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Foreigners at the Royal Court of Stephen Báthory on the Example of Inhabitants from the Lands of the Kingdom of Hungary*

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In the modern period the royal courts were institutions where foreigners could frequently be found in various offices. This was a widespread phenomenon almost all around Europe. Motivations driving the foreigners varied considerably, being of e.g. educational, financial or career-related nature. This phenomenon was also present in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. There were at least sixty sever foreigners at the royal court of Alexander I Jagiellon of nationalities like Czech, German, Hungarian, Italian, Wallachian, Armenian and Serbian.¹ Representatives of other nations appeared also during the reign of his brother, Sigismund I the Old. A special position was earned by the Italians after the Polish monarch's marriage to Bona Sforza, particularly in terms of their number on the royal court, but also due to the influence they had in the closest circle of Sigismund I.² A lot of foreigners could be seen amongst the courtiers and the royal court's staff also during the reign of the last Jagiellonian ruler.³ They were recruited from countries like Bohemia, Hungary, Kingdom of Germany, Italian states or even Spain. In each of the abovementioned royal courts it is difficult to indicate a national group that would dominate others in terms of its size.

In the case of the first free royal elections in the Commonwealth, we are dealing each time with the choice of a new foreign king. The royal court of the predecessor took on a different significance for the elect — he did not inherit the deceased ruler's

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¹ SKIBNIEWSKA 2015, pp. 198–205.

² See: BOGUCKA 2004, pp. 17–24; QUIRINI-POPLAWSKA 1973, *passim*.

³ FERENC 2014, pp. 56, 70, 81, 91, 99–100, 113, 116, 126, 131, 138, 140.

entourage, but, at most, he would again take into service some of the staff. The “old royal court” may have been a certain burden for the elected monarch at least for two reasons: firstly, he did not know the courtiers, so he could not trust them. Secondly, as a foreigner, he had his own court in his homeland from where he brought some of his subjects to the Commonwealth. For that reason, some conflicts and frictions between the “old” and the “new” courtiers or staff may have taken place. The elect could obviously not employ only his countrymen, as this would have triggered a well-known reaction from the Polish noblemen.⁴ Therefore, a question arises on how numerous the representation of foreigners was and what offices they held at the Polish royal court after 1572. From the perspective of how certain phenomena and solutions were shaped, the reign of Stephen Báthory seems to be the most interesting in this respect.⁵

A large retinue of Hungarians, both noblemen as well as low-born individuals, came with Báthory from Transylvania to the Commonwealth at the beginning of 1576. They were his courtiers and political supporters, employees of the Transylvanian chancellery, staff or military men.⁶ However, the group was relatively quickly subjected to fluctuations. Some of them were sent back to their homeland the same year.⁷ The rest was merged into three institutions functioning in the ruler’s circle: Transylvanian chancellery, court army and royal court. The chancellery operated in the Polish-Lithuanian state until around 1582, when it returned to Transylvania. This was closely linked to the death of Christopher Báthory, brother of King Stephen, and his replacement with his son, Sigismund. Relations between the uncle and his nephew were not that close. Even though the chancellery was functioning abroad, it was financially supported by Transylvania and thus it is difficult to find information about its personnel in the Polish sources. Only once was a payment for this staff recorded in the royal accounts — it was more than 2000 florins, a sum probably not intended for one person only.⁸ The majority of the staff from the Transylvanian chancellery left the Commonwealth in 1582, which does not mean that all of them were gone, since a salary was paid from the Polish treasury to Paweł Dziulaya [Gyulaya], Vice Chancellor of Transylvania, from mid-1583 to the end of 1585.⁹ Thus, a small

⁴ It should be remembered that Casimir IV Jagiellon was allowed to employ foreigners at the Polish royal court and thus their small number working for the monarch — even the elective one — was something natural for the Polish nobility, SKIBNIEWSKA 2015, pp. 199–200.

⁵ I do not include the few-month episode of the reign of Henry de Valois; it would be difficult to have permanent rules for the functioning at the royal court formulated during his reign. Subsequent monarchs emulated in a sense the solutions which were perhaps developed in the times of Báthory.

⁶ See a list of courtiers who arrived with King Stephen: SUAP, fond SM — Cizina, ms XIII/80, pp. 71–73; AGAD, ASK, KP, ms 22, f. 23; POLKOWSKI 1887, p. 30.

⁷ ALBERTRANDY 1860, p. 96; HEIDENSTEIN 1857, p. 246.

⁸ It was received by Marcin Brzenico, Vice Chancellor of Transylvania, in 1580. It was a one-off payment. See AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 261, f. 108v.

⁹ See AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 268, f. 140v (later as “v”). He stayed in the Commonwealth since 1578. See POLKOWSKI 1887, p. 116.

group of the Hungarian secretaries stayed longer by King Stephen's side. The situation was similar with the Hungarians in the court army. In their case, we sometimes know the rank of individual infantry rotas, but they come from the beginning of the king's reign.¹⁰ At the same time, their number increased for the period of war campaigns and after they ended, a large group of soldiers from Transylvania went back to their homeland.¹¹ However, a division of the Hungarian infantry — which was still financially supported from the royal revenues until the end of the reign — remained with Báthory.¹²

I mention these two groups of Hungarians for two reasons. First of all, they could be qualified as part of the royal court due to remaining in the monarch's immediate circle, executing many tasks on his orders, and informal relations.¹³ Because of the source materials, I have decided to narrow down the term "court" to people employed or holding a specific office in King Stephen's circle, and receiving payment for it.¹⁴ Applying this definition, I include people neither from the Transylvanian, nor from the Hungarian chancellery. Secondly, I want to point out that the Hungarians from the royal court, those in a narrow sense of a *household*, were not the only ones in the Commonwealth at that time. In order to trace the significance and influence of Báthory's countrymen in detail, at least two of the abovementioned groups should be also included. There is plenty of evidence suggesting that apart from them, there were also other Hungarians who were not linked to any of the three institutions.

Throughout the entire reign of Stephen Báthory, there were overall 464 Hungarians employed at the Polish royal court in various posts, but much fewer people were simultaneously working full time. During King Stephen's reign some of them were delegated to other posts while the vast majority returned to their homeland.¹⁵ 87 countrymen of the king — most likely recruited from people who came with

¹⁰ See AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 252, ff. 76–81v.

¹¹ POLKOWSKI 1887, p. 348.

¹² This is indicated by relatively numerous sources that have survived, AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 267, ff. 153–153v; ms 268, pp. 275v–276; ms 276, f. 175; ms 354, pp. 5–5v, 24v; ms 370, pp. 1–15, 21–22, 23–26, 71–71v.

