

MAREK FERENC
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
Institute of History
ORCID: 0000-0002-2619-0194

Foreigners amongst the Horse Courtiers of Duke Sigismund Jagiellon. A Contribution to the Problem of Ethnicity of the Court*

Keywords: foreigners, horse courtiers, Sigismund Jagiellon, ethnicity, court

Słowa kluczowe: cudzoziemcy, dworzanie konni, Zygmunt Jagiellończyk, etniczność, dwór

In comparison to courts of other Polish dukes, the circle of Sigismund Jagiellon attracted rather considerable attention of historians. It was incomparably greater than that of any other young representative of the Piast, Jagiellon or Vasa dynasties. This stemmed from various reasons, i.e. Sigismund's taking over the territorial power quite late — after his 32nd birthday — which in a way set him apart from numerous sons of the Polish monarchs. Perhaps it would not even be so significant if it did not pertain to Silesia, a unique district which was important for many countries. Sigismund's reign in Silesia and his life before ascending the throne of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Poland have been of interest to Czech, German, Polish and Hungarian historiography.¹ In works on this subject the duke's court is also dealt with to a lesser or greater extent. Researchers have had this opportunity thanks to quite detailed accounts of Sigismund's court which have been preserved to our times.² They have been published in a reliable and thorough way by Petr Kozák and Krisztina Rábai, which has further facilitated studies on the Jagiellon ruler's milieu.³ In addition, both editors' publications on the sources have become a foundation for an important article by Karol Nabiałek, who discusses possibilities and mechanisms of career development opening up for members of the duke's closest circle when he took over power as Grand Duke and King.⁴ The set of research

* This work was written as part of a research project no. 2018/29/B/HS3/00907 financed by the resources from Nacional Science Centre.

¹ BLASCHKE 1913; BORAS 1983; BREYTHNER 1906; DIVĚKY 1960, pp. 355–374; DZIEGIEL 1936; MINSBERG 1853; NOWOGRODZKI 2015; PAWIŃSKI 1893.

² AGAD, ASK, Oddział 1, Rachunki Królewskie, cap. 21, 29, 33.

³ RÁBAI 2014; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015; KOZÁK 2014. Fragments of these accounts were previously published by Adorján Divéky, DIVĚKY 1914.

⁴ NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 325–383.

questions concerning the history of the royal court of Sigismund Jagiellon and other heirs to the throne is, however, much broader and worthy of further examination.

As a starting point, it should be noted that the presence of foreigners at rulers' royal courts was constant and natural. Foreign envoys were a separate matter. The kings' sons had to be accustomed to contacts with foreigners. In the anonymous treatise on the upbringing of a prince, the writing of which is attributed to the inspiration of Elisabeth of Austria, Sigismund's mother, the following recommendation is present: "for he should adopt the habit of the most courteous handling of everyone, particularly of foreigners, from the cradle", and "let the prince be kind to his subjects and foreigners on every appropriate occasion."⁵ The Polish society was open in the 16th century and, in contrast to the following century, people from other countries rarely appeared as invaders (apart from the Tatars). Nor did Poles travelling abroad have an inferiority complex or at least it is not discernible in the sources.⁶ Nevertheless, some opinions were voiced, calling for a limitation of the number and role of foreigners at the royal court as their influence on the governance was feared. Interestingly enough, categorical legal regulations limiting the position of foreigners appeared only during the reign of Sigismund I, in the period of the so-called Chicken War, and their objective was to ban foreigners from the offices they held in Poland.⁷

Theoretically at least, the atmosphere was supposed to be favourable to the foreigners in Duke Sigismund's circle. However, his court was initially too small and it does not seem there was a place there for anyone from outside of the monarchy of Casimir IV Jagiellon. The preserved sources indicate that young Sigismund was granted his own courtiers only after the death of his father. Krzysztof Szydłowiecki was the first one to be appointed as a horse courtier on 2 February 1493. A significant enlargement of the duke's court took place only in 1498 before his departure to Buda. At that time John I Albert gave three of his own horse courtiers to serve to his younger brother: Rafał Leszczyński, Mikołaj Ocieski and Bernard Potocki.⁸ They were all Poles. We do not have such accurate information on lower officials at Sigismund's court. The final formation of Sigismund's circle took place at the beginning of the 16th century.⁹ 20 October 1506, when he ascended the throne as the Grand Duke in Vilnius, should be considered as the final date of the existence of his ducal court. A special transitional period occurred and lasted until the coronation of Sigismund as King of Poland, which took place on 24 January 1507 in Cracow. Between those two dates, the Jagiellon duke formally had at his disposal only the Lithuanian court, although many doubts are cast in this instance. However, it is difficult to still refer to his circle as "the duke's court", even though it is perhaps not precise either

⁵ DANYSZ 1902, p. 59.

⁶ WYCZAŃSKI 1973, pp. 70, 75.

⁷ GRODZISKI 1963, pp. 74–75.

⁸ See Annex.

⁹ KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. XXV–XXVI, 2; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 325, 330–332.

for the period when he ruled over the Silesian feudal principalities. Already during the journey to Lithuania, which started on 3 August 1506 in Głogów and ended with the taking over of power in the Grand Duchy, new courtiers were recruited probably because the necessities stemming from Sigismund's new situation were taken into account. The last courtier enlisted to serve the duke was Mikołaj Wodyński, a Mazovian who was appointed before the 29 August 1506 in Liw.¹⁰

The group of horse courtiers (*curienses*) under discussion made up the elite of Sigismund Jagiellon's entourage. Overall, 56 people passed through it in 1493–1506. Everyone had also servants who formed an armed cavalry detachment (of 2–8 horses). The horse courtiers provide good material for analysing the ethnic problems of the duke's court, because we definitely know the greatest amount of details about them. In addition, they were a group unified in its rank, which seemed to include only the nobility. Doubts in this instance can arise only in relation to unknown surnames: Jarosz, Marszałek and Szczęsny.¹¹ Regardless of many religions existing in the Jagiellonian states, all of Sigismund's *curienses* were Catholics, owing to which the religious factor in determining their identity can be ignored.¹²

The provincial court of the duke and the indicated group is, paradoxically enough, an interesting and contradictory research subject. Of course, only if we try to perceive the issue appropriately and a bit subversively. The simple juxtaposition of the national origin of the horse courtiers of Sigismund Jagiellon paints a seemingly organised picture. 34 horse courtiers who served the duke in 1493–1506 came from the territories of the Kingdom of Poland, including its fiefdoms.¹³ Amongst them all, only the nationality of Jarosz and Marszałek is uncertain (they may have come from outside of Poland). The Grand Duchy of Lithuania was represented by just two men,¹⁴ though Krzysztof Migdał may have been from there as well (I assume, however, that the voivodship of Sieradz was more likely). The areas that belonged to the Kingdom of Bohemia, i.e. Silesia and Moravia, were a place of origin of 20 men.¹⁵ For the sake of order, the fam-

¹⁰ See Annex; NABIAŁEK 2018, p. 341.

¹¹ See Annex.

¹² Critical tendencies towards Catholicism occurred in the later period amongst the duke's courtiers, the example of which was Jan Rechenberg, the supporter of Lutheranism in the Duchy of Głogów, see ANDRZEJEWSKI 2012, pp. 176–180.

¹³ Piotr Chlewicki, Szymon Chlewicki, Stanisław Chroborski, Stanisław Czuryło, Dunin (Donin) of Prawkowice, Piotr Gliński, Piotr Gunicki, Jarosz [?], Jan Karnkowski, Stanisław Kmita Sobieński, Jan Kościelecki, Jan Lasocki, Rafał Leszczyński, Jan Łabędź, Marszałek [?], Krzysztof Migdał [?], Jan Miszewski, Jakub Myszkowski, Wawrzyniec Myszkowski, Mikołaj Ocieski, Bernard Potocki, Mikołaj Pszonka, Jan Pustułka, Jan Setnicki, Stanisław Stadnicki, Hieronim Staszkowski, Szczęsny, Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, Mikołaj Szydłowiecki, Marcin Świdorski, Mikołaj Tomicki, Zygmunt Wielogłowski, Mikołaj Wodyński, Dzierżaw Zaliwski, see Annex.

¹⁴ Jerzy Aleksandrowicz Holszański, Niemira, see Annex.

¹⁵ Brodecki, Henryk Dohna, Baltazar Gersdorff, Kasper Gersdorff, Krzysztof Gersdorff, Piotr Gersdorff, Jan Köckritz, Smil Kuna, Leonard Niemitz, Oderský, Waclaw Olśański, Baltazar Rackwitz, Jan

ily ties between the *curienses* should also be mentioned. Piotr and Szymon Chlewicki, Krzysztof and Mikołaj Szydłowiecki were brothers, and so were perhaps Baltazar, Kasper, Krzysztof and Piotr Gersdorff. That last family had the highest number of representatives amongst the Jagiellon horse courtiers. In Sigismund's entourage only the Szydłowiecki family could match them.¹⁶ The following men were relatives, but not siblings: Jakub and Wawrzyniec Myszkowski, Hanus and Krzysztof Stanga, Jan and Krzysztof Zedlitz.

The situation turns out to be more complex when we juxtapose the descent of the horse courtiers by individual Polish and Czech lands and provinces. There were fifteen men from Lesser Poland, with six men each coming from the voivodship of Sandomierz¹⁷ and Cracow,¹⁸ and three from voivodship of Lublin.¹⁹ The exact area of Greater Poland was represented by five men; the voivodship of Poznań — three,²⁰ of Kalisz — two.²¹ Two representatives each came from the voivodship of Sieradz,²² Dobrzyń Land,²³ Duchy of Oświęcim²⁴ and Mazovia (Czersk Land and, probably, Liw Land),²⁵ while one person each was from the voivodships of Łęczyca,²⁶ Ruthenia²⁷ and Inowrocław.²⁸ It is difficult to determine from which part of Poland Jan Setnicki was. There were eighteen courtiers from Silesia, which belonged to Bohemia, with as many as nine from the Duchy of Głogów,²⁹ three from

(Hans) Rechenberg, Hanus Stange, Krzysztof Stange, Hans Unwürde, Jan Zedlitz, Krzysztof Zedlitz, Bernard Zvolský, Jan Žeroczyński, see Annex.

¹⁶ Krzysztof Szydłowiecki was a marshal of the court and a horse courtier, Mikołaj was a horse courtier, Paweł was a chancellor, Marcin (the youngest) was a valet, see: KOZÁK 2014, pp. 118, 142, 149, 185, 191, 221, 228, 241, 247, 252, 269, 272, 285, 309, 310, 361, 372, 380, 404, 440; FINKEL 2015, pp. 24–25, 28–29, 33, 101, 107, 160, 171; KIESZKOWSKI 1912, pp. 10, 24, 29, 530; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 332–333; NOWOGRODZKI 2015, pp. 29, 31; PAWIŃSKI 1893, pp. 136, 271; PSB, XLIX, pp. 566–574.

¹⁷ Piotr Chlewicki, Szymon Chlewicki, Stanisław Chroborski, Bernard Potocki, Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, Mikołaj Szydłowiecki, see Annex.

¹⁸ Stanisław Kmita Sobieński (the family had estates also in the Ruthenian voivodeship), Jan Łabędź, Jan Pustułka, Stanisław Stadnicki, Hieronim Staszkowski, Zygmunt Wielogłowski, see Annex.

¹⁹ Stanisław Czuryło, Mikołaj Pszonka (there was also a family of Pszonkowie from the Cracow voivodeship and it cannot be ruled out that Mikołaj just came from that family), Marcin Świdorski, see Annex.

²⁰ Rafał Leszczyński, Mikołaj Ocieski, Mikołaj Tomicki, see Annex.

²¹ Piotr Gunicki, Jan Mirzewski, see Annex.

²² Dunin (Donin) of Prawkowice, Krzysztof Migdał [?], see Annex.

²³ Jan Lasocki, Szczęsny (assuming that, as a servant of Lasocki, he came from the same region), see Annex.

²⁴ Jakub Myszkowski, Wawrzyniec Myszkowski, see Annex.

²⁵ Mikołaj Wodyński, Dzierśław Zaliwski, see Annex.

²⁶ Piotr Gliński, see Annex.

²⁷ Jan Karnkowski, see Annex.

²⁸ Jan Kościelecki, see Annex.

²⁹ Henryk Dohna, Baltazar Gersdorff, Kasper Gersdorff, Krzysztof Gersdorff, Piotr Gersdorff, Jan Rechenberg, Hans Unwürde, Jan Zedlitz, Krzysztof Zedlitz, see Annex.

the Duchy of Opava,³⁰ and the remaining men from other regions.³¹ There were two men who came from Moravia.³² A question arises as to how to treat the fiefdoms of both kingdoms, whether it is possible to regard Mazovians as Poles without any doubts at least in the period we are interested in. The inhabitants of Czech Silesia should be described as Silesian, but serious doubts arise in this. For now I will address only one: should the Myszkowskis — who belonged to the nobility of the Duchy of Oświęcim — be also counted as Silesians (at least in accordance with the territorial criterion)?³³ After all, Oświęcim and Zator were incorporated into the Crown only in 1564. What is more, Czech had been the official language, i.e. at courts, around those areas until that time.

The concept of ethnicity presented in the title does not make it possible to limit the subject to a simple assignment of individual courtiers to specific rulers. Indicating a monarch, a superior, or a ruler who had the right to demand from the noblemen service as knights functioned probably within the perception of the world at that time, but it does not solve the problem of foreigners at the royal courts of former rulers. Particularly since our ancestors noticed their presence. People from Sigismund Jagiellon's entourage may have considered themselves subjects of the Polish king, John I Albert, who was replaced in 1501 by Alexander I, ruling also in Lithuania, or Vladislaus II, ruling in Bohemia and Hungary, but they most likely did not stop feeling the ties which could be considered as national or public. However, this does not exclude the fact that the horse courtiers of Duke Sigismund were conscious of being servants of one Jagiellonian dynasty, albeit only because they lived and worked in the territories governed by it. Their ethnic identity, the feeling of belonging to a specific nation, is a separate matter. To investigate it would make it possible to unequivocally and precisely determine who a foreigner was.

Unfortunately, scholars have not yet managed to solve the problem of ethnicity and identity. The problem is to define the notions of the state and nation.³⁴ Some sociologists point out that the analysis of identity is a trap even in the modern period.³⁵ But in particular it refers to the border areas where, to a large extent, the court of the young Jagiellon duke functioned. Without getting into a discussion and presentation of the diversity of opinions on this matter, it is appropriate that we limit this part to the observation that the ethnic identity is built on juxtaposing familiarity and foreignness. The analysis of these two concepts should ultimately result in pointing out foreigners amongst the horse courtiers of Duke Sigismund. But how

³⁰ Oderský, Waclaw Olšanský, Bernard Zvolský, see Annex.

³¹ Brodecki, Jan Köckritz, Leonard Niemitz, Baltazar Rackwitz, Hanus Stange, Krzysztof Stange, see Annex.

³² Smil Kuna, Jan Żeroczyński, see Annex.

