535.  
Engraving, in M. Bielski, *Kronika, to jest Historia świata*, Kraków, 1564

Another reformer was Andrzej dell'Aqua, a Polonised Venetian who in 1622 published the artillery manual *O zgromadzeniu i szkole puszkarzów* (*From the association and school of artillerymen*), in which he devised a project for the creation of artillery schools in Poland. Between leaving Venice in 1600 and arriving in Poland in 1613, he served in several fleets operating in the Mediterranean Sea, took part in campaigns on the Atlantic coast and travelled to Lisbon in 1603<sup>30</sup>. In his manual, he cites several Spanish works, such as Luis Collado's *Platica manual de artilleria* (1592)<sup>31</sup>. Another military officer who drew on his experience on the battlefield to present a modern vision of the Polish army was Kazimierz Siemienowicz, whose work *Artis Magnae Artilleriae pars prima* (1650) became essential reading on the subject of artillery for European military leaders. In 1645, Siemienowicz

<sup>30</sup> SIKORSKI, Janusz, op. cit., p. 132.

<sup>31</sup> NOWAK, Tadeusz M., *Polska technika wojenna XVI-XVII w.*, Warszawa, 1970, p. 67.

served in the army of Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange and took part in the Siege of Hulst. It is quite possible that this Pole's work gained fame in Spain and that he knew military officers from the Iberian Peninsula. One of the books cited in his manual was *Tratado de la artillería y uso della* by Diego Ufano, and the Latin version of Siemienowicz's work, published in 1650 in Amsterdam, was dedicated to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands<sup>32</sup>. Krzysztof Radziwiłł, who in 1603 was staying at the camp of Maurice of Orange in 's-Hertogenbosch, also presented a comprehensive reform programme based on his observations of the Dutch and Spanish armies<sup>33</sup>. In 1624, he presented to the Sejm a plan to reform the Polish army based on the Western model, so that it could challenge Sweden on an equal footing. However, his ideas were rejected and in 1629 he presented them in a report entitled *Discourse on the War in Livonia*.

We also know that at least two Poles were at or near Breda in 1625 when it was under siege by Ambrogio Spinola's troops. One of these was Prince Ladislaus, future King Ladislaus IV. As a youth, Ladislaus also met with Spinola and, thanks to Stefan Pac, the Deputy Chancellor of Lithuania's account of the Polish prince's journey, we know that the Spanish *maestre de campo* general appeared very eager to learn about the art of war in Poland and, most especially, 'they [the Spaniards] were curious to learn about our hussars and how they manoeuvred their horses'. Spinola was thinking about the reforms that needed to be made in the Spanish army to be able to defend themselves against a charge from a hussar unit. According to Count Bergh, who was also present at the meeting, 'the cavalymen would have to carry long muskets so that they could fire during an attack by the

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71. For further reading on Siemienowicz and his influence on the development of European artillery, see LÓPEZ MARTÍN, Francisco J., *Esculturas para la Guerra. La creación y evolución de la artillería hasta el siglo XVII*, Madrid, 2011, p. 138; NOWAK, Tadeusz M., *Kazimierz Siemienowicz. Ok. 1600-1651*, Warszawa, 1969. The original 1650 edition is kept, among others, at the Library of the Segovia Artillery Academy. Siemienowicz's work has been translated into English (*The great art of artillery of Casimir Simienowicz*, trad. G. Shelvocke, London, 1729). Diego Ufano's treatise, published in 1613, was translated into Polish in 1643 by Jan Dekan, under the title *Archelia albo artilleria, to jest fundamentalna i doskonała informacja o strzelbie i o rzeczach do niej należących*, and formed an important basis for the development of Polish artillery in the seventeenth century (NOWAK, Tadeusz M., *Polska technika wojenna XVI-XVII w.*, p. 71).

<sup>33</sup> HENRYK, Wisner, "Radziwiłł Krzysztof h. Trąby" in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, T. 30, Wrocław, 1987, p. 276

hussars'. However, as Pac also pointed out, as happens during a hunt, it would only be possible to kill a few hussars, while the others 'would not only swiftly kill the cavalry, but also the infantry with their lances'<sup>34</sup>.

Another Pole that witnessed the Spanish army's feats was Krzysztof Arciszewski. Like Chabielski, Arciszewski was also a professional soldier who had spent most of his life in the Dutch army (although he once participated with the French soldiers in the Siege of La Rochelle), and also fought in the New World<sup>35</sup>. As was the case with Prince Ladislaus, he was very impressed with the Spanish camp outside Breda, along with its fortresses and trenches (Arciszewski was serving with Maurice of Orange's troops, which had been sent as relief forces). Arciszewski described the euphoria of the Spaniards when Spinola's army entered the city:

"Apart from a magnificent fortress, the Spaniards obtained dozens of cannons and powder worth one hundred thousand thalers. A few days later, Isabella arrived from Brussels (...) we, in our camp, could hear the fantastic melody of gunfire. The sky was filled with thunder, as if a storm were about to break (...) Every night, at sunset, Breda was lit up with fire (...) the soldiers in the trenches fired their muskets in unison with such force that it hurt our ears<sup>36</sup>".

Arciszewski, like others who had participated in the battles in the Netherlands, returned to Poland and introduced several reforms to the army —particularly in relation to artillery and fortifications— and recruited officers from foreign armies<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> PAC, Stefan, *Obraz Dworów Europejskich na początku XVII wieku*, Wrocław, 1854, pp. 71-72. For further reading on Prince Ladislaus' visit to the Netherlands, his relations with the court of Brussels and the portraits of the future king painted in this city, see KRZYŻAGÓRSKA-PISAREK, Katarzyna, "Two portraits of the Prince Ladislas-Sigismund Vasa from the collections in Wawel Castle re-examined" in *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, no. 38, 2012, pp. 93-114.

<sup>35</sup> For further reading on the life and deeds of the 'Polish conqueror' Arciszewski, see URBĄSKI, E. S., "The Military Adventures of Krzysztof Arciszewski in Seventeenth Century Brazil and Europe" in *Polish American Studies*, no. 45 (1), 1988, pp. 63-73.

<sup>36</sup> KRAUSHAR, Aleksander, *Dzieje Krzysztofa z Arciszewa Arciszewskiego. Admirała i wodza Holendrów w Brazylii, starszego nad armatą koronną za Władysława IV i Jana Kazimierza 1592-1656*, T.1, Petersburg, 1892, pp. 175-176.

<sup>37</sup> ROSTAFLIŃSKI, Mieczysław, *Zarys historii rozwoju wojskowości w Polsce (992-1792)*, Poznań, 1922, p. 76.



Krzysztof Arciszewski portrait.  
Engraving, in M. Merian, *Theatrum Europaeum*,  
Frankfurt, 1639, t. III

Polish military culture was also evident in the Spanish army in other forms, such as the soldiers and officers that served in Poland and subsequently travelled to the Iberian Peninsula. Although only a handful of Spaniards fought with the Polish forces, there were individuals such as Antonio Mora who, from 1548 to 1562, was the captain of an infantry *rota*. However, we know nothing about his life after he left the service of the Polish king<sup>38</sup>. The role of 'transmitting' Polish military culture and thought may have fallen to Captain Juan Cruzate who, in 1622, requested *sus-*

<sup>38</sup> JASNOWSKI, Józef, "Antoni Mora, Hiszpan w służbie Zygmunta Augusta" in *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy*, 9, 1937, pp. 305-306. Mora fled to Germany in 1562 to avoid punishment by King Sigismund II Augustus after losing the city of Pärnu, which he had been defending.

*tenance* in Lisbon. In his petition to the Council of State, the soldier from Gipuzkoa

"stated in a memorial that he had served His Majesty in Flanders at the orders of Count Karl von Mansfeld who was a general of Emperor Rudolf II, and travelled with him to Hungary and from there to Transylvania. And when the wars against the infidels were over, he continued to serve the House of Austria, where, for 23 years, he served the king of Poland in the wars of Livonia, Valachia and Moscow in very honourable posts and positions<sup>39</sup>".

Cruzate adds that during his service he visited a prison 'in a very remote part of Moscow' where Father Nicholas Melo, who later died a martyr, was imprisoned. The officer wrote that he could carry out his tasks effectively because he was 'conversant with the languages and ports of the north,' which leads us to believe that Cruzate not only established several contacts with the Poles, but also learned their language. The members of the Council also reported that 'the king of Poland writes to His Majesty to express his satisfaction with the bravery with which this captain has served him and how well he performed all his duties,' requesting that Juan Cruzate be granted a reward<sup>40</sup>. The Council of State proposed he be given 20 escudos for *sustenance* 'given his inability to support himself'. The mercenaries who came to Spain also recounted their experiences of the wars in Poland. In 1613, Francisco Ruiz de Castro, the king's ambassador in Rome, informed the monarch about 'a number of Irish companies' who had served in the army of the king of Poland in the past. Philip III asked Albert VII, Archduke of Austria to see if these soldiers could be included in one of the regiments in Flanders<sup>41</sup>. And, although our research in the Archive of Simancas failed to confirm the presence of Poles in Irish or German companies, the two examples mentioned suggest that Polish soldiers may have entered Spain 'anonymously'. It should also be noted that two factors make it difficult to identify Polish soldiers: firstly, Spanish officers often changed soldiers' names and surnames to more Spanish versions<sup>42</sup> and, secondly, many people from Poland entered the

<sup>39</sup> AGS, EST, leg. 2784, s/f, Council of State, 5 April 1622, Madrid.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> AGS, EST, leg. 2228, s/f, Philip IV to Albert VII, Archduke of Austria, 19 May 1613, Madrid.

<sup>42</sup> See, for example, "Esteban Polaco" in AGS, Guerra y Marina [GYM], leg. 182, fol. 64.

Spanish army through the empire or Silesia, where many German-Polish families lived. This was the case, for instance, of Erich Lassota von Steblau, a soldier who left a diary in which he described in detail his service in the army of Philip II.

Lassota was a member of a noble family, with branches spread across Poland and Silesia<sup>43</sup>. He was born in the 1550s in the territory now known as Upper Silesia (Górny Śląsk) and in 1567 began his education at the school in Gorlitz. After completing his studies, he travelled to Padua in 1573, where he began to keep a diary until 1594. He served in the Spanish army between 1580 and 1584, possibly following one of the imperial recruitment campaigns that Emperor Rudolf II allowed in 1578. His diary was first published in 1866 by Reiholt Schotin under the title *Tagebuch des Erich Lassota von Steblau*. And although it was never translated into Polish, the excerpt about his service in Spain has been translated into Spanish<sup>44</sup>. Lassota not only describes the companies, organisation and tactics of the Spanish forces, but also shows an interest in the country's architecture and political situation. The Silesian nobleman arrived in Spain on 6 February and disembarked at the port of Cartagena. In early June, he crossed the border to Portugal with the Duke of Alba's army. As he writes in his diary on 12 June in Badajoz, 'his majesty the king came with the queen in person, along with Albert VII, Archduke of Austria, the Duke of Alba and the captain general [and] they visited the army, and after seeing us in order of battle, they left'<sup>45</sup>. Lassota devotes much more space to his account of the conquest of Lisbon:

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<sup>43</sup> Silesia is a historical region located along the upper and lower basins of the Oder River, which borders the Sudetes mountain range in the south. Most of the region is now located in modern Poland (with small parts in the Czech Republic and Germany). In the fifteenth century, a divide began to emerge between *Lower Silesia* and *Upper Silesia*, and in the first half of the fourteenth century Silesia was incorporated into the Kingdom of Bohemia. In 1526, Ferdinand I (husband of Anna Jagellonica, the sister of King Louis II of Hungary and Bohemia, who died in the Battle of Mohács without an heir) was named Duke of Silesia. With Silesia now under the orbit of Habsburg politics, both branches of the family could recruit soldiers in these lands, which were still inhabited by many Poles. For further reading on the development of Silesia's cultural identity in the modern period, see HARC, Lucyna, WISZEWSKI, Przemysław, and ŻERELIK, Rościław (Eds.): *Cuius Regio? Ideological and Territorial Cohesion of the Historical Region of Silesia (c. 1000-2000)*. Vol. 1. *The Long Formation of the Region Silesia (c. 1000-1526)*, Wrocław, 2013.

<sup>44</sup> LISKE, Javier (ed.), *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal en los siglos XV, XVI y XVII*, Madrid, 1878, pp. 93-231.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 105-106.

"the captain general (...) gave the signal with a white flag and the ground and naval forces together attacked the enemy's entrenchments from all sides, this caught them off guard and they were forced to flee, and descending into the depths of Lisbon's neighbourhoods, they pillaged them (...) In the enemy camp, we found a piece called 'God's weapon' with 110-pound bullets from the Indies, which the women had carried from the city to the trenches by themselves (...) From that day, we received a month's wage for a big battle, thus we earned twelve or thirteen days' pay on top of last month's wages<sup>46</sup>".

Lassota also took part in the conquest of the island of Terceira in 1583, and left a very detailed account of the actions of the Spanish and German troops, and the pillaging of Angra<sup>47</sup>. And although he did not take part in the expedition of 1582, he did include a report written by Stanislaw Fogelweder, the envoy of Polish King Stephen Báthory, in his diary<sup>48</sup>.

All the examples of Polish soldiers and noblemen who came to the Iberian Peninsula or the Netherlands were individuals looking for work as soldiers or young noblemen travelling to the other side of the European continent as part of their education. As we have seen, their experiences of war often influenced their way of seeing the Polish army and some implemented various military reforms. However, is it possible that some Poles left their mark

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 118-119.

<sup>47</sup> "The rest of the troops landed as well, and were formed into two lines, the Germans on the right wing and the Spanish on the left; in front of these lines, in the trench and behind the ramparts that separate one camp from the other, some four thousand men were placed, and fought continuously against the enemy throughout the day (...) The intention of the enemy was immediately clear, it was to drive the animals against us to break our ranks and then attack us. In anticipation, we Germans and Spaniards received the order to open the ranks and let the oxen through unhindered, without injuring or frightening them (...) then return immediately to our lines to continue receiving and withstanding the enemy". LISKE, Javier, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-199.

<sup>48</sup> After serving in the Spanish army, Erich Lassota embarked on a career in diplomacy. In March 1585, he travelled to Prague and was appointed courtier to Emperor Rudolf II, and arrived in Poland in July. There he held the position of emissary to Maximilian I, Archduke of Austria, a candidate to the Polish throne after the death of King Stephen Báthory. During the Battle of Byczyna (24 January 1588), which was won by the supporters of king-elect Sigismund III Vasa, Lassota was captured by the Polish troops, but released from prison on 2 February. In the ensuing years, he served Maximilian I, Archduke of Austria, carrying out missions in Moscow, among other places, and recruiting Cossacks. Several of the documents he included in his diary can be explained by his role in diplomacy. LISKE, Javier, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96.

on Spanish military practice and theory? To answer this question, we have to examine the relations of a Polish officer with Spain, one who undeniably was a prominent presence in the House of Habsburg.

### Jan Tarnowski and Spain

*Hetman wielki koronny* (captain general) Jan Tarnowski was born in Tarnów in 1488. He was the youngest son of Jan Amor, *kasztelan* (governor) of Kraków. His military career began in 1508 when he accompanied the army marching to Orsha, and in 1512, now a *rotmistrz* (captain), he led his army to victory against the Turks in the Battle of Wiśniowiec<sup>49</sup>. However, his greatest victory occurred two years later, at the Battle of Orsha, where he commanded a squadron comprised of the scions of the nobility. In 1517, following in the footsteps of other young noblemen, he made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. On his way back, he visited Egypt, Athens, Rome and 'from there travelled to Spain, and later Portugal, where he fought against the Moors in Africa with Manuel I'<sup>50</sup>. According to the Portuguese chronicler Damião de Góis, Tarnowski arrived to the royal court with two other Poles to receive the spurs they had been awarded by the king. Pleased with the service Tarnowski had rendered, the monarch tried to persuade him to remain in Portugal. On his return journey to Poland, the future *hetman* stayed at the imperial court and probably met the young Charles V<sup>51</sup>. The brief account of Tarnowski's visit to Spain and his meeting with the emperor is evidence of the young Pole's first encounter with the Hispanic world. His victories on the battlefields of Western Europe and the fame he earned at European courts during his youth may account for his later tendency towards pro-Habsburg policies. When Tarnowski first received the hetman's *buława* or mace (the

<sup>49</sup> DWORZACZEK, Włodzimierz, *Hetman Jan Tarnowski. Z dziejów możnowładztwa małopolskiego*, Warszawa, 1985, p. 17.

<sup>50</sup> ORZECOWSKI, Stanisław, *Żywot i śmierć Jana Tarnowskiego*, Sanok, 1855, p. 48.

<sup>51</sup> DWORZACZEK, Włodzimierz, op. cit., pp. 20-21. According to the chronicler: '*Ioam Tarnovio, capitam da cidade, y fronteiro mor dos confins dentre Polonia y Tartaria, homem de multa autoridade, a quem el Rei do Emanuel armou cavalleiro com outros dous gentis homes Polonos, no ano de MDXVI e Lisboa, en egreja de fam Giam, quomo se dira em seu lugar, do qual por esta razam fui eu bem festejado por alguns dias*' (GÓIS, Damião de, *Crónica do felicissimo rei D. Manuel. Parte I*, Coimbra, 1926, p. 228). However, the date de Góis gives for Tarnowski's visit is erroneous because the Pole began his journey in 1517.

insignia of the rank of captain general in the Polish army) in 1527, he sympathised with the national party and was on good terms with Bona Sforza, the mother of King Sigismund II Augustus. In 1526, when King Louis II died at the Battle of Mohács, the majority in Poland supported John Szapolyai (John Zápolya), who was opposed to the Habsburgs. When Szapolyai lost the battle of Szina on 6 March and had to flee to Hungary, Tarnowski offered him refuge. In the account of the expedition that *maestre de campo* Bernardo de Aldana made to Hungary, the role played by Tarnowski is mentioned ('very noble Count Tornoz'), which indicates that the Spaniards were already acquainted with the Pole<sup>52</sup>. However, the hetman was pragmatic and it is quite possible that differences began to develop between Tarnowski and Queen Bona as early as 1529. The same year, the aforementioned Portuguese chronicler de Góis arrived in Kraków, and Tarnowski mentioned that King Sigismund I wished to marry his daughter Hedwig to Infante Luís<sup>53</sup>. Historians believe that Tarnowski was incapable of participating in anti-Turkish politics and, despite his military victories (the most notable being the Battle of Obertyn in 1531), the Polish court rejected his vision of engaging in international politics<sup>54</sup>. In 1532, Tarnowski even wanted to leave Poland and fight in another army. We also know that, through Jan Dantyszek, he corresponded with Charles V, and asked that he might be allowed to hold some post in the imperial (or possibly Spanish) army. In the letter of 1532 describing the imperial army, it is stated that 'people from all parts of the Christian world come to this battle, especially Count Tornán, captain general of the kingdom of Poland'<sup>55</sup>. When John Szapolyai died in 1540, leaving his newborn son fatherless and his wife Isabella Jagiellon a widow, Tarnowski wanted to get them out of Hungary so that Ferdinand could seize the kingdom. As Dworzaczek has pointed out, the aim was to 'create an alliance between Poland

<sup>52</sup> RÓŻAŃSKI, Ksawery F. (ed.): *Wyprawa na Węgry Bernarda Aldany jenerala kawalerii hiszpańskiej w latach 1548-1556*, Kraków, 1881, p. 44. Spanish version: RODRIGUEZ VILLA, Antonio, *Expedición del maestre de campo Bernardo de Áldana á Hungría en 1548*, Madrid, 1878. See also Korpás, Zoltán, "La correspondencia de un soldado español de las guerras en Hungría a mediados del siglo XVI. Comentarios al diario de Bernardo de Aldana (1548-1552)", in *Hispania. Revista Española de Historia*, no. 206, 2000, pp. 881-909.

<sup>53</sup> DWORZACZEK, Włodzimierz, op. cit., p. 49.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107. At the time, Poland wanted to avoid a war with Turkey to prevent the Habsburgs from expanding into Hungary and other countries.

<sup>55</sup> KUMRULAR, Özlem, *El duelo entre Carlos V y Solimán el Magnífico (1520-1535)*, Istanbul, 2005, p. 197.

and the Habsburgs and together wage a war against Turkey, in which Tarnowski envisaged himself playing a prestigious role<sup>56</sup>. Tarnowski went to great pains to fulfil his plan and took every available opportunity to speak to the Habsburgs. Upon his return from a trip to Italy in 1542, where he had gone to recover from an illness, he met with King Ferdinand's secretary, Andronik Tranquillo, and they discussed a possible campaign against the Turks. The Habsburgs even offered him the commandership, but the Pole turned it down. We know the details of this conversation, thanks to the Flemish humanist Jehan van der Straten, who prepared a report of the encounter and sent it to Charles V from Kraków. According to the report, Tarnowski suggested that the emperor should take command of the entire campaign and then liberate Hungary before continuing eastward. In the first half of the 1540s, the hetman was already well known to the Habsburgs as a military officer and politician, as evidenced by the letter Ferdinand sent to Juan Alonso de Gámiz. The king of Bohemia not only asked that Elizabeth of Austria reward Tarnowski but, moreover, that 'he be granted some favour in Iberia through Her Majesty'<sup>57</sup>. From this brief piece of information, it can be concluded that as early as the 1540s, the possibility of granting the Polish hetman a profession or perhaps a military post in Spain was being considered, even though he had been more active in Vienna than in Madrid up to that point. There are no sources of information to suggest that Tarnowski visited the Iberian Peninsula again (two modern biographies and a sixteenth-century apologia make no mention of this), although it is quite possible that his son, Jan Krzysztof, did visit Spain. In July 1554, Charles V wrote to Prince Philip and to Maria of Austria from Brussels to inform them that

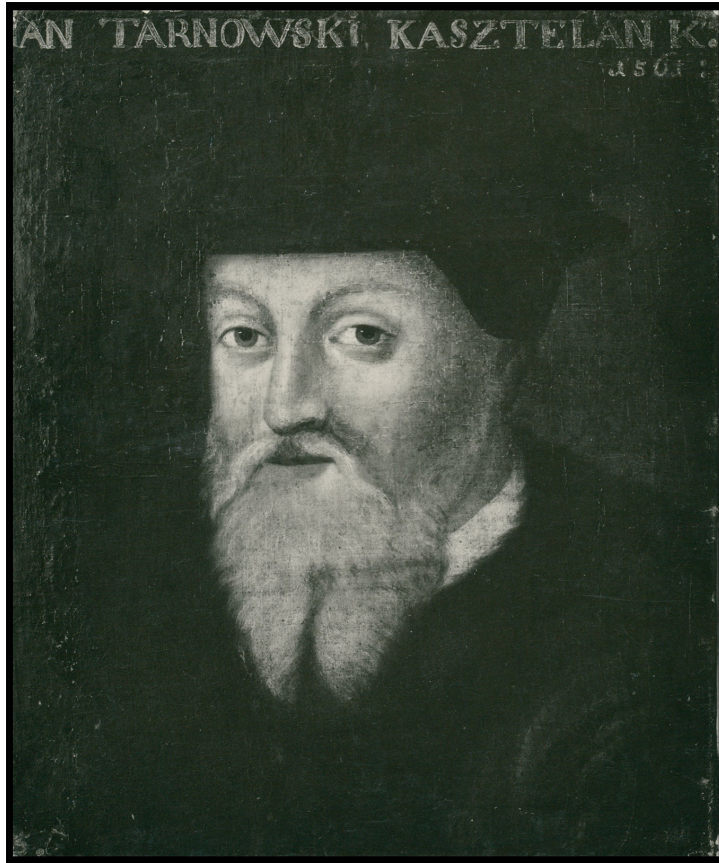
"The Count of Tarna, Polish (...) came here requesting that he be present at your nuptials and to then travel to Spain at the first opportunity in order to see that province. And being the person he is, and having been highly recommended to us by the King and Queen of Bohemia my children, it is only fair that he be given a warm welcome and good treatment.

<sup>56</sup> WIJACZKA, Jacek, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne Polski z Rzeszą Niemiecką w czasach panowania cesarza Karola V (1519-1556)*, Oświęcim, 2016, p. 111.

<sup>57</sup> Provincial Historical Archive of Álava, GAM, 24277, "Letter from Ferdinand I to Juan Alonso de Gámiz concerning a reprimand for the lack of news, the campaign in Hungary, the meeting of the Imperial Diet, the understanding with Count Tarnowski and the memorandums of papal legates", Doc. 1.

I kindly request you to treat him with the utmost care for the duration of his stay<sup>58</sup>".

During this period, Tarnowski corresponded frequently with the court of Vienna and possibly also with Spain with the intention of obtaining a senior position in the imperial and Spanish army, and was well known to Charles V.



Anonymous, Portrait of Jan Tarnowski, ca. 1561.  
Copy of the photograph of the painting made in the 1930s  
(National Library of Poland, Warsaw)

Nevertheless, hetman Tarnowski was famous more for his military treatises and for writing the first Polish military articles than for his political and military endeavours. His works, and

<sup>58</sup> AGS, EST, leg. 625, Charles V to Prince Philip, 7 July 1554, Brussels.

also those of other Polish writers, fell within the spirit of 'military humanism,' i.e. to use the words of Sáenz Herrero, 'an intense reflection and production of military works focused not only on aspects of war, but also on the influence of war on society, politics and the economy'<sup>59</sup>. Reflections about the ethics of war and the need to introduce laws to control the actions of armies already existed in Poland in the fifteenth century (represented, for example, by Paweł Włodkowic)<sup>60</sup>. However, in the sixteenth century, all countries in Europe began to exchange ideas on the subject. One of the first Polish humanists to apply Spanish reflections on the subject of war to their works was Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski (1503-1572). As Jan Twardowski has pointed out, 'Frycz took ideas and views, repeated facts, copied sentences and examples, and used comparisons and overviews [from the works of Juan Luis Vives]'<sup>61</sup>. His work *De republica enmendanda* (The Improvement of Commonwealth) published in 1551, highlighted the importance of the philosopher Juan Luis Vives and the third manuscript in the series (*De bello*, On War) was translated into Spanish in 1555<sup>62</sup>. The first half of the sixteenth century also stood out for the development of military law in Europe. A key reference work for the next generations of military writers was *Artikelbrief* (1508) by Emperor Maximilian I, in addition to a body of laws compiled by Ferdinand I in 1526<sup>63</sup>. Tarnowski published two works that were of major importance for Polish—and possibly European—military law. In 1528, and by now a hetman, he wrote a collection of articles intended for *rotmistrzowie* or captains: *Pouczenie hetmana podskarbiemu koronnemu dane*

<sup>59</sup> SÁENZ HERRERO, JORGE, "Humanismo militar en el siglo XVI. Sancho de Londoño y su Discurso sobre la forma de reducir la Disciplina a mejor y antiguo estado" in *Berceo*, no. 163, 2012, pp. 59-82.

<sup>60</sup> NAHLIK, Stanisław E., "Quelques parallèles historiques polono-espagnols" in *Anuario de la Asociación Francisco de Vitoria*, V. 13, Madrid, 1971-1972, pp. 39-53.

<sup>61</sup> TWARDOWSKI, Jan, *Jan Ludwik Vives i Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski*, Kraków, 1921, pp. 98-99.

<sup>62</sup> *Los prudentes y santos consejos del muy claro varón M. Andrea Fricio Modrevio Polono, secretario y del Consejo del Serenísimo rey de Polonia Sigismundo al mesmo rey sobre la guerra contra los infieles traducidos de latín a Maximiliano Augusto rey de Bohemia por Juan Justiniano* (of which only one manuscript remains). CIESIELSKA-BORKOWSKA, Stefania, 'Hiszpański przekład księgi "O wojnie" Frycza Modrzewskiego' in *the Polish Academy of Sciences, Committee on the History of Science, Studies and Materials*, 1956, pp. 48-79. See also MAKOWIECKA, Gabriela, "Pensamiento español en Polonia en el siglo XVI" in *1616: Anuario de la Sociedad Española de Literatura General y Comparada*, 1, 1978, p. 148.

<sup>63</sup> ŁOPATECKI, Karol, "Disciplina militaris" w wojskach Rzeczypospolitej do połowy XVII w., Białystok, 2012, p. 150.

*dla ogłaszania go rotmistrzom przy zaciągu wojska*. This brief document (consisting of just ten articles) advocated the reform of the discipline and soldiers' weaponry and granted the hetman the power to create laws in the army. Among other suggestions, Tarnowski proposed that one-third of the infantry be armed with lances and that more firearms be used<sup>64</sup>. In a later work, the captain general presented his comprehensive view of the new Polish army in a book that became a landmark work for Polish military officers until the eighteenth century, namely *Consilium rationis bellicae*, which was published in Tarnów in 1558. The theoretical basis of the work is similar to that found in most other Western European works, but is tailored to a different type of enemy: the Tartars and Turks. According to the historian and lawyer Karol Łopatecki, Tarnowski's work contains many ideas that had already been presented by Western European military writers and it could be said that 'sometimes the articles that apparently contain the *staropolska* [old Polish] tradition were in fact solutions used in the West'<sup>65</sup>. The influence of Ferdinand I's *Artikelbrief* on Tarnowski's works is clearly evident. However, there are no sources to suggest that Tarnowski read any works by Spanish authors. If we compare the Pole's work with a very similar Spanish book, *Discurso sobre la forma de reducir la disciplina militar a mejor y antiguo estado* by Sancho de Londoño, we can see several common elements. However, it should be borne in mind that the Renaissance writers followed certain fashions, used the same ancient sources and read similar treatises. Both writers advocated the introduction of a military oath, disciplinary measures for soldiers who attacked their officers, instructions on how to distribute loot, protect civilians (women, children and the elderly), and describe the captain general or hetman as the guardian of discipline in the army<sup>66</sup>. Londoño and Tarnowski also pioneered the introduction of military regulations (in the modern

<sup>64</sup> KUTRZEBA, Stanisław (ed.): *Polskie ustawy i artykuły wojskowe: od XV do XVIII wieku*, Poznań, 1937, p. 38.

<sup>65</sup> TARNOWSKI, Jan, *Consilium rationis bellicae*, Warszawa, 1987.

<sup>66</sup> Based on the regulations and ideas presented by Londoño, it can be inferred that he might have used laws that already existed in the empire and which had been published by Ferdinand I. This is evident, for example, from the military oath: 'All subjects and vassals in the pay of the king, apparently based on the books of the king, have tacitly sworn a more solemn oath than that taken by the Germans' (LONDOÑO, Sancho de, *Discurso sobre la forma de reducir la disciplina militar a mejor y antiguo estado*, Madrid, 1593, f. 2). It is worth adding that between 1544 and 1547 Londoño served in Charles V's army in Germany (GARCÍA HERNÁN, Enrique, "Don Sancho de Londoño. Perfil biográfico" in *Revista de Historia Moderna*, no. 22, 2004, p. 14).

sense) or, in the case of Poland, military articles<sup>67</sup>. The presence of both officers in various armies, the trips that Tarnowski made to Spain and his importance in the Habsburg Court lead us to suspect that the two treatises (separated by ten years) have the same origin, for example, the military thought present in the imperial armies, or that Tarnowski might have left an unpublished document that we are unaware of<sup>68</sup>. The Spanish art of war was addressed in works published after Tarnowski's treatise. For instance, in his work *Księgi hetmańskie* (Hetman Books) published after 1575, Stanisław Sarnicki describes the military experiences of the Spanish in detail. According to Sarnicki, Poland should follow the example of Charles V and include cartographers, mathematicians and even poets in its armies: 'Hetmen need to know what the weather is going to be like, if it will be windy and how this could influence the campaign. Charles V always took this into account when travelling to Africa'<sup>69</sup>. Sarnicki provides lengthy descriptions of the conflicts in Tunisia, Germany and Italy. His works mention Garcilaso de la Vega, Andrea Doria and the 3rd Duke of Alba. He also provides in-depth descriptions of the weaponry, uniform and Spanish war tactics. And although Sarnicki was not a soldier (*Księgi hetmańskie* is a treatise on the theory of war), he did read chronicles, other accounts and observed the political situation in Europe. He also included some ideas for reforms in his works which, again, he took from 'the soldiers from Tarraconensis'. One of these ideas was to have the new soldiers trained by veterans. 'We have to introduce a noble custom,' wrote Sarnicki, 'which thus far has only been used in the Spain of Charles V (...) where Petrus Gwerra [Pedro Vélez de Guevara y Manrique] would instruct young Spanish noblemen who in the past did not go to war until they had received the necessary training'<sup>70</sup>.

<sup>67</sup> ALMIRANTE Y TOROELLA, José, *Diccionario militar. Etimológico, histórico, tecnológico*, Madrid, 1869, p. 844; CORPAS ROJO, Francisco J., "Evolución de la organización económica militar de los Austrias" in *Revista de Historia Militar*, I extraordinario, 2017, p. 218.

<sup>68</sup> Karol Łopatecki writes that the 'artykuły rotmistrzowskie' (rotmistrz articles) published in 1567 included 'unknown documents by Tarnowski from the 1540s and '50s'. We know nothing about these laws, but it is quite likely that the hetman later incorporated them into *Consilium rationis bellicae*. See ŁOPATECKI, Karol, "Artykuły rotmistrzowskie. Z badań nad kształtowaniem się wojsk zaciężnych w Koronie i WKsL" in ŁOPATECKI, Karol (ed.): *Organizacja armii w nowożytnej Europie: Struktura-Urzędy-Prawo-Finanse*, Zabrze, 2011, p. 74.

<sup>69</sup> SARNICKI, Stanisław, *Księgi hetmańskie*, Kraków, 2015, pp. 124-125.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201.

To summarise, Tarnowski was undeniably the Polish military officer that featured most prominently on the Spanish military scene in the sixteenth century. His contacts with the imperial court, the favours granted to him by the Habsburgs and the role he played in the politics of this dynasty, coupled with his modern military ideas, lead us to believe that he was an important figure in the European and Spanish military world. Is it possible that an enigmatic rapier from a 16th-century Spanish workshop with the inscription 'CHATOLICA EN POLONIA / PUGNO POR LA FHE' (Catholic in Poland / Fight for the faith) engraved on the blade was a gift from Spain to Hetman Tarnowski?<sup>71</sup> And even if the sword had belonged to Tarnowski, we would still have more examples of elements of Spanish military culture in Poland than of Polish elements in the Iberian Peninsula. Sometimes, the use of Spanish elements produced near 'exotic' results. When the Bishop of Lviv (Lwów), Jan Tarnowski—a curious coincidence, as they were not related—returned to Poland from Spain in 1617, he took part in Ladislaus IV's expedition to Moscow. When the other soldiers and noblemen saw him dressed in Spanish attire, they began to shout 'Spanish Lord, go to Salamanca or Compostela!'<sup>72</sup> In order to determine whether the majority of Poles that joined the Spanish army, bringing with them Polish military culture, were individuals, we first have to ascertain whether there were 'channels' through which Polish troops could arrive.

### The channels through which they arrived

Ryszard Skowron has highlighted three periods of bilateral relations between Poland and Spain throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The first, from 1518 to 1572, was virtually dominated by the Neapolitan dominions of Queen Bona. The second period, from 1572 to 1596, when European events—the threat of the Turks and the war in the Netherlands—created a climate conducive to cooperation between the two states and, consequently, when the presence of Polish troops in the Spanish army was more visible. And the third period, from 1596 to 1648, when the Thirty Years' War opened up an array of pos-

<sup>71</sup> KRYSZEWSKI, Włodzimierz (ed.), *Zbiory polskiego Muzeum Narodowego w Rapperswilu*, Warszawa, 1928, p. 33.

<sup>72</sup> CIESIELSKA-BORKOWSKA, Stefania, *Mistycyzm hiszpański na gruncie polskim*, Kraków, 1939, p. 13.

sibilities for cooperation<sup>73</sup>. Up until at least the second period, i.e. until 1596, most Polish soldiers and equipment could reach Spain via the city of Gdańsk, which played an important role in Baltic Sea trade and, hence, the political situation in northern Europe. However, in the second half of the sixteenth century, the volume of goods arriving from Gdańsk ceased to be significant. In the last two decades of the century, only 30 or 40 ships a year arrived from Gdańsk to Lisbon, Cádiz and other ports, thus limiting the opportunities for contact<sup>74</sup>. However, the situation began to change in the 1590s, when, as Fernand Braudel has pointed out, the centre of Poland 'began to move slowly northwards' and Gdańsk became the 'eye that watched the world'<sup>75</sup>. An increase in the amount of wheat sold by Poland allowed it to exert greater pressure on other countries. Spanish diplomats realised that by buying wheat in Gdańsk they could impede the actions of the Netherlands. For King Stephen Báthory, the need to maintain peace with Turkey was a key policy priority. In order to concentrate his forces in the rebel provinces and weaken England, Philip II also needed to maintain peace with the Turks. The Polish king, eager to create an anti-Turkish coalition, supported plans to weaken the Netherlands and warned Philip II not to attack England. In a letter to Philip II, Guillem de San Clemente, his ambassador at the emperor's court, suggested the possibility of recruiting soldiers in Poland:

"I have come to understand that it would be easy to bring all the wheat Your Majesty wishes from Danzich, because this is where all the wheat from Poland, Lithuania and Livonia is brought (...) And this is also where Your Majesty can obtain many other things needed for his armies such as iron artillery, bullets, muskets, hemp (...) should Your Majesty wish to do so, the king of Poland will see it as a gesture of goodwill and is willing to offer weapons and people and anything else that may be needed by Your Majesty<sup>76</sup>".

<sup>73</sup> SKOWRON, Ryszard, "El espacio del encuentro de los confines de Europa. España y Polonia en el reinado de Felipe II" in MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN, José (dir.), *Congreso Internacional Felipe II (1598-1998), Europa dividida, la monarquía católica de Felipe II (Autonomous University of Madrid, 20-23 April 1998)*, V. 1, T. 2, Madrid, 1998, p. 883.

<sup>74</sup> BORTATYŃSKI, Ludwik, "Stefan Batory, Hanza i powstanie Niderlandów" in *Przegląd Historyczny*, no. 1, 1908, p. 55.

<sup>75</sup> BRAUDEL, Fernand, *Morze Śródziemne i świat śródziemnomorski w epoce Filipa II*, T. 1, Warszawa, 2004, p. 211.

<sup>76</sup> MEYSZTOWICZ, Walerian (ed.), *Elementa ad fontum editiones. XV*, Rome, 1966, p. 136.

San Clemente also reported on a 'German prince' who had served in Flanders and who was negotiating with Poland the possibility to lend his support in the Netherlands. This captain was probably Nicolas Woythe de Malkendorf who had been serving in the Spanish army since 1564 and arrived at the Polish court in 1583. According to Boratyński, Malkendorf probably served with many Poles, including 'a Polish captain and his cousin, both



R. Harmenszoon van Rijn, Polish with saber and cane.  
Engraving, 1632 (National Library of Spain, Madrid)

noblemen,<sup>77</sup> among others. The same year, Pedro Cornejo also travelled to Kraków and spoke to the king about many other ways —aside from cutting off the supply of wheat— of supporting Philip II in the Netherlands. The outcome of these negotiations can be seen in San Clemente's correspondence. However, Báthory was trying to maintain a balance in foreign policy and did not want to send troops to the Netherlands. The king wished to position himself as the guardian of Spain's interests, but also remain on friendly terms with the Netherlands (i.e. not close the door on the possibility of an anti-Turkish coalition or cut off revenues from maritime trade). The desire to protect his interests in the east and in the west precluded the possibility of sending troops to Spain but, as we saw earlier, groups of Poles did go to the Netherlands.

### The seventeenth century—hopes and failures

The seventeenth century offered many more opportunities to send Polish soldiers to the Habsburg armies. Although the truce signed between Spain and the United Provinces in 1609 prevented the recruitment of Poles for Flanders, the Spanish monarchy did not overlook the importance of politics in the north. As Andrés de Prada warned in 1609, 'as the king of Poland is a devout Catholic, friend and married to the sister of our queen, we would do well to maintain and strengthen the friendship with him because recovering that state [Sweden], which is his property, could be of great importance for things in the North'<sup>78</sup>. Spain also encouraged Polish merchants to bring their wares to Spain, although the king ordered that they 'not bring goods or other things from my rebels'<sup>79</sup>. The fact that the issue of Polish subjects in Flanders and Spain was referred to the Council of War, leads us to suspect that, as of 1621 and the resumption of the conflict, many of these ships transported soldiers and weapons<sup>80</sup>. As a re-

<sup>77</sup> BORATYŃSKI, L.: op. cit., p. 75. For further reading on Ambassador San Clemente, see ARIENZA ARIENZA, Javier, "La historia de Guillén de San Clemente, un embajador hispano en el corazón de Europa entre los años 1581 y 1608", *Ibero-Americana Pragensia*, 2017, pp. 73-98.

<sup>78</sup> AGS, EST, leg. 2452, f. 421, Andrés de Prada to Philip III, 15 February 1611, Madrid. Cited in SKOWRON, Ryszard (ed.), *Documenta Polonica*, p. 213.

<sup>79</sup> AGS, EST, leg. 2327, f. 235, Philip IV to Juan de Ciriza, 17 November 1622, Aranjuez. Cited in SKOWRON, Ryszard (ed.), *Documenta Polonica*, p. 268.

<sup>80</sup> AGS, EST, leg. 2328, f. 81, Council of State Consultation, 24 October 1626, Madrid. Cited in SKOWRON, Ryszard (ed.), *Documenta Polonica*, p. 312.

sult of the Thirty Years' War, the monarchs were exploring various possibilities for recruiting soldiers. The Polish King Sigismund III expressed his concern after hearing about the Bohemian Revolt. Since Mikołaj Zebrzydowski's *rokosz* or rebellion (1606-1607), when the Polish nobility protested against the increase in the monarchy's power, the king called the diets reluctantly. It should also be added that in Poland, the Protestant faction continued to influence political affairs. In 1613, the king signed an agreement with the emperor whereby they were allowed to recruit soldiers in each others' countries. When the anti-Habsburg uprising in Hungary exacerbated the political situation for the emperor, Sigismund III, also eager to strengthen his influence in Silesia, allowed the Habsburgs to recruit soldiers, paid with their own money<sup>81</sup>. The new army, comprised of 25 squadrons of light Polish cavalry (*lisowczycy*) with 2,200 soldiers, faced George Rákóczi at the Battle of Humenné. Following their victory, the *lisowczycy* (also called 'Cossacks' in several sources) returned to Poland. However, after receiving no payment for their services, in February 1620 they returned to Silesia to serve in the imperial army. The Cossacks generally fought in the emperor's army, but there were times when they served with the Spanish troops. According to accounts, they primarily did so in the Palatinate, Lotharingia and Alsace regions. For example, in April 1620, Charles Bonaventure de Longueval, Count of Bucquoy, informed Spinola about an ambush he had staged with the help of 2,500 cavalymen and a group of Poles. Indeed, he explained how, when the enemy hid in a house,

"the Poles, who enjoy a good burning, did not want to miss this opportunity and so burnt the house to the ground, with the cavalymen inside it. The enemy (...) came out to see what had happened. I sent the Poles to skirmish with them (...) and because they are people that show little courtesy in war, the enemies are eager to fight them and come at them willingly. More soldiers joined the initial ones until there were thirteen in total, and because my Poles began to retreat, I sent 400 horses as backup<sup>82</sup>".

<sup>81</sup> WISNER, Henryk, *Lisowczycy. Łupieżcy Europy*, Warszawa, 2013, p. 164; CZAPLIŃSKI, Władysław, "Polska wobec początków wojny trzydziestoletniej 1618-1620" in *Sobótka*, 1961, p. 477.

<sup>82</sup> Letter from the Count of Bucquoy to Ambrogio Spinola [Copy], 15 April 1620, in the National Library of Spain [BNE], MSS/18421, *Correspondencia de Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar*, f. 45-48.

