

EAST CENTRAL EUROPE: BETWEEN THE BALTIC AND THE ADRIATIC

OSTMITTELEUROPA: ZWISCHEN OSTSEE UND ADRIA

VOLUME / BAND 1

ISSUE / HEFT 1



EAST CENTRAL EUROPE:
BETWEEN THE BALTIC AND THE ADRIATIC

OSTMITTELEUROPA: ZWISCHEN OSTSEE UND ADRIA

VOLUME / BAND I
ISSUE / HEFT I

The University of Debrecen
Faculty of Humanities
Institute of History



2025

EAST CENTRAL EUROPE: BETWEEN THE BALTIC AND THE ADRIATIC
OSTMITTELEUROPA: ZWISCHEN OSTSEE UND ADRIA

Published by / Herausgegeben von:

University of Debrecen

Issued by / Veröffentlicht von:

The University of Debrecen Faculty of Humanities, Institute of History

Address / Adresse:

H-4032 Debrecen, Egyetem tér 1.

Editors-in-Chief / Herausgeber:

Attila Bárány, University of Debrecen, Hungary

László Pósán, University of Debrecen, Hungary

Editorial Board / Redaktionsbeirat:

Nicholas Coureas, Adelaide (Australia)

Roman Czaja, Toruń, (Poland)

Helmut Flachenecker, Würzburg, (Germany)

Dieter Heckmann, Werder, (Germany)

Jürgen Sarnowsky, Hamburg, (Germany)

Janusz Trupinda, Malbork, (Poland)

Kristjan Toomaspoeg, Lecce, (Italy)

ISSN:

Print: 3058-0501

Available online at / Online verfügbar unter:

<https://ojs.lib.unideb.hu/eastcentraleurope/index>

(Editorial support by University of Debrecen University and National Library/ unterstützt durch Universitäts- und Nationalbibliothek der Universität Debrecen)

Contact / Kontakt:

lendulet.unideb@gmail.com

Journal Manager / Redaktionsmanager:

Ádám Novák

Proofreaders / Korrektorat:

Bence Cibere, Vivien Erdei, Csete Katona

Technical Editor / Technische Redaktion:

Sándor Ónadi

© The University of Debrecen Faculty of Humanities, Memoria Hungariae Research Group

© Authors

2025

Contents / Inhalt

ARTICLES / ARTIKEL

Katharina Kemmer: <i>Machtverhältnisse in Europa an der Wende vom 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert</i>	9
László Gálffy: <i>René d'Anjou in the Twilight of an Era: Last Prince or a "Roi Imaginé"</i>	21
Suzana Simon: <i>On the Manifold Identities of John Corvinus: The Question of Origins in Political Power Play at the End of the Fifteenth Century</i>	31
Zsolt Hunyadi: <i>Distancing or Breaking? The Relation of the Hungarian Hospitaller Priory to the Central Convent of the Order in the late Middle Ages</i>	39
Adam Szweda: <i>Diplomacy at the Time of the Breakthrough. Correspondence of King John I Albert (Jan Olbracht) with the Grand Masters of the Teutonic Order</i>	57
Alexandru Simon: <i>A Strange Year: 1513 viewed from the East</i>	67
Jürgen Sarnowsky: <i>The Last Year of the Hospitallers' Rule on Rhodes</i>	83
Zoltán Szolnoki: <i>Under the Shadow of Vendetta: Decision-making Situations in the Story of Anselmo and Angelica</i>	101
Tomáš Sterneček: <i>Ein böhmischer Ritter an der Epochenwende: Peter Doudlebský von Doudleby (* vor 1492, † 1550)</i>	117