³³ They considered themselves as Poles and used a Polish (Mazovian) coat of arms, Jastrzębiec.

³⁴ GELLNER 1991, pp. 77–83.

³⁵ BIENKOWSKA-PTASZNIK 2007, pp. 324–333.

to determine — in the light of limited sources — who was or who felt like a stranger in the duke's circle and who did not?

In regard to Poland, scholars studying ethnic identity in the past unanimously agree on its state character.³⁶ According to them, it was limited to the nobility, sometimes respectively to the middle-class. In this case and on account of having its own state, the ethnic group can be identified — in accordance with today's rules — as a nation. This makes it possible to assume that Sigismund's noble *curienses* felt some ethnic (national) ties. On the other hand, we observe a cultural heterogeneity of the Polish nobility in the late Middle Ages and early Modern Age, which must have translated into differences in the ethnic consciousness.³⁷ This was probably similar in Silesia and Moravia, and, especially, in Lithuania. There were also strong particularisms and local ties, especially firm in the feudal and autonomous territories.³⁸ People at that time were aware of ethnic diversity in the lands of the Kingdom of Poland and, as a result, they realised not every stranger was a foreigner.³⁹ Ethnic identity was being associated with language. Whoever spoke Polish was a Pole. Using German meant being German even if one lived in the Crown.⁴⁰ Simultaneously, people were aware of the unity of Slavic languages and included in it i.e. the Czechs and Silesians.⁴¹

A buyer of landed property in the Crown or municipal law formally ceased to be a foreigner to the old-Polish society. In the Polish medieval legal system a courtier who did not own a real estate would have been counted amongst guests (*hospites*) who had no civil rights but were protected by the monarch. Restrictions on entrusting foreigners with land registries did not include positions at court and, even more so, they did not concern the duke's entourage.⁴² Therefore, being a foreigner did not have to directly affect the status at the court.

However, the Jagiellonian monarchy was not limited only to Poland and the situation of courtiers could not have been regulated solely by Polish law. Duke Sigismund had Lithuanian roots and the Jagiellons were hereditary rulers of Lithuania, which is why the two horse courtiers from the Grand Duchy should have felt at home in his circle. This must have been the case in some respect, but it does not rule out the possibility of them being treated like foreigners. They came from the territories subjected to the dynasty of their master, but from a different country than the majority of courtiers, by whom they may have been treated as strangers or at least not as their own people. Although the Polonisation and cultural assimilation of the Lith-

³⁶ GAWLAS 1981, p. 651, 660; GRODECKI 1946, p. 50; GRODZISKI 1963, pp. 23–24; KOT 1938, pp. 15–17; KÜRBIS 1973, p. 329.

³⁷ GAWLAS 1981, pp. 653–654.

³⁸ KOT 1938, pp. 10–11.

³⁹ TAZBIR 1973, p. 82.

⁴⁰ *Spoleczeństwo polskie* 1988, pp. 196, 201–203; ZIENTARA 1973, pp. 23–24.

⁴¹ KROMER 1977, p. 48.

⁴² GRODZISKI 1963, p. 25; SKWARCZYŃSKI 1931, pp. 34–35.

uanian nobility was progressing rather quickly, and the Grand Duke's court was gradually losing its Lithuanian characteristics,⁴³ the Grand Duchy was still a separate country at the turn of the 16th century. According to Lithuanian law, Poles were foreigners. Their particular position was expressed only in their inclusion in a separate category of foreigners who were referred to as neighbours (*vicini*). Lithuanian boyars cultivated their autonomy, i.e. by consequently opposing the granting of court positions to foreigners, including Poles.⁴⁴ This situation probably did not affect the daily life of the Lithuanians, Jerzy Aleksandrowicz Holszański and Niemir, at the duke's court, but — by applying strict rules — it can be argued that while acting outside of the Grand Duchy and within the institution not directly related to it, the men were not at their own place.

Territorial power exercised by the monarch should help in determining who was a foreigner at his court. However, the example of Sigismund Jagiellon is unique. First, he was only a duke without his own land. His position changed radically when — by the grace of his brother, Vladislaus II — he received the Duchy of Głogów in 1499 and the Duchy of Opava in 1501 as a fiefdom. Later, in 1504, he also became the viceroy of the entire Silesia and Lusatia.⁴⁵ Earlier, as a son of the King of Poland and the Grand Duke of Lithuania, he may have regarded those in his circles who were not from Poland or Lithuania as strangers. The moment he took over power in the Silesian duchies, people who were recruited from amongst the new Silesian subjects should have been regarded at his court as his own. The Poles who constituted a vast majority should then be regarded as foreigners. However, it did not seem to have any greater practical significance. Inhabitants of territories given to Sigismund in Silesia were not bothered by the presence of the newcomers from Poland by his side and there are no signs that they manifested their otherness. On the other hand, the duke's horse courtiers were accustomed to functioning abroad, even on account of the previous stay in Hungary. Moreover, Sigismund's court travelled a lot and spent little time in Głogów, which was chosen by the duke as its main seat. From 1499 Sigismund consistently addressed himself as Duke of Głogów. Providing the funds, he ordered construction works in the town and the castle. He administered and managed his small countries.⁴⁶ To some extent, he was building lasting ties with Silesia, but he simultaneously attempted to take power in other areas, i.e. in Royal Prussia or the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. He did not abandon the ties with Poland and Polish people still prevailed at his court. Even if he was gradually beginning to identify himself with Silesia, the process quickly ceased in 1506.

⁴³ DUBONIS 2011, p. 198.

⁴⁴ DĄBKOWSKI 1912, pp. 17–19, 23, 40–41.

⁴⁵ BLASCHKE 1913, pp. 163–164; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 325–326; NOWOGRODZKI 2015, pp. 11–13, 15–19, 47, 105–108.

⁴⁶ ANDRZEJEWSKI 2012, p. 16, 198; BORAS 1983, pp. 37–38; NOWOGRODZKI 2015, p. 31; PAWIŃSKI 1893, p. 134.

Nevertheless, Silesianness at the duke's court is discernible. The province was not ethnically homogenous at that time. Barthel Stein, a geographer from Brzeg, informs us in his description of Silesia — written before 1505 (amended in 1512–1513) — that in the period in question it was inhabited by two nations, Germans and Poles, and the places of their settlement were separated by the Odra River. He defines Poles as natives and he openly refers to Germans as conquerors, which means that to him they were a foreign-born population. According to his narrative, the Duchy of Głogów belonged to the part of Silesia that was dominated by the Polish population.⁴⁷ Similarly to other Silesian cities, Głogów was German and, according to Stein's account, after being taken over by Maciej Korwin in 1488: "It subsequently endured various foreign reigns, particularly of the Poles, to whom it gave two kings."⁴⁸ Those kings were John I Albert and Sigismund I. The geographer does not notice Polish noble families in the Duchy of Głogów even though they lived in rather large numbers in the Weichbild of Świebodzin (the families of Niałko, Szaszor, Szczaniecki).⁴⁹ However, we do not find them amongst Sigismund's horse courtiers. According to Stein, the Duchy of Opava was situated on the border of Moravia and the language of the local residents was similar to Moravian.⁵⁰ Links between Opava and Moravia, including political ones, are emphasised also by later Polish and Czech historians.⁵¹

Sigismund's Silesian horse courtiers were representatives of German noble families. They had become fully assimilated in Silesia by the time they entered the Jagiellon's duke service, but their ancestors had come from the West, i.e. from Lusatia and Saxony.⁵² It is difficult to say to what extent they felt Silesians and not Germans. Undoubtedly, they felt loyalty also to the Czech king. Theoretically, they were supposed to be considered as hosts in the entourage of the Duke of Głogów and Opava. In reality, the highest position was still held by the Poles. All the court officials and officers supervising specific areas of the court's life were recruited from that group.⁵³ These posts were somewhat reserved for the horse courtiers, but the inhabitants of Silesia did not acquire them. Only seven out of eighteen remained in the duke's service until the end of the functioning of the duke's court.⁵⁴ Although they became royal courtiers, they did not make their careers in Poland, because they were treated as strangers.⁵⁵ This does not mean, however, that they were not valued or that their service at Sigismund's court did not pay off. Jan Rachenberg's example

⁴⁷ STEIN 1968, pp. 16, 19–20, 28–30, 40–42.

⁴⁸ STEIN 1968, p. 44.

⁴⁹ STEIN 1968, p. 49; ANDRZEJEWSKI 2012, p. 21; KUCZER 2012, pp. 34–35.

⁵⁰ STEIN 1968, p. 45.

⁵¹ KOZÁK 2008, p. 257; NOWOGRODZKI 2015, p. 19; PAWIŃSKI 1893, p. 134.

⁵² KUCZER 2012, p. 21; KUCZER 2007, pp. 46–48; NOWAK 2014, pp. 84–85.

⁵³ See Annex; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 342–349.

⁵⁴ Krzysztof Gersdorff, Piotr Gersdorff, Jan Köckritz, Waclaw Olšanský, Baltazar Rackwitz, Jan (Hans) Rechenberg, Hanus Stange.

⁵⁵ NABIAŁEK 2018, p. 340.

demonstrates that one could use it to significantly elevate his own and his family's position, but rather in Silesia and Bohemia.⁵⁶

As the Duke of Głogów Sigismund tried — perhaps consciously — to link the Polish horse courtiers to his Silesian reign. If we accept that possession of estates meant the acquisition of citizenship, then Krzysztof Szydłowiecki held one in Głogów, as the duke granted him a house in the city in 1505. Additionally, he and his heirs were exempted from paying rents and fees, and the duke removed the estate from municipal jurisdiction. Szydłowiecki sold the house the same year, but reserved his right to remain there.⁵⁷ The duke's Polish *curienses* held offices also in the duchy. Krzysztof Szydłowiecki was marshal of the Głogów castle in 1502–1508. In addition, he was a member of the prefect's chancellery in Głogów together with Rafał Leszczyński and his brother Mikołaj.⁵⁸

The analysis of a small group at a small and insignificant court, which nevertheless functioned in particular conditions and eludes simple assessments, shows that strict and unyielding rules do not always give unambiguous answers. Identifying foreigners amongst the horse courtiers of Duke Sigismund could be a simple and trivial task, but it does not have to be. Sigismund's court existed in a specific area of countries ruled by his brothers, i.e. Poland, Hungary, Kingdom of Bohemia and Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The *curienses*, as well as the remaining servants, were recruited from the areas where Sigismund was staying or where he ruled. If we assume that royal authority, nation and territory are coterminous,⁵⁹ then perhaps it was slightly different at the duke's court. Such a relation was only being prepared and it was assumed that it would be created in the future together with the stabilisation of the territorial control of the king's son. As a result, it should be considered whether it was not the case that the Poles and Lithuanians in the Jagiellon duke's circle felt at home due to the father of their master who reigned in the Crown and Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and the Silesians also felt at home, but because of the duchies ruled by Sigismund. It would be difficult then to refer to both groups as foreigners at his court.

⁵⁶ ANDRZEJEWSKI 2012, pp. 161–166, 176.

⁵⁷ ADAMSKA 2017, pp. 17–18, 23; ANDRZEJEWSKI 2012, pp. 143–144; BLASCHKE 1913, p. 165.

⁵⁸ KUCZER 2012, pp. 41–42.

⁵⁹ ROUX 1998, pp. 48, 162–163.

ANNEX

A LIST OF HORSE COURTIERS OF DUKE SIGISMUND JAGIELLON (1493–1506)

Outline of a biographical note:

[Serial number] Surname and name, coat of arms (date of birth and date of death, if they could be determined).⁶⁰

1. Territorial origin.
2. Offices and posts held at the court of Duke Sigismund, with the first and the last reference from the source on a specific post/function exercised by the given person,⁶¹ but also number of horses owned by the given courtier.
3. Offices, distinctions and functions performed outside of the court of Duke Sigismund, with the first place including service at the royal court of Sigismund I or other monarchs.
4. Sources and published studies.

Abbreviation used in the list:

a.l. — at least;

c.o.a. — coat of arms;

c. — around;

dist. — district;

rm. — Rittmeister;

voi. — voivodship;

d. — died;

[?] — doubts.

HORSE COURTIERS (*CURIENSES*)

[1] BRODECKI [DE BRODEK], C.O.A. JASTRZĘBIEC

1. Silesia.
2. Horse courtier, served with 5 horses 15 December 1501–06 September 1502, left the court due to illness.
4. KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 95–96; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 140, 152, 164, 208; BONIECKI 1899–1913, II, p. 124; KOZÁK 2008, p. 268; NABIAŁEK 2018, p. 333; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, II, pp. 297–298; PAWIŃSKI 1893, p. 136, 271; URUSKI 1904–1938, I, p. 391.

⁶⁰ Potential addendums and conjectures regarding a name and surname are marked by square brackets []. If required, a record from the sources on a name or surname is also included, written in italics in round brackets ().

⁶¹ 20 October 1506 is accepted as a final date of the existence of Sigismund Jagiellon's court, when Sigismund was enthroned as Duke in Vilnius. Dates — attested by the sources — of the presence at the court, without performing a clearly defined function or after it was officially taken up, are also recorded.

[2] CHLEWICKI PIOTR, C.O.A. ODROWĄŻ (D. BEFORE 31 DECEMBER 1533)

1. Poland, voi. of Sandomierz.
2. Master of the horse and camp commander from a.l. 20 February 1500; master cook a.l. 4 October 1500–a.l. 19 December 1501 (once — 15 April 1501 — referred to as *magister coquine*); horse courtier, served with 4 horses 5 August 1498–15 April 1502, left the court due to promotion to prefect (*starosta*) in Kazimierz.
3. Duke Sigismund's prefect in Kazimierz from 15 April 1502; horse courtier of King Sigismund I, served with 6 horses from 13 January 1507; assistant master of the pantry in Cracow 1511–1533.
4. KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 54–55, 252–254, 342; KOZÁK 2014, pp. LXII–LXIV, 17–21, 23–25, 27–28, 31, 33, 37–39, 41–44, 46, 48–51, 54–56, 58–61, 63–64, 66–69, 72–84, 86, 89–91, 95–96, 98–101, 103, 106–110, 112–116, 120–123, 125, 128–136, 141, 144, 147, 151–152, 155, 157–158, 160, 163, 165–169, 172, 174, 190; BONIECKI 1899–1913, II, pp. 375–376; BORAS 1983, p. 25; GŁADYSZ 2011, pp. 95, 101, 331, 335, 343–344, 346–347; KOZÁK 2008, p. 272; KOZÁK 2013, p. 357; KOZÁK 2012, pp. 172, 176; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, III, p. 35; NOWOGRODZKI 2015, pp. 29, 121–122; PAPROCKI 1858, p. 516; PAWIŃSKI 1893, pp. 45, 64, 76, 100, 116, 214; KURAS 1983, p. 97; U, IV/1, pp. 48, 203, 212, 325; U, IV/2, pp. 88, 216; URUSKI 1904–1938, II, p. 175.

