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**DIFFICULT RELATIONS BETWEEN
THE FAMILY OF CHODECZ AND BOGDAN III THE ONE-EYED**

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Abstract: *The present paper refers to the relations between the Polish noble family of Chodecz and the ruler of Moldova Bogdan the One-eyed. The aim of this paper is to analyse their mutual relations as well as to find the answer for the question, whether some of the Polish-Moldova conflicts between the years 1509 and 1517 weren't the result of the difficult relations between these people and were caused by their desire to revenge. The origin of the animosity between them goes back to the year 1505 when Bogdan the One Eyed made an offer to marry the sister of the Polish king Alexander, in exchange wanting to hand over Pokuttya to Poland. He counted on Stanislaus of Chodecz's support, and after the failure of his efforts he felt cheated. He lost Pokuttya, but didn't receive Elisabeth as a wife, and he blamed Stanislaus of Chodecz for this. From that time the relations between family of Chodecz and Bogdan were growing worse.*

Keywords: *Bogdan the One-eyed, Alexander Jagiellon, Elisabeth of Habsburg, Pokuttya, Sigismund I Jagiellon*

Rezumat: *Relații dificile între familia Chodecz și Bogdan al III-lea cel Orb. Lucrarea de față face referire la relațiile dintre familia nobilă poloneză Chodecz și domnul Moldovei, Bogdan cel Orb. Scopul acestei lucrări este de a analiza relațiile lor comune, precum și de a găsi răspunsul la întrebarea dacă unele dintre conflictele dintre Polonia și Moldova între anii 1509-1517 nu au fost rezultatul relațiilor dificile dintre acești oameni, fiind cauzate de dorința lor de răzbunare. Originea animozității dintre ei datează din anul 1505, când Bogdan cel Orb a făcut oferta de a se căsători cu sora regelui polonez Alexander, în schimb predând Pocuția Poloniei. El s-a bazat pe Stanislav de Chodecz și, după eșecurile eforturilor sale, s-a simțit înșelat. A pierdut Pocuția, dar nu a primit-o pe Elisabeta de soție și l-a învinuit pe Stanislav de Chodecz pentru aceasta. Din acel moment, relațiile dintre familia Chodecz și Bogdan s-au înrăutățit.*

Résumé: *Les relations difficiles entre la famille Chodecz et Bogdan III l'Aveugle. L'ouvrage ci-joint fait référence aux relations entre la famille noble polonaise*

Chodecz et le prince régnant de la Moldavie, Bogdan l'Aveugle. Le but de cet ouvrage est celui d'analyser leurs relations communes, ainsi que de trouver la réponse à la question si quelques-uns des conflits entre la Pologne et la Moldavie des années 1509-1517 n'ont pas été le résultat des relations difficiles entre ceux-ci, étant causés par leur désir de vengeance. L'origine de leur animosité remonte l'année 1505, lorsque Bogdan l'Aveugle fit l'offre de marier la sœur du roi polonais Alexander, remettant en échange la Pocutie à la Pologne. Il se basa sur Stanislav de Chodecz et comme ses efforts échouèrent, il se sentit trompé. Il perdit la Pocutie, n'épousa plus Elisabeta et blâma Stanislav de Chodecz pour cela. A partir de ce moment-la, les relations entre la famille Chodecz et Bogdan ont empiré.

INTRODUCTION

The family of Chodecz, was one of the Polish noble families, members of which had their political careers directly connected to the South-East politics of Poland in the 15th and 16th centuries. As Poland had conquered territories to the South-East of Europe in the 14th and 15th centuries, her political situation was changed because of the increasing threats from Turkey, Tatars and Moldova. But this situation caused not only further dangers. It created new possibilities for the Polish nobility lead their careers. Therefore, from the time of the reign of Wladislaus Jagiello it was quite common for the Polish noblemen, especially from Silesia but also from Lesser Poland, to hasten to Red Ruthenia to look for chances of making up a career. They received certain territories in this region from the Polish king as a reward for their duty. The phenomenon of the intensified migration of the Polish nobility from Silesia and Lesser Poland to Red Ruthenia and Podolia even increased in the second part of the 15th century. The reasons for this process were many-sided. First of all, because Poland annexed the territories to the South-East, it became necessary to organize there a Polish administration in order to incorporate these new areas to Poland. This required the establishing of Polish offices in these territories. Holding an office meant for the noblemen not only increasing their chance of career development, but also of increasing their incomes, and receiving from the king new lands or offices as a reward for their duties were much greater in the South-Eastern borderlands than in Poland, where there were not enough of the free lands for the king to dispense and vacating offices were rather a rarity. An another reason for the interest of the Polish noblemen in the career in the South-Eastern part of the country was caused by the fact that the continuous danger from the Moldova as well as from Tatar forced Poland to reform her army, and it was therefore necessary to form a

professional corpus of a regular army that would always be ready to protect the South-East borders of Poland. In the existing need, the military service could give new and better possibilities for making a career.¹ Numerous campaigns that were organized against Moldova and Tatars even increased the opportunity to earn honours in a battle, to become famous for their military valour, and receive as a reward lucrative offices or be bestowed with land. The possibility mentioned last was the third – and crucial – reason for such an eager involvement of the Polish nobility in the Moldova's politics. The lands that were given by the king to the noblemen of his kingdom as a reward for their duties were in Poland much smaller than these in the South-Eastern borderland. The reasons for that were on one hand the fact that there was not enough land in Poland to be given for loyal service, and on the other hand the fact that the Polish king wanted to strengthen his control over the South-Eastern territories.² That was why the Polish nobility, who counted on gaining new offices or larger lands, so willingly took part in the Polish South-Eastern politics. One of these families, who made use of these new possibilities, was the family of Chodecz.

¹ The best example of making a career due to servicing in the army set Kamieniecki family, see K. Niemczyk, *Kamienieccy herbu Pilawa. Z dziejów kariery i awansu szlachty polskiej do roku 1535/6* [The Kamieniecki family, bearers of the Pilawa coat of arms. The history of the career and advancement of the Polish nobility until 1535/1536], Katowice, 2016, passim; J. Kurtyka, *Z dziejów walki szlachty ruskiej o równoprawnienie: represje lat 1426-1427 I sejmiki roku 1439* [The history of the struggle of the Russian nobility for equal rights: repressions from the 1426-1427 and the Polish sejmik's from 1439], in "Roczniki Historyczne", 2000, Vol. 66, p. 91-96; J. Kurtyka, *Podole w czasach jagiellońskich. Studia I materiały* [Podolia in the time of the Jagiellon's reign. Researches and writing materials], Kraków, 2011, p. 34-39.

