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FACES OF WAR

VOL. 6 • CITY AND WAR • ŁÓDŹ 2022

ISBN 978-83-8331-012-1 • pp. 81-102

<https://doi.org/10.18778/8331-012-1.06>

TEREBOVLIA AS THE LOCATION FOR THE POLISH TROOPS' STAY IN 1557 AND 1558

Summary. In 1557 and 1558, Terebovlia was the place of the stay of the Polish army, whose task was to defend the Ruthenian lands of the Kingdom of Poland against the Tatar invasions. Surviving written records contain information about the Polish mercenary army staying in the town – the number, composition, armament, and commanders of the troops. According to these sources, in 1557 more than 1000 mounted soldiers passed through the town, and a similar number of troops visited the town in the following year. At that time, Terebovlia was not the only meeting place for the army that was supposed to stop the Tatar raids, but it was here that the largest number of them was gathered. In 1558, the mercenaries participated in a battle against the Crimean Tatars, who were then invading the south-eastern lands of the Kingdom of Poland. There were some military actions against the invaders, but they were not big battles – rather small skirmishes that took place in the area from Terebovlia to Bar, between the rivers Dniester and Boh. For these troops, Terebovlia was a relatively safe place in the immediate vicinity of the ongoing war.

Keywords: Trembowla, Terebovlia, Kingdom of Poland, castle, army, mercenaries, armament, 16th century

The modern-day Terebovlia (Polish: *Trembowla*; Ukrainian: *Теребовля*) is a small town in Ternopil Oblast in western Ukraine with a long and interesting history, including numerous war episodes. Such was the character of the events of 1557 and 1558, when Polish mercenary troops gathered here to defend the south-eastern borderlands of the Kingdom of Poland against Tartar raids. This paper aims to present the role of Terebovlia as a base for those troops. It also discusses their organisation and the armament of the soldiers. In addition, the author attempts to reconstruct the course of the service of the mercenaries in 1558 – both in terms geographic route they took and the events that took place that year.

Research on this topic is possible because there are surviving registers of the mercenary troops from the years 1557 and 1558, stored in the collection of the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, which have not yet been used in historical studies. They were drawn up in Terebovlia during the visitation of troops enlisted for service¹ and contain information about the number of soldiers, their armament and horses, which constituted the basis for the soldiers' pay. On the other hand, the register of horses lost by the mercenaries, which was drawn up in May 1558, contains information about the course of service of the above-mentioned troops.² The list refers to 11 rotas (cavalry units) and was also drawn up in Terebovlia. Of particular interest to us, it enumerates the towns near which the horses were lost, which makes it possible to determine where a given unit served at that time.³ This article also uses the unpublished inventory of the Terebovlia castle from 1550.⁴ These materials supplement the information about the town already known from other sources, allowing the author to present previously unknown events in the history of Terebovlia and the troops that stayed there.⁵

Archaeological research indicates that Terebovlia existed already in the 9th century.⁶ The first mentions in written records come from the *Tale of Bygone Years*, a Russian chronicle written around 1113, in which the settlement is mentioned in connection with the congress of Ruthenian princes in Lubecz in 1097. As noted by the author of the annals, the stronghold was at the time

¹ The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, Archives of the Crown Treasury; Division 85 (hereinafter: CAHR, Division 85), sign. 61, 62.

² CAHR, Division 85, sign. 62, c. 1–7v. The register was drawn up on sheets of paper folded in half and bound together which were subsequently attached to the volume after folio 88. The pages of this attachment are separately numbered (folios 1–7v) and this numbering is used in the footnotes to this paper.

³ However, this register does not contain information on lost weapons, which was usually recorded in this type of documents. There is also no information about fallen soldiers, which in turn is in line with the rules of compiling inventories of loss in that period.

⁴ The National Library of Poland, Materials concerning the castle in Terebovlia collected by Aleksander Czołowski, Manuscript, sign. 5485 IV.

⁵ The author also uses information on trade in Terebovlia included in the customs tariffs of the local starosty (administrative district), CAHR, Division LVI – Inwentarze Starostw (Inventories of starosties), sign. 291.

⁶ Р. МИСЬКА, *Долітописний Тербовль*, “Матеріали і дослідження з археології Прикарпаття і Волині” 2008, vol. 12, p. 292.

the capital of the principality ruled by Vasilko Rostislavich (c. 1066–1124/1125).⁷ The principality of Terebovlia existed until 1141, when it was incorporated into the principality of Halych by Volodymyrko Volodarovich. This state of affairs lasted until the 1340s, when the Principality of Halych (and with it Terebovlia) was conquered by the King of Poland, Casimir III the Great. After his death, the lands were occupied by Lithuanian dukes, and in 1377 by Louis of Anjou, King of Hungary. The Halych lands were returned to Poland in 1387, as a result of an expedition of Polish knights led by Queen Jadwiga of Poland, who at that time was already the wife of King Władysław Jagiełło. This operation was supported by the Lithuanian army led by Prince Vytautas. From then on, Terebovlia belonged to Poland. Only in 1772, as a result of the First Partition of Poland, it became a part of the Habsburg Monarchy.

Under Polish rule, Terebovlia retained its position as a local political, administrative, and economic centre. It seems that the years of Władysław II Jagiełło's reign were a period of prosperity for the town.⁸ In 1389, he granted German law to the settlement and elevated it to the rank of a town.⁹ Another location document (charter) was issued in the years 1418–1425, when the same king allowed for the foundation of a new settlement, which was to be situated on the other bank of the Hnizna River.¹⁰ A visible sign of Terebovlia's growing

⁷ *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, transl. and eds. S.H. CROSS, O.P. SHERBOWITZ-WETZOR, Cambridge–Massachusetts 1953, p. 187.

