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POLONICA IN THE REGISTRUM EQUITUM SANCTI SEPULCHRI (1561-1848)

ABSTRACT: The *Registrum Equitum Sancti Sepulchri* is a valuable source for presenting the contacts of Poles with the Holy Land in the years 1561-1848. On the pages of this book, you can find information about approximately 1,590 people who took part in the fitting ceremony for knights of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Fifteen of them refer to the Polish Order of the Holy Sepulchre. To demonstrate their presence in the book, one should take into account the historical and geographical location of Poland at that time. *Index equites* can be inconsistent. Generally, information about the nominees includes: noble titles, public or ecclesiastical positions, family affiliation, origin. It happens, however, that data on knights has been reduced to a minimum. Before the *liber* began to be maintained, notes were made about the people knighted. It is estimated that, in the years 1348-1560, 817 knights were fitted. However, it is not known how many people more precisely enlisted under the banner of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre until 1560, because these notes were confiscated by the Turkish authorities. Although, on the basis of available sources, it is possible to reconstruct the list created during this period. Based on the *registrum equitum*, it is impossible to determine how many citizens of the Commonwealth received the title *eques Sancti Sepulchri*, because the Franciscan monks did not register every knighthood. This is evidenced by the examples contained in this article. It should be noted that the title *eques hierosolymitanus* was used not only by the knights of the Holy Sepulchre. This title was also claimed by other orders: the Knights of Malta, the Knights of Jerusalem from the Order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus, or the Knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece. The author of the article did not make use of the entire transcription made by Father Michele Piccirillo, OFM in the book *Registrum Equitum SSmi Sepulchri D.N.J.C. (1561-1848)*, but the photocopies of the originals included in this publication, because he noticed that the above edition does not meet editorial criteria, and contains many inaccuracies. However, the publisher should be thanked for publishing the said register together with photocopies of the manuscript.

KEYWORDS: *Registrum Equitum Sancti Sepulchri*, Michele Piccirillo, Custody of the Holy Land, Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, Knights of Jerusalem.

In this essay I have undertaken to discuss the polonics contained in the *Registrum Equitum Sancti Sepulchri* (1561-1848). So far, this issue has been examined by three Poles: Fr Jukundin Bielak OFM, Fr Norbert Golichowski OFM, and Henryk Gapski, referring to the work of Charles de Odriozola y Grimaud.¹ I noticed that this needs to be queried. again

The aim of this article is to revise the state of research on polonics contained in the book of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre (1561-1848). This is due to the fact that the above-mentioned researchers, in addition to the names noted with the annotation: *polonus* or indicating the Polish origin of the knight, gave surnames unrelated to the former Commonwealth. Importantly, they did not establish the identity of all of the knights. Therefore, it is necessary to examine this problem closer.

The beginnings of Polish research on these polonica date back to the second half of the 19th century. Most likely the first Polish list was published in the magazine *Krzyż*.² It contained the names of four knights from the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It was likely prepared by Father Jukundyn Bielak, OFM. Another list of its citizens was noted by Father Norbert Golichowski, OFM. He published this list in his diary and in the *Tygodnik Katolicki* weekly.³ It has 21 Polish surnames. After Golichowski's research, the aforementioned book was not used methodically until the twenty-first century (której? Odriozoli?). Recently, the search for Polish traces in the *registrum* was continued by Henryk Gapski.⁴ His query showed that 18 knights had been placed in the *liber*. Materials concerning *milites Sancti Sepulchri* also

¹ C. de Odriozola y Grimaud, *Libro de ora de la sagrada orden militar Jerosalimitana del Santo Sepulcro de N. p. Jesús Cristo, containing the names of the knights of that Order created by RR. Guardians of the Holy Sepulchre, Custos of the Holy Land, of the Order of Minors of St. Francis, from the year 1561 to 1848 with reference to the archives of the convent of San Salvador in Jerusalem and other historical dates followed of an appendix with supporting notes*, Zaragoza 1900.

² *Kawalerowie Grobu Św. Polacy*, „Krzyż”, 23 (1867), p. 186.

³ N. Golichowski, *Palestyna, czyli poklosie zebrane z różnych autorów i własne spostrzeżenia*, [b.m.d.w.], manuscript in the Archives of the Bernardine Province in Kraków, RGP-k-94, vol. 2, pp. 225-226; *idem*, *Ze Ziemi Świętej: polscy rycerze Grobu Pańskiego*, „Tygodnik Katolicki”, 23 (1892), p. 179.

⁴ H. Gapski, *Wstępny wykaz polskich rycerzów Grobu Naszego w Jerozolimie (up to and including the nineteenth century)*, in: *Zsuprectwo w Polsce Zakonu Rycerskiego Grobu Boże w Jerozolimie*, ed. U. Przymus, J. Kamiński, Katowice 2008, pp. 136-137.

appear in herbariums (Paprocki's,⁵ Niesiecki's,⁶ Boniecki's,⁷ Uruski's,⁸ Dachnowski's,⁹ Dworzaczek Files¹⁰), in an essay by Jan S. Bystron, in the notes of Rev.¹¹ Jan Fijałek,¹² and in the works of Stanisław A. Korwin¹³ and Jerzy Pertek.¹⁴

In 2006, owing to the efforts of Fr Michele Piccirillo OFM, the manuscript *Registrum Equitum Sancti Sepulchri* (1561-1848) was reissued, containing a list of the knights of the Holy Sepulchre.¹⁵ This manuscript is in the Historical Archives of the Custody of the Holy Land. It consists of two parts: A (1561-1831) and B (1831-1848).¹⁶ The first one is incomplete. It contains deficiencies, which cover the years 1563-1572, 1575, 1577-1581, 1589, 1591-1596.¹⁷ These blanks are explained in this section of the registry: *Illi Milites qui creati fuerunt in tempore regiminis Admodum Redi Pros Fris Bonifacii de Ragusio Guard.i S. Montis Sion, annotati Fuerunt in alio libro, qui tempore belli Regni Cipri combustus fuit a Turcis cum omnibus aliis libris in quibus descripti erant alii Milites creati ab aliis Guardianis Sacri Montis Sion eius Antecessoribus*¹⁸ and *multi alii milites tempore istius Guard.i creati fuerunt, sed propter Turcharum persecutionis non fuerunt notati in ordinario libro et ideo cognitio de his non habetur*.¹⁹

⁵ B. Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, ed. K. J. Turowski, Warszawa 1988.