² A lot about the migration of the Polish nobility from Silesia to Red Ruthenia wrote Jerzy Sperka, see: J. Sperka, *Początki osadnictwa rycerstwa śląskiego na Rusi Czerwonej* [The beginning of the Polish settlement in the Red Ruthenia], in "Княжа доба: історія і культура", Львів, 2010, s. 278-301; Idem, *Zarys migracji rycerstwa śląskiego na ziemie Rusi Koronnej w okresie panowania Władysława Jagiełły* [The migration of the Silesian nobilities to the Ruthenia during the time of the reign of Wladislaus Jagiello], in "Княжа доба. Історія і культура", Львів, 2011, s. 221-229; Idem, *Otoczenie Władysława Opolczyka w latach 1370-1401. Studium o elicie władzy w relacjach z monarchą* [Wladislaus Opolczyk and his court in the years 1370-1401], Katowice 2006, p. 84-90; Idem, *Z dziejów migracji rycerstwa śląskiego na ziemie Rusi Koronnej w końcu XIV i w początkach XV wieku (wstępne rozpoznanie)* [The history of the migration of knights from Silesia to the Red Ruthenia in the end of the 14th and at the beginning of the 15th century (initial research)], in *Narodziny Rzeczypospolitej. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza i czasów wczesnonowożytnych*, Vol. 1, Kraków, 2012, p. 519-548.

THE DESCENT OF THE FAMILY OF CHODECZ

The family of Chodecz originated from Umień and Lubin in the Dobrzyński land.³ Nicolaus Parawa of Lubin was the first member of the family who noticed the possibilities given by the involvement in the South-Eastern politics of Poland. Being a knight of Wladislaus Jagiello he arrived in Red Ruthenia to look for possibilities of making a career.⁴ Quite soon he gained the first reward. The king gave him lands of Janczyn as well as Rohantyn and nine villages in Halych voivodship.⁵ In 1443, he got the office of the starost of Halych.⁶ He died in the battle near Vaslui.⁷ All his estates located in Lviv voivodship, Halych voivodship and Terebovlia voivodship was inherited by his nephew – Slanislaus of Chodecz⁸, who additionally received the office of the starost of Halych (1452)⁹, and later the starost of Kamienets (1461)¹⁰ and Terebovila (1471).¹¹ In 1460, he additionally assumed the office of the castellany of Lviv¹², in 1462 the voivode of Podolia¹³, and in 1465 the voivode of Ruthenia.¹⁴ He

³ W. Pociecha, *Stanisław Chodecki* [Stanislaus of Chodecz], in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny (further: PSB)*, Vol. 3, Kraków, 1937, p. 351; J. Kamiński, *Otto z Chodcza. Wojewoda krakowski: próba monografii historycznej* [Otto of Chodecz. Voievode of Cracov], Złoczów, 1911, p. 3; J. Bieniak, *Elita ziemi dobrzyńskiej w późnym średniowieczu i jej majątki* [Elite of the Dobrzyński land in the late medieval and their estates], in *Stolica i region. Włocławek i jego dzieje na tle przemian Kujaw i ziemi dobrzyńskiej*, ed. O. Krutt-Horonzia, L. Kajzer, Włocławek, 1995, p. 36; S. Szybkowski, *Pochodzenie Chodeckich herbu Ogon oraz ich związki rodzinne z Umieńskimi i Lubińskimi* [Descent of the Chodecki family and their connection with Uminski family and Lubinski family], in *Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne*, ed. J. Sperka, B. Czwojdrak, Vol. 8 (12), Katowice, 2016, p. 241, 257.

⁴ W. Pociecha, *Stanisław Chodecki...*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Urządnicy województwa ruskiego XIV-XVIII wieku (ziemie halicka, lwowska, przemyska, sanocka). Spisy* [The offices of Ruthenia in the 14th – 17th centuries], ed. K. Przyboś, Vol. 3, part. 1, Wrocław, 1987 (**further: Urz. Rus.**), no. 332; see also W. Pociecha, *Stanisław Chodecki...*, p. 352.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 351; S. Szybkowski, *Pochodzenie Chodeckich...*, p. 257.

⁸ J. Kamiński, *Otto z Chodcza...*, p. 3; S. Szybkowski, *Pochodzenie Chodeckich...*, p. 257.

⁹ *Urz. Rus.*, nr 334.

¹⁰ Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie [The Main Archiv in Warsaw] (**further: AGAD**), *Metryka Koronna (further: MK)* 11, k. 542; *Matricularum Regni Poloniae Summaria*, Vol. 1, ed. T. Wierzbowski, Warszawa, 1905 (**further: MRPS I**), no. 581; J. Kurtyka, *Podole w czasach jagiellońskich...*, p. 148.

¹¹ *AGAD*, *MK* 12, k. 44 v-45; *MRPS I*, no. 746; *Urz. Rus.*, no. 667.

¹² *Urz. Rus.*, no. 829.

¹³ *Urządnicy województwa podolskiego XV – XVIII wieku. Spisy* [The offices of Podolia in

died in 1474. With his wife, Barbara of Pilica, he had four daughters and eight sons: Nicolaus, Johannes, Stanislaus, Peter, Andreas, Spytek, Otton and Rafael.¹⁵ Just as did their father, his sons tied their careers to the South-Eastern politic of Poland. His son Stanislaus made an especially successful carrier. He became one of the trusted people of the queen Elisabeth of Habsburg, the wife of the king Casimir Jagiellon.¹⁶ In the years 1486-1490, Johannes Olbracht, still a prince at that time, was sent to Red Ruthenia to protect this land, and it was Stanislaus of Chodecz who accompanied him and was held in his trust.¹⁷ That is why, as soon as Olbracht assumed the power in Poland and started to build his party, Stanislaus of Chodecz was chosen to be one of the most important of the king's men. In 1492-1499 and 1501-1505, he was responsible for the protection of the South-Eastern borderland of Poland.¹⁸ In 1495 he assumed the office of castellany of Lviv.¹⁹ Then he assumed several other offices: the starost of Lviv²⁰, Halych²¹, Terebovila²², Lubaczow²³ and Podolia.²⁴ Together with

15th-17th centuries], ed. K. Przyboś, Kraków, 1994 (**further: Urz. Pod.**), no. 582, there is the false date of the assumption of the office: 26 August 1462; this date has been corrected in *Urządnicy podolscy XIV-XVIII wieku. Spisy* [The offices of Podolia in 14th-17th centuries], ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Kórnik, 1998 (**further: Urz. Podol.**), no 623 and was changed into 25 November 1462.

