

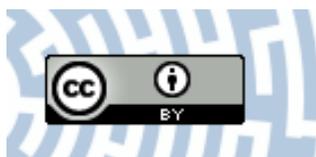


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FEW REMARKS ON RELATIONS BETWEEN WLADISLAUS OF OPOLE AND MOLDOVA AND WALLACHIA

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Keywords: Wladislaus duke of Opole, Transylvania, Wallachia, Poland, Alexandru Basarab.

Wladislaus (1326-1330) the duke of Opole, was a son of Boleslaus II of Opole and Elisabeth of Świdnica. Since 19th century, he is colloquially nicknamed “Opolczyk” in the Polish historiography. Thanks to his grandmother Kunegunda – the duchess of Świdnica – Wladislaus was related to the Polish king – Casimir III the Great (1333-1370), as well as to Louis the Great – the king of Hungary (1342-1382). Since Kunegunda was a sister of both: Casimirus the Great and Elisabeth – who got married to Karol Robert of Anjou and their son was Louis the Great – the king of Hungary, Wladislaus of Opole was related to these two great kings (Sroka 1996; Sperka 2012; Sperka 2016).

At the beginning of 1350s Wladislaus of Opole, who had already a significant chance for assuming power in Silesia (he was successor of a small part of Duchy of Opole together with his brother Boleslaus III), decided to move to Hungary to improve his chance for better life and making career. Hungary, as well as Kingdom of Bohemia was, at that time, one of the richest and most economically developed countries in the Central Europe, so one should not be surprised by direction of Wladislaus's emigration. There were new dynasties that had just established its power in both kingdoms: Luxemburgs in Bohemia and Angevines in Hungary. Both of them carried out social, economically and political reforms and thanks to that the both kingdoms were relatively modern and tolerant towards foreigners. They were tolerated and welcomed, as they made counterbalance for the local nobilities. That is why the poor one Piast from Poland, and especially from Silesia moved to Buda or Prague looking for better life¹ (Fiala 1978,

13-292; Sroka 2000, 52-83; Pór 1900, 3-45; Petneki 1976, 40; Sroka 1995b, 29-48; Sroka 1995c, 49-101).

After Wladislaus of Opole had arrived to Hungary, he got an important support from the queen Elisabeth – Karol Robert's widow. It is even supposed that she was the person who invited Wladislaus to the Hungarian court and even arranged his first marriage with some Elisabeth (Jasiński 2007, 559; Jasiński 1998, 74-78; Sperka 2012, 52-53). Elisabeth is quite mysterious person, and there is contradictory information about her in Polish historiography. It is due to fact, that available sources scarcely inform about her, namely she is mentioned in one of charters issued by Waradyn's chapter at the beginning of the 14th century. It features an reference to funding of St. Elisabeth's altar at the place where Wladislaus's wife had been buried. The most interesting part of this note reads as follow: *...consortis sue filie Alexi Andri vayvode Transalpinie*. Based on it, historians thought that Wladislaus's wife was the daughter of Alexander Basarab – the ruler of Wallachia. As this note lacks her name, scholars' assumptions were based on the name of the patron of the altar and the fact that it was funded at the place of her tomb. Historians supposed that she was Orthodox when she was child and she converted to Catholicism after her marriage with Wladislaus (Pór 1908, 30-33; Pór 1909, 537-554; Dąbrowski 2007, 38). This point of view was questioned in 1950s by one of the Romanian historians, M. Holban, who proposed alternative interpretation of the text of the charter. She proposed following reading of the crucial fragment: *filie Alexi Andri vayvode Transylvanie* (Holban 1956, 7-62; see also: Holban 1981, 151-211). The new reading appeared to very important when it come to the identification of Elisabeth's father, not the ruler of Wallachia (*Transalpinus*), but the woiwode of Transylvania (*Transilvanus*) – probably Andreas Lackyfi, who reigned in Transylvania between

¹ Before Wladislaus of Opole, there were Maria – daughter of Casimir duke of Bytom in Hungary. She married Karol Robert in the year 1306. There were also her brothers: Boleslaus and Mieszko, who moved to Hungary. The first one became archbishop of Esztergom, and the second one bishop of Veszprem.

