From *Dragula* to *Cypelles*: Wallachia in the Late 1470s

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Abstract: For Pope Pius II, Vlad was *John Dragula* and his cruelty completed the lamented fate of the Wallachians, Rome's Eastern forgotten children, still capable of finding recovery and redemption, Vlad included, under the authority of Matthias, the king of Hungary and of *Dacia* (according to the same pope). Basarab IV, *Cypelles* for Beatrice of Aragon, that is either "Little Impaller" or "Little Shoemaker", seems to have been quite the opposite, though otherwise his and Vlad's "career choices" were quite similar: Vlad went from pro-Ottoman to pro-Hungarian, "chosing" West over East, and Basarab turned from pro-Hungarian to pro-Ottoman, inheriting also Mara Branković's "medial" stand between West and East, that favoured a pro-Ottoman status-quo at the borders of divided Christendom. Their short "joint-rule" over Wallachia, turned into Christendom's trench by King Matthias, Christendom's hope, and Stephen of Moldavia, the *athlete* of Christendom, is eloquent for the bi-polar survival of a divided state that gradually came to a – temporary – end once both *Ţepeş* and *Ţepeluş* were gone. This occurred under the rules of Vlad IV *Călugărul*, a former monk, Vlad's half-brother, and of his son, Radu IV *the Great*, an "agent" of Venice and of the Porte. At that time, the Greek rite Brankovićs were still barons of the realm of Saint Stephen, as well as "registered voters" at the royal Hungarian elections of 1490, the year that stands for both the end of Matthias' plans and hopes for his son's monarchic survival and in fact – in early modern Wallachian chronicles – for the end of Stephen III's *16*/ *17 years* of rule over Wallachia.

Keywords: Vlad III Ţepeş (*Dragula*), Basarab IV Ţepeluş (*Cypelles*), Matthias Corvinus, Beatrice of Aragon, Wallachia, Hungary, Ottoman Empire, churches, lands.

In March 1476 a letter reached Rome.[1] It was deemed noteworthy enough to be copied for the Sforza in Milan[2] and for the Gonzaga in Mantua.[3] The letter was sent to Pope Sixtus IV[4] by the former bishop of Transylvania, Gabriele Rangoni, recently

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[1] For an overview: Al. Simon, "*De Dragule crudelitate*: ultima domnie a lui Vlad al III-lea *Ţepeş* pe pământurile *Valahiei Mari*", *Revista Istorică,* NS, XXIX (2018), 5-6 [2020], pp. 517-540.

[2] Archivio di Stato di Milano, Milan (ASM), Archivio Ducale Sforzesco (A.D.S.), Potenze Estere, *Ungheria*, cart. 650. *1452-1489*, fasc. 22. *1476*, nn. Published in *Codex diplomaticus Partium Regno Hungariae adnexarum* (=*Monumenta Hungariae Historica,* I, 31, 33, 36, 40), II. *Magyarország és Szerbia közti összeköttetések oklevéltára. 1198-1526*, edited by Lajos Thallóczy, Antal Áldásy (Budapest, 1907), no. 369, pp. 265-268 (*Szerbia*); cf. Nicolae Iorga, "Lucruri nouă despre Vlad Ţepeş şi Ştefan cel Mare", *Convorbiri Literare*, XXXV, 1901, 2, 149-161, at pp. 160-161).

[3] Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga, E. Affari esteri, V. *Ungheria*, busta 533. *1395-1692*, nn. For Mantua: Al. Simon, *Naşterea şi moartea unui anti-erou: Nicolae de Modruš, Francesco Gonzaga, Rodrigo Borgia şi cele 21 660 de victime ale lui Vlad al III-lea Ţepeş*, in *Relaţii interetnice în Transilvania: interferenţe istorice, culturale şi religioase*, edited by Ioan-Marian Ţiplic, Maria Crîngaci Ţiplic, Nicolae Teşculă (Sibiu, 2019), 209-234.

[4] Benjamin Weber, *Lutter contre les Turcs: les formes nouvelles de la croisade pontificale au XV^e siècle* (=*Collection de l'École Française de Rome*, CDLXXII) (Rome, 2013),

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appointed bishop of Eger.[5] The lengthily report focused on the anti-Ottoman exploits of King Matthias Corvinus[6] and – foremost – of his captains: <former>voivode Vlad III of Wallachia (*the magnificent Ladislas, named Dragula* according to Rangoni)[7] and despot Vuk Branković.[8] Their campaign in the Ottoman parts of Serbia and Bosnia[9] had been a complete success, both militarily and financially.[10] Rangoni was however utterly disgusted by the massacres and the cruelties of Vlad, in particular, and Vuk.[11] The prelate went on and recalled the "private" acts of cruelty of Vlad, the new husband of Justine Szilágyi,[12] Matthias' maternal cousin.[13] Yet, at no point, did Gabriele Rangoni call either Vlad III or Vuk *schismatics*;[14] nor did he connect their violence to their unquestionable Greek rite background.[15]

The same was true – in Vlad's case – in the writings of Pope Pius II (c. 1463)[16] and – most importantly – in the folios of bishop Nicholas of Modruś (c. 1473).[17] As the

[5] Petr Hlaváček, *Im Dienst der Christenheit: Der Franziskaner und Diplomat Gabriel Rangoni von Verona († 1486) und seine Wirkung in Italien und Ostmitteleuropa*, in Hofkultur der Jagiellonendynastie und verwandter Fürstenhäuser, edited by Urszula Borkowska, Markus Hörsch, Evelin Wetter (Ostfildern, 2010), 107-118.

[6] John V.A. Fine, *A Tale of Three Fortresses. Controversies Surrounding the Turkish Conquest of Smederevo, of an Unnamed Fortress at the Junction of the Sava and Bosna, and of Bobovac*, in *Peace and War in Byzantium. Essays in Honor of George T. Dennis, S.J.*, edited by Timothy S. Miller, John Nesbitt (Washington, DC, 1995), 181-196.

[7] See Ştefan Andreescu, *L'action de Vlad Ţepeş dans le sud-est de l'Europe en 1476*, in *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, XV (1977), 2, 259-272.

[8] On him, see also Davor Salihović, An Interesting Episode: *Nicholas of Ilok's Kingship in Bosnia, 1471-1477* [MA thesis (CEU)] (Budapest, 2016), 53-54.

[9] On these "peculiar" border-areas, see also Emir O. Filipović, *The Key to the Gate of Christendom? The Strategic Importance of* Bosnia *in the Struggle against the Ottomans*, in *The Crusade in the Fifteenth Century: Converging and Competing Cultures*, edited by Norman Housley (New York, 2017), 151-168.

[10] See recently Albert Weber, Adrian Gheorghe, *Noi descoperiri în arhivele Italiei şi Austriei cu privire la ultimul an din viaţa lui Vlad Ţepeş (1476)*, *Muzeul Naţional*, XXXI (2019), 27-46.

[11] For comments on the letter, see also *Corpus Draculianum: documentele şi cronicile relative la viaţa şi domnia voievodului Vlad Ţepeş (1437-1650)*, general-editors Thomas M. Bohn, A. Gheorghe, Christof Paulus, A. Weber, I. *Scrisori şi documente de cancelarie*, 2. *Cancelarii externe*, edited by A. Weber, A. Gheorghe, Ştefan Marinca, Alexandru Ştefan Anca (Bucharest-Brăila, 2020), no. 89, 115-123.

[12] The marriage was probably concluded before the start of the matrimonial negotiations between Matthias and Ferdinand of Aragon, king of Naples, in early 1474 (see also Elisabetta Scarton, "Tra *dualicità et tradimenti*: La politica (matrimoniale) di Ferrante d'Aragona nei primi anni Settanta del Quattrocentoletta attraverso i dispacci sforzeschi da Napoli", *eHumanista*, XXXVIII (2018), 186-200, at 189).

[13] Tamás Fedeles, "*Drakwlyahza*", in Fons, skepsis, lex. *Ünnepi tanulmányok a 70 esztendős Makk Ferenc tiszteletére*, edited by Tibor Almási, Éva Révész, György Szabados (Szeged, 2010), 107-114.

[14] See already Mihailo Popović, *The Order of the Dragon and the Serbian Despot Stefan Lazarević*, in *Emperor Sigismund and the Orthodox World* (=*Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, CDIX), edited by Ekaterini Mitsiou, M. Popović, Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, Al. Simon (Vienna, 2010), 103-106.

[15] We have attempted to address this question in our – to be published – lecture *Mass Murders, but not Schismatics? Two Latin Rite Bishops on the Deeds of Vlad III the Impaller and Vuk Branković*, at *Conflict after Compromise: Regulating Tensions in Multi-Confessional Societies in the Fifteenth Century* (Charles University, Centre for Medieval Studies, Prague), Prague (November 11-12 2021: November 11, 2021).

[16] Al. Simon, *A Humanist's Pontifical Playground: Pius II and Transylvania in the Days of John Dragula*, *Transylvanian Review*, XXIX, 2020, suppl. 2 [2021], 35-70; Idem, *The Pope, the Hunyadis and the Wallachians: The Curious Case of Pius II*, in *Banatica*, XXX, 2020, 2, 59-108.

