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THE COMPOSITION
OF THE BRANDENBURG-PRUSSIAN MILITARY
AID IN CAMPAIGNS AGAINST TURKEY
IN 1672–1675

At the turn of the 1660s and the 1670s, the Ukraine found itself on the brink of war with Turkey, and this situation prompted Poland to reinforce its military forces. In the face of armed conflict, attempts were made to rely on the provisions of the Wehlau-Bromberg Treaty of 1657 under which the Duke of Prussia, Elector of Brandenburg, was under obligation to dispatch 1,500 soldiers in military aid to Poland. The efforts of the Polish diplomats and the political aspects of the issue during a period of tension in Polish-Brandenburg relations have been discussed by Andrzej Kamiński¹. After 1672, changes in Brandenburg-Prussia’s European policies addressing the Empire and France forced the Elector to focus military efforts on the Rhein and Alsace. While the dispatch of soldiers against Turkey was of secondary importance from the strategic point of view, Frederick William’s promise to give military aid against the Sublime Porte was the focal point of the political scheme engaged in by the House of Hohenzollern. Brandenburg-Prussian auxiliary corps were dispatched to Poland in 1672 and 1674–1675, and the second consignment fought in the Podole region, as discussed in detail by Polish researchers². The process of corps formation has been thoroughly researched in German sources, suggesting that Brandenburg forces were of rather insignificant combat value. This paper discusses the composition of both the planned corps as well as the forces that were actually dispatched to aid the Polish king’s army.

Poland made the first attempts to solicit Brandenburg's help in the Ukraine already in 1667, but it was not until 1671 that its pleas brought the anticipated results. As a result of Wojciech Opacki’s negotiations with the Elector’s commissioners in Kongsberg, the Duchy of Prussia began preparations for forming aid troops\(^3\). On 28 August 1871, Frederick William ordered the formation of an auxiliary corps under the command of Colonel Hans (Johann) Adam von Schöning\(^5\). The corps was to be composed of 1000 foot soldiers from the following regiments:

- Duke Karl Emil (Kurprinz)\(^6\), four companies: Leibkompanie under the command of Captain-Lieutenant Ludicke Ernst von Schöning, Colonel

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\(^3\) Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin – Dahlem, XX Hauptabteilung, Etats Ministerium, k. 111a, No. 42 k. 46–; A. Kamieniiski, op. cit., pp. 56–57.


\(^6\) The regiment was formed in October 1655 under the command of, in chronological order: Jonas Casimir zu Eulenburg (died on 11 May 1667), from 18 May 1667 – Boguslaw Radziwiłł (died on 31 December 1669), from 12 January 1670 – Karl Emil (died on 27 Novem­ber 1674), from 7 December 1674 – Hans Adam von Schöning, later transformed to Infanterie - Regiment No. 2. Commanders: Lieutenant Colonel Wolff Dietrich von Wilmsdorff, Fabian von und zu Massenbach (from June 1658), Lieutenant Colonel Friedrich von Döhhoff (from 18 May 1667 to 2 June 1668), Lieutenant Colonel Hans Adam von Schöning (from 3 June 1668, regiment commander from November 1674). According to a head count of October 1667, the regiment was composed of four companies led by: Captain Stefan Weise (promoted to major in 1668), Lieutenant Colonel Dünhoff, Captain Georg Friedrich zu Eulenburg, Captain Hans Georg von Auerswald. After supplementation pursuant to the order of 27 June 1672, in August, the regiment comprised eight companies, 1000 men, including 680 privates. In June 1672, Captain Eulenburg and Captain Auerswald were dismissed, and their companies were placed under the command of Capitan (Major?) Weise and Captain Heide (from Westphalia). According to resource allocation documents of August 1672, the remaining companies were commanded by: Captain-Lieutenant Ludicke Ernst von Schöning (Johann Adam’s cousin, Lieu­tenant Colonel and commander of the Elector’s Leibkompanie from 1686), Captain Benedikt
Schöning, Capitan Georg Friedrich von Eulenburg and Captain Hans G. von Auerswald;