⁸ It is worth noting that Władysław Jagiełło visited Terebovlia several times: on 3 III 1410, 9 V 1415, between 17 V and 10 VI 1417, 27 V 1423 (A. GAŚSIOROWSKI, *Itinerarium króla Władysława Jagiełły 1386–1434*, Warszawa 2015, pp. 69, 82, 86, 99). At the same time, we know of only one visit to this town by King Casimir Jagiellon, who stayed there on 22–23 VIII 1448, G. RUTKOWSKA, *Itinerarium króla Kazimierza Jagiellończyka 1440–1492*, Warszawa 2014, p. 85.

⁹ A document known from a copy made in 1889 by A. Czołowski based on the original deed from 1765, which was then stored in the magistrate's office in Terebovlia and which confirmed the earlier rights and privileges granted to the town. According to that historian's note, the privilege of Władysław Jagiełło was issued in Sieradz on 12 March (*die sancti Gregorii*) 1389. Materials concerning the castle in Terebovlia collected by Aleksander Czołowski, The National Library in Warsaw, Manuscript sign. 5485 IV, p. 133. For more information on the chartering of towns under German law in Ruthenia, *vide*: Л.Й. БОЙКО, *Застосування магдебурзького права у галичині в складі польського королівства (1349–1569 рр.)*, "Ученые записки Таврического национального университета им. В.И. Вернадского", Серия: Юридические науки, 2008, vol. 2008, pp. 11, 13–14.

¹⁰ This was the so-called New Town, named so in contrast to the settlement located closer to the castle, which was subsequently customarily called the Old Town. The royal document does not contain

importance during Jagiełła's rule was the location of the starost's office in the town.¹¹ The royal generosity extended to the local church, which received the village of Plebanówka in 1423.¹² It is worth noting that a Dominican monastery also operated here at that time.¹³

Terebovlia was situated on an important trade route leading from Lviv to Kamieniec Podolski (Ukrainian: *Kamianets-Podilskyi*), from which one branch led to the Black Sea ports of Bilhorod and Kiliia, and the other to the Crimean Peninsula. Merchants travelling on this route traded, among other things, oxen, sheep, salt, and also pepper and saffron imported from distant lands.¹⁴

The development of Terebovlia was facilitated by the peace that prevailed in the south-eastern borderlands of the Kingdom of Poland until the mid-15th century. The situation changed in the second half of that century, when these lands became the target of invasions by the Tatars, Moldavians, and Turks. The frequency of these raids increased in the 16th century.¹⁵ Due to the wars waged against these troublesome neighbours, Polish troops were also deployed in Terebovlia and its environs to repel the enemy armies.¹⁶ Of course, all these war activities had a negative impact on the economic situation of the town, which gradually lost its importance in the region. This was manifested, among others, by the transfer in 1527 of the sessions of the local court to the then

any information on the place of its issuance, *Materiały archiwalne wyjęte głównie z metryki litewskiej od 1348 do 1607 roku*, ed. A. PROCHASKA, Lwów 1890, No. 52.

¹¹ The first mention of the starost of Terebovlia dates back to 1403. *Urzednicy województwa ruskiego XIV–XVIII wieku, (ziemie halicka, lwowska, przemyska, sanocka)*, ed. K. PRZYBOŚ, [in:] *Urzednicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XII–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. A. GAŚSIOROWSKI, vol. 3: *Ziemie ruskie*, No. 1, Wrocław 1987, p. 96.

¹² J. TRAJDOS, *Polityka króla Władysława Jagiełły wobec Kościoła katolickiego na ziemiach ruskich Królestwa Polskiego i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne" 141, 2014, No. 2, p. 324.

¹³ In 1413, brothers Piotr and Jędrzej, sons of Kacper, donated to the Dominicans a pond in the village of Drychowiec, Sz. OKOLSKI, *Russia florida rosas et liliis hoc est sanguine, praedicatione, religione et vita antea ff. Ordinis Praedicatorum peregrinatione inchoata, nunc conventuum in Russia stabilitate fundata*, Leopoli 1646, pp. 92–93.

¹⁴ The goods listed here were recorded in the starosty's inventory of 1550, in the section dedicated to customs duties collected in Terebovlia, CAHR, Division LVI, sign. 291, c. 11v–12v.

¹⁵ The first raid in this period took place in 1453, the next ones in the years 1467, 1498, 1508, 1515, 1516, 1524, 1538.

¹⁶ Larger armies were present at Terebovlia in 1497, 1531, and 1538, but less numerous troops appeared here more often; M. PLEWCZYŃSKI, *Wojny i wojskowość polska w XVI wieku*, vol. 1: *1500–1548*, Zabrze 2011, pp. 355–356.

more prosperous Buchach.¹⁷ However, Sigismund I the Old and Sigismund II Augustus, kings of Poland, tried to prevent the degradation of Terebovlia by issuing a number of privileges waiving the inhabitants' obligations to pay taxes and other duties to the state, and the money saved thanks to those decisions was to be used by the townspeople to rebuild Terebovlia.¹⁸ The economic regeneration of the town was also supported by the fairs established in 1543, which were to be held three times a year.¹⁹ It can be assumed that the efforts of the rulers were partially successful – the town did not collapse entirely.²⁰ According to the inspection carried out in 1550, there were 122 houses there. In the 1572 visitation, 248 houses were recorded. It is also worth mentioning that an operational mill was recorded in 1510.²¹

From a military point of view, the most important building in Terebovlia was the local castle. Archaeological research conducted on what is now known as Castle Hill has shown that already in the first half of the 10th century there was a stronghold surrounded by ramparts.²² In its place, a brick castle was built in the second half of the 14th century, by order of the Casimir III the Great, king of Poland. Over time, the fortress fell into decline, and was most probably destroyed by the Tatars at the beginning of the 16th century. In 1534, starost Andrzej Tęczyński undertook its reconstruction.²³ When the Polish chronicler Bernard Wapowski wrote about it, he noted that the castle was repaired very quickly.²⁴ According to the description of the fortress made in 1550, the

¹⁷ *Matricularum Regni Poloniae summaria, excussis codicibus, qui in Chartophylacio Maximo Varsoviensi asservantur*, ed. T. WIERZBOWSKI, Varsoviae 1905 (hereinafter: MRPS), part 4, No. 15096.