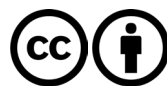
Helmut Flachenecker: <i>Bauernkrieg in Franken 1525.</i> <i>Grundzüge – Begriffe – Ressourcen</i>	129
Giampiero Brunelli: <i>The Papal State and the Birth of the Modern Fortress: Innovation in Military Construction between the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period</i>	149
Renger E. de Bruin: <i>Balancing between Loyalties. The Teutonic Order Bailiwick of Utrecht and the Formation of the Dutch State, 1528–1648</i>	169
Réka Bozzay: <i>Europäische und ungarische Peregrinatio academica im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert</i>	193
Aleksandar Uzelac: <i>Some Notes on the Putsch Map (“Europa Regina”) and its Depiction of Southeastern Europe</i>	213
László Pósn: <i>Marktstädte in Ungarn an der Grenze zwischen Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit. Die ungarischen Marktstädte</i>	229
Attila Tózsá-Rigó: <i>Wirtschaftliche Ungleichheit oder ausgewogene Beziehungen. Das Königreich Ungarn im europäischen Wirtschaftssystem</i>	261
Dieter Heckmann: <i>Quellenerschließungsarbeiten am Beispiel des Herzoglich Preussischen Briefarchivs (HBA)</i>	277

REVIEWS AND REPORTS / REZENSIONEN UND BERICHTE

Zsolt Hunyadi: <i>Tünde, Árvai – Katona, Cséte (eds.), Medieviztikai Vándorkonferencia. Tanulmányok 2. (Studia Mediaevalia Itinerantia). Debrecen, Debreceni Egyetem Történelmi és Néprajzi Doktori Iskola, 2025. ISBN: 9789634907244</i>	293
--	-----

Gergő Németh: *Báthori family and Mohács and the History of Nyírbátor from 1279 to 1847 (Nyírbátor, 25 September 2025)*..... 297

Nicholas Paul Tayler: *Political, Cultural, Religious and Economic Transformations in the 15th and 16th Centuries (Debrecen, 27–28 February 2025)*..... 301



SUZANA SIMON, PhD, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts

HR-10000 Zagreb, Trg Nikole Šubića Zrinskog 11.

smiljan@hazu.hr

 ORCID: 0000-0001-9717-4442

On the Manifold Identities of John Corvinus: The Question of Origins in Political Power Play at the End of the Fifteenth Century

ABSTRACT

According to the wishes of his father, King Matthias, John Corvinus should have become king of Hungary (the ideal dynastic case) or at least king of Bosnia (and maybe Croatia), in agreement with the House of Habsburg. Nothing came of it, as it is well-known. The co-king of Bohemia, Vladislaus II Jagiellon, was elected king of Hungary and John had to concede defeat and, gradually, “make a living” at the borders of the Ottoman Empire.

By mid-1497, John Corvinus had reached agreements with Maximilian I of Habsburg, king of the Romans and titular Hungary, and with the Republic of Venice, becoming a citizen and a noblemen of the “strange ally” of late Matthias. John, however, did not renounce his allegiance to Vladislaus II, as the rightful (*de iure*) king of Hungary. As a result, for the final seven years of his life (1497–1504), John Corvinus seemingly had three “masters”: Vladislaus, Maximilian and Venice. The article aims to explore the impact of these political ties on the (royal) territories under the administration of John Corvinus and on his “other family”, by marriage (since 1496), the Frankopans (the Frangepans).

Keywords: King Matthias, John Corvinus, Vladislaus II Jagiellon, Republic of Venice, Maximilian I of Habsburg

Presently, John Corvinus is the sum of a late nineteenth century biography¹ and a handful of recent analysis and editions of sources.² In Croatia, with few exceptions, knowledge about Matthias’ illegitimate son is limited to some altogether generic lines, even though John was ban of Croatia, Slavonia and

¹ Schönherr, Gyula, *Hunyadi Corvin János*. Budapest, 1894.

² E.g. Neumann, Tibor, “A gróf és a herceg magánháborúja. (Szapolyai István és Corvin János harca a lipthói hercegségért)”, = *Századok* 148:2, 2014, 387–426.; Kozák, Petr, “Listiny knížete Jana Korvína (1473–1504) a jeho úředníků uložení v českých archivech: originály, opisy i výtahy a zmínky v písemnostech jiných vydavatelů”, *Sborník Archivních Prací* 71:1, 2021, 137–204 (Hungarian version: “Corvin János oklevelei cseh levéltárakban”, *Történelmi Szemle* 64:1, 2022, 69–120).