The Count of Oñate also wrote to the Marquis of Bedmar about the *lisowczy*'s participation in the skirmish, pointing out that the Count of Bucquoy 'striking a blow with the cavalymen, and the Poles, defeated two thousand of the enemy's cavalymen last Sunday, the 12th [of April], slitting the throat of about 700'<sup>83</sup>. One month later, the Count of Bucquoy reported the arrival of more Poles to his army, describing them on this occasion as 'insolent and disrespectful people,' and pointing out that he had heard that an additional 6,000 Poles had entered Silesia<sup>84</sup>. We know, however, that the latter arrived much earlier, in February, and then joined the imperial army. Furthermore, it is quite likely that the 3,000 *lisowczy* we know fought in the Battle of White Mountain did so under the command of the Count of Bucquoy. In 1622, Ferdinand II ordered the recruitment of more soldiers in Poland with the aim of enlisting up to 6,000 men. While we do not know exactly how many men were recruited, it is estimated that between 3,000 and 6,000 Poles<sup>85</sup> were under the command of the Marquis of Montenegro, who described them as 'incorrigible people'. According to him, moreover, there were 3,000<sup>86</sup>. However, an account of these campaigns speaks of 'four thousand Cossacks that crossed Silesia (...) and entered Alsace'<sup>87</sup>. The Polish cavalymen were noted for making swifter and often bloodier attacks, even in the most difficult terrain. According to the same account, when Córdoba and Tilly's armies intercepted Christian de Brunswick's forces in Höchst in May, they crossed 'the countryside, and entering the woods, showed no mercy to any living creature and, therefore, the troops and squadrons, who had heard of their reputation for cruelty, preferred to throw themselves into the Meno rather than discover for themselves whether that reputation was deserved'<sup>88</sup>. When Count Althan recruited Cossacks in Poland in 1624 for Gottfried Heinrich Pappen-

<sup>83</sup> Letter from the Count of Oñate to the Marquis of Bedmar, 15 April 1620, Vienna, in BNE, MSS/18421, *Correspondencia de Diego Sarmiento de Acuña*, f. 72.

<sup>84</sup> Letter from the Count of Bucquoy to Ambrogio Spinola [Copy], 6 May 1620, in BNE, MSS/18421, *Correspondencia de Diego Sarmiento de Acuña*, f. 101-103.

<sup>85</sup> SKOWRON, Ryszard, "Las levas de polacos para los ejércitos españoles" in GARCÍA HERNÁN, Enrique, SKOWRON, Ryszard (Eds.): *From Ireland to Poland. Northern Europe, Spain and the Early Modern World*, Valencia, 2015, p. 34.

<sup>86</sup> *Copia de carta original del marqués de Montenegro á don Gonzalo Fernandez de Córdoba*, 24 June 1622, Erstain, in *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España* [CODOLIN], T. LIV, Madrid, 1869, pp. 258-260.

<sup>87</sup> *Guerras de Alemania año 1622* in *Sucesos del año 1622*, BNE, Mss/2353, f. 60.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.* f. 79. See also PARKER, Geoffrey, *The Thirty Years' War*, London and New York, 1996, p. 45.



F. Desprez, Poolse man met zwaard achter zijn rug.  
Grabado, 1562 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam)

heim's army, they fought alongside the Spanish soldiers in the conquest of the marquisate of Zuccarello<sup>89</sup>.

However, the most ambitious plans to create a contingent of Polish soldiers in the Spanish army were launched in 1635, and again between 1638 and 1641; although, as Ryszard Skowron has demonstrated, Philip IV and the Count-Duke of Olivares had

<sup>89</sup> WISNER, Henryk, op. cit., p. 273.

wanted to recruit soldiers in Poland as early as 1634. In 1635, the Spanish embassy in Vienna allocated 184,000 guilders to recruitment<sup>90</sup>. The Poles enlisted were incorporated into Matthias Galas' troops and left Silesia for France in October 1635. When the Polish troops arrived at the French front, Louis XIII protested and requested that Ladislaus IV withdraw the Polish soldiers. Some of them remained with the imperial armies that were fighting in Germany, while others ignored the king's orders and continued fighting in France, participating, among other campaigns, in the Siege of Corbie and going as far as Compiègne<sup>91</sup>. Again, accounts speak of them as insolent and unpredictable. One such account tells of how the Cossacks 'burned down 63 villages, took a large number of utriusque sexus prisoners, many young and many elderly, and pillaged to their hearts' content'<sup>92</sup>. Despite the atrocities they committed, however, they played an important role in Tomás de Saboya-Génova's army. According to Juan Antonio Vincart's account, the prince

"sent for the Count of Issemburg, who, at the start of the previous winter had been declared Governor of the army that was to enter France via the country of Luxembourg with some eight thousand Poles that the king of Poland had sent, and with that army comprised of people of the emperor, the king, and the Poles, he not only defended the country of Luxembourg against the French armies on the border, but often entered France with his troops, crossing the Meuse River, and defeated the French troops<sup>93</sup>".

The account also states that there was a company of Polish cavalrymen among Count Piccolomini's guards<sup>94</sup>.

<sup>90</sup> SKOWRON, Ryszard, "Las levas de polacos para los ejércitos españoles", p. 37.

<sup>91</sup> WISNER, Henryk, op. cit., p. 283. The presence of Polish Cossacks in France and perhaps even in the Netherlands can also be linked to Rembrandt's famous painting *The Polish Rider*. For further reading on Rembrandt's possible encounter with Polish soldiers and the authenticity of the subject, see ŻYGULSKI (Jr), Zdzisław, 'Further Battles for the "Lisowczyk" (Polish Rider) by Rembrandt' in *Artibus et Historiae*, no. 41, 2000, pp. 197-205; BIAŁOSTOCKI, Jan, 'Rembrandt's "Eques Polonus"' in *Oud Holland. Journal for Art and Low Countries*, no. 84, 1969, pp. 163-176.

<sup>92</sup> Cited in SKOWRON, Ryszard, "Las levas de polacos para los ejércitos españoles", p. 38.

<sup>93</sup> VINCART, Juan Antonio, *Relacion y comentario de los successos de las armas de S.M. mandadas por po el sermo. D. Fernando, infante de España, lugarteniente, gobernador y Capitan General de los Estados de Flandes y de Borgoña, d'esta campaña de 1636* in CODOIN, T. LIX, Madrid, 1873, p. 35.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

Another project was undertaken between 1638 and 1642, when Naples and Warsaw conducted negotiations with a view to forming an alliance against France. At the time, Spain was better acquainted with the political situation in Poland than we think, which is why, among other reasons, it wished to incorporate Polish troops into its armies. An instruction written in 1648 on the occasion of the election of Poland's next king provides a detailed description of the leading politicians at the time. For example, 'the marshal of the court, Adamo Casanosky' [Adam Kazanowski] is described as 'powerful in finance and connections, very fond of the House of Austria'. It also mentions members of the Ostrogski, Radziwiłł and Sapieha families<sup>95</sup>. In addition, the brother of King Władysław IV, John II Casimir Vasa, was active in Spanish politics and was even awarded the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1638 and, in 1640, sought the generalship of the cavalry of Flanders, arguing that 'many Poles would be willing to join the king of Spain's army'<sup>96</sup>. However, Madrid rejected his proposal. Spain's goal was to get the Vasa dynasty, which governed Poland at the time, involved in this war. In 1639, an emissary of the Polish king, Francisco Bibboni, arrived in Naples and, together with the Duke of Medina de las Torres, drafted a proposal for an alliance between Poland and Spain. Ladislaus IV pledged to send 12,000 cavalrymen and 5,000 infantrymen. Philip IV planned to allocate 500,000 escudos to the recruitment of Polish soldiers. However, the project did not materialise as Ladislaus IV failed to ratify the agreement, probably out of fear of opening up a new front with France, particularly when the situation with Turkey and Moscow was still unstable. According to the Naples agreement, the plan was to recruit 3,000 hussars, 6,000 Cossacks and 4,000 infantrymen in Poland<sup>97</sup>. And although this ambitious project failed, it is thanks to the negotiations that we have a detailed description of the Polish army and its method of fighting. We are referring to the description contained in the letter that the Duke of Medina de las Torres sent to the Count-Duke in 1641, which stated as follows:

<sup>95</sup> AGS, EST, leg. 2812, *Apuntamiento para lo que de presente se pudiera obrar en Polonia en orden a prevenir la sucesion de la Corona de aquel Reyno*, 17 March 1648, Prague.

<sup>96</sup> CONDE PAZOS, Miguel, *La Monarquía Católica y los confines orientales de la cristiandad*, p. 395.

<sup>97</sup> For further reading on diplomatic negotiations and missions, see SKOWRON, Ryszard, "Las levas de polacos para los ejércitos españoles", pp. 39-43.

"The Poles' way of fighting is unusual because they take care to leave space at their backs and fortify what other armies do not ordinarily do and, thus, if introducing this nation into Spain in such a number is not considered a great inconvenience, I would consider them useful for the recovery and punishment of the Catalans<sup>98</sup>".

As Ryszard Skowron has pointed out, 'the attempt to drag the Polish army into the war against France between 1638 and 1642 was unrealistic'<sup>99</sup>.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, the two countries had to confront numerous crises and political disasters. Yet, neither Poland, after the Grzymułtowski peace treaty of 1686, nor Spain, after the Treaty of the Pyrenees, lost their importance, at least according to Russian, French and English historiography. Spain's biggest challenge was the revolt in Catalonia, Masaniello's rebellion in Naples and the war with Portugal. On the other hand, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had to contend with the Khmelnytsky Uprising in Ukraine, the growing threat posed by Russia and the disastrous Second Northern War with Sweden, which resulted in the destruction of a large part of Poland. And although there were no plans to incorporate Polish soldiers into the Spanish army, Poland still featured in Spain's military plans during the reign of Charles II. As Miguel Conde Pazos explains: although 'Poland did not arouse the same geopolitical expectations as in the past, when there were plans to use it as a springboard towards the Baltic, it was still a valuable ally which, in addition to guaranteeing Leopold his easternmost flank, was also present in relations with other princes'<sup>100</sup>. However, in the second half of the seventeenth century, there are few examples of Polish soldiers and officers who travelled to Spain, at least compared to the sixteenth century, when Polish troops fought in the Habsburg armies.

## Conclusion

It is tempting to conclude that the presence of Poles in the Spanish army was ongoing throughout the modern period. And,

<sup>98</sup> MEYSZTOWICZ, Walerian (ed.), *Elementa ad fontum editiones*. XXI, Rome, 1970, p. 72.

<sup>99</sup> SKOWRON, Ryszard, "Las levas de polacos para los ejércitos españoles", p. 43.

<sup>100</sup> CONDE PAZOS, Miguel, "Miguel I de Polonia y la reconstrucción de la política de colaboración dinástica de la Casa de Austria (1669-1673)" in *Tiempos Modernos*, no. 36, 2018, p. 345.

while it can be demonstrated that individuals or groups of Poles exerted some influence on the Spanish armed forces in the first half of the seventeenth century —or at least left a mark of their presence— care must be taken to avoid generalisations. We believe that it cannot be demonstrated that there was a steady flow of Poles for various reasons, which include a lack of in-depth knowledge of the politics and culture of the decisive figures of the period, distance, and the few opportunities for recruitment. Nevertheless, it can be demonstrated that there were two different levels of presence. As José Antonio Maravall has stated, 'the individuality of History does not lie in the isolated fact, but in the unrepeatable connection in which it takes place. The individual is the whole; the historical fact is not a datum, it is a chain of data'<sup>101</sup>. There was a fundamental shift in the visibility of Polish military officers in Spain in the modern period. In the sixteenth century, interpersonal contact predominated: Tęczyński and Tarnowski knew Charles V and other Habsburgs, they fought in their armies and, in the case of the latter, had their own views on politics, which often clashed with those of the Polish monarchs. In that period, the two countries still retained many elements of a knightly culture that was universal and familiar to Spaniards and Poles alike. Charles V tried to revive the image of the Christian soldier, the idea of universalism and the Crusades: the Battle of Pavia can be considered a medieval duel between two kings. In the war against the Turks in 1532, the cavalry played a pivotal role, and the *La empresa de Túnez* tapestry series (representing the Spanish conquest of Tunisia) 'not only aimed to showcase the "ever victorious" Charles V (...) but also his status as a Caesar and classical general,' according to Fernando Checa<sup>102</sup>. Although the noble Polish warriors came from a different world, where many elements of military art and weaponry came from the experiences afforded by their contact with the Asian armies, they nevertheless easily understood both the practice and spirit of Spanish warfare. However, from the second half of the sixteenth century, a change in the social structure of the Spanish military (a shift towards plebeianism) can be discerned, in addition to a crisis over the

<sup>101</sup> MARAVALL, José A., *Teoría del saber histórico*, Madrid, 1967, p. 86.

<sup>102</sup> CHECA, Fernando, "Héroes, guerreros y batallas en la imagen artística de la Monarquía española. De los Reyes Católicos a Carlos II" in RIBOT, L. (coord.): *Edad Moderna. Escenario Europeo*, t. III, vol. II, de O'DONNELL Y DUQUE DE ESTRADA, H. (dir.): *Historia Militar de España*, Madrid, 2013, p. 497.

traditional role the Spanish nobility<sup>103</sup> played in the military. In Poland, meanwhile, heavy cavalry and mass recruitment continued to predominate. And, although, as we have seen, key ideas on how to bring about a 'military revolution' were discussed in both countries, in the seventeenth century, the idea of universalism did not have the same meaning as in the Renaissance. From the closing decades of the sixteenth century, the presence of Poles in the Spanish military can only be seen in the context of major political events. The importance of Gdańsk and the war in the Netherlands, coupled with Báthory's sensible policy, presented the opportunity to create a Polish contingent in the Spanish army, an opportunity which presented itself again when the Thirty Years' War broke out and the Habsburgs were seeking to recruit soldiers for their armies. It can be seen that the influx of Poles in the sixteenth century depended more on *geopolitical* elements than on *cultural* ones, which had been the case in the previous century. After the Thirty Years' War, Poland had to contend with threats from the north (Sweden) and the east (Moscow). Meanwhile, the Franco-Spanish War waged on until 1659, alongside conflicts and uprisings in Portugal, Naples and Catalonia. Although diplomatic relations between the two countries were more frequent in the seventeenth century, major endeavours to create a Polish contingent failed. Geopolitics and national interest—in its *true* Christian form, as Spanish moralists called it—were more important when making decisions—such as Ladislaus IV's fear of worsening relations with France—than the chivalrous spirit still embodied by the noblemen of the sixteenth century.

<sup>103</sup> THOMPSON, Irving Anthony A., "El soldado del Imperio: una aproximación al perfil del recluta español en el Siglo de Oro" in *Manuscripts*, 21, 2003, p. 37; SALES, Núria, "La desaparición del soldado gentilhomme" in *Saitabi*, 21, 1971, pp. 41-69.

## Chapter two

### **Eighteenth century Spain and the reception of the Polish military world**

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#### **Abstract**

The reception of the Polish military world in eighteenth-century Spain was quite limited compared to the intensity of the political, dynastic, economic and cultural ties between the two monarchies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the participation of some 20,000 Poles in the Peninsular War between 1808 and 1814. Despite the positive impact in Spain of Poland's defence of Vienna in 1683 and, generally, Madrid's growing interest in the central and eastern European territories following the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1714), the truth is that distance (not just in the geographical sense) is what best defines the reception of the Polish military world in eighteenth-century Spain. In this paper, we endeavour to explain why the excellent reputation of Polish soldiers, a shared religious faith, and the shortage of troops in the Spanish armies were not enough to open

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up a new avenue for recruiting and integrating Polish soldiers and officers in Spain. The conclusions suggest that this possibility was heavily conditioned by Poland's internal and external context and, on Spain's part, a limited diplomatic and cultural response to the new realities that had emerged in east central Europe in the eighteenth century, which Madrid was still grappling to understand and construct.

### **Keywords**

Army, Spain, Eighteenth Century, Poland.

## Introduction

The eighteenth century finds itself between two historic events that brought Poland and Poland's military world closer to Spain with unprecedented force: firstly, the Battle of Vienna in 1683 and, more than a century later, the Peninsular War, from 1808 to 1814. The first event had an enormous impact on all of Europe and also on Spain<sup>1</sup>. From the early seventeenth century, news-sheets began to report information on Poland more frequently and, from 1661, the *Gaceta de Madrid* published regular news reports about the country<sup>2</sup>. However, it was undeniably the Battle of Vienna in 1683 that triggered a veritable explosion of news and 'reports from the north' about John III Sobieski, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania (1674-1696). Sobieski became a true hero and champion of the faith after defending the Habsburg capital of Vienna against the advance of the Turks<sup>3</sup>. Numerous panegyrics in Spanish extolling the king, written by Spanish soldiers and other authors, were also published<sup>4</sup>. In short, writers

<sup>1</sup> OLLERO LOBATO, Francisco, "De la ocasión a la alegoría. Retratos, imágenes y fiestas tras la victoria de Viena de 1683", *Quintana*, 13 (2014), pp. 221-239; MARTÍNEZ DUEÑAS, José Luis, "El asedio de Viena de 1683", *Chronica Nova*, 33 (2007), pp. 371-380; GÓNZALEZ CUERVA, Rubén, "La última cruzada: España en la guerra de la Liga Santa (1683-1699)" in SANZ CAMAÑES, Porfirio (ed.), *Tiempo de cambios. Guerra, diplomacia y política internacional de la Monarquía Hispánica (1648-1700)*, Madrid, Actas, 2012, pp. 221-248.

<sup>2</sup> For an introduction to these news sheets, with reference to Poland's position at the start of the seventeenth century, see the contribution of: GÓNZALEZ CUERVA, Rubén, "El prodigioso príncipe transilvano": la larga guerra contra los turcos (1596-1606) a través de las "relaciones de sucesos", *Studia Historica. Historia Moderna*, 28 (2016), pp. 277-299. More specifically, and for later in the seventeenth century, see, for example, the news published in Spain about the coronation of John II Casimir (r. 1648-1668) in the study by: PIŁAT-ZUZANKIEWICZ, Marta, "La elección y coronación de Juan Casimiro Vasa, rey de Polonia, en las relaciones de sucesos españoles" in GARCÍA LÓPEZ, Jorge and BOADAS CABARROCAS (coords.), *Las relaciones de sucesos en los cambios políticos y sociales de la Europa Moderna*, Barcelona, Universitat Autònoma, 2015, pp. 297-208.

<sup>3</sup> BAK, Grzegorz, "Noticias del Norte: la Polonia de los años 1683-1703 en las páginas de la prensa española de la época", *Eslavística Complutense*, 1 (2001), pp. 371-379.

<sup>4</sup> This was the case of the works on the subject by the Spanish writer and captain of Sephardic origin living in Amsterdam, Miguel de Barrios (1635-1701): BARRIOS, Miguel de, *Panegírico al laureado Juan III, rey de Polonia; dirígelo al muy ilustre señor Manuel Teyxeyra, residente de la inclita Christina Reyna de Suecia, en Hamburgo el capitán don Miguel de Barrios*, print, [n.p., no publisher; n.p., no place; 1683?], The National Library of Spain, Madrid (BNE), Mss. R/10386 (2); Idem, *Panegirico al laureado Juan Tercero Rey de Polonia, que hizo levantar el cerco de Viena en 12 de septiembre de 1683 años, al turco que lo comenzó a 10 de julio del propesto año* [n.p.,

and printers catapulted Poland and Sobieski to the forefront of the defence, not only of Vienna, but indeed of the whole of Christianity in central and Eastern Europe<sup>5</sup>.

The second of these events, the Polish intervention together with Napoleon in the Peninsular War (1808-1814), received even more widespread and dramatic coverage in the chronicles of the period and in subsequent historiography. This time, notably, from the Polish perspective. The presence of some 20,000 Poles in Iberian territory until 1812 —when most of the contingent was transferred to the Russian front— caused a deep ambivalence among Polish officers and soldiers. At the time, it was not easy for them to justify such an intervention in Spain, magnified by the romantic vision of a 'war of liberation' against the French invader: Poland itself had been divided up by Prussia, Austria and Russia on three occasions during the eighteenth century (1772, 1793 and 1795), and some Polish officers in exile had taken part in another great 'war of liberation': the American War of Independence, from 1775 to 1783. Subsequently, Polish historians did not find it easy either to reconcile the deserving international reputation of the Polish resistance against the Nazis during World War II —in Poland and on other European fronts— with the intervention in Spain in the early nineteenth century. On the one hand, both Polish sources from the period and subsequent historiography recognised the prowess and bravery of the troops in events such as Somosierra (1808), when the famous charge of the Polish cavalry opened the gates of Madrid to Napoleon and, ever since, this military feat has formed part of Poland's

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n.p., 1683?], BNE, Mss. R/2186(4); Idem, *Epistola y panegirico al inclito y victorioso monarca de Polonia Ivan Tercero*, [n.p., n.p., 1684?], BNE, Mss. R/10386(5). See also: MESTRE, Francisco, *Relacion verdadera de la feliz y portentosa vitoria que nuestro señor a sido servido conceder à la Christiandad por medio de las armas cesareas del señor Emperador: auxiliado del... rey de Polonia y demás Principes de la Liga, contra el barbaro Otomano...*, Printer of The Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, 1683, BNE, VE/1460/18; VELASCO, Juan de, *Panegyrico al rey de Polonia, compuesto por la Admiracion, impreso, enmendado y añadido en esta segunda impresion* [n.p., n.p., 1683?], BNE, Mss. R. MICRO/20083(27).

<sup>5</sup> OLLERO LOBATO, F.: op. cit., pp. 236-237, for a compilation of other printed materials from different Spanish cities announcing the news of the lifting of the siege of Vienna and the role of John III Sobieski. This monarch was also the main character in the comedy *Comedia del Sitio de Viena*, performed in the Alcázar in Madrid in 1683: ARCE, Pedro de, *La comedia del Sitio de Viena. Fiesta que se representó a los felices años de la reyna madre nuestra señora Doña Mariana de Austria...* Lisbon, Miguel Deslandes, 1684: OLLERO LOBATO, F.: op. cit., pp. 222 and 237.

national mythology<sup>6</sup>. On the other hand, however, this service to the *Grande Armée* left some of the officers with an uneasy conscience long after the battle was over. After all, the Poles were fighting against the Spanish people thousands of miles from their country and could identify with them in their struggle against a foreign invader and, moreover, they shared the same Catholic faith. The Polish revolutionaries of the nineteenth century went from being the 'aggressor' in Spain to the 'victim' in Poland: when their dreams of an independent Poland were shattered, they identified with the Spaniards' struggle against the invader in their chants<sup>7</sup>.

Vienna in 1683 and the Peninsular War from 1808 to 1814 symbolise the beginning of Spain's contact with the Polish military world, in a more indirect and 'gentle' way in the first instance, and in a more direct and less 'friendly' way in the second. Of course, the two nations had engaged in intense relations long before 1683. The dynastic and political ties between the two royal houses in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been studied<sup>8</sup>. Trade relations between Spain and the cities in

<sup>6</sup> KIENIEWICZ, Jan, "España en la mitología nacional polaca", *Estudios Hispánicos I*, Kraków, 1988.

<sup>7</sup> BAK, Grzegorz, *La imagen de España en la literatura polaca del siglo XIX: (Diarios, memorias, libros de viajes y otros testimonios literarios)*, Doctoral thesis, Complutense University of Madrid, 2002; PRESA GONZÁLEZ, Fernando, BAK, Grzegorz, MATYJASZ-CZYK GREŃDA, Agnieszka and MONFORTE DUPRET, Roberto (eds.), *Soldados polacos en España durante la Guerra de la Independencia Española*, Madrid, Huerfano & Fierro Editores, 2004; a magnificent introduction to the influence of the 'Spanish campaign' on Polish painting, literature and cinema in: GONZÁLEZ CAIZÁN, Cristina, "La repercusión de la guerra de la Independencia española en Polonia", *Cuadernos Dieciochistas*, 8 (2007), pp. 137-157, and by the same author, *Por Napoleón en España: los soldados polacos en los sitios de Zaragoza (1808-1809)*, Foro para el Estudio de la Historia Militar de España, 2017.

<sup>8</sup> SKOWRON, Ryszard, *Olivares, los Vasa y el Báltico: Polonia en la política internacional de España en los años 1621-1632*, Warsaw, DIG, 2008; CONDE PAZOS, Miguel, *La Monarquía católica y los confines orientales de la cristiandad. Relaciones entre la Casa de Austria y los Vasa de Polonia*, Doctoral thesis, Autonomous University of Madrid, 2016. For the original sources of the period, see the magnificent work initiated by SKOWRON, Ryszard (ed.), *Documenta Polonica. Ex Archiivo Generali Hispaniae in Simancas. Nova series*, vol. I, Cracow, Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2015, covering Spanish-Polish relations from 1587 to 1629. The documentation in the General Archive of Simancas (AGS) in Valladolid was also essential in the preparation of this contribution, particularly the 18 files from the 18th century in the State section (E), Department of Poland (file numbers 6580 to 6597). In addition, we consulted different documentation from the War Secretariat (GM) of the same Archive and the seven files on Poland in the State section (E) of the National Historical Archive in Madrid (AHN) covering the years 1742 to 1792. Aside from other sources, account was also taken of

the southern Baltic from the sixteenth century have also been addressed, where, in the case of Danzig/Gdańsk, they took on a new importance in the Spanish Armada's plans in the eighteenth century<sup>9</sup>. Finally, the presence of Polish and Spanish themes in the literature of both countries has been examined, particularly in the Spanish Golden Age<sup>10</sup>. It remains, however, that, in very broad terms and throughout the modern period, relations between Spain and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1569-1795) were severely hampered by geographical distance, Spain's inability to grasp Poland's political, social and religious make-up and, finally, the stereotypes of the two countries and their people created by diplomats and travellers<sup>11</sup>. Even as early as the 1670s—a decade before the jubilant exaltation of Vienna—Spain saw Poland as being on the border of Europe, an 'exotic' territory, culturally on the verge of civilisation, but not quite as extreme a case as Russia<sup>12</sup>.

Spain's view of the Polish military world did not diverge significantly from this general picture, at least not until John Sobieski's heroic deed at the walls of Vienna in 1683. We will take this as a starting point for our journey into the eighteenth century. With the arrival of the Bourbon dynasty to Spain in 1700, Madrid was

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the information provided in a number of manuscripts in the National Library of Spain (BNE) and the documentary corpus published on the embassy of the Count of Aranda in Warsaw (see below).

<sup>9</sup> RUIZ, Felipe, "El pan de los países bálticos durante las guerras de religión. Andanzas y gestiones del historiador Pedro Cornejo", *Hispania. Revista Española de Historia*, Vol. 84 (1961), pp. 549-579; REICHERT, Rafal, "El comercio directo de maderas para la construcción naval española y de otros bienes provenientes de la región del Báltico sur, 1700-1783", *Hispania: Revista española de historia*, Vol. 76, n. 252 (2016), pp. 129-157.

<sup>10</sup> PIŁAT-ZUZANKIEWICZ, Marta, "Las aventuras polacas de Estebanillo González a la luz de los relatos diplomáticos y documentos históricos", *Itinerarios: Revista de estudios lingüísticos, literarios, históricos y antropológicos*, 16 (2012), pp. 201-219; and by the same author: "El misionero aragonés Pedro Cubero Sebastián en Polonia: un relato del viaje realizado en 1674", *Itinerarios: Revista de estudios lingüísticos, literarios, históricos y antropológicos*, 24 (2016), pp. 263-280.

<sup>11</sup> PARTYKA, Joanna, "The Image of the Spanish Monarchy in the Polish 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Century Itineraries and Encyclopaedic Texts" in GARCÍA HERNÁN, Enrique and SKOWRON, Ryszard (eds.), *From Ireland to Poland: Northern Europe, Spain and the Early Modern World*, Valencia, Albatros, 2015, pp. 263-272.

<sup>12</sup> TARACHA, Cezary, "Descripción española de la Polonia de los años 70 del siglo XVII", *Investigaciones históricas: Época moderna y contemporánea*, 15 (1995), pp. 195-208; LÓPEZ-CORDÓN, María Victoria, "De Moscovia a Rusia: caracteres nacionales y límites europeos en el imaginario español de los siglos XVII y XVIII", *Saitabi: revista de la Facultat de Geografia i Història*, 55 (2005), pp. 77-98.

largely forced to abandon the support and knowledge it had received from the Habsburg branch of the family in Vienna in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Throughout the eighteenth century, Madrid tried to build its own east-central space in a coordinated action with the French Bourbons. In the first part of this contribution, we focus on the generation of knowledge of the Polish military field in Spain, and in the second part, we examine the potential Poland offered for the Spanish monarchy, particularly in relation to the recruitment of officers and soldiers for the Bourbon army.

### The need for knowledge

Up until 1683, Spain's interest in Polish military matters was confined to watching from afar as Poland resisted the pressure of Protestant Sweden and Germany in the north and west of the continent, Russia's first incursions from the east, and the ambitions to expand the Habsburg Empire of Vienna and the Ottoman Empire from the south<sup>13</sup>. Poland's exceptional location and an exposed terrain from a military perspective—a vast plain and no significant natural barriers—conjured up the image in Spain, and in Europe in general, of Polish armies accustomed to fighting far numerically superior enemy forces at a disadvantage<sup>14</sup>. As early as the sixteenth century, Spanish chronicles highlighted the importance attached to horses in Poland as a symbol of power and representation of the monarchs and Polish nobility due to their prolific breeding and perfect adaptation to the Polish plains<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> EMINOWICZ, Teresa, "Las relaciones políticas y culturales entre España y Polonia en la época de Felipe II" in MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN, José (dir.), *Congreso Internacional Felipe II (1598-1998), Europa dividida, la monarquía católica de Felipe II (Autonomous University of Madrid, 20-23 April 1998)*, Madrid, Parteluz, 1998, Vol. 4, pp. 89-99; GÓRSKI, Eugeniusz, "Relaciones hispano-polacas", *Cuenta y razón*, 111 (1999), pp. 99-103; SKOWRON, Ryszard, "Entre el Mar Báltico y el Mar Negro: La Europa Centro-Oriental en tiempos de la Pax Hispanica" in GARCÍA GARCÍA, Bernardo J., HERRERO SÁNCHEZ, Manuel and HUGON, Alain (eds.), *El Arte de la Prudencia. La Tregua de los Doce Años en la Europa de los Pacificadores*, Madrid, Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2012, pp. 145-160.

<sup>14</sup> For a general overview, the work of STONE, Daniel, *The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386-1795 (A History of East Central Europe, vol. 4)*, Washington, University of Washington Press, 2001, is still a reference work; Spanish readers will find a useful overview in LUKOWSKI, Jerzy and ZAWADZKI, Hubert, *Historia de Polonia*, Madrid, Akal, 2003.

<sup>15</sup> This was the perception of Julio Ruggieri, papal nuncio to Poland from 1555 to 1557, translated into Spanish in: BAUER LANDAUER, Ignacio (ed.), *Un manuscrito so-*

As we shall see later on, the extensive use of cavalry until well into the eighteenth century continued to attract the Spaniards' attention.

It was undeniably the impact of Poland's victory over the Turks in 1683 that prompted the Spaniards to explore the Polish military world in more depth. At a time of extreme military difficulty abroad for the Spanish monarchy, the powerful image portrayed of John III Sobieski in Spain inspired the Duke of Béjar, Grandee of Spain and veteran *maestre de campo* in Flanders, to voluntarily and personally lead a Spanish expedition in 1686 to join in the storming of the fortress of Buda in Hungary<sup>16</sup>. The courageous Castilian *warrior's* death in battle elevated him to the status of Iberian Sobieski, Christian martyr and, more importantly for his descendants, was a powerful source of legitimacy for this noble house vis-à-vis the Spanish monarchy until the end of the Old Regime<sup>17</sup>. This event provided Spain with more direct knowledge of Europe's eastern-central military border and the different troops of the nations involved. Christian victories in Hungary and Europe's south-eastern territories under Ottoman rule also gave rise—as with the case of Vienna in 1683—to the printing of numerous news-sheets, news reports, panegyrics and comedies in the Spanish language<sup>18</sup>.

The circumstances of the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1714) temporarily diminished interest in events on the other side of the continent. However, after the war was over,

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*bre Polonia en la Biblioteca de Don Pedro de Aragón*, Santander, Impr. del Patronato de Huérfanos de Intendencia e Intervención Militares, 1934, cit. BAK, Grzegorz, *La imagen de España en la literatura polaca del siglo XIX*, op. cit., p. 38.

<sup>16</sup> For further reading on this event, see ZARZA SÁNCHEZ, Emiliano, *La participación del X duque de Béjar, D. Manuel de Zúñiga, en el sitio de Buda (1686)*, Béjar, Centro de Estudios Bejaranos, 2014.

<sup>17</sup> An interesting contribution to the impact of the Duke's death on literature and propaganda in Spain can be found in ZARZA SÁNCHEZ, Emiliano, "La creación de una memoria cristiana y guerrera. El caso del X duque de Béjar (1657-1686)", *Tiempos Modernos*, vol. 8, n. 31 (2015), pp. 369-392.

<sup>18</sup> HANNY, Erzsébet, "Toma de Buda en 1686 y los cambios políticos y sociales en reflejo de relaciones de sucesos españoles" in GARCÍA LÓPEZ, Jorge and BOADAS CABARROCAS (coords.), *Las relaciones de sucesos en los cambios políticos y sociales de la Europa Moderna*, Barcelona, Universitat Autònoma, 2015, pp. 283-296; DUARTE LUEIRO, José Enrique, 'Fuentes y representación de "La restauración de Buda", comedia bélica de Banés Candamo' in PEDRAZA JIMÉNEZ, Felipe B., et alii (coords.) *Guerra y paz en la comedia española. Actas de las XXIX Jornadas de Teatro Clásico de Almagro*, University of Castilla-La Mancha, 2007, pp. 259-274.

we could say that there was a 'rediscovery' of east-central Europe in Spain. In the initial stage, the 'rediscovery' consisted of gathering and generating knowledge, which was largely performed by officers of the Bourbon army. This undeniably had much to do with the militarisation of Bourbon diplomacy in the first half of the eighteenth century, when senior officers were placed at



**Ricardo Wall (1694-1777), anonymous. Naval Museum of Madrid. © Oronoz.** Wall accompanied the Duke of Liria on his mission in St. Petersburg between 1727 and 1729. A military officer by training, Wall went on to become the Secretary of State (1754-1763), of the Indies (1754) and of War (1759-1763) under the reigns of Ferdinand VI and Charles III

the helm of the diplomatic corps<sup>19</sup>. Some of the more prominent officers were posted to the embassies of St. Petersburg and Warsaw, which in itself indicates a shift in Madrid's policy towards these two diplomatic seats, traditionally outside the sphere of the 'great' embassies of the Spanish monarchs (Paris, London and Rome). These were officers of the calibre of the Duke of Liria<sup>20</sup> and his companion in St. Petersburg, Ricardo Wall<sup>21</sup>; Count de Lacy (also posted to Russia) and the Count of Aranda, who was posted to Warsaw, to mention a few.

In a second stage, during the second half of the eighteenth century, the military continued to play an important role: several expeditions of the *Real Armada* and groups of military observers on the ground were sent to Central Europe and Russia. This was the case, for instance, of the group of military observers sent to Central Europe in 1758 during the Seven Years' War (1756-1763)<sup>22</sup>. This was Madrid's attempt to respond to Europe's new geostrategic realities, characterised by the emergence of two great military powers like Prussia and Russia, and new opportunities for trade on the north-south axis of central and eastern Europe, in an arc that ran from the Baltic Sea to Russia's newly incorporated territories on the Black Sea. Finally, during the 1880s, and by now in a third stage of the 'rediscovery', military officers gave way to a process aimed at building diplomatic relations with these territories from Spain, which was spearheaded by

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<sup>19</sup> OZANAM, Didier, *Les diplomates espagnols du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Introduction et répertoire biographique (1700-1808)*, Madrid-Bordeaux, Casa de Velázquez-Maison des Pays Ibériques, 1998. For an introduction to the militarisation of Spanish society in general after the War of the Spanish Succession —and not just diplomacy— see: RECIO MORALES, Óscar, "Poder militar y militarismo en la España del siglo XVIII" in TORRES SÁNCHEZ, Rafael (ed.) *Studium, Magisterium et Amicitia: Homenaje al profesor Agustín González Enciso*, Pamplona, Eunote, 2018, pp. 353-359.

<sup>20</sup> James Francis Fitz-James Stuart (1696-1738), 2nd Duke of Berwick, 1st Duke of Liria, Grandee of Spain 1st class, began his military career in France in 1711. He came to Spain in 1713 as colonel of the Irish Regiment of Limerick and was eventually promoted to the rank of lieutenant general (1732). After his experience in Russia, he was appointed ambassador to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in 1737, where he died the following year: Diccionario Biográfico Electrónico (hereinafter DBE), Royal Academy of History: <http://dbe.rah.es/> [20/12/18].

<sup>21</sup> TÉLLEZ ALARCIA, Diego, *D. Ricardo Wall: Aut Caesar aut nullus*, Madrid, Ministry of Defence, 2008.

<sup>22</sup> REDONDO, Fernando, "Los observadores militares españoles en la guerra de los Siete Años", *Temas de Historia Militar: ponencias del primer Congreso de Historia Militar*, Madrid, Servicio de Publicaciones del Estado Mayor del Ejército, 1983, Vol. 1, pp. 369-411.

a prime minister with a marked civilian tendency, the Count of Floridablanca<sup>23</sup>.



**Charles III of Spain in armour (c. 1760), by Anton Raphael Mengs, Prado Museum, Madrid. © Prado Museum.**

**The king's marriage to Maria Amalia of Saxony, the eldest daughter of Augustus III of Poland (1733-1763), Elector of Saxony, increased Spanish interest in Poland**

<sup>23</sup> José Moñino y Redondo (Murcia, 1728-Seville, 1808), 1st Count of Floridablanca, was a statesman who became a criminal prosecutor in Castile (1766), First Secretary

Given Poland's key geographical location between Scandinavia, Germany, Austria, Russia and the Ottoman Empire, and the growing importance of Central Europe in international relations, Madrid began to take a serious interest in Poland and the possibilities of trade with the Baltic region. During the ministry of the Marquess of Ensenada<sup>24</sup>, the first spies were sent to the region (missions by Dámaso Latre and Agustín Hurtado in Denmark, Sweden, Saxony and Russia). In addition, ambassadors and consuls, such as the Marquis of Puente fuerte and José Belezar, the Marquis del Puerto, Jerónimo Grimaldi, Francisco Javier de Carrión and Julián Robiou (in Denmark, Sweden and Prussia) began to send increasingly comprehensive reports on the royal navies, armies, trade and natural resources<sup>25</sup>. However, it was undoubtedly Charles III's accession to the Spanish throne (1759-1788) that marked a turning point in the policy to be pursued in Poland.

To start with, the War of the Polish Succession (1733-1738) facilitated the coronation of Charles of Bourbon (future Charles III of Spain) as king of the Two Sicilies (1734-1759). The connection continued thanks to the marriage of the monarch in 1738 with Maria Amalia of Saxony, the eldest daughter of Augustus III of Poland (1733-1763), Elector of Saxony. This dynastic connection –which was always underscored in instructions to the ambassadors until the Elector King of Poland's death in 1763– and the need to boost foreign trade explain Charles III's interest in Poland from 1759. From that year, some of the most prominent figures on the Spanish political and military scene were posted to the embassy in Warsaw. This was the case of the ambassador to Warsaw from 1760 to 1762, Lieutenant General Pedro Pablo Abarca de Bolea (1719-1798), Count of Aranda<sup>26</sup>.

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of State and of the Universal Bureau (1777-1792) and interim secretary of Grace and Justice (1782-1790) during the reigns of Charles III and his son Charles IV.

<sup>24</sup> Zenón de Somodevilla y Bengoechea (1702-1781), 1st Marquess of Ensenada, was Secretary of State between 1748 and 1754.

<sup>25</sup> TORREJÓN CHAVES, Juan, "La madera báltica, Suecia y España (siglo XVIII)," in RAMOS, Alberto (coord.), *Comercio y navegación entre España y Suecia (siglos X-XX)*, Cádiz, University of Cádiz, 2000, pp. 163-222.

<sup>26</sup> His instructions to the embassy in: AGS, E, leg. 6584. They focused on safeguarding Charles III's dynastic ties with his father-in-law, the king of Poland, and the need to share interests with the ministers of France, Naples and Parma in Warsaw. However, the instructions contrasted with Madrid's complete failure to specify any clear objective in Poland, as the Count of Aranda pointed out when he asked Madrid to provide more specific goals: GONZÁLEZ, Cristina, TARACHA, Cezary and TÉLLEZ, Diego (eds.), *Cartas desde Varsovia. Correspondencia particular del Conde de Aranda con Ricardo Wall (1760-1762)*, Lublin, Twerset, 2005, pp. 13-14.



**Pedro Pablo Abarca de Bolea y Jiménez de Urrea (1719-1798), oil on canvas by Ramón Bayeu, 1769. Museum of Huesca.**

**A military officer by training, and later a diplomat and politician, the Count of Aranda played a pivotal role in Spanish politics in the second half of the eighteenth century. He was ambassador to Warsaw from 1760 to 1762**

Although he was scarcely two years in charge of the embassy in Warsaw —Aranda was called away by Wall in April 1762 to command the Spanish army in the war against Portugal— his presence in Warsaw sparked considerable interest among the Polish nobility, even though Aranda himself reminded Wall that this was not traditionally a first-class diplomatic seat for the

monarchy<sup>27</sup>. This interest was also piqued by the extroverted and eccentric personality of the Aragonese officer and aristocrat who, of course, did not obey the order for 'discretion,' as was to be expected<sup>28</sup>.

While he was in Poland, one would expect that a military officer such as Aranda would have a greater affinity with the Polish military world. However, as we will have occasion to see in the next point, while Ambassador Aranda did serve as a catalyst for the aspirations of some Polish military officers and adventurers interested in recruitment opportunities in Spain, he did not provide much in the way of descriptions or evaluations of the Polish armies, or at least not in official documents. This was not just the case with the Aragonese nobleman, however. Based on the accounts of Spanish diplomats available to us, much space was devoted to the 'great dynastic politics' between the different courts, to rumours about the most important figures and the tension surrounding the court 'parties'. While the diplomats did of course report all movements and numbers relating to the different armies in the territory, in most cases they relied on indirect sources and more in-depth information on the Polish military world is lacking. In the specific case of Aranda, this may have been yet another reflection of his disdain for the *Rzeczpospolita* system of government. From Aranda's point of view —from his position of twice Grandee of Spain, but always loyal to the monarchy— the Polish king's election by the nobility seemed nonsensical. In his opinion, these 'arrogant and powerful' noblemen continued to monitor and restrict the king in his government duties following his election,

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<sup>27</sup> 'I travelled as Your Excellency [Ricardo Wall] knows, and I did not go to Portugal or Poland for leisure, and because it was my destiny to see countries, I had to go as an ambassador, as it was one of the embassies the king was giving out. Well, that of Russia is even worse, and I may have the misfortune to be posted there as it is the least attractive and I have not been there yet': Aranda to Wall, Warsaw, 22 April 1761, cit. in GONZÁLEZ, Cristina *et alii* (eds.), *Cartas desde Varsovia*, op. cit., p. 100. Indeed, another notable member of the 'Aragonese party,' the future secretary of the War Bureau, Ambrosio Mariano Funes de Villalpando y Abarca de Bolea (Zaragoza, 1720–Madrid, 1780), Count of Ricla and cousin of Aranda, turned down the Russian embassy.

<sup>28</sup> His official correspondence can be consulted in *Correspondencia diplomática del conde de Aranda, embajador cerca del Rey de Polonia, 28 julio 1760-1762*, CODOIN, Tomos CVIII-CIX, Madrid, 1893. In addition, his correspondence with his protector at the time, Minister Wall, makes for more interesting reading from a personal point of view, published in GONZÁLEZ, Cristina *et alii*, *Cartas desde Varsovia*, op. cit.; and the work of DEFOURNEAUX, Marcelín, "Autour du "Pacte de Famille". L'ambassade du comte d'Aranda en Pologne (1760-1762)", *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, 1969, pp. 21-45 is still relevant and interesting.

until creating a system that was anything but free, although the Polish noblemen tried to convince him otherwise at dinners and public functions. This system, according to Aranda, rendered Poland ungovernable and left it at the complete mercy of foreign powers. Disaster was inevitable, and with his shrewd political instincts, Aranda anticipated the first of the three divisions the country would suffer in the eighteenth century, in 1772<sup>29</sup>.