[3] CHLEWICKI SZYMON, C.O.A. ODROWĄŻ (D. BEFORE 31 JANUARY 1532)

1. Poland, voi. of Sandomierz.
2. Horse courtier, served with 4 horses 1 April 1502–21 January 1505, resigned.
3. Horse courtier of King Sigismund I, served with 6 horses 13 January 1507–1532; tribune of Radom 1515; standard bearer of Sandomierz 1515–1522; the Crown's master cook 1525–1532.
4. AGAD, ASK, 85, cap. 13, ff. 59v–61v; RÁBAI 2014, pp. 57, 79, 94, 110, 145; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 142–144, 269–270; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 184, 207, 219, 241, 271, 294, 315, 321, 341, 360, 378, 390, 403, 433; VL, p. 219; BONIECKI 1899–1913, II, p. 375; GŁADYSZ 2011, p. 96, 102; KOZÁK 2008, p. 270; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 335, 353; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, III, p. 35; PAPROCKI 1858, p. 639; PAWIŃSKI 1893, p. 271; U, IV/3, pp. 82, 85, 173; U, X, p. 70, 161; URUSKI 1904–1938, II, p. 175.

[4] CHROBERSKI STANISŁAW, C.O.A. TOPÓR (D. 14 JANUARY 1520)

1. Poland, voi. of Sandomierz.
2. Cupbearer from a.l. 27 April 1500; horse courtier, served with 4 horses 5 August 1498–20 October 1506.

3. Courtier of Casimir IV Jagiellon from a.l. 1485; horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506, served with 6 horses from 12 March 1508; the Crown's standard bearer a.l. 20 September 1509–1520; the Crown's deputy cup-bearer from a.l. 20 September 1509; the Crown's cup-bearer 13 November 1510–1520; the Crown's carver 20 September 1509–1520; prefect of Krzeczów 1511–1520; tribune of Cracow 1520.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 56, 68, 70–71, 78, 84–85, 91, 95, 109, 115, 118, 124–127, 129, 131, 135, 140, 144, 146, 153, 158, 166–167, 172, 174–175, 178, 182, 190, 192, 198, 200, 207, 214, 216–217, 229, 237, 239, 244, 254–255, 262, 264–265, 268–269, 272–273, 279–283, 295, 305, 308, 322, 325, 334, 343, 352–353, 355, 363, 374, 381, 389; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 5, 7, 47–53; KOZÁK 2014, pp. LV, LVII, LXII, 28, 32, 37–38, 42–43, 45, 51, 54–56, 58, 63, 66, 68, 71–73, 75, 77–80, 82, 85, 88, 91, 94–95, 97, 100, 103, 105–106, 108, 111–113, 115, 123, 126–127, 129–130, 134, 143, 147, 154–156, 163, 172–173, 176–177, 179, 181–182, 184, 188–195, 206–207, 217–219, 223–224, 226–227, 230–231, 233, 235–236, 239, 244–249, 260, 269, 271, 274, 292–293, 297–302, 304–305, 312, 315, 324, 328–333, 360, 369–372, 377, 381–382, 388, 391, 402, 407, 409–410, 415–417, 419–421, 424, 428, 431, 434, 439, 444, 449–450, 455–456, 458, 460, 463–464, 469, 471, 474, 477, 481, 485–486, 488, 490, 492, 498, 502, 504–505, 515, 522–523, 527, 535, 541, 543–544, 547, 550–551, 556–558, 569, 576–577, 579–580, 592, 594, 601, 609, 616–617, 619, 625, 634, 641, 648; VC, I/1, p. 260, 295; BONIECKI 1899–1913, III, p. 93; BORAS 1983, p. 25; GŁADYSZ 2011, pp. 95, 101; KOZÁK 2008, p. 272; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 331, 344–345, 354–357, 372; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, III, p. 88; PAWIŃSKI 1893, pp. 45, 76, 214, 270; PSB, III, pp. 446–447; U, IV/2, p. 57, 112, 216; U, X, pp. 26, 33, 63, 162; URUSKI 1904–1938, II, p. 258.

[5] CZURYŁO STANISŁAW (*CZURILKO*), C.O.A. RADWAN (D. AFTER 1552)

1. Poland, voi. of Lublin.
2. Valet from a.l. 10 September 1500; horse valet with 2 horses from 27 March 1502; horse courtier, served with 2 horses a.l. 30 December 1503–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506, served with 3 horses from 17 October 1507; vicar in Niegowić from 1503;⁶² superintendent of salt-works in Bochnia 1514–1520; burgrave of Cracow 1515–1520; Cracow's master of the hunt 1517–1544; prefect of Niepołomice 1517–1520.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 57, 77, 85, 119, 154, 159, 177, 183, 206, 219, 226, 237, 239, 244, 253, 265, 284, 295, 309, 326, 330, 356, 360, 364, 385, 387, 390; *Metryka*

⁶² Stanisław Czuryło took over the parsonage in Niegowić after the death of Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, with whom the family of Czuryło was closely connected; perhaps the move was associated with plans to enter priesthood, see: PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1965, p. 8; SIKORA 2017, p. 263.

Uniwersytetu 2004, p. 471; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 118–119, 139, 149–156, 337, 345, 347; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 20, 32, 36–40, 52, 56–57, 66, 68, 72, 74, 78, 85, 87, 90, 96, 99–100, 108, 110–111, 122, 145, 147–148, 185, 208, 220, 226, 229–230, 232, 236–237, 240, 271, 279, 281, 285, 294, 315, 329, 339, 361, 376, 383, 403, 441, 444, 459, 464, 485, 489, 497, 507, 513, 522–523, 527, 534, 544, 559, 569, 580, 594, 597, 620, 623, 626, 644, 646, 649; BONIECKI 1899–1913, IV, pp. 34–35; GŁADYSZ 2011, p. 96; KOZÁK 2008, pp. 262, 270, 272; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 336–337, 373; PAWIŃSKI 1893, pp. 76, 214, 271; POCIECHA 1949–1958, II, p. 122; SIKORA 2017, pp. 253–280; SUCHENI-GRABOWSKA 2007, p. 205; U, IV/2, pp. 65, 173, 219; URUSKI 1904–1938, III, p. 42; PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1965, p. 8.

[6] DOHNA HENRYK (*DUNSKI*), HIS OWN C.O.A.

1. Silesia, Duchy of Głogów.
2. Valet from a.l. 28 November 1501; horse courtier, served with 4 horses 16 July 1502–17 July 1503, resigned.
4. KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 178–179; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 118, 186, 208, 220, 240, 289; JUREK 1996, pp. 213–215; KUCZER 2007, pp. 19, 46–47, 49, 70, 75–76, 149, 241.

[7] DUNIN (DONIN) OF PRAWKOWICE (*DUNYN*), C.O.A. ŁABĘDŹ

1. Poland, voi. of Sieradz.
2. Horse courtier, served with 4 horses 13 January 1506–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of Alexander I Jagiellon [?]; horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506, served with 6 horses from 10 April 1508.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 285, 293, 312, 325, 355, 363, 390; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 179–181, 341; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 560, 567, 583, 594, 619, 626, 648; BONIECKI 1899–1913, V, pp. 98–99; Friedberg, pp. 63–64, 98; GŁADYSZ 2011, p. 95, 101; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 339, 373; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, III, pp. 438–439; PAPROCKI 1858, pp. 568–569; PIETKIEWICZ 1997, p. 116; PSB, V, pp. 479–480; SKIBNIEWSKA 2015, pp. 329–330; SUCHENI-GRABOWSKA 1974, pp. 215–216; URUSKI 1904–1938, III, p. 295.

[8] GERSDORFF BALTAZAR (*BALCZAR GYERSTORPH*, *BALCZER GYERSTORFF*), HIS OWN C.O.A.

1. Silesia, Duchy of Głogów.
2. Horse courtier, served with 4 horses 14 May 1505–a.l. 9 September 1505.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 184, 206; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 156–157, 164; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 465, 489, 497; BONIECKI 1899–1913, VI, p. 46; JUREK 1996,

p. 227; KOZÁK 2008, p. 276; KUCZER 2012, p. 21; KUCZER 2007, pp. 47, 70; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 337–339; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, IV, pp. 104–105; NOWAK 2014, pp. 73–84, 97–107; URUSKI 1904–1938, IV, p. 137.

[9] GERSDORFF KASPER (*CASP BALCZAR GYRSSTORFF, CASPER GYERSTORF*), HIS OWN C.O.A.

1. Silesia, Duchy of Głogów.
2. Horse courtier, served with 2 horses from 2 June 1502, with 3 horses 16 August 1502–20 September 1503; resigned.
3. Horse courtier of Alexander I Jagiellon.
4. KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 156–157, 345; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 209, 212, 220, 241, 294, 306, 336; BONIECKI 1899–1913, VI, p. 46; JUREK 1996, p. 227; KOZÁK 2008, p. 276; KUCZER 2012, p. 21; KUCZER 2007, pp. 47, 70; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, IV, pp. 104–105; NOWAK 2014, pp. 73–84, 97–107; PIETKIEWICZ 1997, p. 116; SKIBNIEWSKA 2015, pp. 73, 146, 201, 204; 208, 228, 331, 462–464; URUSKI 1904–1938, IV, p. 137.

[10] GERSDORFF KRZYSZTOF (*CRISTOFF GYERSTORFF*), HIS OWN C.O.A.

1. Silesia, Duchy of Głogów.
2. Horse courtier, served with 4 horses 14 May 1505–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of John I Albert and Alexander I Jagiellon; horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I 1506–6 February 1507.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 238, 244, 284, 294, 322; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 164–166, 345; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 523, 527, 560, 568, 591; BONIECKI 1899–1913, VI, p. 46; JUREK 1996, p. 227; KOZÁK 2008, p. 276; KUCZER 2012, p. 21; KUCZER 2007, p. 47, 70; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 338, 341, 373; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, IV, pp. 104–105; NOWAK 2014, pp. 73–84, 97–107; PIETKIEWICZ 1997, p. 116; SKIBNIEWSKA 2015, pp. 73, 146, 201, 204, 208, 228, 233, 331, 464–465; URUSKI 1904–1938, IV, p. 137.

[11] GERSDORFF PIOTR (*PETRUS GYERSTORFF*), HIS OWN C.O.A.

1. Silesia, Duchy of Głogów.
2. Horse courtier, served with 4 horses from 9 February 1505, with 5 horses 31 January 1506–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of John I Albert and Alexander I Jagiellon; horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506, served with 6 horses from 13 March 1507, with 8 horses from 11 June 1508.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 159, 184, 208, 240, 245, 284, 294, 308, 325, 355, 363, 389; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 157–161, 345; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 445, 465, 489, 498, 524, 528, 560, 568, 579, 594, 618, 625, 648; BONIECKI 1899–1913, VI,

p. 46; GŁADYSZ 2011, pp. 95, 102; JUREK 1996, p. 227; KOZÁK 2008, p. 276; KUCZER 2012, p. 21; KUCZER 2007, pp. 47, 70; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 338–340, 368, 373; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, IV, pp. 104–105; NOWAK 2014, pp. 73–84, 97–107; PIETKIEWICZ 1997, p. 116; SKIBNIEWSKA 2015, pp. 73, 146, 201, 204, 208, 228, 232, 331, 465–466; URUSKI 1904–1938, IV, p. 137.

[12] GLIŃSKI PIOTR, C.O.A. NOWINA [?]

1. Poland, voi. of Łęczycza [?].
2. Horse courtier, served with 4 horses 10 February 1505–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I 1506–7 May 1507.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 159, 183–184, 208, 240, 244, 285, 296, 325, 357, 364, 390; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 144–146; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 11, 182, 445, 465, 489, 498, 524, 527, 560, 569, 594, 620, 626, 648; BONIECKI 1899–1913, IV, p. 79; GŁADYSZ 2011, pp. 96, 101; KOZÁK 2008, p. 276; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 338, 373; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, IV, p. 141; URUSKI 1904–1938, IV, p. 182.

[13] GUNICKI PIOTR⁶³, C.O.A. PRUS

1. Poland, voi. Kalisz.
2. Scribe (*notarius*) from a.l. 3 August 1506; Horse courtier, served with 3 horses 7 August 1506–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506, served with 5 horses from 14 May 1507, with 6 horses from 1 April 1508; royal scribe (*notarius regius*) before 25 February 1508; tax-collector of Poznań and Kalisz 1510.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 332, 333, 356, 364, 390; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 184–186, 340–341; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 599–601, 619, 626, 648; VC, I/1, p. 237; CHWAŁ-IBIŃSKA 1948, pp. 71–72; NABIAŁEK 2018, p. 341; URUSKI 1904–1938, V, p. 64.

[14] [HOLSZAŃSKI] JERZY ALEKSANDROWICZ (*GEORGIUS DUX GRODZYENSKI*),
C.O.A. HIPPOCENTAURUS (D. 1510/11)

1. Grand Duchy of Lithuania.
2. Horse courtier, served with 8 horses 8 July 1506–20 October 1506.

⁶³ The sources mention Piotr Gunicki, son of Jakub, who enrolled in the University of Cracow in 1489 and who was canon of Poznań in 1510, see: BONIECKI 1899–1913, VII, p. 196; CHWAŁ-IBIŃSKA 1948, p. 72; *Metryka Uniwersytetu* 2004, p. 477; Teki Dworzaczka, Grodzkie i ziemskie-Poznań-Rezygnacje-XVI wiek, 3775 (No. 1392) 1516, 3963 (No. 1392) 1517 (<http://teki.bkpan.poznan.pl>; accessed 9 March 2019).

3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506; viceroy of Bielice from 1504; hospodar carver 1507–1510, voivode of Kiev 1508–1510/11.
4. RÁBAI 2014, p. 341, 354, 362; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 96–97; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 607, 618, 625; BONIECKI 1899–1913, VII, pp. 302–303; BONIECKI 1887, pp. 79–80; FINKEL 2015, pp. 69, 82, 101, 104; PAWIŃSKI 1893, pp. 179, 248; PSB, IX, pp. 588–589; U, XI, p. 58, 210; URUSKI 1904–1938, V, pp. 164; UWKL, I, pp. 54, 655; WOLFF 1895, pp. 102–103.

[15] JAROSZ

2. Horse courtier, served with 3 horses from 30 December 1502, with 4 horses 12 July 1504–18 April 1506; resigned.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 44, 57, 75, 78, 110, 150, 159, 183, 205, 225, 237, 239, 245, 266, 284, 300; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 212–214; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 278, 294, 316, 321, 338, 350, 360, 375, 377, 403, 437, 445, 465, 497, 512, 522–523, 527–528, 545, 559, 572; NABIAŁEK 2018, p. 337.