[17] Luka Spoliarijć, *Nicholas of Modruš,* The Glory of Illyria*: Humanist Patriotism and Self-Fashioning in Renaissance Rome* [PhD Thesis (CEU)] (Budapest, 2013), 293; Idem, *Nicholas of Modruš and his De Bellis*

issue of Vlad's conversion to the Latin rite (unrecorded in Vuk's case),[18] forbidden under the provisions of the "notes and complements" of the Union of Florence (1439),[19] appeared only in a particular German *story* on Vlad[20] and in the Russian *tale*[21] on *Dracula's* deeds (both written ten years at least after Vlad's death, at the end of 1476),[22] a twofold question emerges: (1) was the Union of Florence still considered valid in the Kingdom of Hungary and at its borders[23] and (2) were massacres justified as long as they served the higher purposes of Holy War?[24] The latter point is particularly important because: (1) Vlad's and Vuk's (the *Drachendespot*'s, for he – too? – was a member of the Order of the Dragon[25]) actions impacted not only Turks, but also Christians (Greek rite)[26] and led also to what can arguably call the first massacre of Srebrenica.[27] (2) Both

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Gothorum: Politics and National History in the Fifteenth-Century Adriatic, in *Renaissance Quarterly*, LXXII, 2019, 2, 457-491, at 472-474.

[18] It should – however – be added that Vuk, like the other Branković in Hungary, was omitted from the Athonite testaments of Mara Branković, Murad II's widow (Ruža Čuk, *Povelja carice Mare manastirima Hilandar i Sv. Pavlu*, *Istorijski Časopis*, XXIV (1977), 103-116; Aleksandar Fotić, *Sveta Gora i Hilandar u Osmanskom carstvu (XV-XVII vek)*, Belgrade (2000), 194-203, 247-248.

[19] E.g. Odorico Rinaldi, *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi desinit Cardinalis Baronibus auctore Odorico Raynaldo accedunt*, XVIII, Rome, 1693, *Ad annum 1448*, no. 10, 359. Stephen III of Moldavia also opposed changing rites (Ioan Bogdan, *Documentele lui Ştefan cel Mare*, II (Bucharest, 1913), no. 176, 411; no. 180, 451).

[20] See most recently Gabriele Annas, Ch. Paulus, *Geschichte und Geschichten. Studien zu den* Deutschen Berichten *über Vlad III. Drăculea* (=*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Studien und Text, LXVII) (Wiesbaden, 2020); Jan Niklas Meier, *Der Woiwode als Monster: Vlad III. bei Michael Beheim und in der* Geschichte dracole waide (Baden-Baden, 2021).

[21] Grigore Nandriş, *The Historical Dracula: The Theme of his Legend in the Western and in the Eastern Literatures of Europe*, in *Comperative Literature Studies*, III (1966), 4, 367-396, especially 386.

[22] For the context, see also Daniel Ursprung, *Propaganda şi popularizare. Povestirile tipărite despre Vlad Ţepeş în contextul anului 1488*, in *Analele Putnei*, XIV (2018), 1, 45-60, in particular 47-48.

[23] Recent case-studies seem to indicate that the union was still valid (Ioan-Aurel Pop, Daniela Marcu Istrate, Tudor Sălăgean, Al. Simon, De vertice montis: *Feleacul, Clujul şi Transilvania în Evul Mediu* (=*Minerva*, I, 15) (Cluj-Napoca, 2017), 124-128; see also Ana Dumitran, *The Chronology of the Murals in the Râmeț Monastic Church (Alba County, Romania) Based on a Reevaluation of the Dating of the Narthex Inscription*, in *Museikon*, IV, 2020, 109-162, at 156-159).

[24] See also N. Housley, *Crusading and the Ottoman Threat. 1453-1505* (Oxford, 2012), 100-106.

[25] For the well-informed Jakob Unrest, Vuk certainly was the *Drachendespot* (*Österreichische Chronik* (=*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, NS, XI), edited by Karl Grossman, (Weimar, 1957; reprint Munich, 1968), 68, 108, for the years 1476 and 1479). It may go without saying that Vlad III was the son of Vlad II Dracul, himself a member of the Order of Dragon, created by Sigismund of Luxemburg (see also Al. Simon, *At the Turn of the Fourteenth Century: Notes on Sigismund of Luxemburg and the Wallachian Princely Stars of the Fifteenth Century*, in *Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis*, XIX (2020), 135-155, at 141, notes 32 and 34).

[26] See the report on his recent anti-Ottoman campaign sent by Vlad to Matthias in February 1462, last published in *Corpus Draculianum*, I. *Scrisori şi documente de cancelarie*, 1. *Cancelarii valahe*, edited by A. Gheorghe, A. Weber, Al. Şt. Anca, Ginel Lazăr, Jürgen Fuchsbauer (Bucharest-Brăila, 2019), no. 23, 103-130.

[27] For the highly tense – ethnical and confessional – context in <former> Serbia, Bosnia, as well as Bulgaria, during the combats of 1475-1476, see also Antoine-Emile Tachiaos, *Nouvelles considerations sur l'œuvre littéraire de Démétrius Cantacuzène*, in *Cyrillomethodianum*, I, 1971, 131-182, at 139; Ivan Biliarsky, *Dva narŭchnika za pitakia ot kŭsnoto srednovekovie*, in *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Institut,* XXIX-XXX 1991, 233-300, at 248, 258; Ljubinka Džidrova, *Crusaders in the Central Balkans*, in *The Crusades and Military Orders: Expanding the Borders of Medieval Latin Christianity*, edited by Zsolt Hunyadi, József Laszlovszky (Budapest, 2000), 187-211, at 194.

Vlad and Vuk[28] had spent time in active Ottoman (Muslim)[29] service before (re)turning – for good – to the Christian side.[30]

Churches and Patrons. Vlad III certainly had an "eye" for the (Greek rite) Church.[31] Half of the "domestic charters" preserved from him were pious deeds.[32] Their timing was very precise.[33] In March 1458, some six weeks after Matthias' election as king of Hungary and three weeks after the son of John Hunyadi had entered Buda,[34] Vlad, recently designated his loyal prince by Matthias,[35] extended his grace over the Tismana Monastery,[36] the foundation of the Serbian Saint Nicodimus,[37] the trustee of both Mircea I of Wallachia and of Sigismund of Luxemburg.[38] A year earlier, in April 1457,[39] a month after the beheading of Ladislas Hunyadi and the imprisonment of his younger brother Matthias,[40] Vlad, the sworn enemy of the late

[28] Katarina Mitrović, *Vuk Grgurević između Mehmeda II. i Matije Korvina (1458-1465)*, in *Braničevski Glasnik*, II, 2003, 19-33. For an overview: Aleksandar Krstić, "*Which realm will you opt for?*" *The Serbian nobility between the Ottomans and the Hungarians in the 15th century*", in *State and Society in the Balkans Before and After Establishment of Ottoman Rule*, edited by Srdan Rudić, Selim Aslantaş (Belgrade, 2017), 129–163.

[29] Yet, both Vlad and Vuk served under Murad II and Mehmed II, quite "different" in religious matters in comparison to the devout Bayezid II and to the latter's successors (Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley, CA, 1995), 56-59, 62-67).

[30] The best known return was – naturally – that of Skanderbeg (still valuable Fan Stylian Noli, *George Castrioti Scanderbeg (1405-1468)* [PhD Thesis (Boston University)] (Boston, 1945), 104-109).

[31] Al. Simon, *Imperator et dux: On the Churches and the Fortresses of Dracula*, in *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica*, XXVII, 2021, suppl., pp. 31-60. For Vlad and the Church(es), see Constantin Rezachevici, *Vlad Ţepeş şi Biserica*, in *Izvoare istorice, arta, cultura şi societate: în memoria lui Constantin Bălan (1928-2005)*, edited by C. Rezachevici (Bucureşti, 2010), 115-128; Ramona Neacşa, *De la Mircea cel Bătrân la Neagoe Basarab. Raporturile dintre domnie şi biserică în Ţara Românească* (Târgovişte, 2014), 100-111; Şt. Andreescu, *Vlad the Impaler and the Bible*, in *Vlad* derPfähler-Dracula*: Tyrann oder Volkstribun?*, edited by Th. M. Bonn, Rayk Einax, Stefan Rohdewald (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017), 189-196.

[32] Cf. already Al. Simon, *Ştefan cel Mare şi Matia Corvin. O coexistenţă medievală* (Cluj-Napoca, 2007), 522-527.

[33] The destruction of princely and private archives prevents us however from expanding the "statistical observations". In general, the Church better – and rightfully – defended her documented interests.

[34] Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526* (London, 2001), pp. 298-299.

[35] *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, VI, *1458-1473*, edited by Gustav Gündisch, Herta Gündisch, Gernot Nussbächer, Konrad Gündisch (Bucharest, 1981), no. 3108, p. 7.

[36] *Documenta Romaniae Historica* (DRH), B. *Ţara Românească*, I. *1247-1500*, edited by P.P. Panaitescu, Damaschin Mioc (Bucharest, 1966), no. 117, 202. Republished in *Corpus Draculianum*, I-1, no. 9, 50-51.

[37] Đurađ Sp. Radojičić, *Bulgaroalbanitoblahos et Serboalbanitobulgaroblahos: deux caractéristiques ethniques du Sud-Est Européen du XIVe et XVe siècle. Nicodème de Tismana et Grégoire Camblak*, *Romanoslavica*, XIII (1966), 77-79.

[38] I.-A. Pop, Al. Simon, *Misiunile Sfântului Nicodim în contextul politicilor bisericeşti ale Veneţiei şi Ungariei*, in *Mitropolia Olteniei*, LVIII (2006), 9-12, 234-252.

[39] At the time of the Moldavian enthronement of Stephen III, with support from Vlad III, but also with the "blessing" of Mehmed II (Ovidiu Cristea, *The Friend of My Friend and the Enemy of My Enemy: Romanian Participation in Ottoman Campaigns*, in *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, edited by Gábor Kármán, Lovro Kunčević (Leiden-Boston-Cologne, 2013), 253-274, at 272-273).