¹³ In a broader definition of the royal court (there were both people employed/holding specific offices at the court as well as people associated with the monarch's circle in an informal way, either for political or economic reasons. In a word, everyone who — to some extent, even the smallest — could have a direct link to the monarch's court) both the Transylvanian Chancellery as well as the court's army can be with all certainty considered as elements of the royal court. See MAĆZAK 1987, *passim*.

¹⁴ These people were placed in the so-called Lord Chamberlain Records, in which it was noted who was formally employed at the royal court. It includes information regarding all full-time employees, from the highest court officials to the servants from the lowest ranks of the hierarchy. In the eyes of people at that time, they were considered to be close to the monarch. See FERENC 2014, pp. 7–8.

¹⁵ This should be inferred from numerous erasures from the Lord Chamberlain Records. Sometimes the phrase "expedit a curia in Hungaria" was written next to an individual name, which should be probably explained as admissal to Transylvania, i.e. Mikołaj, a servant to silver servant; Tomasz, a baker; AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 253, ff. 172, 192v.

him from Transylvania — were accepted to the royal court in 1576.¹⁶ However, as many as 32 ceased to serve Báthory throughout the first year of his reign. For that reason, in 1577 and 1578 we are dealing with the first large recruitment operation, as a result of which more than one hundred Hungarians came to the Polish royal court. Another operation took place at the beginning of the 1580s, when the number of the Hungarians went even above two hundred (in 1580 and 1581).¹⁷ Nevertheless, many of them — mainly those working at the stables — were relatively quickly dismissed. The reason was clear — they were taken in due to the needs of war campaigns, but once the peace treaty of Yam-Zapolsky was signed, their number was reduced or they left the service on their own accord. There were fewer than a hundred of the monarch's countrymen employed at King Stephen's court in 1586. Interestingly enough, in a group of almost five hundred people, no Hungarian was removed from the monarch's circle, which happened in the case of the residents of the Commonwealth. They usually resigned from working at the Polish royal court or they simply died while they were still in service. Some people were promoted or were moved to the Transylvanian court and to the group of the Hungarian courtiers.¹⁸

In terms of the cross-section of the occupied posts and offices, most of Stephen Báthory's countrymen were employed as lower court servants. Only a few people acted in more honourable and beneficial functions. The most important of them was Franciszek Wesselini, who held the office of *salariat sive camerari*, sometimes

¹⁶ Andrzej Horwat [Horwatt], Piotr Nagy, Michał Semere, Ferens Wesselini, *Hozwai, Irini*, Jerzy *Seremi, Warady, Cziaki*, Jerzy *Kortusky* [Kortoweleszy], *Raczko, Blasio*, Albert [Wojciech], Krzysztof, Mikołaj [II], Benedykt, Franciszek *Oroz*, Andrzej, Jan, Marcin *Nemeth*, Sebastian, Stefan, Tomasz, Stefan [II], Andrzej, Jakub, Jan, Jan [III], Jan [III], Janusz [II], Michał, Mustafa, NN Węgier, *Seri*, Tomasz, Krettek, Franciszek *Mellerlio* [Mettertio], Janusz *Balagi, Culmanus, Jan Feleki, Ferens, Jan Fogarasi, Miklusz* [Mikołaj] *Fogarasi, Jerzy Horwat, Jerzy [Dziurth], Kolman, Andrzej Lowaci [Lowacz]*, Franciszek *Lowaci [Lowacz]*, Mateusz *Lowaci [Lowacz]*, Tomasz *Lowosz, Jerzy Mamuia [Mamine]*, Paweł *Nacz, Władysław Nagy, Laszlo Nath, Łukasz Olach, Janusz Pal, Piotr Szomlai, Laurentius Zonterstot, Bartłomiej Aitom, Balasz, Stefan Balogk, Blasio, Jerzy Brasai, Michał Brasai, Buldyzar, Michał Caroli, Jan, Janusz [sotius?], Jan Kapusi, Jerzy [Dziurdz] Kassai, Kelemen, Jan Kiral, Mikołaj, Klemens Nagi, Piotr Orgowan, Blasio Raduli, Jan Syksai, Stefan Szasz [Sas?], Vicentio, Mikołaj *Wajda, Walenty [II], Stefan Wesdzue, Michał Winczj, Andrzej Wyszaknai [Wýssaknaj], Mikołaj Wyszaknai [Wýssaknaj], Jan Zeleoli [Zekeli], Michał Zenkirati [Zentkiral]*. See AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 246, ff. 108v, 139v–140v, 143v–144, 150–150v, 189–189v, 190v–191v, 201–201v, 203, 212–214; ms 252, ff. 19v, 21, 24v–25, 27v–28, 34v, 38v, 39v–40, 41, 42, 43v–44, 45v–46, 47, 51, 52–52v, 53v–55; ms 253, ff. 87, 88–88v, 98, 127v, 138–138v, 148v, 166v–167, 172, 175, 179–179v, 185–185v, 190, 191–191v, 192v, 193v, 194v, 197, 208, 210–210v, 213v, 214v–215v.*

¹⁷ I.e. a larger number of Hungarians were employed by the royal stables for the last time on 10th May 1580 in Vilnius, AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 253, f. 216.

¹⁸ Warady, a bailiff, became “ad equiti hungar traslat” (AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 253, f. 138v); the situation was similar in the case of other Hungarians couriers: Michał Nagy, Michał Nadsiladi, Jeremi Georg, and Franciszek Lorant, a pageboy (AGAD, ASK, RK, ms. 253, ff. 130, 138, 142v–143). Only Jvini, a pageboy, was promoted to the post of bailiff (AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 253, f. 127v).

referred to in the sources as a chamberlain office.¹⁹ This function was something new to the Polish royal court, additionally repeating the competency of *podkomorzy koronny* (the Crown's executive officer).²⁰ King Stephen most likely could not entrust the latter office to any of his countrymen, so he had to resort to creating a new one. This is reflected in the privileges which Wesselini received. He could keep a detachment of 10 to 12 horses, which was as many as in the case of the lord chamberlain or the court treasurer.²¹ He had the right to his own table where his protégées would also sit.²² There is no doubt that thanks to his office, he had a real influence over the events that were taking place around the monarch. This is demonstrated by his activity at the royal court: during Báthory's journey to Lviv in 1578, he was in charge of the royal stables together with Kacper Maciejowski; he interceded between the court officials and commanders (captains) of the Hungarian troops; he gave orders to other Hungarians; he took care of the preparation of clothing for the monarch and the purchase of silverware; finally, he was responsible for food supplies to guests from Transylvania or the organisation of Griselda Báthory's wedding to Jan Zamoyski.²³ Generally speaking, Wesselini was largely dealing with King Stephen's countrymen. It can be assumed that he was the informal superior of the Hungarians at Báthory's royal court. His office was directly translating into a position in the monarch's circle. Due to his patronage, Waclaw Kielczowski [Kielczewski] was employed at the royal court as a bailiff and the monarch's physician, Mikołaj Buccella, was granted estates in Prussia.²⁴ The wedding, in the monarch's presence, of Franciszek Wesselini and Kacper Bekiesz's widow in 1582 was a confirmation of his special role. Apart from the royal couple, several senators of the Crown and Lithuania were

¹⁹ Piotr Nagy was referred to as such in the record of textile issuance. See AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 254, f. 322. With regard to Ferenc Wesselini, he was only once referred to as a royal *camerario*, AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 260, f. 12v.

