

EAST CENTRAL EUROPE:
BETWEEN THE BALTIC AND THE ADRIATIC

OSTMITTELEUROPA: ZWISCHEN OSTSEE UND ADRIA

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A Strange Year: 1513 viewed from the East

ABSTRACT

Years that come before (in particular) or after an *annus mirabilis* as usually neglected, even though it stands to reason that major events have both origins and impact that exceed strict chronological limitations. 1513 is one of those years: “the eve” of the crusade/rebellion that spread through the eastern parts of the Kingdom of Hungary in 1514. The developments outlined in this essay are potentially indicative for the policies of the three major neighbours of Jagiello Buda: Vienna, Krakow and Constantinople. Two “events” stand out in this regional framework *ad annum* 1513: an invented Ottoman-Tartar-Wallachian invasion of Transylvania and a failed – Habsburg-sponsored – Moldavian princely wedding. After crushing the opposition in Asia Minor, Selim I was asserting his power in Europe. Sigismund I Jagiello had to secure his borders against perils from all sides. Maximilian I of Habsburg still attempted to be Christendom’s “unifying spider”. In-between theme, Vladislaus II Jagiello had more down-to-earth concerns. The same applied, for Bogdan III, the vassal in fact of four mentioned monarchs (even though he did not accept Sigismund as suzerain and Maximilian was only *de iure* co-king of Hungary). Bogdan had one major problem (which had led to war between him and Sigismund, as his and Vladislaus’ youngest sister, Elisabeth, had not become his wife): the lack of a prestigious spouse. This is what Maximilian attempted to sort precisely at a time when Vladislaus’ envoys were claiming, outside of the Hungarian kingdom, that “the Wallachians” too had invaded Transylvania.

Keywords: House of Jagiello, House of Habsburg, Selim I, Transylvania, matrimony

In Hungarian historiography and, in general, in East-Central European historical writings, 1513 is the year before the “crusader rebellion” of George (György) Dózsa.¹ Viewed from the (South-) East, 1513 has a different or, at least, an additional meaning.² It marked the apparently last major effort made by the House of Habsburg to secure support “behind Hungarian lines” before

¹ C. Tóth, Norbert – Neumann, Tibor (eds.), *Keresztesekből lázadók: Tanulmányok 1514 Magyarországról*. Budapest, 2015.

² Issue first addressed in our Simon, Alexandru, “Fata de la nemți. Maximilian I de Habsburg, Bogdan III și o căsătorie din 1513”, = *Civilizație. Cultură. Anuarul Școlii Doctorale Istorie* 2, 2006, 115–130. After two decades, a revision seems to be in order.

the post-Mohács war for the throne in Buda.³ The war was also a direct consequence of the Vienna agreements of 1515 concluded after the troublesome years 1514 and, before that, 1513.⁴ We will try to slowly develop an outline of this story, based primarily on two sources in German. Both of them revolve around (Christian) embassies connecting North and South, West and East.

A Hungarian legation in Görlitz

On 24 April 1513, at Yenişehir, Ahmed, Sultan Selim I's brother and last rival, was crushed.⁵ Selim was more cruel and more ambitious than his father, Bayezid II, and, at times, even than his grandfather, Mehmed II.⁶ Ottoman pressure on the Kingdom of Hungary intensified, as both Buda and the High Porte were in fact attempting to conclude a more favourable agreement.⁷

King Vladislaus II Jagiello sent messengers to his northern lands.⁸ On 14 July 1513, Zibřid (Schibrzid) of Bobolušk (Boblowitz),⁹ the ruler's personal envoy, and royal chamberlain Francis Nagylúcsei Dóczi,¹⁰ also the representative

³ Sources on post-1513 Habsburg-Wallachian relations are basically limited to the last crusader plan of Maximilian I (Wagner, Georg, "Der letzte Türkenkreuzzugsplan Kaiser Maximilians I. aus dem Jahre 1517", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 77, 1969, 314–353) and to a letter sent, on 18 December 1516, by Dantiscus to Sigismund of Herberstein (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Codices, n. 13597, f. 18r–v).