What is clear is Aranda's fascination with the abundance and quality of Polish horses, although he was less impressed with how they were treated<sup>30</sup>. For the Spanish ambassador, the extensive breeding of horses was clearly visible from their widespread use by the Polish nobility and their servants, and surplus-bred horses would even be sold to neighbouring military powers. Indeed, the importance of the cavalry in Poland prompted him to write extensively on how to increase its use in Spain and in the Spanish armies: 'What is important [in Spain] is that we try to increase the number of cavalry by whatever means,' Aranda concluded in one of his reports on Poland<sup>31</sup>. However, before he returned to Spain in 1762, Aranda had the opportunity to explore the possibility of recruiting Polish officers and soldiers for the king of Spain, a subject we address below.

### The possibilities of recruitment

Throughout the seventeenth century, several attempts were made to levy Poles for Spanish Habsburg armies. Most of the Polish Cossacks recruited were posted to the different theatres of war in Central Europe, for which purpose the collaboration of the Habsburgs of Vienna was essential<sup>32</sup>. And despite the difficult

<sup>29</sup> AGS, E, leg. 6583, Aranda to Wall, Warsaw, 8 October 1761; AGS, E, leg. 6583, Aranda to Wall, Warsaw, 23 January 1762.

<sup>30</sup> 'I am amazed by the great number of horses there are in this land, but all geldings, well-shaped, with widely spaced hind- and fore-quarters, beautiful necks, and tossed manes; but in bad hands: it pains me to see how they are handled': Aranda to Wall, Warsaw, 8 November 1760, cit. in GONZÁLEZ, Cristina *et alii* (eds.), *Cartas desde Varsovia*, op. cit., p. 57.

<sup>31</sup> Aranda to Wall, Warsaw, 13 February 1761, cit. in GONZÁLEZ, Cristina *et alii* (eds.), *Cartas desde Varsovia*, op. cit., p. 80. Minister Wall requested information on the possibility of breeding horses in Spain after receiving Aranda's first impressions on horse breeding in Poland: Aranda to Wall, Warsaw, 13 February 1761, cit. in GONZÁLEZ, Cristina *et alii* (eds.), *Cartas desde Varsovia*, op. cit., pp. 70-74.

<sup>32</sup> SKOWRON, Ryszard, "Las levas de polacos para los ejércitos españoles en la época de la guerra de los Treinta Años" in GARCÍA HERNÁN, Enrique and SKOWRON, Ryszard (eds.), *From Ireland to Poland*, op. cit., pp. 19-37.

military and financial circumstances of the Habsburgs during that century, Madrid was still able to operate recruitment networks in the Netherlands, Italy, Ireland, Germany and Switzerland, among other territories. These networks ensured a vital supply of foreign recruits for a monarchy with a permanent shortage of human resources, exacerbated by the demographic depletion of Castile since the late sixteenth century. The situation did not improve in the eighteenth century. Throughout this century, none of the traditional methods —forced levies and conscription on the one hand and voluntary recruitment within and outside the Peninsula on the other— were enough to fill the ranks of the infantry. Foreign nations' regiments were also experiencing a shortage of soldiers, and the problem became more acute in the second half of the century due to international competition<sup>33</sup>.

Polish soldiers had, a priori, two conditions in their favour when it came to recruitment, the first being their military reputation. In his work *Turbaciones de Polonia* (1768), José Vicente Rustant reminded Spanish readers of the myth of the Polish defence of Vienna in 1683: 'In times of war, their armies are formidable'<sup>34</sup>. Although José de Onís, Aranda's successor in Warsaw, criticised (as his predecessor had) the Polish nobility for failing to present a united front against Russian influence, he spoke of the 'good condition' of the nobility's troops for confronting these threats from their own states<sup>35</sup>. However, this situation contrasted with

<sup>33</sup> GLESENER, Thomas, "La estatalización del reclutamiento de soldados extranjeros en el siglo XVIII" in GARCÍA HURTADO, Manuel-Reyes (ed.), *Soldados de la Ilustración. El ejército español en el siglo XVIII*, A Coruña, Universidade da Coruña, 2012, pp. 239-263.

<sup>34</sup> RUSTANT, Joseph Vicente, *Historia de las turbaciones de Polonia, para servir de continuación a las décadas de la guerra de Prusia*, Madrid, Imprenta de Pantaleón Aznar, 1768, 2 vols., vol. 1, p. 75.

<sup>35</sup> This was the case of Prince Radziwill of Lithuania who, when confronted with the threat of Russian troops stationed in the province of Courland, 'has in his company a considerable number of gentlemen of a similar character to himself: and although I doubt very much that they would be able to withstand a disciplined troop, they would be able to inflict much harm': AGS, GM, leg. 6585, Onís to Wall, Warsaw, 23 July 1763. In 1763, José de Onís López (1726-1802) replaced Aranda as secretary and representative before the king and the Republic of Poland: AGS, E, leg. 6584, Aranjuez, 2 May 1763. Shortly after, he was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the court of Dresden, Saxony, with powers for Poland. As a result, his observation of Poland was less direct and the information came from second-hand sources which were forwarded to Onís in Dresden. Indeed, Onís' documentation on Poland is littered with verbs in the conditional. On one occasion, he summarised this information as follows: 'The news from Poland is always the same: in other words, contradictory': AGS, E, leg. 6589, Onís to Grimaldi, Dresden, 17 July 1768.

a failure to carry out the necessary restructuring of the regular troops of the king and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at a time of growing tension in Central Europe, which was beginning to seriously affect Poland's internal stability<sup>36</sup>. The second condition favouring the recruitment of Poles was their Catholic faith which, as we know, was (a priori) an essential prerequisite for joining Spain's armies.

A few proposals were put forward while Aranda was still in Warsaw. In 1761, in exchange for a colonel's licence, the Polish adventurer Miguel (Michał) Dzierżanowski offered to hire 1,200 Catholic Polish and German recruits over a period of two years for the Royal Walloon Guards, the elite corps of the Spanish army. Dzierżanowski made contact with Ricardo Wall in Madrid through Aranda's intermediation with his protector, the Great Crown Hetman, Jan Klemens Branicki (1689–1771), Count of the Empire, castellan of Kraków and representative of one of the wealthiest and most powerful families in Poland<sup>37</sup>. The negotiations dragged on until 1764, when Madrid finally asked its representative in Warsaw 'to request this Republic not to make it difficult for said recruits to leave their States, who, by arrangement of the aforementioned Dzierżanowski are headed for Spain'<sup>38</sup>. José de Onís was somewhat guarded in his response: 'I will request [permission] when this is possible, and necessary: because with the [Polish] Nation currently divided into two factions, the Republic does not exist in reality; neither of them can legitimately exercise sovereign authority, and I cannot address one without offending the

<sup>36</sup> 'The Crown and Grand Duchy's regular infantry troops consist of 18,000 men, indeed less than half that figure when it comes down to it: but this number could be increased, and there was even a plan to do so this spring at the extraordinary diet that was supposed to be held': AGS, GM, leg. 6585, Onís to Wall, Warsaw, 12 October 1763.

<sup>37</sup> AGS, E, leg. 6583, Aranda to Wall, Warsaw, 18 April 1761. See TARACHA, Cezary and FUENTE, Pablo de la, "Reclutamiento en el siglo XVIII. El caso del aventurero Michał Dzierżanowski" in GARCÍA HERNÁN, Enrique and SKOWRON, Ryszard (eds.), *From Ireland to Poland*, op. cit., pp. 125-138. Branicki and his family were a fundamental pillar of the Bourbons' aspirations in Poland, as evidenced by the awarding of the Order of the Golden Fleece in consideration of 'his affection for the Houses of Bourbon and Saxony': AGS, E, leg. 6585, to José de Onís, Aranjuez, 30 April 1764. In his description of 77-year-old Count Branicki, a descendent of the rulers of Bosnia and pretender to the Polish throne, Onís described him as 'Poland's most prominent personage' and, more importantly for Franco-Spanish interests: 'he is and always has been one of the most affectionate and loyal supporters of the House of Bourbon': AGS, E, leg. 6585, Onís to Grimaldi, Warsaw, 24 March 1764.

<sup>38</sup> AGS, E, leg. 6585, Charles III to Onís, Buen Retiro, 9 April 1764.

other'. The solution proposed by the Spanish representative was simply to dispense with all formalities:

"There is no law in force here, everyone is entitled to do as they please and, consequently, the person who recruited them can take them out without this formality. I think this is the best way to proceed because, on account of the chaos I mentioned, no one will object, at least there is no one in charge of this inspection. Even if the licence were granted by the King or the Republic (in which case it would be necessary to wait until the election or a Diet is held), it would be of no use if a private individual wished to object to it: because neither the king nor the Republic have any powers whatsoever, that is to say, they have no authority over individuals of consideration, who are the ones who might object".

Given the situation, Onís suggested that Madrid send Dzierżanowski himself or his commissioner to Poland to work on the ground, together with the Spanish representative 'according to the circumstances'. In any event, the diplomat was not overly optimistic about the levies, given the situation in Poland:

"The Kingdom of Poland is generally comprised of just two types of inhabitants, the nobility and the slaves, not counting the Jews, although they make up one-third of the nation, or the merchants or artisans who are to be found in the large cities because they are for the most part foreigners. There are many poor people among the nobility and, although they are employed in the vilest occupations, I do not believe they would want to enlist as simple soldiers for such a distant country [Spain]. None of the slaves can be taken without the permission of their owners, and they do not like parting with them because they are the mainstay of their estates; and if they are enlisted without their permission, aside from the difficulty this would present, there is the risk that they will demand that they be returned or will take them back by force at the first place they find them. As they cannot be Jews, that leaves only the artisans, who are few in number and for the most part Protestants; however, these difficulties, as I said before, only pertain to the one who undertook the obligation to recruit soldiers here. Perhaps at the end of the interregnum, when the private troops will naturally be restructured, some foreigners may be found, because where the nationals are concerned, it is

very likely that their owners will make them return to work on the land<sup>39</sup>".

Madrid followed the advice of its representative and it was agreed that Dzierżanowski or his proxy would travel to Warsaw and follow José de Onís' instructions<sup>40</sup>. However, the Spanish representative's worst fears were confirmed and the recruitment project was not carried out in the end.

The double proposal of the Viscount of Herreria in 1772 to bring six thousand Polish recruits and a group of Catholic settlers from Poland to the Tierra de Campos region in Castilla y León also failed<sup>41</sup>. The following year, a Polish second lieutenant serving in the Spanish regiment of Brabant, Adalberto Raczyński, offered to bring 2,500 recruits from Poland ('or from other nations in the north'), who would set sail for Spain from Danzig/Gdańsk. Raczyński signed the tender together with an old acquaintance of the Spanish court, Johann Kaspar von Thürriegel, the Bavarian colonel who was responsible for the repopulation of the Sierra Morena in 1767. Even though both men were convinced that their previous service to the crown would win them the contract, it also failed to materialise<sup>42</sup>. Also in 1773, a proposal put forward by a French officer in the Polish army named José Valcroissant to enlist four thousand Catholic Germans and Poles was also rejected<sup>43</sup>.

Four years after presenting his first proposal, Adalberto Raczyński made a second attempt, this time on his own. As was customary in these cases, he applied for a licence for a colonel, two

<sup>39</sup> AGS, E, leg. 6585, Onís to Grimaldi, Warsaw, 12 May 1764.

<sup>40</sup> AGS, E, leg. 6585, to José Onís, Buen Retiro, 18 June 1764.

<sup>41</sup> TARACHA, Cezary, "El proyecto de llevar colonos polacos a España en 1772" in BLANCO, Ana Isabel and EMINOWICZ, Teresa (eds.), *Europa del Centro y del Este y el Mundo Hispánico*, International Symposium of Hispanists, Kraków, 26-28 October 1995, Kraków, Abrys, 1996, pp. 47-57. From an aristocratic family and military background (he was already a captain of the Murcia infantry regiment at the tender age of four), Álvaro de Nava Osorio (1728-1788), 2nd Viscount of Herrería, also served as a diplomat in Sweden (1761), Russia (1763), the United Provinces (1771) and Naples (1780), among other destinations. DBE: <http://dbe.rah.es/> [26/11/19].

<sup>42</sup> AGS, GM, leg. 5233, tender specifications and conditions of recruitment, Madrid, 25 February 1773.

<sup>43</sup> AGS, GM, leg. 5233, tender specifications and conditions, San Ildefonso, 3 September 1773. The following year, however, licences were granted for the four captains and four lieutenants stipulated in the contract with Thürriegel: AGS, GM, leg. 2875, O'Reilly to Ricla, Madrid, 17 January 1774 and AGS, GM, leg. 2874, O'Reilly to Ricla, Madrid, 29 June and 9 July 1774.

captains, two lieutenants and two second lieutenants in order to perform the contract. However, his proposal to bring 2,500 Poles to Spain over a period of two years was rejected for a second time<sup>44</sup>. In 1784, another military officer, of French origin, Simon de La Rochette, a lieutenant in the Milanese infantry regiment in Spain, submitted a proposal for the annual recruitment of 500 troops after travelling through various European countries, including Poland<sup>45</sup>. His proposal was turned down, as was a second proposal submitted by La Rochette from Paris, which, he claimed, had the support of the Count of Aranda himself, who was the Spanish ambassador in France at the time<sup>46</sup>.

All these rejections may well come as a surprise to readers, when one considers how increasingly difficult it was becoming for the foreign regiments to fill their ranks in the 1770s. Indeed, in 1776, the Secretary of War admonished Lieutenant General Alejandro O'Reilly, Inspector-General of Infantry, and the Count of Aranda in Paris, who was still one of the leading authorities on foreign recruitment and levies, for the alarming drop in troops for the corps<sup>47</sup>. The Count of Ricla, Secretary of War, requested each of them to submit a report in order to select the best recruitment proposals they had received. Excluding the Swiss regiments, the Inspector-General of Infantry estimated that there was a shortage of 3,186 men in the army's nine foreign regiments at the time, and that around 1,400 men would need to be recruited each year to fill them. At the time, the Spanish had recruitment centres ('depots') in Liège (Wallonia) for the Royal Walloon Guards, and in Italy. However, 'if there are subjects that undertake to recruit men in Hamburg, Danzick or other places in Germany, or Albanians or Greeks, it would also be advisable to admit them under regular conditions,' wrote the Inspector<sup>48</sup>. However, this

<sup>44</sup> AGS, GM, leg. 5233, tender specifications and conditions, Madrid, 3 April 1777.

<sup>45</sup> AGS, GM, leg. 5238, tender specifications for the recruitment of 500 soldiers a year for the foreign regiments, Simon de La Rochette, San Ildefonso, 16 August 1784.

<sup>46</sup> AGS, GM, leg. 5238, new proposal from La Rochette, Paris, 18 March 1785. The report attached to his two proposals stated that: '[...] La Rochette is one of those young Frenchmen who never settles in one place, and devises schemes to make a quick fortune'. The Count of Aranda was in charge of the Spanish embassy in France from 1773 to 1787.

<sup>47</sup> Both O'Reilly and Aranda had participated in the drafting of the military regulations of 1768: *Ordenanzas de S.M. para el régimen, disciplina, subordinación, y servicio de sus ejércitos*, Antonio Marín, Madrid, 1768. The two were in favour of the recruitment of foreigners, albeit with nuances.

<sup>48</sup> AGS, GM, leg. 5234, O'Reilly to Ricla, El Puerto de Santa María, 21 June 1776.

is precisely where the first problem lay: the obstacles raised by Vienna and Berlin to taking men out of the Austrian Empire and Prussia, respectively, were further compounded by the absence of 'a German prince who is willing and able to sign a contract'<sup>49</sup>. In fact, while O'Reilly and Aranda agreed on the possibility of opening another recruitment centre in Germany—to which the Polish recruits could be posted—they abandoned the idea on account of the difficulty of having a direct, ongoing and reliable relationship with the German princes<sup>50</sup>. Within this general context, some private proposals, such as that of Officer Block, general of the Electorate of Saxony, to raise a German regiment, were rejected<sup>51</sup>. On the other hand, with O'Reilly and Aranda's approval, the proposal of Baron Kühlewem, a German national and a colonel in the service of France, to recruit two thousand Germans and Walloons, was accepted<sup>52</sup>.

The officers and recruits of the German Empire would occasionally include some Poles present in the Spanish monarchy's armies, as we saw in the case of Adalberto Raczyński, who was well connected to the Bavarian colonel Johann Kaspar von Thürriegel. However, no Spanish sources from that period give a consistent figure for the Poles or, at least, it is not easy to identify them. As we shall see further on, Spain had objective difficulties in recruiting Polish officers and soldiers on account of the international context and the internal situation in Poland.

First of all, from the start of the eighteenth century, there was a military escalation in Central Europe with the succession of at least three major wars: the Great Northern War (1700-1721),

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> AGS, GM, leg. 5234, O'Reilly to Ricla, on the proposal for a recruitment campaign in Germany by the Marquis of Beaudeau de Parabere, a colonel in the service of the Margraviate of Brandenburg, principality of the Holy Roman Empire, El Puerto de Santa María, 25 February 1777. Response from Aranda—whom Ricla had also consulted for his opinion—in the same file, Paris, 21 February 1777.

<sup>51</sup> AGS, GM, leg. 6592, José de Onís, encrypted, to Grimaldi, Dresden, 19 January 1776 and negative response of 12 February 1776.

<sup>52</sup> AGS, GM, leg. 5235, tender specifications and conditions, Madrid. 'I would be very pleased if he could do it'—stated Aranda—'because apart from the reinforcement we need to fill our foreign corps, I do not believe the king will receive a cheaper deal [eight doubloons per recruit], and the men are of very good quality': *idem*, Aranda, Paris, 25 April 1777; the inspector was of the same opinion, bearing in mind that 'recruitment is not easy on account of the many levies that the Austrians, the king of Prussia, and other princes take out of Germany for their armies': *idem*, O'Reilly to Ricla, El Puerto de Santa María, 14 March 1777. Contract awarded and signed by both parties: *idem*, Ricla and Baron Kühlewem, Aranjuez, 16 May 1777.

the War of the Polish Succession (1733-1738) and the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748)<sup>53</sup>. The outbreak of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) further intensified the militarisation of east central Europe<sup>54</sup>. The Treaty of Paris of 1763 sanctioned Prussia's entrance as a continental power on the international stage and, by the end of the decade, this territory was the primary destination for Polish levies, although recruitment was not yet as regular as in Ukraine<sup>55</sup>. Furthermore, Poland's descent into a period of instability following the Bar Confederation against Russia in 1768, and the three partitions of the country in 1772, 1793 and 1795 were not at all conducive to Spain's recruitment policy. From that point, the militarisation of the territory and competition for recruits was compounded by the need to obtain permits from the three powers involved in the partitions (Prussia, Austria and Russia).

Secondly, the numerous proposals put forward by military officers and adventurers motivated by personal interests —the awarding of military posts in exchange for levies— made recruitment more difficult in a territorial context that the Spanish had always regarded as 'insecure'. The 'obligations entered into with persons

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<sup>53</sup> The Great Northern War (1700-1721) pitted Sweden against its neighbours Denmark-Norway, which were united in a coalition with Russia, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Saxony. The war ended with Sweden's defeat and the entry of Russia and Prussia on the European scene (the latter joined the anti-Swedish alliance in 1715). The War of the Polish Succession (1733-1738) was a confrontation between Frederick August II, Elector of Saxony and future King Augustus III of Poland (1734-1763), supported by Russia, the Holy Roman Empire, Austria, Prussia and Saxony, against Stanislaus I Leszczyński, king of Poland-Lithuania (1704-1709 and 1733-1734), backed by the Bourbons of France and Spain. Finally, the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) again pitted (as in the War of the Spanish Succession, 1702-1714) England and the Austrian Empire against France and Spain, which were allies since the second *Pacte de Famille* in 1743. For Spain, the main theatre of war in the conflict was Italy, from 1742 to late 1746. Although Queen Elisabeth Farnese was unable to recover the rich region of Lombardy, which remained under Austrian rule, the conflict did secure the throne of Naples and Sicily for her son Charles of Bourbon and, with him, Spanish interests in southern Italy. In Central Europe, this war elevated Frederick II of Prussia to the status of military genius and led to the loss of the historical region of Silesia by Austria.

<sup>54</sup> This time, the conflict pitted a coalition of France, Austria, Russia, Sweden and Poland against a coalition of England and Prussia. Spain remained neutral until the third *Pacte de Famille* with France, signed in 1761. It was at this time, as we saw previously, that the Count of Aranda left Warsaw to lead the attack against Portugal in 1762.

<sup>55</sup> AGS, GM, leg. 6590, Onís to Grimaldi, Dresden, 25 December 1768, reports of the recruitment of between three and four thousand men in Poland for the Prussian armies, the result of irregular incursions by Prussian patrols on Polish territory.

of consideration in foreign countries' —which was the value proposition Raczyński and Thürriegel had used to differentiate their proposal— was precisely why Madrid was not convinced. Furthermore, the Polish contractors occasionally present in Madrid were in competition with officers and entrepreneurs from other nations that were well connected in the court. The Flemish, Italian and Irish aristocracy commanding the non-mainland troops of Philip V's army had sworn allegiance to the new Bourbon dynasty. This allowed the creation of national regiments which, throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, managed to secure a steady flow of recruits, but was still insufficient for the Bourbon army. Although the difficulty of recruiting soldiers for foreign regiments became more acute in the second half of the century, the 'nations' managed to retain their senior staff and power of influence<sup>56</sup>. It was very difficult for Polish adventurers such as Dzierżanowski and Polish military officers in Spanish armies such as Raczyński to break into the foreign recruits market.

Thirdly, the Spanish government could not depend on the Polish monarch as a valid interlocutor because his powers were severely curtailed by the *szlachta*, the powerful noble class of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Rustant had already pointed out in his work *Turbaciones de Polonia* (1768) that the Poles were highly dependent on the local nobility and that their mobility outside the territory was very limited<sup>57</sup>. In the introduction to the Polish context of *Memorias del caballero Lovzinski* (1799), the jurist and translator of the book Benito Redondo de Toledo reminded Spanish readers of the power of the Polish nobility: 'They had guards, they kept troops and sometimes fortified their castles against the states' general policy'<sup>58</sup>. In contrast with the pre-eminent role of the monarch and their army in the construction of the great states of the modern period, such as Spain, France and Great Britain, the Polish king did not even have a permanent army at this point in the eighteenth century:

<sup>56</sup> ANDÚJAR, Francisco, "Las naciones en el ejército de los Borbones" in GONZÁLEZ, David (ed.), *Extranjeros y enemigos en Iberoamérica: la visión del otro. Del Imperio español a la Guerra de la Independencia*, Madrid, Sílex, 2010, pp. 137-154.

<sup>57</sup> RUSTANT, Joseph Vicente, *Historia de las turbaciones de Polonia*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 75.

<sup>58</sup> [LOVZINSKI], *Memorias del caballero Lovzinski: Historia de la Polonia hasta su desmembramiento. Obra traducida libremente del francés, é ilustrada por el licenciado Don Benito Redondo de Toledo, abogado de los Reales Consejos*, Madrid, Imprenta de Villalpando, 1799, p. XXXV.

"[The nobility] could compose an army of one hundred thousand men, which was called *Postepolite*, and was hard to move and even harder to manage: the difficulty of provisions and fodder meant that it was impossible for it to camp for prolonged periods: it lacked discipline and experience; and the love of freedom that motivated it made it more inclined to support the king than foreign powers: this army was comprised almost entirely of noblemen; all cavalymen, and they accounted for three-quarters of Poland's entire army, the remaining quarter was made up of Hungarian infantry troops that were well-dressed and well-paid but not very warlike<sup>59</sup>".

José de Onís, on the occasion of the election of the new monarch Stanisław II at the general Diet, has left us one of the best chronicles on the Polish nobility's exhibition of military might. It is worth concluding this section with his impressions of the streets of Warsaw on those days:

"It is estimated that 20,000 men of the regular troops can be found in this city today. I believe it is half that figure, but the number of noblemen is immense. One can scarcely walk in the streets because, to flaunt their might, each one is accompanied by their friends, and even by their troops. *Stólnik* Poniatowski<sup>60</sup> never leaves home with fewer than three or four hundred horses, and the other nobles in proportion to their status. If three or four of the main ones get together, which often happens, they form a never-ending entourage. Almost all travel on horseback, and that is how they pass the entire day because, as I have said, they only do it to show off their armies to their foes. All the soldiers, and even the noblemen, are fully armed, so it looks more like a battlefield than a city. If the Confederation begins here, as has been determined, there will be considerable confusion, because the endless variety of suits and uniforms means they will not be able to tell one another apart. One simple nobleman

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<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. XXXVII-XXXVIII. Jean-Jacques Rousseau also alluded to the Poles' lack of military discipline in *Proyecto de Constitución para Córcega. Consideraciones sobre el Gobierno de Polonia y su proyecto de reforma* (orig. 1771, ed. HERMOSA ANDÚJAR, Antonio, Madrid, Tecnos, 1988).

<sup>60</sup> With the support of Catherine II of Russia, Stanisław II Poniatowski was elected King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania in September 1764. Amidst serious internal and external difficulties (it was during his reign that the three partitions of Poland were effected), Stanisław II remained on the throne until 1795, making him Poland's last king as an independent nation.

with just twenty men likes to dress some as janissaries, some as Tartars, others as Turks, Haydamaques, Alans and even as fantastical characters, so that it looks more like a masquerade than an army of soldiers<sup>61</sup>”.

## Conclusions

The publication of *Memorias del caballero Lovzinski* (1799) in Madrid at the end of the eighteenth century sparked Spaniards' interest somewhat in Poland's fate. The book fulfilled all the conditions for literary use in the West: a Polish king amid warring nobility factions, a fascinating violence and a protagonist —the nobleman Lovzinski— trapped between this hard political reality and his passion for a beautiful lady. The addition of exotic elements of the Polish landscape —such as Tartar bandits on the verge of slaying Lovzinski and his servant Boleslao when they left Warsaw in search of the maiden— completed the romantic setting and the difficult dilemma facing the protagonist: whether to support his best friend in the Diet and, with it, a Polish monarch sympathetic to Russia or, alternatively, 'betray his homeland,' thereby losing his betrothed Lodoiska and the favour of his future father-in-law, Lapauski, a fierce patriot: 'What a terrible conflict of passions vied at once for my troubled spirit!' lamented the young nobleman<sup>62</sup>. After being reunited with his betrothed, Lovzinski joined his father-in-law's army to fight for Poland's independence against the Russian forces occupying the territory. After a bitter war that lasted eight years and the capture of his own daughter, Lovzinski faced disillusionment at the number of his enemies and the despondency of many of his countrymen. In the end, it was the blow struck by his father-in-law, i.e. the capture of the Polish king in Warsaw to bring him to the 'patriots' camp, that spurred Lovzinski to action. The mission failed, however, and Lovzinski, his wife and his father-in-law had to escape through the woods, pursued by the Russians. At one point in the adventure, his father-in-law Lapauski speaks to Lovzinski about

<sup>61</sup> AGS, GM, leg. 6585, Onís to Grimaldi, Warsaw, 5 May 1764.

<sup>62</sup> [LOVZINSKI], *Memorias del caballero Lovzinski*, op. cit., p. 45. Lodoiska was taken by her father to the castle of the nobleman Dourlinski who, instead of protecting her, held her captive and tried to sexually abuse her. Lovzinski was imprisoned in the same castle after his encounter with the Tartars. However, it was the Tartars who attacked the castle and set it on fire, at which point Lovzinski seized the opportunity to save his beloved from the flames at the last minute.

the difference between his experience in battle and the new art of war:

"I assure you [Lovzinski], that in such fortunate times as those, our noble intentions would have been recognised. In those days, philosophy served to comfort and make men happy; but since then, it has been forced to enlighten them on ways to destroy themselves [...] Armies nowadays are great machines whose components move in unison: a unique and terrible force which, dispensing fate in danger, equates the strong and the weak, and the cowardly and the brave<sup>63</sup>".

Reading these lines, the Spanish reader might draw a parallel between Lapauski and Don Quixote, both confronted with near-invincible armies, even though the machines of the Spanish *hidalgo* were windmills. The two formed part of a past where the knight and his horse were a whole, an animal whose importance in Poland has been underscored in these pages. Although Lapauski was saner than Don Quixote, he is nevertheless conveyed in the book as a courageous, yet reckless character after dragging the knight Lovzinski and his family into a hopeless battle against the overwhelming power of the new armies of modern Europe<sup>64</sup>. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the Spanish translation is not the knight Lovzinski's contradictions in the face of a harsh and cruel reality, which, to a point, also calls to mind the most famous military poet of the Enlightenment, José Cadalso<sup>65</sup>. What strikes us is the lesson the Spanish translator wishes to convey to his readers: while the characters in the book blame foreign powers for Poland's misfortunes<sup>66</sup>, the Spanish translator confesses in his dedication that he composed the translation 'to demonstrate the disasters that can befall an elective monarchical

<sup>63</sup> [LOVZINSKI], *Memorias del caballero Lovzinski*, pp. 237-238.

<sup>64</sup> After managing to escape from their pursuers, Lapauski suggested to his son-in-law that they travel to Istanbul to offer their services to the Turkish ruler and persuade him to wage a war against Russia. After receiving the news that Poland had been partitioned, in 1774, the small party set sail for Spain with the intention of travelling from there to the Havana and then on to Philadelphia. Lapauski and Lovzinski eventually joined the United States army and their struggle for independence.

<sup>65</sup> José Cadalso y Vázquez (Cádiz, 1741-Gibraltar, 1782) died tragically in the Siege of Gibraltar between 1779 and 1783. He was the author of *Los eruditos a la violeta* (1781), *Noches lúgubres* (1789) and *Cartas marruecas* (1789), among other works.

<sup>66</sup> 'The Kingdom of Poland, the most tyrannically governed of all monarchies, owes these misfortunes to the sinister intentions of Russia, and to the other two powers surrounding it,' said Lapauski to Lovzinski when he arrived to Dourlinski's castle to rescue his daughter: [LOVZINSKI], *Memorias del caballero Lovzinski*, op. cit., p. 144.

government' that is incapable of moving with the times, also in the military field<sup>67</sup>.

The reception of the Polish military world in eighteenth-century Spain that we sought to convey on these pages must be viewed in this context. The Spanish ambassadors' impression of Poland was that of a territorial giant with feet of clay<sup>68</sup>. Spanish documents make numerous references to the geographical distance between Spain and Poland, the pronounced differences between the two countries' political systems and, lastly, Poland's extraordinary ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity. These conditions largely explain why, despite the Poles' good reputation as soldiers and meeting —a priori— the mandatory requirement of Catholicism for acceptance in the Spanish armies, recruitment opportunities in Poland were not sufficiently explored.

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<sup>67</sup> 'To demonstrate how harmful this right is is what motivated me to share the attached Memoirs with the press, as they may be put to useful purposes': [LOVZINSKI], *Memorias del caballero Lovzinski*, op. cit., pp. XIII-XIV. Redondo de Toledo translates the powerful Polish nobility as 'Grandees' in an attempt to equate them with the highest level of the nobility in Spain so that Spanish readers would comprehend the extent of the power of the Polish nobility.

<sup>68</sup> 'The Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania together, despite their size and fertility, are hardly worth the sum of six hundred thousand pesos today': AGS, E, leg. 6585, Onís to Wall, Warsaw, 12 October 1763.



## Chapter three

### Polish presence in the Spanish Army. 19<sup>th</sup> century

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#### Abstract

At the final of the 18th century, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, a state formed in 1569 by the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, after almost two centuries of personal unions, disappeared from the map of Europe swallowed up by imperialist thirsts of its three powerful neighbours: Russia, Prussia, and Austria. From then Poles did not stop fighting for recovery of the sovereignty of their homeland. To have a possibility to fulfil this noble objective depended on defeat of partitioning countries and other absolutist monarchies, their allies, as it was the case of Spain. In spite of that at the beginning of the 19th century we count with examples of Poles in the Regiments of Infantry Royal Guards and of Walloon Guards, a great influx of militarymen of that nationality appeared in our country in two phases: the first one, composing a part of Napoleonic troops, and the second, as soldiers of the French Foreign Legion. In both cases they fought against the Ancien Régime represented by figures of Ferdinand VII and pretender to the throne, Infante Carlos de Borbón. In spite of their efforts, Poles did not achieved their independence during the 19th century. Without a homeland,

where to come back, some of these émigrés found a possibility to continue their military careers in the Spanish Army.

### **Keywords**

Spanish War of Independence (Peninsular War), French Foreign Legion, Polish Lancers Regiment, First Carlist War, Polish exile, Spain, Poland, Spanish Army

## Introduction

During the 19th century Poland continued to disappear from the map of Europe, partitioned by the same three absolutist and imperialist powers that liquidated its existence as a state between 1772, 1793 and 1795: Russia, Prussia and Austria. The military and political effort of the Poles to regain their independence and control of their traditional historical borders began just after the third partition, and continued until their objective was achieved after the end of the First World War<sup>1</sup>.

In Spain the 19th century was also a very turbulent period. It began with a war against the French invader and, afterwards, successive confrontations, especially between absolutists and liberals, led to civil wars, military interventions and revolts. It was this very desire to regain the independence of their homeland by fighting wherever they went, and the political instability in Spain, that led to the presence of Polish military in the Iberian Peninsula almost continuously throughout the century. The Spanish conflicts gave the Poles the opportunity to fight against an absolutist regime and partner of the three dividing powers. It was believed that only with the defeat of the Old Regime could the Polish Republic rise from the ashes<sup>2</sup>.

In this article, we provide a detailed account of the Polish military presence in the Spanish Army, focusing mainly on two of the great wars of the century which included the presence of foreign units: the Spanish War of Independence (1808-1814) and the First Carlist War (1833-1840). In the first section, we analyse the Polish soldiers of the Royal Infantry Guard Regiment and the Walloon Guard Regiment who were serving in the Spanish Army before the start of the War of Independence and who fought in it. In the second, we present those who, although they came as part of the *Grande Armée*, ended up fighting alongside the Spanish. In the third, we examine the figure of Tadeusz Sulikowski, a Lieutenant who graduated from the 7th Infantry Regiment of the Duchy of Warsaw and who finished his military career as a Colonel in the Spanish Army. The fourth section deals with the Polish

<sup>1</sup> Further information in: KIENIEWICZ, Jan, *Historia de Polonia*, Maria Mizerska (trad.), Fondo de Cultura Económica, Mexico, 2001, pp. 92-162; LUKOWSKI, Jerzy y ZAWADZKI, Hubert, *Historia de Polonia*, José Miguel Parra Ortiz (trad.), Cambridge University Press, Madrid, 2002, pp. 127-216.

<sup>2</sup> [NIEGOLEWSKI, Andrzej], *Somo-Sierra przez Andrzeja Niegolowskiego*, Kamieński, Poznań, 1854, pp. 39-40.

presence in the First Carlist War focusing especially on the Polish Lancers Regiment. In the final section, we outline the destinies of the soldiers belonging to that extinct regiment who from 1839 stayed on to serve in the Spanish Army and raise their families in Spain. Here we have included references to their descendants and other individuals who visited the Iberian Peninsula and were linked to the Spanish world of weaponry.

### **Poles in the Royal Infantry Guard Regiment and the Walloon Guard Regiment. 1800-1814**

Largely due to a scarcity of sources, we have been able to find traces of a very limited number of Poles who were part of these two units.

In 1704, the Troops of the Casa Real, to which the first unit belonged, were reorganised by Philip V, following the French model, into four companies of Corps Guards, two regiments of Royal Infantry Guards and a company of Royal Halberdier Guards. We have identified a Pole in the 2nd Regiment of Royal Infantry Guards; he was 2nd Lieutenant "Alexander Butkiewitz" (Aleksander Butkiewicz)<sup>3</sup>. Born in the Polish town of "Seherechef" around 1767, he joined this regiment as a soldier in July 1795, holding the ranks of 2nd Corporal (1801), 1st Corporal (1804), 2nd Sergeant (1809), 1st Sergeant (1812) and 2nd Lieutenant (1816). Although the function of this regiment was to stand guard outside the Royal Palace, Butkiewicz participated in the 1801 Portuguese campaign and the Spanish War of Independence. In the latter, he was taken prisoner in Barcelona in November 1808. He managed to escape and again present himself in battle, but was again taken prisoner in Margalef in April 1810. Held in custody in France, he returned to Spain in 1814. He was married to Magdalena Durán and we do not know if they had any descendants. The reasons that motivated him to serve so far away from his home are not recorded in his exp., but his entry into the Royal Guard coincides with the final dismemberment of his homeland. Curiously, this document includes some verses in his own handwriting dedicated to the Prince of Peace, probably from the time of the so-called "War of the Oranges", when Manuel Godoy, in

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<sup>3</sup> The names, surnames and places that appear between quotation marks (" ") respect the wording of the original document. The Spaniards used to write down these proper names or place names by ear, so that, on many occasions, their identification has been impossible.

command of a Spanish army, successively occupied a dozen and a half Portuguese towns.

We have further examples of the second unit. These are the Poles who served in the Walloon Guard Regiment<sup>4</sup>. This unit, also created by Philip V according to the Royal Ordinance of 1702, but implemented the following year, remained active until 1820, when it became part of the Spanish Guard Regiment. As specified in the 1773 Ordinances, the Walloons were to be made up of soldiers from the Netherlands. However, Charles III, in accordance with the advice of his predecessors, stated: *if on any occasion these [Walloons] should fail to complete [the Regiment], I shall be present to dispense this grace as I see fit*<sup>5</sup>. Either because of the losses incurred during the armed conflicts sustained by Spain throughout the 18th century, or because of the significant loss of those Flemish territories by the Spanish Monarchy in 1713, it became increasingly difficult to find the necessary Walloon young men to provide the necessary replacements. Therefore, and due to that particular "royal grace" contained in the ordinance, the way was open to accept the recruitment of other nationalities. This was probably the path chosen by the Polish volunteers.

Unfortunately, the military files of the Walloon guards have not been kept. In the index of personal files of the General Military Archive of Segovia, there is a certain "MISKI, Luis. Royal Walloon Guards, 1798"<sup>6</sup> who may well have been of Polish nationality but,

<sup>4</sup> A complete overview of this regiment in: [GUILLAUME, Henri-Louis-Gustave], *Histoire des Gardes Wallones au service d'Espagne; par le colonel Guillaume, Directeur du personnel au Ministère de la Guerre, officier de l'ordre de Léopold de Belgique, chevalier des ordres de Léopold d'Autriche, de Dannebrog de Danemarck, commandeur de l'ordre de Charles III d'Espagne, etc., etc.*, F. Parent Éditeur, Bruselas, 1858; SOTTO MONTES, Joaquín de, "La Guardia Valona en España", *Revista de Historia Militar*, 28 (1970), pp. 67-105.

<sup>5</sup> *Ordenanzas de S. M. para el régimen, gobierno, servicio, y disciplina de los Regimientos de Guardias de Infantería Española, y Valona, en la Corte, en Guarnición, Campaña, y Quartel; y tambien para los sueldos, gratificación, franquicia, hospitalidad, vestuario, y Armamento de los mismos Cuerpos: divididas en Quatro Tratados...*, Imprenta de Pedro Marín, Madrid, 1773, pp. 2-3. We respect the original spellings.

<sup>6</sup> *General Military Archive of Segovia. Índice de expedientes personales. Compuesto por la comisión del mismo nombre. Presidida por el Coronel D. Federico Heredero y Roura; asesorado por el Cronista Rey de Armas, D. Vicente de Cadenas y Vicent, Delegado del Instituto Salazar y Castro e integrada por el Teniente Coronel D. José de Lucena y Ladrón de Guevara, Representante del Instituto Internacional de Genealogía y Heráldica, y D. Francisco de Cadenas y Allende, Abogado y Secretario de la Revista Hidalguía. Con prólogo, introducción y presentación a la obra por el Marqués de Desio, académico de la Historia Presidente del Instituto Salazar y Castro; D. Federico Here-*

despite this index note, the exp. is not contained in the archive. This same institution records the marriage application of "Juan José Krakowski" (probably Krakowiecki or Krakowski), a Walloon Infantry Lieutenant who was garrisoned in the town square of Puerto Rico, and in 1783 wished to marry Martina Ramos Colón. "Krakowski" claimed to have been stationed in that part of the Caribbean for seven years<sup>7</sup>.

Lack of documentation has prevented us from finding out about the participation of the Poles in the Walloon Guards and – what would have been even more interesting – from following their military curriculum and their war activities in the service of Spanish interests. Despite this drawback, we can imagine the personal qualities of the new cadets thanks to the contents of the articles contained in the above-mentioned ordinances. Thus, for example, we know that these candidates were to be "subjects of illustrious birth, and recommendable circumstances"<sup>8</sup>. And also how, according to the recruitment conditions, they had to be people:

"willing, without resorting to violence or deception, to join up, not less than seventeen years old, nor more than forty, of unmarried status, their Religion R[oman] C[atholic] A[postolic], their height, five feet and three inches, measured barefoot, with a good personal disposition, sturdiness, and agility to resist the fatigue of firearms, who are free from the usual accidents, with no unseemly vice, or bad note in their habits, nor of infamous extraction, such as mulatto, gypsy, executioner, town crier, butcher, etc., nor punished or sentenced by Justice, even if it was a sentence to arms"<sup>9</sup>.

The confirmation of Poles in the Walloon Guards and their participation in the War of Independence is supported by other sources. The first reference is found in the sources relating to the Madrid uprising of May 2: "On the Cuesta de Santo Domingo, the Pole Lorenzo Leleka (...) pointed his rifle at a group of Frenchmen trying to climb from the Theatre of los Caños del Peral"<sup>10</sup>. Al-

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dero y Roura y D. Vicente de Cadenas y Vicent, *respectivamente*, t. 6, Madrid, 1959, p. 105.

<sup>7</sup> General Military Archive of Segovia (hereafter: GMAS). Personal, exp. C-3716.

<sup>8</sup> *Ordenanzas de S. M.*, p. 84.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 104-105.

<sup>10</sup> GARCÍA FUERTES, Arsenio, *Dos de Mayo de 1808. El grito de una nación*, Inédita Ediciones, Madrid, 2007, p. 362.

though the exact position of the Polish soldier is taken from the book by the researcher Arsenio García Fuertes, who does not present the source of his information, the detail concerning the soldier Leleka is unmistakeably true. In his classic book concerning that famous day, the historian Juan Pérez de Guzmán y Gallo published an alphabetical biographical catalogue of the dead and wounded on May 2<sup>nd</sup> in Madrid in which, according to the military parish register, the death was recorded on May 11 in the General Hospital of: "*LORENZO LELEKA, twenty-seven years of age, born in Keto (Poland), soldier of the Royal Walloon Guards, 3rd Battalion, 5th Company*"<sup>11</sup>. He probably died as a result of his injuries.

Others of the defining moments of the Spanish War of Independence were the Sieges of Zaragoza in 1808-1809. Almost at the beginning of the first siege, on June 21, 1808, the chronicler Faustino Casamayor stated that on that day "*some 100 Poles who had come from Barcelona*" entered the capital of the Ebro<sup>12</sup> to fight alongside the Spaniards against the Napoleonic empires. The Poles to whom Casamayor refers are those of the company of grenadiers from the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Walloon Guards<sup>13</sup>. If the Aragonese chronicler was right and this was not

<sup>11</sup> [PÉREZ DE GUZMÁN Y GALLO, Juan], *El Dos de Mayo de 1808 en Madrid. Relación histórica documentada mandada publicar por orden del Excmo. Señor Conde de Peñalver Alcalde Presidente de su Excmo. Ayuntamiento y por acuerdo de la Comisión Organizadora del Primer Centenario de su gloriosa efeméride y escrita por don Juan Pérez de Guzmán y Gallo de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Establecimiento Tipográfico «Sucesores de Rivadeneyra», Madrid, 1908, p. 680.