⁶ K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz Polski*, ed. J. N. Bobrowicz, 1-10, Lipsk 1839-1845.

⁷ A. Boniecki, *Herbarz Polski*, vol. 1-16, Warszawa 1899-1913.

⁸ P. Uruski, *Rodzina. Herbarz szlachty polskiej*, vol. 1-16, Warszawa 1904-1938.

⁹ J. K. Dachnowski, *Herbarz szlachty Prus Królewskich z XVII w.*, Kórnik 1995.

¹⁰ http://teki.bkpan.poznan.pl/index_monografie.html [access: 19.10.2022].

¹¹ J. P. Bystron, *Polacy w Ziemi Świętej, Syrii i Egypcie 1147-1914*, Kraków 1930.

¹² *Notaty ks. Jana Fijałka: „Pątnictwo polskie. Pielgrzymki do Ziemi Świętej” XI-XVIII w.*, manuscript in the PAU and PAN library in Krakow, 5313.

¹³ S. A. Korwin, *Stosunki Polaków z Ziemi Świętą*, Warszawa 1958.

¹⁴ J. Pertek, *Polacy na morzach i oceanach*, vol. 1, Poznań 1981.

¹⁵ *Registrum Equitum SSmi Sepulchri D.N.J.C. (1561-1848). Monoscritti dell'Archivio storico della Custodia di Terra Santa a Gerusalemme*, ed. M. Piccirillo, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Collectio Maior 46, Jerusalem-Milano 2006.

¹⁶ L. Lemmens, *Collectanea ex Archivo Hierosolymitano deprompta*, ed. G. Golubovich, Quaracchi 1933, p. 253; *The Historical Archive of the Custody of the Holy Land (1230-1970)*, vol. 2, ed. A. Mairelli, Milan 2012, p. 450.

¹⁷ *Registrum Equitum...*, pp. 3-17. The number of knights of the Holy Sepulchre in this period was approximately 125.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 5.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 15.

In addition, there are other deficiencies in the years: 1652, 1676-1678, 1684, 1689, 1698, 1717, 1739, 1747-1748, 1751-1752, 1757, 1759-1760, 1768, 1770-1771, 1774-1775, 1779, 1781, 1784-1788, 1791-1793, 1798-1799, the reasons for which are unknown.

The register was created by the Italian Franciscans. It records information about 1,590 people who obtained the rank of a Knight of Jerusalem.²⁰ In the information about the appointed knights, in addition to the name and surname, the following data was included: noble title, public or church position, family affiliation, origin.²¹ It is impossible to precisely verify the nationality of each knight if one does not take into account the historical and geographical location of the given country at the given time.²² In the article I discuss the territories of the former Commonwealth (Royal Prussia, Lithuania, Ukraine and Belarus), i.e. the lands within the reach of the Crown until 1795. This is due to the fact that I am raising the issue of polonics contained in the book of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, covering the years of 1561-1848.

Before the register was created, notes on candidates were written down. It is estimated that, in the years 1348-1496, 653 people obtained the rank of *miles*, and in the years 1500-1560²³ – 164, including five Poles.²⁴ On the basis of surviving testimonies, it is known that this title was also adopted by other Poles at that time, e.g. Jan Łaski (ca. 1450), Mikołaj Jordan from Zakliczyn (second half of the 15th century), Aleksander Sołtan (ca. 1468), Krzysztof Szydłowiecki (ca. 1492) and Mikołaj Rozembarski (ca. 1495).²⁵ Later records of nominated knights

²⁰ *Indice onomastico*, in: *Registrum Equitum...*, pp. 420-437. Parma citing the work of Jean-Pierre de Gennes (*Les chevaliers du Saint Sépulchre de Jérusalem*, French 2004) reports that, at that time, 1,671 people were appointed knights of the *Holy Sepulchre*, T. P a r m a, *Rytíři, dámy a pouťníci: Dějiny a současnost Rytířského řádu Božího hrobu jeruzalémského a jeho působení v českých zemích*, Olomouc 2020, p. 109.

²¹ *Onomastic index*, in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 419.

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ M. P i c c i r i l l o, *Introduzione*, in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. VIII. Of which in the 14th century the title of *miles* was given to only 20 people.

²⁴ Vol. P a r m a, *op. cit.*, p. 109. Unfortunately, their names were not included, as de Gennes compiled only a personal roster of French cavaliers. I obtained this information courtesy of Dr. Tomáš Parma (e-mail dated November 11, 2022).

²⁵ B. P a p r o c k i, *op. cit.*, p. 953; H. L u l e w i c z, *Sołtan Aleksandrowicz*, PSB, 40, Warszawa-Kraków 2000-2001, pp. 341-342; H. G a p s k i, *op. cit.*, p. 136; M. L u b c z y Ń s k i, J. P i e l a s, *Szydłowiecki Krzysztof*, PSB, 49, Warszawa-Kraków 2014,

until 1560 have not survived to our times, because they were burned by the Turkish authorities ca. 1570. Based on other materials, it is possible to reconstruct the list of people who obtained the title of knight of the Holy Sepulchre. It was initially estimated that the above group included the following Poles, i.e. Bogusław X (1497), Eberhardt Ferber (1497), Marcin Wartan (first half of the 16th century), Krzysztof Nuchorski (1509), Andrzej Łaski (1511), Mikołaj Wolski (1511), Stanisław Włoszek from Tęczyn (1513), Jan from Tęczyn (1513), Janusz Latański (1513), Jan Tarnowski known as 'Ciężki' (1513),²⁶ Przeclaw Lanckoroński (1513), Kasper Maciejowski (ca. 1514), Piotr Stano (ca. 1514), Hieronim Jarosławski (1517), Jan Amor Tarnowski (1517), Hieronim Łaski (ca. 1518), Marcin Broniewski (1518), Stanisław Łaski (1520), Andrzej from Żywiec (1521), Jan Gostyński (1529), Jan Kościelecki (1532), Kilian from Latoszyn (1534), Stanisław from Tęczyn and Batorz (ca. 1535), Jan Firlej (ca. 1535), Andrzej from Tęczyn, known as *Pępek* (ca. 1535).²⁷