⁴ Hollegger, Manfred, "Im Osten nichts Neues? Kernräume der Politik Maximilians I.", In: Dybaš, Bogusław – Tringli, István (eds.), *Das Wiener Fürstentreffen von 1515. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Habsburgisch-Jagiellonischen Doppelvermählung*. Budapest, 2019. 125–148.

⁵ Still useful Allouche, Adel, *The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict (906–962/ 1500–1555)* (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 91). Berlin, 1983. 93–94.

⁶ Mikail, Alan, *God's Shadow: Sultan Selim, His Ottoman Empire, and the Making of the Modern World*. New York, 2020.

⁷ Fodor, Pál – Dávid, Géza, "Magyar–török béketárgyalások 1512–1514-ben", = *Történelmi Szemle* 36:3–4, 1994, 193–205, at 208, as well as Appendix, n. 1–2, 221–223 (February–March 1513; before Yenişehir).

⁸ See also Mikó, Gábor, "Háború vagy béke? A Magyar Királyság haderejének mozgósításai 1511–1513-ban", In: Zsoldos, Attila (ed.), *Nagyvárad és Bihar a késő középkorban* (Tanulmányok Biharország Történetéről 12). Nagyvárad, 2014, 5–27. 11–13.

⁹ Pilnáček, Josef, *Rody starého Slezska*, (ed. Müller, Karel) Vol. II. Brno, 1991. 468, n. 635.

¹⁰ C. Tóth, Norbert – Horváth, Richárd – Neumann, Tibor – Pálosfalvi, Tamás (eds.), *Magyarország világi archontológiája. 1458–1526*. Vol. I. Főpapok és bárók. Budapest, 2016. 120, 163, 340.

of the Hungarian barons, announced to the city of Görlitz in Upper Lusatia¹¹ that the Turks, together with the Tartars and also with the Wallachians had seized Transylvania and planned to divide Hungary's eastern province among themselves.¹²

“[...] [Selim] hett dorauff¹³ seinen Sone¹⁴ mit grossen Gute geschickt zum Tattarischen Keyser,¹⁵ vmb Hulfte wieder die Hungern, vnd das sich sein Sone mit des Tattarischen Keyzers Tochter verheuren solde, vnd den alles geschehen.¹⁶ Der Sone were auch von dannen gegangen zw dem Walachen¹⁷ vnd jenen auch vmb Hulfte angelangt, der den dieselbige zugesaget, vnd were also der Turckischen Keyzers Sone, mit der Macht des Tattarischen Keisers vnd Walachey eingetregen in Siebenburgen,

¹¹ Eibel, Elfie Marita, “Die Lausitzen unter König Wladislaw II. von Ungarn und Böhmen. Corvinische und jagiellonische Einflussnahme im Wechselspiel”, In: Torbus, Tomasz (ed.), *Die Kunst im Markgraftum Oberlausitz während der Jagiellonenherrschaft* (Studia Jagellonica Lipsiensia 3). Ostfildern, 2006. 27–34.

¹² Such a “thought” is seemingly unknown both prior and after this Jagiellonian Hungarian embassy.

¹³ After Yenişehir. The battle featured prominently in the opening of speeches of the envoys, chiefly because of Selim's cruelty, attested also by other sources. Çipa, H. Erdem, *The Making of Selim: Succession, Legitimacy, and Memory in the Early Modern Ottoman World*. Bloomington, 2017. 60–61, 134.

¹⁴ Future Süleyman I, Selim's only living son. However, at the end of spring 1513, Süleyman was sent by his father not to the Crimea, but to Manisa. Yelçe, Zeynep Nevin, “The Making of Sultan Süleyman: A Study of Process/es of Image-making and Reputation Management”, (PhD diss., Sabanci University, Istanbul, 2009). 65–67. Nevertheless, previously, Süleyman, not yet twenty in 1513, had been stationed at Caffa in the Crimea (1509–1512).