¹⁸ These privileges were issued in: MRPS: 1506, 1509, 1518, 1526, 1530, 1537, 1539, 1544; MRPS, part 2: No. 889; part 3, No. 11807; part 4, vol. 2, No. 11988, 14691, part 4, vol. 3: 18393, 19814, 21390, 23260.

¹⁹ Fairs in Terebovlia were to be held on the feast of St. James (25 July), Simon and Jude (28 October), and the Epiphany (the Three Kings' Day, 6 January), MRPS, part 4, vol. 3, No. 7232.

²⁰ According to the classification of the towns of the Kingdom of Poland, Terebovlia belonged to the towns of the third category, i.e., it was a centre of local importance, M. BOGUCKA, H. SAMSONOWICZ, *Miasta i mieszczaństwo w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Warszawa 1980, p. 118.

²¹ MRPS, part 4, vol. 1, No. 9548.

²² P. МИСЬКА, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

²³ Andrzej Tęczyński (c. 1480–1536) castellan of Krakow, starost of Terebovlia, *Urzędnicy województwa ruskiego...*, p. 98.

²⁴ "Trembowlam Andreas Tencinius Cracoviensis Castellanus magno sumptu ac incredibili celeritate instauravit", *Kroniki Bernarda Wapowskiego z Radochońiec: część ostatnia czasy podługoszowskie obejmująca (1480–1535)*, ed. J. SZUJSKI, Kraków 1874, p. 250.

northern wall of the castle was made of brick, probably a remnant of a castle erected in the 14th century, while the remaining walls, including the two towers, were built of oak logs. The furnishings of most of the rooms could be described as very modest at best.²⁵ At the time of the inspection, there was a small stock of weapons in the castle, which consisted of three breechloaders, a dozen or so old handgonnes, and some pole weapons. When summarising his description of the castle, the scribe noted that it needed repairs and equipment.²⁶ These recommendations were at least partially implemented. The register, drawn up in 1551, shows that the castle was then much better equipped with firearms, gunpowder and the supply of bullets for cannons and small arms was also increased.²⁷

The usefulness of the Terebovlia castle in the war against the Tatars should be considered in the context of the tactics used by the invaders. The main goal of the raids organised by the Crimeans was looting. Besieging castles would slow down their march and facilitate the organisation of defence, expose the invaders to greater losses, and consequently limit the possibility of capturing the desired trophies – slaves (Polish: *jasyr*) or livestock. For these reasons, they rarely attacked castles, concentrating instead on plundering open settlements. Bearing this in mind, the castle in Terebovlia, despite its poor condition and rather inadequate equipment, could have been a shelter for the town's inhabitants, who could have waited out the Tartar threat behind its walls, whereas, in the case of the army, the castle could have served as a safe haven, from which the soldiers set off to meet the enemy. Thus, the castle in Terebovlia, despite all its shortcomings, could be useful for both the army and civilians.

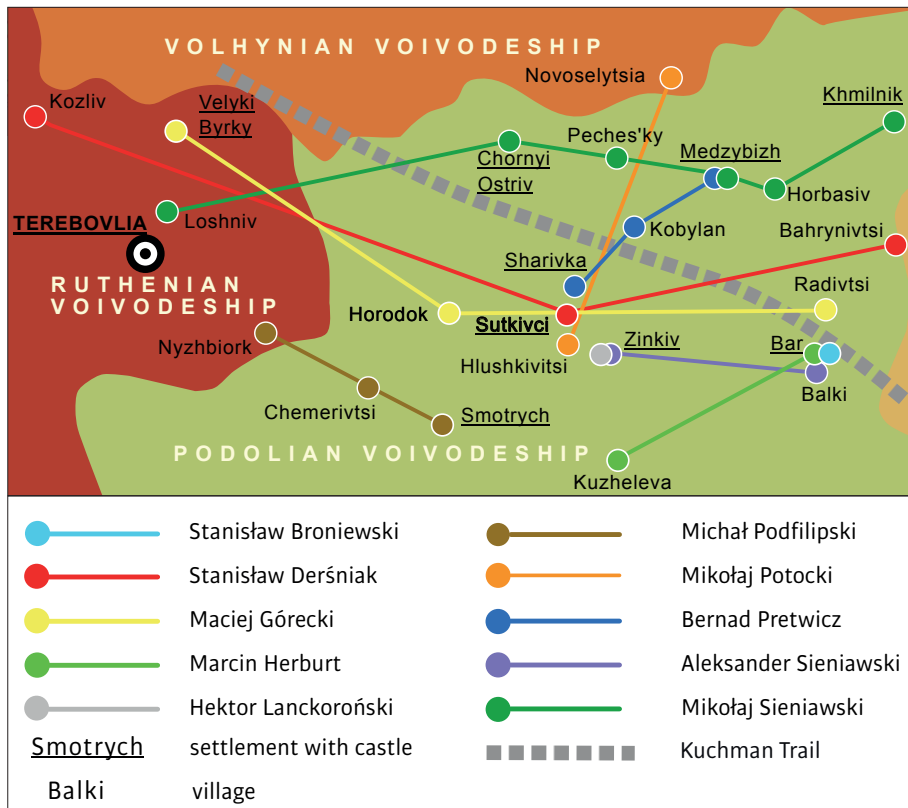
In 1557 and 1558, the town was the meeting place where Polish troops gathered to counter the expected attack of the Crimean Tatars. The fear of the impending conflict was based on the fact that, after several relatively peaceful years, the Tatars invaded the eastern borderlands of Poland in 1556. Thus, further