Until now, it was assumed that in the register from 1561 to 1848, one can find mentions of 26 citizens of the Commonwealth:²⁸

- 1561, 17 Augustii, *Primislaus de Vickoua*;²⁹
- 1576, 24 Augusti, *Iohannis/Iohannes Pudloschii Polonus*;³⁰

p. 551; K. B a c z k o w s k i, *Mikołaj Rozembarski*, PSB, 32, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1991, p. 384.

²⁶ Bogusław X of Pomerania was included in this list only because he was related to the Jagiellonian dynasty (he married the daughter of King Casimir Jagiellon, Princess Anna).

²⁷ S. B a r ą c z, *Żywoty sławnych Ormian w Polsce*, Lwów 1856, p. 349; *Notaty ks. Jana Fijałka*, k. 145, 180; H. B a r y c z, „Z zagadnień podróżnictwa polskiego w dawnych wiekach”, *Przegląd Współczesny*, 10 (1938), p. 72; W. P o c i e c h a, *Królowa Bona (1494-1557): czasy i ludzie odrodzenia*, vol. 2, Poznań 1949, p. 49; J. P e r t e k, *op. cit.*, p. 297; *Chronografia albo Dziejopis Żywiecki*, ed. P. G r o d z i s k i, I. D w o r n i c k a, Żywiec 1987, p. 574; J. K u r t y k a, *Latyfundium tęczyńskie: dobra i właściciele (XIV-XVII w.)*, Kraków 1999, pp. 179-180, 183; O. L e n c z e w s k i, *Wybrane opisy Ziemi Świętej w relacji polskich pielgrzymów od XV do XVIII w.*, UKSW Warszawa 2017, mps, p. 44-46.

²⁸ De Gennes estimates that 20 Poles were recorded in the register, but does not mention their names, as he was only interested in French personalities, see footnote 24.

²⁹ *Registrum A (1561-1831)*, k. 1, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 3. Přemek z Víckova (1535-1584), nephew of the Olomouc bishop, see: T. P a r m a, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

³⁰ *Registrum A*, k. 2, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 4. Jan Pudłowski (d. 1614), Sochaczew army (1585-1603) see: H. K o w a l s k a, *Pudłowski Melchior*, PSB, 29, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk-Łódź 1986, p. 344. The data included in brackets was obtained thanks to the courtesy of Andrew Haratym, M.A.

- 1582, 29 Octobris Bernardus Bruntalskii Baro Marcomannus <de> Wirben;³¹
- 1583, Nicolaus Christophorus Radzuul [should be: Radzivil] Dux Olic[a]e et in[N]esvisch Comes in Schidlonie [should be: Schidloviec?] ac Mhir Sacri Rom[ani] Imper[ui] Princeps Archimarschalcus Ducatus Lituaniae;³²
- 1583, Abraham Burgo Grauius et Baro a Donaminor D[omi]nus Incraschen;³³
- 1583, Georgius Koss Prutenus;³⁴
- 1583, Michael Konarski;³⁵
- 1583, Petrus Bulina [should be: Bylina] Polonus;³⁶
- 1583, Andreas Skorulski Littuanus;³⁷
- 1583, Colonellus Melchior Custii Eques S[an]ct[a]e Ecclesi[a]e Amanus Cantonsiluanie;³⁸
- 1583, Rudolphus Phifferro, Lucernensis;³⁹

³¹ *Registrum A*, k. 2, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 6. Bernard Bruntálský from Vrbno (d. 1613), see: T. P a r m a, *op. cit.*, p. 304. Annotations regarding the origin of Bruntáls by Fr Bertrand Zimolong, OFM, see: *idem Schlesische Pilger im Hl. Lande 1561-1695*, Breslau 1938, p. 266, fn. 56.

³² *Registrum A*, k. 2v, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 8. Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł „Sierotka” (1549-1616), prince, diarist, see: T. S ł a b c z y ń s k i, *Słownik polskich podróżników i odkrywców*, Warszawa 2017, p. 330.

³³ *Registrum A*, k. 2v, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 8. Abraham III from Donín (1561-1613), companion of the peregrination of M. K. Radziwiłł to the Holy Land, see: M. K. R a d z i w i ł ł „Sierotka”, *Podróż do Ziemi Świętej. Syrii i Egiptu 1581-1584*, by L. K u k u l s k i, Warszawa 1962, pp. 66-67; T. P a r m a, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

³⁴ *Registrum A*, k. 2v, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 8. Jerzy Kos, companion of the peregrination of M. K. Radziwiłł to the Holy Land, see: M. K. R a d z i w i ł ł „Sierotka”, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

³⁵ *Registrum A*, k. 2v, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 8. Michał Konarski (1557-1613), Pomeranian Voivode, companion of the peregrination of M. K. Radziwiłł to the Holy Land, see: M. K. R a d z i w i ł ł „Sierotka”, *op. cit.* pp. 66-67; F. M i n c e r, *Konarski Michał*, PSB, 13, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1967-1968, pp. 467-468.

³⁶ *Registrum A*, k. 2v, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 8. Piotr Bylina (d. 1603), companion of the peregrination of M. K. Radziwiłł to the Holy Land, see: M. K. R a d z i w i ł ł „Sierotka”, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67; A. B o n i e c k i, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1900, p. 285.