Dalmatia.³ There are multiple reasons for such gaps in research, and certainly more attention was given to the period of the Habsburg rule. Going into details here would derail us from the topic, yet for the future, extensive overview of scholarship would be much appreciated. Approaching John Corvinus is therefore not the most facile of endeavours. Aside from the above-mentioned historiographical limitations, John was not a simple figure, burdened irrevocably by his failure to succeed his father even as king of Bosnia.⁴ It is also highly indicative that it is not yet fully researched his association with Maximilian I of Habsburg⁵ and with the Republic of Venice.⁶

Such facets raise the question(s) of the both political and personal identity of the illegitimate offspring of Matthias and Barbara Edelpöck,⁷ a Hungarian baron, who, as was already emphasized in historiography, used to sign his deeds in Czech as *Hans*.⁸ Part of the answers may reside on a path opened

³ Grgin, Borislav, *Počeci rasapa. Kralj Matijaš Korvin i srednjovjekovna Hrvatska*. Zagreb, 2002. Borislav Grgin is also the author of entries about John Corvinus in the Croatian biographic lexicon ("Ivaniš Korvin", In: Krleža, Miroslav (ed.), *Hrvatski biografski leksikon (1983–2024)*, at <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/112>, Accessed on 15. September 2025). Dražen Nemet dealt with the personality of king's son (Nemet, Dražen, "Pokušaj rekonstrukcije izgleda i osobnosti povijesne ličnosti: primjer Ivaniša Korvina (1473–1504.)", In: Jovanović, Kosana – Miljan, Suzana (eds.), *Zbornik radova s Prve medievističke znanstvene radionice u Rijeci*. Rijeka, 2014. 111–127). And now, very recently, on the specific topic on the rule of John Corvinus, see Miljan, Suzana – Simon, Alexandru, "Jedna isprava iz mletačkog arhiva ili kako je Ivaniš Korvin postao plemićem Venecije", = *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU* 38, 2020, 263–267.

⁴ von Zahn, Joseph, "Über ein Admonter Formelbuch des 15. Jahrhunderts", = *Beiträge zur Kunde Steiermärkischer Geschichtsquellen* 17, 1880, 33–80. 73–74, n. 6.; Šišić, Ferdo, "Rukovet spomenika o hercegu Ivanišu Korvinu i o borbama Hrvata s Turcima (1473–1496) (I–II)", = *Starine* 37, 1934, 189–344. 38, 189–344., 38, 1937, 1–180. I. 271–272, n. 43.

⁵ Hollegger, Manfred, "Damit das Kriegsgeschrei den Türken und anderen bösen Christen in den Ohren widerhalle. Maximilians I. Rom- und Kreuzzugspläne im Spannungsfeld zwischen propagierter Bedrohung und unterschätzter Gefahr", In: Helmrath, Johannes – Kocher, Ursula – Sieber, Andrea (eds.) *Maximilians Welt. Kaiser Maximilian I. im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innovation und Tradition* (Berliner Mittelalter- und Frühneuzeitforschung 22). Göttingen, 2018. 191–208.

⁶ Cf. already Nagy, Ivan, "Corvin János velenczei nemességéről", *Új Magyar Múzeum* 3:1, 1853, 655–656.

⁷ Ludwig, Vinzenz O. – Maschek, Franz, "König Matthias Corvinus und Barbara Edelpöck", = *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich* NS 32, 1955–1956, 74–93.

⁸ Kozak, Listiny knížete Jana Korvína, Appendix, 151, 152, n. 1–2 (1490); 157, n. 4 (1491); 167, n. 11 (1494); 173, n. 14 (1495); 177, n. 16 (1496); 178, n. 17 (1497); 180, n. 18 (1498); 183, n. 20 (1499); 187, n. 22 (1500); 191, n. 25 (1501).

by an otherwise famous source, that is Antonio Bonfini's *Rerum Ungariacum Decades*.⁹ They were halted *ad annum* 1495 due to the stroke suffered by the humanist just before John Corvinus emerged as a power-figure and citizen of Venice (1497), following his defeat in the royal Hungarian elections of summer of 1490.¹⁰