[40] György Szekély, "Hunyadi László kivégzése: struktúraváltozások a magyar állam és főváros kormányzásában", in *Tanulmányok Budapest Multjabol*, XXII (1988), 61-102.

Ladislas,[41] had issued his first preserved domestic charter, for the Cozia Monastery,[42] the necropolis of Mircea I, deemed later – alike Sigismund[43] – "the true father" of John Hunyadi[44] (in the latter case, by the entourage of John Corvinus, duke of Croatia and citizen of Venice, the illegitimate son of Matthias[45]). Vlad's next "set of donations", including a grant for the Philotheou Monastery (listed as an *Albanian* one), on Mount Athos,[46] came in the second half of 1461,[47] when the Albanian (-Serbian)[48] Skanderbeg was leaving on his Italian *condotta*[49] and Mehmed II was preparing to take Trebizond, "the last Byzantine Empire"[50] (then, in early 1462, with Skanderbeg on his Adriatic way back to the West-Balkans, Vlad launched his (in)famous attack along the Danube on Mehmed's subjects[51]).

Matthias, in his turn, showed grace to the Greek rite monks in Wallachia,[52] following in the footsteps of Sigismund of Luxemburg (during the anti-Ottoman combats of 1419 and 1428)[53] and John Hunyadi (in 1444, before he left on the crusade of Varna).[54] However, as far as we know, it was neither Tismana, nor Vodiţa, the foundations of Nicodimus, that benefitted from Matthias, but Cozia, the necropolis of

[41] DRH, D. *Relaţiile între Ţările Române*, I. *1222-1456*, edited by Ştefan Pascu, Constantin Cihodaru, K.G. Gündisch, D. Mioc, Viorica Pervain (Bucharest, 1977), no. 341, 461-462.
[42] Vlad III's first preserved domestic charter: DRH, B, I, no. 115, 199-200; *Corpus Draculianum*, I-1, no. 7, 41-43.
[43] Radu Lupescu, *Matthias Hunyadi: from the Family Origins to the Threshold of Power*, in *Matthias Corvinus, the King: Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court 1458-1490*, edited by Péter Farbaky, Enikő Spekner, Katalin Szende, András Végh (Budapest, 2008), 35-49, at 35-36.
[44] I.-A. Pop, Al. Simon, *Hungaria, Polonia, Dacia et Crouatia: Veneţia, Casa de Habsburg şi Moldova la sfârşitul secolului al XV-lea*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie* A.D. Xenopol, LII (2015), suppl. [2016)], 43-89, at 77-78.
[45] Iván Nagy, *Corvin János velenczei nemességéről*, in *Új Magyar Múzeum*, III, 1853, 1, 655-656.
[46] B. de Khitrowo [Sofiia Petrovna Khitrovo], *Itinéraires russes en Orient* (Geneva, 1889), 289-294 (1492); Heath W. Lowry, *A Note on the Population and Status of the Athonite Monasteries under Ottoman Rule (ca. 1520)*, in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, LXXIII (1981), 115-135, at 126 (c. 1520).
[47] DRH, B, I, no. 119, 205. Omitted from *Corpus Draculianum*, I-1.
[48] After the nefarious "Schmitt incident" of 2009-2010, the subject should be revisited in balanced scholarly manner.
[49] Oliver-Jens Schmitt, *Skanderbeg: noul Alexandru din Balcani* (Cluj-Napoca, 2014), 207-211, 214-219.
[50] Rustam Shukurov, *The Byzantine Turks, 1204-1461* (Leiden-Boston, 2016), 258-259.
[51] Radu Lungu, *À propos de la campagne anti-ottomane de Vlad l' Empaleur au sud du Danube (Hiver 1461-1462)*, in *Revue Roumaine d' Histoire*, XXII (1983), 2, 147-158. For Skanderbeg's location: Schmitt, *Skanderbeg*, 218.
[52] 1458 also stands for Matthias' reconstruction of the *Saint Nicholas* – apparently Vlad's favourite patron saint – church in Hunedoara, destroyed by John Capestran's "zealots" (Zeno Karl Pinter, Ioan Marian Ţiplic, *Cercetări arheologice la Biserica Sf. Nicolae – Hunedoara*, in *Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice*, NS, X (1999), 1-4, 60-67).
[53] DRH, D, I, no. 125, 204-205; nos. 128-129, 210-212; no. 169, 266-268. For the context: Tamás Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis to Mohács: A History of Hungarian-Ottoman Warfare. 1389-1526* (Leiden-Boston, 2018), 173, 194. Prior to Mircea's death (1418), only Ştefan Lazarević, *Drachendespot* (he was a "founding member" of the Order of the Dragon) issued a privilege for the foundations of Nicodimus, the relative of the Serbian despot.
[54] DRH, D, I, no. 276, pp. 384-387. For the events of 1444 and the crown of *Bulgaria* promised to Hunyadi in exchange for breaking the "Peace of Szeged-Oradea" and resuming the war against Murad II, see P. Engel, *János Hunyadi and the Peace of Szeged (1444)*, in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, XLVII (1994), 2, 241-257.

Mircea.[55] At that time (June 29, 1473), on one hand, Mehmed II, accompanied by Vlad III's unwanted successor and brother, Radu III *the Handsome*,[56] but also by the soldiers of Stephen III *the Great* of Moldavia,[57] fought in Asia Minor against the Turkmen khan, Usun Hassan, Christendom's great hope;[58] on the other, Matthias, whose – only – son John had just been born (on April 2, 1473, in Buda),[59] battled for his royal survival in Bohemia,[60] as well as at the Adriatic border of the Balkans.[61] Less than half a year later, Ragusa informed Venice that Stephen, through his campaign in Wallachia, was paving the way for Vlad's return to power.[62]

Manifold curiosities embrace the modern – but also late medieval – portrayal of those shifting years.[63] No ruler of Wallachia (or of Moldavia) was "blacklisted" in the Hungarian realm (and by its representatives) as *schismatic* in the second half of the 15th century,[64] after the fall of Byzantium (1453)[65] and the miracle of Belgrade (1456).[66] Then, even the previously pro-Ottoman voivodes Wladislaw II and Peter Aaron sided with John Hunyadi, betrayed – in return – by both Vlad III and future Stephen III.[67] The

[55] DRH, B, I, no. 144, 240-241. Unlike the deeds of Sigismund and John, Matthias' charter for Cozia was never – wrongfully – deemed a forgery from the time of the Austrian administration (1716-1739) of Oltenia/ Lesser or Western Wallachia (P.P. Panaitescu, *Mircea cel Bătrân*, edited by Gheorghe Lazăr (Bucharest, 2001), 421-423).

[56] O. Cristea, Nagy Pienaru, *Ţara Românească şi bătălia de la Başkent*, in *Analele Putnei*, VIII (2012), 1, 17-36.

[57] Al. Simon, *Habsburgs, Jagiellonians and Crusading: The Wallachian Case in the 1470s*, in *The Jagiellonians in Europe: Dynastic Diplomacy and Foreign Relations*, edited by Attila Bárány (Debrecen, 2016), 53-68.

[58] Małgorzata Dąbrowska, *Uzun Hassan's Project of Alliance with the Polish King*, in Eadem, *Hidden Secrets: Late Byzantium in the Western and Polish Context* (Łódź, 2017), 211-232.

[59] Gyula Schönherr, *Hunyadi Corvin János. 1473-1504* (Budapest, 1894), 18-19. The deed for Cozia was issued by the Buda chancery, while Matthias was – since before John's birth – in the north, in Brno at that time (Richárd Horváth, *Itineraria regis Matthiae Corvini et reginae Beatricis de Aragonia (1458-1476-1490)* (Budapest, 2011), 98).

[60] A. Bárány, *Matthias Corvinus and Charles the Bold*, in *Chronica*, XII (2012), 69-88, at 76-77.

[61] Luka Spoljarić, *Nicholas of Modruš and his De Bellis Gothorum: Politics and National History in the Fifteenth-Century Adriatic*, in *Renaissance Quarterly*, LXXII, 2019, 2, 457-491, at 476-481.

[62] I.-A. Pop, *Atletul Ştefan şi românii ca protagonişti la Marea Neagră în epistole semnate de Papa Sixt al IV-lea şi de umanistul Francesco Filelfo (1475-1476)*, in *Spre pământul făgăduinţei, între Balcani şi Bugeac. Omagiu Doamnei Profesoare Elena Siupiur la împlinirea vârstei de 80 de ani*, edited by Daniel Cain, Aneta Mihaylova, Roumiana L. Stantcheva, Andrei Timotin (Brăila, 2020), 17-34, Appendix, no. 2, 30-31.

[63] See, in comparison, Marian Coman, O. Cristea, *Istorii paralele, istorii convergente. Moldova şi Ţara Românească în 1457 şi 1476,* in *Analele Putnei*, XI (2015), 1, 99-120.

[64] See the edited and unedited sources collected in the database http://siebenbuergenurkundenbuch.uni-trier.de/. The statement above is quite surprising. Yet we could not find evidence to contradict it. We hope to find such evidence, because it would be significantly "easier" to deal with schismatic voivodes that with "non-schismatic" voivodes.

[65] For the –Pontifical – Wallachian changes triggered by the year 1453, see I.-A. Pop, Al. Simon, *The Hunyadis and Dacia: From the Fall of Constantinople to the Peace of Wiener-Neustadt*, in *Banatica*, XXX (2020), 2, 35-57.