¹⁴ Urz. Rus., no. 1234.

¹⁵ W. Pociecha, *Stanisław Chodecki...*, p. 352; J. Kamiński, *Otto z Chodcza...*, p. 7.

¹⁶ K. Niemczyk, *Problem Pokucia, spornego terytorium polsko-mołdawskiego w końcu XV i początku XVI wieku* [The issue of Pokuttya, a disputed territory on the Polish-Moldovan border in the 15th and 16th centuries], in "Studia Historyczne", 2014, no. 52, part. 2, p. 168; A. Borzemski, *Sprawa pokucka...*, p. 378; Z. Spieralski, *Z dziejów wojen polsko-mołdawskich* [The history of the wars between Poland and Moldova], in "Studia i Materiały do historii wojskowości", Vol. 11, part.1, p. 108.

¹⁷ W. Pociecha, *Otto Chodecki* [Otto of Chodecz], in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Vol. 3, Kraków, 1937, p. 352.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Urz. Rus., no. 834; *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z archiwum tzw. Bernardyńskiego we Lwowie* [Town and land files from the time of the Republic of Poland from the archives of the so-called Bernardyński in Lviv], ed. O. Pietruszka, X. Liske, A. Prochaska, Vol. 15, Lviv, 1891, no. 2475; В. Михайловський, *Еластична спільнота. Подільська шляхта в другій половині XIV-70-х роках XVI століття* [Elastic community. Podolsk gentry in the second half of the XIV-70th of the XVI century], Київ, 2012, p. 258.

²⁰ Urz. Rus., no. 1176; В. Михайловський, *Еластична спільнота ...*, p. 258.

²¹ Urz. Rus., no. 337; В. Михайловський, *op. cit.*

²² Urz. Rus., no. 671; В. Михайловський, *op. cit.*

²³ *Urządnicy województwa bełskiego i ziemi chełmskiej XIV-XVIII wieku. Spisy* [The offices of the Belz Voievodeship and Chełm Voievodeship], ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Kórnik, 1992, no. 979; Urz. Rus., no. 671

his brothers, Johannes and Peter, he took part in the Olbracht's crusade of the year 1497. During this expedition, Johannes, one of his brothers, died.²⁵ He was also sent to Moldova, as one of the Polish envoys, but because of the Polish political games, he didn't reach Suceava at that time.²⁶ He was also designated, together with Nicolaus of Kamieniec, to the meeting with Stephan the Great in Kolaczyn (1503), which in the end didn't take place.²⁷ But he played the key role during the Polish-Moldova conflict in the year 1505. This accident started his long and rather complicated relations with the ruler of Moldova, Bogdan the One-eyed.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CONFLICT

Pokuttya was the territory that belonged to Moldova since the year 1502, when Stephan the Great conquered it.²⁸ Bogdan the One-eyed assumed power in this country (1504) as his son and successor, but he had not such a strong position as his father had had. Therefore, his main goal was to strengthen his own position against the opponents he had in Moldova as well as against his foreign enemies (most of all Turkey). To achieve this goal, Moldova needed a strong ally and had above all to avoid a war. But Poland, which had already a lot of problems with the protection of the South-Eastern part of her territory, as well as with

²⁴ Urz. Pod., no. 522; Urz. Podol., no. 553 – there is the correct data of the moment when Stanislaus of Chodecz lost this office; В. Михайловський, *Еластична спільнота...*, p. 258; J. Kurtyka, *Podole w czasach jagiellońskich...*, p. 148.

²⁵ W. Pociecha, *Otto Chodecki...*, p. 352; J. Kamiński, *Otto z Chodcza...*, p. 8.

²⁶ Z. Spieralski, *Z dziejów wojen...*, p. 83; I. Czamańska, *Mołdawia i Wołoszczyzna wobec Polski, Węgier i Turcji w XIV i XV wieku* [Moldova and Wallachia towards Poland, Hungary and Turkey in the 14th – 15th century], Poznań, 1996, p. 185; K. Niemczyk, *Kamieniecki Geschlecht und seine Beziehungen zu Moldau am Ende des 15. Und zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts. Ein Überblick*, in "Codrul Cosminului", 2014, Vol. 20, no. 2, p. 297-320; Eadem, *Problem Pokucia...*, p. 155-174.

²⁷ AGAD, Libri Legationum (**further: LL**) 1, f. 154v-155v; *Akta Aleksandra króla polskiego, wielkiego księcia litewskiego (1501-1506)*, ed. F. Papée, Kraków, 1927 (**further: AAleks**), no. 187; A. Jabłonowski, A. Jabłonowski, *Sprawy wołoskie za Jagiellonów. Akta i Listy. Akta Koronne*, [Wallachian issues at the times of the Jagiellon Dynasty: acts and letters], in *Źródła dziejowe*, Vol. 10, Warszawa, 1878, no. 23; Z. Spieralski, *Z dziejów wojen...*, p. 96.