The information collected by Bonfini added an ounce of illegitimacy to John's bloodline: Matthias' father,¹¹ famed John Hunyadi, once regent of Hungary, would have been in fact the child of Emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and of an unnamed Wallachian lady from Transylvania.¹² A lot of attention was paid to the story, unsupported by any other coeval sources and apparently first brought to light by Bonfini himself, initially a trustee of Beatrice of Aragon, Matthias' last wife and sworn enemy of John Corvinus' royal Hungarian succession.¹³ Much less attention was given in return to the context when the Italian humanist "ran the news" on John Hunyadi's roots. Some two years after the death of Matthias, Bonfini, absent from Vienna at time of his master's passing-away, returned from Italy to Hungary.¹⁴ He presented his *Decades*, up to Matthias' exit, to the latter's unwanted Hungarian successor and former co-king of Bohemia, Vladislaus II Jagiello (who, additionally, had wed widowed Beatrice,

⁹ See also Kulcsár, Péter, "I manoscritti di Antonio Bonfini", = *Camoenae Hungaricae* 1, 2004, 71–92.

¹⁰ For an overview: E. Kovács, Péter, "Miksa magyarországi hadjárata", = *Történelmi Szemle* 37:1, 1995, 35–49; Neumann, Tibor, "Békekötés Pozsonyban-országgyűlés Budán. A Jagelló-Habsburg kapcsolatok egy fejezete (1490–1492) (I–II)", = *Századok* 144:3, 2010, 335–372, 145:3, 2011, 293–347.

¹¹ According to his elder brother's papal request of 1455, Ladislas Hunyadi and Matthias would have been step-brothers (Erdélyi, Gabriella, "Married the sister of his late wife: The Negotiation of Kin-marriages in Renaissance Hungary", = *Specimina Nova* 6, 2011, 109–127. 109–110, note 1.).

¹² On the impact of the story, see also Tanner, Marcus, *The Raven King. Matthias Corvinus and the Fate of his Lost Library*. New Haven–London, 2008. 20–26.

¹³ Farbaký, Péter, "The Sterile Queen and the Illegitimate Son: Beatrice of Aragon and John Corvinus's Rivalry at Matthias Corvinus's Court," In: Dáňová, Helena – Meziohoráková, Klára – Prix, Dalibor (eds.), *Artem ad vitam. Kniha k počtĕ Ivo Hlobila*. Prague, 2012. 419–428.

¹⁴ Giovanni Mercati (Mercati, Giovanni, "Atorno di Marco Antonio Sabellico", In: Mercati, Giovanni, *Ultimi contributi alla storia degli umanisti* Vol. I–II. (Studi e Testi 90–91). Vatican City, 1939. Vol. II. 1–23. 1–9.) thought that Bonfini returned to Buda only in September 1493, teaching until then in Ferrara. According to the documents cited below, this was not the case.

known otherwise to be barren).¹⁵ Vladislaus enjoyed Bonfini's work so much that, in addition to putting him on a generous retainer, he ennobled not only Antonio, but also his son Francesco, as well as the scribe who had copied the *Decades*.¹⁶ The *Decades* became a key item in the "new" royal library in Buda,¹⁷ while Bonfini potentially also supported Vladislaus in his efforts to divorce Beatrice.¹⁸ At any rate, Bonfini knew too much in order to be allowed to leave Hungary, even after he had been left half-paralyzed, dying thus in Buda (1502).¹⁹

Under these circumstances, Antonio Bonfini's story about the parental origins of John Hunyadi and, implicitly, of his only living direct male descendant, the defeated John Corvinus, can hardly be taken at face value, even in terms of contemporary rumour. This brings us to the information added by Antonio Bonfini after narrating the story about John Hunyadi's illegitimate conception.²⁰ Thus we read: "[...] Quod, si vera hec fabula fuisset, quis ambigat Sigismundum profusissime prodigalitis imperatorem non solum agro, sed regno, cum virili prole careret, hunc esse donaturum?"²¹

¹⁵ Kuffart, Hajnalka, "Élet Beatrix királyné esztergomi udvarában – az érseki kormányzó elbeszélése alapján", In: Tibor, Neumann (ed.), *"Királyi házunk népe" Királyi és királynéi udvartartás a középkor végén*. Budapest, 2024. 237–329. 247–257.

¹⁶ Especially Abel, Jenő, "Bonfini életrajzáról", = *Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny* 4, 1880, 288–291; Tóth, László, "Analecta Bonfiniana", *Corvina* 9:1, 1929, 182–204. 183–184.