1356 and 1359. This interpretation was accepted by Polish historians Stanislaw A. Sroka (1995a, 455-463), K. Jasiński (1998, 75-76) and me (Sperka 2003, 15; Sperka 2006, 26). New studies on the charter have made me however change my mind. Holban's hypothesis was finally rejected by Dieter Veldtrup, who published the reproduction of this part of the charter and analyzed this document once again. At this reproduction is easy to recognize that there was written *Transalpinus* and not *Transilvanus*. So, it is obvious – also for me – that the father of Elisabeth was the ruler of Wallachia – Alexandru Basarab and not the woiwode of Transylvania. Her mother was unknown Klara (Veldtrup 1999, 53-113; Veldtrup 2001, 91-102).

Dating of the marriage between Wladislaus and Elisabeth is another controversial issue. According to Antal Pór it took place in the second half of 1344. He connected this marriage with Louis the Great's expedition to Transylvania. It resulted with the act of feudal allegiance made by Alexandru Basarab to Louis the Great at 15th June 1344. According to Antal Pór marriage between woiwode's daughter with Wladislaus of Opole was one of the conditions of this act that should have strengthen mutual connections between Hungary and Wallachia (Pór 1911, 60). Jan Dąbrowski agreed with Pór's proposals introducing it into Polish historiography. However, J. Karácsonyi and Krystyna Pieradzka voiced some critical remarks. They both supposed that the wedding took place between 1352 and 1356. According to them Wladislaus of Opole came to Hungary because of marriage between Anna, princess of Swidnica, and Karol of Luxembourg and that was the moment when also Wladislaus's wedding took place (Karácsonyi 1910, 181; Pieradzka 1948, 262). This opinion was shared by Kazimierz Jasiński and Stanislaw A. Sroka. They adduce another facts that underpins this view: firstly, Katarzyna² who was daughter of Wladislaus of Opole's and his second wife – Eufemia (Ofka) of Mazovia was mentioned in sources at 26th March 1367, so the first wife – Elisabeth had to die before 1366 (in the older historiography her death was dated between the years 1367 and 1369) (Jasiński 2007, 558, 571-572; Jasiński 1998, 75-77 – here wrote that Elisabeth died at the turn of 1365 and 1366 years; Sroka 1995a, 458-463; Sroka 1996, 19-22;

Sroka 2001, 45-46). Only D. Veldtrup tried to argue that the wedding took place in 1365 and it was a result of an alliance between Hungary and the ruler of Wallachia – Wladislaus (Vlaicu) as it was necessary to strengthen their positions against Turkey. After that Louis the Great was able to conquer Vidyn Province of Bulgaria. According to Veldtrup, Elisabeth – the first wife of Wladislaus of Opole died until 22nd October 1372, probably at the turn of August and September 1371 (Veldtrup 1999, 53, 283; Veldtrup 2001, 101).

Trying to conclude this part of my article, it should be stated, that nowadays it is impossible to date the wedding of Wladislaus of Opole and Elisabeth precisely. The same refers to the date of Elisabeth's death. In my opinion the marriage most likely took place in mid-1350s, but there are also possibilities for dating it a decade later. The only one thing that remains certain, is she was buried in the Great Waradin's cathedral, where her husband founded St. Elisabeth's altar for her.

Wladislaus of Opole assumed power as a count palatine in 1367 (after Mikolaj Konta), and became one of the most important persons in Hungary, just second to the king. He was the head of the Hungarian's courts, and he made his judgement usually during the *congregatio generalis* (Sroka 2001, 41-44, 49-56, 86-91). He had also huge influence on the foreign policy of the kingdom. In that time Hungary continued its expedition in Balkans – this time on Bulgarian and Wallachia. Because of his marriage with the daughter of the Wallachia's ruler, Wladislaus was especially interested in encounters with this country. He had still his interests there: the ruler of Wallachia Vlaicu, tsar of the Vidyn Province of Bulgaria Iwan Sracimir (Stracimir), and the tsar of Serbia Stefan Urosz I, son of Stephan Duszán, they all were his brothers-in-law (Salamon 2007, 221-231).