- Colonel Friedrich von Dönhoff, four companies under the command of Colonel Dönhoff, Lieutenant-Colonel Heino Heinrich von Flemming, Major Ernst Ludwig von Möhlen, Captain Adolf von Houwald;


7 Created in 1656 under the capitulation statement of 20 December 1656. From 20 December 1655 until the end of May 1668, he reported to Colonel, later Major-General, Bogislav von Schwerin, Lieutenant Colonel von Arnim, and from 1657 – Ulrich von Bonin. From 2 June 1668 (or 24 June 1668), the regiment was placed under the command of Colonel Friedrich von Dönhoff, and it initially comprised eight companies. Under the order of 20 August 1671, it was divided into two separate units led by Colonel Dönhoff and Colonel Heino Heinrich von Flemming. Under Frederick William's rescript of 27 June 1672, Karl Emil's regiment was supplemented with soldiers from Dönhoff's unit. According to A.C. Ölsnitz's monograph of the regiment (pp. 126–130), the regiment was split up only in August 1672 before the march to Poland. Friedrich von Dönhoff (24 November 1639 – 26 February 1696), son of Pernau governor Magnus Ernatz, commanded Radziwill's infantry regiment from 18 May 1667, the infantry regiment (formerly Schwerin’s regiment) from 2 June 1668. He was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General on 5 March 1684, the highest military advising officer from 20 September 1689, governor and commander of Klaipeda (from 1678 or 1685). Regiment's monograph: A.C. Ölsnitz, Geschichte des königlich – preußischen Ersten Infanterie – Regiments seit seiner Stiftung im Jahre 1619 bis zur Gegenwart, Berlin 1855. cf.: G.A. Mülversted, op. cit., pp. 176–179, 193, 351, 427–429. G. Sommerfeldt, Geschichte des von Jonas Kasimir Freiherrn zu Eulenburgi im Jahre 1655 begründeten Regiments zu Fuß, p. 120; G. Gieraths, op. cit., pp. 7–11; Abel P. v., Stammliste der königlich preußischen Armee. Auf Grund amtliches Materials bearbeitet von ..., Berlin 1905, pp. 21–25; G. Voigt, Deutschlands Heere bis 1918. Ursprung und Entwicklung der einzelnen Formationen, hrsg. D. Bradley, H. Bleckwenn, Bd. I, Die Garde- und die Grenadier – Regimenter 1–12 der preußischen Armee, Osnabrück 1980, pp. 433–464; C. Jany, Die alte Armee von 1655 bis 1740, p. 12.

8 In July 1672, Houwald was killed in a duel against Boguslaw von Podewils. His company was placed under the command of Lieutenant Captain Balthasar Bernhard von Brünneck, A.C. Ölsnitz, op. cit., p. 127.
– Colonel Levin von Nolde, two companies under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Kaspar Christof von Klitzing and Captain Patrik Hamilton (former Prussian Guard companies)\(^9\),
– Infantry company under the command of Rittmeister Dietrich Ragotzki\(^10\),
– 100 Dragoons from the company of Lieutenant-Colonel Wilhelm von Block\(^11\),
– Dragoon squadron of Field Marshal Georg von Derfflinger (300 men) under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Marwitz\(^12\).

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\(^9\) According to selected sources, the Prussian Guard (\textit{preussische Garde}) came into existence in 1619. It was created by Captain Pierre de la Cave (the Guard’s commander from 1652 to February 1669) under the capitulation statement of 1 June 1641. On 1 February 1669, Colonel Levin von Nolde became the commander of the Prussian Guard stationing in Königsberg and Pilawa. At the beginning of 1672, the guard comprised two companies led by Captain Caspar Christoph von Klitzing and Patrik Hamilton, and it was expanded to three companies by the end of the year. According to Die \textit{Dessauer Stammliste von 1729} (p. 16), both companies were annexed to Heino Heinrich von Flemming’s regiment in 1672. The regiment’s records of August 1672 list only one company from the former Guard – Hamilton’s unit. After Nolde’s death, the Prussian Guard was adjoined to Schöning’s regiment. Levin von Nolde (20 October 1621 – 21 April 1682) was a colonel and a commander from 3 March 1668, and he later became the governor of Klaipeda. According to Frederick William’s rescript of 16 May 1670, Nolde commanded an infantry regiment that could be identified with the Prussian “garde”. He was also in charge of the Klaipeda garrison of two companies. G.A.Müllerstedt, op. cit., pp. 85–99, 350 and 351; G. Sommerfeldt, \textit{Geschichte des von Jonas Kasimir Freiherrn zu Eulenburgi im Jahre 1655 begründeten Regiments zu Fuß}, p. 130; G. Gieraths, op. cit., pp. 3–6; Die \textit{Dessauer Stammliste von 1729}, pp. 14–16, 21; C. Jany, \textit{Die alte Arme von 1655 bis 1740}, p. 12; A.C. Ölsnitz, op. cit., p. 129.