¹⁷ Tringli, István, "Fragments of the Codex of Antonio Bonfini's History", In: Farbaky, Péter – Spekner, Enikő – Szende, Katalin – Végh, András (eds.), *Matthias Corvinus, the King. Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court 1458–1490*. Budapest, 2008. 510–511.

¹⁸ The case of the (in)famous author *Udis* of *Apologia regis Wladislai* (c. 1493) should be reviewed (see in this respect Kiss, Farkas Gábor, "Ambiguity and Paradox in the Humanistic Literature of the Jagiellonian Age", In: Erdélyi, Gabriella (ed.), *Armed Memory: Agency and Peasant Revolts in Central and Southern Europe (1450–1570)*. Göttingen, 2016. 169–187. 182, and note 38.).

¹⁹ A through overview: Rill, Gerhard, "Antonio Bonfini", = *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 12, 1971, 28–30. (*sub voce*).

²⁰ Cf. already Csukovits, Enikő, "The Legacy of Sigismund of Luxemburg", In: Farbaky, Péter – Spekner, Enikő – Szende, Katalin – Végh, András (eds.), *Matthias Corvinus, the King. Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court 1458–1490*. Budapest, 2008. 165–167. 167.

²¹ "[...] If this story had be true, the more than prodigal Emperor Sigismund would have given him [John] not only land, but a country, because he had no male heirs." *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*. Eds. Fogel, József – Iványi, Béla – Juhász, László. Vol. I–IV. (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum*, XXII 1–4). Leipzig, 1936–1941. [hereinafter Bonfini] Vol. III. 225.

It was already common-knowledge, not only a rumour, that John Hunyadi's personal (royal) ambition²² had wrecked the reign and life of Vladislaus II's paternal uncle, Vladislaus I (III), king of Poland and Hungary (1444).²³ It was also well-known, amongst others, that, immediately after being elected regent of Hungary (1446),²⁴ John had entered, with Croatian support, negotiations with Alphonse V of Aragon, king of Naples (and Beatrice's paternal grandfather),²⁵ to enthrone him king in Buda. It is worth noting that in view of it, John invaded native – according to his royal son and others²⁶ – Wallachia and, whilst regent of Hungary, styled himself also *voivode* of Wallachia by the grace of God.²⁷ Last, but certainly not least, though still pushing for his son's Hungarian succession (1488–1490),²⁸ the increasingly sick Matthias²⁹ had been willing to partition his vast lands with the House of Habsburg (especially with Emperor Frederick III's adjustable son, Maximilian I),³⁰ so that John Corvinus could become a monarch, even if only as the king of Bosnia (and, perhaps, Croatia), a story often emphasized in historiography.³¹ In light of these information known to his audience, Antonio Bonfini's story about the illegitimacy of the family once based in Hunedoara that had taken power

²² Engel, Pál, “János Hunyadi and the Peace of Szeged”, = *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 47:3, 1994, 241–257. 248–249, 255–256.

²³ Jefferson, John, *The Holy Wars of King Wladislas and Sultan Murad. The Ottoman-Christian Conflict from 1438–1444* (History of Warfare 76). Leiden–Boston, 2012. 464–470.; Pálosfalvi, Tamás, *From Nicopolis to Mohács. A History of Ottoman-Hungarian Warfare, 1389–1526* (The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage 63). Leiden–Boston, 2018. 138–141.

²⁴ Fraknoi, Vilmos, “Alfonso re di Napoli, candidato di Giovanni Hunyadi al trono di Ungheria dopo la battaglia di Varna”, = *Corvina* 2:2, 1922, 50–59.

²⁵ Anderle, Ádám, “Az aragón kapcsolat (V. Alfonz, el Magnánimo és a magyar trón)”, = *Történelmi Szemle* 38:4, 1996, 401–411.

²⁶ Nagy, Levente – Szilágyi, Emőke Rita, “Hollóköttől Esztergomig. Új adatok az Oláh, a Hunyadi és a Drakula család genealógiájához”, = *Történelmi Szemle* 65:4, 2023, 639–698.

²⁷ Pall, Francisc, “Intervenția lui Iancu de Hunedoara în Țara Românească și Moldova în anii 1447–1448”, = *Studii. Revistă de Istorie* 16:5, 1963, 1049–1072.