One of the reasons of Hungarian expedition against Bulgaria was for sure the weakness of the country during the reign of Ivan Alexander (1331-1371). At that time Bulgaria was divided into two parts, the one (the northern part) stayed under the reign of the older Ivan's son- Sracimir, and the second one (the southern part) was under the reign of the younger Ivan's son – Szyszman. Additionally, there was also small, self-appointed state, ruled by despot Dobrotic. In 1367 Hungary conquered the Vidyn Province but couldn't hold it longer. As they started to support Catholicism

² Her future husband was Henryk of Głogów and Kozuchów.

there, the great protests of the Orthodoxy community began. What is more, the ruler of Wallachia-Vlaicu I, who had previous (since 1368) good relations to Louis the Great, changed his attitude towards the king of Hungary. That is why Louis the Great together with his new palatine decided to organize expedition against him. But during the expedition, after achieving by the Hungarian army Sokolac (Zokol) in Bulgaria, plans were changed, and the army moved towards Szörény, that had been hold by Wallachia. The attack was succeeding, and the Hungarian army conquered the town. After this success, at the end of November 1368, the king of Hungary together with his army came back to Buda, but the bad news was that the Vidyn Province left by Hungarian on its own, became Bulgarian's part again. I suppose that Wladislaus of Opole, because of his connection to Wallachia (because of his wife) was active during the negotiations between Hungary and the rulers of this part of Europe (Gjuzelev 1982, 153-172; Czamańska 1996, 200-201; Sroka 2001, 60-62). The failure in Bulgaria made the opposition in Hungary stronger, and there were demands that those people who were involved in the unsuccessfully expedition against Bulgaria should have took responsibility for this failure. One of the results of this situation was, that Wladyslaw of Opole, the current palatine of Hungary, was dismissed in 1372, although he hadn't already been active in the Balkan politic anymore. (Dąbrowski 2007, 43, 136-137; Sroka 2001, 41-42, 45, 65; Salamon 2007, 226-227; Czamańska 1996, 201). After that, Wladislaus of Opole was sent to Red Ruthenia to take there over the position of deputy of the Hungarian king. He held this position till the January 1379. Red Ruthenia was a territory that had been conquered by the Polish king Casimir the Great in 1340-1366. But, because of the geographical location of this territory, there was also Hungary who was interested in possession this part of Europe. Hungarian's kings even called himself as a the king of Galicia (Halych) and Lodomeria (Vlodymir) (Paszkievicz 2002, pass.; Wyrozumski 1997, 43-45). The reason why Louis the Great gave Rad Ruthenia to Wladislaus of Opole was his intention to bind this territory to Hungary (DH 1985, 58-59; DR 1981, 77-78; see also: Breiter 1889, 51-53; Halecki 1919, 77-78; Wyrozumski 1997, 44-45; Karczewski 2007, 262-263; Sperka 2012, 219-224, 230-235). It should have strengthened Hungarian geo-political situation. Controlling

Red Ruthenia meant advantage towards Lithuania, besides it made prospects of expeditions against Moldova, Wallachia and Poland easier to organize. Unfortunately, Wladislaus of Opole didn't fulfill – intentionally or not – the plan of his king. Wladislaus preferred to realize his own goals and try to build his own state. But before he did it, he had conscientiously fulfilled every king's instructions. One of them was making expedition against Moldova in 1374.

Moldova was quite a young country, formed in 1350s, stayed often under Hungary's influence. After the time of the reign of Bogdan I., when his son Latcu took over the power, fights between other precedents to the throne in Moldova began. There was the duke of Podolia – Jerzy Koriatiowicz – who was involved in these fights. He conquered the part of Moldova with the town Bârlad. In this situation, Louis the Great, who wanted to strengthen Hungarian influence in this country, sent Wladislaus of Opole against Moldova. His expedition lasted one month -since the middle of September till the middle of October 1374 (Czamańska 1996, 46-49). During my research, I think, I found out some new, interesting facts about this expedition. Firstly, at 9th September 1374 Wladislaus of Opole was present in Lviv, together with his vassals: Jan Kmita, Jan Kustra as well as with Piotr Bruno, and Andrzej – burgrave of Żydaczów and he gave to his close friend Bieńko of Kuchary the village Żabokruki (AGZ, t. 7, nr 10). The fact that Jan Kmita and Jan Kustra – so the two reach persons who were obligated to provide a lot of knights (proportionally to their fortune) were present by Wladislaus, suggests that it was the time, when the expedition against Moldova began (Jan Kmita was obliged to provide 6 kopijniks – heavy cavalry- and 6 arbalists –Tomaszewicz, Zdanek 2004, nr 11; Sperka 2006, 263-265). At 19th October Wladislaus was present in Halych, so probably he was already on his way from the expedition to Moldova. Together with him there were also Wiktor of Mierzyce – the starost of Red Ruthenia and Jan Kmita (Szaranievicz 1883, 205-207). In November 1374 Wladislaus's knights: Herbut and Frydrusz Füllstein as well as Waclaw of Ossowa got some privileges from him, that can be explained as a reward for taking part in the above-mentioned expedition (it was in Sanok at 23th November 1374 r.; see: ZDM, cz. 4, nr 1022 = Łaszczyńska 1948, 374-376; KDM, t. 1, nr 279; Sperka 2006, 225, 306-307). Scholars