²⁵ We know of Tomasz Dębowski, a royal courtier and cup-bearer (Polish: *czesnik*) of Łęczycza since 1563, *Urzednicy wojewodztwa łeczyckiego i sieradzkiego XVI–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, eds E. OPALIŃSKI, H. ŻEREK-KLESZCZ, [in:] *Urzednicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XII–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. A. GAŚSIOROWSKI, Kórnik 1983, pp. 57, 87.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, folio 8.

²⁷ A. CZOŁOWSKI, *Inwentarz zamku trembowelskiego z r. 1551*, "Ziemia Czerwińska" 1935, vol. 1, p. 99.

raids were expected. The fears proved justified, for in early 1557, the Crimeans, supported by the Turks, attacked a fortress on the island of Small Khortytsia (Polish: *Mala Chortyca*), on the Dnieper River, in the territory of Poland.²⁸ This increase in Tatar activity worried Polish king Sigismund II Augustus, who that very summer set out for Livonia (Polish: *Inflanty*) leading an army of 50 000 men. The king was aware that the military engagement of the Polish army in the north could be exploited by the Tatars, who would then attack the south-eastern lands of the Kingdom of Poland.



Map 1. The actions of the Polish mercenary army in Ruthenia in 1558

²⁸ Although this attack was unsuccessful, the Tatars struck again at Small Khortytsia and captured it in September 1557, M. PŁEWczyński, *Wojny i wojskowość polska w XVI wieku*, vol. 2: *Lata 1548–1575*, Zabrze 2012, pp. 101–102.

In order to counter the expected invasion, from August 1557 mercenary units were gathered in Ruthenia. One of the meeting places at that time was Lviv, where six cavalry units with a total of over 600 soldiers arrived.²⁹ Another two detachments of fewer than 200 horsemen arrived in Medzhybizh (Polish: *Międzybóž*).³⁰ The largest number of troops – eight cavalry units with a total of 1090 soldiers – was recorded in Terebovlia (see Table 1). With the exception of one rota, which arrived there in October, the remaining troops passed through the town in August. The largest number of soldiers – 460 according to the records – arrived on 3 August, with another 100 recorded the next day.³¹ The town was then teeming with Polish mercenaries. In total, from summer to autumn there were about 1700 Polish enlisted soldiers in Ruthenia. However, they did not see any combat, because in the summer of 1557 the Tatars were involved in the battle for Small Khortytsia and did not venture deep into Polish territory.³²

According to the custom of that period, some of the mercenaries were demobilised for the winter and the troops that remained in service were reduced in number,³³ as the Tatars rarely attacked at that time of the year, so it was unnecessary to maintain and pay soldiers. However, as early as February 1558, the enlisting started again, and the troops recruited then were in service for the following months.³⁴ In total, there were 1900 horse soldiers called to

²⁹ 19 VIII: Jan Sobieski – 100 horses, Stanisław Szafranec – 100 horses; 4 IX: Hieronim Lancoroński of Brzezic – 200 horses; 30 IX: Jan Przyrownicki – 150 horses; 4 X: Jakub Leszniewski – 150 horses; 6 X: Erazm Łochocki – 25 horses.

³⁰ Today МеДжибіж in Ukraine. 7 August: Marcin Herbut – 150 horses; 1 November: Mikołaj Sieniawski – 30 horses.

³¹ 3 VIII: rittmeister (Polish: *rotmistrz*) Jerzy Jazłowiecki, with the troops 130 horses; 3 VIII: Aleksander Sieniawski – 130 horses; 3 VIII: Mikołaj Sieniawski – 200 horses; 4 VIII: Maciej Włodek, 100 horses; 8 VIII: Stanisław Struś – 100 horses; 28 VIII: Bernard Pretwicz – 130 horses; 30 VIII: Grzegorz Makowiecki – 100 horses; 6 X – Maciej Górecki, 200 horses.

³² Terebovlia was also designated as the place of concentration of troops in 1537. It was supposed to be the gathering place for the Polish mass mobilisation of the nobility and gentry (Polish: *pospolite ruszenie*). However, the army did not reach Terebovlia, as the nobility called to arms rebelled on their way to war, and so the expedition was cancelled, M. PLEWCZYŃSKI, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 394.

³³ The rota which remained on duty in the winter of 1557/1558 was Mikołaj Sieniawski's unit, CAHR, Division 85, sign. 62, c. 89.

³⁴ This is evidenced by the register of lost horses, in which the first entries are dated to 16 May and relate to the period before this list was compiled, ASK 85, vol. 62, c. 89–95v (the numbering of pages is counted continuously within the volume).

arms at that time. Of this number, 1050 mercenaries passed through Terebovlia between May and October (see Table 2). In addition, in the second half of May there were four rotas with a total of 500 horsemen in Medzhybizh,³⁵ and in June in Sharivka (Polish: *Szarawka*) two rotas with 350 horsemen.³⁶ Terebovlia was thus again the main place where Polish troops were stationed.