¹⁵ Khan Mengli Gharay. Bennigsen, Alexandre – Lemerrier-Quelquejay, Chantal, “Le khanat de Crimée au début du XVI^e siècle: de la tradition mongole à la suzeraineté ottomane”, = *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique*, 13:3, 1972, 321–337. 327–328.

¹⁶ Rumours about a Tartar marriage of Süleyman or just of one of Selim's sons had been circulating for nearly two years. [*I diarii di Marino Sanudo (MCCCCXCVI–MDXXXIII)*]. Vol. I–LVIII. Berchet, Guglielmo – Stefani, Frederico – Barozzi, Nicolò – Fulin, Rinaldo – Allegri, Marco. Venice, 1879–1903. [hereinafter Sanudo] Vol. XII. 508.; *Aus der Chronik des Hanivaldanus (Hanivaldanus)*. In: *Der fromme Sultan Bayezid. Die Geschichte seiner Herrschaft (1481–1512) nach den altosmanischen Chroniken des Oruç und des Anonymus Hanivaldanus*. Ed. Kreutel, Richard F. (Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber 9). Graz–Vienna–Cologne, 1978. 187–278. 258–260.

¹⁷ He can be identified with either Neagoe Basarab of Wallachia or Bogdan III of Moldavia (see below).

sich doselbst gelegert, vnd itzt alle Festen eingenommen, in Meynung das Landt vnddir sich zu betheilen vnd mit Turcken zu besetzen [...].”¹⁸

This was the story told by Bobolušky in Czech and translated, as well as strengthened, by Dóczy into German (according to Johannes Hasse, the chronicler and future mayor of Görlitz).¹⁹ No mention of Transylvania, of the Tartars or of the Wallachians, was made neither in the king’s message (in German), issued in Buda more than a month earlier (on 3 June),²⁰ and in Dóczy’s letter of recommendation issued by the prelates and barons of the Kingdom of Hungary (on 9 June).²¹ However, Vladislaus II’s message, also a credential letter for Bobolušky, read that the personal royal messenger, orally instructed by the aging monarch (“[...] mit mundlichem befelh [...]”), had to be trusted completely (his listeners had to “[...] gantzen galuben zw geben [...]”).²²

None of the known sources even remotely attest to something similar to the Transylvanian disaster depicted by Vladislaus’ envoys (the only verifiable facts are the Ottoman threat posed to Belgrade and Jajce,²³ mentioned in the king’s letter and in the speeches of the envoys).²⁴ Still, the “fall of Transylvania” was repeated and expanded by Dóczy towards the end of his discourse: “[...] Vnd [Selim] were des gemuts dye chron zw Hungern mit angetzeigten dreien herren zw beweldigten vnd vnder sich zwbrechen [...]”²⁵ (the three ‘abovementioned lords’ that were to partition Hungary, under the sultan’s authority, were

¹⁸ *Mag. Johannes Hasse Burgermeisters zu Goerlitz Goerlitzer Rathsannalen*. I. Erster und zweiter Band (1509–1520). Ed. Neumann, Theodor. (Scriptores Rerum Lusaticarum NS. 3). Görlitz, 1852. (hereinafter Hasse) 262.

¹⁹ Kämmler, Otto, “Johannes Haß”, In. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. Vol. 10. Leipzig, 1879. 750–753.

²⁰ The message (Hasse, I, 260–261), a general one to the six cities of Upper Lusatia, has survived also in its variant for Bautzen. <https://www.archivverbund-bautzen.findbuch.net/php/main.php#3631303030x1162> (Accessed on 15 September 2025)

²¹ The letter has been preserved only in Hasse, I, 261.