²⁰ It is a topic for further research whether the office of chamberlain had the same authority as an executive officer (*podkomorzy*). Sometimes Wesselini was referred to as a gentleman of the bedchamber (*lectristratori*), but at the Polish royal court it was a completely different function than that of an executive officer. Perhaps the office of a chamberlain was a combination of these two positions? The sources unambiguously show that the Poles had a problem with defining who *salarial sive camerari*, that is chamberlain, exactly was.

²¹ See AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 253, part II, ff. 29, 71; ms 256, f. 78; ms 257, f. 89v; ms 258, f. 35v.

²² See AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 253, part II, ff. 4v, 5v, 7v–8. Moreover, Wesselini's servants received linen which was unusual, since couriers of other courtiers did not receive this kind of payment. See AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 263, f. 165; ms 268, ff. 267–267v; ms 269, ff. 298–298v).

²³ See AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 254, f. 325; ms 255, f. 51; ms 256, ff. 118v (255v), 195–195v, 238v, 240v; ms 257, ff. 47, 119; ms 261, ff. 239–239v, 251–251v, 266, 268–268v; ms 263, ff. 165, 300–301; ms 267, ff. 21, 22v, 58–58v, 153; ms 268, ff. 275v–276, 280; ms 269, ff. 308v–309; ms 278, part II, ff. 83v, 85v.

²⁴ See: AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 253, f. 147v; KNOT 1928, f. 180.

present.²⁵ If we add the fact that Jan Tęczyński, the Crown's executive officer, was never present at the royal court, the role of Wesselini may have been even greater, since he could influence the entire personnel responsible for the royal chambers. This was particularly visible in the last days of Báthory's life, when the ruler gave him exclusive authority to decide who could stay in the monarch's chambers. It was he who sent for Buccella, when the sovereign's health significantly deteriorated. Furthermore, he was the one whom the royal physicians asked about making a decision on how the dying King Stephen should be treated. A bizarre situation took place, when on the last day the senators, including the chancellors, were waiting at the chamber's door for the information on the monarch's condition and it was Wesselini who informed them about the king's death and gave them back the keys to the royal apartments.²⁶ His unique position at the royal court is also indicated by his participation in the funeral of the deceased monarch,²⁷ or by Báthory's last will, in which he justified his subordinate to the Polish lords and asked them not to take away any titles and estates from him.²⁸ Franciszek Wesselini enjoyed recognition not only in the eyes of King Stephen but also his consort, Queen Anna. In her correspondence after Báthory's death, she reassured him about her friendship and guaranteed him immunity. The extent to which the relations between Anna Jagiellon and Wesselini were close is demonstrated by the fact that they were still in touch in 1590.²⁹

Other people who were moving in better circles of the court's hierarchy were the Hungarians employed as officials, horse courtiers, secretaries, or the so-called salarists. In this group of fifteen people, it is worth mentioning Temeswary, Andrzej Horwat [Horwatt], Marcin Thury, or Władysław Bekiesz [Békés]. The first of them — as the only Hungarian apart from the abovementioned Wesselini — held a higher office at the Polish royal court of deputy master of the horse (*vicepraefectus stabuli*).³⁰ Equally unusual is the fact that — as one of few men — he was taken into service by Sigismund III Vasa and worked at least until 1602,³¹ thereby linking himself with the Polish royal court for a longer period. Andrzej Horwat [Horwatt], on the other hand, had a slightly different career. Initially he was admitted to the group of the salarists, lower officials who held a position referred to in the sources as *ad vascula cum orbibus et mappis*, i.e. he was responsible for tableware and tablecloths.³² In addi-

²⁵ POLKOWSKI 1887, p. 360. Apart from dignitaries who came to ceremonies, there were many more invited to join them. See POLKOWSKI 1887, p. 349.

²⁶ NIEMCEWICZ 1822, pp. 442–449.

²⁷ NIEMCEWICZ 1822, pp. 453, 458, 462–463.

²⁸ POLKOWSKI 1887, pp. 411–412.

²⁹ MNL, fond P 702, ms 2, doc. 4, 5, 6.

³⁰ AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 276, f. 54v; ms 278, part II, f. 25.

³¹ CHŁAPOWSKI 2004, p. 75.

³² AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 246, ff. 189–189v; ms 252, f. 19v; ms 253, f. 98; ms 254, ff. 153v, 205; ms 256, f. 109; ms 257, f. 194; ms 260, ff. 45–45v, 133v; ms 261, ff. 109, 164v; ms 263, f. 118; ms 268, ff. 124, 141–141v; ms 269, ff. 128v, 156; ms 276, f. 49v; ms 278, part II, f. 22v; ms 328, f. 60v; ms 329,

tion, he was used to other work, such as the purchase and import of the Hungarian wine, spices and other similar commodities.³³ Andrzej Horwat was the greatest Hungarian beneficiary amongst all the salariats. He received a salary of 100 florins per year and full board together with a ration of wine; in total, he was given 354 florins and 20 grosze from the Polish treasury as a remuneration. One should add to this the payment for initially keeping three horses and — from 1583 — four horses. With this number of mounts he received a promotion to the group of the horse courtiers. It is worth emphasising that despite being moved to a more prestigious category, he was still responsible for the tableware and royal tablecloths.³⁴ He was also one of Báthory's countrymen who managed to get into one of the most important groups at the Polish royal court, the *aulicos*. Apart from him, there were two other Hungarians who achieved this, Marcin Thury and Władysław Bekiesz [Békés], except that they served in a lower category of courtiers with 2 horses.³⁵ The latter was the son of Kacper Bekiesz and joined the Polish royal court for a longer period. He was admitted to the group of *aulicos*, which was a considerable distinction, with 6 mounts at the beginning of the reign of Sigismund III and he held that position at least until 1601.³⁶ He combined his service at the royal court with military service throughout the reign of the first Vasa king.³⁷

Hungarian pageboys, i.e. boys (*paź*) who received their education at the royal court and learned etiquette and manners, were another large group.³⁸ During King Stephen's reign their studies were more focused on a chivalric model, most of all on skills in using weapons.³⁹ If this group was indeed treated — at least partially — as the future officials or the monarch's supporters, then this problem appears even more complex in the case of the foreigners. The main question is: to what extent could King Stephen, as a foreigner, support his underage countrymen at the Polish royal court? There were overall 14 Hungarians amongst the pageboys between 1576 and 1586, and so they constituted exactly 10% of the group.⁴⁰ The relatively

ff. 7, 192; ms 330, part II, ff. 29v, 51v; ms 331, ff. 5v, 120; ms 334, f. 83; ms 352, ff. 151, 176v; ms 353, f. 211v; ms 369, ff. 121v, 150; ms 374, f. 19; AGAD, ASK, KA, ms 3, f. 73.