The description of the troops present in Terebovlia should begin with the profiles of the commanders recorded in 1557. In this group, Mikołaj Sieniawski (1489–1569), the organiser and commander of the troops mobilised in 1557, was undoubtedly the most eminent person. An excellent soldier, he started his military career by participating in the victorious battle against the Tatars at Vyshnivets/Lopuszne (Polish: *Wiśniowiec/Łopuszne*, on 28 April 1512), and in the following years participated in the defence of Ruthenian lands of the Kingdom of Poland. This was greatly appreciated by King Sigismund I the Old, who in 1539 appointed him field hetman (Polish: *hetman polny*), i.e., the commander of the army defending the south-eastern lands of the Kingdom of Poland. In 1553, he took over the office of Voivode of Ruthenia.³⁷ It was Mikołaj Sieniawski who held the position of commander-in-chief of the mercenary troops in the discussed period.

Aleksander Sieniawski (1490–1568), the next rittmeister (Polish: *rotmistrz*), was Mikołaj's younger sibling. Like his brother, he started his military service in 1512. King Sigismund II August valued his experience and in 1553 entrusted him with the post of field commander (Polish: *strażnik polny*), i.e., the commander of the troops guarding the south-eastern territories of the Kingdom of Poland (aide to the field hetman).³⁸

³⁵ These were the rotas of Mikołaj Sieniawski and Marcin Herbut, with 200 horses each, and those of Hieronim Sieniawski and Stanisław Broniewski, each with 50 horses. The registers were drawn up on 19 V 1558, ASK 85, vol. 62, c. 2, 41v, 48v, 57.

³⁶ These were the rotas commanded by B. Pretwicz (200 horses) and Stanisław Derśniak (150 horses). The registers were drawn up on 20 VI 1558, ASK 85, vol. 62, c. 67v, 76.

³⁷ M. PLEWCZYŃSKI, *Sieniawski Mikołaj*, [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (hereinafter: PSB), vol. 37, Warszawa–Kraków 1997–1997, pp. 123–130.

³⁸ IDEM, *Sieniawski Aleksander*, PSB, vol. 37, Warszawa–Kraków 1997–1997, pp. 115–118.

Table 1

The inventory of rotas in Terebovlia in 1557

No.	Rittmeister	Lancers	Hussars	Cossacks	Henchmen	Drummers	Trumpeters	Shooters with firearms	No data	Total
1	Maciej Górecki	1	178	2	17	1	–	–	1	200
2	Jerzy Jazłowiecki	–	116	1	12	–	–	1	–	130
3	Jerzy Makowiecki	3	84	6	6	1	–	–	–	100
4	Bernard Pretwicz	–	2	126	2	–	–	–	–	130
5	Aleksander Sieniawski	–	108	14	6	1	–	1	–	130
6	Mikołaj Sieniawski	4	177	8	8	1	–	–	2	200
7	Stanisław Struś	1	78	13	7	1	–	–	–	100
8	Maciej Włodek	–	87	2	10	1	–	–	–	100
Total		9	830	172	68	6	0	2	3	1090

Source: CAHR, Division 85, sign. 61.

Another of the rittmeisters, Jerzy Jazłowiecki of the Abdank coat of arms (before 1510–1575), also is not an anonymous figure. He too was a soldier with many years of service. He was highly valued by the king, who in 1547 appointed him voivode of Kamieniec Podolski. Jerzy Jazłowiecki's high military competences are evidenced by the fact that in 1569 he assumed the highest military office in Poland – the Great Hetman of the Crown (Polish: *hetman wielki koronny*), which he held until his death.

Another individual with ties to Kamieniec Podolski was rittmeister Stanisław Struś, who held the office of the huntsman (Polish: łowczy) there, and was recorded with his unit in Terebovlia in the summer of 1557.³⁹

Also present in Terebovlia in the discussed period was rittmeister Bernard Pretwicz (c. 1500–1561), who thanks to his military exploits was a well-known figure in Poland at the time. He started his military career in 1527, as a soldier in Mikołaj Sieniawski's rota, and quickly became a commander himself, successfully fighting against the Turks and Tatars, earning the nicknames *Murus Podoliae* and *Terror tartarorum*. In 1552, he became the starost of Terebovlia, so he could feel like a host during the concentration of troops in 1557.⁴⁰

Rittmeister Maciej Włodek is another commander in this group who held an important office in the east part of the Kingdom – in 1542 he became the starost general of Podolia. He was also an experienced soldier, as he was recorded as a rittmeister already in 1526.⁴¹

Grzegorz Makowiecki, was born in Kuyavia, but moved to Rutheniain the 1540s. In 1557, he took the office of sub-judge (*subiudicus*, Polish: *podśędek*), but nothing is known about his earlier military career.⁴²

The last of the rittmeisters recorded in 1557 in Terebovlia was Maciej Górecki. He came from Greater Poland and started his career by the king's side as his courtier and secretary. At the turn of 1540s and 1550s, he appeared in Ruthenia, where he held, among other things, the function of a field scribe, i.e., an official responsible for the preparation of documents related to the service of the enlisted troops. There is no information about his appearance in written records as a rittmeister before 1557.⁴³

As mentioned above, the repeated concentration of troops at Terebovlia took place in May 1558. Records show the presence of 7 rotas on 16 May. Once again, units commanded by M. Górecki, A. Sieniawski, and S. Struś appeared on the banks of the Hnizna River. From the 9th of June comes the information about the arrival of M. Sieniawski's rota in Terebovlia. Apart from the

³⁹ In 1561, he became a starost in Kamieniec Podolski, J. BYLIŃSKI, *Struś Stanisław*, PSB, vol. 44, Warszawa 2006–2007, pp. 446–447.

⁴⁰ A. BOŁDYREW, T. GRABARCZYK, *Rota Bernarda Pretwicza z 1557 r.* [in print].

⁴¹ M. PLEWCZYŃSKI, *Wojny...*, vol. 2, p. 415.