²⁸ A. Jabłonowski, *Sprawy wołoskie...*, no. 23; Z. Spieralski, *Z dziejów wojen...*, p. 83; L. Fac, *Południowo-wschodni teatr działań wojennych w latach 1497 – 1509* [South-East theatre of the military actions 1497-1509], in "Rocznik Przemyski", Vol. 43 (2007), no. 1, p. 67–68; M. Plewczyński, *Wojny i wojskowość polska w XVI w., t. 1 (lata 1500–1548)* [Wars and the Polish army in 15th century], Zabrze, 2011, p. 150; K. Niemczyk, *Problem Pokucia, spornego terytorium...*, p. 169.

their own army, especially regarding the need of reforming it²⁹, wanted to use the new situation of Moldova for her own benefit, trying to weaken Bogdan's position. For this reason, the Polish envoy, Bernard Goławiński, was sent to Constantinople with an inquire about what would be the Turkish standpoint in the case of a potential Polish attack on Pokuttya. Also, Goławiński informed sultan that Bogdan the One-eyed harassed certain Polish and Turkish merchants in his territory.³⁰ On his way back from Constantinople, Goławiński made a stay in Wallachia to encourage her ruler to turn against Bogdan.³¹ The ruler of Moldova, who had already had enough problems in his own country, was afraid of a possible alliance between Poland, Wallachia and Turkey. Therefore, he decided to prevent it, and used Pokuttya to achieve this goal.³² In order to do so, he sent his envoy to the Polish *sejm* in Radom of the year 1505³³ with the proposal to hand over Pokuttya to Poland in exchange for the marriage with the sister of the Polish king Alexander.³⁴ He probably supposed that through this marriage he would win Poland as a strong ally, and this would also be a good way to

²⁹ The Polish nobilities didn't want to serve in army but also didn't want to pay taxes for the professional troops. That caused very difficult and dangerous situation for Poland. More about this theme see in K. Niemczyk, *Ein Paar Bemerkungen zur moldauischen Politik des Jagiellonen an der Wende des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, in *The Jagiellonians in Europe: dynastic diplomacy and foreign relations*, Debrecen, 2016, p. 77-89.

³⁰ AGAD LL 2, k. 18 – 20, AAleks, no. 261; Z. Spieralski, *Z dziejów wojen...*, p. 106; A. Dziubiński, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne polsko – tureckie w latach 1500 – 1572 w kontekście międzynarodowym* [Diplomatic relations between Poland and Turkey in the years 1500-1572 in the international context], Wrocław, 2005, p. 18; A. D. Alderson, *The Structure of Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford, 1956, Table 28, Bayezid II and his Family.

³¹ AAleks, no. 262; Z. Spieralski, *Z dziejów wojen...*, p. 106; A. Borzemski, *Sprawa pokucka...*, p. 375; K. Niemczyk, *Problem Pokucia...*, p. 155 – 174.

³² AGAD, LL 2, k. 18-20; AAleks, p. 261; I. Czamańska, *Mołdawia i Wołoszczyzna...*, p. 192; Z. Spieralski, *Z dziejów wojen...*, p. 106; K. Niemczyk, *Problem Pokucia...*, p. 167.

³³ M. Bobrzyński, *Sejmy polskie za Olbrachta i Aleksandra* [Polish sejms during the reign of Johannes Olbracht and Alexander], Kraków, 1900, p. 244 – 257; F. Papée, *Aleksander...*, p. 100; Z. Spieralski, *Z dziejów wojen...*, p. 108.

³⁴ AGAD, MK 21, k. 162; print: *Matricularum Regni Poloniae Summaria* (further: **MRPS III**), ed. T. Wierzbowski, Warszawa, Vol. 3, 1908, no. 2048 (regest); AAleks, no. 257; Z. Spieralski, *Z dziejów wojen...*, p. 105–108; K. Niemczyk, *Problem Pokucia...*, p. 167; Eadem, *Kamieniecki Geschlecht und seine Beziehungen zu Moldau am Ende des 15. Und zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts. Ein Überblick*, in "Codrul Cosminului", 2014, Vol. 20, no. 2, p. 297–320; Eadem, *Mołdawia Bogdana III Ślepego w polityce Aleksandra Jagiellończyka* [Moldova during the time of the reign of Bogdan the One-eyed in Alexander's politic], in *Jagiellonowie i ich świat. Dynastia królewska w drugiej połowie XV i w XVI wieku*, ed. B. Czwojdrak, J. Sperka, P. Węcowski, Kraków, 2015, p. 181–183.

strengthen his position against his domestic enemies and to enhance the international position of Moldova. In the same way, he would solve the problem of a prospective alliance between Poland and Turkey, which he was afraid of. The Polish political elite found this proposal rather interesting, because of the possibility to annex Pokuttya without a war, what in the discussed Polish military situation was quite convenient. However, it was a dangerous step as well. Since Moldova remained in the orbit of interest of Turkey, the alliance between Poland and Moldova could result in a conflict or at least in a serious deterioration of mutual relations between Poland and the Osman Empire. On the other hand, if Poland had rejected the alliance with Bogdan the One-eyed, as a consequence he would have desperately looked for support from elsewhere and that would push him into the hands of Turks even further. Also, that might have been even more dangerous for Poland, and that was why Bogdan's proposal was at first accepted by the Polish king Alexander.³⁵ However, the problem was caused by the negative attitude of the mother of the princess Elisabeth, Elisabeth of Habsburg (Elżbieta Rakuszanka), who raised strong objections against this project. She was feared for her daughter's reputation as a wife of a ruler of state of such an insignificant prestige as, in her opinion, Moldova was. The princess Elisabeth wasn't well disposed to this marriage as well, and according to the Polish chronicle written by Bernard Wapowski she said that she would rather enter a monastery than marry an "one-eyed barbarian", as she called Bogdan.³⁶ Such an atti-

³⁵ The Polish king, who was occupied by the war against Moscow and was aware of the fatal condition of Polish army, as well as of the need of reforming it, was very pleased with the possibility of winning Pokuttya back, without a war. It was very common in the time of Alexander's reign, that rittmeisters, who were responsible for the defense of the south-east borders of Poland, complained to the king about lack of knights, see AAleks, no. 93, 119, 120, 121, and 123. More about these problems, see Z. Spieralski, *Z dziejów...*, p. 91, 105; K. Niemczyk, *Problem Pokucia, spornego terytorium...*, p. 167 – 168; Eadem, *Mołdawia Bogdana III Ślepego...*, p. 175 – 177, 182; Eadem, *Kamienieccy herbu Pilawa...*, p. 188; F. Papée, *Aleksander Jagiellończyk*, Kraków, 2006, p. 97-98. So called "pospolite ruszenie" needed usually so much time to be prepared to war, that the Moldova's or Tatars army who attacked Polish territories got enough time to robbed it and left the country, see: K. Niemczyk, *Red Ruthenia and the risk of Moldovan and Tatar attacks at the breakthrough of the 15th and 16th century*, in *Dialogul civilizatiilor. Interferente istorice se culturale/ Dialogue of civilisations. Historical and cultural interferences*, ed. L. Zabolotnaja, Kiszyniów, 2015, p. 86–103.