assume that, as a result of this expedition against Moldova, an unknown Jerzy took over the power in this country. According to some of Polish historians, it had to be Jerzy Koriatowicz, but Romanian historians takes different view. In their opinion this unknown Jerzy that was some nobleman from Moldova, probably member of Dragoszyd's family (Czołowski 1891, 572; Spieralski 1967, 17; Demel 1970, 116; Panaitescu 1956, 110; Cihodaru 1968, 25-26; Czamańska 1996, 44-45). This unknown Jerzy lost his power in 1377, when Piotr I (probably Latcu's nephew) took over the throne in Moldova. According to I. Czamańska and D. Karczewski, Jerzy, after he lost his power in Moldova, found a shelter by Wladislaus of Opole. These historians supposed that this unknown Jerzy was the same person as Dziordz (Jerzy), woiwode of Wallachia whom Wladislaus of Opole gave at 30th November 1377 two villages: Nowoszyce and Stupnica and obliged him to live there together with his wife and children (ZDM, cz. 4, nr 1037; Jawor 2004, 65). In my opinion, this hypothesis can't be accepted, because it is quite impossible that the previous ruler of Wallachia gets only two villages, in the document of this donation there is no information about his past, and this document is written in quite typically way, it's means there is the obligation of living there with wife and children, that would not have been possible if this document had been written for the previous ruler. What is more, giving only two villages to such important person would be totally against the norm in that time. For instance, Jerzy Narymuntowicz who lost his duchy of Belz in 1377, got the whole Lubaczow's district and the gains from salt mines.

As I mentioned before, Wladislaus of Opole spent in Red Ruthenia 6 years as Louis's the Great deputy. In that time, he was engaged in the economical and religious development of this region. He also made an effort to encourage settlers to live there. During my research, I have found over then 50 documents that confirmed that Wladislaus of Opole gave some territory (over 130 villages) to the knights (Sperka 2012, 284-290). This knights-noblemen came usually from Silesia, Poland, Hungary and Kingdom of Bohemia. But there were also Wallachians from Maramures among them. In 1375 r. Wladislaus of Opole gave to Daniel Daczbokowic 7 villages (Zaderewice among them) near Żydaczów. Daniel who stayed in Red Ruthenia since 1371, became an ancestor

of the Danilowicz's family who used coat of arms named "Sas" (Wyrostek 1932, 78; Boniecki 1901, 86-92). Another man who got some possessions from Wladislaus was Dziordz (Dzirodz) who was titled as the woiwode of Walachia. His function can be compared to the chief or governor of the village, who represented Wallachians's interests before the king; in the villages located according to German law's this function assumed soltys (village administrator). At 10th November 1377 in Lviv Wladislaus of Opole gave him two villages in Samobor district (in Przemyśl Land): Nowoszyce and Stupnica as well as the mill that he got from Piotr Winnicki. The fact that he had already had a mill prove that Dziordz had to come to Red Ruthenia much earlier as he managed to buy a mill. However Wladislaus gave him this possessions under condition that he will live there with his wife and children, and he and his inheritors will pay taxes (2 grosz from 1lan³) and fulfill military services (he had to provide 1 kpijnik and two shooters). Dziordz was an ancestor of the Stupnicki's family that used the coat of arms named "Sas" (ZDM, cz. 4, nr 1037; Wyrostek 1932, 56, 168; Słownik 1991, 144; Jawor 2004, 48-49). He died after the year 1390, as in this year he was still present in Nowy Sambor, featuring on the witness' lists on a chapter issued for Spytek of Melsztyn as *Dzurgio de Stupnicza Voywoda Walachorum* (AGZ, t. 6, nr 2). The third Wallachian who got some possessions from Wladislaus of Opole was Ładomir Wołoszyn (it was at 25-31st December 1378). That was not the first property given by Wladislaus to Ładomir. He had already got the Hodle Pole "desert" (today: Hadle Szklarskie) in the Sanok district, and he was obliged to build there a village according to Wallachian's law. In exchange for it, he had to take part in expeditions together with his three shooters. (AGZ, t. 7, nr 13; Jawor 2004, 54)

It cannot be ruled out that thanks to Wladislaus of Opole also another Wallachians came to Red Ruthenia. First of all there were Wallachians from Maramures from the Drago-Sas's family (ancestors of families that used coat of arms named "Sas"): Popiel's family who got a village named Popiele near Sanok, Sozański's family, who had previously Jarołowice village and then got Sozań near Sambor, Tustanowski's family of Kłodnica, Dzieduszycki's family, Balicki's family,

³ Old unit of field measurement in Poland.