[66] For an overview: Al. Simon, *Lasting Conquests and Wishful Recoveries: Crusading in the Black Sea Area after the Fall of Constantinople*, in *Imago Temporis Medium Aevum*, V, 2012, 301-315; Anastasija Ropa, *Imagining the 1456 Siege of Belgrade in Capystranus*, in *The Hungarian Historical Review*, IV (2015), 2, 255-282

[67] Al. Simon, *John Hunyadi between Belgrade and Cetatea Albă in the 1450s'*, in *Banatica*, XIX (2009), 25-38.

long and predominantly tolerant reign of Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387-1437)[68] had certainly altered the "so-to-say" Angevine rhetoric of the 1300s.[69] Still, the documentary (at least) change, in favour of the Greek rite Wallachians,[70] appears quite dramatic,[71] as there was otherwise[72] no "Hungarian" shortage of enraged words[73] to describe the treacherous stands of the voivodes of Wallachia and Moldavia.[74] Moreover, the same

[68] See, in this case, chiefly Adrian Magina, *Răufăcători sau… schismatici? Statutul ortodocşilor bănăţeni în jurul anului 1400*, in *Românii în Europa medievală (între Orientul bizantin şi Occidentul latin). Studii în onoarea Profesorului Victor Spinei*, edited by Dumitru Ţeicu, Ionel Cândea (Brăila, 2008), 283-294.

[69] This rhetoric should also be revisited (cf. already Sima Cirković, O jednoj srpsko-ugarskoj alijansi", *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta,* XLIV (2007), 2, 411-421.). Louis I "based" his anti-schismatic decisions of 1366 also on the statements of the Athonite suite of Emperor John V Palaeologus (Dyonisius Lasić, "Fr. Bartholomaei de Alverna, Vicarii Bosnae 1367-1407, quaedam scripta hucusque inedita", *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum,* LV (1962), 59-81, at 74-75). The same king supported Greek rite rulers, as well as hierarchs loyal to him (Adrian Ioniţă, Beatrice Kelemen, Al. Simon, *AL WA: prinţul negru al Vlahiei şi vremurile sale* (Cluj-Napoca, 2017), 165-166).

[70] Because of the "Moldavian-Transylvanian" provisions of Pope Eugenius IV from 1436 (*Acta Eugenii PP IV(1431-1447)* (=*Fontes*, III, 15), edited by Georgio Fedalto (Rome, 1990), no. 421, pp. 229-230).), his response to the unionist "double-dealings" of both Byzantium and Sigismund (Pop-Marcu-Sălăgean-Simon, *De vertice montis*, 121-122), the initial change may predate the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1437-1439). Anyhow, in 1439-1440, Lazar, the son of George Branković, despot of Serbia was seriously considered as a candidate for the royal crown of Hungary, after the death of Albert of Habsburg, Sigismund's son-in-law (see also Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis to Mohács*, 85, note 40).

[71] An additional note is perhaps needed. Moldavia (with her rulers) was – occasionally – labeled *schismatic* in Poland, but by association with Moscow, due to the conflict over Kyiv (*Materialy do dziejów dyplomacji polskiej z lat 1486-1516 (Kodeks zagrzebski)*, edited by Józef Garbacik (Wrocław-Warsaw-Krakow, 1966), no. 43, 128), and the Ruthenians, because of disputed Podolia (Petro B.T. Bilaniuk, *The Fifth Lateran Council (1512-1517) and the Eastern Churches* (Toronto, 1975), 88-89). In comparison, Hungary (i.e. Hungarian secular and spiritual authorities) seems to have been – directly and indirectly – much more tolerant than Poland (i.e. Polish secular and spiritual authorities) in these matters.

[72] A certain "reciprocity" seems to have been operational since the 1450s (Al. Simon, *Gibt es eine orthodoxe Form von Terra Christianorum? Über die Orthodoxen in Ungarn und die Katholiken in der Moldau in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, in *Corviniana*, XIV (2021), 29-46; perhaps noteworthy enough, in 1481, the Hungarian Diet explicitly listed only the Serbians as schismatics, but not the Wallachians, when exempting them for the payment of the dime).

[73] The *Chronicle* of John Thuróczy (prior to 1488) and the *Decades* of Antonio Bonfini (after 1486) are worth a closer inspection. Wallachian voivodes were violently attacked for their – so-called – treacheries, but not for their faith (the case of Stephen III is eloquent; Al. Simon, "Antonio Bonfini's *Valachorum regulus*",in *Between Worlds*, I. *Stephen the Great, Matthias Corvinus and their Time* (=*Mélanges d'Histoire Générale*, NS, I, 1), edited by László Koszta, Ovidiu Mureşan, Al. Simon (Cluj-Napoca, 2007), 207-226). We must also bear in mind that, if Florin Curta's assumption is correct (*Oblivion and Invention: Charlemagne and Wars with the Avars*, in *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, LV (2021), 1, 61-88, at p. 84, note 106), the vast majority of Bonfini's work, from Book IX of the First *Decade* onwards (where the Italian humanist ascribed the attribute *divus* to the king), was written after Matthias' death (1490), under the rule of his unwanted successor, Wladislaw II Jagiello, also Matthias' co- king of – *heretic* – Bohemia, or *schismatic*, according to Matthias' Papal correspondence (e.g. Antonin Kalous, *The Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli at the Court of the King of Hungary (1488-1490)* (=*Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae*, II, 8) (Budapest-Rome, 2021), no. 9, 22).

[74] E.g. O. Cristea, *Puterea cuvintelor. Ştiri şi război în secolele XV-XVI* (Târgovişte, 2014), 85-99. The most eloquent example is probably the stand of Matthias towards Stephen III after the king's – largely ill-fated – Moldavian campaign at the end of 1467 (Al. Simon, *Valahii la Baia.Regatul Ungariei, Domnia Moldovei şi Imperiul Otoman în 1467*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie* A.D. Xenopol, XLVI (2009), 125-150, at 142-144).

voivodes remained pious donors on Mount Athos[75] and even loyal to the pro-Ottoman (post 1453) Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinopole,[76] at least nominally (according to Bayezid II's berat from 1483 for patriarch Simeon I),[77] not to mention the numerous Ottoman/crusader double-dealings of the voivodes.[78]

In fact, the most *schismatic* of all post 1400 Wallachian rulers was Vlad III, if we trust German tales – and only them – on his deeds,[79] and not any other type of coeval records (official papers included).[80] Yet, he easily married into the Hunyadi family on two occasions: in – foremost – 1462 (after his Danubian massacres)[81] and around 1473-1474 (after his "Hungarian confinement").[82] "Other" issues – seemingly – took precedence over the matters of the *true* – Christian – beliefs.[83]

Lands and Masters. The political framework of these pious deeds emphasizes the complex structure of Wallachia[84] in the second half of the 15th century (placed at the crossroads between Hungary, the Ottoman Empire but also rising Moldavia[85]), and draws attention to a report on Vlad's eventual death.[86]

> [...] *Per altre mie del di 27 del passato* [January 27, 1477] *a Vostra Illustrissima Signoria* [Bona of Savoy[87]] *furono advisata, como per la via de Albania se haveva nova, che'l Turco* [Mehmed II] *haveva expugnato uno bastione, il*

[75] See in this context Boško I. Bojović, P.Ş. Năsturel, *Les fondations dynastiques du Mont-Athos: des dynasties serbes et de la sultane Mara aux princes roumains*, in *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, LXI (2003), 1-4, 149-176.

[76] In relation to the subsequently cited sources, see Al. Simon, *The Relations between the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople and Venice in a Venetian Document of 1480*, in *Românii în Europa medievală,* 587-600.

[77] Georgios Salakides, *Sultansurkunden des Athos-Klosters Vatopedi aus der Zeit Bayezid II. und Selim I. Kritische Edition und wissenschaftlicher Kommentar* (Thessaloniki, 1995), no. 13, 73.

[78] We recall that the schismatic Wallachians were among the main "culprits" after the crusader disaster of Varna in 1444 (Kiril Petkov, *From Schismatic to Fellow Christians: East Central European Religious Attitudes Towards the Orthodox Balkans (1354-1572)*, in *Mediaevistik*, VIII (1995), 171-192, at 176-181, John Jefferson, *The Holy Wars of King Wladislas and Sultan Murad: The Ottoman-Christian Conflict from 1438-1444* (Leiden-Boston, 2012), 46-47).

[79] Unsurprisingly in fact, this aspect eluded the attention of Matei Cazacu in his *Dracula* (Leiden-Boston, 2017).

[80] For an overview, see the entries (chiefly those posterior to 1462) in *Corpus Draculianum*, I-1 and – in particular – I-2.

[81] Cf. already Ioan Bianu, *Ştefan cel Mare. Câteva documente din arhivul de stat de la Milano*, *Columna lui Traian* IV (1883), 1-2, 30-47, at no. 1, 34-35.

[82] Cf. already A. Kubinyi, *Matthias Corvinus: The King and the Man*, in *Between Worlds*, I, 17-36, at 21-22.

[83] In relation to the case of Vlad, see the benevolent attitude of Thomas Ebendorf (who authored a violent portrait of the cruel ruler) towards Greek rite Christians, attitude analyzed by Petkov, *From Schismatic to Fellow Christians*, 182.

[84] See also M. Coman, *The Reign of a Defrocked Monk: A Late Fifteenth Century Case Study in the Wallachian Political Language*, in *Religious Rhetoric of Power in Byzantium and South-Eastern Europe*, edited by I. Biliarsky, Mihail Mitrea, A. Timotin (Brăila, 2021), 189-221.