\(^10\) In 1657, the company was adjoined to the Prussian army as a Leibkompanie (company of drabant guards) in Boguslaw Radziwill’s infantry regiment, and it joined Prince Frederick’s infantry regiment in 1670. In the military allocation document of 1671, it was listed as Prince Frederick’s company. Dietrich Ragotzki (or Ragutzki, died in 1679), was a lieutenant in the guard’s infantry regiment in 1657, Lieutenant Capitan in the Leibkompanie of Radziwill’s infantry regiment in 1666, major and commander of the Prussian \textit{Trabantengarde}, Lieutenant Colonel and commander of an infantry regiment from 1679, G.A. Müllerstedt, op. cit., p. 387. G. Sommerfeldt, \textit{Geschichte des von Jonas Kasimir Freiherrn zu Eulenburgi im Jahre 1655 begründeten Regiments zu Fuß} p. 129; Die \textit{Dessauer Stammliste von 1729}, p. 82.

\(^11\) Boguslaw Radziwill’s former Dragoon regiment commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Eberhard Puttkamer fought in the battles of Warsaw (28–30 July 1656) and Prostki (8 October 1656). In September 1657, it was placed in the service of the Brandenburg army. In March 1658, the regiment was placed in the command of Lieutenant Colonel Wilhelm von Block. After 1664, it was reduced to a single company, listed in Prussian army records of 1670 and 1671. The allocation document of 1672 lists Block’s 2 Dragoon companies. In 1673, they were joined by two new companies to create a squadron under the command of Major Lange. In 1674, the unit was split between the regiments of Colonel Bodo von Schlieben (Lange’s and von Krohn’s companies) and Colonel Caspar von Hohendorf (Kalau von Hofe’s Leibkompanie). Wilhelm von Block, Lieutenant Colonel as of 1658, was listed as colonel in older publications, but his military patent was not documented. He was dismissed in June 1674. GStAPK, XX HA, Ostpreussische Folianten 839/3, k. 49–61; ibidem, OsF 831, k. 174; G.A. Müllerstedt, op. cit., pp. 57–59, 349; C. Jany, \textit{Die alte Arme von 1655 bis 1740}, p. 48; Die \textit{Dessauer Stammliste von 1729}, p. 132; M. Nagielski, \textit{Warszawa 1656}, 2nd ed., Warszawa 2009, p. 287; S. Augustiewicz, \textit{Prostki 1656}, Warszawa 2001, p. 206.

\(^12\) Georg Friedrich von Waldeck’s former Dragoon regiment was reduced to a single company and placed under Derfflinger’s command in 1660. In 1663, Frederick William dispatched 300 Dragoons under Derfflinger’s command to aid the emperor in the war against Turkey. In 1672, the squadron of 400 Dragoons fought against France. G.A. Müllerstedt, op. cit., pp. 164–168; Die \textit{Dessauer Stammliste von 1729}, pp. 130–131.
Due to the delayed formation of the corps, Hetman Jan Sobieski’s victory against the Cossacks and Tatars in the Ukraine as well as the demands formulated by Prussia in return for its military aid, Poland chose not to sign the ultimate understanding\textsuperscript{13}. On 2 October 1671, the Prussian corps’ march out to Poland was cancelled\textsuperscript{14}.