²⁸ Kubinyi, András, “Die Komitatsgespanschaften im Jahr 1490 und das Problem der Thronfolge von János Corvin”, In: Kubinyi, András, *Matthias Corvinus. Die Regierung eines Königreichs in Ostmitteleuropa 1458–1490*. Herne, 1999. 113–137.

²⁹ Domonkos, László, “The Medical History of a Medieval Hungarian King: Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490)”, In: Tusor, Péter (ed.), *R. Várkonyi Ágnes Emlékkönyv*. Budapest, 1998. 133–147.

³⁰ Wolf, Susanne, *Die Doppelregierung Kaiser Friedrichs III. und König Maximilians (1486–1493)* (Regesta Imperii, suppl. 25). Cologne–Weimar–Vienna, 2005. 232–252.

³¹ Kubinyi, András, *Matthias Rex*. Budapest, 2008. 148–149, 154–155.

in Hungary was in fact the last drop in the otherwise eventful year 1492.³² At that time, John Corvinus' political career was drifting towards its anticipated end, in spite of John's still sizeable fortune.³³

Two events changed, in our opinion, this course and allowed the "Hunyadi story" to take another turn: the battle of Krbava (1493)³⁴ and the rebellion of Lawrence Iločki (Újlaki), duke of Bosnia (1494).³⁵ The crushing defeat suffered by Croatian troops at the hands of Ottoman forces increased the already present westward drift (towards the Habsburgs) of Croatia, who felt that Jagiellonian Buda was incapable of properly protecting her. Vladislaus' victory over Iločki largely turned the southern tables in the favour of Jagiellonian monarch, while however creating a political vacuum by the defeat of the duke of Bosnia, John' main supporter during the royal Hungarian elections of 1490.³⁶ In this changed landscape, John Corvinus, unknown otherwise to be an astute politician (chiefly due to again Bonfini's folios),³⁷ was "re-evaluated" and also proved capable of "reinventing" himself.³⁸

³² Pop, Ioan-Aurel – Simon, Alexandru, "Eastern Affairs in Italian Politics in the Early 1490s. Rumours, (Dis) information and Interests", = *Banatica* 34:2, 2024, 259–285.

³³ Ácsády, Ignác, *Régi magyar birtokviszonyok 1494–1598* (Értekezések a Történelmi Tudományok Köréből XVI, 3). Budapest, 1894. 24, 32, 38.

³⁴ Kekez, Hrvoje, "Bernardin Frankapan i Krbavska bitka: je li spasio sebe i malobrojne ili je pobjegao iz boja?", = *Modruški zbornik* 3, 2019, 65–101.

³⁵ Fedeles, Tamás, *A király és a lázadó herceg. Az Újlaki Lőrinc és szövetségesei elleni királyi hadjárat (1494–1495)*. Szeged, 2012.

³⁶ If John lost the competition for the throne of Hungary and was still granted Bosnia, Lawrence would have lost his title. As it well known, the crown of Bosnia was guaranteed to John by the "wardens of the realm" even after he was defeated at Csontmező on 4 July 1490. Thallóczy, Lajos – Horváth, Sándor (eds.), *Jajcza (bánság, vár és város) története 1450–1527*. (Codex diplomaticus Partium Regno Hungariae adnexarum 4, Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Diplomataria, 40). Budapest, 1915. Appendix, 66–76, n. 50.

³⁷ Bonfini, Vol. IV. 171–172 (the part was written after autumn 1492).

³⁸ His reinvention in the south could be deemed only partially surprising. One of the four preserved oaths (as well as the earliest one) sworn during Matthias' last year of life, to support John as king of Hungary, belongs to Andrew Bot(h) of Bajna, castellan of Medvedgrad (8 May 1490), a former estate of the Cilli family, near Zagreb. Laszowski, Emilij (ed.), *Monumenta historica nobilis communitatis Turopolje*. Vol. II. 1467–1526. Zagreb, 1905. Addenda, 544. The other three surviving oaths belong to the Stephen Zöld Osztopani, chamberman of Baia Mare, in Maramureş (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár (MNL OL), Budapest, Diplomatikai Levéltár (DL), Nr. 37664. from 23 May 1489), and to the Transylvanian Saxon cities of Mediaş and Sighişoara (MNL OL, DL 19541., 37665.; both from 23 June 1489. The last one was published in Teleki, József, *Hunyadiak kora Magyarországon*. Vol. XII.