[16] KARNKOWSKI [JAN] (*KARNCHOWSKI*),
C.O.A. JUNOSZA (C. 1472–11 DECEMBER 1537)

1. Poland, voi. of Ruthenia.⁶⁴
2. Horse courtier, served with 4 horses 7 August 1506–20 October 1506.
3. Courtier of John I Albert before 1494; horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506; scribe at the royal chancellery 1497–1501; royal secretary 1506–1527; provost of Skalbmierz before 1509; canon of Cracow from 1509; scholastic of Sandomierz from 1510; canon of Poznań 1510–1525; rector of Piotrków c. 1513; rector of Saint Giles Church in Cracow before 1523; canon of Płock before 1525; canon of Gniezno from 1525; Bishop of Przemyśl 1527–1531; Bishop of Włocławek 1531–1537.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 334–335, 335, 364, 390; *Metryka Uniwersytetu* 2004, p. 475; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, p. 195; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 601, 619, 626, 648; BONIECKI 1899–1913, IX, p. 267; KORYTKOWSKI 1882, II, pp. 226–228; NABIAŁEK 2018, p. 341; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, V, pp. 38–39; PAPROCKI 1858, pp. 320, 553; PSB, XII, pp. 74–76; SUŁKOWSKA-KURASIOWA 1967, p. 129; URUSKI 1904–1938, VI, p. 213; WIŚNIEWSKI 1928, p. 142; WYCZAŃSKI 1990, p. 254.

⁶⁴ Mikołaj Karnkowski, father of Jan, came to Ruthenia from the Dobrzyń Land, see PSB, XII, p. 74.

[17] KMITA SOBIEŃSKI STANISŁAW, H. SZRENIAWA (ZM. PRZED 12 MARCH 1538)

1. Poland, voi. of Cracow and Ruthenia.
2. Horse courtier, served with 4 horses 16 November 1504–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506, served with 8 horses from 26 April 1508; castellan of Przemyśl 1533–1535; castellan of Lviv 1535–1536; voivode of Bełż 1537–1538.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 144, 159, 178, 208, 227, 239, 244; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 204–206, 350; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 432, 445, 461, 498, 523, 527; BONIECKI 1899–1913, X, p. 196; NABIAŁEK 2018, p. 338; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, V, pp. 126–127; PAPROCKI 1858, p. 818; PSB, XIII, pp. 97, 101–102; TRAWKA 2005, pp. 297–300, 376–379; U, III/1, pp. 117, 202, 348; U, III/2, p. 236; URUSKI 1904–1938, VII, p. 33.

[18] KÖCKRITZ JAN (HANS) (*KEKRYCZ, KYECRICZ, KYEKRYCZ*), HIS OWN C.O.A.

1. Silesia.
2. Presence at the court recorded for the first time on 1 January 1503; horse courtier, served with 6 horses 22 August 1503–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506, served with 10 horses from 1 January 1509; prefect of Lower Lusatia 1504–1505; scribe at the chancellery of prefect of the Duchy of Głogów 1505–1506.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 47, 57, 70, 149, 165, 175, 181, 184, 191, 201–202, 206, 215, 217, 235, 240, 243, 283, 295, 315, 326, 355, 361, 363, 370, 378; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 172, 226–229, 345; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 253, 262, 304, 306, 316, 352–353, 360, 371, 436, 449, 458, 462, 465, 470, 482, 485, 489, 493–494, 497, 503, 505, 520, 524, 526, 559, 568, 586, 594, 619, 623, 625, 631, 638; BREYTHNER 1906, p. 25; JUREK 1996, p. 243; KOZÁK 2008, pp. 276, 281; KUCZER 2012, pp. 34, 42; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 337–338, 340–341, 368, 372; NOWOGRODZKI 2015, pp. 31, 70–71, 102, 107–108, 110.

[19] KOŚCIELECKI JAN, C.O.A. OGOŃCZYK (C. 1490–BEFORE 22 OCTOBER 1545)

1. Poland, voi. of Inowrocław.
2. Valet from a.l. 13 August 1505; horse courtier, served with 2 horses 11 April 1506–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506, served with 4 horses 7 July 1507–16 February 1508; castellan of Kowalewo 1514–1520; administrator of the dist. of Tuchola from 1518; castellan of Inowrocław 1520–1526; castellan of Łęczycza 1526–1535; prefect of Nakło 1530–1545; prefect of Człuchów 1535–1545; castellan of Kalisz 1535–1538; prefect of Tuchola 1535–1545; prefect of Bydgoszcz 1536–1545; voivode of Inowrocław 1538–1540; voivode of Brzeg-Kuyavia 1540–1542; a voivode of Łęczycza 1542–1545.

4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 194, 209, 249, 295, 325, 356, 365, 391; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 235–237, 342; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 486, 499, 531, 569, 593, 620, 627, 649; VC, I/2, s. 50, 67, 230, 277, 281; BONIECKI 1899–1913, XI, pp. 249–250; CZAPLEWSKI 1921, pp. 74, 205; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 339, 372; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, V, p. 276; PSB, XIV, pp. 404–405; SUCHENI-GRABOWSKA 1974, p. 251; U, I/2, pp. 52, 108, 208; U, II/2, pp. 61, 98, 265; U, VI/2, pp. 62, 77, 88, 114, 121, 240; URUSKI 1904–1938, VII, pp. 260–261, 263.

[20] KUNA SMIL [DE KUNŠTÁT], HIS OWN C.O.A. (D. 1547)

1. Moravia.
2. Horse courtier, served with 4 horses 11 September 1502–14 September 1503; resigned.⁶⁵
4. KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 207–208; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 241, 305; KOZÁK 2008, pp. 272, 274; NABIAŁEK 2018, p. 337; PLAČEK, FUTÁK 2006, pp. 468–460, 472–475, 588–589.

[21] LASOCKI [JAN], C.O.A. DOŁĘGA (D. 24 FEBRUARY 1502)⁶⁶

1. Poland, Dobrzyń Land.
2. Horse courtier, served with 6 horses 17 December 1501–24 February 1502, died during his service at the court in Buda.
3. Canon of Gniezno 1474–1479; prefect of Śrem 1475–1502; scholastic of Gniezno 1479–1492; royal secretary 1479–1480; canon of Łęczycza from 1479; canon of Sandomierz 1490–1492.⁶⁷
4. KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 82–83; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 152, 184, 207, 219, 228; VL, p. 272; BONIECKI 1899–1913, XIII, pp. 386–400; GĄSIOROWSKI 1981, pp. 64, 76; KORYTKOWSKI 1882, II, p. 429; *Metryka Uniwersytetu* 2004, p. 346; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 333–334, 373; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, VI, pp. 20–23; NOWOGRODZKI 2015, pp. 29, 121; PAPROCKI 1858, pp. 399–400; PAWIŃSKI 1893, pp. 136, 214, 270; PSB, XVI, p. 542; SUŁKOWSKA-KURASIOWA 1967, p. 137; U, X, pp. 85, 179; URUSKI 1904–1938, August, pp. 287–300; WIŚNIEWSKI 1928, p. 176.

⁶⁵ Horse courier named Kuna “[...] domini Cuna, aulici regie maiestatis [...]” was mentioned on 20 January 1531, but it is difficult to confirm his ties with Smil Kuna of Kunštát, see PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1986, p. 77.

⁶⁶ A. Pawiński gives the name Piotr, see PAWIŃSKI 1893, p. 214.

⁶⁷ He was not ordained a priest and he relinquished his church distinctions in 1492, see: BONIECKI 1899–1913, XIII, p. 388; GĄSIOROWSKI 1981, p. 76; SUŁKOWSKA-KURASIOWA 1967, p. 137.

[22] LESZCZYŃSKI RAFAŁ, C.O.A. WIENIAWA (C.1465–23 MARCH 1527)

1. Poland, voi. of Poznań.
2. Duke's secretary 1498–1506; horse courtier, served with 5 horses 6 August 1498–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506; royal secretary 1507–1520 (1518?); prefect of Człuchów 1510–1521, canon of Poznań 1510–1522; canon of Cracow 1511–1522; canon of Gniezno 1512–1522; castellan of Łąd 1518–1520; Bishop of Przemyśl 1520–1522, Bishop of Płock 1522–1527.
4. AGAD, MK 21, f. 210; RÁBAI 2014, pp. 52, 58, 76, 109, 132, 158, 165–166, 190, 205–206, 239, 243, 263, 292, 294, 300–301, 314, 317, 322, 324, 341, 345, 354, 363, 373, 389; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 26–31, 338, 339; KOZÁK 2014, pp. LVIII–LIX, 19, 28, 41, 45, 51, 66, 69, 93, 100, 103, 106, 112–113, 119, 122–123, 129, 144–145, 158, 160, 167, 172, 183, 205–206, 209, 219, 241, 248, 272, 293, 308, 316, 320, 356, 361, 376, 403, 422, 443, 449–450, 470, 497, 523, 527, 542, 566–567, 573, 584, 587, 591, 593, 607, 611, 618, 625, 633, 648; VC, I/1, pp. 184, 383; BONIECKI 1899–1913, XIV, p. 155; BORAS 1983, pp. 29, 39, 53, 74, 102–103, 105; CZAPLEWSKI 1921, p. 73; FINKEL 2015, pp. 19, 22, 24, 26–30, 32–37, 58, 62, 80, 89, 101, 104, 116, 133, 143, 160; KARWOWSKI 1916, pp. 8–11; KORYTKOWSKI 1882, II, pp. 438–443; KOZÁK 2008, pp. 263–264, 277, 281; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 330, 345–346, 348, 354, 358, 367, 371; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, VI, pp. 63–64; NOWOGRODZKI 2015, pp. 16–17, 19–20, 28–29, 41–43, 75–77, 79–81, 118–123; PAPROCKI 1858, p. 534; PAWIŃSKI 1893, pp. 64, 76, 116, 166, 214, 270; PSB, XVII, pp. 130–132; U, I/2, pp. 96, 212; WOJCIECHOWSKI 1946, pp. 15, 20, 51, 62, 95, 141, 143, 177, 206, 209; WYCZAŃSKI 1990, p. 257.

[23] ŁABĘDŹ [JAN] (*LABANCZ, LABENCZ, LAMBACZ*),
HIS OWN C.O.A. (D. BEFORE 22 JANUARY 1535)

1. Poland, voi. of Cracow.
2. Horse courtier, served with 5 horses 17 December 1501–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506; assistant master of the pantry a.l. 4 March 1507–a.l. 4 December 1532; *portitor* in the salt mines of Wieliczka 1528–1534/1535.
4. AGAD, MK 21, f. 210; RÁBAI 2014, pp. 57, 78, 82, 109, 132, 158, 172, 175, 178, 208, 237, 253–254, 261, 283, 304, 325, 354, 363, 389; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 89–95, 342; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 152, 184, 207, 219, 240, 271, 315, 361, 377, 380, 403, 421, 444, 455, 457, 460, 498, 521–522, 534–535, 541, 559, 576, 593, 618, 625, 648; GŁADYSZ 2011, pp. 95, 102; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 333–334, 346–348, 354, 357, 367, 371; PAWIŃSKI 1893, pp. 136, 214, 270; RYBARSKI 1932, p. 86; U, X, pp. 132, 183.

[24] MARSZAŁEK (*MARSALEK*)

2. Horse courtier, served with 1 horse from 4 June 1505, with 2 horses 23 July 1505–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I 1506–6 February 1507.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 184, 206, 230, 240, 245, 255, 285, 296, 310, 315, 326, 356, 365; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 170–172; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 465, 489, 497, 516, 524, 528, 535, 560, 569, 580, 586, 594, 620, 627; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 373, 338.

[25] MIGDAŁ KRZYSZTOF, C.O.A. PORAJ [?] (D. 11 MAY 1507)

1. Poland, voi. of Sieradz or the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, voi. of Vilnius [?].
2. A page (*laicellus*) from a.l. 21 February 1500; *byk* from a.l. 3 April 1505; horse courtier, served with 2 horses 3 August 1505–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I 1506–11 May 1507.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 65–66, 75, 84, 96, 101, 106, 111, 121, 125, 151, 153, 157, 161, 168, 188, 199, 208, 238, 245, 285, 294, 324, 330, 352; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 101–103; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 18, 22, 25, 31, 41, 43–44, 79, 84, 87–88, 101, 105, 114, 118, 129, 136, 145–146, 157–158, 163, 186, 198, 203–204, 212, 221, 224, 233, 238, 242, 248, 252, 257, 261, 267, 273, 279–280, 282, 286, 292, 304, 311, 319, 321, 323, 330, 333, 344–345, 367–368, 375, 382, 392, 396, 400, 404, 412, 415, 438–439, 443, 446, 451, 468, 476, 480, 485, 492, 498, 523, 528, 560, 568, 593, 597, 617; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 336, 373; SZYMCZAKOWA 2006, p. 205; URUSKI 1904–1938, XI, p. 45.

[26] MIRZEWSKI [JAN], C.O.A. PAWĘZA (D. BEFORE 20 JUNE 1535)

1. Poland, voi. of Kalisz.
2. A valet from a.l. 3 October 1500; horse valet with 2 horses from 2 August 1502 (the last time he is mentioned as horse valet 22 October 1504); horse courtier, served with 2 horses a.l. 30 December 1503–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506, served with 3 horses from c. 1 April 1507, with 4 horses from 1 June 1508; royal shield bearer (*scutifer*) before 23 September 1509–c. 1525; commander of the Sovereign Military Hospitaller Order in Poznań 1520–1535.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 57, 77, 86, 111, 144, 159, 183, 206, 237, 239–240, 244, 253, 285, 294, 300, 311, 324, 330, 342, 357, 365, 391; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 187–193, 194; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 52, 69, 73, 101, 118, 185, 189, 207, 220, 240, 272, 294, 315, 321, 360, 376, 383, 404, 432, 444, 464–465, 489, 497, 522, 524, 527, 534, 560, 568, 573, 582, 593, 597, 608, 620, 626, 649; GŁADYSZ

2011, pp. 95, 102; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 336, 372; Teki Dworzaczka (<http://teki.bkpan.poznan.pl/search.php?section=3&single=&fileno=1&page=528&expr=&highlight=0>; accessed 15 March 2019); URUSKI 1904–1938, XI, p. 126.

[27] MYSZKOWSKI JAKUB (*ALIAS SLEYCZ, SLYEDZ, SZLYECZ*), C.O.A. JASTRZEBIEC

1. Poland, Duchy of Oświęcim-Zator.
2. A valet from a.l. 25 April 1504; horse courtier, served with 2 horses 10 March 1506–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506, served with 3 horses from 23 July 1507.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 65, 111, 160, 184, 209, 249, 258, 265, 275, 285, 295, 324, 356, 365, 391; *Metryka Uniwersytetu* 2004, p. 567; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 132–135; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 367, 404, 445, 465, 499, 531, 538, 544, 552, 560, 568, 593, 620, 627, 649; GŁADYSZ 2011, p. 95; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 339, 372; STANKO 2006, pp. 146–165, 286.