³³ See AGAD, ASK, RK ms 254, f. 134; ms 261, ff. 44v, 85–85v.

³⁴ Interestingly, he accompanied Stephen Báthory to the siege of Pskov in 1581, AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 253, f. 234.

³⁵ AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 253, f. 74v; ms 276, ff. 51, 130v; ms 278, part II, ff. 9v, 23v, 71v, 76v; ms 334, f. 83; ms 374, ff. 22v, 323v.

³⁶ CHŁAPOWSKI 2004, p. 56.

³⁷ In return he received the County of Andzełi in 1598, U, IX, p. 176.

³⁸ See: SKIBNIEWSKA 2015, pp. 77–78; FERENC 2014, p. 79.

³⁹ AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 252, ff. 27–27v; ms 253, ff. 126–126v.

⁴⁰ Stefan *Bánfi* [*Banisi*], Franciszek *Bereney* [*Beseredi*], Stefan *Biudeoski*, Franciszek *Chamaj* [*Hamaj*], *Cziaki*, Irini [*Jvini*], Jerzy *Kortusky* [*Kortoweleszy*], N? *Lazar*, Franciszek *Lorant*, Mikołaj *Pan*, Gabriel *Pernezi*, *Raczko*, Baltazar *Sihuasy* [*Szilwaszy*], Paweł *Wratkowit*. See: AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 253, ff. 127–135v; KADZIK 2018, pp. 177–195.

large number of young people from Transylvania could suggest that Stephen Báthory wanted to prepare a few of the protégées to conduct some sort of activities or to have a career in the Commonwealth. There was only one amongst them who got a promotion — probably after reaching a certain age — to the post of bailiff, i.e. a courier.⁴¹ Furthermore, the rest left the monarch's circle at least after three years in service. It is characteristic that King Stephen's countrymen were taken in either in the first few years of his reign or towards its end, but during the war against Moscow not even one was admitted. Thus it can be assumed that King Stephen did not have far-reaching plans about careers at the royal court for his young countrymen. Their presence should be treated just as in the case of other monarchical courts: each one of them had more or less numerous group of pageboys from neighbouring countries.

A similar situation refers to the Hungarian bailiffs (couriers) of Báthory as there were only nine of them at the Polish royal court throughout Báthory's entire reign⁴² — "only" nine if we take into account that there were as many as 222 *cubiculares missiles* of King Stephen. Half of them held this post for a short time, even less than three years. None of them got promoted at the Polish royal court and all of them — apart from Baltazar Ratum — either left the monarch's side or were moved to the group of Hungarian courtiers.⁴³ Reasons for a marginal role of foreigners in this groups were natural — without knowing the Polish language and the country they could not properly perform the tasks as the monarch's envoys. Thus, Báthory's countrymen were sent with correspondence to Transylvania or foreign deputations, i.e. to Moldova.⁴⁴ Reasons for their employment should be found in these types of missions.

All of the abovementioned Hungarians — perhaps apart from the pageboys — were responsible for areas of the court's life like management, security or communication. They held prestigious and prominent positions in the monarch's entourage. Their activity was to a large extent associated with the political sphere and, in this sense, it was directed outside the royal court. However, due to their numbers, it should not be presumed that they had a great influence on the current events in the Commonwealth. On the other hand there were those categories of employees at Báthory's royal court in which the king's countrymen were distinguished not only because of their greater presence, but most of all by their significance. This concerned broadly understood royal court staff responsible for different aspects of the everyday life of the monarch — food, service in chambers or stables.

⁴¹ He was Jvini/Jrim in 1582, AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 253, f. 127v.

⁴² Franciszek *Bezeredi*, *Hozwai*, *Irini*, Andrzej *Kistrisz*, Michał *Nadsiladi*, Baltazar *Nagy-Mihály*, Baltazar *Ratum*, Jerzy *Seremi*, *Warady*. See KADZIK 2018, pp. 123–177.

⁴³ Michał *Nadsiladi*, Baltazar *Nagy-Mihály*, Jerzy *Seremi*, and *Warady* belonged to the group of people referred to as *ad equiti hungari traslati*, AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 253, ff. 138–138v, 142v, 143.

⁴⁴ See AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 254, ff. 252–252v; ms 256, f. 166v; ms 257, f. 276v; ms 261, ff. 194v, 196, 213; ms 263, f. 201; ms 267, f. 128v; ms 268, ff. 189, 200, 202v–203, 204v; ms 269, ff. 207v, 218, 221, 222v; ms 278, part II, f. 66.

One of the most interesting examples in this group were the master cooks. An examination of the Lord Chamberlain Records (Księgi Marszałkowskie) and other treasury sources from 1576–1586 immediately reveals that there functioned two, formally distinguished, master cooks — Hungarian (*cocci magistri hungaris*) and Polish (*cocci magistri poloni*).⁴⁵ The very fact shows that Hungarian dishes were most certainly prepared for King Stephen and perhaps for his countrymen. From the perspective of the court's organisation, it seems that a more important role was that of the Hungarian master cooks. Firstly, there was a significantly higher number of the Hungarians (ten) than the Poles (two) who were employed throughout the entire reign of King Stephen.⁴⁶ Secondly, the Poles were not employed in this group at all at the beginning. It was not until 20 September 1577 that Hronostaj and Marcin took up the posts referred to as *cocci magistri poloni*. Probably there was initially only a place for *cocci magistri hungaris* within the royal kitchen structure and, in any case, no attempts were made to have the Poles quickly involved. This theory is confirmed by the most important source, i.e. the Lord Chamberlain Records. In the so-called “smaller” record, there is no information about the Polish master cooks, only about the Hungarians.⁴⁷ However, in the second book (“larger”), which covered all the years of Báthory's reign, two groups were mentioned.⁴⁸ The comparison between their salaries is interesting. King Stephen's compatriots received 48 florins as an annual income, 24 groszy as a “palatable”, which was paid weekly for wine, and textile which was equivalent to 10 florins, while the Poles received 40 florins annually and 8 ells of the so-called *lundunien* textile (worth less than 10 florins).⁴⁹ The Hungarians also received good quality *lundunien* textile, which was distributed to groups of courtiers such as scouts, bailiffs or pageboys.⁵⁰ Taking into consideration all these aspects, it should be stated that *cocci magistri hungaris* held a better position in the structure of the royal kitchen. This does not indicate their precedence over the Polish master cooks (in hierarchical terms): most likely it was simply about meeting the culinary preferences of the monarch and/or that the Hungarians were more qualified than Báthory's new subjects. One could only wonder on a reason for creating a category of the Polish master cooks after one and a half year.