<sup>12</sup> CASAMAYOR, Faustino, *Años políticos e históricos de las cosas más particulares ocurridas en la Imperial, Augusta y Siempre Heroica Ciudad de Zaragoza 1808-1809*, Institución «Fernando el Católico», Pedro Rújula (ed.), t. 3, Zaragoza, 2008, p. 67.

<sup>13</sup> At the beginning of the War of Independence, the three battalions of the Walloon Guards Regiment were divided between Madrid (1st), Barcelona (2nd) and Portugal (3rd). In these destinations each battalion suffered a different fate: the company of grenadiers from the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion accompanied Fernando VII to Vitoria, staying with the army of General Gregorio García de la Cuesta. The rest of the battalion remained in their barracks in Madrid with the order not to intervene either for or against the insurgents. However, many guards deserted and some marched towards Zaragoza. The 2nd, betrayed by the French in the citadel of Barcelona, lost many of its soldiers who were slaughtered while others were taken prisoner, although a number managed to escape. Thus, part of them went to Tarragona, headquarters of the Spanish Army, and later to Tortosa to join the 3rd Battalion of Spanish Royal Guards, while the company of grenadiers went to Aragon. The 3rd Regiment was in Portugal, from where it joined the Army of Andalusia of Francisco Javier Castaños to fight in the battle of Bailén. See: GUIRAO LARRAÑAGA, Ramón, *Tres regimientos emblemáticos de los Sitios de Zaragoza*:

an exaggeration, then we are dealing with a very relevant number of individuals whose traces are, by contrast, very scarce.

We know little about the actions of these Walloon guards during the first siege of Zaragoza but, from the sources we have, these men were worthy of distinctions and recognition. The Walloon Guard Captain Luis de Garro presented the Captain General of Zaragoza, José de Palafox y Melci, with a report dated August 8, 1808 on the attacks of July 12 and 23 and August 4 in which the company of grenadiers mentioned in the previous paragraph took part. This list includes some Slavic names which, in our opinion, could well be Polish. The surnames have traditional errors in their transcription, making them difficult to identify. They are Lance Corporal Matias "Salusech" and the soldiers: Alexander "Gancosgui", Stefan "Lusiusqui", Alexander "Witovich" and Matias "Paulosquy"<sup>14</sup>. In Captain Garro's opinion, all these men deserved to be rewarded for their courage in the battle<sup>15</sup>.

In another list dated August 16, which details the "Zaragoza Shield Award and Distinctions", once again we find surnames that appear suspiciously Polish, although there is still a problem with their identification. Among these men were Sergeants Tomás "Yosky" and José "Vandezlik"; Corporals Teodoro "Socosqui", Matías "Saluchek", Santiago "Nosanovich" and Miguel "Cosequi"; the soldiers: Matias Maranchak, Antonio Soencosk and Andrés Boscoiqui; volunteer Sergeants José Musqui, Esteban Voniki, Domingo Banyzky, Jacob Calalisqui, Jacob Romanoski and Juan Storaki; volunteer Corporals Juan Draskosy and Nicolás Suyk<sup>16</sup>.

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*Extremadura, Guardias Wallonas y Guardias Españolas*, Editorial Comuniter, Zaragoza, 2005, p. 42.

<sup>14</sup> The possible variants of these surnames are respectively: 1) Zajączek, Załuski, Sałuch, Saluch, Załudzki; 2) Gankowski; 3) Lusiński; 4) Witowicz, Wójtowicz; 5) Pawłowski. See: GONZÁLEZ CAIZÁN, Cristina, *Por Napoleón en España. Los polacos en los Sitios de Zaragoza (1808-1809)*, Foro para el Estudio de Historia Militar de España, Madrid, 2017, p. 222.

<sup>15</sup> [ALCAIDE IBIECA, Agustín], *Suplemento a la Historia de los dos sitios que pusieron a Zaragoza en los años 1808 y 1809 las tropas de Napoleón. Por el cronista Don Agustín Alcaide Ibieca, Doctor en ambos derechos, y Maestro en Artes, Abogado del ilustre Colegio de esta Corte, Socio de la Matritense, y de mérito literario de la Aragonesa, Académico de honor de las nobles y bellas artes de san Fernando y de san Luis, individuo de la de la Historia, y condecorado con la cruz de distinción concedida á los defensores de ambos sitios*, Impr. de D. M. de Burgos, Madrid, 1831, pp. 65-66.

<sup>16</sup> The following are the possible variants of these surnames in Polish: 1) Josk, Josek, Josko, Joński; 2) Wandzik, Wandzelis, Wandzel, Wandzilak; 3) Sokowski; 4) Zajączek, Załuski, Sałuch, Saluch, Załudzki; 5) Nosalewicz, Nosewicz; 6) Kosecki; 7) Barańczak; 8) Senkowski; 9) Boskowie, Boskowicz; 10) Mucki, Muske; 11) Wonicki; 12) Banicki;

During the second siege (December 21, 1808-February 21, 1809) our sources do not mention Poles in the Walloon guards. Nor have we found any more examples during the following years of the conflict.

### Poles in the Spanish Army during the Spanish War of Independence (1808-1814)

Approximately 20,000 Poles arrived in Spain as part of the *Grande Armée*. They fought in our ranks from the beginning of the War of Independence until 1812, when Napoleon Bonaparte decided to withdraw them and send them to a new front. The attack on Russia was already planned and the French Emperor was going to a large proportion of all the troops he could muster. The Poles fought all over the peninsula divided into several units: a regiment of *chevau-légers*, four infantry regiments of the Vistula Legion, a regiment of Vistula Lancers and three infantry regiments of the Duchy of Warsaw. The first three units were composed mainly of volunteers, some with a lot of war experience, such as the Vistula infantry and lancers, and paid by the French; while the last of these formations depended on the Duchy of Warsaw, that satellite state created by Napoleon in 1807 and the germ of what would once again become Poland if the "great Corsican" won the war in Europe. These men had been recruited under general conscription and were therefore the least experienced in the handling of weapons<sup>17</sup>.

Therefore, these men arrived in Spain as invaders. Their entry into the Spanish Army was possible in one of two ways: either by deserting their own army or by being discharged. The first option was the one chosen by all the protagonists of this section. First of all, we have a group of four Poles who joined the Walloon Guard Regiment and fought in the first siege of Zaragoza. Captain Garro, in an original document dated November 13, 1808 in Zaragoza, gave an account of the deserters in "*the 1st Battalion of the Royal Walloon Guards of Ferdinand VII*". This list specifies the Polish origin of four of them: Nicolas "Melcica"; John

13) Kalasiński, Kalaciński; 14) Romanowski; 15) Storch, Storch; 16) Draszkowski; 17) Sumyk. See: GONZÁLEZ CAIZÁN, Cristina, *Por Napoleón en España*, pp. 222-223. See the list in: [ALCAIDE IBIECA, A.], *Suplemento*, pp. 30-33.

<sup>17</sup> On the participation of Poles in the Spanish War of Independence, see: GONZÁLEZ CAIZÁN, Cristina, *Por Napoleón en España*.

"Azdilan"; Josef "Gaisque" and John "Trafino".<sup>18</sup> We do not know the unit from which these four men came or their ultimate professional or personal fate.

Secondly, and thanks to the documentation housed in the National Historical Archive, we know the case of "Josef Corbi", a Captain and Aide Major of the Imperial Guard Light Cavalry Regiment. This officer joined the 7th Army Regiment as a Captain on May 31, 1812 and later served in the Santiago Regiment. He had asked to join the cavalry but was refused, so he remained in the infantry<sup>19</sup>. We do not know if he deserted or graduated. His unit had left Spain on February 14, 1812 and we do not know the reasons for their decision.

Thirdly, we have been more fortunate with four other deserters whose exps. have been kept in the General Military Archive of Segovia. They are Captains "Antonio Kosiski" and "Pedro Félix Polskouski", Sergeant "José Sumiski" and Aide Major "Carlos Moriski". Although inadequate in terms of allowing us to draw reliable conclusions on the number of Polish fugitives who switched over to the Spanish Army during the War of Independence, these individual cases may serve as an example of the causes and procedures these men followed in abandoning their respective national flags and turning over to those of the enemy. They almost never carried out such a feat alone, but rather in the company of their comrades-in-arms, of whom little or no documentary evidence has been left; if anything, on some occasions, disfigured names. In this regard we must again underline the fact that the scarcity and dispersion of sources limits our perception of the issue.

The *modus operandi* of each of the four military men that we present below has its own specific peculiarities. Nevertheless, they all show some virtually common features: a range of diverse reasons for their desertion, their relationship with Spanish women, and their subsequent desire to return home.

In chronological order, we begin our story with Captain "Antonio Kosiski" (in Polish: Antoni Kosiński)<sup>20</sup>. This officer crossed over

<sup>18</sup> The possible variants of these surnames are: 1) Mielczyk, Mielcuch; 2) unknown; 3) Gajski, Gaiński, Gaiski; 4) Trafidło, Trafimow, Trafny. The document in: Zaragoza Municipal Archive. Archivo of General Palafox, sig. 6-2/164 bis-219. See also: GONZÁLEZ CAIZÁN, C., *Por Napoleón en España*, p. 223.

<sup>19</sup> National Historical Archive, Madrid (hereafter: NHA). Diversos-Colecciones, leg. 100, exp. 29.

<sup>20</sup> GMAS. Personal, exp. C-3619.

to the Spanish flag almost at the outset of the battle. His record does not show the precise moment or the regiment he served in earlier, but on August 22, 1809 he had already been appointed as a graduate Captain of the Irish Infantry Regiment. If he decided to change sides it was because, according to his own account, he was convinced by the declarations that the Spaniards had made to his camp urging soldiers to desert. We do not have the text that Kosiński read, but we do have the text of the other announcement and more or less all of them came to the same conclusion:

"Germans, Poles, Dutch, Italians, Swiss from the French army: (...) If you continue fighting under their ensigns you will seem as abominable as the French who brought you to fight against the Spanish who were and are your friends. We Spaniards have ample money with which to reward you, and the French give you nothing but beatings and provide you with nothing but chores and hazards. Thousands of you have already joined our armies and have found a friendly welcome and the reward of your support for our cause. Do not stop then, do the same, and Spain will give 200 reales to each soldier who switches to our ensign; if he passes with a rifle, 300; a cavalryman will also be paid the price of his horse; he who does not want to take part in our troops will be sent to his country or to the one he chooses for his residence. This reward will be paid to you at the moment you present yourself to the Spanish commanders or authorities in charge of that location, obtaining it from whichever fund is available, even if it is the most respected<sup>21</sup>".

Although the French minimised the effect of such appeals, the truth is that these exhortations played their part in the conflict<sup>22</sup>. It is worth mentioning that Kosiński himself transferred along with forty-four other men (whose nationalities are not specified) to the ranks of the famous guerrilla Juan Díaz Porlier, alias "el Marquesito". In any case, this Polish Captain's combative enthusiasm did not last long, as he had been imprisoned on the island of León in the province of Cádiz since January 1812, accused of "*pretending to be ill in order not to fight the enemy*". In May 1813 he was still in prison demanding a pardon to be returned to his homeland and continued to insist on his innocence. In the

<sup>21</sup> NHA. State, leg. 13.

<sup>22</sup> See GONZÁLEZ CAIZÁN, C., *Por Napoleón en España*, pp. 343-345.

end, it would appear that this pardon was granted because he was released. We have been unable to find out more about his wanderings, due to a lack of sources.

We have more biographical data on the second of our protagonists, "Joseph Sumiski" (Józef Sumiński)<sup>23</sup>. At the end of May 1811, this 1st sergeant of the 4th Infantry Regiment of the Duchy of Warsaw <sup>24</sup> expressed his desire to switch to the Spanish flag. In his presentation he claimed that from the beginning of the war this had been his desire "*knowing how unjust*" the war was and so he had set out to "*abandon the flags of the tyrant [i.e. Napoleon]*". He also said that "*having entered Malaga he was billeted in a house in which he was appreciated by the ladies for his good behaviour and honesty*". However, when he was about to marry one of them, named Luisa Torner (or Former), having already obtained "*the corresponding licence from his colonel and the bride's aunt*", the order came "*prohibiting those who were in the service of the emperor from marrying Spanish women because afterwards they would all transfer*". The statement is curious because such prohibitions were never issued in the Imperial Army.

It is most likely that this non-commissioned officer married without having applied for a licence. The decree of June 16, 1808 issued by the French Ministry of War was very clear on this matter. While officers of all kinds had to apply for permission from the ministry itself, non-commissioned officers and soldiers had to have the permission of the administrative body of their unit<sup>25</sup>. Non-compliance carried very serious penalties for the offender

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<sup>23</sup> GMAS. Personal, exp. S-3674.

<sup>24</sup> As we have already mentioned above, during the Spanish War of Independence three Infantry Regiments of the Duchy of Warsaw fought. These were the 4th, the 7th and the 9th. At first they were called the Polish Division and since December 1809 the Duchy of Warsaw Division and incorporated into the IV Army Corps. About their activities see: GONZÁLEZ CAIZÁN, C., *Por Napoleón en España*, pp. 104-109.

<sup>25</sup> See this regulation in: *Code administratif, ou Recueil par ordre alphabétique de matières de toutes les Lois nouvelles et anciennes, relatives aux fonctions administratives et de police, des Préfets, Sous-Préfets, Maires, Adjoints et Commissaires de police; aux attributions des Conseils de Préfecture, de Département, d'Arrondissement communal et de Municipalité; et à celles des Assemblées politiques cantonales et des Collèges électoraux d'Arrondissement et de Département. Jusqu'au premier avril 1809. Avec Les instructions et décisions des Autorités supérieures, et la solution des principales difficultés, ou des doutes, relatifs à l'exécution des Lois et des actes du Gouvernement. Par M. Fleurigeon, Chef de Bureau au Ministère de l'Intérieur*, t. 2, De l'imprimerie de Valade, Paris, 1809, p. 447.

such as dismissal, loss of rights, or any kind of pension or military reward. Perhaps Józef Sumiński was guilty of this offence for which he was sentenced to three months' imprisonment in Fuengirola Castle and the loss of his rank as a non-commissioned officer. However, before this happened, he escaped with his wife and switched over to the Spaniards to whom he told this story with the intention of justifying his desertion and being incorporated into the Spanish Army with at least the same rank he had enjoyed until then.

His record is incomplete, but it is clear from it that in 1812 he was promoted to 2nd Lieutenant in the Majorcan Infantry Regiment. Later, he served with the same rank in the Infantry Regiment of Naples. On 30 January 1816, at the age of almost thirty, he requested leave with the intention of returning to his homeland. Due to lack of information, we do not know if he was able to carry out his plan or not.

Thanks to this exp. we know the name and unit of other Poles who switched to the Spanish flag together with Sumiński. Five of them belonged to the 4th regiment. These were: Sergeant "Francisco (Franciszek) Hizarowicz", who was assigned to serve in the Walloon Guards; and the non-commissioned officers "Nicolas Dilus" (Mikołaj Dylus?), "Nicolas Sodoski" (Mikołaj Sadowski?), "Martin Dombroski" (Marcin Dąbrowski) and "Francisco Cekalski" (Franciszek Cękański or Czekalski), who in 1811 were stationed at the "defectors training unit at the Castle of Santa Catalaina in Malaga" waiting to be summoned. "Jerónimo Rubinski" (Hieromin Rubiński) switched from the 9th Regiment. We cannot provide any further information from either the Spanish or Polish documentation<sup>26</sup>. Moreover, being non-commissioned officers makes it difficult to trace and locate them.

The third member of this group is "Carlos" (Karol) Morski<sup>27</sup>, a more well-rounded character than the two previous ones. He was "*ayudante mayor (Aide Major)*"<sup>28</sup> in the 3rd Infantry

<sup>26</sup> None of those mentioned in Sumiński's exp. appear in the biographical lists of the military of the 4th, 7th and 9th Regiments of the Duchy of Warsaw in Spain drawn up by the historian and economist Stanisław Kirkor. See: KIRKOR, Stanisław, *Pod sztandarami Napoleona*, Oficyna Poetów i Malarzy, London, 1982, pp. 99-119.

<sup>27</sup> AGMS. Personal, exp. M-4668.

<sup>28</sup> The French had more military ranks than the Spanish. There is no equivalent for this rank. Morski was either a Lieutenant Aide Major or a Captain Aide Major. Lieutenant senior aide is a function that means an officer with a Lieutenant's rank who is an assistant to the Major. And the same is true for Captain. His name is also not

Regiment of the Vistula Legion. He fought throughout the War of Independence and left for France at the beginning of January 1812 accompanying the Spanish prisoners captured after the surrender of Valencia. In April of the same year he was transferred to the side of those he was to guard. According to one of the escorted men, Lieutenant Colonel Manuel de San Martín, the Pole's desertion occurred in the following manner:

"on the occasion of escorting prisoners of war to France, among whom I was included following the surrender of Valencia, all the prisoners experienced the best treatment, consideration and kindness that set him apart from his own class (...) [he expressed] a strong attachment to the Spanish, providing them with all the help he could, even to the point of riding his own horse past the tired prisoners and making it easier for some of them to escape, seeing that the combined action which, according to the officer, we had planned to take in order to escape, could not take effect because of one incident; and finally, to further prove his adherence to the Spanish cause, he abandoned the colours of the Usurper and went over to ours, bringing with him the Captain of the Royal Artillery Corps, Don Félix de la Rosa, who was a prisoner <sup>29</sup>".

However, Morski's return to the Iberian Peninsula was not going to be entirely problem-free. According to his tale of events, despite having the relevant passports with him, including one issued by Porlier, he had been robbed of every last shirt he possessed and, most importantly, all his documentation. Therefore, if he wanted to serve in the Spanish Army, he had to prove his military rank and look for witnesses to support him. To this end he called upon a few inhabitants of Zaragoza, the city where he was a garrison during the years 1810-1812, to testify. His former hosts agreed to point out the aforementioned Morski as a person very adept at the cause of the Spanish and against the French. In truth, none were surprised by his decision<sup>30</sup>.

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listed in Kirkor's biographical repertoire regarding the Vistula lancers and legionnaires. See: KIRKOR, S., *Legia Nadwiślańska 1808-1814*, Oficyna Poetów i Malarzy, Londres, 1981, pp. 389-499.

<sup>29</sup> GMAS. Personal, exp. M-4668.

<sup>30</sup> In addition, these people provided data on his appearance depicting him as someone of regular height, quite heavy, pockmarked, with sunken eyes, short-sighted and with red-brown hair.

Finally, in February 1814, once the war was over, Karol Morski was admitted to the Spanish Army. But misfortune dictated that he could remain in the service of his new flag for a short time. Only four years later, in 1818, he was discharged as a Lieutenant in the Regiment of Light Infantry of Hunters of the King, with destination in Badajoz, because of his blindness. Morski had lost his sight in 1817; it is worth remembering how his hosts had already portrayed him as "*short-sighted*". Retired in Badajoz and with a difficult economic situation, in 1832 he requested permission from the Regency Government to retire with his wife, Florentina Ruiz and their five children, from Madrid, to their homeland located in Bronówek (162 km west of Warsaw) and recover their estate. The return to the so-called "Kingdom of Poland" was made possible by a decree of Tsar Nicholas I whereby all those who had not participated in the Uprising of November 1830 were allowed to return to their homes. Carlos Morski wanted to take advantage of this amnesty, and wrote letters to that effect to the Russian Ambassador in Madrid. On April 19, 1833, he was granted permission to begin the process. We have no further information on his life.

The fourth of the deserters, "Pedro Félix Polskouski" (Piotr Feliks Polkowski) fought on the Spanish side during practically the entire war<sup>31</sup>. There are several unknowns surrounding this figure. Firstly, we do not know his unit of origin. However, if his record is accurate and he did indeed join the Spanish ranks after the battle of Alcañiz on May 23, 1809, then he could have belonged either to one of the three infantry regiments of the Vistula Legion or to the Vistula Lancers regiment, the only Polish units present at that battle<sup>32</sup>.

Secondly, despite the fact that he seemed to have held an officer's rank, as in the first Spanish infantry regiment, the "Fieles Zaragozanos (Faithfull Zaragozans)", in which he served, he did so with the rank of Captain, his name does not appear in the biographical repertoire of legionary officers compiled by the historian Stanisław Kirkor<sup>33</sup>. Polkowski's military career continued throughout the War of Independence. Thus, we find him as a Captain in the 1st Campo Mayor Volunteer Battalion (November

<sup>31</sup> GMAS. Personal, exp. P-2356.

<sup>32</sup> All the battles of the War of Independence and the units present in them can be followed in: SAÑUDO BAYÓN, Juan José, *Base de datos sobre las unidades militares en la Guerra de la Independencia española*, Ministerio de Defensa, Madrid, 2007.

<sup>33</sup> KIRKOR, Stanisław, *Legia Nadwiślańska*, pp. 456-463.

1810) and fighting with that rank and unit in the battle of La Albuera on May 16, 1811. There he was not only wounded but also taken prisoner. Soon after, he managed to escape and later requested to join the 7th Army led by General Gabriel de Mendizábal Iraeta. His request was granted and he was appointed "*2nd Major of the flying column*". At that time he also appeared in the town of Berástegui in Gipuzkoa, where his wife was from. In 1813 he was transferred to the Seville Infantry Regiment with the same rank of Major and two years later, in August 1815, he applied to join a company of the Royal Infantry Guards. However, his application was rejected as there was not enough proof that he had been appointed "*Lieutenant Colonel or Major*". In addition, his status as a "*foreigner*" invalidated other positive considerations. This last reason is surprising, especially since Polkowski had fought practically throughout the war on the Spanish side, was married to a Spanish woman, and nationality had not been an impediment to his entry into that unit either, as we have seen with the example of Aleksander Butkiewicz, the first of the protagonists of this story.

The third enigma concerning this individual concerns his origin. Surprisingly, in one of his documents he claims to be Russian. The presence of soldiers from this nation cannot be completely ruled out, since the *Grande Armée* was formed by representatives emanating from several countries, but the presence of Russians is little less than symbolic. In our investigation into the Polish participation in the Sieges of Zaragoza, we have come across complaints from Colonel Józef Chłopicki, later General and commander of the three infantry regiments of the Vistula Legion in Spain, regarding his disagreement with the French commanders for sending Russians from the Duchy of Warsaw who were so undisciplined that they deexp.d the fame and good order of the legion. In the end, Chłopicki managed to make the recruitment process more sophisticated, in order to prevent the entry of the most troublesome soldiers<sup>34</sup>. We believe that Polkowski was a Pole; his surname and professional career before he transferred over to the Spaniards appear to be typical of someone enlisted to fight in the Vistula Legion, who was in Aragon and then switched over to the enemy. But it could also be that, when his native lands fell in Russia after partitioning, he took advantage of this situation to declare himself Russian and thus benefit from the good relations that existed between

<sup>34</sup> See: GONZÁLEZ CAIZÁN, C., *Por Napoleón en España*, pp. 304-305.

the absolute monarchy of Ferdinand VII and the Russia of Tsar Alexander I in 1815. As we have detailed above, his failed objective was to have joined an unit as prestigious as the Royal Guard. Therefore, without other letters of recommendation that statement could probably play in his favour, or so he might have thought. Until that date his file did not reveal his national origin. All hypotheses remain open.

**Tadeusz Sulikowski, from Lieutenant in the Polish army to  
Colonel in the Spanish army**

The following case, both in terms of its starting point and its implications for Spain's military history, is so exceptional that it merits special mention. We are referring here to the professional career of Tadeusz Sulikowski, a Lieutenant in the 7th Infantry Regiment of the Duchy of Warsaw, who arrived in Spain in August 1808. He fought against the Spanish with his unit until the end of June 1809, when he asked for his resignation. Therefore, we are not dealing with a deserter but with a military man who requested his discharge. Another difference with his comrades in the previous section is that his transfer to the Spanish Army did not take place immediately. His personal exp. is very extensive, thanks to which we have been able to reconstruct a brilliant service record<sup>35</sup>. As reflected in it, the desire to go over to the Spanish side came immediately, but this impulse was slowed down by the threat to the families of those who were leaving the ranks in which they had been enlisted<sup>36</sup>. For this reason Sulikowski did not apply to join the Spanish Army until 1814, when the conflict was over. However, once again, we see how these military men invented an order that was never enacted so as to justify any of their own future actions: in this case, waiting for the end of the War of Independence before pursuing a career in the military service.

Sulikowski's intention, reflected in Spanish documentation, contrasts with other information from the Defence Historical Service in Paris. This is a letter that calls into question such fine sentiments. At the end of 1809 this Polish officer wrote a letter from Bordeaux to the French Minister of War requesting his entry into

<sup>35</sup> GMAS. Personal, exp. S-3671.

<sup>36</sup> It is worth noting that the Army of the Duchy of Warsaw was not composed of volunteers but of recruits compelled to serve in it after a general conscription.

the newly created 2nd Legion of the Vistula<sup>37</sup>. Perhaps he thought he could gain rapid promotion in this way as this new unit was in need of officers. However, the 2nd Legion officially ceased to exist on February 15, 1810, becoming the 4th Infantry Regiment of the Vistula Legion, which left to fight the Spanish five days later. But Sulikowski was not in its ranks. There is no record of his transfer to this regiment. The only thing that is certain is his return and stay in the Iberian Peninsula as a retired member of the French Army.

The third salient difference is Sulikowski's leading role in Spanish military history. While previously the main pattern had been: desertion from one's own army, crossing over to the enemy, a few years of service and then returning home, this Pole's military career developed brilliantly and in a very complete way in Spain. In spite of having been an enemy soldier, he managed to become a Colonel in the Spanish Army within a few years and on his own merits. His military experience was very rich and was linked to some of the main historical events of the first half of the 19th century.

Tadeusz Sulikowski, who was given a Spanish name and was called Tadeo ever since, tried to join the Walloon Guard Regiment in early 1814. We do not know the reasons why he did not succeed. Where he did get a place was as Captain of the 41st Bourbon Infantry Regiment in August of that year. After the uprising of Rafael del Riego in January 1820, Captain Sulikowski joined the liberal forces in Galicia, later fighting for several peninsular areas until 1823.

Once the war had been lost and the Liberal Triennium was over, the Ominous Decade (1823-1833) began, where the repression against the liberal element that had not emigrated from the peninsula was also directed against the Polish Captain. Sulikowski was an inmate of the Zaragoza prison for almost a year, until the end of December 1824. He was only able to get out thanks to the good management and influence of his wife, the Aragonese Escolástica Junqueras Galindo, whom he had married in 1811. Sulikowski regained his freedom, but continued under strict surveillance. From 1825 to 1833 he was confined to the birthplace of his wife, the Aragonese town of

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<sup>37</sup> The 2nd Legion of the Vistula was founded on July 6, 1809. See the charter in: Service historique de la Défense, Château de Vincennes, Archives de la Guerre et de l'armée de Terre, Série 9XL.

Cariñena, under the watchful eye of the local authorities. On December 1, 1833, he was finally exonerated for his political behaviour.

In January 1834 Sulikowski was elected First Mayor by the unanimous vote of the entire municipality of Cariñena. Later, his military leanings prevailed and he left for the war on 1st May of the same year as a captain in the 1st Company of the Carabineros of the Light Regiment of Volunteers of Navarre No. 6. The following month he joined the Army of Northern Operations, fighting in the liberal ranks. In 1836 he was promoted to Colonel. In 1840 he was appointed commander general of Alicante and military governor of the city. In February 1841 he was entrusted with the general command of the province of Murcia. He ceased his military activity in 1844, and died in Cariñena on November 15, 1851<sup>38</sup>. Among his military merits is the prestigious Cross of the First Class Order of San Fernando.



**Tombstone of the niche of the old Cariñena cemetery where the mortal remains of Colonel Tadeusz Sulikowski rested between 1851 and 1976.**

© D. Alberto Pe Ripa

<sup>38</sup> Further details in : GONZÁLEZ CAIZÁN, C., *Por Napoleón en España*, pp. 510-526.

Tadeo Sulikowski and his wife, Escolástica Junqueras, had numerous descendants, but the death of all their male children led to the rapid loss of this surname in the family genealogy. In only one generation it had disappeared from Spain. We know little about the fate of their daughters. The eldest, María del Patrocinio, married José Corso y Gil in Cariñena. From this union at least four children were born, two of them pursuing a military career: José María Corso Sulikowski, who in November 1893 applied to join the Volunteer Battalion in Madrid, having served in the Cuban Army<sup>39</sup>; and Lieutenant Colonel of the General Staff Alejo Corso Sulikowski<sup>40</sup>. The youngest member of the Sulikowski-Junqueras family, María Orenca, married Francisco Zapater y Gómez, great-nephew of Martín Zapater y Clavería, a great friend of Francisco de Goya in Zaragoza, and his first biographer. No descendants survived from this marriage, since their only daughter died young<sup>41</sup>.

#### Polish participation in the First Carlist war (1833-1840)<sup>42</sup>

After the end of the Napoleonic Wars, a new map of Europe was drawn up at the Vienna Congress, a major event held between September 1814 and June 1815. The meetings of the politicians and diplomats who participated in it ended only nine days before the final defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte at the Battle of Waterloo. As far as the Polish cause was concerned, the decisions emanating from this congress dealt a severe blow to their expectations. Poland would not regain its sovereignty and would remain under the occupation and control of the same three powers that had carved it up: Russia, Prussia and Austria.

The lands of the Duchy of Warsaw, that state created by Napoleon in 1807, with a population of over three million inhabitants, were transformed into the so-called "Kingdom of Poland" with the

<sup>39</sup> News published in: *El Liberal*, November 23, 1893.

<sup>40</sup> GMAS. Personal, exp. C-3484.

<sup>41</sup> GONZÁLEZ CAIZÁN, C., *Por Napoleón en España*, p. 526.

<sup>42</sup> There were probably also a number of native Poles who fought in this war but whose presence is not yet clear due to the shortage and fragmentation of sources. We reached this conclusion after coming across the case of Matías Radanski, a 2<sup>nd</sup> Corporal in the Free Corps of Castile and later a cavalry 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant in the Regiment of Santiago, born in Mataró in 1820. His father, Casimiro Radanski (Kazimierz Radański) was perhaps a Polish soldier who fought in the War of Independence and later settled in Spain. Matías Radanski died of consumption in Zaragoza in 1845. See: GMAS. Personal, exp. R-42.

Tsar as its sovereign, but with its own parliament, government and constitution. In other words, it seemed that the Poles were going to enjoy a certain amount of formal autonomy. But it only took fifteen years of annoying and uncomfortable Russian power for the fermented Polish aspirations to explode. The uprising began in Warsaw on the night of November 29-30, 1830, and became a Polish-Russian war, ending in failure in October of the following year.

This abortive attempt at secession was followed by a phenomenon that the Poles called the "Great Emigration"<sup>43</sup>. Its name comes from the major role that the exiles played in the political and cultural life of the Polish nation beyond the borders of their former state. These were a large number of leaders from many fields —politics, philosophy, science, art and the army— who chose to leave the lands occupied by Russia, fearing repression and not wanting to live under despotism. The vast majority of those men were representatives of the nobility. It is estimated that some 50,000 soldiers and groups of civilians who took part in the uprising went to Austria and Prussia, where they were interned; another 50,000 were deported to Siberia and some 11,000 eventually went into exile. Of the latter, the largest group, some 5,500, remained in France, where they were warmly welcomed as heroes by the local population and the pro-Poland committees. The rest dispersed to other countries<sup>44</sup>.

The government of Louis-Philippe I tried to isolate these exiles from French society by placing them in special places, even separating the military from the civilians. Finally, they were distributed in more than 180 locations and paid an allowance to prevent them from congregating. Until the revolution of 1848, Poles could only live in Paris if they had special permission, which they did in a few exceptional cases. These were turbulent times and the French governments did not like having so many Polish exiles in France, fearing their contacts with revolutionary circles. The word "Poland" often ignited anti-government riots<sup>45</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> This is the emigration of the very different kinds of elites from Poland between 1831 and 1870.

<sup>44</sup> Further information in: ŻALIŃSKI, Henryk, "Wielka Emigracja", *Encyklopedia polskiej emigracji i Polonii*, Kazimierz Dopierała (ed.), t. 5, Oficyna Wydawnicza Kucharski, Toruń, 2005, pp. 282-286.

<sup>45</sup> KASZNIK, Aleksandra Helena, "Emigracja polska i ustawodawstwo wyjątkowe w okresie monarchii lipcowej we Francji", *Przegląd Polonijny*, year V, nr 1, (11) (1979), pp. 5-19.

Not for the first time in their history, Poles began to demand the creation of a legion to seize the first opportunity to try to regain the independence of their homeland<sup>46</sup>. In Paris, the idea arose of incorporating them into the French Foreign Legion, created in March 1831 with the intention of fighting in North Africa, and which continued the military and colonial conquest of that territory in Algeria. The vast majority of Poles were opposed to this idea, although a small contingent joined the expedition<sup>47</sup>.

In January 1832 Marshal Jean-de-Dieu Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, decided to create a Polish battalion to fight in Algeria, but this plan did not materialise because there were no candidates and there were ongoing negotiations to form a Polish legion in Portugal<sup>48</sup>. From 1833 onwards, all Poles without property were unable to obtain visas for France, but could obtain them for Algeria. However, the creation that year of a Polish company within the French Foreign Legion, and in 1834, of a Polish battalion, was not enough to bring about mass emigration. In the end, out of the entire Polish diaspora, about 7,000-8,000 Polish military living in France and England, only around 200 voluntarily left for Algeria. In 1834 another 219 exiles, sent by Prussia to France, were forced to join the Legion in Algeria. If they did not accept, they were not allowed to enter France and were sent to America<sup>49</sup>.

In the Legion, the Poles disliked being assigned to the infantry, as many of them had experience in the cavalry. They fought in Algeria until June 1835. After that, the French Foreign Legion was sent to a new front. From 1833 onwards Spain was immersed in a civil war, better known as the First Carlist War, between the

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<sup>46</sup> In the ever-present memory of the creation in Italy of the legendary Polish Legions formed by General Jan Henryk Dąbrowski in 1797. See: MORAWSKI, Ryszard y DUSIEWICZ, Andrzej, *Wojsko Polskie w służbie Napoleona. Legiony Polskie we Włoszech. Legia Naddunajska, Legia Polsko-Włoska, Legia Północna*, Karabela, Warsaw, 2010.

<sup>47</sup> See for example: KIENIEWICZ, Stefan, "Les émigrés polonais en Algérie (1832-1856)", *Acta Poloniae Historica*, 11 (1965), pp. 43-70.

<sup>48</sup> During the years 1832-1833 the Polish General Józef Bem tried unsuccessfully to organise a Polish Legion in Porto, especially with the veterans of the November Uprising. One of these military men was Józef Chełmicki, who later served in the Portuguese Army and became a Major General. He participated in the First Carlist war in support of the Spanish loyalists of Isabel II. Chełmicki was also a brilliant geographer. See: LIMA, Henrique de CAMPOS FERREIRA, *Legião polaca ou legião da Rainha Dona Maria Segunda (1832-1833)*, Tipografia Minerva, Vila Nova de Famalicão, 1932.

<sup>49</sup> KASZNIK, A., "«Wielka to infamia ten Alger». Emigracja wobec francuskiego projektu wysłania żołnierzy polskich do Algieru (1832)", *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego CCXXXII, Prace Historyczne*, issue 30, Kraków, 1970, pp. 97-120; KIENIEWICZ, S., "Les émigrés polonais en Algérie (1832-1856)", pp. 43-47.

supporters of the daughter and legitimate heir of Fernando VII, Queen Isabel, then a child, and her paternal uncle, the Infante Carlos María Isidro, heir to the crown until his brother repealed the Salic Law. By virtue of one of the points of the treaty of the Quadruple Alliance of April 22, 1834, France undertook, as a token of friendship towards the Queen Regent, Maria Cristina de Borbón, widow of Fernando VII and mother of Isabel, to put in place the necessary means to ensure that the army of the pretender to the throne did not receive any kind of subsidy along its border with Spain. But the blockade and control of the border areas proved to be insufficient and it became increasingly evident that the Government of Maria Cristina would be unable to put down the insurrection with its own forces. And the idea of accepting the support of armed French intervention grew among Spanish leaders and generals<sup>50</sup>. In the end, after a meeting of the Council of Ministers and with the consent of Maria Cristina, this measure was approved. The French Foreign Legion (from then on known as the French Auxiliary Legion or French Auxiliary Division) arrived in Tarragona on August 18, 1835 and disembarked the following day<sup>51</sup>.

Like other national units, the Polish Battalion was already dissolved in the process with the foreigners being mixed up between the different companies, regardless of their nationality. The plan to create an exclusively Polish legion, with its national signs and banners, devised by General Henryk Dembiński, ended in failure<sup>52</sup>. When they landed at the Catalan port, the Poles made up 22% of the total number of legionnaires, just behind the Germans (25%) and the Swiss (25%), and ahead of the Italians

<sup>50</sup> On the discussions about the need for foreign intervention to serve the cause of the Cristina or Isabelline Army, See: Archive of the Royal Academy of History. Fondo Antonio Pirala y Prado, exp. 6799.

<sup>51</sup> There is an abundance of literature on this participation. For this article we have mainly used three works: DONÉZAR DíEZ DE ULZURRUN, Javier M., "La intervención francesa en la primera guerra carlista", *Príncipe de Viana*, 34 (1974), pp. 513-547; BULLÓN DE MENDOZA Y GÓMEZ DE VALUGERA, Alfonso, "La intervención extranjera en la primera guerra carlista (notas para un estudio olvidado)", *Aportes. Revista de Historia del siglo XIX*, 6 (1987), pp. 38-65; CONDADO MADERA, Emilio, *La intervención francesa en España 1835-1839*, Fundamentos, Madrid, 2002, p. 107.

<sup>52</sup> About this failure of creating a Polish Legion in Spain, see: WRÓBLEWSKA, Elwira, "Emigranci polistopadowi w Hiszpanii", *Rozprawy z dziejów XIX i XX wieku*, Sławomir Kalembka (ed.), Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń, 1978, pp. 89-104.

(15%), the Belgians, the Dutch (9%) and representatives of other nationalities (4%)<sup>53</sup>.

In January 1836, and after a brief reorganisation in Aragon, the French Auxiliary Legion left for the front in the north of the peninsula. It first took part in the Battle of Arlabán from the 16th to the 18th of that month and then occupied the line of Pamplona. At the end of February, the Spaniard Joseph Bernelle, Colonel of the French Army and Field Marshal of the Spanish Army, received the order to form a regiment of lancers in the capital of Navarre, with the Poles of the cavalry branch and to integrate it into his division<sup>54</sup>.

In theory, this new unit, officially called the Polish Lancers Regiment, was to be composed of 500-600 cavalymen, but they never succeeded in reaching this number. In all, more than 400 Poles took part in it, in two and then three squadrons. The regiment was made up of the legionary soldiers from Algeria and some new volunteers from France who had been recruited in a camp set up for this purpose in Pau. Colonel Bernelle appointed officer Henryk Krajewski as Lieutenant Colonel of this regiment, who, in his words, had "*rare courage; he was not a tactician, but a fiery, brilliant swordsman, more capable than anyone of commanding and training lancers*"<sup>55</sup>. Most of the officers in the new corps were Polish.

As far as we can tell, a total of approximately 416 officers and non-commissioned officers fought in the French Auxiliary Legion during the First Carlist War. Of these, 36 served in the Polish Lancers' Regiment<sup>56</sup>. From the end of May 1836, the squadron

<sup>53</sup> CONDADO MADERA, E., *La intervención francesa*, p. 107.

<sup>54</sup> GROBICKI, Jerzy. "Pułk ułanów polskich Legji Cudzoziemskiej w czasie walk karlistowskich w Hiszpanji 1836-1838", *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy*, III, issues 1 y 2, 1930, pp. 91-126; KUDŁA, Michał, "El regimiento de los Lanceros Polacos en España durante la Primera Guerra Carlista", *Aportes. Revista de Historia Contemporánea*, 52, XVIII (2/2003), pp. 14-32; NHA, State, leg. 8132.

<sup>55</sup> [AZAN, Paul], *Récits d'Afrique. La Légion Étrangère en Espagne. Par Paul Azan, capitaine détaché a l'État-Major de l'Armée (Section historique)*, H. Charles-Lavauzelle, París, [1908], p. 187.

<sup>56</sup> In reaching this estimate we have used the following work: BIELECKI, Robert, *Polacy w Legji Cudzoziemskiej 1831-1879*, Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych, Warsaw-Łódź, 1992, *passim*. Bielecki prepared a detailed biographical repertoire of the Polish legionnaires based mainly on the military exps. and administrative documents of the French Foreign Legion, stored in the collections of the War and Land Army Archives (Archives de la Guerre et de l'armée de Terre), located in the Defence Historical Service, at the Château de Vincennes in Paris. However, we have detected two officers

leader Michał Horain was appointed Chief of Staff of the Polish Lancers Regiment. Captain Konstanty Ledóchowski was appointed to the first squadron, Captain Józef Wern to the second and Captain Stanisław Przyłuski to the third. Gradually, more officers were recruited<sup>57</sup>. And as had previously occurred in Algeria, they always encountered the same problem: too many officers in relation to the number of soldiers.

As for the regiment weaponry, this consisted of a Spanish cavalry sword, a pistol and a lance with a red and yellow flag. They also wore long boots and kepis decorated with crossed lances and displaying their squadron number<sup>58</sup>. According to General Bernelle, they formed an excellent cavalry corps. In a letter to General Jean Harispe, he said: «*il n'y a pas de régiments de cavalerie mieux montés, et dont l'habillement et le harnachement soient d'un goût plus militaire, plus sévère et plus élégant*»<sup>59</sup>. But for all the praise and recognition, the regiment did not have its own standard. At first it seemed that this would be the case; even in the Chronicle of Polish Emigration, a magazine published in Paris at the time, it was reported that the regimental badge had been embroidered "*in secret and all the officers of the regiment, including the French, had given their word of honour that they would leave the service if the standard were to be taken from*

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whose journeys in Spain are not specified in the repertoire although other sources show the opposite. These are the cases of the officer and journalist Józef Wiktor Tański and Antoni Aleksander Iliński. Both participated in this fratricidal war as part of the French Foreign Legion, even the former published a report of it (See: TAŃSKI, Joseph. *El informe Tanski y la Guerra civil carlista de 1833-1840, trad. notas y estudios complementarios de M. Santirso*, Ministerio de Defensa Madrid, 2011). The second, after his stay in Spain, where he tried his luck as a bullfighter, became the aide of the Polish general Józef Bem in the Hungarian uprising of 1848-1849, then served in the Turkish Army reaching the rank of General and Pasha. (BIELECKI, R., *Słownik biograficzny oficerów Powstania Listopadowego*, Wydawnictwo Trio, t. 2, Warsaw, 1996, p. 171). See also his biography: ŁĄTKA, Jerzy S. *Lew nasz, lew polski. Pasza Iskender (Antoni Iliński)*, Społeczny Instytut Historii i Kultury, "Rocznik Tatarów Polskich", Kraków-Gdańsk, 1996. We dispose a very incomplete exp. on Count «Antonio Iliniski» or «Iliuski». See: GMAS. Personal, exp. I-345.

<sup>57</sup> *Kronika Emigracji Polskiej*, A. Pinard, t. 4, Paris, 1836, p. 374; [AZAN, P.], *Récits d'Afrique*, pp. 189-190. GROBICKI, J., "Pułk ułanów polskich Legii Cudzoziemskiej w czasie walk karlistowskich w Hiszpanii 1836-1838", pp. 99-100.

<sup>58</sup> CONDADO MADERA, E., *La intervención francesa*, pp. 93-94.