[28] MYSZKOWSKI [WAWRZYNIEC] (*MYSKOWSKI WOYEVODZYCZ*),
C.O.A. JASTRZEBIEC (C. 1486–JULY 1546)

1. Poland, Duchy of Oświęcim-Zator.
2. Horse courtier, served with 4 horses from 21 March 1502, with 5 horses from 20 April 1504–27 February 1505; resigned.
3. Horse courtier of King Sigismund I a.l. from 1 June 1507–1520; rm. of the cavalry 1514, 1520–1521, 1527, 1528; prefect of Kurzelów from 1523; castellan of Oświęcim 1527–1530, castellan of Biecz 1530–1535, castellan of Sącz 1535–1546, prefect of Międzyrzec from 1544–1546.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 57, 78, 85, 110, 151, 153, 379; *Metryka Uniwersytetu* 2004, p. 546; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 130–132, 338; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 184, 209, 220, 240, 271–272, 292, 295, 315–316, 360, 377, 382, 403, 438–439, 638; VC, I/2, p. 230; BORAS 1983, p. 39; NABIAŁEK 2018, p. 335; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, VI, pp. 499–500; NOWOGRODZKI 2015, p. 29; PAPROCKI 1858, p. 170; PAWIŃSKI 1893, pp. 136, 271; PLEWCZYŃSKI 1988, XXXI, pp. 319, 322–323; XXXII, pp. 258–259; PSB, XXII, pp. 399–400; STANKO 2006, pp. 166–232; U, IV/2, pp. 44, 119, 139, 246; URUSKI 1904–1938, XI, pp. 371, 374.

[29] NIEMIRA (*NEMYRA, NYEMYRA, NYEMYRA STAROSCZYCZ*),
C.O.A. GOZDAWA (JASTRZĘBIEC?)

1. Grand Duchy of Lithuania (*Lythuanus*).
2. Horse valet before 18 August 1503; horse courtier, served with 2 horses 18 August 1503–27 September 1504; resigned.

4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 57, 77, 117, 343; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 223–224; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 292, 312, 315, 360, 376–377, 409, 609; BONIECKI 1887, pp. 204–205; NABIAŁEK 2018, p. 337; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, VI, pp. 547–549; SEMKOWICZ 1914, pp. 96–103; URUSKI 1904–1938, XII, pp. 97–101.

[30] NIEMITZ LEONARD (*NYEMYENCZ*), HIS OWN C.O.A. (D. BEFORE 1524)

1. Silesia.
2. Horse courtier, served with 2 horses from 13 July 1502, with 3 horses from 16 August 1502, with 4 horses from 17 July 1503, with 5 horses from 23 November 1504–27 May 1506; resigned.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 58, 71, 79, 110, 159, 183, 206, 216, 236, 239, 243, 284, 294, 300, 312; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 173–178; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 208, 220, 235, 239, 271, 294, 315, 345, 361, 371, 377, 403, 444, 464, 477, 489, 497, 504, 521, 523, 526–527, 559, 567, 572, 582–583; JUREK 1996, pp. 259–260; KOZÁK 2008, p. 274; NABIAŁEK 2018, p. 337.

[31] OCIESKI MIKOŁAJ, C.O.A. JASTRZĘBIEC (D. 1516)

1. Poland, voi. of Poznań.
2. Master of the horse and camp commander from 15 April 1502; horse courtier, served with 5 horses 29 September 1498–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier with 8 horses at the court of King John I Albert until 29 September 1498; horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506, served with 6 horses from 1 May 1508; royal master of the horse a.l. 18 January 1508–1516; prefect of Kościan 1508–1516; rm. of the cavalry 1509, 1514; prefect of Konin 1510–1516; prefect of Pyzdry 1511–1516, prefect of Inowrocław 1516.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 45, 55–56, 62–63, 66–69, 71, 76–77, 81–82, 85–86, 94, 97, 101, 103, 109, 115, 117–119, 121–122, 125–128, 130–138, 145–146, 148–150, 157–158, 166, 168–175, 177, 179, 182, 188–190, 192–195, 199, 208, 213, 216–217, 224–225, 228, 237, 240, 245, 251, 254, 256–258, 260–261, 275, 281–283, 295, 300, 305, 308, 318, 322–324, 331, 332, 334, 337, 339, 342–343, 352–354, 358, 361, 363, 370–372, 375, 376, 379, 383, 389; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 32–39, 126, 339, 340, 349; KOZÁK 2014, pp. LIX–LX, 14, 20, 51, 61–63, 66, 70, 72–73, 92, 100, 103–104, 112–113, 123, 144, 151, 170–171, 173, 182–184, 187–188, 190, 194–195, 202, 204, 209, 212–214, 219, 223–224, 226–240, 244–246, 249–251, 253–254, 277, 281, 290–293, 296–297, 299–302, 312, 315, 320, 322–325, 327–333, 338–345, 351, 358–360, 364–365, 367–370, 372, 375–376, 379–380, 382–383, 390, 393, 396–397, 403, 407–410, 412–413, 416–427, 432–433, 435–437, 443, 449–452, 454–459, 461, 463–464, 468–478, 480–488, 490–492, 498, 502, 504–505, 511–512, 514, 522, 524, 528, 532, 535, 537–538, 540–541, 552, 557–559, 568, 572–573, 576, 580, 588, 591–593,

598–599, 601, 603, 605, 608–609, 616–618, 621, 624–625, 631, 633, 635–636, 638, 642, 648; VC, I/1, pp. 260–261; VL, p. 173; BORAS 1983, p. 29; GĄSI-OROWSKI 1981, p. 78; GŁADYSZ 2011, p. 95; HARTLEB 1913, pp. 121–125; KOZÁK 2008, pp. 272, 281; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 330, 344, 354–355, 367, 371; NOWOGRODZKI 2015, p. 111; PAWIŃSKI 1893, pp. 64, 76, 96, 270; PLEWCZYŃSKI 1988, XXXI, pp. 317, 319; PSB, XXIII, pp. 514–515; SUCHENI-GRABOWSKA 1974, pp. 217, 221; SUCHENI-GRABOWSKA 2007, pp. 98–99, 131; U, X, pp. 59, 189; URUSKI 1904–1938, XII, p. 240.

[32] ODERSKÝ [JERONÝM?] [DE LIDÉŘOV] (*ODERSKI*), HIS OWN C.O.A.

1. Silesia, Duchy of Opava.
2. Horse courtier, served with 3 horses 31 March 1505–9 April 1506; resigned.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 160, 184, 207, 225, 240, 245, 283, 291; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 234–235; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 445, 465, 489, 497, 512, 524, 528, 559, 565; KOZÁK 2008, pp. 276, 281, 283; NABIAŁEK 2018, p. 338.

[33] OLŠANSKÝ WACŁAW [DE OLŠANY] (*OLSCHANSKY, OLSENSKI, WOLSENSKI*), HIS OWN C.O.A.

1. Silesia, Duchy of Opava.
2. Horse courtier, served with 5 horses from 16 March 1503, with 6 horses 11 October 1503–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I 1506–8 May 1507.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 44, 55, 57, 67, 75, 79, 82, 110, 148, 150, 159, 170, 173, 184, 207, 216, 238, 240, 245, 271, 296, 326, 355, 363, 389; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 217–221, 347; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 277, 293, 301, 315, 338, 350, 358, 360, 368, 375, 377, 380, 403, 435, 437, 445, 453, 456, 465, 497, 504, 522, 524, 528, 549, 569, 594, 619, 625, 648; KOZÁK 2008, p. 281; KOZÁK 2018, p. 76; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 337–338, 373.

[34] POTOCKI BERNARD, C.O.A. DRZEWICA [?] (D. 1519)

1. Poland, voi. of Sandomierz, dis. of Opoczno.
2. Horse courtier, served with 5 horses 29 September 1498–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier serving with 8 horses at the court of John I Albert until 29 September 1498; horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund from 1506, served with 10 horses from 3 April 1508, with 9 horses from 2 September 1508; rm. of cavalry 1512; prefect of Nieszawa 1512–1519.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 56, 78, 109, 158, 182, 207, 239, 245, 251, 283, 294, 324, 326, 354, 363, 389; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 39–47, 75, 79, 164, 339, 341, 345, 346; KOZÁK 2014, pp. LXI–LXII, 51, 99–100, 103, 108–109, 113, 123, 179,

184, 203, 208, 219, 241, 271, 293, 359–360, 377, 403, 444, 464, 498, 523, 528, 532, 559, 567, 593, 595, 618, 625, 648; BORAS 1983, p. 29; GŁADYSZ 2011, pp. 96, 102; KOZÁK 2008, p. 272; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 330, 371; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, VII, pp. 429–430; NOWOGRODZKI 2015, p. 29; PAPROCKI 1858, p. 382; PAWIŃSKI 1893, pp. 64, 76, 270; PLEWCZYŃSKI 1988, XXXI, p. 319; PSB, XXVII, p. 800; WOLSKI 2013, pp. 11–13, 19–21, 363.

[35] PSZONKA MIKOŁAJ, C.O.A. JANINA OR TRĄBY (D. BEFORE 21 MARCH 1525?)

1. Poland, voi. of Lublin or Cracow.
2. Horse courtier, served with 4 horses 5 August 1498–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I 1506–2 March 1508; scribe for Lublin Land 1522–1525 [?].
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 58, 78, 87, 109, 158, 166, 183, 207, 227, 243–244, 254, 284, 295, 325, 356, 363, 390; *Metryka Uniwersytetu* 2004, p. 332; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 67–73, 338, 347, 348; KOZÁK 2014, pp. LXIV, 51–52, 59, 67, 96–97, 100, 104, 113, 123, 184, 208, 217, 219, 229, 235, 240, 245–246, 255, 271, 280, 293, 303, 315, 341, 361, 377, 384, 403, 444, 450, 464, 477, 489, 498, 513, 527, 535, 559, 568, 593, 619–620, 626, 648; KOZÁK 2008, pp. 262–263, 272; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 331–332, 372; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, VII, p. 570; PAWIŃSKI 1893, pp. 76, 214, 270; U, IV/4, pp. 32, 123; URUSKI 1904–1938, XV, pp. 68–69.

[36] [PUSTUŁKA JAN] (*PUSTOTA*) (D. 9 AUGUST 1505)

1. Poland, voi. of Cracow.
2. Master cook from a.l. 7 January 1502 (three times 13 February, 21 May 1502 and 30 April 1505 referred to as *magister coquine*); horse courtier, served with 4 horses 5 August 1498–9 August 1505, died during his service at the court in Głogów.
4. AGAD, MK 21, f. 210; RÁBAI 2014, pp. 56, 78, 105, 109, 158, 182–183, 250–251; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 60–63; KOZÁK 2014, pp. LXIII–LXIV, 143, 149, 152–154, 156, 162–163, 165–167, 175, 181–182, 184, 191, 207, 219, 239, 250, 271, 293, 315, 359–360, 377, 399, 403, 444, 464, 532; BORAS 1983, p. 39; KOZÁK 2008, pp. 268, 272; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 331, 343, 348, 366; NOWOGRODZKI 2015, p. 121; PAWIŃSKI 1893, pp. 136, 214, 270; URUSKI 1904–1938, XV, p. 87.

[37] RACKWITZ BALTAZAR (*RAGVYCZ, RAK, RAKWYCZ*)

1. Silesia.
2. Horse courtier, served with 4 horses from 25 December 1504, with 5 horses 31 January 1506–20 October 1506.

3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506–7 April 1507.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 159, 207, 232, 240, 243, 284, 294, 304, 325, 354, 363, 377, 391; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 208–210; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 445, 498, 518, 524, 526, 559, 567, 575, 594, 618, 625, 637–638, 649; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 338, 373.

[38] RECHENBERG JAN (HANS) (*RACHEMBARGK*),
HIS OWN C.O.A. (C. 1480–9 FEBRUARY 1537)

1. Silesia, Duchy of Głogów.
2. Horse courtier, served with 5 horses from 12 December 1501, officially registered in a registry of the horse courtiers with 6 horses 11 May 1502 until 20 October 1506.
3. Courtier of the King of Bohemia and Hungary Vladislaus II Jagiellon; horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506, served with 12 horses from a.l. 26 April 1508; *hauptmann* in Kożuchów 1516–1537; baron (*Freiherr zu Schlaw und Wartenberg*) from 1534.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 46, 57, 92, 102, 110, 122, 143, 154, 159, 171, 178, 207, 231, 232, 237, 239, 245, 283, 294, 326, 338, 355, 362–363, 389; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 197–202, 342, 343, 346, 348, 349; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 153, 184, 203, 219, 225–226, 234–235, 241, 250, 259, 279, 294, 302, 307, 316, 319, 327, 336, 338, 342, 352, 360, 388–389, 396, 403, 413, 430–431, 441, 444, 454, 460, 498, 517–518, 522–523, 528, 559, 567–568, 594, 605, 619, 625, 648; ADAMSKA 2017, p. 28; ANDRZEJEWSKI 2012, pp. 52, 55–58, 65, 67–68, 70–75, 78–80, 82, 87, 97–98, 121, 124–125, 127–128, 132, 134, 136–139, 144–147, 155, 160–163, 166–170, 175–180, 185, 198–201, 219–220, 223, 243, 260–261, 264, 269; ANDRZEJEWSKI 2007, pp. 92–95, 146–147, 166–167, 188–191, 195–196, 199–200, 208–209; ANDRZEJEWSKI, MOTYL 2002, pp. 8–10, 18, 25, 37, 39; BORAS 1983, p. 39; BREYTHNER 1906, pp. 25–26, 34, 54; GŁADYSZ 2011, pp. 95, 102; JUREK 1996, pp. 272–273; KOZÁK 2008, pp. 269–270, 272–274, 276, 281, 283; KOZÁK 2009, pp. 572–587; KUCZER 2012, pp. 46–48, 51; KUCZER 2007, pp. 105, 130, 167; MINSBERG 1853, pp. 7, 11, 13–15, 56, 71, 175–176; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 333, 340–341, 368, 372; NOWOGRODZKI 2015, pp. 31, 75, 106–107, 111, 119; PAWIŃSKI 1893, pp. 136, 270; STRZYŻEWSKI 1998, pp. 165–167; STRZYŻEWSKI 2009, pp. 30, 36, 175–178.

[39] SETNICKI JAN (*SEDNYCZKI, SZETHNYCZKI, ZEDNYCZKI*), C.O.A. NAŁĘCZ [?]

1. Poland.
2. Horse courtier, served with 4 horses 7 January 1502–24 June 1503; resigned.
4. KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 100–101; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 152, 184, 207, 219–220, 239, 283; KOZÁK 2008, pp. 268, 272; NABIAŁEK 2018, p. 334; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, August, p. 326; PAWIŃSKI 1893, pp. 136, 271.

[40] STADNICKI [STANISŁAW] (*SDADNYCZKI*), C.O.A. DRUŻYNA
(D. BEFORE 5 MARCH 1542)

1. Poland, voi. of Cracow.
2. Horse courtier, served with 3 horses from 31 January 1502, with 4 horses 31 December 1505–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506, served with 6 horses from 15 September 1507, with 8 horses 2 May 1508–a.l. 1511; chamberlain of Przemyśl 1523–1530; castellan of Sanok 1530–1535; prefect of Nowy Korczyn 1533–1541; castellan of Zawichost 1535–1542.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 57, 77, 110, 144, 148, 158, 176, 180, 183, 206, 213, 244, 254, 284, 295, 325, 336, 355, 363, 389–390; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 104–111, 339, 344; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 152, 184, 207, 220, 240, 272, 293–294, 321, 324, 344, 360, 376, 403, 432, 435, 444, 458, 462, 464, 489, 497, 501, 527, 534, 559, 568, 593, 602, 619, 626, 648; BORAS 1983, p. 39; GŁADYSZ 2011, pp. 95, 102; KOZÁK 2008, pp. 268, 272; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 334, 372; PAWIŃSKI 1893, pp. 136, 271; PSB, XLI, pp. 420–421; U, III/1, pp. 222, 263, 391; U, IV/3, pp. 42, 161, 212.