Divorced by his wife by proxy Bianca Maria Sforza (1493), who went on to marry Maximilian I,³⁹ John Corvinus became attractive for the mighty Frankopan family, whose daughter, ironically named Beatrice, he then married in 1496.⁴⁰ Meanwhile (and almost simultaneously), the royal court in Buda needed a “new figure” in the South and John was appointed ban of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia (1495).⁴¹ In a still unclear succession of events, John joined Venice’s and Maximilian’s networks and was reconciled (by probably both of them) with Stephen III of Moldavia (who, in 1489 and 1490, had sworn to support both John and Maximilian as kings of Hungary).⁴² The failure of the Jagiellonian plan and the subsequent Peace of Hârlău (1499) consequently only increased John Corvinus’s standing (made a citizen of Venice in 1497 just when John Albert of Poland, Vladislaus’ and Sigismund’s brother, prepared to invade Moldavia).⁴³ John’s importance grew because of the nearly simultaneous outbreak of the new war between the *Serenissima* and the Porte (1499–1503), war in which Venice was in dire need of (south-) eastern military support.⁴⁴ Another twist connected Venice, John Corvinus and Stephen of Moldavia. John Corvinus and Stephen were closer connected than ever before: their envoys were travelling together to Venice.⁴⁵ There they even chose together the last physician (doctor) for Stephen, who eventually died

Pest, 1857, 456–457, n. 789.). What is interesting, all oaths, except that of Sighișoara, were preserved in the old Hunyadi family archive.

³⁹ Weiss, Sabine, *Die vergessene Kaiserin: Bianca Maria Sforza, Kaiser Maximilians zweite Gemahlin*. Innsbruck, 2010.

⁴⁰ Schönherr, Hunyadi Corvin János, 227. Previously (Šišić, Rukovet spomenika II. 21, n. 126.), in June 1493 (just before the battle of Krbava in September), John had been in conflict with the Frankopans.

⁴¹ C. Tóth, Norbert – Horváth, Richárd – Neumann, Tibor – Pálosfalvi, Tamás, *Magyarország világi archontológiája. 1458–1526*. Vol. I. Főpapok és bárók. Budapest, 2016. 97. (since February 1495).

⁴² Simon, Alexandru, “The Hungarian Means of the Relations between the Habsburgs and Moldavia at the End of the 15th Century”, = *Annuario dell’Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica* 8, 2006, 259–296.

⁴³ See also Nowakowska, Natalia, “Poland and the Crusade in the Reign of King Jan Olbracht, 1492–1501”, In: Housley, Norman (ed.), *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact*. New York, 2004. 128–147. 128–134.

⁴⁴ Hence also Šišić’s cited collection of sources.

⁴⁵ *I diarii di Marino Sanudo (MCCCCXCVI–MDXXXIII)*. Vol. I–LVIII. Berchet, Guglielmo – Stefani, Federico – Barozzi, Nicolò – Fulin, Rinaldo – Allegri, Marco. Venice, 1879–1903. Vol. V. 1 aprilie 1503–31 marzo 1504. Venice, 1881. 577, 579–580, 616–617, 639.

(July 1504),⁴⁶ three months before John's unquestionably premature death (October 1504).⁴⁷

The stories about careers of all of the protagonists recorded in various chronicles, some more bias than the others, portrayed John Corvinus as an individual who in fact cannot be presented in linear form. Narratives on his roots in effect come to symbolize his manifold loyalties: above-all to two (unwanted) co-kings of Hungary (Vladislaus II Jagiello and Maximilian I of Habsburg) and to the strange ally and foe of his late father (the Republic of Saint Mark). As so frequently, the past was adjusted to the necessities of the present.

⁴⁶ Cristea, Ovidiu, "Apus de soare. eveniment, mărturii, posibile implicații", = *Analele Putnei* 17:2, 2021, 153–168.