The plans to expand the Prussian consignment and form a new corps, entrusted to General Joachim Ernst von Görztke in January 1672, never materialized. The new corps were to be composed of 1,500 soldiers, including 500 Dragoons\textsuperscript{15}. Changes in Brandenburg’s French policies prompted Frederick William to focus his military efforts on the protection of threatened estates on the Rhein: in Kleve, Mark and Ravensberg. This goal was to be achieved primarily with the involvement of the Elector’s army which was expanded in 1672. Brandenburg diplomats were hoping to limit Prussia’s military obligations towards Poland, to reduce the size of auxiliary corps and upkeep costs borne by Frederick William. In an understanding signed on 16 May 1672 in Berlin by the Elector’s representative Lorenz Christoph von Somnitz and King Michał Wiśniowiecki’s envoy Wojciech Opacki, the king was presented with a choice: Brandenburg would supply only 500 Dragoons and pay for their upkeep for six months or 1,000 foot soldiers that would be maintained at the Elector’s expense for only two months\textsuperscript{16}.

In an order of 25 March 1672, Frederick William decreed the formation of a corps composed of three squadrons with soldiers selected from the regiments commanded by Karl Emil, Dönhoff (500 each), Nolde (250) and Block’s Dragoons\textsuperscript{17}. The war with France and the Elector’s decision to concentrate troops on the Rhein led to successive changes in the corps’ composition. Duke Karl Emil’s regiment under Schöning’s command was supplemented with the best soldiers from the remaining Prussian regiments (including 250 men from Dönhoff’s regiment), and it was dispatched across the Piława River in mid July 1672 to join Hohenzollern’s forces. On 29 July, the corps was placed under the command of Friedrich von Dönhoff. In the spring, each company of his regiment was expanded by another 42 soldiers\textsuperscript{18}. In May, the regiment comprised 1,008 men in eight companies\textsuperscript{19}:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Leibkompanie under the command of Captain-Lieutenant Wilhelm von Löser;
  \item Colonel Heino Heinrich von Flemming;
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{13} A. Kamieński, op. cit., p. 58.
\textsuperscript{15} [G. Lehmann], \textit{Brandenburgisch – polnische Türkenzüge}, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{18} [G. Lehmann], \textit{Brandenburgisch – polnische Türkenzüge}, s. 5–6; A.C. Ölsnitz, op. cit., pp. 126–127.
\textsuperscript{19} A.C. Ölsnitz, op. cit., p. 129
– Lieutenant-Colonel Ernst Ludwig von Möhlen;
– Lieutenant-Colonel von Rummel;
– Major Patrick von Hamilton;
– Major Melchior von Flanß;
– Captain Balthasar Bernhard von Brünneck;
– Captain Kessner;

In August, Flemming's, Rummel's, Hamilton's and Kessner's companies were separated from the regiment and placed under Flemming's command as a squadron20. On 30 August, Dönhoff was ordered to march out. Several days earlier, he had been instructed by Frederick William to obey only the orders given by the king and both crown hetmans. The corps was to follow the Royal Guard, and it was next in line to receive quarters. Dönhoff would be equal in rank to other German officers. The corps was not to be split up into smaller divisions21.

According to a head count in Szczytno of 8-10 September, the corps was composed of22:

– Dönhoff's regiment – four companies, 500 men,
– Flemming's squadron – four companies, 500 men23,
– Lieutenant-Colonel Block's Dragoon squadron – four companies of 500 men each24. Every unit was to be supplemented by soldiers from Nolde's regiment25. Both infantry regiments comprised 40 Dragoons each.