⁴² I. KANIEWSKA, *Makowiecki Hieronim*, PSB, vol. 19, Wrocław 1974, pp. 223–224; M. PLEWCZYŃSKI, *Wojny...*, vol. 2, p. 340.

⁴³ R. ŻELEWSKI, *Górecki Maciej b. Sokola*, PSB, vol. 8, p. 399.

rittmeisters already known from the records of 1557, rotas commanded by Hieronim Lanckoroński, Michał Podfilipski, and Mikołaj Potocki also came to the town in 1558.⁴⁴

These three rittmeisters, like the commanders mentioned above, were not random persons. The first of them was Hieronim Lanckoroński of the Zadora coat of arms (d. 1569), starosta of Skala (Ukrainian: *Skala-Podilska*) at that time, who was recorded as a rittmeister in the royal service as early as 1538.⁴⁵

The second was Michał Podfilipski (Ciołek coat of arms) (d. 1562), who from 1555 held the office of the pantler (Polish: *stolnik*) of Halych. He, too, was an experienced soldier, having started his service in the mercenary army in 1535, and from then on he repeatedly took part in battles against Moldavians and Tatars. He was appointed a rittmeister for the first time in 1558.⁴⁶

The third rittmeister was Mikołaj Potocki (d. 1572), who was first recorded as an enlisted soldier in 1528, and participated, among other things, in the battle with the Moldavians at Obertyn (22 August 1531). In the 1540s, he served at the king's side as an equestrian courtier (*curiensus*). At that time, Sigismund II Augustus mandated him with various missions, which allows us to consider him the king's trusted man. In 1549, he returned to service in the mercenary army as a rittmeister. From then on, he took part in the defence of the Ruthenian lands of the Kingdom of Poland. In 1553, the king rewarded him with the office of steward (Polish: *szafarz*) in Kamieniec Podolski.⁴⁷ So he too was a very experienced commander.

Summarising the information about the rittmeisters who were in Terebovlia in 1557 and 1558, one can see that they were very experienced soldiers, with many years of military service. They were also people with ties to Ruthenia through the property they owned and offices they held, which makes it possible to place them among the broadly understood state elite, and thus as king's men.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ ASK 85, vol. 62, c. 10–41 44–48, 59v–67.

⁴⁵ M. PLEWCZYŃSKI, *Wojny...*, vol. 1, p. 385.

⁴⁶ IDEM, *Michał Podfilipski*, PSB, vol. 27, Wrocław 1983, pp. 83–84.

⁴⁷ IDEM, *Potocki Mikołaj*, PSB, vol. 28, Wrocław 1984–1985, pp. 103–105.

⁴⁸ This was the case even if the commanders holding office sometimes disagreed with the king on certain matters. One such example is the conflict between the Sieniawski family and Sigismund II Augustus over the so-called crown lands. Lands granted to knights by kings for life were often intercepted by their relatives by way of usucaption. Sigismund II Augustus made efforts to restore them to the royal domain, which was met with resistance from many noble families. This group included the Sieniawski

Another issue that needs to be addressed in this paper is the organisation and the armament of the troops gathered at Terebovlia. The structure of the units (rotas) was typical for the Polish cavalry of that period. The unit commander was a rittmeister and his rota was divided into subdivisions called *poczet* (retinue). They comprised between two and a dozen or so riders. Usually, the largest *poczet* was that of the rittmeister. The rest of the units were commanded by so-called 'companions', whose place in the hierarchy of the unit can be considered equivalent to contemporary non-commissioned officers. The most numerous group were the privates.

In terms of armament, there are three main categories of horsemen in the discussed units. The first group consisted of heavy-armed lancers, in full plate armour. This group typical for the late Middle Ages was still present in the army but constituted only a small fraction of the troops. The core of the army was the hussars. Their equipment consisted of a light lance, a breastplate or chain mail, a shield, and a *misiurka*, i.e., a light helmet in the eastern style, which consisted of a plate cover for the top of the head in the shape of a bowl with an attached aventail made of chain. The third group of horsemen were soldiers armed in the Cossack style. They were equipped with armour and a light helmet (*misiurka*), a short spear called *robatyna*, and a *sahajdak* – a bow case with a quiver. In addition to these categories of equestrians, there were also a few trumpeters and drummers. Their instruments were used to transmit orders in the form of sound signals both during marching and fighting. A rota could not function without henchmen, who performed auxiliary activities such as grooming the soldiers' horses. It should be noted that apart from the armament listed in the registers, all the mercenaries were equipped with small weapons (swords, sabres), although according to the practice of that time no information about such arms was included in the registers. In conclusion, it can be said that the troops recruited in 1557 and 1558 were a typical mercenary cavalry army of that period in terms of their organisation and armament.⁴⁹

family, who did not want to return to the king the lands received from his ancestors, arguing that they had performed military service and borne its costs.

⁴⁹ *Vide*: A. BOŁDYREW, *Przemiany uzbrojenia wojska polskiego na przełomie średniowiecza i nowożytności (1454–1572) jako przejaw (r)ewolucji militarnej*, "Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych" 2019, vol. 80, pp. 113–138; A. BOŁDYREW, K. ŁOPATECKI, *Polish Way: The Light Cossack Cavalry in the Era of Military Revolution*, "Vestnik of Saint Petersburg University. History" 2020, vol. 65, No. 3, pp. 683–709.