³⁶ B. Wapowski, *Kroniki Bernarda Wapowskiego z Radochonic, kantora katedr. krakowskiego: część ostatnia czasy podługoszowskie obejmująca (1480-1535)* [Chronicles written by Bernard Wapowski: the last part including years 1480-1535], Kraków, 1874, p. 62–63, 279; G. Ureche, *Letopisețul țării Moldovei* [Chronicle of

tude of the queen was not what the ruler of Moldova expected, so he decided to incline Elisabeth of Habsburg more favorably to this project. To achieve this goal, he asked Stanislaus of Chodecz, the trusted man of the queen, for help. He hoped that Stanislaus would be able to intercede for him in the court of the Polish queen mother. Therefore, he sent his envoy, Lukas Dracz, to Stanislaus of Chodecz to invite him to Suceava, where the negotiations were meant to be undertaken.³⁷ We don't know much about this unofficial meeting, but it must have been successful, as in the near future there was made a mutual agreement between the both sides. Bogdan the One-eyed promised to give Pokuttya to Poland in exchange for the hand of the king's sister, Elisabeth.³⁸ In effect, on the 8th of December 1505, the ruler of Moldova sent his envoy to the Alexander with an official proposal of marriage.³⁹ As a response to this, three Polish envoys were sent to Moldova (on the 18th of March of 1506): Stanislaus of Chodecz, Nicolaus Firlej and Bernard Wilczek.⁴⁰ They all agreed that Bogdan was obliged to give Pokuttya to Poland as the condition for receiving the hand of Elisabeth.⁴¹ He accepted this demand, gave Pokuttya to Poland, and waited for the fulfilment of the agreement from the Polish side, for the hand of Elisabeth.

Unfortunately, because of the death of the king Alexander (1506), who supported the idea of marrying his sister to Bogdan, the case became complicated, and the marriage agreement was annulled. Poland, however, didn't return Pokuttya to Bogdan. Due to the annulment of their mutual agreement by Poland, Bogdan the One-eyed, who felt cheated, decided to take Pokuttya back by force in September 1506, without success, however.⁴² The person, who was responsible – in Bogdan's opinion – for this deceitful agreement, was Stanislaus of Chodecz. He was the man in whom he had put his trust and had counted on his help, and it was after the seemingly successful negotiations with him, when he gave Pokuttya to Poland, and shortly after then the Polish side suddenly broke the agreement off, but didn't return Pokuttya to Moldova. The ruler of Moldova had

Moldavia], ed. P.P. Panaitescu, București, 1958, p. 112, 126.

³⁷ AGAD, LL, 2, k. 48 – 49; AAleks, no. 294; K. Niemczyk, *Problem Pokucia, spornego terytorium...*, p. 168; A. Borzemski, *Sprawa pokucka...*, p. 378; Z. Spieralski, *Z dziejów wojen...*, p. 108.

³⁸ *Acta et epistolae relationum Transsylvaniae Hungariaeque cum Moldavia et Valachia*, ed. A. Veress, Budapest, 1914, Vol. 1, no. 63.

³⁹ AGAD, MK 21, k. 314 v – 315; MRPS III, no. 2519 (regist).

⁴⁰ AAleks, no. 317

⁴¹ AGAD, no. 5407; AAleks, no. 298, 317; K. Niemczyk, *Problem Pokucia, spornego terytorium...*, p. 168; A. Borzemski, *Sprawa pokucka...*, p. 379.

⁴² Z. Spieralski, *Z dziejów wojen...*, p. 111.

right to felt cheated. He blamed Stanislaus for the outcome of their negotiations. This was only the beginning of their difficult relations. When the conflict between Poland and Moldova had broken out again in the year 1509, because of the influence of the Pope Julius II⁴³, Bogdan wanted to use this opportunity to avenge his humiliation.

THE CRUSADE OF THE YEAR 1509

Pope Julius II – who hoped for organizing a crusade against Turkey – wanted to weaken the Osman Empire and deprive it of its allies. First of all, he made an attempt to win Moldova, being a possible Turkey's ally, over to his side. To fulfill this goal, he wanted to use the unrealized treaty between Poland and Moldova regarding Bogdan's marriage with Elisabeth. Therefore, he obliged the Polish king Sigismund I to fulfil this agreement, but neither he nor his brother Wladislaus of Hungary wanted to become related to Bogdan. Also, even the ruler of Moldova didn't see any chance of fulfilling this marriage project, as he had already (in 1508-1509) made an effort to marry Ruxanda, a daughter of the ruler of Wallachia, Mihnea cel Rău⁴⁴, but he wanted to use the intervention of the pope

⁴³ E. Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor* [Documents on the History of Romanians] (**further: Hurmuzaki**), București, 1891, Vol. 2, part 2, p. 583 – 584, no. 465; J. Smołucha, *Papieżstwo a Polska w latach 1484-1526. Kontakty dyplomatyczne na tle zagrożenia tureckiego* [The papacy and Poland in the years 1484-1526. Diplomatic relations and the Turkish threat], Kraków, 1999, p. 104-105; K. Baczkowski, *Stosunki polsko-węgierskie w pierwszych latach panowania Zygmunta Starego 1507-1510*, [Relations between Poland and Hungary in the time of the Sigismund I's reign 1507-1510], in *Cracovia-Polonia-Europa*, ed. W. Bukowski, Kraków, 1995, p. 571; J. Marinescu, *Bogdan cel Orb 1504-1517* [Bogdan the Blind 1504-1517], București, 1910, p. 39.