[85] Ştefan S. Gorovei, Maria-Magdalena Székely, *Princeps omni laude maior: o istorie a lui Ştefan cel Mare* (Putna, 2005), 100-101.

[86] Al. Simon, *Mehmed II's Return to Moldovia in 1476 and the Death of the King of Dacia*, in *Transylvanian Review*, XXIX (2020), suppl. 1, 53-64.

[87] Daniel M. Bueno De Mesquita, *Bona de Savoia*, in *Dizionario Bibliografico degli Italiani*, XI (1969), *sub voce*.

> *quale el Re de Ungaria* [Matthias Corvinus] *haveva facto fare per tutela de Belgrado et per obsidione de Semedro* [Smederevo]. *Hora significo alla Vestra Signoria como dicta nova per la via d'Ungheria se e verificata, et quod maius est. El praefato Re advisa questa Signoria, como ultra l'expugnatione del dicto bastione li Turchi sono etiam corsi nella* ***Valachia Maggiore****, et di novo le hanno riacquistata tutta et hanno tagliato ad pezzi* ***Draculia*** [Vlad III (*Ţepeş*)], ***capitaneo del dicto Re****, con circa quattro mille persone, et similiter hanno morto* ***Bozarab*** [Basarab IV (*Ţepeluş*)], ***Signore della dicta Valachia****, la quale novella e riputata qua molto sinistra et pernitiosa per li Christiani, et maximamente che pare, che'l prelibato Re de Ungaria con li sui soliti modi accenni non poteva resistere ad tanti impeti, sol e non adiutato* [...] (Venice, February 1, 1477).[88]

The report sent to Duchess Bona of Savoy by Leonardo Botta, Milan's seasoned representative in Venice,[89] provides the only truly coeval information on Vlad's demise.[90] The data on *Dracula*'s death is otherwise either posterior by a couple of months (e.g. the speech delivered in May 1477, in Venice,[91] Matthias' "strange ally"[92] and Stephen of Moldavia's protector[93], by John Tzamplakon, Stephen's envoy)[94] or was preserved in chronicles and *tales* from the 1480s and chiefly 1490s,[95] yet less in Western ones (this also "led" to Vlad's – Venetian – victory of *1486* over Bayezid II).[96]

According to Botta's Venetian sources, Vlad had been only Matthias' captain ("viceroy") in Wallachia.[97] Until at the end of 1476 Mehmed II's intervention collapsed

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[88] ASM, A.D.S. Potenze Estere, *Venezia*, cart. 364. *1477*, fasc. 2. *Febbrario*, nn. Already published in I. Nagy, Albert Nyáry, *Magyar diplomacziai emlékek. Mátyás király korából 1458-1490* (=*Monumenta Hungariae Historica*, IV, 1-4), II. [*1466-1480*] (Budapest, 1876), no. 234, 339-340 (MDE).

[89] Roberto Zapperini, "Leonardo Botta", *Dizionario Bibliografico degli Italiani*, XIII (1971), *sub voce*; Giulia Calabrò, "*Siati per le mille fiate el ben venuto…*: la prassi dell'arrivo e dell'accoglienza di un ambasciatore (Napoli 1471-Venezia 1473)", *I Quaderni del Mediae Aetatis Sodalicum*, XVIII (2018), 205-222.

[90] This fact was – apparently – never emphasized, though we cannot state that it was never – properly – noticed.

[91] We must emphasize, under these circumstances, that Venice was not known for tolerant stands towards neither Greek rite Christians, nor Jews (see also Al. Simon, *Jewish Merchants between Cross and Crescent: The Greek Rite Case of Moldavia*, in *Social and Political Elites in Eastern and Central Europe (15th-18th Centuries)* (=*Studies in Russia and Eastern Europe*, XIII), edited by Cristian Luca, Laurenţiu Rădvan (London, 2015), 25-34).

[92] Gyula Rázsó, *Una strana alleanza. Alcuni pensieri sulla storia militaria e politica dell'allleanza contro i turchi (1440-1464)*, in *Venezia e Ungheria nel Rinascimento*, edited by Vittore Branca (Florence 1973), 79-100.

[93] Al. Simon, *Să nu ucizi o pasăre cântătoare: soarta unui fortissimus rei Christiane athleta în ochii Veneţiei*, in *Pe urmele trecutului. Profesorului Nicolae Edroiu la 70 de ani*, edited by I.-A. Pop, Susana Andea, Al. Simon (Cluj-Napoca, 2009), 159-169.

[94] *Documentele lui Ştefan cel Mare*, II, no. 154, 344-345.

[95] C. Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor din Ţara Românească şi Moldova (a. 1324-1881)*, I. *Secolele XIV-XVI* (Bucharest, 2001), 117. Neither in the 1480s, nor in the 1490s did the German *stories* record Vlad's death.

[96] For Marino Sanudo's entry, from the days of the new Ottoman-Venetian war (1499-1503), see Al. Simon, *In the World of Vlad: The Lives and Times of a Warlord* (=*Forum: Rumänien*, XLIII) (Berlin, 2013), 273-280.

[97] Voivode at that time was used also to designate an Ottoman pasha, otherwise named *bassa* (e.g. MDE, II, no. 236, 342-343). Anyhow, the rank of royal captain was consistent with Vlad's military actions at the beginning of 1476.

Matthias' forts on the Drava, the Sava and on the Danube,[98] the true lord (ruler) of – *Great*(er) – Wallachia had been Basarab IV.[99] The latter had risen in the shadow of "reactivated" Vlad (1474-1475),[100] as Matthias' and then Stephen's favorite, after all Hungarian and/ or Moldavian arrangements with Basarab III Laiotă (Stephen's initial choice for the Transalpine Wallachian throne in 1473[101]) proved futile.[102]

Vlad III's implicit and explicit pairing with both Basarabs (III and IV) stood for a partition of power that – almost[103] – echoed the double suzerainty exercised by Matthias Corvinus and – his nonetheless vassal – Stephen of Moldavia over Wallachia (proper).[104] Newer and older divisions (Wallachia,[105] like Moldavia[106] was a composite structure) were unavoidable in the mid 1470s. The distinct – stately – existence of a *Great*(*er*) *Wallachia*, different from both Moldavia[107] and from Wallachia proper (*Transalpine land*/ *kingdom* for the Hungarian royal chancery)[108] had been underlined already by Rangoni at the end of his quoted report on the deeds of Vlad and Vuk.[109]

> […] *Spero in Dei bonitate quod Serviam maxima in parte prius quam Turchus occurrere possit devastabit. Tandem cum aque excreverint quemadmodum*

[98] Fine, *A Tale of Three Fortresses*, 190-191.

[99] The issue may date back to the first two decades of the 15th century, to the days of Mircea I of Wallachia and – of his vassal – Alexander I of Moldavia (see also Ş. Papacostea, *Byzance et la croisade au Bas-Danube à la fin du XIV^e siècle*, *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, XXX (1991), 1-2, 3-21).

[100] Cf. already Al. Simon, *În jurul bătăliei de la Vaslui (1474-1475). Consideraţii asupra relaţiilor dintre Moldova, Ţara Românească şi Regatul Ungariei*, in *Studia Universitatis* Babeş Bolyai. *Historia*, XLIX (2004), 2, 3-26, at 8-11.

[101] If the Ottoman intelligence conveyed by Ragusa to Venice in early 1474 was completely accurate, Basarab III too was in fact Vlad III's princely "understudy". How Basarab III and Vlad III were to coexist once Vlad returned to Wallachia remains – largely – an open question. A partial answer may be found in the cited report sent by Botta.

[102] E.g. the truce concluded between King Matthias and Basarab III in view of the Serbian campaign, led in fact by Vlad III and Vuk (Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, XV-1. *Acte şi scrisori din arhivele oraşelor ardelene Bistriţa, Braşov, Sibiiu, 1358-1600*, edited by N. Iorga (Bucharest, 1911), no. 149, 87).

[103] We use "almost" in order to avoid potential exaggerations, such as the ones in Matei Cazacu's "Marche frontalière ou État dans l'État? L'Oltenie aux XIV^e-XV^e siècles", in *The Steppe Lands and the World beyond them. Studies in Honor of Victor Spinei on his 70th Birthday*, edited by Florin Curta, Bogdan-Petru Maleon (Iaşi, 2013), 697-742.

[104] The misguided and biased comments of Ştefan S. Gorovei (*Informaţie, propagandă, mistificare: scrisoarea din 25 ianuarie 1475*, *Analele Putnei*, III (2007), 2, 21-26) can prove relevant if placed in a correct documented context.

[105] See also O. Cristea, M. Coman, *O scrisoare pierdută. Ştefan cel Mare şi boierii de margine ai Ţării Româneşti*, in *Analele Putnei*, IX (2013), 1, 23-52.

[106] Cf. already Ş. Papacostea, *Un episode de la rivalité polono-hongroise au XV^e siècle: l'expedition de Matia Corvin en Moldavie (1467) à la lumière d'une nouvelle source*, in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, VIII (1969), 6, 967-969.

[107] M. Coman, *Terminologia statală medievală şi rivalitatea moldo-munteană (secolele XV-XVI)*, in *Vocaţia istoriei. Prinos profesorului Şerban Papacostea*, edited by O. Cristea, Gh. Lazăr, Brăila, 2008, 407-422.

[108] Adolf Armbruster, *Terminologia politico-geografică şi etnică a Ţărilor Române în epoca constituirii statale*, in *Constituirea statelor feudale româneşti*, edited by Nicolae Stoicescu (Bucharest, 1980), 251-259.