⁴⁵ AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 252, f. 41; ms 253, ff. 179–180.

⁴⁶ At the same time, there were fewer compatriots of Báthory who were working (maximum five, but two at least), but there were always two Polish master cooks: Hronostaj and Marcin. See KADZIK 2018, pp. 223–226.

⁴⁷ See AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 252, f. 41v.

⁴⁸ See AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 253, ff. 179–181v.

⁴⁹ It is difficult to say from where exactly the textiles came. The two types of *lundunien* textiles mentioned above are referred to in the Polish language as *lunduńskie* and *failundzkie* respectively, although the difference between them is still unknown.

⁵⁰ See AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 254, f. 332v, 360; ms 256, ff. 242v–243; ms 257, ff. 326v–327v; ms 258, ff. 159v–160; ms 260, f. 209; ms 261, ff. 183–183v; ms 263, f. 189; p.ms 268, f. 267v; ms 269, f. 298v.

Was it that the Hungarian cuisine did not appeal to all the courtiers from the Commonwealth? It is worth noting the fact of creating a separate group of courtiers only for the Hungarians. King Stephen's countrymen — as well as other foreigners — were so far always presented in the same category of the court's staff as the Poles/residents of the Commonwealth. In this case, an exception was made.

When it comes to the other kitchen staff, we had the opposite situation — individual groups of servants were dominated by the inhabitants of the Polish-Lithuanian kingdom and there were few Hungarians. There was one each amongst young cooks, kitchen maids, and doorkeepers.⁵¹ One should add to them also a countryman of King Stephen, Marcin Nemeth, who started his work at the Polish royal court as a kitchen boy, getting then promoted to *coci adolescentes*, in order to finally hold the post of a master cook.⁵² All these positions were placed lower in the hierarchy than *cocci magistri* and the participation of people who held them in the preparation of dishes for the king was quite limited — this was done by master cooks. Thus the situation of the royal kitchen staff was very interesting. The group of *cocci magistri*, who were most certainly the elite, was dominated by the Hungarians while the middle and lower staff (kitchen boys and *coci adolescentes*) consisted in an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the Commonwealth. A separate case was that of the bakers, who at that time were classified as craftsmen, but — due to the work they did — we can include them among the kitchen staff. Amongst four bakers, as many as three were Hungarians.⁵³ In order to close the discussion on the service of the royal table, we should also mention one of Báthory's compatriots amongst the so-called "silvers", who were responsible for the tableware.⁵⁴

Various ceremonies and their musical settings were an inseparable element of life at a royal court. It was the environment of artists and thus it was almost natural in a sense that there were foreigners amongst them. The situation was no different at the court of Báthory, although participation of his countrymen in this group was very

⁵¹ Young cooks: Dymitr Węgier; kitchen boy: Stefan [II]; kitchen doorman, Jerzy. See KADZIK 2018, ff. 228, 233–234.

⁵² AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 246, f. 150v; ms 252, f. 42; ms 253, f. 185; ms 254, ff. 106v, 107v; ms 256, f. 123v; ms 257, f. 214v; ms 260, ff. 145–145v; ms 261, ff. 123v, 124, 124v–125, 125v, 126, 126v, 177v–178; ms 263, ff. 126v–127; ms 267, ff. 37, 37v; ms 268, ff. 155, 156–156v, 157v, 158v; ms 269, ff. 172, 173–173v, 174, 175, 176; ms 276, ff. 118, 119; cap. 278, part II, ff. 56, 56v; ms 329, f. 21; ms 330, part II, ff. 32, 49; ms 352, ff. 189v, 190v; ms 353, f. 245; ms 369, ff. 165, 166, 167, 168, 168v–169; ms 374, ff. 53, 54v.

⁵³ They were Michał, Tomasz, and Władysław: AGAD, ASK, RK ms 246, ff. 204–204v; ms 252, f. 45; ms 253, f. 192v; ms 254, ff. 105v, 125, 181; ms 256, ff. 58, 120v; ms 257, ff. 156v–157, 210v; ms 260, ff. 172v–173; ms 261, ff. 69v, 121; ms 263, f. 125v; ms 268, f. 152v; ms 269, f. 169; ms 276, f. 109; ms 278, part II, f. 52; ms 329, ff. 11v, 40; ms 330, part II, f. 86v; ms 331, ff. 6v, 124v; ms 332, ff. 217v, 222v; ms 334, f. 84v; ms 348/II, ff. 207v, 211v; ms 352, f. 217v; ms 353, f. 239; ms 369, f. 162; ms 374, f. 50v.

⁵⁴ AGAD, ASK, RK, ms. 252, f. 38v; ms. 253, f. 172.

limited in comparison to the categories of courtiers presented above. Throughout the entire reign three trumpeters were employed, amongst whom Albert [Wojciech] kept this function from 1576 to 1586, to King Stephen's death.⁵⁵ Apart from them, there were probably two more countrymen of the ruler amongst the instrumentalists, but it is difficult to establish their background because it was not recorded in the sources.⁵⁶ Undoubtedly, a vast majority of court musicians were residents of the Commonwealth. King Stephen's background did not have any significant impact on the admission of a visibly large group of instrumentalists and singers from the monarch's fatherland to the Polish royal court. Only in the times of the next ruler, Sigismund III Vasa, can we see an influx of a considerable group of foreigners to the circle of court musicians.⁵⁷