⁴⁴ In the document, dated September 7th 1511, it was written that Voica – the widow of Mihnea duke – said that her husband donated the gold and silver to his daughter as her marriage portion. Since Mihnea lost his rule in autumn 1509, the concluding of the marital agreement should have taken place before this time. The marriage couldn't have been realised immediately as at March 12th 1510 in Sibiu Mihnea cel Rău was murdered and his family were in mourning. Than (at February 26th 1511) Bogdan's mother died, so the preparations to marriage should have been postponed again. However, the marriage project was still binding, as in 1511 Voica demanded from the town Brașov to return gold-plated cups, which should have been used as her daughter marriage portion. Bogdan married Ruxanda at 15 August 1513, see I. Bogdan, *Documente și regeste privitoare la relațiile Țării Rumânești cu Brașovul și Ungaria în secolul XV și XVI* [Documents and regests regarding relations of the Wallachia with Brașov and Hungary in the 15th and 16th centuries], București, 1902, p. 143-144, no. 147; G. Ureche, *Latopisețul...*, p.

as a pretext and justification of his attack on Poland, to pay her back for this humiliation.⁴⁵ Therefore, in June 1509, Bogdan the One-eyed attacked both Pokuttya and Podolia.⁴⁶ During his expedition, he tried to take Kamianets-Podilskyi⁴⁷ and Halych⁴⁸, but without any success. Because of this, the army of

131; Hurmuzaki, Vol. 15, part 1, p. 215, no. 387; M. Costăchescu, *Documentele moldovenești de la Bogdan voievod (1504-1517)* [Moldavian documents of Bogdan the Voivode (1504-1517)], București, 1940, p. 367-369, no. 58; S. Nicolaescu, *Documente slavo-române cu privire la relațiile Țării Românești și Moldovei cu Ardealul în sec. XV și XVI* [Slavionic-Romanian documents on relations between Wallachia and Moldavia with Transylvania in the XV and XVI centuries], București, 1905, p. 13, 168; S. Gorovei, *O controversă: „doamnele” lui Bogdan al III-lea* [A controversy: the “ladies” of Bogdan III], in “Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie”, 2009, Vol. 27, p. 151-152; C. Rezachevici, *Descendența nelegitimă a lui Vlad Țepeș: Mihneștii și mitropolia bucureșteană de la Radu Vodă* [The Illegitimate descendancy of Vlad the Impaler. Mihnea family and the Bucharest Metropolitan Church of Radu Voivode], in “Arhiva Genealogică”, 2000, Vol. 7 (12), no. 1-4, p. 229-238; A. Lapedatu, *Mihnea cel Rău și ungurii 1508-1510* [Mihnea the Evil and the Hungarians 1508-1510], in “Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională”, (1921-1922), Vol. 1, p. 70-71; A. D. Xenopol, *Istoria românilor din Dacia Traiană* [The History of the Romanians in Trajan's Dacia], București, 1986, p. 428.

⁴⁵ Fulfilling the former marriage contract was, of course, the official reason for Bogdan the One-eyed's expedition, since Bogdan strived in that time for the marriage with Ruxanda, it shouldn't have been the real reason for his expedition, see: *Acta Tomiciana: epistolarum, legationum, responsorum, actionum et rerum gestarum, serenissimi principis Sigismundi primi, Regis Poloniae, magni ducis Lithuaniae per Stanislaum Górski canonicum Cracoviensem et Plocensem collectarum A.D. 1532* (**further: Acta Tomiciana**), ed. T. Działyński, Poznań, 1852, Vol. 1, no. 39; *Codex diplomaticus regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae*, ed. M. Dogiel, Wilnae, 1758, Vol. I/2, p. 606-610; *Decjusz, De Sigismundi regis temporibus liber* (**further: Decjusz**), 1521, ed. W. Czermak, Kraków, 1901, p. 29-30; A. Jabłonowski, *Sprawy wołoskie za Jagiellonów...*, p. 14-15; K. Baczkowski, *Stosunki polsko - węgierskie ...*, p. 573.

⁴⁶ *Decjusz*, p. 36; J. Smołuca, *Papiestwo a Polska...*, p. 105; M. Morka, *Sztuka dworu Zygmunta I Starego. Treści polityczne i propagandowe* [The art of the Court of the Sigismund I the Old. Political and propagandist content], Warszawa, 2006, p. 69; O. Cristea, *Knocking at the enemy's gate: gesture of power of Bogdan III of Moldavia (1509)*, in *Orient et Occident. Construction des identités en Europe médiévale*, ed. L. Diaconu, București, 2014, p. 155; L. Pilat, *Între Roma și Bizanț. Societate și putere în Moldova (sec. XIV-XVI)* [Between Rome and Byzantium. Society and Power in Moldavia (14th-16th centuries)], Iași, 2008, p. 224-227.

⁴⁷ J. Marinescu, *Bogdan cel Orb...*, p. 41; J. Besala, *Zygmunt Stary i Bona Sforza*, [Sigismund I and the Bona Sforza], Poznań, 2012, p. 147; A. Oțetea, *Istoria lumii în date* [World history in dates], București, 1972, p. 563.

⁴⁸ O. Cristea, *Knocking at the enemy's gate...*, p. 155; L. Pilat, *Între Roma și Bizanț...*, p. 224-

Moldova marched towards Lviv and attacked the town. Then, Bogdan the One-eyed attacked Rohatyn, a small town that belonged to the family of Chodecz. The ruler of Moldova destroyed it, robbed it and abducted a lot of its inhabitants, the mother of Stanislaus of Chodecz and his two brothers: Rafael and Peter among them.⁴⁹ In *Letopisețul țării Moldovei* (written by Grigore Ureche) it was additionally written that Bogdan the One-eyed during his attempt to conquer Lviv hit the gate of the castle with his spear and stole the bell from the church in Rohatyn. He took this bell as booty to Suceava.⁵⁰ Ovidiu Cristea had thoroughly analysed the symbolism of these gestures⁵¹. According to him, both of Bogdan's actions – hitting at the gate of the castle with his spear and stealing the bell from the church in Rohatyn – were deliberate, making his power more visible. In this way, Bogdan used the well-known symbolism of gestures⁵², by which he declared war against the entire Kingdom of Poland.⁵³ I fully agree with Cristea's point of view, but I would suppose that Bogdan's second action, the attack on Rohatyn and the robbery of the famous bell from the church in this town might have had one more reason. In my opinion, Bogdan the One-eyed's expedition should be considered rather as an attempt to avenge himself on Poland, and above all, on Stanislaus of Chodecz, the owner of Rohatyn, because of the failure of the marriage agreement promoted by Stanislaus. That is why he attacked Rohatyn, kidnapped

227; J. Marinescu, *Bogdan cel Orb...*, p. 41-42.