[109] Andreescu noticed this distinction in 1976, but passed it under silence in 1977 (*L'action de Vlad Ţepeş*, 266).

prius conceperat ***in Regnum Transalpinum cum Moldavis et ipsius Vualachie Maioris exercitu convenire intendit*** […].[110]

Not even a year later, in early January 1477, when inquiring in a letter – sent to the Transylvanian Saxons of Braşov[111] – about the fate of *his brother Vlad* (*de facto Magnifici Ladi fratre nostro in Magna Walahya contingit*)[112].Stephen of Moldavia too, who claimed the "Wallachian supremacy" for himself (as the *Great Wallachian*),[113] had acknowledged the existence of such a *Great*(*er*) *Wallachia* (without, however, naming Vlad III the voivode of that "Major" Wallachia)[114] In fact, even Stephen's great – according to all standards – campaign against Radu III (November 1473) had been recorded by Ragusa as an intervention in *Vlachia Maior* in the favour of Vlad III.[115]

Matthias' new – Neapolitan – wife, Beatrice, wed by John Hunyadi's son on the eve of Vlad's death,[116] also focused on that *Great*(*er*) *Wallachia*. Between the Ottoman sieges of Rhodes[117] and Otranto, the harbour of her father, Ferdinand of Aragon, king of Naples,[118] Beatrice wrote in early July 1480 to her sister, Eleanor, and to her brother-in-law, Ercole d'Este, duke of Modena.[119] She sent word of the recent anti-Ottoman exploits in Wallachia (late May-mid-June 1480), and then in Bulgaria, of the captains of

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[110] *Szerbia*, no. 369, 267.

[111] For an overview of the very tense relations between Vlad and the Transylvanian Saxons: G. Gündisch, *Vlad Ţepeş und die sächsischen Selbstverwaltungsgebiete Siebenbürgens*, in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, VIII, (1969), 6, 981-992.

[112] Direcţia Judeţeană a Arhivelor Naţionale-Braşov, Braşov, Archiv der Stadt Kronstadt, Familiennachläße, *Fronius*, I, no. 332 (photocopy: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár, Budapest, Antemohácsiana, Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény, [no.] 278448; first published in *Hurmuzaki*, XV-1, no. 169). This Moldavian princely letter too was written by an "Italian hand" (cf. Iorga's note in *Hurmuzaki*, XV-1, 9, however, not in relation to this message).

[113] In spite of the fact that Moldavia was usually named *Lesser Wallachia* (Ş. Papacostea, *Politica externă a lui Ştefan cel Mare: opţiunea polonă (1459-1472)*, in *Studii şi Materiale de Istorie Medie*, XV (2007), 13-28, at 20-22).

[114] Probably, Stephen too thought of Vlad III as his *prefect* in that Wallachia. This is certainly how Długosz designated Basarab IV *Ţepeluş* after he was enthroned by Stephen a year later, in November 1477 (*Annales seu cronici incliti Regni Poloniae* (=*Jan Dlugosii Senioris Canonici Cracoviensis Opera omnia*, XI-XIV), ediţie Alexander Przezdziecki, IV, Kraków, 1887, 665). Basarab IV, not Vlad III, had been Stephen III's first *Transalpine* choice in 1475-1476.

[115] For further details, see in this issue the notes and comments in I.-A. Pop, Al. Simon, *The Asian and Balkan Background of Dracula's Wallachian Restoration (1473-1474)*.

[116] The wedding was celebrated on December 22, 1476 (*Szabolcs de Vajay, Un ambassadeur* bien choisi*: Bernardinus de Frangipanus et sa mission à Naples, en 1476*, in *The man of many devices, who wandered full many ways: Festschrift in Honour of János M. Bak*, edited by Balazs Nagy, Márcell Sebők (Budapest, 1999), 550-557).

[117] The siege of the Hospitaller centre began on May 23, 1480 (Nicolas Vatin, *L'Ordre de Saint-Jean-de Jérusalem, l'Empire ottoman et la Méditerranée orientale entre les deux sièges de Rhodes* (Paris-Leuven, 1994), 148).

[118] The Ottoman fleet appeared in front of the Apulian harbour on July 28, 1480 (on the famous siege, fall and recovery: *La conquista turca di Otranto (1480) tra storia e mito*, edited byHubert Houben, I-II (Galatina, 2008), passim).

[119] They probably received the identical letters of Beatrice (sent on July 9, 1480) at the same time with the news of the siege of Otranto. The letters were first published in MDE, II, nos. 288-289, 436-440. Beatrice's letter to Eleanor was reprinted by Endre Veress in *Acta et epistolae relationum Transylvaniae Hungariaeque cum Moldavie et Valachia* (=*Fontes Rerum Transylvaniacrum*, IV, VI), I. *1468-1540* (Budapest, 1914), no. 32, 34-35.

her husband,[120] supported by the *Magnificent* Stephen of Moldavia, with whom Matthias had recently concluded *peace*,[121] accepting the voivode as his vassal, still according to the queen.[122]. More important than the military information (exaggerated beyond doubt) in Beatrice's letters was the "geography of power" depicted by the still childless queen of Hungary.[123] Transylvania was a distinct entity in relation to the – proper – Kingdom of Hungary. *Greater Wallachia*, controlled by the *Turk*, was a part of Transylvania. That Transylvania touched the (Lower) Danube.[124] After the very recent victory of King Matthias' captains, the Wallachians <in *Great*(*er*) *Wallachia*>, deprived of their fortresses, had sworn loyalty to the Hungarians.[125] The ruler of those Wallachians, *Cypelles* (that is Basarab IV),[126] had lost and fled to the Turks.[127]

Rulers and Subjects. Beatrice despised Basarab IV, the former "associate" of Vlad III.[128] It would have been very easy to call him also a schismatic, for Basarab IV was the – Athonite moreover – favourite of Mara Branković,[129] the widow of Murad II

[120] Beatrice voluntarily omitted the name of Stephen Báthory, voivode of Transylvania (R. Horváth, Tibor Neumann, *Ecsedi Bátori István. Egy katonabáró életpályája (1458-1493)* (Budapest, 2012), 52-55).

[121] A similar peace between them was then recorded by Antonio Bonfini for the next year, 1481 (*Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*, edited by József Fógel, László Juhász, Béla Iványi, IV, (Leipzig, 1941 [Budapest, 1944]), 112).

[122] Two days after the queen's letters, on July 11, 1480, and with significantly fewer details, Matthias appended basically the same news as post-scriptum to his messages sent to the cities of Augsburg and Nürnberg, nominally under the authority of Matthias' arch-enemy, Emperor Frederick III of Habsburg. Less than a month earlier, already informed about the siege of Rhodes, Matthias had warned his father-in-law about the imminent Ottoman attack on the Kingdom of Naples and urged him to reach an agreement with the sultan. Not too long ago, Matthias had also allowed Ottoman riders to raid the 'Austrian lands' of Frederick III. A question therefore arises: were the messages sent by Matthias and Beatrice 'fake-news' aimed at covering Hungarian-Ottoman arrangements at a time when Christendom was besieged by the Turks? (for further details: Al. Simon, *Scrisori pierdute din vara anului 1480*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie* A.D. Xenopol (Iaşi), LVIII (2021), in print).

[123] This aspect was particularly important in the summer of 1480. In late October 1479, Beatrice had been compelled to acknowledge the princely existence of John, Matthias' illegitimate son (see I.-A. Pop, Al. Simon, *Documents on the Prequels and the Aftermath of the Battle of Câmpul Pâinii (Kenyérmezö, Brotfeld)*, in *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, CXXIV (2011), 1, 229-238, in the Appendix, at 237).

[124] Iidem, *Transilvania de la Dunăre: scrisorile de la Modena ale reginei Beatrice de Aragon din vara anului 1480*, in *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secţiunii Istorice*, 5th series, XXXVI (2021), in print.

[125] This leads to the natural question: which fortresses? The major fortresses of Transalpine Wallachia, such as Severin or Giurgiu, were already held either by the Hungarians or by the Ottomans (see also Gheorghe I. Cantacuzino, *Cetăţi medievale din Ţara Românească în secolele XIII–XVI* (Bucharest, 2001[2]), 11, fig 1).

[126] In Romanian, *Ţepeluş* means the "Little Impaller". In Hungarian, *Cypelles* would stand for "little shoemaker" (I.-A. Pop, Al. Simon, *Ungaria et Valachia: promisiunile valahe ale Republicii Sfântului Marcu din anii 1470*, in *Revista Istorică*, NS, XXVI (2015), 1-2 [2016], 3-66, at 39, note 138; Simon, "*De Dragule crudelitate*", 534, note 109).

[127] See also Dan Pleşia, *Neagoe Basarab. Originea, familia şi o scurtă privirea asupra politicii Ţării Româneşti la începutul veacului al XVI-lea* (I), in *Valachica*, I (1969), 45-60, at 53.

[128] The letters sent to Modena speak for themselves. In return, we have no evidence on the "feelings" of Beatrice towards Vlad. Her wedding, celebrated with quite some difficulties, had after all coincided with the latter's death.