20 A.C. Ölsnitz, op. cit., p. 130.
21 A.C. Ölsnitz, op. cit., p. 128.
23 Colonel Flemming's squadron (more often referred to as a squadron than a regiment) was created from four companies separated from Dönhoff's regiment. According to C. Jany (Geschichte der preussischen Armee, p. 222), it was supplemented with soldiers from Nolde's regiment (Hamilton's company). The division took place in August 1672 before the regiment's march to Poland, and it continued until the end of August 1673 (Frederick William's order of 25 August 1673). The squadron was divided again in 1674 when an additional unit was allocated to Flemming. In 1674, the squadron was dispatched to Germany, and in the summer of 1675, it fought against the Swedish army. Under the order of 29 August 1675, it was combined into a single regiment with Dönhoff's unit. Heino Heinrich von Flemming (8 May 1632 – 28 February 1706) was a major in Schwerin's regiment from 29 September 1663 (according to selected sources – from 24 September 1664), Lieutenant Colonel and regiment commander from 1664. He was promoted to the rank of Colonel on 28 August 1671 (according to selected sources – on 25 April 1672). In 1680, he became the General Field Marshal, High Steward of Hinterpommern and Berlin governor. A.C. Ölsnitz, op. cit., pp. 112, 126, 129–135; G.A. Mülverstedt, op. cit., pp. 176–178, 192–194, 382–384. C. Jany, Geschichte der preussischen Armee, p. 222; [G. Lehmann], Brandenburgisch–polnische Türkengüte, p. 10; Die Dessauer Stammliste von 1729, pp. 16, 21; C. Jany, Die alte Armee von 1655 bis 1740, p. 12.
25 According to Curt Jany, both companies in Levin von Nolde's regiment were adjoined to Fleming's regiment, Die Dessauer Stammliste von 1729, p. 16; C. Jany, Die alte Armee von 1655 bis 1740, p. 12.
The condition of the corps was less than satisfactory with high rates of disease and desertion. In an effort to improve the combat value of Kurprinz’s regiment dispatched to the Reich, it was supplemented with the best soldiers from the remaining units who were exchanged for less experienced and weakly armed men. Dönhoff petitioned for an improvised corps comprising selected infantry soldiers from the guard of Prussian envoy Duke Ernst Bogislav von Croy, Dönhoff’s own regiment, Nolde’s unit, garrisons in Pilawa, Klaipeda and Friedrichsburg, Block’s and Colonel Bodo von Schlieben’s Dragoons. The project never took off because Prussia was afraid that by evacuating the best troops to Poland, it would weaken its defenses.26

On 12 September, the corps marched out from Szczyno, and having crossed Chorzele, Przasnysz and Węgrow, it arrived at the Polish camp near Lublin on 18 or 21 October.27 Prussian military aid came much too late as by that time, Poland and Turkey had already signed the Peace Treaty of Buczacz. The situation was tense, and there were fears that the corps could be used in an internal conflict between King Michał and the opposition, but Dönhoff made every attempt to avoid political involvement. Under the pretext of Poland’s failure to observe the terms of contract relating to the upkeep of the corps, the Colonel ordered his troops back. Decimated by disease and desertion, the corps finally reached Prussia in December 1672.28

In January 1673, it was only 552 men strong.29

The problem of military aid to Poland resurfaced in 1673 when the king’s envoy Szczyński Morsztyn attempted to solicit Frederick William’s assistance during a visit to Berlin.30 Similarly to the previous year, the process of forming and dispatching an auxiliary corps to aid the crown army was significantly delayed, and it was never completed.31 Nevertheless, the negotiations continued, and the Prussian army’s involvement in the war against Turkey was combined with the principal aim of supporting Frederick William’s son, Karl Emil, in the upcoming elections after the death of Michał Wiśniowiecki. On 23 January 1674, the Elector undertook to dispatch a corps comprising 1,000 foot soldiers and 1200 Dragoons.32 In the end, the size of the troops was significantly reduced.

On 19 March 1674, the Elector gave orders to form a corps of 1,200 Dragoons.33 It would comprise two Dragoon regiments of six companies each.