⁴⁷ The continuation of the analysis of John's remains might provide important date regarding his sudden death. Neparáczki, Endre – Kis, Luca – Maróti, Zoltán – Kovács, Bence – Varga, Gergely I. B. – Makoldi, Miklós – Horolma, Pamjav – Teiszler, Éva – Tihanyi, Balázs – Nagy, Péter L. – Maár, Kitty – Gyenesei, Attila – Schütz, Oszkár – Dudás, Eszter – Török, Tibor – Pascuttini-Juraga, Vesna – Peharda, Ivančica – Vizi, László Tamás – Horváth-Lugossy, Gábor – Kásler, Miklós, "The Genetic Legacy of the Hunyadi Descendants", = *Helikon* 8:11, 2022, 1–8).

EAST CENTRAL EUROPE: BETWEEN THE BALTIC AND THE ADRIATIC OSTMITTELEUROPA: ZWISCHEN OSTSEE UND ADRIA

Aims and Scope

The East Central Europe: Between the Baltic and the Adriatic (ECE) is a peer-reviewed academic journal published by the Institute of History at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Debrecen. As its title suggests, the journal focuses on the history of Central Europe, covering the region between the Baltic and Adriatic Seas. This region was for centuries a crossroads and meeting point where diverse ethnic groups, religions, traditions, and political entities interacted in unique ways. In addition to studies directly examining the history of the region, the editors welcome methodologically and/or theoretically relevant contributions for the analysis of historical processes.

The journal seeks to create an interdisciplinary platform to facilitate dialogue and disseminate new research on the region, whose findings are often limited in international scholarship due to language barriers and the influence of national narratives. To support this goal, ECE is an open-access journal, published at least once annually, available in both print and online formats.

Zielsetzung

Ostmitteleuropa: Zwischen Ostsee und Adria (ECE) ist eine begutachtete wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift, die vom Historischen Institut der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Debrecen herausgegeben wird. Wie der Titel schon andeutet, konzentriert sich die Zeitschrift auf die Geschichte Mitteleuropas, insbesondere auf das Gebiet zwischen Ostsee und Adria. Diese Region war über Jahrhunderte ein Schnittpunkt und Begegnungsraum, in dem unterschiedliche ethnische Gruppen, Religionen, Traditionen und politische Einheiten auf einzigartige Weise interagierten. Neben Studien, die die Geschichte der Region direkt untersuchen, erwarten die Herausgeber methodisch und/oder theoretisch relevante Beiträge zur Analyse historischer Prozesse.

Die Zeitschrift möchte eine interdisziplinäre Plattform schaffen, um den Dialog zu fördern und neue Forschungsergebnisse über die Region zu verbreiten, deren Ergebnisse aufgrund von Sprachbarrieren und der Prägung durch nationale Narrative international nur begrenzt bekannt sind. Zur Unterstützung dieses Ziels ist ECE eine Open-Access-Zeitschrift, die mindestens einmal jährlich erscheint und sowohl in gedruckter als auch in digitaler Form verfügbar ist.

Impressum

Publisher / Verlag: The University of Debrecen Faculty of Humanities Institute of History

Responsible Publisher / Verantwortlicher Herausgeber: Róbert Keményfi

Responsible Editors / Verantwortliche Redakteurs: Attila Bárány, László Pósán

ISSN 3058-0501

Printed in Hungary by / Gedruckt in Ungarn von Printart Kft.

Editorial Office / Redaktionsbüro

H-4032 Debrecen, Egyetem tér 1, Magyarország

e-mail: lendulet.unideb@gmail.com

Homepage: <https://ojs.lib.unideb.hu/eastcentraleurope/index>

Creative Commons Attribution-Non Commercial 4.0 International License (CC BY-NC 4.0).

Front cover / Titelbild:

Hartmann Schedel, Registrum huius operis libri cronicarum cum figuris et ymaginibus ab inicio mundi, Nürnberg, 1493. (Schedelsche Weltchronik/Nürnberg Chronik/Chronicon mundi)

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 287. (<https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb00034024>)

Prussia, fol. 288v. / Dalmatia, fol. 268r.

Supported by / Gefördert durch:

University of Debrecen Thematic Excellence Programme “The Role and Image of Hungary in Medieval Europe Research Group”

HUN-REN-DE “Research Group Military History of Medieval Hungary and Central Europe”