<sup>59</sup> El General Bernelle to General Harispe, Pamplona, May 26, 1836. [AZAN, P.], *Récits d'Afrique*, p. 187. General Harispe had had the opportunity to test the courage of the Poles during the Spanish War of Independence, when some infantry regiments of the Vistula Legion fought under his command, especially in the Sieges of Zaragoza. See: GONZÁLEZ CAIZÁN, C., *Por Napoleón en España, passim*.

them<sup>60</sup>. But reality dictated otherwise. The military historian Paul Azan confirms that despite the fact that this ensign was commissioned from an embroiderer in Pamplona and that it was even going to display: "*d'un côté les armes de France et d'Espagne et, de l'autre, l'aigle blanc de Varsovie*", the amount required by the merchant "*n'ayant jamais été complètement versée*" and the long-awaited ensign "*n'accompagna pas les lanciers sur les champs de bataille*"<sup>61</sup>. The Frenchman's reference seems more convincing to us, not only because there are no other sources that speak of the creation of the ensign, but also because the news item in the Chronicle was published in 1837, even though the regiment had already changed its name by that time. Perhaps the news was used for propaganda purposes and aimed at the Polish community in exile in Paris.

The Polish Lancers Regiment was the only national unit of the French Auxiliary Legion from April 1 to August 12, 1836. The new head of the legion, Colonel Joseph Conrad, preferred to call them the Lancers of the Foreign Legion<sup>62</sup>, and they fought under this new name until October 1, 1838. This change of name caused several discussions among the Poles about the purpose of their service in Spain, since they had been deprived of their national emblem<sup>63</sup>. But a further modification awaited them. Shortly before the dissolution of the French Auxiliary Legion in December 1838, when the three years of service in support of the Queen Regent Maria Cristina were completed, the lancers of the Legion were renamed the General's Light Guide Squadron as a unit within the Northern Army under the command of Commander in Chief and Viceroy of Navarre Baldomero Espartero<sup>64</sup>. In reality, the transfer of the Lancers to the Spanish Army was a mere formality, as they had been under the command of the Count of Luchana since June of the previous year<sup>65</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> *Kronika Emigracji Polskiej*, t. 5, 1837, p. 67.

<sup>61</sup> [AZAN, P.], *Récits d'Afrique*, pp. 187-188.

<sup>62</sup> CONDADO MADERA, E., *La intervención francesa*, p. 93.

<sup>63</sup> *Kronika Emigracji Polskiej*, t. 6, 1837, p. 179.

<sup>64</sup> On the reorganisation and dissolution of the Polish Lancers Regiment in 1838 and the reorganisation of the General's Guide Squadron between 1838 and 1839, see: General Military Archives of Madrid, sigs. 6506.2 and 6507.1. They also include the lists of the names of the graduates and the available horses.

<sup>65</sup> In a letter to Lieutenant Colonel Henryk Krajewski dated June 20, 1837 in Zaragoza, General Espartero clearly transmitted his orders "with respect to the corps of his worthy command". Espartero wished "that his post be moved to Tudela or another point with total separation from the rest of the French Auxiliary Legion; (...) consequently,

Around the same time, at the end of 1838, General Diego de León y Navarrete set up a company of marksmen with the Poles who had expressed their desire to continue in the Spanish Army and had not enlisted in the light squadron. In total, nine officers were passed, but they were only allowed to do so with the rank of 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenants, which provoked further protests. General Diego de León wrote to his counterpart Espartero asking for support so that the Poles would be allowed to keep their jobs. The letter is very revealing of the Spanish officer's appreciation of these men:

"The services rendered in the present war and in this particular instance by these worthy officers, who have no other homeland than Spanish soil where many of them have shed their blood in abundance, deserve a particular exception in their favour, giving them their jobs in the army, and thus giving their example and public testimony to Europe<sup>66</sup>".

After the dissolution of the French Auxiliary Legion, the Poles, including the lancers of the Guide Squadron, who had not formalised their situation, also left for France. For years these ex-legionnaires or their descendants endeavoured to receive payment of their salary arrears, but not always with much success<sup>67</sup>.

The lancers of this squadron who remained in Spain were transferred in May 1839 to the 1st Squadron of the Lusitania 13th Cavalry Regiment. Only they and the French artillerymen, that is to say, the elite, managed to retain their military ranks if they wanted to serve in the Spanish Army. Officers of other nations and weapons were appointed as 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenants<sup>68</sup>. As for the arrears, the men who were part of the former Polish Lancers Regiment were also constantly claiming the back pay owing to them. The request that some of them wrote in February 1839 (the letter does not specify the names) asking for several months of back payments was denied due to lack of funds<sup>69</sup>.

The Polish Lancers Regiment fought its first battles between April and June 1836, although its real baptism of fire came at the

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(...) I have ordered that the entire force of the said regiment should be placed under my immediate orders". *Kronika Emigracji Polskiej*, t. 6, p. 220.

<sup>66</sup> CONDADO MADERA, E., *La intervención francesa*, p. 94.

<sup>67</sup> See some of these demands in: NHA. Estado, leg. 5311, exp. 346; leg. 5298, exptes. 488, 523, 565; leg. 5308, exp. 408.

<sup>68</sup> [AZAN, P.], *Récits d'Afrique*, p. 360.

<sup>69</sup> NHA. Diversos-Colecciones, leg. 186.

battle of Zubiri in early August. Based on the data that appear in the works of Antonio Pírala and Michał Kudła, we can say that the Poles of the Lancers Regiment participated in a total of 46 battles: in 7 as the Lancers Regiment; in 18 as the Lancers of the Legion; in 9 as the General's Guide Squadron, and in 12 as the 1st Squadron of the Lusitania Regiment<sup>70</sup>.

According to Emilio Condado Madera, a total of 28 officers of the French Auxiliary Legion, including 7 Poles, lost their lives on the battlefield or were injured between 1835 and 1837<sup>71</sup>. The Polish sources we have consulted endorse these references except in the cases of 2nd Lieutenant Wielziewski and Captain Zalbachowski, which we have not been able to identify. The following is a list of the fallen Polish officers:

- Jan Butkiewicz, 2nd Lieutenant. French Auxiliary Legion. Injured at the Battle of Tirapegui (April 26, 1836). He died on the 4th of the following month.
- Kalikst Borzewski, Captain. Polish Lancers Regiment. Battle of Zubiri (August 1, 1836). Buried in Pamplona.
- Ferdynand Renacki, Medical Captain. French Auxiliary Legion. Battle of Allo (December 21, 1836).

<sup>70</sup> List of some of the main battles and other confrontations. Year 1836: Tirapegui (26 April); Viscarret (May 17); Larraona (June 24); Oteiza (June 18-19); Zubiri (August 1); Lerín (August 16-17); Barbarin, Arróniz (September 14); Allo (October 18 and December 21); Villatuerta (November 8). Year 1837: Sarasa (March 11); valle de Baztán (March 20-22); línea de Zubiri (March 22); Huesca (May 24), Barbastro (June 2); Orihuela (September 4); Guadalajara (September 18); Aranzueque (September 19); Covarrubias (October 4); Retuerta (October 5); Gete (October 13); Huerta del Rey (October 14). Year 1838: Brújula (April 27); Burgos (May 20); Dicastillo (May 27); Allo (May 28); Peñacerrada (June 19-22); Baroja (June 22); La Población (December 16). Year 1839: Villatuerta (April 18); Dicastillo (April 26); Belascoain (April 27- May 2); Los Arcos (May 1); Barbarin, Arróniz (11 May); valle de La Berrueza (3 June); Los Arcos (3 July); Allo (19 August); Estella (August 23-24); puerto de Belate (October 13). Year 1840: Segura (February 23-27); Castellote (March 22-26); Morella (May 13-23); Berga (July 4). See: PIRALA, Antonio, *Historia de la guerra civil y de los partidos liberal y carlista*, [s.n.], 6 vols., Madrid, 1868-1870, *passim*; KUDŁA, M., "El regimiento de los Lanceros Polacos en España durante la Primera Guerra Carlista", pp. 22-24.

<sup>71</sup> CONDADO MADERA, E., *La intervención francesa*, p. 138. We can add the deaths of three more Polish soldiers. The first, Sergeant Józef Franciszek Krzeczowski, drowned before the start of the war when he fell into the river Arga, in Navarra, with his horse. GROBICKI, J. "Pułk ułanów polskich Legii Cudzoziemskiej w czasie walk karlistowskich w Hiszpanii 1836-1838", p. 103. Secondly, Lieutenant Paulin Ignacy Mokronowski, who died in Pamplona at the end of November 1836, probably from natural causes. And finally, the soldier Antoni Kublicki (Kubicki), who, after being taken prisoner by the Carlists, was shot on the orders of the Infante Carlos. BIELECKI, R., *Polacy w Legii Cudzoziemskiej*, pp. 259 y 217 respectivamente.

- Wielziewski, Second Lieutenant. Battle of Allo.
- Jan Sochacki, Lieutenant. French Auxiliary Legion. Battle of Larráinzar (March 22, 1837).
- Zalbachowski, Captain. Battle of Larráinzar.
- Maksymilian Rudnicki, 2nd Lieutenant. Polish Lancers Regiment. Battle of Huesca (May 24, 1837)<sup>72</sup>.

When assessing the numbers, we were also guided by Condado Madera's study. According to this author, 5677 men served in the French Auxiliary Legion from 1835 to 1838<sup>73</sup>. According to Bielecki, Poles: 1835 – 309; 1837 – 250; 1836 – 288 y 1838 – 34<sup>74</sup>. If we combine both figures, the result is that during the First Carlist War the Poles accounted for 15.5% of the total contingent. In terms of the recognition received for their years of service, Polish officers were awarded various types of decorations. Firstly, there was the most prestigious Spanish military distinction: the Royal Military Order of San Fernando. From the Polish Lancers Regiment in its various denominations there were 16 officers honoured and 6 from the French Auxiliary Legion. Below we show in two tables the details of the recipients in alphabetical order indicating also their highest rank until 1838, the date when this distinction was granted and where possible, also the reasons for its award.

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<sup>72</sup> BIELECKI, R., *Polacy w Legii Cudzoziemskiej*, pp. 102-103, 95-96, 259, 398, 307. Medical Captain Ferdynand Renacki and Lieutenant Jan Sochacki were lost to the historian Bielecki in Spain in August 1836 and 1835 respectively (*Ibid.*, pp. 300 and 326). This author affirms in other writings that Captain Kalikst Borzewski was buried in the church of San Luis in Pamplona (*Ibid.*, "Borzewski, Kalikst", en *Słownik biograficzny oficerów Powstania Listopadowego*, t. 1, Wydawnictwo Trio, Warsaw, 1995, pp. 238-239). There is currently no church with that name in the capital of Navarre.

<sup>73</sup> CONDADO MADERA, E., *La intervención francesa*, p. 139.

<sup>74</sup> BIELECKI, R., *Polacy w Legii Cudzoziemskiej*, pp. 14-15.

<b>Karol Cieciszowski</b>	Lieutenant	June 12, 1838	Battle of Huesca
<b>Wincenty Gausz</b>	Captain	April 26, 1836	—
<b>Michał Horain</b>	Major	Sept 14, 1836 May 24, 1837 Oct 5, 1837 May 1840	Multiple distinctions
<b>Tomasz Jędrzejowski</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant	1838	Battle of Huesca
<b>Karol Kawka</b>	Captain	—	—
<b>Henryk Krajewski*</b>	Colonel	August 1, 1838	Battle of Zubiri
<b>Aleksander Mogielnicki</b>	Lieutenant	June 22, 1838	Battle of Peñacerrada
<b>Julian Morawski</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant	April 23, 1838	Battle of Piedrahita
<b>Maurycy Muller</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant	August 1, 1838	Battle of Zubiri
<b>Feliks Rokicki</b>	Lieutenant	February 7, 1838	Various merits
<b>Wincenty Skarżyński</b>	Captain	November 7, 1838	Battle of Zubiri
<b>Ludwik Świdziński</b>	Lieutenant	Sept 26, 1838	Battle of Huesca
<b>Józef S. Wern</b>	Captain	February 3, 1836	—
<b>Karol Zarembecki</b>	Captain	November 8, 1836	Battle of Villatuerta
<b>Franciszek Zieniewski</b>	Lieutenant	1837	Barbastro Assault
<b>Karol Żbikowski</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant	November 9, 1837	Battle of Huesca Zubiri (June 4, 1836)
* In 1842, Henryk Krajewski requested to exchange his four San Fernando crosses for the second class San Fernando Laureate. However, only the one we have indicated appears in his exp..			

**Table 1**  
**Poles awarded with the San Fernando First Class Crosses (Polish Lancers Regiment —Legion Lancers— General's Light Squadron Guides)<sup>75</sup>**

<sup>75</sup> GMAS. Personal, exptes. B-2486, C-2743, O-396, I-375, C-3718, M-3419, M-4271, M-4746, R-2996, S-1128, S-3628, Z-193, B 3324; BIELECKI, R., *Polacy w Legii Cudzoziemskiej*, pp. 136-137, 186, 302, 369-370, 391, 398.

<b>Tadeusz Horain</b>	Lieutenant-Colonel	Jan 17, 1836	—
<b>Jan A. Bettin</b>	Doctor	—	—
<b>Jakub Borkacki</b>	Lieutenant	June 1, 1836	—
<b>Andrzej Kuczkowski</b>	Captain	Sept 17 1836	—
<b>Ludwik Mokrzecki</b>	Lieutenant	—	Battle of Huesca
<b>Stanisław Rudziński</b>	Sergeant	—	Battle of Villatuerta

**Table 2**  
**Poles awarded with the San Fernando First Class Crosses**  
**(French Auxiliary Legion)<sup>76</sup>**

Furthermore, on December 21, 1836, the non-commissioned officer of the Julian Morawski Regiment of Lancers was awarded the Cross of Maria Isabel Luisa for his merit in the action at Estella on November 8. The same applies to the 2nd Sergeant Franciszek Zieniewski, for action at Huesca (although the exact date does not appear on the exp.). This cross recognised the military merit of those who could not, because of their employment as non-commissioned officers, be awarded the Military Order of San Fernando in any of its categories<sup>77</sup>.

The second most widely distributed distinction corresponds to the Royal Order of Isabel la Católica. In comparison with the previous distinction, the number of its beneficiaries is lower. From the regiment of lancers only five officers were honoured and two from the French Auxiliary Legion. Following the same criteria as in the previous tables, we show below the individual distribution in tables 3 and 4.

<b>Jan Dembiński</b>	Sergeant	Oct 24, 1835	Attack on Pola, in Catalonia
<b>Stanisław Dowbor</b>	Sergeant	—	—
<b>Michał Horain</b>	Major	April 27, 1838	—
<b>Henryk Krajewski</b>	Colonel	July 24, 1838 Commander Cross	For the defeat of General Ignacio de Negri
<b>Józef Szydłowski</b>	Sergeant	Sept 1, 1838	Battle of Huesca

**Table 3**  
**Poles awarded with the crosses of Knight of the Royal Order of Isabel la Católica (Regiment of Polish Lancers —Lancers of the Legion— General's Light Squadron Guides)<sup>78</sup>**

<sup>76</sup> BIELECKI, R., *Polacy w Legii Cudzoziemskiej*, pp. 155, 83, 93, 218-219, 259, 307.

<sup>77</sup> GMAS. Personal, exps.. M-4271, C-2745.

<sup>78</sup> NHA. State, leg. 6320, exps. 51; GMAS. Personal, exp. O-396, C-3718; BIELECKI, R., *Polacy w Legii Cudzoziemskiej*, pp. 120, 125, 347.

<b>Jan F. Kozłowski</b>	1st Sergeant	August 17, 1836 March 22, 1837	Battlefield Battle of Ulzama
<b>Stanisław Rudziński</b>	1st Sergeant	—	Battle of Villatuerta

**Table 4**  
**Poles awarded the Royal Order of Isabel la Católica (French Auxiliary Legion)<sup>79</sup>**

Some awards were slow in coming. Such were the cases of the Second Lieutenant of the extinct Regiment of Lancers Walerian Bieliński and the Captain of the French Auxiliary Legion Józef Tański. The former received the First Class Cross of San Fernando on October 8, 1839 for *"the merits contracted on August 5 and 8 at the hill of [illegible] and the gorge of the Towers"*<sup>80</sup>. The latter was awarded the Knight's Cross of Isabel la Católica on November 2, 1843 for the actions of Arraniz, Villatuerta and the battle of Estella<sup>81</sup>. Other military personnel, for example, were denied decorations. This was the case of the Captain of the Regiment of Lancers Wincenty Ujazdowski, who was not deemed to have been displayed *"any grace"* to acquire the prestigious distinction<sup>82</sup>.

As for the qualities of the Polish Lancers Regiment we can see that they were an elite corps highly valued for their military competence, bravery and the effectiveness of their spears. Both General Luis Fernandez de Córdova, who accepted the honorary command of the regiment at the beginning of the war<sup>83</sup>, and later General Espartero, who chose them as his personal guard and escort, showed their appreciation. The Count of Luchana expressed in a letter to Colonel Krajewski his satisfaction at being able to show *"to the bizarre regiment of Polish Lancers, the esteem it deserves for its brilliant behaviour in combat and the perfect discipline it observes on all occasions"*<sup>84</sup>. Even once the Polish horsemen formed a guard for Queen Isabella II<sup>85</sup>.

<sup>79</sup> BIELECKI, R., *Polacy w Legii Cudzoziemskiej*, pp. 207, 307.

<sup>80</sup> GMAS. Personal, exp. B-2486.

<sup>81</sup> NHA. State, leg. 6329, exp. 126; BIELECKI, R., *Polacy w Legii Cudzoziemskiej*, p. 351.

<sup>82</sup> GMAS. Personal, exp. U-154.

<sup>83</sup> KUDŁA, M., "El regimiento de los Lanceros Polacos en España durante la Primera Guerra Carlista", p. 18.

<sup>84</sup> *Kronika Emigracji Polskiej*, t. 6, p. 220.

<sup>85</sup> KUDŁA, M., "El regimiento de los Lanceros Polacos en España durante la Primera Guerra Carlista", p. 28.

In this section we have some interesting facts to recount in relation to the Polish Lancers Regiment. First of all, let us refer to an interesting and little-known character who participated in this war: Count Armand Brochowski. He did not come to Spain as a member of the French Foreign Legion, although he obtained important positions in the Polish Lancers Regiment. This Lieutenant Colonel graduated and obtained the command as supernumerary of the regiment as well as the command of the Belgian lancers squadron, and earned the trust of General Espartero, for whom he was an aide-de-camp. Brochowski obtained several distinctions including the First Class Cross of San Fernando, granted on January 18, 1838 for his merits in the actions of Arauzo and Huerta del Rey on October 14 of the previous year; the Knight's Cross of Isabel la Católica for his services in the campaign under Espartero on December 10, 1837; and his appointment as commander in the same order on January 28, 1839. A few days earlier, the Polish Count, despite the sums owed to him for his years of service, requested permission to return to Belgium and again serve King Leopold I<sup>86</sup>.

During his years in the Iberian Peninsula, Armand Brochowski devised the creation of a Walloon cavalry corps in the service of Spain. He even thought that the Poles could join this guard. The idea was rejected because of its high cost and the need to recruit foreign soldiers<sup>87</sup>. In this project Brochowski was accompanied by his influential brother-in-law, the diplomat and politician Joaquín Francisco Campuzano y Marentes, who was married to his sister Emma Manuela Brochowska. In 1836, Campuzano had emerged as a strong advocate of the creation of a Polish Legion before the Ministry of State. His letters are full of great affection towards the nation that his wife was from. In one of them, perhaps the most emotional, to Minister José María Calatrava, he said:

"I dared to propose the formation of a Polish Corps dependent only on Spanish chiefs and with a Spanish insignia. My wish was that these foreigners, being known as officers and

<sup>86</sup> All data relating to his curriculum and medals in: NHA. State, leg. 6322, exp. 59 and leg. 6319, exp. 146; GMAS. Personal. B-3795.

<sup>87</sup> There is correspondence and documentation on this Project in: NHA, State, leg. 8132. También en su escrito: *Conveniencia para la España del aumento de su caballería demostrada en dos proyectos en que al mismo tiempo se proponen los medios más a propósito para conseguirlo*, Madrid, [1838]. Consult also: BULLÓN DE MENDOZA Y GÓMEZ DE VALUGERA, A., *La Primera Guerra Carlista*, Editorial de la Universidad Complutense, Madrid, 1992, p. 435.

soldiers of courage, would use it to serve the cause of our Nation, that they would enlist in it, that they would admit to a new homeland, since they had lost their own.

The lack of junior officers was another reason I had in mind, knowing that there are some excellent ones among the Poles, and that they could serve as an example to our young people.

It was never my idea that those strangers should serve in Spain while keeping the insignia of their Nation, and his Excellency the Minister of War acted very prudently in rejecting the proposals made to him about enlisting while maintaining one's nationality<sup>88</sup>".

Campuzano, despite his good intentions, ended up accepting his Government's demands.

The second curious fact, which may seem surprising at first, is not all that strange when we consider the political situation: Poles did not fight in the Carlist ranks: neither as a unit – which is logical considering that the pretender to the throne, Prince Carlos, enjoyed economic support in the war from Russia, Prussia and Austria, Poland's three dividing powers – nor as individuals. In other words, there were no Polish soldiers of fortune or mercenaries in the pay of the Carlists. In the memoirs of Charles Frederick Henningsen, a Captain of lancers who fought in the Carlist ranks, there appears the story of a Polish officer "*le seul qui servît dans notre armée*". The story is presented in a very interesting way. First, the Pole had served in Portugal with the Army of Miguel I with the rank of 2nd Lieutenant. When he moved to Spain, General Tomás de Zumalacárregui accepted him with the same rank. Soon, according to Henningsen, the Slav had won over the affection of all around him when he told them the reasons why he had come to fight so far from his home. He wanted to get two certificates, one from Miguel I and the other from the pretender Carlos, so that he could appear before the Tsar of Russia as someone who had fought against the liberals and had obtained the freedom of his father, who had been deported to Siberia on his account. Nicholas I had banished his family in retaliation for their participation in the failed November Uprising of 1830-1831. He thought that if he presented himself with both credentials the Tsar would forgive his family and return his father to him. But one

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<sup>88</sup> NHA. State, leg. 8132. Campuzano to the Minister of State, Paris, December 13, 1836.

day the Pole disappeared from the camp. Henningsen describes how a great sorrow and fear took hold of everyone in the belief that perhaps he had been taken prisoner. However, they soon found out that the officer was in fact a spy and that he had been acting all this time. This Captain of the lancers lamented: "*nous fûmes tout étonnés de notre stupidité*"<sup>89</sup>. We do not know the identity of this informant. Similarly, the assumption that Prince Felix von Lichnowsky was a Pole has also been ruled out, despite the fact that he was regarded as a Pole by some of his contemporaries. There is no doubt that this Carlist fighter was a German born in Vienna and a landowner from Silesia<sup>90</sup>. In 1848, he wrote an interesting memoir of the battle that was also translated into French and Spanish<sup>91</sup>.

The third and last peculiar detail before concluding this section is related to the negative response to the application for admission to the Spanish Army submitted by some Poles. If, as we will see later, the Polish military was able to serve in Spain without any added difficulty when the French Auxiliary Legion left for the neighbouring country, the individual soldiers who tried that same fortune on their own failed. We have only three examples, although we assume that there could have been many more. Again, we have to draw on available sources.

The first request is from Lieutenant Pablo (Paweł) Cendrowicz. His desire to enter the service "*of Her Majesty the Queen as a 2nd lieutenant in the Royal Infantry Guard*" was hampered by:

"this pretension being contrary to the general rule of not granting approval to foreign chiefs and officers to join our army, and even more inopportune the request made because of the circumstance of having been in the Royal Guard where the interested party asked to enter. (...) Madrid, June 10, 1837".

Cendrowicz claimed that he came to Spain in 1836 with the intention of joining the French Auxiliary Legion in Pamplona,

<sup>89</sup> The full story in: [HENNINGSEN, C.T.], *Mémoires sur Zumalacarregui et sur les premières campagnes de Navarre, par C.T. Henningsen, capitaine de lanciers au service de don Carlos*, Librairie de H. Fournier, t. 2, Paris, 1826, pp. 28-31.

<sup>90</sup> See: AZCONA, José María, "Recuerdos de la Guerra Carlista (1837 a 1839) por el Príncipe Félix von Lichnowsky", *Príncipe de Viana*, 5 (1941), pp. 74-91.

<sup>91</sup> See the Spanish edition: LICHNOWSKY, Príncipe Félix, *Recuerdos de la Guerra Carlista (1837-1839)*, prologue, translation and notes by José M. Azcona Díaz de Rada, Espasa-Calpe, Madrid, 1942.

but was unable to do so because there was no position vacant. The letters of recommendation written to him by some "*Polish Generals*" where they described him as an "*officer of disposition and merit for having studied at the polytechnic school of Warsaw*", and of "*his love of freedom and adherence to the cause of Queen Isabel II*", were not enough to overturn the rule<sup>92</sup>.

The second request came from Captain Estanislao Okninski (Stanisław Okniński), who asked to be admitted as a Lieutenant in the Royal Guard or as a Captain of a regiment of the Spanish Army. But the general rule, as with Cendrowicz, was "*not to grant passes to our Army to foreign chiefs and officers*". This refusal was signed in Madrid on June 15, 1837<sup>93</sup>.

Finally, we have the case of Charles (Karol) Dembowski, son of Jan Dembowski, a General in Napoleonic times. This Pole came to Spain during the Carlist War and in mid-April 1838 tried to join the Spanish Army as a Captain, but "*Queen Governor*" did not grant him his request for the same reason as his two previous compatriots<sup>94</sup>. Dembowski stayed in Spain for a few more years, even visiting Chopin in the Cartuja de Valldemosa in Mallorca. The great composer and virtuoso pianist lived there with his lover George Sand, hoping to recover from his illness. Dembowski recorded his experiences during his time in Spain in a travel book<sup>95</sup>.

### Poles in the Spanish Army from 1839 to the mid-19th century

Similar to what happened in the early years of the century, once the treaty of the Quadruple Alliance was concluded with the subsequent departure of the French Auxiliary Legion, the Poles who did not leave but chose to stay in the Spanish Army did so in an individual capacity. For the remainder of the century there were to be no more units formed solely with soldiers from that

<sup>92</sup> ANH. State, leg. 5283.

<sup>93</sup> NHA. State, leg. 5313.

<sup>94</sup> GMAS. Personal, exp. D-244.

<sup>95</sup> The work was published in French in 1841 (*Deux ans en Espagne et en Portugal, pendant la guerre civile 1838-1840*). Translated into Spanish for the first time in 1931, we indicate its last re-edition: DEMBOWSKI, Barón Carlos, *Dos años en España durante la Guerra Civil, 1838-1840*, Crítica, Barcelona, 2008. See also: MAKOWIEC-KA, Gabriela, *Po drogach polsko-hiszpańskich*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków, 1984, pp. 275-276.

Central European nation. Let us now see who these military men were, the reasons why they probably remained in the Iberian Peninsula and the most outstanding actions of their professional career.

Out of a total of 36 officers who began serving in the Polish Lancers Regiment, if we discount the three who died or were wounded on the battlefield and the other three whose fate is unknown, there remain 30 officers, half of whom left for France and the other half who opted to stay in the Spanish Army. From the latter we must discount Captain Konstanty Ledóchowski, whose request was rejected because he was considered a French agent<sup>96</sup>. Therefore, the overall result is 14 officers who managed to make a military career and settle in the country where they had come to fight. Fortunately, we have the exps. of 13 of these men. However, we must bear in mind that our estimates are linked to the sources we have. We know of the existence of other military men who stayed in Spain and whose origin and traceability has been difficult or even impossible to ascertain<sup>97</sup>.

Below is the list of those Polish officers who served in the Spanish Army. Many of them added a second surname to their first one, as is the custom in Spain and not in Poland where usually only the paternal surname is used. In general, their names appear with multiple deformations:

- Walerian Bieliński – Valeriano Bielinski y Pucina
- Michał Horain – Miguel Horain
- Tomasz Jędrzejowski – Tomás Yendrioski
- Henryk Krajewski – Enrique Craievski
- Aleksander Mogielnicki – Alejandro Mojiliniqui Corera
- Julian Morawski – Julián Morawski Waskoska
- Maurycy Muller – Mauricio Muller
- Klemens Pągowski – Clemente Pougoski
- Feliks Rokicki – Félix Rokiski Jablonski
- Wincenty Skarżyński – Vicente Skarcinski
- Ludwik Świdziński – Luis Suvidzinski

<sup>96</sup> GMAS. Personal, exp. L-530.

<sup>97</sup> For example, Józef Feliks Zieliński, a pioneer of Polish photography who travelled around Spain in the 1850s, met some of these fellow army veterans. Of the six he mentions (Horain, Morawski, Rokicki, Horodyński, Czaczko y Mogilnicki), we were unable to locate the second-last. See: [ZIELIŃSKI, Józef Feliks]. *Wspomnienia z tułactwa. Z rękopisów Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu i Biblioteki Narodowej*, Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, Elwira Wróblewska (ed.), Warsaw, 1989, p. 533.

- Lucjan Jerzy Woroniecki – Luciano Woromixki<sup>98</sup>
- Franciszek Ziemiński – Francisco Zeninski
- Karol Żbikowski – Carlos Bodo de Zbicowski y Griebel<sup>99</sup>

The service records preserved in the General Military Archive of Segovia show the positions, military campaigns, decorations and special commissions of these officers. Their status as foreigners did not prevent them from rising in the military ranks, being rewarded if their actions warranted it, and enjoying the esteem of their superiors. We cannot dwell here on the professional details of each of these individuals, especially as they served in multiple regiments and commissions throughout their long careers. However, we can divide them into two categories according to their personal trajectories.

Firstly, let us look at that group of military men who left Spain after completing a lifetime of service in the Spanish Army. Among them are Colonel Henryk Krajewski, who requested and was granted his retirement to France in 1844; Major Ludwik Świdziński, who was in Warsaw in 1843 and requested a year's extension before returning to the Iberian Peninsula; and finally Captain Wincenty Skarżyński, who enjoyed his first permit to go on "royal leave to a foreign country" in 1843. He returned to Spain, only to leave again for the Kingdoms of Saxony and Bohemia in 1844. In 1850 he continued to enjoy the same permit to settle personal matters. It seems that neither of these last two officers returned to Spain<sup>100</sup>.

More extensive is the group formed by those military men whose professional and personal career was developed and completed in Spanish territory. In this group we find Colonels Michał Horain, Julian Morawski and Feliks Rokicki; 1st Major Karol Żbikowski; Major Walerian Bieliński; Captains Klemens

<sup>98</sup> This officer's exp. was not found in the General Military Archive of Segovia. Professor Gabriela Makowiecka thinks that the poem *Polonia*, read on June 1, 1838 in the Artistic and Literary Lyceum of Madrid, is probably dedicated to him. See: MAKOWIECKA, G., *Po drogach polsko-hispańskich*, p. 275.

<sup>99</sup> GMAS, Personal, exps. B-2486, O-396, LL-141, C-3718, M-3419, M-4271, M-4746, P-2433, R-2996, E-1128, S-3628, C-2745, B-3342.

<sup>100</sup> The following is a list of the rank and regiment with which they completed their military career, as well as the decorations they received: Henryk Krajewski, Colonel of Cavalry (1840), Lusitania Regiment; in 1842 he requested to hand over the four First Class crosses of San Fernando he had been awarded for war merits in exchange for the Second Class Laureate; Ludwik Świdziński, Major (1849), Montesa Regiment; in 1852 he applied for retirement; Wincenty Skarżyński, Captain (1842), Lusitania Regiment. See: GMAS. Personal, exps: C-3718, S-3628 y E-1128.

Pagowski, Maurycy Muller and Aleksander Mogielnicki; Lieutenant Franciszek Zieniewski and 2nd Lieutenant Tomasz Jędrzejowski<sup>101</sup>. By far the most remarkable figure in this group was Colonel Horain, one of the most outstanding Polish military men of this era, having become General Baldomero Espartero's aide-de-camp and one of his most trusted aides. Horain died in 1855 in Madrid from an accident with his horse. In its obituary, the newspaper *La Iberia* gave a full account of his military and personal virtues:

"This morning at ten o'clock the mortal remains of the late Count Horain, brigadier of the national armies and former aide-de-camp of the Duke of Victoria, were brought to their final resting place. (...) The Count of Horain was indeed a military man as loyal as he was fearless; of Polish origin, he emigrated from his homeland as a result of the events of 1831, having first served in the Algerian army, and then in Spain with the French legion, from where the Duke of Victoria called him to fight, during the civil war, under his immediate command. From then on, Count Horain never left his general's side; he emigrated with him in 1843, and with him he remained in obscurity during the eleven years of moderate domination, preferring to participate in solitu-

<sup>101</sup> The following is a list of the rank and regiment with which they completed their military career and the decorations they received. All the data come from their respective service sheets indicated in the previous note: Michał Horain, Colonel (1851), four First Class San Fernando Crosses (see table 1); Julian Morawski, Colonel for War Merit (1860), Regiment of the 3rd Prince of Cavalry (1860), fought in the Africa campaign (1859-1860), in the Philippines (1862), cross for the Siege of Morella (1840), insignia of the San Fernando Cross (1857), died in 1864; Feliks Rokicki, Colonel for campaign services (1869), 1st Cavalry Regiment of Pavia (1873), single of San Hermenegildo (1869), Cross of Military Merit Second Class (1870), Second Class of Military Merit for special services (1871), Red Second Class of Military Merit (1872) and Plaque of the Military Order of San Hermenegildo (1874); Karol Żbikowski, 1st Major (1864), La Albuera Infantry Regiment no. 26 (1863-1865), Cross of Distinction for the Siege of Morella (1840), Cross of Maria Luisa (1854) and Cross of San Hermenegildo (1856); Walerian Bieliński, major by decision of General Grace (1856), 16th Cavalry Regiment of Hunters of Alcántara (1859-1864), Cross of Isabel la Católica (1852) and Cross of San Hermenegildo (1857); Klemens Pagowski, Captain (1838), 13th Regiment of Lusitania (1838), died in Valencia (1844); Maurycy Muller, Captain (1843), 11th Cavalry Regiment of Catalonia, professor of practical geometry, died in Alcalá de Henares (1851); Aleksander Mogielnicki, Captain for state Services (1879), Regiment of Luchana Rangers, in 1840 he went to work in the Ministry of Finance, at the Post Office; Franciszek Zieniewski, Lieutenant (1839), 2nd Free-Volunteer Squadron of Old Castile, in service until at least 1842; Tomasz Jędrzejowski, 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant (1838), 11<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Almansa (1843).

de and retirement rather than to receive in active service the promotions that any government could not but grant to the extraordinary merits of his person. Death has come today to snatch from our army such a brilliant swordsman; a fatal, unforeseen, and unexpected death, having so long respected the shots that life always consecrated to actions that honour and exalt man. Count Horain was an expatriate for a noble cause: let us be comforted by the idea that Spain offered him a new homeland, and let this example, this cry of sorrow which we utter today, serve as a testimony that for us the title of foreigner is a double recommendation when linked to honesty and nobility of soul, virtues which always shine in all generous and grateful hearts as was that of the unfortunate Spanish brigadier whose death we mourn today<sup>102</sup>”.

With the exception of Colonel Horain, who remained unmarried, and Captain Pagowski, who died prematurely in Valencia in 1844 and whose marital status is unknown, the rest of the Polish officers in this second group managed to put down roots in Spain, a country so far from their native lands, after marrying Spanish women. However, family details are not always available in the personal files of these men. We have only managed to find out the name and surname of Encarnación Rodríguez Capote and María Francisca Rivas y Pensado, first and second wife of Colonel Feliks Rokicki; of María de las Mercedes Tello, wife of First Commander Karol Żbikowski; of María García Carrasco, wife of Commander Walerian Bieliński, and of Paula Gasco, wife of Captain Aleksander Mogielnicki<sup>103</sup>.

Almost all of these mixed Polish-Spanish families produced offspring. A number of these children followed their father's military career. For example, Karol Żbikowski and María de las Mercedes Tello married and had children: Carlos Zbikowski y Tello and his brother Juan Enrique Zbikowski y Tello. The former died young with the rank of Infantry Captain; the latter became a Colonel and when stationed in Puerto Rico he married María Julia Margarida. Their son, Enrique de Zbikowski and Margarida, later settled in Seville, where the family's descendants live today<sup>104</sup>. Likewise,

<sup>102</sup> GMAS. Personal, exp. O-396; BIELECKI, R., *Polacy w Legii Cudzoziemskiej*, pp. 154-155; *La Iberia. Diario Liberal de la Tarde*, July 14, 1855.

<sup>103</sup> GMAS. Personal, exps. R-2996, B-3342, B-2486, M-3419.

<sup>104</sup> GMAS, Personal, exps. Z-216; SCHEEL-EXNER, Alexander, "Cuatro armerías troncales de Centroeuropa en la heráldica española: Wieniawa, Slepowron, Jelita y Sam-

we located a son of Tomasz Jędrzejowski 2nd Lieutenant of the Lancers Regiment, in Uclés. In that town in Cuenca, Alvaro "Yastrebiec Yendrzeyowski" (Jastrzębiec Jędrzejowski), practiced medicine and in 1892 he was the town's mayor. Very interested in archaeology, he collaborated in the excavations of the cave of Segóbriga under the direction of the famous father Edouard Capelle<sup>105</sup>.

Besides the officers who were part of the former Lancer Regiment, there were also other Poles who managed to put down roots in Spain or came to Spain for other reasons. This is the case of Feliks Horodyński, who acquired the Spanish name Félix Horodiski y Levica, and in February 1835 was appointed Lieutenant in the Almanza Infantry Regiment and aide-de-camp to the General of the Northern Army, Luis Fernández de Córdoba. Horodyński served in several regiments and fought in the First and Second Carlist War. His last service in 1856 was as 1<sup>st</sup> Commander of the Carabineers (Carabineros) unit with the rank of Cavalry Lieutenant Colonel. Horodyński did not come to the Iberian Peninsula as part of the French Foreign Legion, although he served in it and fought in Algeria; in 1834 he was struck off the list, as a result of not being held in high regard by his superiors<sup>106</sup>. He married twice. With his first wife, Eugenia Baraibar he had two children: Josefa Horodiski Baibar and Leopoldo Horodiski Baibar, a cadet who died very young. With his second wife, Concepción Álvarez de Astrain, he had at least one son, Félix Horodiski Álvarez, who

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son", *Anales de la Real Academia Matritense de Heráldica y Genealogía*, XVI (2013), p. 506.

<sup>105</sup> BERNÁNDEZ GÓMEZ, María, GUI SANDO DI MONTI, Juan Carlos y VILL AVERDE MORA, Fernando, "Edouard Capelle: un prehistoriador y jesuita francés en tierras de Cuenca (Toulouse 1864-Toulouse...?), *Pioneros de la Arqueología en España – del siglo XVI a 1912. Zona Arqueológica*, nº 3, Alcalá de Henares, 2004, pp. 345-352, available at <http://www.lapisspecularis.org/Art%C3%ADculos/EDOUARDCAPELLE.pdf>. Consulted on 18.11.2019. Sources reveal that there were more Spanish-Polish families whose descendants joined the ranks of the Spanish Army. Unfortunately we know too little about them to be able to identify them in a specific block. These are, for example, the cases of Miguel Domanski Mayor, born in Alicante in 1812, and son of "Alberto Domanski Zaborowski" (Albert Domański Zaborowski) and Vicenta Mayor Vidal. In 1834 he joined the Royal Guard and in August 1856 he reached the rank of Infantry Commander of the Carabineros del Reino Regiment (GMAS. Personal, exp. D-900). Or the case of the Lieutenant Colonel "Juan Rankins Díaz", born in León in 1862 (GMAS. Personal, exp. R-374). Finally, there is "Jerónimo Willinski González", born in January 1853, and son of the Infantry Lieutenant "Gustavo de Willinski" (Gustaw Wiliński), who was denied entry as a cadet in the infantry regiment (GMAS. Personal, exp. U-35).

<sup>106</sup> BIELECKI, R., *Polacy w Legii Cudzoziemskiej*, p. 156.

became Major of the General Staff<sup>107</sup>. One of his descendants, José Antonio Romeo Horodisky, was a priest and teacher at Madrid's Colegio del Pilar <sup>108</sup>.

References to Poles in the Spanish Army or fighting without any military rank in some of the many internal conflicts that flooded Spain in the 19th century still remain, but in a more symbolic way. The Iberian Peninsula became a pleasant place for those Poles without a homeland to develop their personal life and their professional career or simply spend some time in a southern European country close to France, a key place of emigration for the Polish diaspora in the 19th century.

This is a very heterogeneous group. It is made up of aristocrats such as Witold Czartoryski, son of Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, one of the most important politician of the Polish cause abroad, who came to Spain to complete his military career between 1845 and 1846<sup>109</sup>, or the brothers Augusto and Fernando Gurowski Borbón, sons of Count Ignacy Gurowski and the Infanta Isabel Fernanda de Borbón y Borbón-Dos Sicilias, niece of Ferdinand VII<sup>110</sup>. There is also the case of the engineer Józef Froński (Fronski), who after participating in the January Uprising of 1863 against the Russians in Warsaw, emigrated to England, where he got married. After some time, he came to Spain and settled with his family in Béjar working in a textile factory. Linked to the liberal and republican movements, he took command of the defence of that city before the siege of the Isabelline army in September 1868. As a result of his exploits, he was received in Madrid by General Juan Prim, who offered him the opportunity to join the army or to accept consular representation of Spain abroad. Froński chose the second option and for thirty years he was the

<sup>107</sup> GMAS. Personal, expets. O-516, O-517.

<sup>108</sup> Ambassador Javier Rupérez respectfully and lovingly mentions him in his memoirs. See: RUPÉREZ, Javier. *La mirada sin ira. Memorias de política, diplomacia y vida en la España contemporánea*, [Córdoba], 2016, pp. 23-24.

<sup>109</sup> When he returned to Paris, he held the rank of Spanish Infantry Lieutenant. Regarding his year-long stay in Spain, see: OBTUŁOWICZ, Barbara, *Witold Adam książę Czartoryski (1822-1865)*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UP, Kraków, 2019, pp. 176-201. Władysław Czartoryski, Witold's brother, married María Amparo Borbón y Muñoz, maternal half-sister of Isabel II, in 1855. See: OBTUŁOWICZ, B., *María Amparo Muñoz y de Borbón, księżna Czartoryska*, Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych Universitas, Kraków, 2013.

<sup>110</sup> In the National Historical Archive you can find the documentary collection: "Archivo de Isabel Fernanda de Borbón y Borbón-Dos Sicilias". Dossier relating to these two sisters in: GMAS. Personal, exp. 4332.

Vice-Consul and Consul of Spain in various parts of America and Africa<sup>111</sup>.

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Throughout this article we have seen how most Poles who came to Spain in the 19th century did so to fight against a country that was contrary to their interests as a nation. But despite so many sacrifices, the Polish military effort was not recompensed. Not when they gave their support to Napoleon, or with their support to the Spanish liberals. The absolutism of Russia, Prussia and Austria continued to direct the fate of the inhabitants of the former Republic of the Two Nations. Consequently, some of these men were unable or unwilling to return to their homes and decided to serve in Spain. For many it was the only way to continue their professional career and still be able to earn a living as they did not have a home to return to without facing considerable risk.

In any case, these were difficult and turbulent times when men so different and with such differing objectives, as the Spaniards and the Poles of that century, were able to live together and understand each other in the same space when the latter chose not to return to their homes and instead form a family in Spain. Without a doubt, their Catholic religion, shared by both nations, contributed enormously to this rapprochement.

But the Polish cause was also quickly understood. With the beginning of the so-called Democratic Sexennium (1868-1874) a wave of pessimism took over the press, parliamentary oratory and Spanish literature. It was feared that, in the face of political instability, the intervention of foreign powers in Spain's internal affairs and the threat to the country's territorial integrity, Spain could end up like Poland in the 18th century and disappear as a nation from the map of Europe<sup>112</sup>. Fortunately, these bad omens did not materialise and from 1875, with the restoration of the Bourbons to power in the person of Alfonso XII, a new phase of relative internal stability began and the Polish cliché, in that sense, began to gradually fade. The Polish military who settled in our country contributed to writing the script of that page in our history.