⁴⁹ *Cronica lui Macarie* [Macarie's Chronicle], in *Cronicile slavo-române din secolele XV-XVI publicate de Ioan Bogdan* [Slavonic-Romanian chronicles from the 15th-16th centuries, published by Ioan Bogdan], ed. P.P. Panaitescu, București, 1959, p. 91; *Kronika polska Marcina Bielskiego nowo przez Joachima Bielskiego, syna jego wydana* [The Polish Chronicle written by Marcin Bielski and his son Joachim Bielski], Kraków, 1597, p. 513; A. Nicolaou-Konnari, *Diplomatics and Historiography: The Use of Documents in the Chronicle of Leontios Makhairas*, in: *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500: Aspect of Cross-cultural Communication*, ed. A. D. Beihammer, M G. Parani, C. D. Schabel, Leiden-Boston, 2008, p. 293 – 323.

⁵⁰ G. Ureche, *Letopisețul ...*, p. 129.

⁵¹ O. Cristea, *Knocking at the enemy's gate...*, p. 153 – 172.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 168-169. Cristea mentioned a lot of examples of hitting with a spear at castle's gate, see: L. V. Marvin, *Man famous in Combat and Battle: Common Soldiers and the Siege of Bruges*, in "Journal of Medieval History", 1998, Vol. 24, p. 243-258; P. Stephenson, *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar – Slayer*, Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 51-52; P. Buc, *Dangereux rituel. De l'histoire médiévale aux sciences sociales*, Paris 2003, passim; Idem, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory*, Princeton 2002, passim.

⁵³ O. Cristea, *Knocking at the enemy's gate...*, p.171.

Chodecki's mother Barbara and his two brothers (Peter and Rafael) and stole the famous bell⁵⁴ from the church and took it to Suceava as a symbol of his might. Both Barbara and Peter died in Bogdan's captivity in Suceava.⁵⁵ By this action, Bogdan wanted to avenge the insult that had been made to him by the Polish dignitaries (and he especially blamed for this Stanislaus of Chodecz) and used every possibility to take Pokuttya back. The support from the Pope in case of this unfilled marriage agreement gave him only a pretext to attack Poland. Since Bogdan the One-eyed asked at that time for the hand of Ruxanda, it seems likely that he lost any hope for fulfilling the treaty with Poland, so I think that it was only a pretext and justification of his action and his main goal was to take revenge on Chodecki family.

THE SUBSEQUENT CONFLICTS BETWEEN FAMILY OF CHODECZ AND BOGDAN

After the campaign of the year 1509, the relations between family of Chodecz and Bogdan the One-eyed grew even worse. Stanislaus of Chodecz as well as his brother Otton wanted to avenge the death of their mother and brother in Bogdan's captivity, so they (Stanislaus as the starost of Kamienets, and Otto who were the voivode of Podolia), made the borderland of Poland and Moldova a territory of continuous war. They didn't even hesitate to act in the opposition to the Polish king. The family of Chodecz didn't accept the Polish politics towards Moldova during this part of the reign of Sigismund. They didn't want to cooperate with Moldova, but to overcome the ruler of Moldova by all means. Since they didn't gain support from the king, they tried to act on their own. To improve the Polish-Moldova relations, the Polish king takes Stanislaus of Chodecz off the office of the starost of Kamienets and gives it to Stanislaus Lanckoronski.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the other offices of the Southern Polish borderland remained in the hands of the family of Chodecz (Otto of Chodecz was the starost of Halych, Kolomyia, Sniatyn, and also the voivode of Podolia)⁵⁷, therefore the situation didn't improve. Regarding this, Bogdan the One-eyed complained (on the 8th and 14th September 1510) to the Polish king that the family of Chodecz supported the

⁵⁴ The stolen bell was - because of its size - famous in the whole Ruthenia. See G. Ureche, *Letopisețul...*, p. 129; J. Kamiński, *Otto z Chodcza* [Otto of Chodecz], Kraków, 1911, p. 11.

⁵⁵ Only Rafael came back from Suceava, see J. Kamiński, *Otto z Chodcza...*, p. 11

⁵⁶ Acta Tomiciana, Vol. I, no. 60.

⁵⁷ Z. Spieralski, *Kampania obertyńska...*, p. 80.

opposing candidate to the throne in Moldova, Peter, and give him shelter.⁵⁸ What's more, the family of Chodecz welcomed the peasants that escaped from Moldova and let them settle in Ruthenia and Podolia. This caused severe difficulties for Moldova, because when Bogdan wanted to summon his peasants to war, they quite often escaped to Poland and the family of Chodecz let them pillage Moldova instead.⁵⁹ Bogdan complained also that Stanislaus and Otto of Chodecz tried to cause a civil war in Moldova, as they supported Bogdan's opponents and give shelter to refugees and outlaws from Moldova. Especially Otto of Chodecz, who was appointed as a peace envoy to take care of the Moldova's citizen living in Podolia, didn't respect their rights and didn't hear their complains.⁶⁰ The Polish king, who tried to lead peaceful politics towards Moldova, on the 7th of September 1510 (and later on the 5th and 8th November) rebuked Otto of Chodecz, the voivode of Podolia, that he should treat fairly the Moldova's citizen, and not to support Bogdan's enemies and not to let them organize expeditions against Moldova.⁶¹ But it didn't bring any effect. The situation became even worse, so far that the king's reprimands were completely ignored, although Sigismund I even threatened Otto of Chodecz that he intended to punish everyone who dared to break the peace between Moldova and Poland.⁶² The growing hatred between the family and the ruler of Moldova was nevertheless too fierce. The king resided far away from the boarder territory, and he couldn't control the family of Chodecz. That is why he ordered Stanislaus Lanckoronski to try to control Otto of Chodecz.⁶³ But even this decision couldn't solve the problem. The

⁵⁸ Acta Tomiciana, Vol. I, p. 46; Hurmuzaki, Vol. 2, part 2, no. 484; Z. Spieralski, *Kampania obertyńska...*, p. 80-81.