³⁷ *Registrum A*, k. 2v, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 8. Andrzej Skorulski (d. 1637), Kaunas Marshal, companion of the peregrination of M. K. Radziwiłł to the Holy Land, see: M. K. R a d z i w i ł ł „Sierotka”, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67; H. L u l e w i c z, *Skorulski Andrzej*, PSB, 38, Warszawa 1997-1998, p. 269.

³⁸ *Registrum A*, k. 2v, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 8.

³⁹ *Ibidem*.

- 1583, *Mauritius Phiffer, Lucernensis*;⁴⁰
- 1602, *17 Augusti, Vratlslaus Burgraff et Baro de Dona in Lemberg*;⁴¹
- 1606, *7 septembris, Andreas Lind Suecus Polonus*;⁴²
- 1614, *30 Martii, Joannis Drahatemsky de Palatino Boemus Catt[oli]cae Civitatis Pilsnae*;⁴³
- 1613, *6 novembris, Theophilus Szemberg Polonus*;⁴⁴
- 1618, *septembris, Ioannis Bialcouius Sacerdos Polonus Di[o]jecesis Vilnensis in Lithuania*;⁴⁵
- 1650, *27 septembris, Ill[ustrissi]mus Dominus D[ominus]Ioannes seu Jean de la Coron Gubernator Civitatis pilsenensis D[omi]n[u]s in Poritsch etc. creatus Fuit Eques SS.mi Sepulchri in absentia, suscipiente pro eo habitum Equestris Militiae Rev[erendo] P[at]re Electo Zwinner Strict[ioris] Obs[ervanti]ae Prov[inci]ae Boemiae Concionatore Terrae[ue] S[anct]ae Discreto eius Procuratore*;⁴⁶
- 1667, *24 Novem[bris], Illustrissimus et Excell[entissi]mus D[omi]nus D[omi]nus Casimirus Wysocky Pincerna Sockaviensis [sic!] Sacrae Regie Maiestatis Poloniae Sec[re]t[ar]ius et ad praesens apud Portam Ottomanicam legatus Creatus fuit Eques SSmi Sepulchri suscipiente pro eo habitum Equestris Militiae*

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁴¹ *Registrum A*, k. 5v, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 20. Wratlslav of Donina in Lemberg (d. 1606), owner of Lemberg Castle, Maltese knight. According to Golichowski, he is a *burgrave from Lviv*, see: the same, *Palestyna*, p. 225; *Ze Ziemi Świętej*, p. 179. In Odriozoli y Grimauda, a remark appeared next to his name: *Lithuanus. Lembergensis*, see: *idem, op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁴² *Registrum A*, k. 7, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 26. His identity could not be established.

⁴³ *Registrum A*, k. 10, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 38. Jan Drahatemski (d. 1615), painter, see, *Navis peregrinorum: ein Pilgerverzeichnis aus Jerusalem von 1561 bis 1695: mit Angaben über Pilger aus Deutschland, England, Frankreich, Italien und den Niederlanden, sowie aus anderen europäischen und aussereuropäischen Ländern*, ed. B. Z i m o l o n g, Köln 1938, p. 32. Zdaniem Odriozoli y Grimauda to: *Joannes Brahatemsky Palatinus Dioecesis Vilnensis*, see: *idem, op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁴⁴ *Registrum A*, k. 10, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 38. Teofil Szemberg (d. ca. 1640), royal secretary, diplomat, see: M. N a g i e l s k i, *Szemberg Teofil*, PSB, 48, Warszawa-Kraków 2012-2013, pp. 127-128.

⁴⁵ *Registrum A*, k. 11v, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 44. His identity could not be established.

⁴⁶ *Registrum A*, k. 24, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 94. Jean de la Cron (d. 1665), military man, see: T. P a r m a, *op. cit.*, p. 306. Odriozola y Grimaud described him as: *Polonus Dioecesisae Vilnius*, see: *idem, op. cit.*, p. 19.

- in absen[tia] R.P.F. Dominico Lardizaval Ord[inis] Min[or] Obs[ervanti]ae Prov[inci]ae Beticae Terrae Sanctae Proc[urato]re generale eiq[ue] Procuratore;*⁴⁷
- 1669, 20 iun[is], *Illustrissimus Dominus D[ominus] Franciscus de Mesgnienski [sic!] Sacrae Caesareae Maiestatis Consiliarus, et Orientalium linguarum supremus Interpraes [sic!] Creatus fuit Eques S. Smi Sepulc[hri] ipse personaliter comparens postulans, et recipiens habitum;*⁴⁸
 - 1805, 4 februarii, *Creatus fuit Eques Excellentissimus et Reverendissimus D[ominus] Archiepiscopus Heraclius Lisovski Di[o]cesis Polocensi[s] ex Polonia Russia per Procuratorem, qui fuit R.P. Clemens Perez Minoris Observ[an]tiae Prov[incia] Castell[an]ae, necessaria requisita produxit;*⁴⁹
 - 1827, 7 aprilis, *Ill[ustrissi]mus Stephanus de Plater Polonus, cujus Procurator fuit Fr. Emanuel Bajon Vice Procurator G[e]n[er]alis Terrae Sanctae;*⁵⁰
 - 1829, 23 aprilis, *Ill[ustrissi]mus D[omi]nus Antonius Prokesch Austriacus⁵¹ ex Nobili familia Austriaca S[acrae] M[aiestatis] I[mperialis] R[egiae] A[postolicae] in Exercitu Dux et Diversorum Ordinum Eques;*⁵²
 - 1842, 6 aprilis, *Illu[strissi]mus Dominus D[o]minus Adam Soleland [sic!] Polonus,⁵³ per Procurat[orem];*⁵⁴

⁴⁷ *Registrum A*, k. 29, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 114. Franciszek Kazimierz Wysocki (d. 1681), Sublime Porte deputy, a cub-bearer from Sochaczew (from 1661), see: J. P. Łątk a, *Słownik Polaków w Imperium Osmańskim i w Republice Turcji*, ed. 2, revised, Kraków 2015, p. 452. The data included in brackets was obtained thanks to the courtesy of Andrew Haratym M.A.