The Hungarians played an important role amongst those who worked at the royal court as gatekeepers. Six countrymen of the monarch — out of a total number of 20 — passed through this post throughout the reign of Báthory.⁵⁸ This was a substantial percentage if we take into account the ratio between the inhabitants of the Commonwealth and the Hungarians in other groups of court servants where it was significantly smaller. This is even more symptomatic since there were no foreign gatekeepers during the reign of Sigismund II Augustus.⁵⁹ Some of them accompanied Báthory in his military campaigns, e.g. at the Siege of Velikiye Luki.⁶⁰ They were rarely needed by the monarch to open the door in the military camp, but they kept order in the tent or in the occupied quarters. There are many indications that they travelled together with King Stephen all over the country.⁶¹ Due to various duties, the gatekeepers were very close to the ruler on a daily basis — probably the closest out of all the court's servants — so they had to be trusted by him. Therefore, it is not surprising that a few Hungarians were present amongst them, although it is worth

⁵⁵ Apart from Albert [Wojciech], there were also Krzysztof and Stefan. See AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 252, f. 34v; ms 253, ff. 166v, 167, 167v; ms 254, ff. 102v, 121v–122, 175v; ms 256, ff. 56v–57, 119v; ms 257, ff. 154v–155, 209; ms 260, ff. 108v, 142; ms 261, ff. 69, 118v, 173v; ms 263, ff. 83v, 124; ms 268, ff. 43v–44, 65, 80v–81, 151–151v; ms 269, ff. 52, 72, 86, 167v; ms 276, ff. 105–105v; ms 278, part II, ff. 50v–51.

⁵⁶ This concerns *Blasio* and *Blugozay*. None of them is in the Lord Chamberlain Records, but they sporadically appear in the Royal Accounts. See AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 274, f. 31; ms 328, f. 62v.

⁵⁷ See SZWEYKOWSKI 1957, p. 21; SZWEYKOWSKA, SZWEYKOWSKI 1997, *passim*.

⁵⁸ They were: Benedykt, Piotr *Horwat*, Piotr *Diak*, Franciszek, Adam *Grueski*, and Franciszek *Oroz*. See AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 252, ff. 39v–40; ms 253, ff. 175, 177–177v.

⁵⁹ FERENC 2014, p. 81.

⁶⁰ See AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 253, f. 177.

⁶¹ They travelled with the monarch not only during military campaigns in the East; they were recorded also in the Royal Accounts in Bydgoszcz, Lviv, Malbork, Niepołomice, Warsaw, Vilnius and Włocławek. This research problem has so far not been solved in scholarly publications and opinions are voiced that the functions of doorkeepers in each of the royal residences were performed by a different group of people employed by a local housekeeper (See: SKIBNIEWSKA 2015, p. 88; KRĘT 1987, p. 87). Perhaps a change took place in Báthory's times.

paying attention to the time of their admission — it took place after 1582.⁶² This can be explained in one way. The king must have trusted his countrymen more than this new subjects and so he entrusted the former with guarding and controlling who entered and exited the chambers he occupied. Additionally, he could communicate with them easier. Moreover, we need to bear in mind the increasingly tense political situation in the state — precisely from 1582 — which was linked to the confrontation between the royal court and the opposition led by the Zborowski family.

A considerable representation of the Hungarians was employed amongst the court craftsmen. There were as many as 21 people out of a total number of 53.⁶³ As many as seven tailors, who were responsible for the wardrobe of Stephen Báthory and perhaps of some of the courtiers, should be mentioned in the first place.⁶⁴ Not all of them worked for the king from the beginning. The first one, Jan, was admitted in 1577 and the next four the following year, while the last two tailors were employed in 1580. In the meantime, two of them, Jan and Mateusz, quit the service. A relatively large representation of the Hungarians in this occupation resulted probably from the growing needs of the monarch and courtiers for clothes in the Hungarian style.⁶⁵ The tailors in question were not the only court employees responsible for the aesthetic appearance of the ruler and his circle from Transylvania. The group also included a barber, embroiderer, feather-layer, and goldsmiths. Thus, it can be concluded that the Hungarian style was very much widespread at the court of King Stephen. Perhaps it was even promoted in some way. Apart from the personnel responsible for the aesthetic sphere, there were craftsmen from Hungary working at the court and taking care of ordinary activities on a daily basis. As I mentioned above, there were three bakers amongst them. Additionally, a saddler, locksmith, and blacksmith were employed. The blacksmith was to provide services to the Hungarian infantry.⁶⁶ Characteristically, there were few other foreigners apart from the monarch's countrymen: one German, two Italians and a Jew.⁶⁷ Thus, the Hungarians dominated this category of courtiers and supplanted other nations in a sense. During the reigns of King Stephen's predecessors, a much greater national diversity amongst the craftsmen could

⁶² See KADZIK 2018, pp. 219–223.

⁶³ Barber: Andrzej; surgeon: NN; undertaker: Jakub; embroiderer: Janusz [II]; tailor: *Blazio* [Błażej], Filip, Jan, Mateusz, Mikołaj, Mustafa, and Balasz *Sablug*; tent tailor: Jan [II]; blacksmith: *Seri*; baker: Michał, Tomasz, Władysław; locksmith: Jan [III]; saddler: Baltazar; feather-layer: Jan [IV]; goldsmith: *Calai* [Kalaj, Kalay] Jan [Janusz], and Demetriusz.

⁶⁴ AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 253, ff. 191–191v; ms 252, f. 44v; ms 256, ff. 59v–60, 121v.

⁶⁵ There were many specialised tailors in Cracow and disregarding them while employing others at the monarch's court had to have its justification. Moreover, bringing professionals from abroad was connected with higher expenses. Therefore, the courtiers and the king were most likely in need of craftsmen who were able to sew a Hungarian outfit.

⁶⁶ AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 253, f. 190.

⁶⁷ German: Marcin Kober [Chober], a painter; Italian: Fidelis Jacinctus, *Dziano Pulezo*, a blacksmith; Jew: Sebastian Zidkowicz [Żydkowicz?], a saddler.

be found. Furthermore, it should not be surprising that the foreigners constituted nearly a half of all the *artifices*, which may seem an impressive result. However, if we compare it with the period in which Sigismund II reigned, it will turn out that there were even more foreign craftsmen at that time, around 60% (42 out of 66).⁶⁸