[41] STANGE HANUS (*HANUS STANKYER*), HIS OWN C.O.A.

1. Silesia.
2. Horse courtier, served with 3 horses from 25 March 1505, with 4 horses 1 July 1506–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I 1506–6 February 1507.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 55, 159–160, 184, 208, 239, 244, 284–285, 290, 295, 325, 356, 364; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 230–232; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 359, 445, 465, 489, 498, 523, 527, 560, 564, 568, 594, 619, 626; JUREK 1996, p. 290; KOZÁK 2008, p. 272; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 338, 373.

[42] STANGE KRZYSZTOF (*STANKHER*), HIS OWN C.O.A.

1. Silesia.
2. Horse valet with 2 horses from 4 July 1502; horse courtier, served with 2 horses a.l. 30 December 1503–8 April 1504; resigned.
4. KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 193–194; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 208, 221, 241, 294, 315, 331; JUREK 1996, p. 290; KOZÁK 2008, p. 272; NABIAŁEK 2018, p. 336.

[43] STASZKOWSKI [HIERONIM], C.O.A. BOGORIA (D. BEFORE 26 MARCH 1545)

1. Poland, voi. of Cracow.
2. Horse courtier, served with 2 horses 19 December 1505–20 October 1506.

3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506, served with 3 horses from 19 March 1507, with 4 from 12 April 1508; the Crown's master cook a.l. 31 January 1533–a.l. 13 December 1544.
4. KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 63–66; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 527, 560, 568, 594, 620, 627, 649; GŁADYSZ 2011, pp. 96, 102; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 338–339, 353, 373; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, VIII, pp. 511–512; PAPROCKI 1858, p. 245; POCIECHA 1949–1958, II, p. 12; PSB, XLII, p. 553; U, X, pp. 69–70, 205.

[44] SZCZĘSNY

1. Polska.
2. Servitor of Jan Lasocki from 17 December 1501, horse courtier, he took over Jan Lasocki's detachment after his death, served with 6 horses from 22 September 1502, with 4 horses 21 August 1503–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I 1506–6 May 1507.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 58, 79, 84, 110, 158, 183, 206, 240, 244, 284, 296, 321, 325, 355, 364, 390; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 83–86; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 240, 293, 313, 315, 341, 361, 377–378, 381, 403, 444, 464, 477, 488–489, 497, 524, 527, 559, 569, 590, 594, 619, 626, 648; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 334, 373.

[45] SZYDŁOWIECKI KRZYSZTOF, C.O.A. ODROWĄŻ (1466⁶⁸–1532)

1. Poland, voi. of Sandomierz.
2. Marshal of the court of Duke Sigismund a.l. 1498–20 October 1506; horse courtier, served with 8 horses before 2 February 1493–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of Casimir IV Jagiellon from a.l. 1483; horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506; assistant master of the pantry of Cracow 1496/97–1507; court's master of the pantry 7 August 1504; prefect of Sieradz 1507–1532; court treasurer of the Crown 1507–1510; chamberlain of Cracow 1507–1509; prefect of Gostyń 1508–1532; castellan of Sandomierz 1509–1515; prefect of Sochaczew 1510–1532; vice-chancellor of the Crown 1511–1515; voivode of Cracow 1515–1527; prefect of Cracow 1515–1532; chancellor of the Crown 1515–1532; prefect of Nowy Korczyn 1515–1532; prefect of Szydłów c. 1520–1531; prefect of Łuków 1526–1532; castellan of Cracow 1527–1532.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 45, 53, 56, 63–64, 70, 74–76, 90, 98, 100, 104, 107, 109, 117–118, 123, 126, 131, 135–136, 140, 142, 152, 157, 165, 182, 195, 197, 201, 205, 223, 233, 234, 236, 238, 241–243, 251, 257, 266, 283, 293, 312, 324, 350–351, 354, 362, 374, 377, 384–385, 389; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 2–16, 21, 33, 46, 82, 95, 109, 131, 150, 196, 197, 202, 237, 245, 248, 255, 263, 302,

⁶⁸ Date of birth of Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, 15 November 1466, is given by Mariusz Lubczyński and Jacek Pielas, see PSB, XLIX, p. 551.

305, 310, 312, 316, 322, 338, 343; KOZÁK 2014, pp. LIII–LVIII, 15–16, 26, 30, 32, 34, 40, 42–43, 46–49, 51, 54, 57, 66, 71, 75, 80, 85, 90, 92–93, 95, 98–100, 103–105, 107, 110, 112, 115, 119, 122–123, 134, 139–140, 144, 146, 149–150, 164–165, 168, 175, 182–183, 190, 196, 202–204, 207, 215, 217, 219, 225, 235, 239, 246, 249–251, 255, 266, 268, 271, 274, 281, 293, 301, 303, 306, 310–311, 313–314, 319, 322, 325, 327, 329–332, 334, 337, 345–346, 351, 357, 359, 365–366, 371, 374–376, 387, 393, 395, 398, 401–402, 409–410, 414, 417, 420, 424–425, 428, 430, 439, 443, 449, 463–464, 476, 479, 487–488, 490, 493, 496, 510, 518, 520–522, 525–526, 533, 537, 544, 558, 567, 583, 593, 615–616, 618, 625, 635, 637, 643–644, 647; VC, I/1, s. 85, 260, 278–279, 281, 289, 294, 296–297, 315–316, 330, 337, 356, 374, 383, 429, 441, 447; VC, I/2, s. 48, 67, 83, 110–111; ADAMSKA 2017, pp. 17–18, 23; BORAS 1983, pp. 16, 23, 29, 32, 38–39; FINKEL 2015, pp. 24, 29, 101, 107, 160; GŁADYSZ 2011, pp. 94, 102; KIESZKOWSKI 1912, *passim*; KOZÁK 2008, pp. 261–265, 271–272, 277, 281, 283; KOZÁK 2013, p. 352; KOZÁK 2016, pp. 139, 142–143; KOZÁK 2012, pp. 168, 176; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 330, 332, 342–343, 348, 353–354, 359–362, 367, 368, 370; NALEWAJEK 2011, pp. 12–16, 35–36; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, VIII, pp. 638–641; NOWOGRODZKI 2015, pp. 25, 29–30; PAPROCKI 1858, pp. 506–507, 818, 820, 822; PAWIŃSKI 1893, pp. 64, 76, 214, 270; PSB, XLIX, pp. 546–551; SUCHENI-GRABOWSKA 1974, pp. 200, 212; 223, 225, 227; SUCHENI-GRABOWSKA 2007, pp. 101, 165, 199, 209, 211, 213, 220; U, II/2, pp. 170–171; U, IV/1, p. 108; U, IV/2, pp. 59, 78–79, 88, 106, 263; U, IV/3, pp. 42, 90, 215; U, IV/4, p. 84; U, X, pp. 54, 108, 128, 150, 207; WOJCIECHOWSKI 1946, pp. 15, 24, 39, 43, 47, 53, 57, 61, 66, 71–72, 79, 92, 106, 111, 121, 124–125, 128–132, 141, 144, 146–149, 151, 161–162, 175–176, 178, 181, 184, 195–197, 206, 209–210, 216, 221, 225–227, 229, 235, 238, 243–244, 248, 290, 300–302, 355, 357, 360.

[46] SZYDŁOWIECKI MIKOŁAJ, C.O.A. ODROWĄŻ (C. 1475–18 FEBRUARY 1532)

1. Poland, *voi.* of Sandomierz.
2. Chamberlain from a.l. December 1505; horse courtier, served with 6 horses 17 October 1501–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of John I Albert a.l. 10 October 1493–1501; horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I 1506–c. 1516; administrator of the dist. of Olsztyn from 1502; the Crown's standard bearer 1503–1507; the court's carver of the Crown 1507–1515; the court's chamberlain of the Crown 1507–1510; prefect of Radom 1507–1532; prefect of Gostyń 1508–1513; burgrave of Cracow 1508–1532; prefect of Olsztyn 1508–1532; castellan of Radom 1509–1515; chamberlain of Cracow 1510–1515; castellan of Sandomierz from 1515; grand treasurer of the Crown 1515–1532; prefect of Krzepice 1519–1532; prefect of Oświęcim 1522–1532; prefect of Gródek 1527–1532.

4. AGAD, MK 21, f. 210; RÁBAI 2014, pp. 56, 65–66, 69–70, 76, 91, 94, 109, 120, 157–158, 181–182, 190, 205, 224, 238, 243, 259, 283, 293, 306, 324, 340, 354, 359–360, 362, 376, 389; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 21–26, 338, 343, 349; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 13, 15, 112, 130, 133–134, 154, 158, 162, 173, 183, 191, 195, 198, 202, 207, 217, 219, 225, 230–232, 234, 237, 239, 255, 259, 261–262, 267–269, 271, 278, 288, 293, 298, 308, 314, 319–320, 327, 335, 338, 359, 366, 368, 370, 376, 388, 390, 402, 411, 443, 463–464, 470, 488, 497, 511, 523, 526, 539, 558, 567, 577, 593, 606, 618, 622–623, 625, 636, 648; VC, I/1, s. 260, 295, 315, 337, 383; VC, I/2, s. 38, 41, 67; FINKEL 2015, pp. 24–25; GŁADYSZ 2011, pp. 95, 102; KIESZKOWSKI 1912, I, pp. 30–45; KOZÁK 2008, pp. 261, 266, 268, 272, 276–277, 283; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 332, 346, 348, 353, 357–359, 362–365, 367–368, 370; NALEWAJEK 2011, pp. 12, 14–16, 23, 32–34, 37; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, VIII, p. 641; NOWOGRODZKI 2015, p. 29; PAPROCKI 1858, p. 506; PAWIŃSKI 1893, pp. 116, 270; PSB, XLIX, pp. 566–574; SKIBNIEWSKA 2015, p. 284; SUCHENI-GRABOWSKA 1974, pp. 202, 206, 208, 233; U, IV/2, pp. 79, 157, 173, 263; U, IV/3, pp. 69, 78, 90, 215; U, X, pp. 26, 63, 116, 124, 207; WOJCIECHOWSKI 1946, pp. 43, 47, 147, 196, 221, 260.

[47] ŚWIDERSKI MARCIN, C.O.A. LUBICZ (D. BEFORE 19 FEBRUARY 1521)

1. Poland, voi. of Lublin, dist. of Łuków.
2. Valet from a.l. 1 April 1500; horse courtier with 2 horses from 18 March 1502 (last time mentioned as horse valet 22 October 1504); horse courtier, served with 2 horses a.l. 30 December 1503–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506, served with 3 horses from 25 March 1508; *vogt* in Kock from a.l. 1508; prefect of Wyszaków; gatekeeper at the castle of Cracow 1512–1521.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 57, 68, 79, 110, 158, 176, 183, 207, 225, 239, 244, 253, 284, 295, 305, 311, 317, 325–326, 330, 349, 356, 364, 390; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 117–124, 151, 339; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 23, 36, 52, 100, 118, 131, 133–135, 185, 208, 220, 241, 272, 278, 294, 316, 342, 360, 369, 378, 403, 444, 458, 464, 476, 489, 498, 512, 523, 527, 534, 559, 568, 577, 582, 587, 594, 597, 614, 619, 626, 649; GŁADYSZ 2011, p. 95; KOZÁK 2008, pp. 272–273; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 336, 373; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, VIII, p. 572; PAWIŃSKI 1893, pp. 136, 271; POCIECHA 1949–1958, II, p. 99; KURAS 1983, p. 104; WOLIŃSKI 2011, p. 291.

[48] TOMICKI MIKOŁAJ, C.O.A. ŁODZIA (D. 29 MARCH 1529)

1. Poland, voi. of Poznań.
2. Horse courtier, served with 4 horses 4 August 1506–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506, served with 6 horses 27 April 1508–a.l. 1515; tribune of Łęczycza from 1511; the Crown's master of the horse 1517–1529; prefect of Kościan 1516–

1529; prefect of Pyzdry 1523–1529; prefect of Konin 1523–1529; prefect of Iłża 1525–1529; castellan of Gniezno 1528–1529.

4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 331–332, 234, 355–356, 364, 390; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 215–217, 347; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 598–599, 601, 619, 626, 648; VC, I/1, pp. 295, 383; VC, I/2, p. 49; BRZEZIŃSKI 1933, pp. 69–70; GŁADYSZ 2011, pp. 96, 102; KOZÁK 2008, p. 269; NABIAŁEK 2018, p. 341; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, IX, pp. 87–91; NOWOGRODZKI 2015, p. 123; ODRZYWOLSKA-KIDAWA 2004, pp. 37–38, 40, 42–49, 98, 223; SUCHENI-GRABOWSKA 1974, p. 217; U, I/2, p. 37; U, II/2, pp. 101, 298; U, X, pp. 59, 210.

[49] UNWÜRDE HANS (*HANUS UNWERD, VINVERD*), HIS OWN C.O.A.

1. Silesia, Duchy of Głogów.
2. Horse courtier, served with 3 horses from 7 July 1502, with 4 horses 16 August 1502–8 April 1504; resigned.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 62, 178; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 169–170; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 208, 220, 241, 294, 316, 364, 460; ADAMSKA 2017, p. 19; JUREK 1996, pp. 300–301; KUCZER 2007, pp. 85, 150; NABIAŁEK 2018, p. 337.

[50] WIELOGŁOWSKI [ZYGMENT] (*WYELOGŁOWSKI*),
C.O.A. STARYKOŃ (D. BEFORE 1535)

1. Poland, voi. of Cracow.
2. Horse valet with 2 horses from 22 March 1502; horse courtier, served with 2 horses a.l. 30 December 1503–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506, served with 4 horses from 15 May 1507.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 58, 77, 110, 150, 159, 172, 183, 192, 207, 237, 239, 245, 285, 294, 305, 309, 324, 330, 339, 356, 365, 391; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 136–142; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 185, 208, 220, 240–241, 271, 294, 315, 361, 376, 403–404, 437, 444, 455, 464, 472, 489, 498, 522–523, 528, 560, 568, 577, 580, 593, 597, 605, 620, 627, 649; GŁADYSZ 2011, pp. 95, 102; KOZÁK 2008, p. 272; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 336, 372; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, IX, p. 297; PAWIŃSKI 1893, pp. 136, 271; SHGWK, p. 565; ŻYCHLIŃSKI 1879–1908; VI, p. 408.

[51] WODYŃSKI MIKOŁAJ (*VODENSKI*), C.O.A. KOŚCIESZA

1. Mazovia, Czersk Land.
2. Horse courtier, served with 4 horses 29 August 1506–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506, served with 5 horses 26 April 1508–21 March 1509.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 344, 356, 364, 390; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 224–226; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 609, 619, 626, 648; NABIAŁEK 2018, p. 341; NIESIECKI 1839–1846, IX, p. 379; ZALEWSKI 2005, p. 176.