²² Minus the oral part, the mandate of the prelates and barons read the same: “[...] Rogamus idcirco vestras amicitias ut pro ea mutua nostra conjunctione et beniuolentia, que inter nos est, quicquid idem Franciscus post nuntiata prefati gratiosissimi domini nostri regis, nostro quoque ut prefertur nomine, eisdem decet credere et rem omnino bene complecti, tanteque rei et necessitati christiane sustenire velint [...]” (Hasse, I, 261).

²³ “Kriechisch Weissenburg vnd Greitz” in the original.

²⁴ For instance, on 15 May 1513, the Venetian bailo Nicolò Giustiniani reported that victorious Selim was already preparing an attack on Hungary. Sanudo, Vol. XVI. 375).

²⁵ Hasse, I, 262.

the Tartar, the Wallachian and, presumably, Selim's son, Süleyman,²⁶ who had come to consult with the Wallachian and ask for his aid in the conquest of Transylvania).²⁷ Vladislaus' northern cities were not known for their eagerness to support wars in the south.²⁸ A manifest lie would have only fatally jeopardized the royal mission.

A Habsburg Bridal Train to Moldavia

Meanwhile in the West, and in the East, preparations for a dynastic marriage were underway.²⁹ Bogdan III of Moldavia³⁰ was to wed the lady to be soon sent to him by Emperor Maximilian I of Habsburg,³¹ co-King of Hungary for over two decades.³² According to the correspondence between Lorenz Saurer, "castellan"/ *Burggraf-Vizedom* of the imperial court in Vienna,³³ and Zyprian of Serntein(er), imperial chancellor,³⁴ Maximilian I's trustees, the bride-to-be was also the Habsburg emperor's token of greatness sent to the world (27 August

²⁶ The wording recorded by Hasse leads to this conclusion. Part of Hungary would have been Süleyman's fiefdom.

²⁷ We state the obvious: Süleyman's meeting with the khan sounded natural, not also his Wallachian encounter.

²⁸ See also Kozák, Petr, "Feind und Faszinationsobjekt zugleich. 'Der Türke' in den Augen des polnischen Prinzen Sigismund während seines Aufenthaltes im Königreich Ungarn und in den böhmischen Ländern (1498–1506)", In: Homza, Martin – Lukačka, Ján – Budak, Neven (eds.), *Slovakia and Croatia. Historical Parallels and Connections*. Vol. I. (until 1780). Bratislava, 2013. 350–358.

²⁹ Simon, Alexandru, "Habsburg Politics at the Border of Christendom in the Early 1500s", = *Banatica* 21:2, 2011, 55–72. 67–68. The benevolent reader will notice both the constants and changes of the past 14 years.

³⁰ Niemczyk, Katarzyna, "Difficult Relations between the Family of Chodecz and Bogdan III the One-Eyed", = *Codrii Cosminului* 24:1, 2018, 97–112.

³¹ Mur, Mariana, "Die Ostpolitik Kaiser Maximilians I. in den Jahren 1506–1519" (PhD diss., Universität Graz, 1977). 111, 131–132.

³² Maximilian's status was perhaps the main consequence of the Peace of Bratislava. See Neumann, Tibor, "Békekötés Pozsonyban – országgyűlés Budán. A Jagelló-Habsburg kapcsolatok egy fejezete (1490–1492) II.", = *Századok* 145:3, 2011, 293–347.

³³ See also Perger, Richard – Hetzer, Walter, *Wiener Bürgermeister der frühen Neuzeit*. Vienna, 1981. 31–39. Saurer was also one of Maximilian's main negotiators at the Habsburg-Jagiellonian Congress of Vienna (1515).

³⁴ Hyden, Rotraud, "Zyprian von Serntein im Dienste Kaiser Maximilians I. in den Jahren 1490–1508" (PhD diss., Universität Graz, 1973).