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<sup>111</sup> My grateful thanks for the information about this unknown character to the researcher Ignacio Coll Tellechea, who will soon publish a biography of the Pole.

<sup>112</sup> FERNÁNDEZ-MAYORALES PALOMEQUE, Juan, "La Polonia del Mediodía: un tópico polaco en la historia española", *Hispania*, LXII/I, 210 (2002), pp. 167-220.



## Chapter four

### Polish military presence in Spain in the 20<sup>th</sup> century

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#### Abstract

This chapter analyses the Polish military presence in Spain in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, divided in three categories: 1) at least ten Polish citizens of Polish or Jewish nationality, who enlisted the Tercio of Foreigners (Tercio of Morocco, Tercio) before the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War; 2) at least thirteen Polish citizens and former citizens of Polish, Jewish and most probably Austrian nationality, who fought on the "National" side during that conflict, joining its ranks after July 18<sup>th</sup>, 1936; 3) around 4,5 thousand Polish citizens of various nationalities (Polish, Jewish, Ukrainian and Belarusian) and other individuals of Polish origin, who composed a part of the International Brigades, which fought on the "Republican" side during the Civil War.

#### Keywords

Poles, Spain, army, 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries it was customary for large numbers of Poles to come to Spain to fight in wars. During the twentieth century, Polish soldiers and other combatants who arrived in Spain can be divided into three main categories: 1) those who served in the Spanish Army, in the so-called Tercio of Foreigners<sup>1</sup>, having been enlisted before the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. They were Polish citizens<sup>2</sup> as well as former Polish citizens. It is difficult to establish their exact number although we know of ten cases, plus one other uncertain case; in all it would appear that there were no more than twenty to thirty people of this category; 2) at least thirteen Polish citizens and former Polish citizens who joined the Spanish Army – all but one in the Tercio – during the Spanish Civil War who fought on the “National” side<sup>3</sup>; and 3) some 4,500 Polish citizens of various nationalities (Polish, Jewish, Ukrainian and Belarusian) and other people of Polish origin who were part of the International Brigades fighting on the “Republican” side.

### Poles in the Tercio of Foreigners (Tercio of Morocco, Tercio) enlisted before the Spanish Civil War

We do not know of any cases of ethnic Poles serving in the Spanish Army in the twentieth century until the creation of the Tercio of Foreigners in 1920. However, we have found evidence of several

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<sup>1</sup> The military unit known as the Tercio of Foreigners was created by royal decree on January 28, 1920 (MONTES RAMOS, José, *El Tercio*, Agualarga, Madrid, 2001, p. 11). For further details on its history, see: TOGORES SÁNCHEZ, Luis Eugenio, *Historia de la Legión Española. La infantería legendaria. De África a Afganistán*, La Esfera de los Libros, Madrid, 2016; RUIZ DE AGUIRRE, Alfonso, *La Legión en las campañas de Marruecos (1921-1927)*, Alcañiz Fresno's, Valladolid, 2012. In 1925 the unit was renamed the Tercio of Morocco, in the same year it became the Tercio and since May 8, 1937 the Spanish Legion. It was then that the legions of the Tercio became the tercios of the Legion.

<sup>2</sup> In Central-Eastern Europe a distinction is made between citizenship (belonging to the State) and nationality (belonging to an ethnic group; normally this is decided by the individual). This differs from Spain, where – following the French model – citizenship is the same as nationality. As we will see, this further complicates our analysis.

<sup>3</sup> We use the terms “National” and “Republican”, while cognizant of the lack of precision of these labels: CIECHANOWSKI, J.S., *Podwójna gra. Rzeczpospolita Polska wobec hiszpańskiej wojny domowej 1936–1939*, Fundacja „Historia i Kultura”, Warsaw, 2014, p. 15. From here on we will use these terms without quotation marks.

military men of Polish origin, coming from mixed families, whose ancestors had fought for Poland's independence against the partitioners and occupiers of their homeland, mainly Russia, but also Prussia (later Germany) and Austria (later Austro-Hungary). These were cases of Slavs who remained in exile, especially after the great anti-Russian uprising of 1830-1831. One example is that of the Wesolowski family, which we shall return to later.

We know little about the Polish soldiers who served in the Tercio. The vast majority were simple legionnaires, with a rudimentary level of education, and whose complicated destinies propelled them towards a distant and exotic Spain. Historiography has dealt with them individually, based on stories that are mostly fragmented, accidental and scarce<sup>4</sup>. The most extensive analysis to date can be found in our article published in Polish in 2004, although it focused on the period of the Civil War<sup>5</sup>. In order to obtain a complete list, an broad and meticulous search would need to be undertaken, primarily in the extensive and dispersed Spanish military archives, both regular and intermediate, supported by consultation in the Polish and French archives, among others.

When Poland regained its independence in 1918, it had to wage a military campaign to fix its borders and defend itself in 1920 from the Russian Bolshevik invasion. Future Marshal Mikhail Tukhachevsky maintained that by the remnants of the so-called 'White Poland', they were trying to bring the torch of the revolution to the west of the continent, especially to revolutionary Germany. On January 20, 1920, the Polish Parliament passed a law on state citizenship, which forbade people from entering military service or accepting public office in a foreign country without the Government's prior permission (Article 11, Section 2). Sanctions were harsh and consisted in the loss of citizenship<sup>6</sup>. They were

<sup>4</sup> CHODAKIEWICZ, Marek Jan, "Zagrabiona pamięć: wojna w Hiszpanii 1936-1939", Fronda, Warsaw, 1997, p. 93; TARACHA, Cezary, "Wstęp", in: PARDO, Wacław, *Polski legionista generała Franco*, ed. C. Taracha, Polskie Wydawnictwo Encyklopedyczne, Radom, 2001, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> CIECHANOWSKI, Jan Stanisław, "Polscy ochotnicy po stronie narodowej w czasie hiszpańskiej wojny domowej (1936-1939)", in: *Studia polsko-hiszpańskie. Wiek XX*, ed. Jan Kieniewicz, Ośrodek Badań nad Tradycją Antyczną w Polsce i Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warsaw, 2004, pp. 117-151.

<sup>6</sup> *Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* (hereafter, *Dziennik Ustaw*) 7, Warsaw, January 31, 1920, p. 83.

designed to punish the few individuals, considered traitors, who were going to join the army of the "fatherland of the proletariat". In the 1920s and early 1930s, when the overall situation and Poland's independence stabilised, the Government generally gave its consent to those mainly unemployed Polish citizens, who wished to join the French Foreign Legion (Légion étrangère). In each individual case this was decided by the Council of Ministers. The last permits were issued in 1932, after which they were no longer granted<sup>7</sup>. We have been unable to locate any applications to serve in the Spanish Tercio in the documentation of the Polish Ministry of the Interior.

After the formation of the Tercio of Foreigners in the autumn of 1920, there were no Polish citizens among the twenty or so nationalities represented there<sup>8</sup>, but this does not mean that someone of Polish origin with a false identity or a new citizenship could not serve in the unit. The earliest traces of Poles in the Tercio can be found in the documentation of the Spanish Ministry of State, the institution in charge of settling the cases of those individuals who were the focus of interest either of the authorities of their country of origin or the Spanish authorities. From these records it is clear that the Tercio was a very picturesque mixture of nationalities. According to our calculations, correspondence dealt with the cases of representatives of thirty-six nations in Europe, Asia and America, not counting the Spanish. Among these legionnaires were five Poles, all of whom were minors when they entered the Tercio.

In chronological order, the first trace of a Slav of Polish nationality enrolled in the Tercio can be found as early as 1922. The parents of 17-year-old Herman Tuszyński asked the Polish Legation in Madrid to have their son released from military service. Consequently, in March of that year the diplomatic representation addressed the Ministry of State in a verbal note. The young man had enlisted in the "foreign regiment", serving in a company of the *Bandera de Depósito* (where recruits received initial instruction) at the Tercio Barracks of Dar Riffien in Morocco, some 10 kilometres

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<sup>7</sup> Between 1933 and 1938 the voivodeship administrations rejected the applications submitted (Archives of Modern Records, Warsaw [hereafter, AMR], Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych w Warszawie 1918–1939 [MSW], sygn. 1524 and 1526). Poles served in the French Foreign Legion from its establishment in 1831. Before World War II they were the second largest national group after the Germans.

<sup>8</sup> MARTÍ, Javier, *Legión Extranjera y El Tercio*, Colección Cuadernos Legionarios, Ceuta, 1997, p. 59.

from Ceuta, and then in the 22nd Company of the VI *Bandera* (lit. "Banner", or Battalion). The Palacio of Santa Cruz passed on this petition to the Ministry of War, which in May reported that Tuszyński's request for discharge had been rejected "because the latter had enlisted in the Foreign Legion, being of age in accordance with the laws of his country and therefore responsible for the commitment made". However, the diplomatic mission continued to insist and the Spanish authorities reiterated their decision by indicating that the Pole had waived in writing any claims made by the Government and the "consular agents" of Poland. Furthermore, in 1924 the military authorities reported that Tuszyński "does not wish to communicate his news to anyone at all, according to his own testimony". The last mention of this legionnaire was in March of the following year, when the 6th Unit of the Under Secretariat of War transmitted to the head of the Office of the Minister of State that the General Commander of Ceuta had reported that no individual had been recruited in the Tercio under the name of "A. Tuchiuski", but a certain "Hermann Techeeski" who had been admitted to Xauen hospital in June 1924 for conjunctivitis, had been evacuated to Tetouan in July and left the hospital the same month<sup>9</sup>. All indications are that this young man continued to serve in the Tercio, despite his parents' wishes.

The following cases of Polish citizens who enrolled in the Tercio against their parents' wishes date from 1925. The first of these was Melaniesz Tytus Büttner (Melanio Titus Buettner), born in 1904. His surname indicates that he could have been of German nationality, but possibly also of another nationality, including Polish. According to the Polish Legation, he was a minor without the

<sup>9</sup> National Historical Archive, Madrid (hereafter, NHA), Contemporary Funds (CF), Ministry of State (MS), leg. H. 2885 (Historical Archives). In this correspondence, in accordance with Spanish tradition, Polish names were greatly altered, sometimes in a way that made it impossible to conclude that the person was Polish. In July 1921, the General Secretariat of the Spanish High Commission in Morocco (GS SHCM) indicated to the Minister of State the errors of the local military authorities in this respect. In the specific case of the General Command of Melilla, it was commented that this had happened "in spite of the many times that it had been indicated to the General Headquarters the advisability of providing accurate details pertaining to the name of the deserters" (*Ibid.*, leg. H. 2888, GS SHCM to the Minister of State, Tetouan, July 13, 1921). Such was the case of a defector from the French Legion, a Polish citizen of Jewish nationality, Samuel (Schmul) Kaufmann, who was illiterate and undocumented. The variations of his name used in the correspondence were: Simulk Kanppmann, Simuk Cauppmann or Caupmann, Smulk Kapram, Samo Kaufmann (see: *Ibid* and footnote 13).

permission of the Polish "Ministry of War" (Ministry of Military Affairs) to enlist in a foreign army. The young man served as a legionnaire in the Tercio's *Bandera de Depósito* in Dar Riffien. In October 1925 the Polish mission requested his immediate release, declaring that they would bear the costs of sending him back to Poland. His release was granted once the Poles had fulfilled the necessary requirements, i.e. to submit a legalised copy of his birth certificate and to pay off the balance due on the settlement of the young man's assets and transport costs. The Polish Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary in Madrid, Count Władysław Sobański, informed the Minister of State, José de Yanguas Messía, that he could pay for the soldier's ticket from Ceuta to Marseille and his maintenance during the journey, but refused to share the view of the Ministry of War which sought the reimbursement of the maintenance costs of a Polish citizen hired by the Spanish Army without the authorisation of the Polish authorities. Furthermore, the legation assumed material responsibility only in the event of Büttner being given permission to leave. It also pointed out that if the young man did not immediately appear in Poland, the Polish authorities would consider him a deserter for failing to comply with the laws requiring him to report to military institutions in order to fulfil "duties to his country". Finally, the legionnaire was released, leaving for Poland via Barcelona, where he was placed at the disposal of his country's consul. The legation paid the balance due of 14.09 pesetas<sup>10</sup>.

The second case was that of Józef (Joseph, José) Figwer, born in 1905, although he claimed to be 24 years old in 1925. He also enrolled in the Tercio against his father's wishes and without the authorisation of the ministry. He served in the 1st Company of the *Bandera de Depósito* in Dar Riffien. In October 1925 Count Sobański requested his immediate release and repatriation, interceding also before General Felipe Navarro y Ceballos-Escalera, Baron of Casa Davalillo and General Commander of Ceuta. In November, the Tercio confirmed the existence of an individual affiliated with this surname who had entered that unit on September 28 of the same year "from the Guipúzcoa recruitment office, where he signed a five-year commitment with the rights and obligations determined by Royal Order regarding the organisation of this Corps". It was reported that he was a native of "Kracobia" (Cracow) in Germany (in Poland, in fact) and that attached to his affiliation was "the document issued to foreigners,

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, leg. H. 2884.

in which the interested party declares before two witnesses and the flag officer, that he renounces his right to any claim from his country or any other party, in order to break the contract and its conditions with regard to his initial payment, bonuses and other benefits". At that time the legionnaire was stationed at the Dar Riffien barracks for training purposes. However, in March 1926 the Polish Minister obtained permission from the Spanish Government to return the young man to his homeland (along with ten other Polish citizens), after presenting a copy of his birth certificate, reimbursing the balance due, and again warning him that he would soon be considered a deserter. At that time Figwer was in the front line of Al Hoceima - Palomas, in the 12th Company of the IV *Bandera*, when he was informed of the Madrid Government's decision. In the end he was discharged and sent from Ceuta to Barcelona at the behest of the Polish Consul. In July the legation paid 26.76 pesetas on his behalf<sup>11</sup>.

The next case is that of the legionnaire Theodor Tobjasz Grünwald (Teodoro Gruenwald), born in 1906 in Warsaw. In April 1926 the Polish diplomatic representation requested his release, stating that it was willing to cover his expenses. Usually the Ministry of State gave its permission only on condition that the young man in question had enrolled in the Tercio as a minor, and on presentation of a birth certificate and the full refund of any balance due. At the time, this young man was in the 22nd Company of the VI *Bandera*. In August the ministry informed the Polish representation that "it is necessary to know when young men come of age in Poland and leave the custody of their parents, especially for the purposes of their enlistment". The mission replied that Polish citizens were emancipated at the age of 21 and it requested the Grünwald's immediate embarkation on a vessel destined for one of the Italian ports. It is not clear whether the balance of 635.29 pesetas was paid and whether the young man left Spanish territory, but it is very likely that this happened<sup>12</sup>.

The last case of this kind was that of Stanisław Maryan Bednarski. In October 1929, the Polish Legation informed the Ministry of State that the Polish citizen Antoni Bednarski was requesting the release from the "Spanish Foreign Legion" of his son, born in 1911, who had joined the unit against his will between June and August 1929. At that time the young man was in the Tercio

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

Military barracks in Dar Riffien. His father declared that he was willing to cover the costs of his son's release and repatriation. In December the diplomatic mission, demanding a reply to its previous note, added that, according to the latest information, this legionnaire was serving in the 2nd Company of the I *Bandera* in Villa Sanjurjo. Having fulfilled the due requirements and the legation having paid the 400 pesetas of expenses caused to the Spanish State, Bednarski was discharged in March 1930 and "passported" through Melilla to Madrid, where the mission took charge of his expedition to Poland<sup>13</sup>.

The aforementioned five Polish legionnaires appeared in the documentation of the Palacio de Santa Cruz only because they were minors. For those who were not repatriated, their contracts expired sooner or later. It is very likely that some Polish legionnaires died in combat in the Moroccan wars. Logically, at that time there must have been Poles in the Tercio who were of age, and there are indications that there were quite a number of them. Records relating to some of these are kept in the Spanish military archives of Ávila, Ceuta, Melilla and Segovia. We will now present this group.

On April 23, 1923 the Polish Stanisław Sługa or Sluga (Estanislao Sluga Skura) enlisted for four years at the recruitment office for the Tercio of Foreigners in Málaga. Born in 1889, in his file he appears as a labourer, living in Poland, a Roman Catholic with six years of military experience in the Russian artillery, most probably also during the Great War. After his enlistment he was assigned to Ceuta, embarked for Melilla on May 14, and arrived on the 15th, joining the 3rd Company of the I *Bandera*. On that same day he failed to turn up for three duty rosters (ordinance checks) or for target practice on the following day. It would appear that he deserted after a little over two weeks of service, which is quite

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* One cannot rule out the possibility that a legionnaire, a certain Knaster, also a minor, possessed Polish citizenship (see: *ibid.*). Also serving in the Tercio were inhabitants of the Free City of Gdansk (in German, Danzig). One of these, Adolf Wengor was an ethnic German, but his return to the homeland was arranged by the Polish Legation, which represented the Baltic port in international affairs (*ibid.*, leg. H. 2885). Among the documents of the Ministry of State we find cases of Poles who deserted the French Foreign Legion, were arrested by Spanish officials and expelled to their country at the expense of their diplomatic mission, after proving that they were really Poles, which was the subject of several disputes with the Palacio de Santa Cruz. We are aware of eleven such defectors, eight of whom were Polish, two German and one Jewish, whose cases were dealt with between 1921 and 1926. See: *ibid.*, legs. H. 2884, H. 2885 and H. 2888.

surprising. Despite having been able to subscribe to the amnesty issued by royal decree in December 1923, it seems that the Tercio never heard from him again<sup>14</sup>.

On August 31, 1925 Kazimierz Żuliński (Casimiro Zulinski), born in Poland in 1890, enlisted for five years at the recruitment office in Huelva. He was assigned to the training unit of the I *Bandera* in Dar Riffien. In September he was assigned to the 15th Company of the III *Bandera* and as a member of this unit from Ceuta took part in the famous Al Hoceima landing operation. He went on to Morro Nuevo where he served in the campaign against the riflemen of Abd el-Krim. On the 29th of the same month he participated in fierce fighting, taking the Morro Viejo and the Malmusi massif. The next day he was wounded in the capture of Monte Palomas, and was admitted to the Military Hospital of Melilla and from there, at the end of October, he was evacuated to the Madrid Military Hospital. The following month he was promoted to Corporal. On February 17, 1926 he escaped from the Military Hospital of Carabanchel taking 350 pesetas from another patient and several pieces of clothing. Because of these incidents he was dismissed from his post as Corporal and in September a case was opened against him for the crimes of robbery and theft. The following month the investigating judge found him guilty *in absentia*<sup>15</sup>.

On November 8, 1925 Ludwik (Luis) Aronowski joined the Tercio in Ceuta for three years. Born in 1898 in Grodno in Poland (now Belarus), this Polish citizen of Jewish faith and origin, a journeyman and resident of Havana in Cuba, was assigned to the 1<sup>st</sup> Training Company in Dar Riffien<sup>16</sup>.

Another Polish legionnaire was Antoni Dramiński (Antonio Draminski, also: "Dramiski" or "Dramoski Sobirajow"). Born in 1905 at Jabłonowo, a Catholic with experience in the army, he enlisted for three years in Melilla on July 22, 1929. He served in the 4th Company of the II *Bandera* of the Tercio's 1st Legion. In 1930 he was injured in a random accident. On October 30, 1931 he was promoted to Corporal. Dramiński requested and successfully continued to serve in the Tercio on the basis of renewed contracts (in 1932 for two years and in 1934 and 1935 each for

<sup>14</sup> Intermediate Military Archive of Ceuta (hereinafter IMAC), Tercio of Extranjeros (hereinafter TF), dossier E. Sluga Skura.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, dossier C. Zulinski.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, dossier L. Aronowski.

a further year), given his "good" and "impeccable" conduct in the unit, and as his Captains believed him worthy of "the grace he requests". On April 6, 1937 during the Spanish Civil War, he was promoted to acting Sergeant on war merits. He died on October 15, 1938 in the Military Hospital of Zaragoza as a result of peritonitis<sup>17</sup>.

On December 5, 1930, Antoni Pardo (in Spain: Antonio Pardo Pardo<sup>18</sup>), already identified in Polish historiography, joined the Tercio for three years at the Seville recruitment office<sup>19</sup>. He was born in 1902 in the village of Bączki, near Turośl in Podlaquia. A journeyman, he had left for America to make a living in 1929. His travels also took him to Montevideo and Antwerp. Looking for work, he enlisted in the Tercio. In January 1931, he began his service in the 14th Company originating from Ceuta. In October he ended up twice in the operating theatre. In June of the same year, his unit was disbanded so he transferred to the 5th Company and in August 1934 he moved to the 6th Company. Between September and October of that year he was treated for malaria. In August 1935 he was assigned to the Tercio and at the end of September to the 6th Company of the II *Bandera*. On the 19th of the same month, Pardo was promoted to Corporal. He renewed his contract for two six-monthly periods in 1933 and in the following two years for two further one-year contracts. When the Civil War broke out he was stationed in Melilla. In August 1936 his unit was transported to the Spanish mainland to join the fighting on the Aragon front. On September 1 he was wounded in battle. On February 14, 1937, he was promoted to Sergeant. In May, he married a Spanish woman, Gregoria Martínez, in Zaragoza, and on December 27 he was authorised to work as a legionary brigadier, a rank to which he was promoted on May 11 of the following year. After the reform he served in the 1st Tercio of the Legion. In June 1938 he was admitted to hospital in Zaragoza due to ill health, and in October he was again injured and admitted

<sup>17</sup> Intermediate Military Archive of Melilla (hereafter, IMAM), dossier A. Draminski; MESA, José Luis de, *Los otros Internacionales. Voluntarios extranjeros desconocidos en el Bando Nacional durante la Guerra Civil (1936-39)*, Ediciones Barbarroja, Madrid, 1998, p. 256.

<sup>18</sup> Poles usually have one surname, which in general inherit from their father.

<sup>19</sup> PARDO, W., op. cit.; TARACHA, C., "Polski legionista generała Franco", in: *Nasz Dziennik*, Warsaw, December 24-26, 1999, p. 28; *idem*, "Ocalić od zapomnienia", letter to the editor, in: *Najwyższy Czas!* 34, Warsaw, August 23, 1997, p. II; *idem*, W. PARDO, "Polski legionista generała Franco", in: *Nowy Przegląd Wszechpolski* 3-4, Lublin, 1997, pp. 21-23.

to a hospital for legionnaires in Logroño, where he stayed until January of the following year. He was transferred to the Military Hospital in Bilbao and from there to the Basurto Hospital, which he left in March. In May 1939 Pardo joined the 14th Company, with a further stay in hospital in September. In January 1940 he was assigned to the XI *Bandera* of the 1st Tercio and to the II *Bandera* in February. In August of that year he was awarded the Collective Military Medal for his role in the defence of Huesca. In November 1941 he was assigned to the 2nd Tercio. Antonio Pardo served in the Legion until December 1958, but by then his health had been seriously impaired. In 1948 he obtained Spanish citizenship, which he had been seeking since August 1939, and was promoted to legionary Lieutenant. In December 1955 he was transferred from the 8th Company stationed in Villa Sanjurjo to the 7th Company of the XI *Bandera*. After leaving the service, he took up residence in Ceuta, where he died in June 1962<sup>20</sup>.

We come across another Polish recruit in the Tercio thanks to the narrative of Mieczysław Bohdan Lepecki, writer, traveller, officer of the Polish Army, and aide-de-camp to Marshal Józef Piłsudski, the father of Polish independence. In the years 1924-1925 he was a correspondent for *Polska Zbrojna* (Military Poland) during the Moroccan war. The Commander-in-Chief of the Tercio, Colonel José Millán-Astray y Terreros, informed him in an interview that there were only a few Polish recruits in his unit and that they did not constitute a group, unlike, for example, the Bulgarians or the Serbs. In Dar Riffien the Polish journalist was told that there was no Polish officer and introduced to a Polish legionnaire who did not want to talk to the journalist. Finally they talked and the soldier, who used the pseudonym "Fernando Ribeira", told Lepecki that some said that there were twenty Poles in the Tercio, while others claimed that there were twice as many<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, General Military Archive of Segovia (hereafter, GMAS), S.T., sygn. 4057, dossier A. Pardo Pardo; IMAM, dossier A. Pardo Pardo.

<sup>21</sup> LEPECKI, Mieczysław Bohdan, *Pod tchnieniem Sirocca. Przygody w kraju Kabylów, Polska Zbrojna*, Warsaw, 1926, p. 120; *idem*, "U wrót tajemniczego Maghrebu na wojnie marokańskiej", in: *Hiszpania malowniczo-historyczna. Zapirenejskie wędrówki Polaków w latach 1838-1930*, ed. Piotr Sawicki, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław, 1996, pp. 390, 397-398. Lepecki claimed that when the legionnaires enlisted they were paid 600 pesetas, while on duty they received 1.5 pesetas a day and a certain amount for civilian clothing. He maintained that in the Tercio no one asked for documents and that five years of service ensured Spanish citizenship (*Ibid.*, p. 390).



**Antoni Pardo and his wife, Gregoria Martinez, strolling down a street in a Spanish city, probably after the Civil War. We thank this photo to Dr. Stanislaw Pardo, Antonio's nephew, and Professor Cezary Taracha**

An interesting and mysterious case is that of Máximo (Max) Sueta Nivakor (also known as "Nicabor"). In his monograph on foreigners serving on the National side, José Luis de Mesa

maintains that he was Polish<sup>22</sup>. Sueta joined the Tercio on September 29, 1920 just a few days after the recruitment offices were opened. On June 16, 1924 he was promoted to the position of Second Lieutenant of the I *Bandera* in Ceuta. In the same year he was admitted to Melilla Hospital. In 1926 he got married. On August 29 of the following year he was promoted to legionary Lieutenant for war merits during the campaigns in Morocco. In 1931, he retired on the basis of the famous Azaña Law, which included the possibility of leaving the army while maintaining one's salary for those officers who did not express their loyalty to the new Republican regime<sup>23</sup>. On July 19, 1936, after the outbreak of the military uprising, Sueta Nivakor began to fight on their side in Barcelona, the city where he lived. He participated in the defence of the barracks of the 7th Light Artillery Regiment and the San Andrés Artillery Park until their surrender and was subsequently shot. In the General Military Archive of Segovia we find correspondence related to this officer. In the spring of 1978, his widow, María Trinidad Suárez-Coronas e Iriondo, approached the military authorities about her husband. The Ministry of Defence requested his personal file with his service record from the Segovia archive, informing them that he was Máximo Sueta Nivakor, a native of "Karmao" (Karmazinai?) in Lithuania, who had left the army in 1931 and was killed by the "reds" in 1936<sup>24</sup>. It has not been possible to locate the Lieutenant's service record. Indications are that he was a Lithuanian and not a Polish national, although the latter cannot be entirely ruled out due to the very complicated identity conditions in Lithuanian territory, especially in the period that interests us, that is, before Sueta's departure from his homeland to southern Europe. Most probably he was a Polish citizen of Lithuanian nationality.

In all we have identified ten or eleven cases of Polish citizens who served in the Spanish Tercio before the Civil War. One of them was of Jewish nationality, another was likewise German and in the most complicated and doubtful case was probably an individual with a Polish passport but of Lithuanian ethnicity. Nevertheless, it

<sup>22</sup> MESA, J.L. de, op. cit., p. 198.

<sup>23</sup> Further information in: SALAS LARRAZÁBAL, Ramón, "Las reformas de Azaña", in: *Las Fuerzas Armadas Españolas. Historia institucional y social*, t. VI, eds. Mario Hernández Sánchez-Barba, Miguel Alonso Baquer, Alhambra, Madrid, 1987, pp. 11-101.

<sup>24</sup> AGMS, Personal, C.G., leg. 275S, exp. 15, dossier M. Sueta Nivakor; IMAM, dossier M. Sueta Nicabor; MESA, J.L. de, op. cit., p. 198.

would appear that there were more volunteers with connections to Poland in the ranks of the Tercio. In any case, it should be noted that this number — or so it seems — did not exceed twenty or thirty legionnaires. These were isolated individuals, most of them perhaps from France, whose ties with Poland were tenuous, especially in the case of those who enlisted between 1920 and 1923, when Poland was struggling to maintain its independence and establish its borders.

## Poles in the Spanish Civil War

### National side

The current state of research on this topic reflects the problems of identifying Poles in the Spanish Tercio who served there with assumed or deformed names. The first person who tried to investigate foreigners, including Poles, who fought on the National side during the Civil War, was the aforementioned José Luis de Mesa, who provided the basic data contained in the Spanish archives and literature<sup>25</sup>. In 2004, our study on Poles on the National side appeared, using Polish sources and contributions<sup>26</sup>. This is how the approximate number of Poles who served in the ranks of the Spanish right was established, although it cannot be entirely ruled out that some representatives of this nation fought in the war undetected. As most of them were simple legionnaires, the information we have about them is often quite scarce.

The National side during the Spanish Civil War involved a few thousand foreign volunteers of various nationalities, who served mainly in the Tercio. These included Portuguese, Irish, French, German, Italian, Russian, Argentinean, Cuban and Romanians. As can be seen, a whole mosaic from the point of view of nationalities and ideologies, which brought together both the Irish Catholics and the Romanian fascists of the Iron Guard<sup>27</sup>. At the time of the military coup d'état, there were — according to incomplete official data — 67 foreigners in the Tercio who did not have Spanish citizenship, including 38 Portuguese and no Poles. However, we know this not to be true, because, for example, the above-mentioned Pardo and

<sup>25</sup> MESA, J.L. de, op. cit.

<sup>26</sup> CIECHANOWSKI, J.S., "Polscy ochotnicy", pp. 117-151.

<sup>27</sup> For further information: MESA, J.L. de, op. cit., pp. 13-257.

Dramiński did not have a Spanish passport and still had Polish citizenship. We cannot deny that these legionnaires may have been hidden from the list for some reason. According to another incomplete report from the General Staff of the Generalissimo Headquarters, up to August 1938, 1248 foreigners served in the Tercio who enlisted after July 18, 1936, including: 869 Portuguese, 81 French, 59 Argentineans, 46 Cubans, 42 Germans and 31 Italians. The 8 Poles were ranked ninth among 34 nationalities<sup>28</sup>.

As we shall see, the National authorities had some reservations about accepting the help of foreign volunteers. Their participation in the war was rather limited. Only Germans, Italians and Portuguese, who were proven allies, were counted as trustworthy forces in the Tercio. In relation to other volunteers, the details of the candidates' lives were generally checked out as far as possible. This vetting process was designed to rule out the recruitment of troublemakers, spies or left-wing agitators<sup>29</sup>. And most importantly, unlike the opposite camp, there was no mass recruitment either by Nationals or their allies which, coupled with travel costs, passport limitations and especially visas, automatically resulted in fewer applicants. The insurgents stressed the Spanish character of their "crusade", which, however, did not translate into a systematic and categorical rejection of the applications of foreign soldiers willing to fight at their side. For example, as early as August 21, 1936, during a conversation between the Spanish Envoy in Warsaw, Francisco de Asís Serrat y Bonastre, and Roman Dębicki, from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the first informed the Polish diplomat that a few days earlier he had been contacted by an aviation officer in uniform, whose name he did not know, along with another person, to find out about the possibility of going to Spain because they intended going there independent-

<sup>28</sup> The lists can be consulted in: General Military Archive Madrid (hereafter, GMAM), Archive of the War of Liberation (AWL), Cuartel General del Generalísimo (CGG), cabinet 2, leg. 168, folder 31, microfilm, Chief in charge of the Command Staff Office of the Legion, *Relación nominal del personal extranjero afiliado en la Legión a partir de la iniciación del glorioso Movimiento Nacional, con indicación de la nacionalidad de cada uno y unidades en que se encuentran encuadrados*, y *Relación nominal del personal de nacionalidad extranjera alistado en este Cuerpo con anterioridad a la iniciación del Movimiento, con indicación de las unidades a que pertenecen*, Caspe, August 21, 1938; *ibid.*, folder 30, General, Chief of Staff to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Burgos, August 29, 1938.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 30, *Proyecto de organización de dos banderas del Tercio*; MESA, J.L. de, op. cit., pp. 82-83, 94, 99, 116.

ly to fight in the ranks of the insurgents. Similar proposals and questions were numerous. Serrat declared that he gave evasive answers and also prohibited the granting of visas in general<sup>30</sup>.

The alleged aviation officer or his companion could have been Tadeusz Bujakowski, a rather grotesque character, a failed volunteer and future agent in Spain of the 2nd Bureau of the General Staff, i.e. Polish Military Intelligence. In a report for that institution he wrote that when he presented himself to the legation in the summer of 1936 maintaining that he was an aviator, Serrat had encouraged him to move to Spain. If Bujakowski was one of the two people mentioned by the Spanish diplomat in his interview with Dębicki that means that the Spanish minister secretly supported this expedition. This can be confirmed by the fact that the Pole left for Spain via Germany and Lisbon, where he was provided by the representation of the Burgos Junta with a letter of recommendation and a train ticket to Badajoz<sup>31</sup>.

In the autumn of 1936, revelations about the Madrid bombings written by Bujakowski – cited as “B-ski” – appeared in the Polish press, in which he had allegedly participated. The Warsaw tabloid *Dobry Wieczór* (Good Night) published his memoirs in twelve parts between November 27 and December 10, 1936. The reports were relayed by the Moscow and London press, and later by the newspapers of the parties and trade unions of Republican Spain, and even in Argentina. On November 29, 1936, *Claridad*, an organ of the General Workers’ Union, reported on the “cynical” confession of the Polish pilot “Kadet” about his crimes. It

<sup>30</sup> AAN, Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych w Warszawie [1915–1917] 1918–1939 (hereafter, MSZ), sygn. 551, note on the interview between Dębicki and Serrat. It may well be that the Spanish diplomat wanted to distance himself in this way from the resounding scandal that had erupted a little less than a week before his conversation in the Polish MFA as a result of the unsuccessful flights of four Fokkers F.XII piloted by Polish aviators, which were widely reported in the press. These planes were to be brought to Spain and handed over to the Nationals by the following pilots: reserve Captain Jan Kazimierz Lasocki (who perished in the catastrophe of his aircraft in France), reserve Lieutenant Kajetan Czarkowski-Golejewski, reserve Major Kazimierz Ziemiński and instructor Adam Szarek. The only one who managed to reach Spain was the latter, but he refused to continue the journey in his aircraft (CIECHANOWSKI, J.S., *Podwójna gra*, pp. 537–539; *Kurier Warszawski*, Warsaw, November 19, 1936; AJZNER, Seweryn, “Państwo polskie wobec wojny domowej w Hiszpanii 1936–1939”, in: *Najnowsze Dzieje Polski. Materiały i studia z okresu 1914–1939*, t. VI, Warsaw, 1963, p. 49; MESA, J.L. de, op. cit., pp. 196–197).

<sup>31</sup> Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Voennyi Arkhiv, Mosć (hereafter, RGVA), fond 308 (II Otdiel Generalnogo shtaba Polshy, g. Varshava), opis 19, dyelo 122, T. Bujakowski, Description of my travel to Spain, [Warsaw, 1937].

was claimed that he had been a "mercenary" in Franco's armies and that he had just returned to Warsaw. The last time he was to bomb Madrid was on November 18. According to this account, the Spanish capital was being bombed several times a day. The pilot told how, from a very short distance, he also targeted women and children, although he did so with "an ache in his heart"<sup>32</sup>. "Kadet" confessed that the quality of Republican Aviation had improved to such an extent that flights over Madrid were becoming increasingly dangerous. He also maintained that he had arrived in Spain with another Polish pilot and two mechanics from Hamburg in a German ship supposedly carrying two Heinkel planes and other armaments destined for the National troops in Badajoz. From this account, it appears that the aforementioned ship reached this Extremaduran city, which is located 200 kilometres inland as the crow flies, which does not say much for the geographical knowledge and the accuracy of the editorial staff. Both Poles were sent from there to Seville, where they joined the 2nd Division<sup>33</sup>.

Undoubtedly, these articles constituted a form of revenge for the treatment Bujakowski suffered from the National camp, which we will now explain. This individual, born in 1897, was an adventurer with a rather colourful curriculum. He first served as a soldier in the Russian White Armies of Denikin and Wrangel and then in the Polish Army, from which he deserted. In 1923, during the distribution of the family inheritance in Druskieniki, in Polish Lithuania, from where he originated, he tried to kill his own mother, a Frenchwoman, with a firearm. Between 1924 and 1933 he served in the Polish State Police, reaching the rank of an aspirant in political police. According to Polish counter-espionage checks, from 1935 he cooperated with German Intelligence as a commissioner in the "Förster" car company at Gdansk, although he himself maintained that he did not perform any tasks and only "sabotaged" these special services for a certain sum of money. In the opinion of the Polish counter-espionage, this amounted to espionage, although there was no possibility of proving it in a court case<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> This unlikely story in view of the bombing technique described, found resonance in Polish historiography.

<sup>33</sup> *Claridad*, Madrid, November 29, 1936; *La Nueva España*, Buenos Aires, January 21, 1937.

<sup>34</sup> Further information: CIECHANOWSKI, J.S., "Podwójna gra", pp. 365-378; MESA, J.L. de, op. cit., p. 197; RGVA, fond 308, opis 4, dyelo 120 y opis 19, dyelo 122, *dossiers* of Bujakowski; Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe Wojskowego Biura Historycznego

In December 1936 Bujakowski was interrogated at the 2nd Section of the General Staff in Warsaw. He stated that he contacted Serrat who issued him with a letter of recommendation for the head of the Spanish mission in Berlin. He then went to Gdansk, from where with the help of Kurt Block, honorary consul of Spain in the Free City, he flew to Berlin, and at Tempelhof airport became familiar with the Heinkel He 70 aircraft, which he allegedly flew. Then, after three days of tests, he flew with other contracted aviators to Hamburg, from where he docked in Lisbon (along with the planes), and then arrived by train in Badajoz, where he picked up his plane and flew to Seville, where — in his own words — he rendered his services. His expedition was organised in Germany by the Spanish military attaché in Berlin and the consul general in Hamburg, who arranged the documents and visas for his transit through Portugal. Bujakowski maintained that he had left Poland without a passport, only with his personal identity card, and that for this reason he had no problems either at Gdansk or in Berlin. Under interrogation, he recounted the course of his alleged service in the National ranks, stating that it corresponded roughly to what was described in the press. He presented to 2<sup>nd</sup> Bureau a series of military data collected in Spain that raised important doubts among the officers. It was revealed that he did not have "the slightest knowledge" about how bombing was carried out from the air and his service in the aviation of the insurgents appeared very dubious. Asked why he decided to return, he replied that all foreigners were asked to join the Foreign Legion, but he had no desire to do so<sup>35</sup>.

After some time, Bujakowski presented a "modified", much more plausible version of his trip, which probably prompted him to be sent to the Iberian Peninsula. We can positively verify the most important elements of this story by referring to Spanish documentation. The Pole maintained that upon his arrival by sea in Lisbon he contacted the representation of the Burgos Junta. The consul granted him an entry visa and gave him a train ticket to Badajoz. Bujakowski left for this city in Extremadura, where, according to the instructions obtained in Lisbon, he presented himself to the military commander of the city with a letter of

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im. gen. broni Kazimierza Sosnkowskiego, Warsaw-Rembertów (hereafter, CAW WBH), Oddział II Sztabu Głównego (Generalnego) z lat [1919] 1921–1939 (Oddział II), sygn. I.303.4.7832.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

recommendation. After reading it, the Spaniard ordered that the Pole be issued with a safe pass for the journey to Seville so that he could report to an aviation squadron. Upon arriving in the Andalusian capital, Bujakowski contacted squadron commander Captain Aguilera, to whom he declared that he had come "voluntarily" to Spain to take part in the war against the Bolsheviks. The Spanish officer directed him to the military governor of Andalusia, where the Pole was assigned a room in the hotel along with the maintenance staff. On the same day he again appeared before Captain Aguilera who informed him that he was writing to the commander of aviation in Salamanca, General Alfredo Kindelán Duany, and that the outcome would be contingent on the general's reply because he himself could not decide. Some days later a letter arrived from Salamanca urging him to personally present himself to General Kindelán. The following day the volunteer started the trip in a Ju 52 plane, courtesy of Aguilera. After arriving in Salamanca, it turned out that the general was absent from the General Staff, but one of his aides informed him to report the next day. Bujakowski located the hotel where the German and Italian pilots were staying. There he declared to an Italian aviator that he had come to Spain as a volunteer to fight in General Franco's troops. The latter replied that admission to the army depended on the General Staff, where the Germans held sway<sup>36</sup>.

The remainder of the story of this ill-fated aviator of the National forces is quite picturesque and difficult to verify, although as far as the final outcome is concerned, his deportation to Portugal is in accordance with the Spanish documentation found in the General Military Archive in Madrid. The day after meeting the Italian, Bujakowski went back to the General Staff, where he was told by Kindelán aide's office that the general had gone to Burgos, so he would have to wait a few more days. Meanwhile, the aforementioned Italian introduced the Pole to German Air Captain Bolke, who in turn introduced him to an individual named von Osten. The latter asked the volunteer if he had any proof that he was a Pole, that he had served in the army and whether he could produce any aviation documents. Bujakowski only had a Polish passport. Von Osten invited him to coffee, asked him for the letter of recommendation for the commander of aviation, stating that he would help him get an audience with the general, and then proposed that he address the General Staff. Upon entering

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

the building, von Osten asked Bujakowski to wait for him. After about an hour a policeman approached the Pole, asked him who he was waiting for and requested that he present his papers. Bujakowski showed him his passport, which the Spaniard put in his pocket, sending him to the police station in a car. The Pole thought it was a misunderstanding, but he was informed that he would be taken to the Portuguese border. They immediately set off with an escort consisting of the police officer and a Moroccan man armed with a rifle. At the border the Portuguese guards did not want to allow Bujakowski enter Portuguese territory on account of the fact that he was a Pole. Meanwhile it was getting dark and the escort did not know what to do with the volunteer. After some discussion, the policeman and the soldier returned to the car, asking the driver to turn onto a side road in the woods. Bujakowski sensed that "this can end badly in these thick forests and mountains", so he asked them to return his passport so that he could cross the border illegally alone. They gave him the travel document and showed him the way to the nearest railway station<sup>37</sup>.

Documentation from the Madrid archive confirms that if indeed his encounter with von Osten was true and not pure fantasy on the part of Bujakowski, then the decision to deport him was not taken without the involvement of the Spanish authorities. According to a document from Franco's Headquarters, on October 21, 1936, the Pole presented himself in Seville at the Government Military Delegation of Andalusia and Extremadura and two days later offered his services to the National Aviation in Salamanca, posing as a Polish observer pilot. The 2nd Chief of General Staff instructed the 2nd Southern Division in Seville, which provided him with a "passport" (safepass) to Salamanca: "you must not grant passports to foreign subjects of whom you have no knowledge [,] as stated by Aviation Captain Aguilera in his report, and even less send them to Salamanca where under the guise of serving in aviation they could be engaging in another dangerous activity[,], unrelated to their profession. I order the aforementioned foreigner to be transferred to the border"<sup>38</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> CAW WBH, Oddział II, sygn. I.303.4.4053.

<sup>38</sup> AGMM, AGL, CGG, armario 1, leg. 41, carp. 103, 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief of Staff of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Division, Salamanca, October 23, 1936; RGVA, fond 308, opis 19, dyelo 122, Bujakowski's passport; MESA, J.L. de, op. cit., p. 197 (this author —presenting the case of Bujakowski— stated that the National Aviation included a Polish pilot named Tadeusz Strychski in August 1936 – *ibid*).