⁴⁸ *Registrum A*, k. 30, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 118. Franciszek Meniński (1623-1698), orientalist and lexicographer, see: T. Słabczyński, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-271.

⁴⁹ *Registrum A*, k. 67, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 270. Herakliusz Lisowski (1734-1809), Uniate Archbishop of Polotsk, see: L. Żytkowicz, *Lisowski Józef*, PSB,17, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1972, pp. 473-474.

⁵⁰ *Registrum A*, k. 71, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 286. Emeryk Stefan Leonard Plater (1799-1864), Commander of the Cross of the Holy Sepulchre, see: S. Konański, *Platerowie*, Buenos Aires-Paris 1967, p. 167.

⁵¹ Preceded by the word *Austriacus* in the margin.

⁵² *Registrum A*, k. 72, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 290. Antonín Prokresch (1795-1876), Austrian General, see: T. Parma, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

⁵³ Preceded by the word *Polonus* in the margin.

- 1842, 9 Maii, Edmundus Comes Zichy de VasonRő [should be: Vá(z)sonykő(i)] Theutonicus⁵⁵ Suae Maiestatis Sacratissimae Imperatoris Austriae Regni Hungariae et Bohemiae Camerarius;⁵⁶
- 1847, 13 decembris, Illustrissimus ac Nobil[li]mus Vir Ladislaus Codenieiviz Comes Polonus, creatus fuit Eques SS. Sepulcri D.N.I.C personaliter.⁵⁷

As can be seen, the notes about them are more or less precise:

- eight surnames contain the note *Polonus*;
- three surnames provide areas that belonged to the Commonwealth at that time (*Lituaniae/Littuanus, Diocesis Polocensi*);
- one surname contains information about the office held by this knight in Poland: *pincerna sockaviensis*;
- three surnames do not have further data on the origin of the knight: *Michael Konarski, Franciscus de Mesgnienski, Abraham Burgo Grauius*. Parma considers the last of the knights to be a Czech;⁵⁸
- ten surnames refer to areas that were not within the reach of the Commonwealth (*Boemus, Austriacus, Theutonicus, Cantonsiluanie, Lemberg*,⁵⁹ *Lucernensis, Wirben, Vickoua*).

I have shown that the pages of the book of the knights of the Holy Sepulchre contain records of 15 citizens of the former Commonwealth. The following table depicts that no such conclusion had been reached to date.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ *Registrum B*, k. 17, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 332. Adam Sołtan (1792-1863), landowner, received the Order of the Holy Sepulchre from the Pope, see: Z. S u d o l s k i, *Adam Ludwik Michał Sołtan*, PSB, 40, Warszawa-Kraków 2001, pp. 344-345.

⁵⁵ Preceded by the word *Theutonicus* in the margin.

⁵⁶ *Registrum B (1831-1847)*, k. 17, photocopy in *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 332. Count Edmund Zichy de Vázsonykői (1811-1894), politician, see: https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zichy_Edmund [access: 27.03.2020].

⁵⁷ *Registrum B*, k. 34, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 366. So far, it has not been possible to precisely determine the personal data of this knight. Importantly, we have different versions of reading this surname. These variants are shown in the table below. Only Horain's variations are excluded from this list: *Ladislaos Chodkiemenz*, see: Cz. H o r a i n, *Na tropie Polaków w Ziemi Świętej. Rejestr pielgrzymów i podróźników polskich do Ziemi Świętej przybyłych w latach 1845-1921; 1931-1947*, by M. K ł a k u s, Katowice-Toulon 2022, p. 98.

⁵⁸ T. P a r m a, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

⁵⁹ It should be noted that the term *Lemberg* was used to describe the cities Lviv and Lwówek, see: *Orbis latinus oder der wichtigsten lateinischen Orts- und Ländernamen*, by T. G. J. G r a e s s e, F. Benedict, Berlin 1909, p. 179.

Table 1. List of Polish Knights of the Holy Sepulchre according to previous research

Bielak	Golichowski	Gapski	Lenczewski
Jan Pudolski (Pudłowski)	Jan Puđłowski	Jan Puđłowski	Jan Puđłowski
Piotr Bulina	Piotr Bulina	Piotr Bylina	Piotr Bylina
Andrzej Lind	Andrzej Lind		Andrzej Lind
Kazimierz Wisoski (Wysocki)	Franciszek Kazimierz Wysocki	Franciszek Kazimierz Wysocki	Franciszek Kazimierz Wysocki
	Franciszek Meniński	Franciszek Mericuski	Franciszek Meniński
		Jean Drahotemski vel Brahatemski, Czech	
	Count Wladyslaw Chodkiewicz	Ladislav Codeikievitz	Count Wladyslaw Chodkiewicz
		Bernard Bruntalski, Silesian	
	Michał Konarski	Michał Konarski	Michał Konarski
	Jerzy Kos	Jerzy Kos	Jerzy Kos
	Andrzej Skorulski	Andrzej Skorulski	Andrzej Skorulski
	Przemysław from Wicko, Silesian	Primislas Vickova, Silesian	
	Jan Białkowiuz	Jean Biolcavis	Jan Białkowiuz

⁶⁰ Surnames in which there is no national annotation refer to citizens from the lands of the former Commonwealth. The notes with footnotes do not originate from the book of the knights of the Holy Sepulchre.