[52] ZALIWSKI DZIERSŁAW (*ZALEWSKI*), C.O.A. JUNOSZA (D. 22 SEPTEMBER 1524)

1. Mazovia, Liw Land [?].
2. Master cook from a.l. 7 January 1506; present at the court from a.l. 21 February 1500; horse courtier, served with 3 horses 12 March 1501–20 October 1506.
3. Horse courtier of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King Sigismund I from 1506, served with 5 horses from 5 February 1507; the Crown's master cook a.l. 6 January 1507–1524; master of the pantry of Czersk 1512–1524; burgrave of Cracow 1517–1524.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 56, 78, 98, 109, 115, 128, 149, 158, 183, 192, 207, 237, 239, 245, 251, 255, 282, 284, 286, 295, 309, 324, 356, 364, 383, 390; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 74–82, 340; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 10, 17, 32, 35, 38, 41, 43–44, 46, 49, 84, 99–100, 104, 108–109, 113, 115–117, 122–124, 129, 137, 139–141, 148, 151, 154–155, 158–159, 167, 169, 180, 184, 191, 203, 207, 219, 227, 229, 241, 244, 250, 253, 257, 266, 271, 290, 293, 297, 299, 304, 308, 315, 324, 331, 339, 360, 377, 393, 403, 407, 418, 436, 444, 464, 472, 480, 488, 498, 522–523, 528, 532, 535, 557, 559, 561, 569, 580, 593, 619, 626, 642, 648; GŁADYSZ 2011, pp. 94, 102; NABIAŁEK 2018, pp. 332, 343–344, 367, 372; PAPROCKI 1858, p. 323; PAWIŃSKI 1893, p. 270; POCIECHA 1949–1958, II, pp. 32–33; U, IV/2, pp. 173–174, 273; U, X, pp. 70, 215; ZALEWSKI 2005, p. 180.

[53] ZEDLITZ [JAN] (*CZEDLYCZ, CZETHLYCZ, ZEDLYCZ, ZELYCZ*), HIS OWN C.O.A.

1. Silesia, Duchy of Głogów.
2. Valet from a.l. 1 October 1500; horse valet with 2 horses from 10 March 1502 (mentioned for the last time as horse valet 22 October 1504); horse courtier, served with 2 horses from a.l. 30 December 1503, with 3 horses 14 February 1505–11 July 1506, dismissed from the court.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 56, 77, 110, 158, 183, 206, 240, 244, 284, 294; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 112–114; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 52, 101, 118, 185, 207, 213–214, 220, 240, 272, 294, 315, 360, 377, 403, 444, 464, 489, 497, 524, 527, 559, 568; ANDRZEJEWSKI 2012, pp. 18, 55; JUREK 1996, pp. 308–309; KOZÁK 2008, pp. 263–264, 272, 276; KUCZER 2007, pp. 47, 116, 149; NABIAŁEK 2018, p. 336; PAWIŃSKI 1893, pp. 136, 271; STRZYŻEWSKI 2009, pp. 178–179, fig. IIIg.

[54] ZEDLITZ KRZYSZTOF (*CRISTOFF CZEDLYCZ, CRISTOW ZEDLYCZ*),
HIS OWN C.O.A. (D. 30 OCTOBER 1502)

1. Silesia, Duchy of Głogów.
2. Horse courtier, served with 3 horses 21 July 1502–30 October 1502, died during the court's service in Buda.
4. KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, p. 183; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 207, 220, 234–235; ANDRZEJEWSKI 2012, pp. 18, 55; JUREK 1996, pp. 308–309; KOZÁK 2008,

pp. 263–264, 272; KUCZER 2007, pp. 47, 116, 149; NABIAŁEK 2018, p. 337; STRZYŻEWSKI 2009, pp. 178–179, fig. IIIg.

[55] ZVOLSKÝ BERNARD [DE ZVOLE] (*BERNARTH ZWOLSKI, SWOLSKI, SZWOLSKI*), HIS OWN C.O.A.

1. Silesia, Duchy of Opava.
2. Horse courtier, served with 4 horses 8 September 1502–1503; resigned.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 145–146, 149, 151; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 203–204; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 223, 239, 433, 436, 438; KOZÁK 2008, pp. 273–274, 280–281, 283–284; KOZÁK 2007, pp. 11–12; NABIAŁEK 2018, p. 337.

[56] ŽEROCZYŃSKI [JAN] [JAN Z ŽEROTÍNA, DE ŽEROTÍN] (*SZEROCZYNSKY, ZEROCZYNSKI*), HIS OWN C.O.A. (D. 1529)

1. Moravia.
2. Horse courtier, served with 6 horses 12 January 1506–5 July 1506; resigned.
4. RÁBAI 2014, pp. 258, 285, 294; KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015, pp. 183–184; KOZÁK 2014, pp. 538, 560, 568; NABIAŁEK 2018, p. 339.

SOURCES, STUDIES, MONOGRAPHS AND OTHER MATERIALS USED IN THE TEXT

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES AND UNPUBLISHED WORKS

AGAD [= Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie]

ASK [= Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego], Oddział 1, Rachunki Królewskie, caption 21, 29, 33; Oddział 85, caption 13

MK [= Metryka Koronna], book 21

STANKO 2006 = Przemysław Stanko, *Szlachta oświęcimska i zatorska do roku 1564*, Kraków 2006 (doctoral dissertation in the Archives of the Jagiellonian University)

PRINTED SOURCES AND LITERATURE

ADAMSKA 2017 = Dagmara Adamska, *Domy szlacheckie w późnośredniowiecznym i wczesnonowożytnym Głogowie*, “Klio”, XLI, 2017, 2, pp. 7–30

ANDRZEJEWSKI 2007 = Tomasz Andrzejewski, *Rechenbergowie w życiu społeczno-gospodarczym księstwa głogowskiego w XVI–XVII wieku*, Uniwersytet Zielonogórski, Zielona Góra 2007

ANDRZEJEWSKI 2012 = Tomasz Andrzejewski, *Rechenbergowie w księstwie głogowskim w XVI–XVII wieku*, Wydawnictwo Eternum, Nowa Sól 2012 (2nd edition, electronic version)

ANDRZEJEWSKI, MOTYL 2002 = Tomasz Andrzejewski, Krzysztof Motyl, *Siedziby rycerskie Rechenbergów i Schönaichów*, Muzeum Miejskie w Nowej Soli, Nowa Sól 2002

BARTHEL 1968 = Barthel Stein, *Zwizły opis ziemi śląskiej*, trans. by Franciszek Ilków-Gołąb, “Rocznik Teologiczny Śląska Opolskiego”, 1968, 1, pp. 11–60

- BIEŃKOWSKA-PTASZNIK 2007 = Małgorzata Bieńkowska-Ptasznik, *Tożsamość etniczna jednostki w kontekście pogranicza*, w: *Etniczność i obywatelskość w Nowej Europie. Konteksty edukacji międzykulturowej*, eds. Jerzy Nikitorowicz, Dorota Misiejuk, Mirosław Sobiecki, Wydawnictwo Uniwersyteckie, Białystok 2007, pp. 324–333
- BLASCHKE 1913 = Julius Blaschke, *Geschichte der Stadt Glogau und des Glogauer Landes*, Verlag der Buchhandlung Hellmann, Glogau 1913
- BONIECKI 1899–1913 = Adam Boniecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. I–XVII, Gebethner i Wolff, Warszawa 1899–1913
- BONIECKI 1887 = Adam Boniecki, *Poczet rodów w Wielkim księstwie Litewskim w XV i XVI w.*, s.n., J. Berger, Warszawa 1887
- BORAS 1983 = Zygmunt Boras, *Zygmunt Stary w Głogowie*, Śląski Instytut Naukowy, Katowice 1983
- BREYTHNER 1906 = Ernst Breythner, *König Sigismund von Polen in Schlesien*, F. Breythners Buchdruckerei, Striegau 1906
- BRZEZIŃSKI 1933 = Stanisław Brzeziński, *Panowie z Tomic*, “Miesięcznik Heraldyczny”, XII, 1933, 4–6, pp. 49–55, 65–72, 81–89, 110–112
- CHWALIBIŃSKA 1948 = Jadwiga Chwalibińska, *Ród Prusów w wiekach średnich*, Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, Toruń 1948
- CZAPLEWSKI 1921 = Paweł Czaplewski, *Senatorowie świeccy, podskarbiowie i senatorowie Prus Królewskich 1454–1772*, Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, Toruń 1921
- DANYSZ 1902 = Elżbieta, *królowej polskiej, małżonki Kazimierza Jagiellończyka, traktat pedagogiczny o wychowaniu królewicza*, ed. Antoni Danysz, Nakładem Wydawcy, Lwów 1902
- DĄBKOWSKI 1912 = Przemysław Dąbkowski, *Stanowisko cudzoziemców w prawie litewskim w drugiej połowie XV i w XVI w. (1447–1588)*, Towarzystwo dla Popierania Nauki Polskiej, Lwów 1912
- DIVÉKY 1914 = Adorján Divéky, *Zsigmond lengyel herceg Budai szamádasai (1500–1502, 1505)*, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Budapest 1914 (Magyar Történelmi Tár, XXVI)
- DIVÉKY 1960 = Adorján Divéky, *Królewicz Zygmunt na dworze Władysława II króla węgierskiego*, in: *Mediaevalia. W 50 rocznicę pracy naukowej Jana Dąbrowskiego*, ed. Józef Garbacik, PWN, Warszawa 1960, pp. 355–374
- DUBONIS 2011 = Artūras Dubonis, *Dwór*, in: *Kultura Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Analizy i obrazy*, eds. Vytautas Ališauskas, Liudas Jovaiša, Mindaugas Paknys, Rimvydas Petrauskas, Eligijus Raila, trans. by Paweł Bukowiec, Beata Kaleba, Beata Piasecka, Universitas, Kraków 2011, pp. 183–200
- DZIĘGIEL 1936 = Władysław Dzięgiel, *Król Zygmunt I na Śląsku*, Instytut Śląski, Katowice 1936
- FINKEL 2015 = Ludwik Finkel, *Elekcja Zygmunta I. Sprawy dynastii Jagiellońskiej i unii polsko-litewskiej*, Napoleon V, Oświęcim 2015
- GAWLAS 1981 = Sławomir Gawlas, *Spoleczny zasięg polskiej świadomości narodowej w późnym średniowieczu*, “Przegląd Historyczny”, LXXII, 1981, 4, pp. 637–662
- GAŚSIOROWSKI 1981 = Antoni Gaśsiorowski, *Starostowie wielkopolskich miast królewskich w dobie jagiellońskiej*, PWN, Warszawa–Poznań 1981
- GELLNER 1991 = Ernest Gellner, *Narody i nacjonalizm*, introd. by John Breuilly, trans. by Teresa Hołówka, Difin, Warszawa 1991

- GŁADYSZ 2011 = Andrzej Gładysz, *Jedna, czy dwie chorągwie nadworne Zygmunta I w kampanii mołdawskiej 1509 r.?*, in: *Na z góry upatrzonych pozycjach*, eds. Bartłomiej Międzybrodzki, Magdalena Gajda, Krzysztof Fudalej, Michał Przeperski, Infortedititions, Warszawa–Zabrze 2011, pp. 93–103
- GRODECKI 1946 = Roman Grodecki, *Powstanie polskiej świadomości narodowej*, Wydawnictwa Instytutu Śląskiego, Katowice 1946
- GRODZISKI 1963 = Stanisław Grodziski, *Obywatelstwo w szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej*, Wydawnictwo UJ, Kraków 196
- HARTLEB 1913 = Kazimierz Hartleb, *Z Ocieszyna Ociescy herbu Jastrzebiec*, “Miesięcznik Heraldyczny”, VI, 1913, 7–8, pp. 86–93, 121–125, 162–169
- JUREK 1996 1996 = Tomasz Jurek, *Obce rycerstwo na Śląsku do połowy XIV wieku*, Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, Poznań 1996
- KARWOWSKI 1916 = Stanisław Karwowski, *Leszczyńscy herbu Wieniawa*, Związkowa Drukarnia we Lwowie, Lwów 1916
- KIESZKOWSKI 1912 = Jerzy Kieszkowski, *Kanclerz Krzysztof Szydłowiecki. Z dziejów kultury i sztuki zygmunto-wskich czasów*, part I–III, Księgarnia J. K. Żupańskiego, Poznań 1912
- KORYTKOWSKI 1882 = Jan Korytkowski, *Pralaci i kanonicy katedry metropolitarnej gnieźnieńskiej od r. 1000 aż do dni naszych, podług źródeł archiwalnych*, vol. I–IV, J.B. Lange, Gniezno 1882
- KOT 1938 = Stanisław Kot, *Świadomość narodowa w Polsce wieku XV–XVII*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Lwów 1938
- KOZÁK 2007 = Petr Kozák, *Mocenská uskupení ve stavovské společnosti. Vzestup a pád opavského zemského komorníka Jindřicha Hukovského z Ochab († 1530)*, “Slezský sborník”, CV, 2007, 1, pp. 1–19
- KOZÁK 2008 = Petr Kozák, *Dvorská společnost a opavského vévody Zikmunda Jagellonského*, in: *Skladba a kultura dvorské společnosti. Dvory a rezidence ve středověku*, vol. 2, eds. Dana Dvořáčková-Malá, Jan Zelenka, Historický ústav AV ČR, Praha 2008 (Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica. Supplementum, II), pp. 257–284
- KOZÁK 2009 = Petr Kozák, *Hans Rechenberg († 1537). Slezský válečník, diplomat a stoupenec luterství*, in: *Korunní země v dějinách českého státu. IV. Náboženský život a církevní poměry v zemích koruny české ve 14.–17. Století*, Casablanca, Praha 2009, pp. 572–588
- KOZÁK 2012 = Petr Kozák, *Turek a turecký svět ve světle účtů dvora polsko-litevského prince Zikmunda za jeho pobytu v Uhrách a v českých zemích (1498–1506)*, “Slezský sborník”, CX, 2012, 3–4, pp. 165–180
- KOZÁK 2013 = Petr Kozák, *Feind und Faszinationsobjekt zugleich. „Der Türke“ in den Augen des polnischen Prinzen Sigismund während seines Aufenthaltes im Königreich Ungarn und in den böhmischen Ländern (1498–1506)*, in: *Slovakia and Croatia. Historical Parallels and Connections (until 1780)*, eds. Martin Homza, Ján Lukačka, Neven Budak, Department of Slovak History at the Faculty of Philosophy of Comenius University Bratislava, Bratislava–Zagreb 2013, pp. 350–358
- KOZÁK 2014 = *Účty dvora prince Zikmunda Jagellonského, vévody hlohovského a opavského, nejvyššího hetmana Slezska a Lužic, z let (1493) 1500–1507*, ed. Petr Kozák, Slezské zemské museum, Scriptorium, Opava 2014