The largest group of the Hungarians at the Polish royal court during Stephen Báthory's reign was that of stablemen — to be precise, two groups, of carters and stablemen (equerries), 384 people overall. Interestingly enough, similarly to the case of master cooks, they also had separate groups created for them at the royal court in accordance with the national criterion. At the royal court of Báthory, horses were first and foremost taken care of by the Hungarian equerries. Throughout the entire reign 111⁶⁹ of them were employed, which is over five times more than those from the Commonwealth. Obviously, they did not all work at the same time — on average, there were around 20 with the king. There were usually over 2–3 times more Hungarians than Polish equerries in specific quarters. Over time, the difference was deepening, as is best evidenced by the last years of King Stephen's reign. At that time the horses were taken care of by four Poles and 25 compatriots of the monarch, thus the ratio was 1:6. This shows not only that the number of the Hungarians amongst the stablemen increasing, but, most of all, that the inhabitants of the Commonwealth were ousted from this group. We are not able to state what the reason was. The officials of a middle and higher rank in the royal stables were the Poles so they should have preferred the local workers. Perhaps the employment of the Hungarians depended on Báthory. It also cannot be ruled out that higher qualifications of the Hungarian stablemen were acknowledged. Assuming that after the period of a long interregnum and prevailing chaos, the number of horses in the stables and the royal horse studs decreased and their condition deteriorated, Báthory had to and, most probably, wanted to bring his own mounts from Transylvania to Poland, and these were better taken care of by the Hungarians (Transylvanians) who knew them. Explanation of this matter is complicated by the organisation of the group of the Hungarian equerries and the changes that took place within it throughout the entire reign of King Stephen. The first stablemen were admitted to the Polish royal court only in 1577.⁷⁰ It is difficult to state whether they came to the Commonwealth together with the monarch or if they were summoned by him after some time. Perhaps some of them arrived later, bringing the horses from Transylvania, which required longer preparations.

⁶⁸ FERENC 2014, p. 126.

⁶⁹ See KADZIK 2018, pp. 336–357.

⁷⁰ Janusz Balagi, Janusz Betekiesz [Betegi], Jerzy Horwat, Culmanus, Jerzy [Dziurth], Jan Feleki, Ferens, Mikłusz [Mikołaj] Fogarasi, Janusz Kis [Kisz]?, Kolman, Lorens, Andrzej Lowaci [Lowacz], Franciszek Lowaci [Lowacz], Mateusz Lowaci [Lowacz], Tomasz Lowosz, Jerzy Mamuia [Mamine], Paweł Nacz, Władysław Nagy, Laszlo Nath, Łukasz Olach, Janusz Pal, Benedykt Sarnelik, Piotr Szomlai, and Laurentius Zonterstot. See KADZIK 2018, pp. 336–357.

During the reign of King Stephen the post of carter or Hungarian waggoner⁷¹ was overall taken by 273 people.⁷² The former group was employed in 1577, just like their countrymen, the stablemen. Most likely, the waggoners who had arrived with Báthory a year earlier were integrated into the royal court only after some time.⁷³ The changes in the numbers of the groups of the Hungarian waggoners probably looked similar to their Polish counterparts. Initially, until 1580, the number of people holding this post was increased (unfortunately, only information from January 1579 has been preserved); there were altogether 153 people working in that period. However, already in the following year the number of the Hungarian waggoners started to rapidly decrease. From mid-1581 to the end of 1583 they were employed in each quarter of the year in roughly the same numbers as the Poles, but in the last year of King Stephen's reign the gap once again widened in favour of the inhabitants of the Commonwealth. Such a significant exchange of staff was a result of the involvement of the Hungarian carters in the logistics of serving the army, particularly during the second campaign against Moscow. Once the war was over, a majority of them were discharged.

At this stage, we should consider whether the abovementioned Hungarians at the royal court of Báthory were a large group. In order to illustrate this issue I will compare them to the number of foreigners at the royal courts of Alexander I Jagiellon and Sigismund II Augustus. There were 67 foreigners from different countries who worked for the former. The most numerous were the Czechs, 23, then the Germans and Hungarians followed with 8 people in each group. Additionally, 4 Armenians and Silesians were employed, 3 Serbs, and 2 Vlachs and Jews.⁷⁴ There were more foreigners working at the royal court of Sigismund II Augustus than at his uncle's, and it was probably linked to a much longer reign and an increased presence of Italians in Poland. Germans constituted the most numerous group, 36 people, followed by 31 newcomers from Italy. Other nationalities were less numerous: there were 13 Hungarians, 11 Czechs, 9 Silesians, 4 Russians, 3 Spaniards, an Armenian, and a Greek.⁷⁵ In the 24-year reign of Sigismund II Augustus, 110 foreigners passed

⁷¹ The *kocsis* were in fact carters. Their name comes from carts which are referred to as *kotsi* in the Hungarian language — the word was “Polonised” to the form *koczcy* (*Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku* 1978, pp. 77–78).

⁷² See KADZIK 2018, pp. 357–409.

⁷³ Stephen Báthory arrived in the Commonwealth in a company of dignitaries and courtiers from Transylvania on — a total of — 1232 horses and with 166 wagons. This kind of train must have been accompanied by carters and equerries, and perhaps some of the stayed with King Stephen. It is likely that the first members of *aurigae et rhedarii hungarici* and *agasonum hungarici* were recruited from this group. See SUAP, fond Sm — Cizina, ms. XIII/80, pp. 71–73.

⁷⁴ The author considers the lands in the Crown as a natural territory from which courtiers and servants were recruited, and thus she mentions five Russians and Lithuanians amongst the foreigners, SKIBNIEWSKA 2015, p. 199.

⁷⁵ FERENC 2015, pp. 56, 70, 81, 91, 99–100, 113, 116, 126, 131, 138, 140.

through his royal court. It is possible to indicate the nations that prevailed in both cases, although not even once did they constitute even a half of all the foreigners. Against this background, Báthory's royal court is diametrically different. The group of foreigners, i.e. the Hungarians, is much more numerous than in the cases described above. Moreover, the horse courtiers and the court servants — whether of Alexander or the last of the Jagiellons — created a multinational personnel, while — apart from 464 Hungarians — only 19 Germans,⁷⁶ 23 Italians,⁷⁷ 4 Czechs and two Muscovites/Russians⁷⁸ worked at King Stephen's court. Therefore, the strong position of his countrymen was associated not only with the categories of servants which were created on purpose, such as mater cooks, equerries or wagoners, but most of all with occupying posts in the remaining groups which could be theoretically taken by other foreigners. In a sense, we can say that the Hungarians ousted other nations from Báthory's milieu.