		Jean Coron, Czech	
	Herakliusz Lisowski	Herakljusz Lissowski	Herakliusz Lisowski
		Antoni Prokresh, Austrian	
		[Edmund] Zichy, Austrian	
	Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł	Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł	Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł
	Abraham Burgo, Silesian		
	Wratysław, Silesian		
	Teofil Szemberg		Teofil Szemberg
Count Adam Soldand (Sołtan?) ⁶¹	Count Adam Solelenad		Adam Sołtan
	Stefan Plater		Stefan Plater
	Melchior Kusti, Swiss		
	Rudolf Phiffer, Swiss		
	Maurycy Phiffer, Swiss		

⁶¹ *Spis Polaków, którzy odwiedzili Ziemię Świętą*, „Krzyż”, 22 (1867), p. 178.

The register does not include:⁶² Jerzy Koene-Jaski (1561), Feliks Odrowąż-Pieniążek (1563), Maurycy Paweł Henik (1585), Hieronim Strzała (1599), *Joannes Baptista Sappi* (1613). After 1848, information about knights is stored at the headquarters of the Jerusalem Patriarchate.⁶³

During the pontificate of Pius XII (1939-1958), the requirements for the appointment of the knights of the Holy Sepulchre were reverted, but their framework was modernised. According to the modernised version, it was necessary to: preserve and popularise faith in the Holy Land, support the development of missions in the Latin Patriarchate in Jerusalem, as well as charity, cultural and social works.⁶⁴

Not only the knights of the Holy Sepulchre held the rank of *equites hierosolimitanum*. The above title was also claimed by other orders. Some point out that this title was also received during a stay in Malta, where knighthoods were also awarded.⁶⁵ Heraldic Fr Kasper Niesiecki SJ describes them as Knights of Jerusalem.⁶⁶ This title was also used by the Knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece⁶⁷ and the Jerusalem Knights of the Order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus.⁶⁸

⁶² H. Freytag, *Preußische Jerusalem-pilger von 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert*, „Archiv für Kultur-Geschichte”, 3 (1905), p. 150; J. Pogonowski, *Pamiętka po Feliksie Odrowązu Pieniążku*, „Miesięcznik Heraldyczny”, 6 (1930), p. 125; *idem*, *Szabla-batorówka Feliksa Odrowąza Pieniążka*, „Broń i Barwa”, 4 (1935), p. 89; F. Mincer, *Koene-Jaski Jerzy*, PSB, 13, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1967-1968, p. 256; H. Gapski, *op. cit.*, p. 137; O. Lenczewski, *Wybrane opisy...*, pp. 47-52; *Idem*, *Polonica w księdze pielgrzymów jerozolimskich – Navis peregrinorum (1561-1695)*, „Nasza Przeszłość”, 132 (2019), p. 98.

⁶³ N. Golichowski, *Palestyna*, p. 226; *idem*, *Ze Ziemi Świętej*, pp. 179-180.

⁶⁴ S. Klim, *Rycerze Bożego Grobu*, „Perła Misji”, 15 (1988), p. 24.

⁶⁵ F. Siarczyński, *Obraz wieku reynowania Zygmunta III, króla polskiego i szwedzkiego, zawiera opis osób życie pod jego wladowania*, p. 1, Lwów 1858, p. 63.

⁶⁶ K. Niesiecki, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, by J. N. Bobrowicz, Leipzig 1839, p. 173; *idem*, vol. 3, p. 46; *idem*, vol. 6, p. 29; *idem*, vol. 7, p. 128; *idem*, vol. 8, p. 412; *Idem*, vol. 10, p. 85.

⁶⁷ A. Wejnert, *Kawalerowe złotój ostrogi w Polsce do XIX w.*, Warszawa 1879; T. Sulc, *Eques auratus w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, „Acta Universitatis Lodzensis: Folia Iuridica”, 38 (1988), p. 76; H. Lulewicz, *Sapieha Mikołaj z Kodnia h. Lis*, PSB, 35, Warszawa-Kraków 1994, p. 69; A. Bogucki, *Polskie nazwy rycerstwa w średniowieczu: przyczynki do historii ustroju społecznego*, Włocławek 2001, p. 95.

⁶⁸ H. Kowalska, *Pieniążek Prokop*, PSB, 26, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1981, p. 107; B. Paprocki, *op. cit.*, p. 412; M. Nagielski, *Sapieha Krzysztof h. Lis*, PSB, 35, Warszawa-Kraków 1994, pp. 68-69.

It is assumed that decorating a coat of arms, commemorative medal or tombstone with the Jerusalem cross indicates obtaining in Jerusalem the rank of *equus auratus Hierosolymitanus Sancti Sepulchri*.⁶⁹ *De facto*, the above emblem does not determine whether a person received this title in Jerusalem or not.⁷⁰ According to a German pilgrim from the second half of the 16th century, Hans Jakob Breuning von Buchenbach, only those who visited Jerusalem had the right to place the Jerusalem cross in their coat of arms.⁷¹ A later testimony from 1710, states that *a certain pilgrim showed signs that he had been in Jerusalem with the Jerusalem coats of arms on his right hand [...], expressed as if beautifully drawn in ink, so that it could not be obliterated in any way.*⁷²

Initially, the rank of a knight of the Holy Sepulchre could only be obtained by nobles. Therefore, before the fitting ceremony began, in order to verify the candidate's origins, the following questions were asked: *Of what status are you, are you of noble birth, or are you of parents of a noble family? Do you have sufficient means to lead an honest life and exercise the rank of a knight without commerce or crafts?*⁷³ This principle was not always adhered to. An example is knighting the of Jan Rindfleisch, a merchant from Wrocław (1481), in Jerusalem.⁷⁴ In addition, the knight was required to defend and liberate the Holy Church and its servants from persecution by infidels, and, if necessary, act against them personally or to send out trained men,

⁶⁹ O. Lenczewski, *Wybrane opisy...*, pp. 96-97; *idem*, *Polonica w księdze...*, pp. 105-106.

⁷⁰ *Idem*, *Polonica w księdze...*, p. 106.