- KOZÁK 2016 = Petr Kozák, *The Courtyl Accounts of Prince Sigismund Jagiello (Late 15th to Early 16th Centuries) and Their Historical Context*, in: *Money and Finance in Central Europe during the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Roman Zaoral, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2016, pp. 129–151
- KOZÁK 2018 = Petr Kozák, *Ženy v okolí jagellonského prince (pozdějšího polského krále a litevského velkoknížete) Zigmunda I. do jeho sňatku s Barborou Zápolskou*, in: *Świat kobiet w Czechach i w Polsce w średniowieczu i w epoce nowożytniej*, eds. Wojciech Iwańczak, Agnieszka Januszek-Sieradzka, Janusz Smołucha, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Ignatianum w Krakowie, Kraków 2018, pp. 63–92
- KOZÁK, RÁBAI 2015 = *Mezi periferií a centrem jagellonského světa. Registrum dvořanů knížete a krále Zigmunda I. Jagellonského z let 1493–1510*, eds. Petr Kozák, Krisztina Rábai, Slezské zemské museum, Opava 2015
- KROMER 1977 = Marcin Kromer, *Polska czyli o położeniu, ludności, obyczajach, urządach i sprawach publicznych Królestwa Polskiego księgi dwie*, trans. Stefan Kazikowski, intro. and coll. Roman Marchwiński, Olsztyn 1977
- KUCZER 2007 = Jarosław Kuczer, *w życiu społeczno-gospodarczym księstwa głogowskiego w epoce habsburskiej (1526–1749)*, Uniwersytet Zielonogórski, Zielona Góra 2007
- KUCZER 2012 = Jarosław Kuczer, *Manowie, szlachta, baronowie. Prawne i społeczne aspekty powstania wczesno nowożytniej szlachty księstwa głogowskiego w okresie panowania Jagiellonów*, in: *Głogów w czasach Jagiellonów*, ed. Leszek Lenarczyk, Muzeum Archeologiczno-Historyczne w Głogowie, Głogów 2012, pp. 19–54
- KURAS 1983 = *Dzieje Lubelszczyzny*, vol. III: *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa lubelskiego*, ed. Stanisław Kuraś, PWN, Warszawa 1983
- KÜRBIS 1973 = Brygida Kürbis, *Głos w dyskusji*, in: *Swojskość i cudzoziemszczyzna w dziejach kultury polskiej*, ed. Zofia Stefanowska, PWN, Warszawa 1973, p. 329
- Metryka Uniwersytetu* 2004 = *Metryka Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1400–1508*, eds. Antoni Gąsiorowski, Tomasz Jurek, Izabela Skierska, co-op. Ryszard Grzesik, vol. I, Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, Kraków 2004
- MINSBERG 1853 = Ferdinand Minsberg, *Geschichte der Stadt und Festung Gross-Glogau*, vol. II, Julius Gottschalk, Głogów 1853
- NABIAŁEK 2018 = Karol Nabiałek, *Z dworu książęcego na dwór królewski. Zmiana w elitach władzy w Polsce w początkach panowania Zygmunta I Starego*, in: *Średniowieczni władcy i ich otoczenie. Materiały V Kongresu Mediewistów Polskich*, vol. V, eds. Jerzy Sperka, Karol Kollinger, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, Rzeszów 2018, pp. 325–383
- NIESIECKI 1839–1846 = Kasper Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. I–X, Breitkopf i Haertel, Lipsk 1839–1846
- NALEWAJEK 2011 = Agnieszka Nalewajek, *Szydłowieccy na dworze królewskim Jana Olbrachta*, in: *Servitium et amicitia. Studia z dziejów kariery i awansu w Polsce Jagiellonów*, ed. Agnieszka Januszek-Sieradzka, Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne i Drukarnia w Sandomierzu, Sandomierz 2011, pp. 11–37
- NOWAK 2014 = Grzegorz Nowak, *Baronowie von Gersdorff. Rodowód i dzieje — od Santoka do Parska*, Towarzystwo Miłośników Ziemi Kościańskiej, Kościan 2014
- NOWOGRODZKI 2015 = Stanisław Nowogrodzki, *Rządy Zygmunta Jagiellończyka na Śląsku i w Łużycach (1499–1506)*, Napoleon V, Oświęcim 2015

- ODRZYWOLSKA-KIDAWA 2004 = Anna Odrzywolska-Kidawa, *Biskup Piotr Tomicki (1464–1535). Kariera polityczna i kościelna*, Sempser, Warszawa 2004
- PAPROCKI 1858 = Bartosz Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*, Wydawnictwo Biblioteki Polskiej, Kraków 1858
- PAWIŃSKI 1893 = Adolf Pawiński, *Młode lata Zygmunta Starego*, Gebethner i Wolff, Warszawa 1893
- PIETKIEWICZ 1997 = Krzysztof Pietkiewicz, *Dwór litewski wielkiego księcia litewskiego Aleksandra Jagiellończyka (1492–1506)*, in: *Lietuvos valstybė XII–XVIII a.*, eds. Zigmantas Kiaupa, Arturas Mickevičius, Jolita Sarcevičienė, Lietuvos Istorijos Institutas, Vilnius 1997, pp. 75–125
- PLAČEK, FUTÁK 2006 = Miroslav Plaček, Peter Futák, *Páni z Kunštátu — Rod erbu vrchních pruhů na cestě k trůnu*, Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, Praha 2006
- PLEWCZYŃSKI 1988 = Marek Plewczyński, *Materiały do zagadnienia liczebności i organizacji wojska polskiego w latach 1506–1572*, „*Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*”, XXXI, 1988, pp. 305–324; XXXII, 1989, pp. 249–261
- POCIECHA 1949–1958 = Władysław Pocięcha, *Królowa Bona (1494–1557). Czasy i ludzie Odrodzenia*, vol. I–IV, Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, Poznań 1949–1958
- PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1965 = *Wypisy źródłowe do dziejów Wawelu z archiwaliów kapitulnych i kurialnych krakowskich 1501–1515*, ed. Bolesław Przybyszewski, Ministerstwo Kultury i Sztuki, Kraków 1965 (*Źródła do Dziejów Wawelu*, IV)
- PRZYBYSZEWSKI 1986 = *Wypisy źródłowe do dziejów Wawelu z archiwaliów kapitulnych i kurialnych krakowskich 1530–1533*, ed. Bolesław Przybyszewski, Ministerstwo Kultury i Sztuki, Kraków 1986 (*Źródła do Dziejów Wawelu*, XI, 2)
- PSB = *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. I–LII, Kraków 1935–2018
- RÁBAI 2014 = *Jagelló Zsigmond herceg udvarának számadáskönyve (1504–1507). The Court Account Book of Sigismund Jagiellon (1504–1507)*, ed. Krisztina Rábai, Quintus, Szeged 2014
- ROUX 1998 = Jean-Paul Roux, *Król. Mity i symbole*, przeł. Katarzyna Marczevska, Volumen, Warszawa 1998
- RYBARSKI 1932 = Roman Rybarski, *Wielickie żupy solne w latach 1497–1594*, Dom Książki Polskiej, Warszawa 1932
- SEMKOWICZ 1914 = Władysław Semkowicz, *O litewskich rodach bojarskich, zbratanych ze szlachtą polską w Horodle 1413 r.*, „*Miesięcznik Heraldyczny*”, VII, 1914, 5–6, pp. 117–145
- SHGWK = *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa krakowskiego w średniowieczu*, part III, ed. Franciszek Sikora, Secesja, Societas Vistulana, Kraków 1994–2003
- SIKORA 2017 = Franciszek Sikora, *Dybacze-Czuryłowie herbu Radwan w XV–XVI w.*, in: Franciszek Sikora, *Małopolskie późne średniowiecze. Ludzie i instytucje. Wybór pism*, eds. Waldemar Bukowski, Antoni Gąsiorowski, Grażyna Rutkowska, Kraków 2017
- SKIBNIEWSKA 2015 = Józefa Skibniewska, *Dwór królewski Aleksandra Jagiellończyka w latach 1501–1506*, Wydawnictwo KUL, Lublin 2015
- SKWARCZYŃSKI 1931 = Paweł Skwarczyński, *Stanowisko cudzoziemców w dawnym prawie Polskiem koronnem*, Nakładem Redakcji, Lwów 1931 (*Pamiętnik historyczno-prawny*, XI, 1)

- Spoleczeństwo polskie* 1988 = Ireneusz Ichnatowicz, Antoni Mączak, Benedykt Zien-tara, Janusz Żarnowski, *Spoleczeństwo polskie od X do XX wieku*, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1988
- STRZYŻEWSKI 1998 = Wojciech Strzyżewski, *Jan Rechenberg (ok. 1480–1537). Szlachcic, wojskowy w służbie Jagiellonów, prekursor luteranizmu w księstwie glogowskim*, in: *Ludzie Środkowego Nadodrza. Wybrane szkice biograficzne (XII–XX wiek)*, ed. Kazimierz Bartkiewicz, Verbum, Zielona Góra 1998, pp. 165–167
- STRZYŻEWSKI 2009 = Wojciech Strzyżewski, *Herby i tytuły. Pieczęć szlachecka w księstwie glogowskim (XVI–XVIII wieku)*, DiG, Warszawa 2009
- SUCHENI-GRABOWSKA 1974 = Anna Sucheni-Grabowska, *Monarchia dwóch ostatnich Jagiellonów a ruch egzekucyjny*, part I: *Geneza egzekucji dóbr*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1974
- SUCHENI-GRABOWSKA 2007 = Anna Sucheni-Grabowska, *Odbudowa domeny królewskiej w Polsce 1504–1548*, Muzeum Historii Polski, Warszawa 2007
- SUŁKOWSKA-KURASIOWA 1967 = Irena Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, *Polska kancelaria królewska w latach 1447–1506*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1967
- SZYMCZAKOWA 2006 = Alicja Szymczakowa, *O przezwiskach i przydomkach szlachty sieradzkiej w XV wieku*, “Studia z Dziejów Państwa i Prawa Polskiego”, IX, 2006, 1, pp. 193–216
- TAZBIR 1973 = Janusz Tazbir, *Stosunek do obcych w dobie baroku*, in: *Swojskość i cudzoziemszczyzna w dziejach kultury polskiej*, ed. Zofia Stefanowska, PWN, Warszawa 1973, pp. 80–112
- TRAWKA 2005 = Renata Trawka, *Kmitowie. Studium kariery politycznej i społecznej w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce*, Towarzystwo Naukowe “Societas Vistulana”, Kraków 2005
- U = *Urzednicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XII–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. Antoni Gąsiorowski, vol. I–XI, Wrocław–Kórnik 1985–2007
- UWKL = *Urzednicy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Spisy*, ed. Andrzej Rachuba, vol. I–IV, DiG, IH PAN, Warszawa 2003–2015
- URUSKI 1904–1938 = Seweryn Uruski, *Rodzina. Herbarz szlachty polskiej*, vol. I–XV, Gebethner i Wolff, Warszawa 1904–1938
- VC = *Volumina constitutionum*, part I: 1493–1549, vol. 1: 1493–1526, vol. 2: 1527–1549, eds. Stanisław Grodziski, Irena Dwornicka, Waclaw Uruszczak, Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, Warszawa 1996–2000
- VL = *Volumina Legum*, ed. Jozafat. Ohryzko, vol. I, Nakładem Wydawcy, St. Petersburg 1859
- WIŚNIEWSKI 1928 = Jan Wiśniewski, *Katalog pralatów i kanoników sandomierskich od 1186 do 1926*, S. Nowakowski, Radom 1928
- WOJCIECHOWSKI 1946 = Zygmunt Wojciechowski, *Zygmunt Stary (1506–1548)*, Wydawnictwo S. Arcta, Warszawa 1946
- WOLFF 1895 = Józef Wolff, *Kniazio wie litewsko-ruscy od końca czternastego wieku*, Gebethner i Wolff, Warszawa 1895
- WOLIŃSKI 2011 = *Herbarz szlachty ziemi łukowskiej na Lubelszczyźnie*, ed. Marek Woliński, vol. I, CKH, Szczecin 2011
- WOLSKI 2013 = Marian Wolski, *Potoccy herbu Pilawa do początku XVII wieku. Studium genealogiczno-własnościowe*, Towarzystwo Naukowe “Societas Vistulana”, Kraków 2013

- WYCZAŃSKI 1973 = Andrzej Wyczański, *Uwagi o ksenofobii w Polsce XVI wieku*, in: *Swojskość i cudzoziemszczyzna w dziejach kultury polskiej*, ed. Zofia Stefanowska, PWN, Warszawa 1973, pp. 68–79
- WYCZAŃSKI 1990 = Andrzej Wyczański, *Między kulturą a polityką. Sekretarze królewscy Zygmunta Starego (1506–1548)*, PWN, Warszawa 1990
- ZALEWSKI 2005 = Leszek Zalewski, *Szlachta ziemi liwskiej. Sejmiki, urzędy, herbarz*, Paleta-Art., Warszawa 2005
- ZIENTARA 1973 = Benedykt Zientara, *Cudzoziemcy w Polsce X–XV wieku*, in: *Swojskość i cudzoziemszczyzna w dziejach kultury polskiej*, ed. Zofia Stefanowska, PWN, Warszawa 1973, pp. 9–37
- ŻYCHLIŃSKI 1879–1908 = Teodor Żychliński, *Złota księga szlachty polskiej*, vol. I–XXXI, J. Leitgeber, Poznań 1879–1908

Foreigners amongst the Horse Courtiers of Duke Sigismund Jagiellon. A Contribution to the Problem of Ethnicity of the Court

In comparison with the courts of other Polish dukes, the entourage of Duke Sigismund Jagiellon has attracted quite a lot of attention on the part of historians. There are several reasons, including the fact that in 1499 Sigismund received the Duchy of Głogów and in 1501 the Duchy of Opava as his fiefs. This would not matter much, if it did not concern Silesia, a special province, important to many countries. The surviving sources indicate that young Sigismund was granted his own courtiers only after the death of his father. The duke's entourage became consolidated in the early sixteenth century. The date that should be regarded as the final day of the existence of the duke's court is 20 October 1506. The horse courtiers (*curienses*), who are the subject of the present study, were the elite of Sigismund Jagiellon's entourage. In total, 56 individuals served in this group. The duke's small court and the group in question are, paradoxically, an interesting subject of study, full of contradictions. A simple analysis of the lands of origin of Sigismund's horse courtiers provides a seemingly well-ordered picture. A vast majority of them, 34, came from the Kingdom of Poland. The provinces of the Kingdom of Bohemia — Silesia, Moravia and Lusatia — were less well represented: 20 courtiers came from there. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania was represented by only 2 courtiers. If we assume that ethnic identity is built on a juxtaposition of the familiar and the strange, an analysis of these two notions should in effect reveal foreigners among Sigismund's horse courtiers. But how to establish — in the light of the available modest information — who was or felt foreign or not in the duke's entourage? Perhaps Poles and Lithuanians felt at home, because the duke's father ruled Poland and Lithuania, while Silesians were also regarded as native, because of the duchies Sigismund himself ruled. Neither group could hardly be called foreign at his court.