After crossing the border and a few adventures along the way, Bujakowski reached Lisbon where the Spanish consulate tried to get him an exit visa, necessary to legalise his stay. There, an official told him that he had to clarify the matter by telephone or telegraph, to which Bujakowski explained that his expulsion had been voluntarily caused by von Osten because he feared that he would be too interested in aviation equipment, at least that is how the policeman who was transporting him by car to the border made it clear to him. After a few days of waiting, the Spaniard sent Bujakowski to the "international police" to get his passport. On receiving the travel document, the consul granted him visas and also gave him a train ticket to Badajoz<sup>39</sup>. That same day, the Pole set out on his journey and when he reached the city he immediately presented himself to the military commander who was surprised to see him. The Spaniard, after hearing the whole story, provided Bujakowski with a safe pass for the trip to Salamanca and a letter to Kindelán. When he arrived at the aviation command headquarters it turned out that the general was also in Burgos on this occasion. The Pole obtained a pass for the trip to this city, intending to encounter the general at the War Secretariat. However, Kindelán was unable to receive him and Bujakowski was invited to return in the evening. When he showed up, after a long wait he was approached by an Air Captain who said that the general had instructed him to convey to him that he was going to be admitted to the air force, although for this purpose he would have to enlist in the Foreign Legion. The Pole was not keen to do this, because he knew that after he joined the Tercio, he would be sent "to Africa and for 5 years at that". He then decided to address the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Technical Junta of Burgos, Francisco de Asís Serrat, former Spanish Envoy in Warsaw, whom Bujakowski referred to in his report as "Minister of Foreign Affairs". After searching for the headquarters of the secretariat for three days, he found out that Secretary had an office not in Burgos, but in Salamanca. After two days the Spanish diplomat informed Bujakowski through his secretary that, as he had been told, he should join the Legion, to which the volunteer responded in his report with the statement that "they have already visibly shown [Serrat - J.S.C.] in Salamanca and Burgos what he should tell me". The Pole told the secretary that he did

<sup>39</sup> This took place on November 3, 1936. Bujakowski again crossed the Spanish-Portuguese border on the 5th of the same month (RGVA, fond 308, opis 19, dyelo 122, Bujakowski's passport).

not agree with such a solution and that since the Spanish minister had tried to convince him to return to his country, he would now return to Poland. He also added "Spain allows itself to be occupied by the Germans, the Germans are going to make Spain their colony and they will occupy Gibraltar, and in this way threaten France and England". The collaborator of the former Spanish Envoy in Warsaw was not at all pleased with these remarks. On leaving, he told the Pole to join the Foreign Legion and to take care with the words he used.

At this, Bujakowski decided to return to Poland by the shortest route, i.e. through France. He went to Irún, where he presented himself to the French vice-consul and requested a transit visa. The official, after looking at the travel document, told him that he should return by the same route of his arrival because he had a visa from the Spanish Junta, adding that he could not grant it and that only the French consul general in San Sebastián could do so. Bujakowski then went to that city, where he was also informed that he was not going to obtain the visa because he had the National Spain visa. The Pole replied that if he did not get it, he would still reach France that same day. The consul replied that he would not make it. Bujakowski left immediately for Irún, presenting himself at the border bridge, through which the Spanish Civil Guard let him pass. He then went to a Captain of the French gendarmerie asking for a transit visa, without mentioning his visits to the consulates. Asked why he had not gone to San Sebastián for the visa, he declared that he did not know that the French mission was operating there. The two left for the train station in Hendaye where the special commissioner had his office. There they found his deputy, who, on examining his passport, told Bujakowski that since "you were with Franco" and had come to Spain via Germany, he should return by the same route. He then ordered the captain to accompany the Pole to the Spanish side. The French officer, without reaching the bridge, returned his passport suggesting that he leave on the first train to Toulouse. The frustrated volunteer finally returned to Poland after many adventures<sup>40</sup>. Another attempt to place him in Spain in the "red" side was also unsuccessful, although he managed to reach the Republican zone<sup>41</sup>. This detailed presentation of Bujakowski's adventures reveals the tremendous difficulties encountered by a

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, opis 19, dyelo 122, Bujakowski, Description.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, opis 4, dyelos 100, 120, 122.

volunteer from Poland in obtaining a contract in Spain, and especially outside of the Tercio.

A peculiar feature of the conflict, although not of a military nature, was the hiring of Polish mechanics to work temporarily on the aircraft pertaining to the National camp. This was related to the sale by the Polish Government to so-called 'white' Spain of 15 PWS 10 fighters, produced at the Podlasie Aircraft Factory<sup>42</sup>. An official note, dated October 29, 1936 has been preserved in the Moscow military archive, stating that in Warsaw, in a house in Narbutta Street, aviation personnel were being recruited for the Spanish Army. This operation was carried out by engineer Jerzy Wędrychowski and retired pilot major engineer Kazimierz Ziemiński. Individuals familiar with PWS 10 airplanes were hired – with the knowledge and permission of the Polish 2nd Bureau of the General Staff. These agreements, paying a salary of 46 British pounds per month, were signed with Juan Serrat, the unofficial representative of Spain in Poland. The Spanish diplomat also granted the appropriate visas. Their departure was scheduled from Gdansk on board a Spanish ship.

In November 1936 the disassembled planes were transported to Vigo, where the assembly team of the Polish Aviation Factory (PZL) in Warsaw was also transferred. These five specialist mechanics were: Śmigielski, Zawistowski, Siwczyński, Henryk Lao and Alfons Warakowski (the last two were also gunsmiths). On December 29, 1936, the group arrived in León. A record of this expedition was also saved in the Spanish archives. Thanks to this, we know that on February 2, 1937, the military governor of León informed the Generalissimo's headquarters that five Poles had arrived in Vigo on a German ship, which had then gone to León and there had told the National authorities that they had been hired to assemble war material. The governor requested instructions on how to proceed with them. After making the appropriate enquiries, he was told by the headquarters that they were assemblers, engineers and gunsmiths who had been hired to assemble the Polish construction equipment in León on behalf

<sup>42</sup> See: Archiwum Instytutu Polskiego i Muzeum im. gen. Sikorskiego, London (hereafter, AIPMS), Relacje z Kampanii 1939 roku (RK), dossier B.I.113/D/6; MIRANDA, Justo, MERCADO, Paula, *Aviones en la Guerra Civil Española 1936/1939. Ingleses, checos, polacos*, Aldaba, Madrid, 1990, pp. 184-185; MESA, J.L. de, op. cit., p. 197; MORGALA, Andrzej, "Samoloty polskie w wojnie hiszpańskiej 1936-1939", in: *AERO-Technika Lotnicza* 5, Warsaw, 1991, p. 37.

of the National Aviation Authority. The mechanics remained in the city and their contract was to end in two weeks. Section II instructed them on what to look out for. Once the mission was accomplished, Zawistowski passed on his observations to the Polish intelligence on his return. On February 5, 1937 Lao and Warakowski went to the Polish Consulate General in Königsberg requesting an allowance for their return to Poland. They complained that apart from 20 pounds sterling that they obtained in Warsaw, they were not paid the salary promised in the contracts of November 20 and that at the end of January they had only obtained tickets to return to their country through Lisbon and Hamburg. It may be that they were paid the promised money, but they did not manage to bring it with them to the city of Kant. They said that the Spanish expressed their resentment at "the sale by Poland of aviation equipment to both sides". After landing in Hamburg, the Poles were arrested by the German police and interrogated about their stay in Spain. They did not want to explain why they did not leave for Berlin and then via Zbąszyń for Warsaw, choosing to travel by transit train to Marienburg and then to Königsberg. Finally, the Office of the Economic Adviser of the Polish MAE officially verified that Warakowski and Lao worked as aviation mechanics in the "insurgent units" in Spain and that their departure had taken place without any participation from PZL<sup>43</sup>.

The five mechanics were recommended to the 2nd Bureau of the General Staff supervising the expedition, by major Ziemiński. This officer had gone to Spain before them as one of the emissaries of Polish Intelligence. After the outbreak of the Spanish war he was in constant contact with the insurgents, acting as an intermediary in the sale of arms to them, and at the very beginning of the war he had been one of the pilots who tried to supply the four Fokkers F.XII from England to the Spanish National camp<sup>44</sup>. At the end of December 1936 and at the beginning of the following year, Ziemiński carried out tests with the Polish PWS, which were brought from Vigo to León. These aircraft, considered by the Spanish to be very slow, could not be used at

<sup>43</sup> RGVA, fond 308, opis 4, dyelo 123, major K. Ziemiński, Report on the trip to Spain, Warsaw, January 13, 1937; AAN, Konsulat Generalny RP w Królewcu 1924–1939, sygn. 39, protocol of the conversation with Warakowski and Lao; CAW WBH, Oddział II, sygn. I.303.4.1899; RGVA, fond 308, opis 4, dyelo 100; MESA, J.L. de, op. cit., p. 197. The Poles left Warsaw after November 20, 1936. The contract provided for the services of aviation mechanics for a period of two months (*ibid*).

<sup>44</sup> See footnote 30.

the front and were only used for training purposes. The retired major's mission came to an abrupt end. He had failed to succeed in his task of buying Soviet equipment for the Nationals, possibly a tank or its components. In the end, his offer was rejected, and he was informed unofficially that the Germans would not give permission for the supply. When Ziemiński asked Spanish airmen in Salamanca and León if there were any Poles serving alongside them, the response was negative. These officers did not think that there were any Polish representatives in the National ranks. Nevertheless, one of the Captains at the Air Force headquarters in Salamanca told the Major that there were four Polish airmen<sup>45</sup>.

On the National side, Poles were also directly involved in the Civil War on the battlefields. In the previously mentioned list of foreign legionnaires, drawn up in August 1938 and housed in the General Military Archive in Madrid, eight soldiers were deemed to be Polish<sup>46</sup>. All of them were enlisted in the Tercio after July 18, 1936.

The first of these, the legionnaire Sergiusz (Sergio) Klimkin (also called: "Klomkin", "Klin Klin", "Klomklin Rodríguez") was born in 1911 in Łuniniec (before the Second World War in the Polish voivodeship of Nowogródek, now in Belarus). He was an electrician with 18 months' experience in the Polish Army and 33 months in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Regiment of the French Foreign Legion. It is unknown whether his contract ran out or whether he deserted. On November 16th 1936, he signed up for five years at the Melilla recruitment office and was assigned to the Tahuima section in the Melilla area, where he received instruction in both theory and practice. In December he was transferred to the 37th Company of the X *Bandera* (after the 1st Tercio of the Legion). In January 1937, he was transferred to the 40th Company of the same unit in Talavera de la Reina, and the following month

<sup>45</sup> RGVA, fond 308, opis 4, dyelo 123, Ziemiński, Report; Note on Ziemiński, [December 1936]; CAW WBH, Oddział II, sygn. I.303.4.4063, Colonel R. Wolikowski, Report on the visit to Spain during the months of May-June-July 1937, Warsaw, August 9, 1937; MORGALA, A., op. cit., pp. 37, 40; CYNK, Jerzy Bogdan, "Hiszpańskie tajemnice. Udział Polski w zbrojeniach wojny domowej", in: *AERO-Technika Lotnicza* 10, Warsaw, 1991, pp. 35-36; HOWSON, Gerald, *Aircraft of the Spanish Civil War 1936-39*, Putnam, London, 1990, p. 258; MIRANDA, J., MERCADO, P., op. cit., pp. 184-186; JIMÉNEZ-ARENAS MARTÍN, José Luis, *Cadenas del aire*, San Martín, Madrid, 1973, p. 122.

<sup>46</sup> AGMM, AGL, CGG, armario 2, leg. 168, carp. 31, *Relación nominal del personal extranjero*.

he joined the front line. On April 6, Klimkin participated in an operation in which his unit "brilliantly" repelled the enemy by defending itself in the trenches in the olive groves of the Jarama River. On April 11, he was wounded in combat and was evacuated to hospital where he remained for six days. On September 5, he was promoted to Corporal. From then until November he fought in the Ciudad Universitaria. On November 6, he was injured in a car accident and was hospitalised in Ciempozuelos in December. In February 1938, he was transferred to the Psychiatric Clinic of Carabanchel Alto, where he remained until June, when he was admitted to the Psychiatric Sanatorium of San Juan de Dios in Palencia. In September of the same year, the Military Medical Tribunal declared him totally useless on the grounds of schizophrenia, "acquired prior to his admission to the ranks"<sup>47</sup>. We have no data regarding any further posting. It is quite probable that he ended his days in a Spanish psychiatric institution.

The next Pole serving with the Nationals was Corporal Oskar (Oscar) Jan Eibich ("Eivich") in the VI *Bandera*. Born in 1897, he came from "Xaverov" (Ksawerów) in Poland. On March 22, 1937, when he joined the 2nd Legion of the Tercio in Talavera de la Reina to serve for the duration of the campaign, or in other words until the end of the war, he stated he was a labourer, a Roman Catholic and that he had military experience<sup>48</sup>. The third of these, Wsiewołod Lewicki (Sevolod Levicki, also called: "Sebolof Sevichi"), was born in 1913 in Radziechów in Ukraine ("nation: Poland"). His name suggests that he could have been a Polish citizen of Ukrainian nationality, however of Roman Catholic religion. On April 1, 1938, when he signed up for three years at the offices of the Tercio in Talavera de la Reina, he claimed to be a medical student residing in Zagreb, in Yugoslavia, with previous military experience in the Polish Army. He received instruction in theory and practical warfare in the training unit in Talavera and was sent to the front of the 72nd Company of the XVIII *Bandera*. In August 1938, he was a member of the Command Staff of the 1st Tercio of the Legion. On September 4 he was wounded in combat by an explosive bullet in Gandesa, on the Ebro front, and was taken first to hospital in Zaragoza and then to hospital in Cáceres, where he remained until the end of June 1939, returning once again to Talavera. In August of that year he was declared presumably dis-

<sup>47</sup> IMAM, dossier S. Klimkin; MESA, J.L. de, op. cit., p. 198.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, AIMC, TE, dossier O.J. Eibich.

abled and in September 1940 he was excluded "totally" from the Tercio due to a valve injury<sup>49</sup>.

Another Polish national serving in the Tercio was Walenty (Valentín) Konieczny (also called: "Koumeline"), born in 1899 in "Obernike" (Oborniki) in the province of "Posen" (Poznań). A sailor by profession, a Roman Catholic, with experience in the army in his home country, he enlisted for the duration of the campaign on January 8, 1937 at the Talavera de la Reina recruitment office. Posted with the training unit where he received instruction, he was assigned in the same month to the 2nd Company of the I *Bandera*, which he joined in the Ciudad Universitaria. In February he fought in the Pinto pass mission where he came under fierce attack from fourteen enemy tanks and he also participated in the occupation of Arganda. In the same month he was assigned to the 2nd Company of the I *Bandera*, which he joined in the Ciudad Universitaria. On March 31, he was discharged from the I *Bandera*. Throughout that year and in the following year he fought on various fronts, including Madrid, Toledo, Soria (where he participated in the defence of Cabeza Grande), Brunete and Tarragona. On June 8, 1938, his Battalion was awarded the Laureate Cross of San Fernando for its performance in the Ciudad Universitaria. According to the list of foreign legionnaires, in August 1938 he was a Corporal, which was probably the result of an error, and served in the 1st Legion. At the end of the Civil War he was with his unit in the Valencia region. In July 1939 he embarked from the port of Valencia to Mahon in Menorca, where he was to guard prisoners and give instructions. On October 10 he was discharged from the Legion for absenteeism<sup>50</sup>. It is quite possible that he fled to France, since it was precisely at the end of September that the formation of the Polish Army in Exile began, especially after the creation on the 30th of that month of the Polish Government in Exile in Paris following the occupation of the territory of the Second Republic of Poland by the Third Reich and the USSR.

Of the remaining Poles who appear on the list we know very little. Sergeant Józef (Josep) Sroka served in the II *Bandera*. According to his unit's logbook, he was wounded in combat on January 15,

<sup>49</sup> Tercio Alejandro Farnesio IV of the Legion Archive, Ronda (hereafter, ATAFLE), dossier S. Levicki; MESA, J.L. de, op. cit., p. 198.

<sup>50</sup> IMAM, dossier V. Konieczny; MESA, J.L. de, op. cit., p. 257 (the author claims that he was wounded in the battle of Jarama, although this is not recorded in Konieczny's service record).

1938. The legionnaire "Roberto Pagarelli" fought in the I *Bandera*. This was probably "Roberto Pogorel", wounded in the battle of Jarama whose surname was italianised. The legionnaires Anton (Antonio) "Szypua" (probably: Antoni Szypuła) and Vicente (Wincenty) "Brasque" (Bracki?) fought in the VII and XII *Banderas* respectively<sup>51</sup>.

We also know of other Poles not included in the above-mentioned list. They are Walenty Adam (Valentin Adam) Heuchert, who enlisted in the Tercio in 1936 at the age of 21. He was assigned to the 35th Company of the IX *Bandera* of the 2nd Legion and on April 12, 1937 he suffered an elbow injury. He was operated on at Getafe hospital and then evacuated to the Military Hospital in Palencia. In May 1939 this legionnaire was posted in the 6th Company of the Group of Military Tanks.<sup>52</sup> Another Pole was Casimir "Rawiski" (Kazimierz Rawicki o Rawski), who died in service in the 18th Company of the V *Bandera*<sup>53</sup>.

There were also many Polish citizens of other different nationalities in the Tercio. In all probability, this was the case of Otto Bredefeld, born in 1903 in Piaski, near "Libno" (Lipno) in "Polen" (Poland). He was a worker of evangelical religion, living in "Ainfeld" (Hainfeld) in Austria. On April 5, 1937, when he enlisted in the 2nd Legion of the Tercio in Talavera de la Reina, he declared that he had previously served in the Polish Army<sup>54</sup>; however the indications are that he was of Austrian nationality.

Among those on the list in August 1938 we find a Polish legionnaire who for some reason declared himself to be a White Russian. We know his real nationality thanks to documentation relating to him from the time of the Second World War. He was probably someone who decided to hide his real nationality to avoid the kind of suspicions generally raised in relation to candidates from Central and Eastern Europe. Putting himself forward as an anti-Bolshevik White Russian exile must have given him more hope of being enlisted and the possibility of fewer questions being asked in the process. Among the almost one hundred such Russians, of whom 34 fell in battle during the war, is Stanisław Sliski (Stanislas Sliski), a sailor born in 1915

<sup>51</sup> MESA, J.L. de, op. cit., pp. 198, 257.

<sup>52</sup> Archivo General Militar de Avila (hereafter AGMAV), C. 2304, folder 8, dossier W. A. Heuchert.

<sup>53</sup> MESA, J.L. de, op. cit., p. 198.

<sup>54</sup> ATAFLE, dossier O. Bredefeld.

in Łódź, enrolled in the VI *Bandera*, whose fighting in the Ebro battle was considered "distinguished". He reached the rank of Sergeant, then left the Legion and probably served in the Polish Army in France until its fall. Having missed being evacuated before the signing of the Franco-German armistice, in November 1940 – on his way to the British army – he secretly passed through the Pyrenees and was arrested in Spain. He remained with many of his fellow countrymen in the internment camp (officially known as "concentration camp") of Miranda de Ebro until 1943. Once liberated, he was evacuated to Great Britain and it appears that he continued to fight in the Polish ranks thereafter<sup>55</sup>. On the same list was another legionnaire who served in the Senior Staff of the XIV *Bandera*, "Zbiguendo" (Zbigniew?) "Cantieckjki"<sup>56</sup>, whose first name in particular, and the deformed surname to a lesser extent, indicated that he too was a Pole attempting to sign up by presenting himself as a White Russian.

Two further cases exist of apparently Polish individuals, but deemed to have been White Russians. One managed to join the National ranks and the other probably did not, although we cannot rule this out either. It may be that they too disguised their true nationality for similar reasons as those attributed to Śliski. The first of these was Colonel Andre (Andrés) Radzivill (most likely Andrzej Radziwiłł). He arrived in Spain on August 16, 1937, crossing the border at Irún, where the local military Major gave him a "passport" to go to Burgos and present himself at the Generalissimo's headquarters. Radziwiłł was probably a former officer of the Tsar, Polish origin. He was known to the Spanish military as "Prince of the State of Ukraine (Russian Poland)" or "Colonel of Russian Poland" (sic). His arrival on national territory was organised by General Prince Gortchakoff, head of the "Imperialist Nobility" of White Russia in Paris, and by Olga O'Donnell, an inhabitant of Biarritz. The aristocrat pre-

<sup>55</sup> MESA, J.L. de, op. cit., p. 95; SAWICKI, Jan Kazimierz; SOBIŚ, Stanisław Andrzej, *Na alianckich szlakach 1939–1946*, Wydawnictwo Morskie, Gdańsk, 1985, p. 295; CIECHANOWSKI, J.S., *Czarna legenda Mirandy. Polacy w hiszpańskim obozie internowania w Miranda de Ebro 1940–1945*, p. I, Oficyna Wydawnicza RYTM (RYTM), Warsaw, 2019, p. 521; General Military Archive of Guadalajara (hereafter, GMAG), Depósito de Concentración y Clasificación de Personal Extranjero de Miranda de Ebro 1940-1980, Personal 1940-1947, Expedientes Personales de Ingreso 1940-1946, caja 120, exp. 13150, Śliski, Stanisław. Polaco; AIPMS, Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych, sygn. A.9.VI.10/1.

<sup>56</sup> AGMM, AGL, CGG, armario 2, leg. 168, carp. 31, *Relación nominal del personal extranjero*; MESA, J.L. de, op. cit., p. 95.

sented himself in Burgos, where he was received by General Franco. On August 20, Lieutenant Colonel Antonio Barroso, from the General Staff of the General Headquarters —through the mediation by telephone of Tomás Dolz de Espejo y Andréu, Count of Florida, National Advisor of the Traditionalist Spanish Falange and the J.O.N.S.— assigned the volunteer to the VI Brigade of the 63rd Division of Navarre, part of the Army Corps of Navarre. The Colonel did not consent to serving in the Command Staff of the Brigade because he wanted to be on the front line and so he was sent to the San Fernando Hunters Battalion No. 1 ("D"). On August 24, Radziwiłł began his service in Reinosa on the Asturian front and participated as an attaché in the Northern campaign. As a result of the "icy temperatures" he fell ill and on October 23 he had to be hospitalised in Santander for a month. Then, on January 30, 1938, he joined his battalion on the Jaca front, but in mid-February he again fell ill with bronchitis and was sent to the Santander Military Hospital, where he remained at least until November 1938. In September, he asked General Franco to be paid for his time of service, but was refused. In May 1939 he was ill in Santander, and requested assistance from the Generalissimo's Headquarters in order to return "to my country" via Italy<sup>57</sup>.

Meanwhile, on November 16, 1936, thanks to the mediation of the Archbishop of Burgos, the National authorities obtained a letter from the 40 year-old Russian Cavalry Captain Wenceslas of Lucasiewicz (probably: Wieńczysław Łukasiewicz) of Polish and Catholic descent. The volunteer declared that he knew the following languages: Russian, German and French, as well as some English and Spanish. He expressed his desire to fight communism and to pay for his trip to Lisbon. Łukasiewicz was advised to write to the Tercio in Ceuta<sup>58</sup>. It is not known whether he followed up on that suggestion.

Another case of Polish participation in the war in the ranks of the Legion is linked to the diplomatic asylum granted by the Polish Legation in Madrid during the revolution. Shortly after the outbreak of the war, the first to go into hiding at the mission's headquarters in the palace on 16 Lista Street was 35-year-old policeman Isidoro Peczenik, a former Polish citizen of Jewish na-

<sup>57</sup> AGMM, AGL, CGG, armario 1, leg. 12, carp. 60; AGMAV, C. 2715, carp. 493, Radziwiłł to Colonel J. Barroso, Santander, May 31, 1939; MESA, J.L. de, op. cit., pp. 97-98.

<sup>58</sup> MESA, J.L. de, op. cit., p. 83.

tionality. In March 1937 he was evacuated from Madrid to Marseille with a Polish passport in the name of Izrael Peczenik. He was accompanied on this journey by his wife, the Spaniard Guillermina Tudela Campoy, also an asylum seeker in the legation. The diplomatic mission issued them with travel documents only for the duration of the evacuation. Once abroad, Peczenik said he was happy with his stay in the legation, expressing his gratitude to the Polish Minister, Marian Szumlakowski, for lending him money and for the excellent organisation of the evacuation which had allowed him to get out of "the red hell". The policeman remained under the protection of the Polish mission in Saint-Jean-de-Luz, and in the spring of 1937 he left for National Spain. In one of his journals Szumlakowski wrote on February 2, 1940 that: "Of the many people whose lives I saved, I have only now been contacted by two (...) and among them a certain Peczenik, a former Polish Jew, who after serving in the Spanish Legion, is now in the police in Madrid (...)"<sup>59</sup>. The reference confirms that before entering the Madrid police force once again, he served in the Legion where, most probably, he would have enlisted during the Civil War after his evacuation to France and fought in that conflict. Everything indicates that Peczenik switched to the police after the victory of the Nationals and the capture of the capital.

We also have two more cases which are far from clear. The first is that of the Pole Tadeusz Ungar ("Kowalski") who claimed to have fought alongside General Franco. It is possible that he did so using another name, like one of those mentioned above. Born in 1912 in Medyka, near Przemyśl, now near the Polish-Ukrainian border, he studied law at the [King] John Casimir University in Lwów (Lviv) where he became involved with the All-Poland Youth (Młodzież Wszechpolska) of the National Party (Stronnictwo Narodowe). As a result of his participation in one of the anti-Government demonstrations he was wanted by the police. In 1932 or 1933 he was illegally evacuated across the border to Czechoslovakia, where he was granted political asylum. When the Spanish war broke out, he decided to join the ranks of the Nationals. Not having the means to travel, he gained the confidence of a curator of a communist newspaper in Prague and left for the Iberian

<sup>59</sup> University of Warsaw, Faculty of "Artes Liberales", Kolekeja Mariana Szumlakowski (hereafter, KMS), I. Urbańczykowa to Szumlakowski, St. Jean de Luz, April 19, 1937; Peczenik to Urbańczykowa, Fuenterrabia, April 6-9, 1937; Urbańczykowa to Peczenik, St. Jean de Luz, April 8, 1937; Diary of Szumlakowski 1939-1940, January 2, 1940, manuscript.

Peninsula at the expense of the Comintern. According to his own account, he established contact with the Second Bureau of the General Staff, which issued him with documents under the name of "Kowalski". After some time, he went to the other side of the front and fought in the ranks of the rebels, leaving Spain before the end of the war. In his statements he claimed that he sent reports to Polish Intelligence, which we cannot rule out; however, this is highly unlikely because of the strict censorship in place on both sides of the front. Furthermore, we have found no trace of his collaboration with the 2nd Bureau, or confirmation of his involvement in the Spanish Civil War<sup>60</sup>.

In the second case at least, there is no doubt that this individual served on the National side. One of the emissaries of Polish intelligence in Spain during the war, Colonel Romuald Wolikowski, found clues relating to another Polish volunteer named Gunda, a fighter pilot with a very good reputation, who served with the rank of lieutenant in the National ranks<sup>61</sup>. However, documentation from the General Staff of the Generalissimo's Headquarters establishes that this aviator, 2nd Lieutenant Julio Gunda (in Spain he used the surnames: Gunda Gunda), born in Vienna in 1904, was considered Hungarian. Nevertheless, this may well have been a cover-up and for some reason (as for example in the cases of Poles who declared they were White Russians) the officer was hiding his true nationality. In October 1936 Gunda arrived in Seville from Algeciras offering his services as a pilot to the National authorities, claiming that he was a retired lieutenant of the Royal Hungarian Aviation Corps and that he had the authorisation of his Government to help the "National Government, in its defence against the Reds". He was told that because he could not

<sup>60</sup> CHODAKIEWICZ, M.J., op. cit., p. 93; *idem*, *Niesforny Pan Tadeusz*, in: *Naprzód Polsko! Pismo Środowisk Młodzieżowych - dodatek do «Myśli Polskiej»* 6, July 1996, p. II (*Myśl Polska. Tygodnik poświęcony życiu i kulturze narodu* 27, London, July 7, 1996); PARDO, W., op. cit., p. 64. After leaving Spain, Ungar travelled around Europe, finally settling in Bydgoszcz, where —by his own account— he carried out Polish espionage assignments, among others, in Germany. In September 1939, after the invasion of Poland by the Third Reich and the USSR, he was evacuated through Romania to France, where he fought in the Polish 1st Grenadier Division. After the defeat of the French Army he managed to move from the unoccupied zone to Casablanca and finally to the Polish Army in Great Britain. At the end of the war he served in Polish Guards Companies in the American Army in the western zone of occupation in Germany and then returned to Great Britain. In 1953 he emigrated to the United States, where he took up residence in the state of New Jersey. He worked for many years as a dock worker. He died in 1994. (*ibid*).

<sup>61</sup> CAW WBH, Oddział II, sygn. I.303.4.4063, Wolikowski, Report.

speak Spanish, it was in his interest to seek employment as an aviator in the Condor Legion or in the aviation section of the Italian Tercio. Gunda contacted these two entities, without achieving his purpose. In the end he was admitted by the Nationals, joining the air force as a volunteer 2nd Lieutenant. In February 1937, he was assigned to León, where he suffered an accident that left him injured and unfit to continue flying aircraft. In August of the same year he was promoted to Lieutenant and in November he was discharged from the Elementary School of Pilots and from the air service due to his lack of aptitude for flying. In December of the same year he left Seville without paying 3,850 pesetas to the Majestic Hotel, where he had been staying. In January 1938, due to a complaint from the manager of this establishment, he was arrested in Salamanca, where he settled his case at the headquarters. Later in Seville he was sentenced to prison for the crime of fraud. The issue is not clear. The pilot was forced to return part of the pay he had previously received, and was told that he should not have been paid the same as the other foreign pilots in his category. In his request to General Franco, Gunda maintained that he had started to charge so little that once he had exhausted his own money, he had not been able to pay his hotel bill. In February 1937 he was also told that he had to return one thousand pesetas, and in April this amount was increased. In January of the same year Gunda had joined the Spanish Falange, practicing police services, censorship, press and propaganda. He demanded his immediate freedom and denied the fraud, maintaining that he only had a civil debt which he intended to pay and pointed to irregularities in the judicial procedure. However, he was not released and in addition, he was required to pay 10,000 pesetas to meet the outcome of the case. He complained that no one had helped him and that the air force was giving him contradictory excuses. He asked the Caudillo for his freedom, plus 6,000 pesetas to settle his debt and 4,000 lire for a boat ticket to Hungary. On the other hand, the commander of the Tablada base affirmed that Gunda charged "enough to be able to attend to his needs and that due to waste or other unknown causes he did not comply with his commitments". His request was denied and in April 1938 he was released<sup>62</sup>.

A total of thirteen definite cases plus four uncertain cases have been identified of Polish citizens who joined the Tercio or the Legion as early as during the Civil War. If we add to this another

<sup>62</sup> AGMAV, C. 2305, folder 10, dossier J. Gunda.

er eight who definitely or presumably served in it only prior to the war, and another two or three who served during the war, in the end we have a total of at least twenty-three Polish citizens in the Tercio and the Legion, not including five inconclusive cases. There were probably twenty Poles, two Jews and one ethnic Austrian. Our estimate is that the total number of Polish nationals and former Polish citizens who served in this unit did not exceed a total of thirty to forty in all.

There is also the case of a Pole who fought on the National side during the Civil War outside the Tercio. The details of his service are contained in the memoirs of the Englishman Peter Kemp<sup>63</sup>, who held a doctorate in classical philology and law from the University of Cambridge, a Protestant who fought in the ranks of the Carlist *Requetés*<sup>64</sup>. According to his account, in December 1936, a Pole, Count Karol Orłowski, 2nd Lieutenant of the Polish Army cavalry, who spoke Spanish and English perfectly, showed up at the *Requeté* Cavalry Borgoña Squadron. His mother was Ignazia del Carill, granddaughter of a Vice-president of Argentina, and his father Ksawery Orłowski, a Polish Envoy in Rio de Janeiro (1920-1921) and Madrid (1921-1924), who died in 1926. Ludwik Karol Lubicz-Orłowski, called "Koko" by his friends, descended from the paternal line of the Princes of Talleyrand-Périgord, and was the heir to a million-dollar fortune. He learned Polish in Cracow at the age of ten and graduated from the school for reserve cavalry cadets at Grudziądz<sup>65</sup>. According to Kemp, a Sergeant in

<sup>63</sup> For further information: AGMM, AGL, CGG, armario 1, leg. 12, carp. 18. Kemp then served in the Spanish Legion as 2nd Lieutenant and during World War II as an officer in the British Special Operations Executive (SOE), including a mission to Poland in 1944-1945 (*ibid.*, DORRIL, Stephen, *MI6. Fifty Years of Special Operations*, Fourth Estate, London, 2001, p. 253).

<sup>64</sup> On the *Requeté* units in the war, see: ARÓSTEGUI, Julio, *Combatientes carlistas in la guerra civil española*, t. I-II, Aportes XIX, Madrid, 1991; GONZÁLEZ CALLEJA, Eduardo, "Hacia una nueva «guerra carlista»", in: ARÓSTEGUI, Julio, CANAL, Jordi, GONZÁLEZ CALLEJA, Eduardo, *El carlismo y las guerras carlistas. Hechos, hombres e ideas*, La Esfera de los Libros, Madrid, 2003, pp. 105-121; MORAL RONCAL, Antonio Manuel, *Los carlistas*, Arco Libros, Madrid, 2002, pp. 65-67; MARTORELL ROSAENZ, Tomás, *Andanzas de un carlista del siglo XX*, Fundación de Amigos de la Historia del Carlismo, Pamplona, 2001, pp. 23-62; FAJANS, Roman, *Hiszpania 1936 (Z wrażeń korespondenta wojennego)*, Towarzystwo Wydawnicze "Rój", Warsaw, 1937, pp. 137-143.

<sup>65</sup> Years later a school-friend of Orłowski, Marian Kamil Dziewanowski, wrote: "His father decided in his will that Koko, in order to receive his parents' inheritance, should serve sufficient time in the Polish Army to reach the rank of 2nd Lieutenant in the cavalry" (DZIEWANOWSKI, Marian Kamil, *Jedno życie to za mało. Kartki z pamiętnika niepoprawnego optymisty*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń, 1994, ps. 88).

the aforementioned Red Berets squadron, he was a great horseman and an expert in cavalry tactics. Orłowski was scared off by the lack of expertise and ignorance in this squadron. The situation of this cavalry unit was quite unusual. At the end of 1936 and the beginning of the following year, the *Requeté* assembled two squadrons, commanded by a White Russian, Lieutenant Colonel Alkon. One of them was to be composed of riders and commanded by Captain Barrón, who was in Toledo. When Kemp was sent there, the unit was stationed in Santa Olalla, on the outskirts of the city of El Greco. The squadron, commanded by Lieutenant Carlos Llancia, was composed mainly of volunteers, "simple peasants" from Andalusia who were "hardly different from children", that is, they were easily depressed, inefficient and lazy. The unit, consisting of about one hundred horsemen, expected reinforcements in the form of personnel, horses and other equipment. Thus the squadron did not fight, and was merely engaged in watching over the surrounding area and especially the road between Talavera de la Reina and Toledo. The wait was long, the reinforcements did not arrive, and the designated commander, Captain Barrón, failed to show up either. Shortly afterwards, in January 1937, 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant Orłowski went to the El Alcázar Tercio, also a Carlist unit. He took part in several campaigns and was slightly wounded at Cabezafuerte, near La Marañosa in the province of Madrid. As a result of his disagreements with the commander of the Tercio, Emilio Alamán, a man with a great temperament and distinguished in the defence of the Alcázar de Toledo, Orłowski left the unit at the beginning of February and made his way to France<sup>66</sup>.

The low level of participation of Polish volunteers in the National side was mainly due to the fact that the vast majority

<sup>66</sup> KEMP, Peter, *Legionario en España*, translated from English C. Carlos Paytuví de Sierra, Luis de Caralt, Barcelona, 1975, pp. 7, 55-63, 67, 89, 91, 109-110; MESA, J.L. de, op. cit., pp. 197-198; further information in: CIECHANOWSKI, J.S., *Czarna legenda*, t. I, pp. 276-280; *Polsko-brytyjska współpraca wywiadowcza podczas II wojny światowej / Intelligence Co-operation Between Poland and Great Britain During World War II*, t. II, *Wybór dokumentów / vol. II, Documents*, selected and ed. by J.S. Ciechanowski, Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych, Warsaw, 2005, pp. 286-287. Between January and March 1941 Orłowski directed a secret military evacuation mission in Madrid, whose task was the clandestine dispatch of Polish soldiers from France to Great Britain. Arrested and imprisoned in Figueras, he was released in April but forced to leave Spain. Between 1944 and 1945 he served as the head of the Polish Military Intelligence Mission "Salvador" at its headquarters in Buenos Aires (*Ibid*).

of the young people, who wanted to contribute to halting the advance of communism or were sympathetic to anti-Marxist Spain, were focused on the situation in their homeland, which from 1937 onwards was increasingly threatened by their neighbours and over which black clouds were gathering. The danger facing their independent state, created only a few years earlier, compulsory military service and the stringent ban on serving in other nations' armies at the risk of losing their citizenship, were all concrete facts. For this reason, there were not many people willing to go to fight in Spain<sup>67</sup>. The Polish Government did not pay much attention to the few Poles who took part in the war on the Iberian Peninsula on the National side. This small number of volunteers, a large part of whom had been living outside Poland for some time, was decisive in the attitude taken by the Warsaw authorities. However, the Polish dictatorship considered the conservative right, the so-called national democracy, which in Poland was the one that most clearly and decisively supported the rebellious Spanish military, as a major political enemy. There is no doubt that, if this support for a Catholic and national Spain had increased considerably, it would have met with a strong reaction from the authorities, although possibly on a smaller scale than against the communists and other Polish left-wingers. Moreover, if the Polish right had been denied the opportunity to function in Poland in a relatively free manner, or if the country had been occupied by other powers, the contingent of Poles on the National side would surely have been larger. This hypothesis is confirmed, for example, by the large number of volunteers known as White Russians<sup>68</sup>.

The insurgents greeted the foreign volunteers with caution, especially those from exotic Central and Eastern Europe, and were more suspicious than in the years 1920-1936. They feared provocation and enemy espionage. As time went by, the Nationals experienced quite a few complications and expenses with the presence of the allied units of national socialist Germany and fascist Italy. The former's aversion to the presence of Poles in the field of their direct activities must have contributed to the special role of the first of them, who had significant influence on the Spanish General Staff. One should not underestimate the nega-

<sup>67</sup> See, p. ej., GIERTYCH, Jędrzej, *Hiszpanja bohaterska*, Ossolineum, Warsaw, 1937, pp. 12-13.

<sup>68</sup> MESA, J.L. de, op. cit., pp. 79-104; list of Russian volunteers in: AGMM, AGL, CGG, armario 1, leg. 8, carp. 88.

tive attitude of a part of the elite of the Spanish officialdom towards Poland for selling arms to the "red" Republic, supplying the Nationals with limited quality weapons, allowing so many Poles to fight on the Republican side and maintaining the alliance between France and the Popular Front.

However, there were more Polish accents in the Spanish "crusade". One of them belonged to Guillermo Wesolowski Zaldo, before the war official of the Tercio. He was a Spaniard of partly Polish origin. His great-grandfather Wilhelm Wesołowski emigrated from Poland to France and married a French woman. They had at least one son named Edmund, Guillermo's grandfather, born in his mother's homeland, who married a Spanish woman from Cádiz, María del Carmen Revuelto. Guillermo's parents were war commissioner Juan Wesolowski Revuelto and María Zaldo Torres. His close relative was General Fidel Dávila Arrondo, spokesman for the National Defence Board, president of the Technical State Board, commander of the Northern Army of the National Armies after the death of General Emilio Mola, and then Minister of National Defence in General Franco's first Government. Wesolowski's sister, María del Carmen, was the wife of Víctor Dávila Arrondo, brother of the General<sup>69</sup>. After the outbreak of the Civil War, 34-year-old William hid under the protection of the Polish Legation in Madrid. He then left Spain for France in the same evacuation as Peczenik, bearing a Polish passport under the name of Wilhelm Wesołowski, issued for a limited period of time<sup>70</sup>. When he reached National Spain, he re-joined the army. The Polish diplomatic representation protected his mother, his sister (both named María del Carmen) and his six nephews. Moreover, in the summer of 1937, the two women were issued with Polish passports. After the war, Wesolowski was an aide to Dávila when he was the Minister of the Army. Guillermo's brother, José Wesolowski Zaldo, also served in the Polish Army during the Civil War. Born in 1896 in Alcalá de Henares, he began his military career in 1915. Two years later he was promoted to lieutenant and joined the 2nd Military Intervention Corps. In 1941 he was promoted to Lieu-

<sup>69</sup> See: NHA, FC, Ministerio de Hacienda, leg. 47222, exp. 843.

<sup>70</sup> AIPMS, Poselstwo RP w Madrycie, Hiszpania, 1932–1968 (hereafter PM), sygn. A.45.10/1; CIECHANOWSKI, J.S., "Oficerowie i żołnierze Armii Hiszpańskiej a Poselstwo Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w Madrycie (1936-1939)", in: *Polska historiografia wojskowa. Stan badań i perspektywy rozwoju. VI Ogólnopolskie Forum Historyków Wojskowości*, ed. Henryk Stańczyk, Akademia Świętokrzyska im. Jana Kochanowskiego – Filia w Piotrkowie Trybunalskim, Toruń, 2002, pp. 273-274.

tenant Colonel and in 1950 to Colonel, retiring the following year<sup>71</sup>.

We should also mention the three requests to organise aid for the Nationals in the form of creating a special Polish legion. The idea originated with Colonel Romuald Wolikowski, the Polish Military Attaché to Soviet Russia from 1921 to 1923. His wife, Izabela, was the daughter of the distinguished Spanish poet and writer Sofía Pérez Casanova, a Galician woman for whom Poland became her second home. During the Civil War the novelist fully supported National Spain, which she identified with the patriotic struggle against Bolshevik barbarism, something she witnessed during the years 1917-1918 in Russia. Wolikowski's career had been put on hold after Marshal Pilsudski's coup d'état in 1926 because of his close contacts with the conservatives of Roman Dmowski's national democracy<sup>72</sup>. However, in the summer of 1937 this officer was sent by the 2nd Bureau of the General Staff on a special observation mission to Spain. In his final report he proposed to recognise Burgos as a belligerent party with the appropriate conditions. One of these would be to obtain permission to send a military mission that would have the right to observe operations under the pretext of assistance from qualified specialists, or at least consent to professionally examine materiel taken from the enemy. The Colonel's idea also envisaged sending Polish volunteer-specialists in various types of weaponry to Spain, who would examine in detail the tactics and techniques of General Franco's and his allies' armies. In Wolikowski's opinion, they would surely be welcomed and their expedition was possible at any time following fairly routine screening. The Colonel was of the opinion that there would be no shortage of volunteers. He ended his report by stating that it was time to start negotiations on the recognition of the Nationals as a belligerent party in which they should be ahead

<sup>71</sup> See: AGMS, Personal, Sección: GU, leg. U5, dossier retirement of J. Wesolowski Zaldo; CIECHANOWSKI, J.S., "Azyl dyplomatyczny w poselstwie Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w czasie hiszpańskiej wojny domowej 1936-1939", in: *Przegląd Historyczny* 4, 2000, pp. 563, 573-576; AIPMS, PM, sygn. A.45.10/1. During the Civil War the Polish mission also protected and helped other families of Polish origin, such as the Mirecki family, descendants of a Polish Army officer during the anti-Russian uprising of 1830-1831 (see: *Ibid*).

<sup>72</sup> See: CASANOVA, Sofía, *Polvo de escombros*, in: *eadem*; BRANICKI, Miguel, *El martirio de Polonia*, 2ª ed., Ediciones Atlas, Madrid, 1945, pp. 85-86; AIPMS, RK, sygn. B.2609.

of other countries in order to achieve the benefits that Poland most desired, because the victory of General Franco's army was, in his opinion, only a matter of time<sup>73</sup>.