⁷¹ H. J. Breuning von Buchenbach, *Orientalische Reyß Deß Edlen unnd Besten Hanß Jacob Breüning von und zu Buochenbach so er selb ander in der Tuerckey und deß Tuerckischen Sultans Jurisdiction und Gebiet so wol in Europa als Asia unnd Africa ohn einig Cuchtum oder FreyGleit benantlich in Griechen Land Egypten Arabien Palestina das Heylige Gelobte Land und Syrien nicht ohne sondere grosse Gefahr vor dieser Zeit verrichtet. Alles in Fuenff unterschiedliche Meerfahrten disponiert und abgetheylet auch was in einer jeden derselben von tag zu tag fuergangen ordentlich vom Authore selbsten verzeichnet: darinn ein jede abgesonderte Materi under ihr eigen Capitel oder Titul gebracht und mit schönen Kupfferstuecken gezieret. Mit angehenckter Summarischer Computation aller Meylen...*, Straßburg 1612, p. 241.

⁷² *Chronografia albo...*, p. 342.

⁷³ *Dziennik podróży Jana Tarnowskiego do Ziemi Świętej z 1518 r.*, trans. R. Sawa a, ed. D. Chemperek, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja”, 49 (2005), p. 191.

⁷⁴ K. Miłoś, *Podróże Ślązaków na Wschód*, „Kwartalnik Opolski”, 2 (1966), p. 35; T. Parma, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

as well as to build and consolidate peace among Christians.⁷⁵ Those who were appointed *equus Sancti Sepulchri*, after obtaining permission from the guardian, could introduce two more knights of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre into the ranks.⁷⁶ Hence the Knight William de Boldensel in 1336 *post missam feci duos milites nobiles supra sepulchrum gladios accingendo et alia observando, quae in professione militaris ordinis fieri consueverunt*.⁷⁷ Emperors and popes were also authorised to confer the rank of *miles*. In Martin Ketzels account of Augsburg (1476) we can read that the Saxon duke Albrecht established 72 knights.⁷⁸ The above power of attorney was also received by the procurator of the Minorites on Mount Zion, brother Jan of Prussia. During his long stay in the Holy Land (1479-1499), he presided over the ceremonies of knighthood of the Holy Sepulchre. As part of this undertaking, he collected a certain fee for the maintenance of the holy places. During one of the investitures, he awarded the title of *miles hierosolymitanus* (1497) to Pomeranian ruler Bogusław X and his 26-person entourage, including Eberhard Ferber of Gdańsk.⁷⁹ The privilege of appointing *equites* was also granted to imperial envoys: *in dicto Sancto Sepulchro forno facti Cavalieri aurati sette pellegrini da uno legato imperiale, con grandissima solennità, devozione et riverentia*.⁸⁰ The adjective “aurati” used in the above-cited quotation indicates that *super Sanctissimum Domini Sepulchrum fuit cingulo militari insignitus atque solemniter decorates*.⁸¹

There is a known case of awarding the title of knight of Jerusalem to a person who committed an act of violence. We are speaking of the mayor of Görlitz, George Emerich, who likely went to Jerusalem as penance for this act, where he received absolution and was bestowed the rank of *equus* (1465).⁸²

⁷⁵ F. F. von Troilo, *Orientalische Reise Beschreibung*, Dresden 1733, p. 299.

⁷⁶ J. K a m a n n, *Die Pilgerfahrten Nürnberger Bürger nach Jerusalem im 15 Jahrhundert*, “Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg”, 2 (1880), pp. 109-110.

⁷⁷ *Itinerarium Guilielmi de Boldensele*, ed. C. L. Grotefend, „Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen”, (1855), p. 267.

⁷⁸ R. R ö h r i c h t, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande*, Innsbruck 1900, p. 155.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 193; A. Mańkowski, *Pielgrzymki Pomorzan w wiekach średnich*, Pelpin 1935, p. 6; H. Freytag, *op. cit.*, p. 142;

⁸⁰ M. Piccirillo, *op. cit.*, in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. VII.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*.

⁸² G. Roth, „Grób Święty” w Zgorzelcu, w: *Kult św. Jakuba Apostoła Większego w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*, ed. R. Knapieński, Lublin 2002, p. 277.

There were instances when the fitting ceremony took place in the absence of the secretary, who should approve the rank granted by issuing the appropriate patent. It was then necessary to find a deputy who issued the *newly elected privilegia*, certifying the obtaining of the title of *eques Sancti Sepulchri*. In 1494, due to the lack of a scribe, Father Pietro da Casola himself wrote out certificates for ten pilgrims for their appointment as knights of the Holy Sepulchre; in accordance with the recommendation given by the guardian, he wrote several letters confirming that these pilgrims had taken part in the fitting ceremony.⁸³

In the 16th century, the requirement of noble origin of candidates for *miles Sancti Sepulchri* lost its significance.⁸⁴ From that moment onward, anybody could receive the rank of a knight, even heretics.⁸⁵ A likely example is the inclusion of Protestant Michał Konarski (1583) among the Order of the Holy Sepulchre.⁸⁶ In the 17th century, the ceremony itself acquired a new framework. Before proceeding with the fitting, the candidate had to receive a positive opinion *ex consensus/ex plenu R.R.P.P. Discretorii Instante*⁸⁷ and *fuit ei donata summa 100 zecchinorum*.⁸⁸ *Post requisita debite examinata* was appointed a knight of the Holy Sepulchre.⁸⁹ In fact, as can be seen from the entries in the book, not everyone adhered to the above principle.

It should be noted that, starting from 1619, many people obtained the title of knight of the Holy Sepulchre *per procuratorem*.⁹⁰ In this way, e.g. the eminent French Egyptologist Jean-François Champollion and the Italian archaeologist Ippolito Rosellini became knights.⁹¹

Sometimes the Franciscans themselves knighted those who had rendered great service to the Catholic faith. One of them was a French

⁸³ *Canon Pietro Casola' Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Year 1494*, trans. from Italian by M. Margaret Newett, Manchester 1907, p. 264.

⁸⁴ J. K a m a n n, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

⁸⁵ J. A. K o ś c i e l n a, *Pomorzenie w Ziemi Świętej (do końca XVI w.). Rekonesans badawczy*, „Stargardia”, 10 (2015), p. 139.