⁵⁹ Family of Chodecz colonized the uninhabited territories in Ruthenia, so they summon the peasants from Moldova and gave them some territories to live. Because of the difficult situation of the peasants in Moldova at the beginning of 16th centuries, they came willingly to Poland, see Z. Spieralski, *Kampania obertyńska...*, p. 81

⁶⁰ In Kolomyia Otto of Chodecz drove away the Moldova's citizens who trying to enforce theirs right, see J. Kamiński, *Otto z Chodcza...*, p. 12

⁶¹ At 5 and 18 November the Polish king rebuked Otto of Chodecz that he should followed the agreement between Poland and Moldova, and not to summon the Moldova's peasants to Podolia and not to offer them some territory to live, see Acta Tomiciana, Vol. I, no. 99, 100, 139, 145; Hurmuzaki, Vol. 2, part 2, no. 494, 495, 499, 504; *Corpus iuris polonici medii aevi (further: CIP)*, ed. O. Balzer, Kraków, 1906, Vol III, no. 62; Z. Spieralski, *Kampania obertyńska...*, p. 80.

⁶² Acta Tomiciana, Vol. I, no. 122.

⁶³ Acta Tomiciana, Vol. 1, no. 142; Hurmuzaki, Vol. 2, part 2, no. 502; Z. Spieralski, *Kampania obertyńska...*, p. 81.

Polish nobility from Halych spread rumours that the agreement between Poland and Moldova had been broken, and they could organize official expeditions on Moldova's territories.⁶⁴ The family of Chodecz played a crucial role in spreading these rumours, as they keep the king's decrees, that explained that the rumours were false, from spreading.⁶⁵

For a long time, the Polish king was sure, that all the problems in the Halych land and all the abuses against Moldova's citizens were the result of the inaction of the starost of Halych in the face of the local conflicts. Therefore, since he wanted to help him, on the 1st of April of the year 1512, he ordered to organize a corpus of special boarder-guards who were meant to assist the starost of Halych with the execution of his duties. They were obliged to catch all thieves, robbers and other offenders and to deliver them to the starost who was given special rights to punish them.⁶⁶ It took a lot of time, until the king understood that it was not the helplessness of the starost that was the main problem, but rather a private animosity between the family of Chodecz and Bogdan the One-eyed. It was in the year 1513, when the Polish king began to understand it. When Bogdan the One-eyed married Ruxandra, the Polish king Sigismund I wanted to send Stanislaus of Chodecz as his envoy to congratulate him. Everything had been already prepared, the envoy had already had the gifts for the bridegroom, and then suddenly the king received the letter from Bogdan with the request to send to him someone else but the man of Chodecz. As a reason of this request the ruler of Moldova wrote "*odium vetus*".⁶⁷ Although the king at first hesitated to agree with the Bogdan's demands, as the ruler of Moldova strongly rejected the possibility to welcome the man of Chodecz, the king decided to send other as envoy, namely Jerzy Krupski, and Stanislaus of Chodecz had to come back to Poland.⁶⁸

After rather cold relations between Sigismund I and Otto of Chodecz, which were caused by Otton's attitude towards Moldova, the Polish king finally changed his attitude towards him. The Polish-Moldova relations were not so good anymore, because of the unsolved problem of the Pokuttya.⁶⁹ In the

⁶⁴ Acta Tomiciana, Vol. I, no. 144; Hurmuzaki, Vol. 2, part 2, no. 503.

⁶⁵ Z. Spieralski, *Kampania obertyńska...*, p. 81; J. Kamiński, *Otto z Chodcza...* p. 13

⁶⁶ CIP, p. 220; J. Kamiński, *Otto z Chodcza ...*, p. 14.

⁶⁷ Acta Tomiciana, Vol. II, no. 227; J. Kamiński, *Otto z Chodcza...*, p. 14.

⁶⁸ Acta Tomiciana, Vol. II, no. 296-298; Z. Spieralski, *Kampania obertyńska...*, p. 80.

⁶⁹ Bogdan counted on Wladislaus of Hungary, who, according to the treaty of Kamienets from the year 1510, should have decided to whom Pokuttya belonged. However, the decision wasn't easy for the ruler of Hungary, since Stanislaus I the Old married Barbara of Zapoloya and stayed in the opposition to Habsburgs, so Wladislaus couldn't

changed political situation, Otton's personal attitude to Bogdan guaranteed that in the case of the prospective agreement between the ruler of Moldova and the Tatar, the man of Chodecz will be the best person to protect this land. That is why in the year 1515 Otto of Chodecz received an office of the voivode of Ruthenia.⁷⁰ The relations between family of Chodecz and Bogdan stayed unchanged till the death of the ruler of Moldova in the year 1517.⁷¹

CONCLUSION

The relation between the family of Chodecz and Bogdan the One-eyed was a story about how the personal animosity had a strong influence on the history of the whole country. In my opinion both the expedition in 1509 as well as most of the further (till 1517) conflicts at the Polish-Moldova's border can be seen in large part as a result of the bad relations between the family of Chodecz and Bogdan. The beginning of the animosity between them was the year 1505 when Bogdan the One-eyed made a proposal to marry the sister of the Polish king Alexander and in exchange agreed to hand over Pokuttia to Poland. He counted on Stanislaus of Chodecz's support, but after all he felt cheated, when he failed him. He lost Pokuttia, but didn't receive Elisabeth as a wife, and for that he blamed Stanislaus of Chodecz. He used the Pope's support to the organizing of the expedition in the year 1509. His attack at Rohatyn, and the huge damage that his army made in the town, connected with capturing of the mother of Stanislaus of Chodecz as well as his two brothers and stealing of the famous bell from the church, should be, in my opinion, perceived as a revenge on the family of Chodecz. But this expedition made the relations between them much worse, as Stanislaus and Otto of Chodecz wanted to avenge this harm. Since they gained many offices at the border territory between Poland and Moldova, they made this land the territory of notorious war. Their goal seemed to be the removal of Bogdan from his throne. So, they supported his enemies, gave them shelter, let the peasants that escaped from Moldova to settle in Podolia and Ruthenia. Nothing could stop the animosity between them, not even the king's reprimands. The hate between them didn't end until Bogdan died in 1517.

acted to his disadvantage. But he couldn't also decide that Pokuttia should belonged to Poland, because he afraid of possible agreement between Moldova and Turkey. In this difficult situation, he played on time.

⁷⁰ AGAD, MK 30, k. 78-79; J. Kamiński, *Otto z Chodcza...*, p. 23.

⁷¹ Z. Spieralski, *Kampania obertyńska...*, p. 85.