Table 2

The inventory of rotas registered in Terebovlia in 1558

No.	Rittmeister	Lancers	Hussars	Cossacks	Henchmen	Drummers	Trumpeters	Shooter with firearms	No data	Total
1	Maciej Górecki	–	123	12	13	1	–	1	–	150
2	Hieronim Lanckoroński	2	124	7	16	–	1	2	–	150
3	Michał Podfilipski	–	90	3	6	1	–	–	–	100
4	Mikołaj Potocki	–	122	12	12	1	1	2	–	150
5	Aleksander Sieniawski	–	119	18	11	1	–	1	–	150
6	Mikołaj Sieniawski	–	147	31	20	1	–	–	1	200
7	Stanisław Struś	–	123	11	13	1	1	1	–	150
Total		2	848	94	91	6	3	7	1	1050

Source: CAHR, Division 85, vol. 62, k. 10–41, 44–48, 59v–67.

As already mentioned above, the troops mobilised in 1557 had no opportunity to participate in combat. The situation was different in 1558, when the Tatars launched a raid that covered the voivodeships of Bratslav, Kiev, Volhynia, Podolia, and Rus.⁵⁰ Due to the lack of detailed source accounts, its course is poorly known. Some light is shed on these events by the above-mentioned list of horses lost by the enlisted troops in the period from February to May (see Table 3).⁵¹ In the inventory drawn up on 16 May in Terebovlia, 96 horses were recorded.

⁵⁰ M. PLEWCZYŃSKI, *Wojny...*, vol. 2, p. 104.

⁵¹ CAHR, Division 85, sign. 62, c. 89–95v. The mercenaries were compensated for horses lost in service. For this reason, all mounts killed in battle, fallen from disease, exhaustion, or even stolen, were meticulously recorded. These inventories later formed the basis for the payment of compensa-

Some of the horses listed in the inventory were withdrawn from service due to becoming lame or generally being in poor condition. Judging from the fact that such horses were reported (*dat in dampna*) in Lviv, which lay outside the war zone, it should be assumed that these were losses sustained during the march of troops. On the other hand, the only mention that unambiguously indicates the loss of a horse in battle is that of M. Herburth's rota, and specifically of the Cossack Bohdan who served under him and who lost two horses, including a gelding that *peryt in conflictu cum Scitis in campo*.⁵² This means that the horse was killed far away from the village or town, the name of which could serve as the location of its death. In the case of two horses, the location of their loss was not recorded.⁵³ In the remaining cases, the names of the villages or towns near where the horses were lost were listed.

Based on these changes it can be established that the rotas operated in the area from Kozliv (Polish: *Kozłów*) in the west to the line Khmilnyk (Polish: *Chmielnik*) – Bar in the east. The territory thus extended for about 180 km in the east-west direction and up to 80 km in the north-south direction and was entirely situated between the rivers Dniester and Boh. Therefore, the army guarded the land through which led the so-called Podole Trail (also called Kuchman Trail) (see map), which was often used by the Tatars during their raids on Poland.

The register in question primarily reports on the losses incurred by individual rota (Table 3). The list shows that during the three months of service the greatest damage was sustained by M. Górecki's unit, which lost 34 horses, which, considering that there were 150 horses in that unit, means that its losses amounted to almost 23% of that number. The second troop in this respect was the unit led by M. Sieniawski, which lost 15 horses, while the third was that commanded by A. Sieniawski – 11 horses. This gives respectively 7,5% and 7,3% of the total number of horses in these rotas. The rota commanded by S. Derśniak lost 9 horses – 6% of its number. In the remaining units, the number of lost horses is even smaller and does not exceed 4%.

tion to soldiers. It should be noted, however, that information about killed or wounded soldiers was not recorded in such registers.

⁵² CAHR, Division 85, sign. 62, c. 93v.

⁵³ It should be noted, however, that in both cases these entries appear after those mentioning Zinkiv, so it is possible that both horses were lost in the vicinity of this town, but the writer did not add (as he did elsewhere in his list) *decessit ibidem*, which would directly refer to the town from the previous entry.

Table 3

Losses of Polish cavalry units in 1558

No.	Rittmeister	Number of lost horses
1	Stanisław Broniewski	6
2	Stanisław Derśniak	10
3	Maciej Górecki	34
4	Marcin Herburt	4
5	Hektor Lanckoroński	1
6	Michał Podfilipski	4
7	Mikołaj Potocki	5
8	Bernad Pretwicz	4
9	Aleksander Sieniawski	11
10	Mikołaj Sieniawski	16
11	Stanisław Strus	1
Total		96

Source: CAHR, Division 85, sign. 62, k. 89–95v.

The discussed list indicates that in 1558 – apart from the rota of M. Górecki – the losses were not high, so most probably no major battle took place in that year. If such a battle had been fought, the losses would undoubtedly have been greater. However, it is possible to pinpoint sites of smaller skirmishes. One of them probably took place near Horodok (Polish: *Gródek*) on the Smotrych River, where Maciej Górecki's unit lost 18 horses,⁵⁴ while near the village of Radziejowce, the same unit lost 8 horses.⁵⁵ The soldiers of rittmeister A. Sieniawski lost 10 horses at Zinkiv (Polish: *Zinków*). Military actions probably also took place near Bar, where the soldiers of M. Herburt lost 2 horses and S. Broniewski's unit lost 6 horses. In other places, the losses were smaller, which

⁵⁴ Gródek, now Horodok (Городок), Khmelnytskyi Oblast, Ukraine.

⁵⁵ Originally the village of Wnóczkowo, today Radivtsi (Радивці) in Khmelnytskyi Oblast, Ukraine.

allows us to assume that the skirmishes that happened there might have taken place with the participation of fewer troops and might have been successful for the Polish side. We cannot rule out that some of the losses were not caused by the participation in direct combat, but rather the consequence of disease and exhaustion of the mounts during service.