Strutyński's family (Wyrostek 1932, 48-49, 53, 63, 81, 83, 87; Boniecki 1899, 85; Boniecki 1902, 168-169). There is one more Wallachian, named Stefan *dictus Wangrzin* of Rybotycz, who was mentioned with Wladislaus of Opole two times in the year 1373: in Sanok (at 31st Mai) and also in Szczyrzec (at 6th December) (AGZ, t. 7, nr 9; MK, k. 108-109). But Stefan came to Red Ruthenia during the reign of Casimir the Great (before the year 1359) and got from him in the year 1367 these above-mentioned possessions⁴. He was ancestor of the Ryboski's family. He was a son of Sas from Maramures, who was the woiwode of Moldova and Maramures on behalf of the king of Hungary and was sent into exile by Bogdan I (AGZ 8, nr 3; KDM, t. 3, nr 807 – document with wrong date 1368; Wyrostek 1932, 31-32, 38).

Conclusion

Wladislaus of Opole was very important person who was involved in the foreign politic of Poland,

Hungary, Kingdom of Bohemia and Teutonic Knights. Thanks to Louis the Great and his mother Elisabeth he made a great career: took the power as a palatine of Hungary, got a lot of properties in Hungary and Kingdom of Poland (Wieluń Land, Red Ruthenia, Dobrzyń Land and Kuyavia). He was also deputy in Poland. His connection to Hungary resulted in engagement into the Moldova's and Wallachia's politic. But it had to be underlined that he didn't do this on his own, but he only fulfilled king's orders. So, both his marriage with Elisabeth, the daughter of Alexandru Basarab as well as his participation in expeditions against Wallachia in the year 1368 and against Moldova in the year 1374 have to be understood as fulfilling king's orders. But, for sure, making Red Ruthenia a good place for many settlers from Wallachia was his own idea and his own services to this territory. Thanks to him, some families from Wallachia found in Red Ruthenia their new home and gave rise to new noble houses.

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⁴ He got Rybotycze, Uhelniki, Sierakowce with Gruszów's field in Przemyśl Land.

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Unele precizări la relațiile dintre Władysław Opolczyk cu Moldova și Țara Românească

Cuvinte-cheie: Ducele Władysław Opolczyk, Transilvania, Țara Românească, Polonia, Alexandru Basarab.

Rezumat: Articolul este consacrat relațiilor dintre Władysław Opolczyk cu Moldova și Țara Românească. În primul rând, autorul face analiza originii primei soției a lui Władysław Opolczyk, Elizabeta, despre care este foarte puțin cunoscut în literatura istorică. Există două ipoteze în această privință. Conform primei, doamna provenea din Transilvania sau din Țara Românească. Autorul susține cea de a doua ipoteză, considerând-o fiica lui Alexandru Basarab. Władysław Opolczyk a fost implicat în politica moldovenească și cea românească, dar cel mai mare merit al lui a fost atragerea imigranților din Rutenia, care ulterior au dat naștere unor familii de nobili, despre care autorul scrie mai detaliat.

Некоторые разъяснения по поводу отношений Владислава Опольчика с Молдовой и Валахией

Ключевые слова: Владислав Опольчик, Трансильвания, Валахия, Польша, Александр Басараб.

Резюме: Статья посвящена отношениям Владислава Опольчика с Молдовой и Валахией. Во-первых, автор анализирует происхождение первой жены Владислава, Елизаветы, о которой мало сведений в исторической литературе. Есть две гипотезы по этому вопросу. Согласно первой, Елизавета происходила либо из Трансильвании, либо из Валахии. Автор придерживается второй гипотезы, а именно, что она была дочерью Александра Басараба. Владислав Опольчик был активно вовлечен в молдавскую и румынскую политику, но его величайшей заслугой было привлечение в Рутению иммигрантов, которые впоследствии стали основоположниками благородных шляхетских семей, о которых автор пишет более подробно.

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