The concept of forming a Polish legion in National Spain was a family undertaking. This is confirmed by the fact that in November 1936 Wolikowski's father-in-law, the philosopher Wincenty Lutosławski, had already appealed in the *Dziennik Bydgoski* (Bydgoszcz Diary) for the organisation of such a unit to come to the aid of General Franco. The scientist wrote: "Even if only a hundred volunteers were found, this demonstration would be significant, it would frighten away the communists and raise the forces of the defenders of the faith and the church"<sup>74</sup>. The Christian-Democratic emigrant newspaper *Narodowiec* (The National) published in France, also encouraged people to join the ranks of the Spanish Foreign Legion<sup>75</sup>. All this was in response to General Franco's alleged call to enlist in the Tercio, which must, however, be attributed to the imagination of the editorial staff. Nevertheless, we cannot rule out that some of the Poles who enlisted during the Civil War may have responded to this article.

### The Republican side

A great challenge for historiography is to analyse in depth the Poles in the International Brigades, which no one has attempted so far, a subject that moreover arouses strong passions, given the underlying interests, politics and ideology not only in Spain and Poland. The essential elements are already known, but what is missing is a detailed monograph on the topic – using all the relevant sources possible, mainly Polish and Spanish – and another one on the subsequent echoes of the brigaders struggle, and their legend, with the fates of those who survived the battle in the background. This requires extensive, detailed and in-depth research, although several

<sup>73</sup> CAW WBH, Oddział II, sygn. I.303.4.4063, Wolikowski, Report. Poland recognised General Franco's Government on April 6, 1938, but this decision was to be "published" after the capture of Madrid. On October 22 of the same year, Warsaw recognised Burgos *de facto* and *de jure* on February 18, 1939, thus breaking off relations with the Republican Government. See: CIECHANOWSKI, J.S., *Podwójna gra*, pp. 124, 134-138.

<sup>74</sup> Quoted in: ĆWIK, Tadeusz, "Społeczeństwo polskie a wojna hiszpańska", in: *Polacy w wojnie hiszpańskiej (1936-1939)*, ed. Michał BRON, Warsaw, 1967, p. 62.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

articles exist that can be considered as first approximations to the subject<sup>76</sup>.

The monographs and other publications in Poland concerning the members of the International Brigades (brigaders) or were mostly written during the period of the communist dictatorship. On the one hand, the main shortcoming of these texts is their propagandistic and often also commemorative approach, always with the presence of omnipresent censorship and self-censorship in the background. On the other hand, these works were produced by the former brigaders themselves or were closely based on their accounts<sup>77</sup>, with hardly any use of Spanish or other foreign material, which meant that they were mainly a source of information on the official vision of the Iberian "enterprise" rather than a critical analysis of this issue.

The group of "Poles" in the International Brigades was much more diverse in reality than in literature where it was presented as a mainly homogeneous group. The reason for their

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<sup>76</sup> See in Spanish: Ciechanowski, J.S., "La participación de ciudadanos polacos y [personas] de origen polaco en las Brigadas Internacionales", in: *Al lado del gobierno republicano. Los brigadistas de Europa del Este en la guerra de España*, coords. Matilde Eiroa, Manuel Requena, Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, Cuenca, 2009, pp. 93-132; see also: Różycki, Bartłomiej, "Dąbrowszczacy i pamięć o hiszpańskiej wojnie domowej w Polsce Ludowej", in: *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość* 12/1, 2013, pp. 167-212; PIETRZAK, Jacek, "Polscy uczestnicy hiszpańskiej wojny domowej", in: *Acta Universitatis Lodzensis. Folia Historica* 97, 2016, ed. Dariusz Jeziorny, pp. 65-86. We have not detected any cases of Polish citizens or former citizens serving on the Republican side outside the International Brigades, which does not mean there were none.

<sup>77</sup> See, p. ej.: AJZNER, S., *Madryt-Saragossa*, Książka i Wiedza (KiW), Warsaw, 1961; *idem*, *"olska a wojna domowa w Hiszpanii 1936-1939*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe (PWN), Warsaw, 1968; BRON, M., *Bitwa nad Ebro i udział w niej Polaków*, KiW, Warsaw, 1976; *idem*, *Pasaremos*, Iskry, Warsaw, 1958; *Polacy w wojnie hiszpańskiej (1936-1939)*, ed. *idem*, 2<sup>a</sup> ed., Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej (WMON), Warsaw, 1967; WYSZCZELSKI, Lech, *Bohaterowie stu bitew*, Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, Warsaw, 1986; *idem*, *Dąbrowszczacy*, KiW, Warsaw, 1986. La revista de la bibliografía in: CIECHANOWSKI, J.S., "La participación de ciudadanos polacos", pp. 93-132. See also: ZAMOJSKI, Jan Eugeniusz, "Los interbrigadistas de la República Española después de la derrota. Vicisitudes de los polacos", in: *España y Polonia: los encuentros*, coords. Elda González Martínez, Malgorzata Nalewajko, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid, 2005, pp. 25-91; SAWICKI, P., "Los interbrigaders polacos en la posguerra. Manipulaciones propagandísticas y avatares políticos", in: *Las Brigadas Internacionales: 70 años de memoria histórica*, eds. Antonio R. Celada, Daniel Pastor García, Rosa María López Alonso, Amarú Ediciones, Salamanca, 2007, pp. 421-429.

surprisingly large participation (around 4500)<sup>78</sup> in the war in Spain, which was a rather exotic country for them (as Poland was for Spaniards), lies in the fact that around four-fifths of this group emanated from Polish economic emigration, mostly from France, from the settlement lands of miners and metal-workers especially during the economic crisis after the end of the World War I. Mainly went to Spain the children of those who emigrated from Poland, and to a lesser extent, Polish doctors and students<sup>79</sup>. Formally, and according to the Spanish rules of nationality, perhaps the majority should have been part of the French group but in reality this was not the case. The Comintern decided to attempt to strengthen the image of Polish communism by showing that there were many Polish communists, which was in reality untrue because ideas of this kind had minimal support. Knowing Stalin's plans to continue the expansion of the Tsars and of Lenin, together with the idea of extending Soviet domination, one can see this from the perspective of a plan to prepare a group of people, of tenuous or real Polish origin, in order to use them at an opportune moment in Poland, which was quite repugnant to the country of the Soviets, especially after stopping the Bolshevik advance to the West in 1920. The Soviets made no secret of the fact that Polish connections would be exploited in the future. An illustration of this is the Soviet General Karol Karlovich Sverchevski (Polish version of his name, Karol Świerczewski, used from 1936), commander of the 14th Brigade, of the A Division and then of the 35th Division. On the first anniversary of the creation of the Polish Brigade Jarosław Dąbrowski he wrote: "Your brigade is the first unit, i.e. the vanguard of the future Polish People's Army"<sup>80</sup>. His connection with Poland was fairly basic. He was born in 1897 in Warsaw and in 1915 he was evacuated to Russia as a worker. He participated in the Bolshevik invasion of Poland in 1920. Sixteen years later he was sent to Spain. Since officially there were to be no Soviets in these

<sup>78</sup> The number of confirmed Polish volunteers is 4017 (*Polacy w wojnie hiszpańskiej*, pp. 229-269).

<sup>79</sup> Hereafter we will use the adjective "Polish" without quotation marks, referring to the brigaders connected with Poland, with the caveat that we consider it to be a very broad expression that includes people who had any connection with Poland and were considered as such within the International Brigades by their authorities for reasons, among others, that were purely political.

<sup>80</sup> Quoted in: TORUŃCZYK, Henryk, "Do wolności przez Polskę – do Polski przez cały świat", in: *O Generale Świerczewskim. Wspomnienia*, WMON, Warsaw, 1952, p. 17.

interventionist forces, Sverchevski was suddenly presented as a Pole<sup>81</sup>.

According to historiography, more than 35,000 people representing 54 "nationalities" participated in the International Brigades, but the term is used mainly in the sense of citizenship. One approach to obtaining a real picture would be to count how many Polish citizens of various nationalities participated in the war and how many people of Polish origin – and in possession of other citizenship – left to fight in Spain. Only then would it be possible to verify whether the Poles – according to the rules of nationality of Central-Eastern Europe – really represented the second largest national group in the International Brigades, after the French and ahead of the Italians and the Germans.

The first Polish volunteers<sup>82</sup> arrived from France and, generally speaking, were among the first brigaders<sup>83</sup>. Recruitment, which was organised by the French Communist Party, was quite popular<sup>84</sup>. The situation was similar in Belgium which produced approximately a hundred candidates<sup>85</sup>. The next hundred came from other European countries. There were also people of Polish origin from Manchuria, the United States, Canada, Argentina and other South American countries. From the New World some three hundred arrived together, mostly small tradesmen, day labourers or craftsmen, including many unemployed.

Only about 600-900 people came from Poland itself<sup>86</sup>. There was a predominance of unemployed workers, including many miners

<sup>81</sup> There is no comprehensive biography of this general (see, p. ej., WYSZCZELSKI, L., *General broni Karol Świerczewski "Walter" 1897–1947*, WMON, Warsaw, 1987).

<sup>82</sup> They are called volunteers, although we must bear in mind that not all of them were. Many received the order from their Communist party to go to Spain, and were thus complying with internal party discipline.

<sup>83</sup> AJZNER, S., "Rekrutacja ochotników polskich do hiszpańskiej armii republikańskiej w 1936–1937 r.", in: *Wojskowy Przegląd Historyczny* (WPH) 2, 1959, p. 169.

<sup>84</sup> One of the Polish soldiers wrote about the popularity of communism in 1942 among the Polish miners around Lyon in France, stressing that they were "simple people with hearts of gold", but that —something shocking for someone coming from Poland— they praised Stalin and the USSR or maintained that in the Polish Army before the war one could be promoted only after leading at least a few soldiers to suicide. All of them emigrated from Poland (CCP) to France before or shortly after the recovery of independence in 1918" (SZWAJK, Jerzy Henryk, *A wszystko po to, aby nie zginęła!*, Wydawnictwo Archidiecezji Warszawskiej, Warsaw, 1997, pp. 108-109).

<sup>85</sup> See: PANECKI, Tadeusz, *Polonia zachodnioeuropejska w planach Rządu RP na emigracji (1940–1944) – Akcja Kontynentalna*, PWN, Warsaw, 1986, p. 34.

<sup>86</sup> See: AJZNER, S., "Rekrutacja", pp. 184-185; SZYR, E., "Czterdzieści lat temu w obronie Republiki Hiszpańskiej", *Nowe Drogi* 7, 1976, p. 108.

and metalworkers. The poet Józef Łobodowski recalls that very few Poles from Poland joined the Brigades: "I met them first in France, then in prison in Spain [during World War II - JSC]. They were either primitive, almost illiterate peasants, or intellectuals of Jewish origin with decidedly Marxist views and belonging to the [communist] Party."<sup>87</sup> Therefore, they were Polish citizens of various nationalities: mainly Polish or Jewish and to a lesser extent Ukrainian and Belarusian<sup>88</sup>. In May 1937 Gustaw Reicher "Rwał", representative of the Communist Party of Poland to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain (CPS), stated that "among the people of the country [of Poland - J.S.C.] Jews prevail"<sup>89</sup>.

All the volunteers from Poland made their way to Spain illegally, which required a huge organisational effort on the part of the Communist Party of Poland (CPP), the sole organiser of the influx of Polish citizens to the Iberian Peninsula from Poland<sup>90</sup>. This operation was the result of an order from Moscow for the CPP and its related organisations to set up the clandestine recruitment network, when in August 1936 Stalin decided to intervene on behalf of his interests in Spain. The implementation of this plan proved to be quite efficient, although costly, as the expenses of the long journey had to be covered, since practically none of the

<sup>87</sup> ŁOBODOWSKI, Józef, "Franco i Polacy", in: *Dziennik Polski i Dziennik Żołnierza. Tydzień Polski*, London, March 8, 1986, p. 16.

<sup>88</sup> See: GRZYBOWSKI, Jerzy, *Białorusini w polskich regularnych formacjach wojskowych w latach 1918–1945*, Instytut Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk (PAN), RYTM, Warsaw, 2006, pp. 223, 228; AJZNER, S., "Rekrutacja", pp. 176, 184; "Korespondencja polskich działaczy komunistycznych w Hiszpanii z Biurem Politycznym KC KPP", ed. S. AJZNER, in: *Z pola walki* 1, 1966, pp. 108, 111; LUSTIGER, Arno, *iShalom libertad! Judíos en la guerra civil española*, Flor del Viento, Barcelona, 2001, *passim*; *Warszawa na starej fotografii*, eds. Dobrosław Kobielski, Teodor Hermańczyk, text of Andrzej Jeżewski, Wydawnictwo Artystyczno-Graficzne, Warsaw, 1960, p. 41.

<sup>89</sup> "Korespondencja", p. 123.

<sup>90</sup> Despite a certain sympathy for the Republican cause (especially at the beginning of the Spanish war when Soviet influence was not as evident as it was afterwards), the socialist party and the radical "class" trade unions in Poland refused to participate in these developments, something that the Communists complained about. This was related to the rejection by Polish non-communist leftists of the Comintern idea of the Popular Front. The socialists had enough knowledge of the Soviet system to know that it was only a temporary tactic by Stalin to weaken the position of other left-wing parties, while their main aim was to gain total power for the communists. On the other hand, the Polish non-communist left-wing did not actively oppose the recruitment of volunteers to Spain (see AJZNER, S., "Rekrutacja", pp. 175-178; "Korespondencja", pp. 126-128).

would-be volunteers could pay for it without the help of the party. The only solution was for the candidates to pass clandestinely through the border with Czechoslovakia, as the way through Nazi Germany seemed very dangerous. Most Polish citizens sent to the Iberian Peninsula from Poland illegally crossed the southern border between late 1936 and early 1937<sup>91</sup>. The authorities succeeded in arresting on the border quite a number of those who wanted to go into battle on the side of the Popular Front of Spain, manual labourers for the most part. A large number managed to reach Paris thanks to an illegal network set up by the CPP in collaboration with their Czechoslovak comrades, and to a lesser extent with the Austrians. But there were also improvised expeditions, because some of them did not want to spend too much time waiting for their turn. With the help of the French communists, they crossed the Pyrenees. Some of the volunteers or those sent by the party were arrested by the Austrian, Swiss or Czechoslovak police, as a result of their limited or non-existent experience abroad, their lack of language skills or limited financial means. However, many travelled across Europe using various means of transport and, on rare occasions, hidden on ships departing from Gdansk or Gdynia for French ports. The communist party spoke of the need to send "politically" strong people to Spain, although at least since the summer of 1937 there were signs of attempts to send as many non-communists as possible to the Iberian Peninsula, albeit with a strong verification system, especially in Poland, but also in Czechoslovakia and France. In addition, it was important to try to avoid a considerable drain on party personnel in Poland in order to continue with subversive, propagandistic and espionage work<sup>92</sup>. In the second half of 1937, recruitment dropped and gradually died out as a result of both the purge of the CPP and its liquidation, and Stalin's decision to abandon the cause of Republican Spain.

Some of the volunteers were seduced into joining the ranks of the Brigades by the promise of high salaries. A number of adventure-seekers, mercenaries and common criminals were also attracted to the Brigades. For example, Gustaw Reicher wrote in one of his letters about the "influx of suspicious elements of various kinds (...) elements who were looking for adventure, an easy military career, cheap benefits in any kind of commercial

<sup>91</sup> AJZNER, S., "Rekrutacja", pp. 170, 172-173, 180.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 170, 172-173, 175, 183; AAN, Komunistyczna Partia Polski 1918-1938, sygn. 158/IV-2, t. 69.

ventures, or deserters from the work of the party, former denouncers or provocateurs who were trying to hide their past here and re-emerge”, commenting that he himself had caught a few of these types, while assisting in personnel-related activities in Albacete<sup>93</sup>.

Polish citizens and people of Polish origin fought both in Polish units and were dispersed across other formations. The first volunteers arrived from France as early as the end of August and the beginning of September 1936. One of them, Bolesław Krzykowski (“Stéphan”, “Stefan Wiśniewski”) was appointed the following month as the first political commissar of the International Brigades based in Albacete, serving in this capacity until January 1937<sup>94</sup>.

On October 24, 1936, in the town of Mahora, a Polish battalion was created called Jarosław Dąbrowski, after the national hero and one of the leaders of the Paris Commune in 1871. The unit was composed of about 600 volunteers, also with a small proportion of Bulgarians, Czechs, Spaniards and representatives of the nations of Yugoslavia. It was part of the XI Brigade, and of the XII Brigade from December of the first year of the war. In November, this Polish unit contributed greatly to holding Madrid, suffering significant losses (just one third of the staff of the battalion survived until the end of 1936)<sup>95</sup>. At the end of the first year of the war, new Polish companies were created. Two of them were soon incorporated into the German Battalion Ernst Thälmann of the XI Brigade, then into the General Staff of the XIV Brigade “La Marseillaise” under the command of General “Walter”, and finally into the Dąbrowski Battalion, which was reinforced with a number of Spaniards at the beginning of 1937. The latter participated, among others, in the fighting on the fronts of Guadalajara, in the bloody battle of Jarama and in the battles of Huesca. The third Polish unit fought under the company name of Adam Mickiewicz. In July 1937 the XII Brigade was dissolved. A new brigade was created under the name of Dąbrowski which had actually already

<sup>93</sup> G. Reicher a E. Próchniak, member of the CC of the CPP Politburo, Albacete, April 24, 1937, in: “Korespondencja”, pp. 106-107, also pp. 117-118, 131.

<sup>94</sup> See more: “Korespondencja”, p. 122; AJZNER, S., “Pierwsi polscy uczestnicy wojny domowej w Hiszpanii”, in: *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 4, Warsaw, 1985, pp. 815-844. Leading Polish communists played an important role in the Albacete base. For ex. Reicher and Kazimierz Cichowski, both retired to the USSR and assassinated, or Tadeusz Ćwik “Władysław Stopczyk”.

<sup>95</sup> “Korespondencja”, p. 106; AJZNER, S., *Polska a wojna*, pp. 22-23.

begun to form since April and was officially confirmed on June 23. It was composed of the previous battalion of the same name, and also the French-Belgian Battalion André Marty and the Hungarian Battalion Mátyás Rákosi. It was part of the 45th Division, and from the beginning of September the XIII Brigade, 60% of which was made up of Spaniards. After its reorganisation, it was composed of the Battalions Jarosław Dąbrowski and José Palafox, which was to represent "erasing the stain" of the Polish participation in the Sieges of Zaragoza during the Napoleonic invasion. The latter was created as the second Polish-Spanish Battalion after the arrival in Republican Spain of the new batch of Polish volunteers. In December 1937 a new Polish-Spanish Battalion was formed – building from the aforementioned Mickiewicz Company (which was part of the multinational Tchapaiev Battalion and since July 1937 the Dąbrowski Brigade) – with the intention of replacing the French-Belgian Battalion transferred to the XIV Brigade "La Marseillaise". In 1938 the three Polish-Spanish Battalions (Dąbrowski, Mickiewicz and Palafox, apart from the Hungarian-Spanish Rákosi Battalion), belonging to the XIII Dąbrowski Brigade participated in the campaigns of Aragon and the Ebro<sup>96</sup>. At the outset, the brigade was incorporated into the 35th Division under the command of General "Walter", who ended up, however, being withdrawn in April to the Soviet Union, where, for unknown reasons, he did not share the same fate as many of Stalin's military, "advisors", spies and diplomats with Spanish experience, victims of his purge. During that time, some of the Polish commanders experienced a certain lack of trust in the Republican camp, which was the result of the dissolution of the CPP and related accusations<sup>97</sup>.

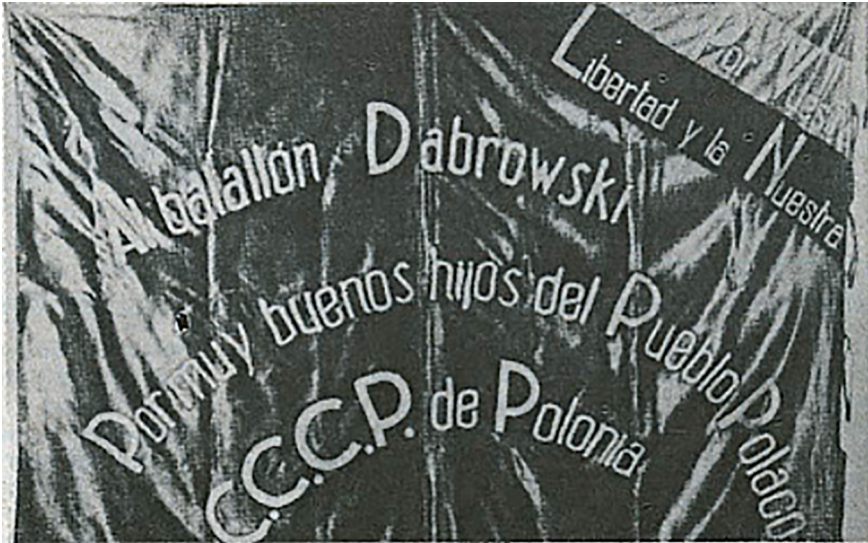
Most of the brigaders connected with Poland never did their military service. The Polish Communists were unable to send militarily trained workers to Spain, in accordance with orders from the CPP Political Bureau to the recruitment organisers<sup>98</sup>. As the number of reserve non-commissioned officers was very low, military skills and know-how were learned mainly in combat<sup>99</sup>. In September 1937 Polish Envoy in Spain, Marian Szumlakowski, reported to

<sup>96</sup> More on military operations involving Polish brigadiers in: BRON, M., "Udział Polaków w wojnie hiszpańskiej w latach 1936–1939", in: WPH 1, Warsaw, 1963, pp. 97–131.

<sup>97</sup> AJZNER, S., *Polska a wojna*, pp. 23–26; see also: PÉREZ LÓPEZ, Francisco, *Dark and Bloody Ground. A Guerrilla Diary of the Spanish Civil War*, ed. Victor GUERRIER, Little, Brown and Company, Boston-Toronto 1970, pp. 57, 60, 68, 74–75.

<sup>98</sup> AJZNER, S., "Rekrutacja", p. 170.

<sup>99</sup> *Idem*, *Polska a wojna*, p. 22.



**Banner for the Jarosław Dąbrowski Battalion brought from Poland and offered by the Polish communists. The text says: "For your Freedom and ours. To the Dąbrowski Battalion. Because of being very good children of the Polish people. CCCP of Poland", abbreviation that seems to be a mistake, because it should be CCPC, that is, "Comité Central del Partido Comunista"**

Warsaw: "On the Valencian side there is no enthusiasm for the idea of a Red Government. Some enthusiasm still characterises the International Brigade that makes up the bastion of the reds (...). In general, the population of red Spain is already tired of the war and if it were not for the international brigades, fighting would have been over long ago"<sup>100</sup>.

Sources indicate that throughout the war, Polish brigaders belonged to the assault units whose task was to participate in the most dangerous offensive operations and also to defend the most threatened frontline sectors. According to varying Polish reports, they performed these tasks mainly because of the weakness of the Spanish forces, which were brave but lacking in attacking skills. Evidence shows that these largely inexperienced troops could belong to elite units only during a war such as this one<sup>101</sup>.

<sup>100</sup> *Diariusz i Teki Jana Szembeka (1935–1945)*, t. III, ed. Tytus Komarnicki, the Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum, London, 1969, pp. 142–143.

<sup>101</sup> RGVA, fond 308, opis 4, dyelo 125, W. Popławski, Report on the time spent in Spain from February 13 to April 28, 1937; see also: CAW WBH, Oddział II, sygn. I.303.4.4063, Wolikowski, Report; SZYR, E., "Czterdzieści lat", p. 109; AJZNER, S., *Polska a wojna*, p. 22. Roman Fajans, Polish war correspondent in the conflict and ex-

Moreover, Polish casualties in the Brigades were enormous. Out of approximately 4,500 men, between 3,000 and 3,500 lost their lives, and of those who had arrived from Poland (between 600 and 900) just over 200 survived<sup>102</sup>. Such a high percentage of casualties ought to have influenced opinions regarding the exceptional value of these Polish detachments from a military point of view, although the courage and determination of most of these forces was not disputed even by the enemy.

An important issue was the ideological profile of the Polish volunteers. Those who came to fight in Spain were not all professed Communists, although, for the moment, we can only refer to the testimonies of the brigaders themselves. According to the communist Eugeniusz Szyr, these were mainly men without a party membership card, although "among the politically organised there were many more communists than others". On the other hand, according to the most reliable, albeit very approximate, evaluations of Seweryn Ajzner, also a veteran of the Brigades, around 80% of the volunteers in Poland were communists, 6% were socialists and 3% were sympathisers or members of the agrarian and radical Polish People's Party (PSL) "Wyzwolenie [Liberation]"<sup>103</sup>, with very little recruitment in the countryside. The number of communists increases if we count Poles or people of Polish origin with permanent residence in France.

However, related to the issue of ideological profile is another rift that we must highlight when talking about the Polish brigaders. If we analyse several sources, we reach the conclusion that this group was composed of those who ruled both during the war, not risking their lives too much on the fronts, and after it: high-rank-

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pert in military matters, wrote in his book in 1937 about the heroism of the defenders of Toledo's Alcázar, but also about "the unparalleled ineptitude, cowardice and sloppiness of the attackers and their leaders", commenting that: "to an average European all this seems simply implausible, but it is true. Without detracting from the heroism of the cadets – all credit to them – let us suppose for a moment that instead of the red militia that besieged the Alcázar, there could have been two ordinary French, German or Polish regiments, with even half of the technical means and armaments at their disposal than had been used here. The cadets would have been able to defend themselves even more heroically than they actually did, and the matter would have been settled in a few days. The disproportion of forces and means would have been too great. The Alcázar is a classic example of the inability of the Spanish red militia to carry out offensive activities" (FAJANS, Roman, *Hiszpania 1936*, pp. 71-74; see more in: CIECHANOWSKI, J.S., *Podwójna gra*, pp. 450-455).

<sup>102</sup> See: SZYR, E., "Czterdzieści lat", p. 109; AJZNER, S., "Rekrutacja", p. 185.

<sup>103</sup> AJZNER, S., *Polska a wojna*, p. 22.

ing communists, political commissars, ideologists, propaganda specialists, and by another group formed by workers of diverse thought but who were subordinated to official policy both during the Spanish conflict and in the future. Undoubtedly, it was after the Second World War that a kind of official homogeneity was created. It was all related to the establishment of the Soviet system and the communist dictatorship in Poland. This vision did not include the volunteers who later, following the fall of the Second Polish Republic in September 1939 and a result of two-sided attack agreed upon by Nazi Germany and the USSR, joined the ranks of the Polish Army in France and quite a few were admitted. There was also no room for deserters or those who openly opposed what was happening in their units in the Brigades and for this reason they were executed, although officially they were considered to have fallen in the struggle for the "freedom" of Spain. Many years of communist dictatorship made it impossible for critical accounts of participation in the Spanish war to appear publicly, unlike in the Western world where there are quite a few cases. For all these reasons, it seems that without a thorough investigation we cannot even estimate what was the mood and morale of the Polish brigaders and what tendencies prevailed until the USSR withdrew from that conflict.

The party members underlined the great morality and the fight for the highest ideals of humanity. We are not going to repeat this official version, because Spanish readers can easily check this out in a propaganda article by former brigadista Seweryn Ajzner<sup>104</sup>, published in the Madrid journal *Historia 16* in 1980<sup>105</sup>. A completely different view is presented by other stories already published, highlighting the very severe discipline in the Brigades, where the commissars and party secretaries were the masters over the life and death of their subordinates and where constant denunciations resulted in a high number of executions<sup>106</sup>. Their reports also speak of Polish spies sent to

<sup>104</sup> However, we must acknowledge that he is the most serious and best documented of the authors of writings on the Polish members of the International Brigades prior to 1989.

<sup>105</sup> AJZNER, S., "Por vuestra libertad y la nuestra. Los voluntarios polacos del Ejército republicano", in: *Historia 16* 53, Madrid, 1980, p. 21.

<sup>106</sup> STEIN, Sygmunt, *Ma guerre d'Espagne. Brigades internationales. La fin d'un mythe*, Éditions du Seuil, Paris, 2012, *passim*; CIECHANOWSKI, J.S., *Podwójna gra*, pp. 446, 586, 694–697; see also: CAW WBH, Oddział II, dossiers I.303.4.4063, I.303.4.4104, I.303.4.4106, I.303.4.4117; AAN, MSZ, dossier12059; SZUREK, Alexander, *The Shattered Dream*, transl. from the Polish by Jacques and Hilda Grunblatt, East



Polish brigadistas in front of a cinema where a Soviet propaganda film was going to be shown to them.

Spain during the Civil War. One of them, Włodzimierz Popławski, was known to act with great agility under the guise of a journalist. He was a typical representative of the Polish school of Sovietology who tried to see reality objectively for the benefit of his superiors. He claimed that in addition to the Poles in the Dąbrowski Battalion, there were about 400 Polish Jews. The main force, however, was made up of workers from France and Belgium, active members of the Communist Party or its supporters. A large percentage of those from Poland were unemployed, although there were also former political prisoners. The Polish Battalion was considered to be the best unit in the Republican Army. It was entrusted with the most difficult tasks, which it usually fulfilled to perfection. There was a general belief that if the Poles were in Madrid, everything was in order at the front. Popławski gave his observations on the growing influence of the Soviets in Republican Spain, albeit achieved in an expeditious manner. The first step of the Communist Party of Spain in the army was the virtual takeover of the War Commissariat, an organisation of the same importance as the Ministry of War,

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European Monographs, Boulder/Columbia University Press, New York, 1989, pp. 190, 290; BRONIATOWSKI, Mieczysław, *Zaczęło się za Pirenejami*, WMON, Warsaw, 1986, pp. 64, 70-73; WYSZCZELSKI, L., *Bohaterowie*, p. 141; M., Karol, *Spowiedź czerwonego milicjanta*, noted D. Szwoch, Drukarnia Bydgoskiej Spółki Akcyjnej, Bydgoszcz, 1939.

exactly according to the Soviet model. The post of political commissar, whose task was to organise intelligence and propaganda in the units, was equal to the post of the commander. According to the information obtained by the Polish spy, 93% of commissars were recruited from among the members of the CPS and 4% from among the anarchists, which ensured suitable Soviet influence. Popławski reported that in the Republican camp there were branches of the Association of Friends of the Soviet Union, founded by the socialist activists, which – in his opinion – was a clandestine agency of the Comintern. The Pole participated several times in the meetings of this organisation in Madrid, getting to know many of its activists: "During one of these meetings they told unbelievable stories about the successes of the collectivisation of Soviet farms, the second was dedicated to (...) the importance of propaganda and the exploitation of prisoners of war. As the Spanish were well aware that the most valuable units in the Government army were the International Brigades, the "agitprop" of the CPS looked after them extremely well. They were supplied with Soviet films, along with a set of portable, practical and carefully manufactured devices. They were also given pamphlets, posters and also "served as an intermediary" in the purchase (...) of books and publications of the publishing association of foreign workers in the USSR in languages accessible to soldiers and also for 1 peseta and not 8-12". These were works by Engels, Lenin and Stalin, also published in Polish for the Dąbrowski Battalion.<sup>107</sup>

Another interesting testimony from a Polish Intelligence envoy is given by the Aviation Major Adam Wojtyga, who presented himself in Spain as the journalist "Adam Sikorski". This officer had the opportunity to meet Polish citizens who served in the Polish Battalion in the Dąbrowski Brigade and who were temporarily in the Spanish capital enjoying a leave of absence or being cured. He claimed that their meeting point was at the Brigade's "home" on Velázquez Street, also the workplace of the editorial staff of the newspaper *Dąbrowszczak* [Dombrovskist]<sup>108</sup>, which was distributed free to the soldiers of the battalion for propaganda

<sup>107</sup> RGVA, fond 308, opis 4, dyelo 125, W. Popławski, Report; idem, Note on the issue of the Spanish Communist party and the activity of the Comintern, [1937].

<sup>108</sup> As early as 1936 the Polish volunteers of the Jarosław Dąbrowski Battalion and later of the Dąbrowski Brigade were called "dąbrowszczak". As time went by, this was the name given to all the volunteers connected with Poland, regardless of the unit they served in.

purposes. Wojtyga met the editor, a young man, "probably of Polish Jewish origin, a communist by conviction, who bore the surname Wiktor". The commander was convinced that the name was false<sup>109</sup>. The brigadista made no secret of his hostile attitude towards the Polish state, but acted "shrewdly, because he only emphasised his hostility towards the "fascist" Polish Government, and instead was lavish in his praise of all kinds of activities by opposition groups in Poland that are not related to the popular front in Spain and France". Wojtyga said that the other members of the editorial staff were similar to Wiktor and "all the issues such as the peasant riots in Poland, workers' strikes, anti-Government political demonstrations are exploited by the editorial staff for propaganda purposes". In talks with the "Dombrovskists", the Polish officer learned that: "All propaganda and political work is in the hands of the communists, the most prominent of whom hold the posts of political commissars in the battalions, companies and platoons. (...) Only a Polish journalist who displays such strong red views and speaks ill of the Polish Government could of course count on success among them. My conversations with the soldiers of the battalion and my study of the entire *Dąbrowszczak* collection in the form of letters from soldiers on the front lines to the editorial staff led me to the conclusion that the Dąbrowski Battalion is not made up of declared communists, but rather of passive and politically indifferent individuals who went there to make money and not out of ideological motivation. My assumption confirms the fact that the battalion is heavily dominated by political commissars and that the communists occupying these posts strive very hard to actually turn the people who make up that battalion into communist<sup>110</sup>.

Another important aspect was the press of the Brigades. It seems that the morale and communist convictions of the volunteers left much to be desired given the eagerness to provide newspapers for soldiers in the difficult conditions of war. The famous *Dąbrowszczak*, published irregularly between February and December 1937<sup>111</sup>, is an example of aggressive but not very sophisticated propaganda. The editors must not have had much respect

<sup>109</sup> He was right because this was the pseudonym used by Seweryn Ajzner.

<sup>110</sup> RGVA, fond 308, opis 4, dyelo 124, A. Sikorski, Report on the trip to Spain, Warsaw, 14 July 1937.

<sup>111</sup> Later, between January and December 1938, he continued as *Ochotnik Wolności* (Freedom Volunteer). The first editor of *Dąbrowszczak* was Ajzner and from July 1937 onwards Mieczysław Edgar Szleyen.

for the intellectual level of the readers by presenting fantastic images of a completely unreal world. One can understand the propaganda of the Stalinist theses, such as the alleged collaboration of the "Trotskyite" POUM leaders with the 'fascists'. However, particularly shocking were the rumours propagated, such as that the Polish Government sent arms, workers and peasants to Franco's army and that the basis for all this was the agreement of the Polish Foreign Minister Józef Beck with Hitler himself. For the readers, or at least some of them, this may well have been credible as they were constantly being told another lie which purported that the fascist Polish "sanacja" (Sanation)<sup>112</sup> was an ally of Nazi Germany. Beck was compared to General Franco, because both of them – according to the newspaper – aspired to sell the independence of their own nation in the interest of the ruling clique with the ultimate indispensable element of a planned common, Polish-German invasion against the USSR, with the country of the Soviets presented as a paradise<sup>113</sup>. The Polish volunteers' press took an actively aggressive stance both in its obsessive vision of the hated independent Polish state, and its attempts to arouse real "class" hatred, according to the best models of Soviet propaganda. *Dąbrowszczak* published texts such as that of the former driver of the Polish Legation in Madrid, later a Sergeant in the Communist militias, a Captain in the International Brigades and a Lieutenant in the Republican Army, Tadeusz Wysocki, who describes in an article published on May 29, 1937, his pleasure in observing the sufferings of a mother who was crying for her son, who probably died in the Cuartel de la Montaña in Madrid: "I laugh at your tears (...). I almost feel joy at seeing your martyrdom and your sufferings (...) Revenge is sweet! (...). You don't deserve any compassion"<sup>114</sup>. In many of the testimonies from the members of the International Brigade, the political commissars and other prominent communists during the war are the predominant authors. Moreover, they were the ones who later monopolised the historical narrative on the subject.

After the declaration of September 1938 by the Prime Minister of the Republican Government, Juan Negrín, concerning the withdrawal of the foreign volunteers from Spain, the Polish brigade

<sup>112</sup> An authoritarian dictatorship with the existence of some democratic institutions, established as a result of Marshal Piłsudski's coup d'état in May 1926.

<sup>113</sup> *Dąbrowszczak*, March 2, May 1 and 8, July 5, November 15, 1937.

<sup>114</sup> WYSOCKI, Tadeusz, "Z moich wspomnień w Hiszpanii. Pierwsze dni buntu", in: *Dąbrowszczak*, May 29, 1937.

began preparations for their evacuation. On the 25th of that month the soldiers left the front and a few days later they were assigned to the demobilisation camps according to their nationalities. Until the end of 1938, people of Polish origin or Polish from France, Canada, Belgium and other countries left Spain. After their departure, the volunteers who had come from Poland had great difficulty in finding a country that would take them in. France allowed some 300 war wounded and invalids to enter its territory. In light of the tragic military situation of the Republic and not wishing to be passive witnesses of its fall, in January 1939 about a few hundred previously unarmed Poles still remaining in Spain resumed fighting in the detachment composed mainly of Hungarian and Polish volunteers. Their main task was to protect the exodus of the civilian population from Spain to France. Most of the Polish members of the International Brigade, following the final victory of General Franco's army, crossed the border and were placed in internment camps<sup>115</sup>. A small number did not manage to do so, as they were taken prisoners of war, joining those who had the same fate as a result of their previous combat activity<sup>116</sup>.

In 1980, five years after the death of General Franco and during the period of the difficult consolidation of the democratic system in Spain, a popular magazine in Madrid published the aforementioned article by Seweryn Ajzner, in which the author explained that volunteers from democratic countries returned to them, while Poles who arrived from Poland, a "totalitarian" (sic!) country, considered to be stateless, risked being arrested if they made their way back to Poland<sup>117</sup>. Ajzner explained the return to their homeland, which they had abandoned in order to fight at Spain's side, as follows: "After deciding to defend the Spanish Republic, the Poles bowed to class imperatives and acted as convinced anti-fascists. However their internationalism was coloured by patriotic feelings, when in the manifestos published in Spain they repeated their desire to save Poland's honour, stained by the Piłsudski regime, opposed to democratic freedoms, the left-wing workers' movement and national minorities, and because they identified the Polish state rationale with the cause of the Re-

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<sup>115</sup> Called "concentration" camps at the time.

<sup>116</sup> See: AGMG, Comisión Central de Examen de Penas (1940-1947), *Penas de Muerte y Penas Ordinarias*; TOZER, Wanda, *Esteras z ulicy Szczęśliwej*, manuscript

<sup>117</sup> AJZNER, S., "Por vuestra", p. 27.

public, condemning Hitler's aid to Franco"<sup>118</sup>. This is yet another example of the official version of former commissars and propagandists who even managed to spread this narrative abroad, though already in Poland in that year things were changing and the way was open for the dismantling of the communist dictatorship thanks to the "Solidarity" workers' movement. Translating Ajzner's words into normal language, the author manifested the Marxist and Stalinist attitude of those who decided to leave for Spain, all under the cover of anti-fascism, whose advances would come to a halt between August 1939 (Ribbentrop-Mólotov pact) and June 1941 (beginning of the German invasion of the USSR). In this text, we have an illustration of Polish "communist nationalism", which was quite strong in the 1960s and 1970s. We can also discern the traditional attitude towards the Polish independence regime, which stemmed from socialist roots, based on fairly solid cooperation with national minorities that were willing to cooperate with the state. When Ajzner speaks of "democratic freedoms" he means those of the Soviet type, to which the Polish authority of the time was strongly opposed.

The apparent large participation of Poles in the "anti-fascist" camp worsened relations between Warsaw and Burgos, although not as much as the enormous amount of arms and ammunition sold by Poland through intermediaries to Spain of the Popular Front<sup>119</sup>. Communist historiography devoted to the subject of the Brigades and the Spanish Civil War misrepresented relations between Warsaw and Burgos as idyllic and alleged that the Polish regime was selling huge quantities of arms to General Franco's Spain<sup>120</sup>.

The Polish authorities treated the members of the International Brigade with severity<sup>121</sup>. After the first reports of Moscow's actions on the Iberian Peninsula appeared and it was established that in a few months hundreds of citizens had left for Spain, on December 11, 1936 the Warsaw Government warned the volunteers in the *Monitor Polski* (the Polish Monitor, an official bulletin with second-level legal texts) that joining the armies of the sides fighting in Spain caused the loss of Polish citizenship, referring to the law of 1920<sup>122</sup>. Another communiqué, dated February 23,

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>119</sup> See more in: AAN, MSZ, sygn. 4040; RGVA, fond 308, opis 4, dyelo 123.

<sup>120</sup> AJZNER, S., *Polska a wojna*, pp. 86-88; idem, "Państwo polskie", pp. 44-45.

<sup>121</sup> See more in: CIECHANOWSKI, J.S., *Podwójna gra*, pp. 560-590.

<sup>122</sup> *Monitor Polski. Dziennik Urzędowy Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* (hereafter, *Monitor Polski*) 288, Warsaw, 11 December 1936, p. 2.

1937, referred to the Act of May 23, 1924 on compulsory military service and Article 107 of the Act in particular, which penalised the recruitment of Polish citizens into a foreign army or a foreign military organisation with a prison sentence of up to 5 years<sup>123</sup>. As we have said, the authorities were not interested in isolated cases of Poles who served with the insurgents, although news about them was featured in the newspapers. Activity was concentrated on detecting cases of Polish members of the International Brigades. The Government – using the police and the secret services – was stringent in its application of the law, removing citizenship from all those whose services were known to be on the left-wing side in Spain. In June 1939 the Ministry of the Interior issued the first two lists of Polish citizens who took part in the struggles in Spain on the side of the “Government” army, with 474 surnames. At least 135 can be linked to Jewish nationality and 19 to Ukrainian nationality, although in the latter case it is more difficult to find out by relying on their first and last names alone. Many of these people were sentenced to losing their citizenship<sup>124</sup>. In April 1939 Wacław Żyborski, Director of the Department of Security Policy of the Ministry of the Interior, maintained that: “the influx into the country of such a subversive element with adequate military training and in turmoil is decidedly dangerous and for that reason clearly detrimental”<sup>125</sup>. The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that the former members of the International Brigade should be received in the country where they last resided before leaving for Spain. Those who arrived from Poland could return, but as stateless persons<sup>126</sup>.

In conclusion, the Polish presence in the Spanish Army in the twentieth century was quite significant, mainly thanks to the participation of some 4,500 individuals connected in some way with

<sup>123</sup> *Dziennik Ustaw* 60, August 4, 1933, p. 1129; *Monitor Polski* 43, February 23, 1937.

<sup>124</sup> The lists in: AAN, MSW, sygn. 1168.

<sup>125</sup> KMS, W. Żyborski to the social-political sections of the voivodeships and the Government Commissariat in Warsaw capital, Warsaw, April 7, 1939.

<sup>126</sup> See more in: DRYMMER, Wiktor Tomir, *W służbie Polsce*, Warszawska Oficyna Wydawnicza “Gryf”, Instytut Historii PAN, Warsaw, 1998, pp. 139-152; *Zjazdy i konferencje konsulów polskich w Niemczech. Protokoły i sprawozdania 1920–1939*, eds. Henryk Chałupczak, Edward Kołodziej, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin, 1999, pp. 341-342; AIPMS, PM, dossier A.45.773/1; KMS; AAN, MSZ, dossiers 26, 12058, 12059, 12089, 12333, 12345, 12346; *Ibid.*, MSW, dossier 1169; *Ibid.*, Komenda Główna Policji Państwowej w Warszawie 1919–1939, dossier 228; The National Archives, Kew, Richmond, Surrey, Great Britain, Foreign Office, ref. 371/22638-22639.

Poland and considered as Poles in the Civil War, due to the decision of the USSR to intervene in the conflict in a way that today could be called hybrid, using forces commanded by the communist forces from several countries. Probably the thirty-forty Poles who served in the Tercio represented a phenomenon worthy of note but not of great importance, since it involved a small group of primarily economic Polish emigrants who, for various reasons, ended up serving in the Spanish militia.



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