Table 4

Places where horses were lost by Polish mercenaries in 1558

No.	Place	Rittmeister (<i>Rotmistrz</i>)	Number of lost horses
1	Vahrynivtsi (Багрянівці)	S. Derśniak	1
2	Balki (Балки)	A. Sieniawski	1
3	Bar (Бар)*	M. Herburt, S. Broniewski	8
4	Chemerivtsi (Чемерівці)	M. Podfilipski	2
5	Chornyi Ostriv (Чорний Острів)*	M. Sieniawski	1
6	Hlushkivtsi (Глушківці)	M. Potocki	1
7	Horbasiv (Горбасів)	M. Sieniawski	6
8	Horodok (Городок)*	M. Górecki	18
9	Khmilnik (Хмільник)*	M. Sieniawski	1
10	Kolyban' (Колибань)	B. Pretwicz	1
11	Kozliv (Козлів)	S. Derśniak	4
12	Kuzheleva (Велика Кужелева)	M. Herburt	2
13	Loshniv (Лощнів)	M. Sieniawski	2
14	Lviv (Львів)*	M. Potocki, S. Struś, S. Derśniak, M. Sieniawski, M. Górecki	15
15	Medzhybizh (Меджибіж)*	B. Pretwicz, M. Sieniawski	2
16	Novoselytsia (Новоселиця)	M. Potocki	2
17	Nyzhbirok (Нижбірок)	M. Podfilipski	1

Table 4 (cont.)

No.	Place	Rittmeister (<i>Rotmistrz</i>)	Number of lost horses
18	Peches'ky (Печеськи)	M. Sieniawski	1
19	Radivtsi (Радівці)	M. Górecki	8
20	Sharivka (Шарівка)*	B. Pretwicz	2
21	Smotrych (Смотрич)*	M. Podfilipski	1
22	Sutkivci (Сутківці)*	S. Derśniak	3
23	Velyki Birky*	M. Górecki	1
24	Zinkiv (Зіньків)*	H. Lanckoroński, A. Sieniawski	9
25	<i>in campo cum Scitis</i>	M. Herburt	1
26	no information	A. Sieniawski	2
Total			96

* - castles

Source: CAHR, Division 85, sign. 62, k. 89–95v.

Another group of information included in the inventory of losses concerns the places where they were incurred. According to that source, the twelve rotas recorded in the document lost horses in 24 different locations (see Table 4).⁵⁶ Only three: Bar, Medzhybizh, and Zinkiv, were noted as the places of stay of more than one rota, but there is no evidence that they were there at the same time. Based on this information, it can be concluded that the rotas acted largely independently, so that they could patrol the whole area, which was the right solution in view of the tactics used by the Tatars, who during the raid Tatars would send smaller detachments in different directions in order to reach as many settlements as possible to plunder and then kill or kidnap the inhabitants. Prisoners were brought to the main camp, which the Poles used to call *kosz*, which was guarded by the main forces.⁵⁷ Thus, the enlisted troops clashed mainly with these loot-seeking raiding parties, in order to limit the range of their activity

⁵⁶ The list mentions 24 villages and towns and an unspecified *campo* where a skirmish with the enemy took place.

⁵⁷ Z. GLOGER, *Encyklopedia staropolska ilustrowana*, vol. 3, Warszawa 1902, p. 90.

and minimise the losses suffered by the residents of the invaded lands. Rotas comprising 150–200 horses should be considered sufficient for such tasks.

It is worth noting that in the case of 10 out of 11 rotas, the inventory of losses confirms the presence of rotas in locations with castles.⁵⁸ These were Bar, Chorni Ostriv, Horodok, Khmilnik, Medzhybizh, Sharivka, Smotrych, Sutkivci, Velyky Birky, and Zinkiv. In addition to the fortifications, which could serve as refuge, there were also some facilities and supplies enabling the army, for example, to buy food, repair weapons, replace horses, etc. These places served as advanced bases from which the mercenary troops set off to meet the enemy and to which they returned from the steppes to recuperate.

If one compares the places where the Polish mercenary troops suffered the greatest losses, it turns out that they run along the Kuchman Trail. This allows us to conclude that this was the area where the Tatar army moved in the spring of 1558.

In the years 1557 and 1558, Terebovlia was the main place of stay for the Polish enlisted troops. The choice of this place can be explained by the location of the town, situated on the route leading from the Black Sea into the Kingdom of Poland. From there, the troops could easily travel further east, where, as we know, they skirmished with the Tartars. This was a favourable location to control the territory between the Dniester and Boh rivers – the area of the already-mentioned Kuchman Trail,⁵⁹ which was the route used by the invaders in 1558 when they headed deep into the territories of the Kingdom of Poland. The presence of nearly 2000 mercenaries in this area was probably not enough to defeat the Tatars in an open battle, but it did make it possible to restrict their plundering raids.

While stationed in Terebovlia, soldiers could rest from the hardships of everyday service, whereas at the same time, the military administration carried out its activities – paid salaries and compensation for lost horses, and rotated or added new soldiers to the rotas. All these actions were documented by the drawing up of appropriate records by royal officials.

⁵⁸ Only in the case of S. Struś and M. Potocki's rotas we have no confirmed stay in a town or village with a castle (except for Lviv). However, this does not mean that they did not stay in such a place, but only that they did not lose any horses there.

⁵⁹ K. ŁOPATECKI, *Wykorzystanie map w działaniach strategicznych do 1586 roku w Koronie i Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim*, "Terminus" 2017, vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 538–540.

After a short stay, the units would leave the town on the Hnizna River, heading to the east. There, using local fortresses as bases, they crossed the steppes to intercept the Tatar incursions. It was these fortifications and the army operating in their vicinity that constituted the first line of defence against an attack from the east. In this system, Terebovlia acted as a direct military and economic base.

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