26 [G. Lehmann], Brandenburgisch – polnische Türkenzüge, p. 5–6.
27 According to A.C. Ölsnitz (op. cit., p. 130), he arrived in Lublin on 18 October, according to G. Lehman, (Brandenburgisch – polnische Türkenzüge, o. 7) on 21 October. Cf. A. Kamienieki, op. cit., p. 58.
29 A.C. Ölsnitz, op. cit., p. 131.
33 C. Jany, Geschichte der preussischen Armee p. 222,
under the command of Colonel Caspar von Hohendorff\(^{34}\) and Colonel Bodo von Schlieben\(^{35}\). The corps was created under the order of 16 April 1674, and it was adjoined to the Dragoon squadron that had been dissolved after Block’s resignation. Schlieben’s squadron was expanded to include the companies of Captain Lange and Captain Krohn, and Captain Kalau von Hofe’s Leibkompanie was placed under Hohendorff’s command\(^{36}\). To create 12 companies of 100 men each, they were additionally supplemented with soldiers from the remaining units and garrisons in the Duchy of Prussia\(^{37}\).

The corps formation process was prolonged until mid July 1674. Its composition was finally approved on 18 July, comprising 44 command staff in both regiments, 528 officers and personnel members in the command of 12 companies and 986 soldiers\(^{38}\).

After the head count in Bartoszyce of 24 July, the corps marched out to the Polish border. The troops crossed the border on 2 August near Dąbrówno where they were intercepted by Polish commissioner Jan Chądzyński. The corps arrived at the camp near Lviv on 18 October. During the march, both commanders, Hohendorff and Schlieben, complained about the Poles’ hostile attitudes. The two colonels also found it difficult to reach a mutual agreement, and from mid-August, their troops marched separately\(^{39}\).

The Brandenburg corps participated in the siege of Bar on 11–18 November 1674, after which they occupied Braclaw, Niemirów, Kalnik (23 November – 16 December) and Raszków (10 January 1675)\(^{40}\). The campaign was difficult, supplies were poor, and both Hohendorff and Schlieben suffered great losses in battle and due to disease. The Swedish advancement

\(^{34}\) Caspar von Hohendorff held the post of Obersterwachtmeister and company commander in the guard’s infantry regiment in 1655; commander of the Dragoon guard from 4 September 1657, promoted to the rank of colonel on 2 June 1658, commander of a Dragoon company in 1660, commander of the Dragoon regiment from 16 April 1674. G.A. Mülverstedt, op. cit., p. 249; Die Dessauer Stammliste von 1729, pp. 15, 131, 134; C. Jany, Die alte Armee von 1655 bis 1740, p. 50.

\(^{35}\) Bodo von Schlieben (9 February 1638 – 19 March 1676), commander of a Dragoon company in 1664, colonel from 1669, commander of two Dragoon companies in 1672–1673; from 1673, commander of a squadron comprising three companies after a merger with Joachim Ernst von Götzke’s company. The Dragoon regiment, which was to be adjoined by two companies from Block’s squadron, capitulated on 13 April 1674. After returning from Poland in 1675, Schlieben was dispatched to Brandenburg. He fought against the Swedish army in Pomerania. Schlieben was a commander of Wolin from 1675. After his death, the regiment was placed under Götzke’s command. Mülverstedt, op. cit., pp. 410–411; Die Dessauer Stammliste von 1729, pp. 134–135; C. Jany, Die alte Armee von 1655 bis 1740, p. 50.

\(^{36}\) [G. Lehmann], Brandenburgisch – polnische Türkenzüge, p. 11.

\(^{37}\) C. Jany, Geschichte der preussischen Armee, p. 223; [G. Lehmann], Brandenburgisch – polnische Türkenzüge, p. 11.


into Brandenburg forced the Elector to withdraw the troops from Poland. The official order was issued on 10 January 1675, but Sobieski refused to release the corps without the assurance that Prussian military aid would return in the spring. Sobieski also demanded that minimum 100 soldiers were left stationing with the Polish army. The Brandenburgs finally began their retreat on 9 February\textsuperscript{41}.

In late April, the troops crossed the Prussian border near Bogusze and Prostki, and the corps’ 273 remaining soldiers were stationed in the area of Elk\textsuperscript{42}.

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\textsuperscript{42} C. Jany, 	extit{Geschichte der preussischen Armee}, p. 223; G.A.Müller, op. cit., p. 249; G. Lehmann, 	extit{Brandenburgisch – polnische Türkenzüge}, p. 17.