Finally, it is worth to ponder on how the Hungarians from King Stephen's court fared in comparison to the Poles. Overall, 1655 people (excluding the courier horse courtiers) were employed at the royal court over a period of nearly 11 years.⁷⁹ In this case, the Hungarians — with a total of 464 people — would constitute more than 28% of the court's staff. However, this is a purely formal perspective because the practice was slightly different. All the horse courtiers and royal servants were never in the king's service at the same time. Firstly, they performed various tasks and missions for their master. Secondly, life at the court — particularly in the case of the so-called horse courtiers — was very expensive and money received from the treasury could not cover all the expenditures, and thus only some of them accompanied Báthory on a daily basis. The king's frequent travels affected the size of his retinue; it could not be too large due to the problem of provisioning during the journey and in the resting points or places of residence.⁸⁰ It was nothing unusual and such fluctuations in the courtiers' numbers were a normal occurrence in the entourages of other rulers. The retinue accompany-

⁷⁶ Gotschalk von Shluben, a pageboy, Kacper Kethserth, a bailiff; Piotr, a bailiff, Bichner, a blacksmith, and Jurgi, a hunter. It is uncertain whether they came from the duchies of the Empire or if they were perhaps the residents of Prussia, AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 253, ff. 130v, 148, 149v, 201v, 209.

⁷⁷ Royal physicians, Mikołaj Bucello and Camillus Tachetus from Verona, AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 253, ff. 90v, 91; ms 252, ff. 15v–16.

⁷⁸ Culmamus, a stableman, AGAD, ASK, RK, ms 252, f. 52.

⁷⁹ 24 officials, 158 horse courtiers, 28 secretaries, 3 chamberlains, 4 salariats, 8 physicians, 4 chaplains, 11 priests, 115 scouts, 3 horse trainers, 206 couriers, 81 pageboys, 18 musicians, 18 singers, 6 young singers, 20 trumpeters, 3 drummers, 6 silver servants, 6 silver servants' helpers, 4 pageboys' helpers, 1 scouts' helper, 20 doorkeepers, 10 master cooks from Hungary, 2 master cooks from Poland, 20 young cooks, 11 kitchen boys, 6 kitchen doorkeepers, 8 kitchen helpers, 53 craftsmen, 2 bath attendants, 19 fowlers, 49 hunters, 2 stokers, 1 washerwoman, 9 stable officials, 12 stable blacksmiths, 2 carriage house officials, 7 train blacksmiths, 7 wheelwrights, 7 cartwrights, 17 camp helpers, 21 Polish stablemen, 239 Polish carters, 111 Hungarian stablemen, 273 Hungarian carters.

⁸⁰ SKIBNIEWSKA 2015, p. 123–124.

ing King Stephen had, on average, around 500 people.⁸¹ A majority of the courtiers arrived only for extraordinary situations and ceremonies. On the other hand, there were times when considerably fewer people surrounded the ruler, which worried some people whether Báthory was sufficiently guarded.⁸² If there was a number between 100 and 150 Hungarians amongst them, i.e. from 20% to 30%, they were a group noticeable for everyone.⁸³ Thus it is possible to venture a statement that the Polish court of Stephen Báthory was, in fact, a Polish-Hungarian court.

Such nature of the monarch's court is reflected i.e. in Joachim Bielski's chronicle: "The king would partly offend people with the Hungarians who were in abundance both at the court and in the chambers."⁸⁴ As can be easily realised, this triggered negative opinions amongst the nobility which affected the assessment of Báthory after his death and appeared already towards the end of his reign.⁸⁵ Moreover, we need to remember that they were not the only countrymen of King Stephen who were present in his circle.⁸⁶ Many Hungarians were not a part of the Polish royal court so their presence affected even further the negative opinions of the nobility. As far as the very structure of the Polish court is concerned, we should undoubtedly pay attention to a certain *novum*. A few Hungarian-only groups were distinguished. These were the stablemen, waggoners and master cooks. These groups existed alongside their Polish counterparts. This is one of many examples of the influence of the Hungarians and the Hungarian ruler on the shape of the Commonwealth's court, even though in this case it was a one-off phenomenon. Simultaneously, it represents a distinctive attachment of Báthory to his fatherland and his fellow countrymen.

⁸¹ There were 480 people in the last year. A few lists and registers concerning food and oats distribution during Báthory's journey have survived. They are cited by WREDE 2010, pp. 48–49. Moreover, the court of Sigismund III — who continued many solutions of his predecessor — was of the same size. See CHŁAPOWSKI 2004, *passim*.

⁸² See POLKOWSKI 1887, p. 145.

⁸³ We must remember that there were no Hungarians amongst the horse courtiers; nearly all of them were employed in posts which required their frequent, even constant, presence around Stephen Báthory.

⁸⁴ BIELSKI 1856, p. 1535.

⁸⁵ See WREDE 2010, p. 47–48. The opposition used this motif in the political struggle against King Stephen. This was reflected in i.e. the Sejm resolutions of 1584. See SRP, XVIII, pp. 374, 411. The extent to which the presence of the Hungarians at the royal court and in the Commonwealth was used against Báthory is demonstrated by the fact that leaflets were circulated around the country, listing examples of violation and misuse of the law by the monarch. They included points referring to King Stephen's compatriots. This must have affected the imagination of the noble masses. The printouts were distributed to all the corners of the country, with one of them ending up in Bohemia and being currently kept in the archives in Prague. See SUAP, fond SM — Cizina, ms XIII/110, ff. 116–116v.

⁸⁶ Throughout the years Báthory supported the Hungarian infantry which was initially used to fight against rebellious Gdańsk and then in the war with Moscow. Additionally, there was also the so-called Hungarian court which gathered Transylvanian dignitaries such as i.e. Kacper Bekiesz. This is an unexplored issue which was mentioned by Henryk Kotarski who cited Heidenstein. Its existence was confirmed by promotions of four bailiffs whom I have mentioned above.

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Foreigners at the Royal Court of Stephen Báthory as Exemplified by People from the Lands of the Kingdom of Hungary

In the early modern period royal courts were institutions which often employed foreigners in various positions. This was a common phenomenon across Europe, also in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In this context the period of the first free elections, when a foreigner was elected King of Poland on each occasion, is extremely interesting. In this unique situation the predecessor's court took on a significance that was different from that in the case of a dynasty — the newly elected king did not inherit the entourage of the deceased ruler; at most he would hire some of the personnel to serve him. Moreover, the newly elected monarch would come to the Polish-Lithuanian state with a group of his compatriots, at least some of whom would end up in the new Polish court. From the point of view of the emergence of some phenomena and solutions at the time of the first free elections, the reign of Stephen Báthory seems interesting in this respect. In the article the author presents the number of Hungarians and the offices they held at the Polish court. In addition, he points to the fluctuations among King Stephen's compatriots as well as their position and stature in the various categories of courtiers and court servants. He also seeks to present the question of the internationalisation of the monarch's entourage in comparison with the Jagiellonian period in order to establish whether during Stephen's reign the number of foreigners — in this case the ruler's compatriots — was similar or whether there were any differences. Another problem examined in the article is that of the number of Hungarians in comparison to the Poles at the royal court, and the resulting attitude of the nobility to the "foreigners" surrounding the monarch.