[129] See alos Radu G. Păun, *Mount Athos and the Byzantine Slavic Tradition in Wallachia and Moldavia after the Fall of Constantinople*, in *The Balkans and the Byzantine World before and after the Captures of Constantinople, 1204 and 1453*, edited by Vlada Stanković (Lanham, MD, 2016), 117-164, especially 152, note 82.

and Mehmed II's influential advisor[130], as well as one of the main mortal enemies of the Hunyadis (and of Stephen III).[131] Matthias too had refrained from attacking Basarab IV as a *schismatic*, when heralding the Transylvanian victory of his captains over the Ottoman army, spearheaded by the said Basarab in October 1479. [132] In fact, Matthias had been more preoccupied by emphasizing the Wallachian blood bond between him and Mehmed.[133]

Rulers however should not be equated with subjects (or vice-versa), not even in the Middle Ages.[134] The Wallachian cases of Vlad III in 1462 (defeated not by the sultan, but by his own)[135] or Stephen III (abandoned by at least a third of his host in front of the renewed Ottoman attack)[136] speak for themselves.[137] In Wallachia, the internal divisions, political and or territorial had become virtually self-evident.[138] Between 1456 and 1476, the population of Wallachia had decreased by a third.[139] In the neighbourhood, Serbia, Serbia and even earlier Bulgaria had been turned into waste lands by (anti-) Ottoman warfare.[140] Latin rite support, blessed by the Papacy, had been occasional (at best) and costly (in general), the betrayal of the true (Orthodox) faith included.[141] A series of questions almost naturally come to the modern mind in the search of – partial – medieval

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[130] M. Popović, *The Holy Mountain of Athos as Contact Zone between Venice and the Ottoman Empire in the 15th Century*, in *Imperium Bulgariae. Studia in honorem annorum LX Georgii N. Nikolov*, edited by Angel N. Nikolov (Sofia, 2018), 774-783.

[131] Al. Simon, În vara anului 1466: ridicarea athonită a lui Ştefan al III-lea cel Mare şi prăbuşirea otomană a atletului Gheorghe Castriota Skanderbeg, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie* A.D. Xenopol, LVII (2020), 45-64.

[132] Ioan Drăgan, *Câmpul Păinii (1479): o luptă de români contra românilor,* in *Naţiune şi europenitate: Studii istorice. In Honorem Magistri Camilli Mureşanu*, edited by N. Edroiu, S. Andea, Şerban Turcuş (Bucharest, 2007), 76-82.

[133] Al. Simon, *La parentéle ottomane du roi Mathias Corvin*, in *Matthias Corvinus und seine Zeit: Europa am Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit zwischen Wien und Konstantinopel* (=*Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, CDX), edited byChristian Gastgeber, E. Mitsiou, I.-A. Pop, M. Popovic, J. Preiser Kapeller, Al. Simon (Vienna, 2011), 25-33

[134] E.g. in this context: the Ottoman attack on Oradea in February 1474 (*Chronicon Dubnicense*, in *Historiae Hungariae Fontes Domestici*, III, edited by M[átyás] Florián (Leipzig [-Pécs], 1884), 1-204, at. 198-199).

[135] For a very vivid account of the events, see *The Itineraries of William de Wey, Fellow of Eton College, to Jerusalem A.D. 1458 and A.D. 1462, and to Saint James of Compostella A.D. 1456* [, edited by Bulkeley Bandinel, George Williams] (London, 1857), 99-100.

[136] As Stephen's envoy, Tzamplakon, was forced to admit in Venice in May 1477, before turning to the case of Vlad, to his enthronement (by Stephen) and to his death (in spite of the personal guard left to Vlad by the same Stephen). The succession of events in Tzamplakon's speech is quite eloquent (*Documentele lui Ştefan cel Mare*, II, no. 154, 344)

[137] To these cases, we could add the "Transylvanian non-combat" of 1476 and 1484, when Matthias had to bring troops from Hungary proper and even from Croatia for the support of Stephen, attacked by the Ottomans (see also Al, Simon, "The Ottoman-Hungarian Crisis of 1484: Diplomacy and Warfare in Matthias Corvinus' Local and Regional Politics", in *Matthias and his Legacy. Cultural and Political Encounters between East and West*, edited by A. Bárány, Attila Györkös (Debrecen, 2009), 401-436, at 420, 423, 435).

[138] M. Coman, *Putere şi teritoriu. Ţara Românească medievală (secolele XIV-XVI)* (Iaşi, 2013), 111-119, 142-146.

[139] Ş. Papacostea, *Populaţie şi fiscalitate în Ţara Românească în secolul al XV-lea: un nou izvor*, in *Revista de Istorie*, XXXIII (1980), 9, 1779-1786.

[140] For more recent perspectives see the studies in *State and Society in the Balkans* and in *Medieval Bosnia and South-East European Relations: Political, Religious, and Cultural Life at the Adriatic Crossroads*, edited by Dzenan Dautovic, E. Filipovic, Neven Isailovic (Amsterdam, 2019).

[141] We focus on the largely unjust perspective because it was the one who benefited the Ottoman power (before it serviced modern historiographies).

answers (answers that on a "heretical" level must factor-in the words written in early 1471 by Gregory of Heimburg, the trustee of the king of Bohemia, George Podiebrad († March 1471): *der Ungarische kunig ist gut Turck als sein vater was, do er den Turck liesse Constantinople zwingen* [...]).[142]

What did the subjects of the voivodes think of "all these"?[143] What were the (counter-) actions of the – Ottoman controlled – Greek rite churchly authorities (of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in particular)?[144] What was the regional impact of the peculiar *Latin* status of the Wallachians?[145]

Some responses may come, as so often, from the borders.[146] In spring 1480 or in spring 1481 (for Basarab IV managed to recover his throne after the campaign celebrated by Beatrice),[147] the boyars along the border with Moldavia (in the counties of Brăila, Râmnic and Buzău)[148] violently rebuked the Wallachian claims of Stephen and adamantly professed their loyalty to Basarab IV.[149] Since before the official beginning of Stephen's anti-Ottoman combats in autumn 1473 (when all the Moldavian hierarchs exited the princely council)[150], Stephen had been constantly attacking Wallachia (ruled at first by Vlad's brother, Radu III).[151] Mehmed had to levy the siege of Venetian Scutari in Albania (Matthias was then handsomely rewarded by the republic for this retreat)[152] and gather his European troops for the campaign against Stephen (November 1474-January

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[142] Felix Priebatsch, *Politische Correspondenz des Kurfürsten Albrecht Achilles, 1470-1486* (=*Publikationen aus den Königlichen Preußischen Staatsarchiven*, LIX), I. *1470-1474* (Leipzig, 1894), no. 137, 216.

[143] Liviu Pilat, *Biserică şi putere în Moldova în a doua jumătate a secolului XV*, in *Analele Putnei*, I (2005), 1, 133-150. The history Moldavia is far better documented than that of Wallachia in the second half of the 15th century.

[144] Dan <Ioan> Mureşan, *Patriarhia Ecumenică şi Ştefan cel Mare. Drumul sinuos de la surse la interpretare*, in *În memoria lui Alexandru Elian*, edited by Vasile V. Muntean (Timişoara, 2008), 87-180.

[145] Maybe, needless to mention the *tales* about the expulsion of the Wallachians (of the Vlachs) from Bulgaria in the 13th century, because the Wallachians/ the Vlachs/ the Romanians (chiefly in later political contexts) were of Latin origins and loyal to the pope (Vintilă Mihăilescu, *Imagini ale celuilalt. O perspectivă antropologică*, in *Reflecţii asupra diferenţei*, edited by Irina Culic, István Horváth, Cristian Stan (Cluj-Napoca, 1999), 93-116, at 106).

[146] This is altogether normal in the context, considering that Vlad's fame was first acquired through the means of this campaign along the Lower Danube (for that peculiar area, see also I.-A. Pop, *A 1499 Italian Source on the Ottoman-Polish-Moldavian Rapports*, in *Laudator Temporis Acti. Studia in Memoriam Ioannis A. Božilov*, edited by Ivan Biliarsky, I. *Religio-Historia* (Sofia, 2018),. 391-401).

[147] See also the still valuable study of Alexandru Lapedatu, *Vlad-Vodă Călugărul, 1482-1496* (offprint *Convorbiri Literare*, XXXVIII) (Bucharest, 1903), 25-26.

[148] M. Coman, *Boierii de margine şi puterea domnească în Ţara Românească medieval*, in Aut viam inveniam, aut faciam. *In honorem Ştefan Andreescu*, edited by O. Cristea, Petronel Zahariuc, Gh. Lazăr (Iaşi, 2012), 35-58.

[149] Grigore G. Tocilescu, *534 documente istorice slavo-române din Ţara Românească şi Moldova privitoare la legăturile cu Ardealul 1346-1603* (Bucharest, 1931 [i.e. 1905]), nos. 397-398, 399-400; nos. 492-493, 511-513.

[150] Cf. already Ioan Ursu, *Ştefan cel Mare* (Bucharest, 1925), 290. The hierarchs returned only in 1499 to confirm the peace treaty of Hârlău between Moldavia, Hungary and Poland.

[151] O. Cristea, Nagy Pienaru, *Ţara Românească şi bătălia de la Başkent*, in *Analele Putnei*, VIII (2012), 1, 17-36.

[152] *I libri commemoriali della Republica di Venezia. Regesti* (=*Monumenti Storici Publicati dalla Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria*, I, 1-6), [edited by Riccardo Predelli,] V. [*Registri XIV-XVII*] (Venice, 1901), no. XVI-65, 213.