⁸⁶ F. M i n c e r, *Konarski Michał*, p. 468.

⁸⁷ *Registrum Equitum...*, pp. 159, 171.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 161. The above sum likely constituted a deposit for the renovation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. In many cases, candidates were exempted from the fee because of their services to the Catholic Church, see: *ibidem*, pp. 179-187.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

⁹⁰ *Registrum A*, k. 12v, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 48.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, k. 72, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 290.

pilgrim and diplomat from the first half of the 19th century, François-René de Chateaubriand. This pilgrim received the rank of *equitis Sancti Sepulchri* on 12 September 1806.⁹² The eminent French thinker modestly wrote of himself that he had rendered *little merit [...] to the faith*.⁹³ These merits are, among others, the work entitled *Genius of Christianity* (1802).⁹⁴ It is worth noting that the proposition to take part in the ceremony came from the Minorites – *they wanted to grant me an honour that I did not demand and that I did not deserve*”, stressed Chateaubriand.⁹⁵

The above-described character of the ceremonial lasted until 1847, when Pope Pius IX, by virtue of the *Nulla celebrior* bull, awarded the Patriarch of Jerusalem the right to establish *equites*.⁹⁶

Accounts of the knighthood ceremony in Jerusalem were included in many memoirs of sojourns to the Holy Land. Below is a description of the ceremony written down by the aforementioned Jan Amor Tarnowski:⁹⁷

The method of fitting the knights of the Holy Sepulchre, as well as the rule that applies to the knights of the said Sepulchre:

The knight who is to be fitted, after a prior confession, listens to the Mass, receives communion during its celebration, and is then led into the vestibule of the Holy Sepulchre, and asked by the father guardian: – What are you asking for? He answers on his knees: – I ask you to fit me as a knight of the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ. The guardian then asks him: – Of what status are you, are you of noble birth, or are you of parents of a noble family? He asks him a third time: – Do you have sufficient means to lead an honest life and exercise the rank of a knight without trade or craftsmanship? The knight then answers: – I have sufficient resources by the grace of God. Question: – Are you willing with your heart and mouth to swear that you wish to keep the oaths which oblige you to do so, and which are as follows: to hear Mass when granted the opportunity, to offer up temporal goods and

⁹² *Ibidem*, k. 67, photocopy in: *Registrum Equitum...*, p. 270.

⁹³ F-R. de Chateaubriand, *Opis podróży z Paryża do Jerozolimy*, by P. Hertz, Warszawa 1980, p. 327.

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 453, fn. 23.

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 327.

⁹⁶ *L'archivo storico...*, p. 449.

⁹⁷ *Travelogue...*, pp. 191-192.

your life in a general war against the infidels, or to go to war personally, to neglect your own interests, as far as possible, to defend against persecutors the Holy Church of God and its servants, completely avoid unjust wars, shameful services, tournaments for profit, duels, except for in the needs of war, and in particular to consolidate peace and harmony among Christians, to enlarge the Christian community, to protect widows and orphans, to avoid evil oaths, poverty, blasphemy, usury, rape, sacrilege, murder, drunkenness, places and persons unequal in condition, avoid sins of the flesh like pestilence, and appear in every way before God and man? Are you willing and ready with your heart and mouth to declare this, to do this, and to maintain this? He replies, – I'm ready. Then they enter the Holy Sepulchre, the knight with a sword drawn from its sheath. Then the guardian performs ceremonies and blessings on the sword and the knight, while the knight holds the naked sword. After completing them, the knight places his foot on the Holy Sepulchre, and the guardian puts a spur on him, fits his sword, and wraps a golden belt around him, placing a gold chain around his neck. The then knight rests his head on the Holy Sepulchre, and the guardian touches his neck three times with the sword drawn from its sheath, saying: – I render you a knight in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and also in the name of the Blessed Virgin Mary – and kisses the knight on both cheeks. Next, he leads the knight out of the Sepulchre, chanting the Te Deum laudamus, and singing, and leads him to the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, where our Lord Jesus Christ appeared for the first time after his resurrection to his Mother, the Blessed Virgin Mary. After the singing is over, the guard embraces the knight, kisses him, and all the ceremonies associated with the fitting end here.

Conclusions

Until my research, the number of Poles recorded in the discussed book oscillated between four and 21 names. I proved that 15 Poles enlisted under the banner of the knights of the Holy Sepulchre in the years 1561-1847. The reason for these discrepancies should be explained as follows:

1. Bielak likely had problems with deciphering the manuscript of the book, so he noted only four surnames,

2. some researchers (Golichowski and Gapski) included in their lists knights unrelated to the area of the former Commonwealth (Switzerland, Silesia, Bohemia and Austria). One of them, Bruntalski, was considered its citizen because he had a Slavic-sounding surname,
3. when creating his list, Gapski referred, *inter alia*, to the work of Odriozoli y Grimaud, in which knights from Silesia, Bohemia and Austria were referred to as *Poloni*. However, he was unacquainted with the lists prepared by Bielak and Golichowski.

In addition, the differences between my research on the book and those of my predecessors are based on the fact that:

1. the lists drawn up by Bielak, Golichowski and Gapski were limited to providing the surname of the knight. Therefore, we do not know that Franciszek Kazimierz Wysocki and Adam Sołtan obtained the rank of *eques per procura*,
 2. apart from the *regstrum Equitum*, they did not refer to the *liber Navis peregrinorum (1561-1695)*, in which we find mention of a knight of the Holy Sepulchre (1613) from the territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth,
 3. I managed to establish the identity of the knight named “Soleland” and indicate that it is still difficult to verify three names: “Linda”, “Bialcouiusa” and “Codenieiviza”. Importantly, my predecessors did not pay attention to these issues,
 4. the aforementioned researchers did not indicate what areas were within the reach of the former Commonwealth of Poland.
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