1475).[153] The Ottoman host was accompanied at least into Bulgaria by the ecumenical patriarch, the same Simeon I.[154] The Ottoman campaign was a disaster[155] and so was Mehmed's later attempt to take at least Stephen's harbours in the following summer.[156] The Ottoman response was also visual: the Saint Mary church of the Dragalevci Monastery near Sofia was repainted (between Mehmed's Moldavian Pontic failure and his new campaign against Moldavia in the summer of 1476)[157]. Saints George, Demetrius and Mercurius crushed the traitorous John Kaloyan (Caloiannes),[158] crowned king of the Bulgarians and of the Vlachs by Pope Innocent III because of his Roman roots.[159] For contemporary Turks, the Wallachians were *people of the north*, fanaticised by the pope in Rome.[160]

For Pope Pius II,[161] Vlad was *John Dragula* and his cruelty completed the lamented fate of the Wallachians, Rome's Eastern forgotten children, still capable of finding recovery and redemption, Vlad included,[162] under the authority of Matthias, the king of Hungary and of *Dacia* (according to the same pope).[163] Basarab IV, *Cypelles* for Beatrice of Aragon, that is either "Little Impaller" or "Little Shoemaker", seems to have been quite the opposite, though otherwise his and Vlad's "career choices" were quite similar: Vlad went from pro-Ottoman to pro-Hungarian, "chosing" West over East,[164] and Basarab turned from pro-Hungarian to pro-Ottoman, inheriting also Mara Branković's

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[153] L. Pilat, O. Cristea, *The Ottoman Threat and Crusading on the Eastern Border of Christendom during the 15th Century East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450*, XLVIII (Leiden-Boston, 2017), 149-152.

[154] Vitalien Laurent, *Les premiers patriarches de Constantinople sous la domination turque (1454-1476)*, *Revue des Études Byzantines*, XXVI (1968), 229-264, at 258.

[155] I.-A. Pop, *The Romanians from Moldavia at the Jubilee in Rome (1475)*, *Il Mar Nero*, X (2019-2020), 163-170.

[156] Andrei Pippidi, *1475: atacul otoman asupra Cetății Albe*, in *Analele Putnei*, VII (2011), 1, 29-36.

[157] The Byzantine year of the painting was 6984: September 1, 1475-August 31, 1476 (see also Christo Andreev, "Новоразкрити надписи от 1475/1476 година в олтарното пространство на църквата в Драгалевския манастир", *Palaeobulgarica*, XL (2007), 4, 47-86; several "inscriptions" indicate a high activity in the year/years 1475-1476).

[158] Cf. already F. Curta's study *How to* do Things with Saints*: On the Iconography of St. Mercurius' Legend*, in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, XXXIV (1995), 1-2, 109-129, at 125-126 (but without noticing the political context).

[159] Alexandru Madgearu, *The Asanids: The Political and Military History of the Second Bulgarian Empire (1185-1280)* (=*East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450*, XLI) (Leiden-Boston, 2016),119-137.

[160] Firdevsî-Rumî, *Kuth-nâme* [Polar Book], edited by Ibrahim Olgum, Ismet Parmakizoglu (Ankara 1980); cf. Mihail Guboglu, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie şi Arheologie* A.D. Xenopol, XXII (1985), 2, 849-852. See also Stéphane Yerasimos, "Enquête sur un heros: *Yanko bin Madyan*, le fondateur mythique de Constantinople", in *Mélanges offerts à Louis Bazin par ses disciples, collegues et amis*, edited by Jean-Louis Bacque-Grammont, Rémy Dor (Paris, 1992), 213-217.

[161] Pius II provided the only copy of the "letter of treason" sent by Vlad III to Mehmed II in November 1462. The only known copies of the "genocide report" sent by Vlad III to Matthias Corvinus in February 1462 were preserved in Piccolominian miscellanea (*Corpus Draculianum*, I-1, no. 23, 103-104; no. 61, 194-195).

[162] See also the translation in *The Commentaries of Pius II*, [V.] *Books X-XIII*, edited by Florence A. Gragg, Leona C. Gabel (Northampton, MA, 1957), 738-740.

[163] I.-A. Pop, *Matthias Corvinus, Re de Ungaria, de Dacia etc., in 1462*, in *Transylvanian Review*, XXIX (2020), suppl. 1, 41-52.

[164] See also A. Weber, *Diplomatia Draculiana. Loyalitätsbeweise und Imagepflege Vlad des Pfählers*, in *Vlad* der Pfähler-Dracula, 133-158

"medial" stand between West and East, that favoured a pro-Ottoman status-quo at the borders of divided Christendom.[165] Their short "joint-rule" over Wallachia, turned into Christendom's trench by King Matthias, Christendom's hope, and Stephen of Moldavia, the *athlete* of Christendom,[166] is eloquent for the bi-polar survival of a divided state that gradually came to a – temporary – end once both *Ţepeş* and *Ţepeluş* were gone.[167] This occurred under the rules of Vlad IV *Călugărul*, a former monk, Vlad's half-brother,[168] and of his son, Radu IV *the Great*, an "agent" of Venice and of the Porte.[169] At that time, the Greek rite Brankovićs were still barons of the realm of Saint Stephen, as well as "registered voters" at the royal Hungarian elections of 1490,[170] the year that stands for both the end of Matthias' plans and hopes for his son's monarchic survival[171] and in fact – in early modern Wallachian chronicles – for the end of Stephen III's *16*/ *17 years* of rule over Wallachia.[172]

[165] Tellingly, the only study devoted in recent decades to Basarab IV is Daniela Monica Mitea, *Relaţiile Ţării Româneşti cu Transilvania în timpul domniilor lui Basarab IV cel Tânăr (Ţepeluş)*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie* George Barițiu, XLVI (2007), 285-302.

[166] Al. Simon, *The Walls of Christendom's Gate. Hungary's Mathias Corvinus and Moldavia's Stephen the Great Politics in the Late 1400s*, in *Quaderni della Casa Romena*, III (2004), 205-224.

[167] Liviu Marius Ilie, *În viaţa domniei mele ...: o veche formulă de cancelarie a Ţării Româneşti din veacul al XV-lea*, in *Revista Istorică*, NS, XXIX (2018), 5-6 [2020], 475-516; Idem, *Vlad Călugărul şi Radu cel Mare: relaţii de familie şi relaţii politice în vremea Sfârşitului lumii*, in *Cercul puterii. Oameni, reţele, strategii (secolele XV-XVII)*, edited by Ramona Neacşa (Târgovişte, 2021), 19-27.

[168] R. Neacşa, *Radu the Great of Wallachia: The Challenges of a Portrait*, in *Transylvanian Review*, XX (2020), suppl. 2 [2021], 71-84; Eadem, *Anatomia cercurilor de putere: martorii lui Radu cel Mare*, in *Cercul puteri*i, 31-53.

[169] Al. Simon, *Valahii şi domnii lor în războiul veneto-otoman (1499-1503)*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie* A.D. Xenopol, L (2013), 39-52.

[170] Initially favourable to John Corvinus' candidacy, they shifted their allegiance to Maximilian I of Habsburg, but not to any of the Jagiellonian brothers, Jan Albert and the eventual winner Wladislaw II (Friedrich Firnhaber, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ungarns unter der Regierung der Könige Wladislaus II. und Ludwig II. (1490-1526)*, in *Archiv für Kunde Österreichischer Geschichtsquellen*, II (1849), 2, 375-552, la no. 28, 423-424).

[171] T. Neumann, *Békekötés Pozsonyban-országgyűlés Budán. A Jagelló-Habsburg kapcsolatok egy fejezete (1490-1492)* (I-II), in *Századok,* CLXIV (2010), 3, 335–372; CXLV (2011), 3, 293-347.

[172] *Istoria Ţării Româneşti*. *1290-1690*, edited by Constantin Greceanu, Dan Simionescu (Bucharest, 1960), pp. 2-5. Stephen III's reign came between those of Basarab IV and Radu IV, whose father, Vlad IV, was omitted from the list. Vlad IV had wed Mary, the widow of Basarab IV, taken prisoner after her husband's failed attack of 1479 and then placed under the personal protection of Stephen Báthory, voivode of Transylvania.

List of abbreviations

ActaMP	- *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, Muzeul Zalău
AB(SN)	- *Analele Banatului (srie nouă)*, Muzeul Național al Banatului, Timișoara
ActaTS	- *Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis*, Universitatea „Lucian Blaga”, Sibiu
AICSU	- *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane,* Sibiu
Apulum	- *Apulum, Acta Musei Apulensis*, Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
AVSL	- *Archivs des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Sibiu.
BB	- *Bibliotheca Brukenthal*, Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Sibiu
BrukAM	- *Brukenthal. Acta Musei*, Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Sibiu
BMA	- *Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis*, Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia
BMN	- *Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis*, Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca
BS	- *Bibliotheca Septemcastrensis,* Universitatea „Lucian Blaga”, Sibiu.
DocPrae	- *Documenta Praehistorica,* Ljubljana
CCA	- *Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România*, București
ForVL	- *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde*, Institutul de cercetări Socio-Umane, Academia Română, Sibiu
MCA	- *Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice*, București
Monografii	- Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București
Sargetia	- *Sargetia, Acta Musei Devensis*, Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, Deva.
Sargetia (SN)	*Sargetia, Acta Musei Devensis (serie nouă)*, Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, Deva.
StComBruk	- *Muzeul Brukenthal. Studii și comunicări (arheologie-istorie),* Muzeul Brukenthal (Muzeul Național Brukenthal), Sibiu
StudPre	- *Studii de Preistorie*, București
SUC.SH	- *Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis. Series Historica*, Universitatea „Lucian Blaga”, Sibiu
TS	- *Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabeniensis*, Muzeul Sebeș
Ziridava	- *Ziridava. Studia Archaeologica,* Muzeul Arad