1513).³⁵ Previously (1505–1510), although supported by Pope Julius II as well, Bogdan had bitterly failed to secure the hand of Elisabeth (III), the youngest sister of Vladislaus and of Sigismund I, king of Poland.³⁶

“[...] Erstlich, so schreibt mir E<ure>G<naden> in seinem brief des dato stet zu Innsprugg am VIII-ten tag Augusti³⁷ der Walacheyschen botschaft halber wie die durch Kay<serliche> May<estät> widerumb an Haim zu Irem Herren zu ziehen abgefertigt, unnd das I<hre>Kay<serliche>May<estät> Fridrichen Harber³⁸ mit bestimbten Walachen in die Walachey zu ziehen verordnet den ich also auf Kay<serliche> May<estät>t bevlehl wol unnd statlich abgefertigt also an Heut Dato hir zu Wienn weggezogen. Bin sonnder Zweifel der Weida in der Walachey werde ab der Verordnung seiner Braut die Kay<serliche> May<estät> mit dem Harber hinein schickht gut gefallen tragen. Muessen manigerley nation der welt bei Kay<serliche> May<estät> erkennen lernen etc [...]”.³⁹

Bogdan's representatives, sent to escort his future wife to Suceava, had reached Innsbruck well before the arrival of the Hungarian envoys in Görlitz.⁴⁰ The former would have had to pass through a Transylvania divided between Turks, Tartars and Wallachians. Nothing of the sort was seemingly reported in

³⁵ See additionally Terjanian, Pierre, “The Currency of Power: The Central Place of Armor in the Ambitions and Life of Maximilian I”, In: Terjanian, Pierre (ed.), *The Last Knight: The Art, Armor and Ambition of Maximilian I*. New York–New Haven–London, 2019. 17–38. 35.

³⁶ Cristea, Ovidiu, “Glasul lăncilor: pe marginea unui gest de putere al lui Bogdan al III-lea (1509)”, = *Analele Putnei* 12:1, 2014, 203–214.

³⁷ Serntein's unpreserved letter to Sauer sent from Innsbruck on 8 August 1513.

³⁸ E.g. *Deutschsprachige Handschriften in slowakischen Archiven. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Frühen Neuzeit*. Eds. Meier, Jörg – Tapani Piirainen, Ilpo – Wegera, Klaus-Peter, Vol. I. Westsloweakei. Bearb. Spiritza, Juraj. Berlin–New York, 2009. n. B2174, p. 317. Friedrich Ha(r)ber (spelled Haber in this case), was the captain (or *Pfleger*/the warden) of Kiszeg (Guns). See also Quellen zu Geschichte der Stadt Wien. Ed. Meyer, Anton, Vol. II. Vienna, 1895. n. 1312, p. 17.

³⁹ Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna [hereinafter HHStA], Reichshofkanzlei [hereinafter R.H.K.], Maximiliana, Karton 29 (*olim* fasc. 23). März–September 1513, Konv. 3. Juli–August 1513, f. 133r.

⁴⁰ Landes- und Regierungsarchiv von Tirol/Tiroler Landesarchiv, Innsbruck [hereinafter LRAT], Maximiliana, fasc. XIII-256, ff. 49r–50r (9 July 1513). The envoys had arrived more than a month earlier (see also below, at the end of this article).

Vienna or in Innsbruck.⁴¹ In fact, within a month, Moldavia was attacked by the Tartars. This led to the cancellation of the much-anticipated – in Poland too – wedding,⁴² Initially scheduled for the Feast of Saint Elias (20 July),⁴³ had already been postponed once.⁴⁴

Then Bogdan had to face a contender, against whom Hungarian authorities gave him little chances of survival (January 1514).⁴⁵ Bogdan prevailed and, soon after, he also had a wife.⁴⁶ She was Ruxandra, the daughter of the late Mihnea I of Wallachia (the son of Vlad III the Impaler and of a sister of John Hunyadi)⁴⁷ and of ambitious Transylvanian-Wallachian “socialite” Voica.⁴⁸

⁴¹ No reference to such troubles can be found, for instance, the message sent by Serntein(er) to Saurer on 7 September 1513 in regard to Ha(r)ber’s Moldavian embassy and to Johannes Cuspinians’ negotiations in Hungary (HHStA, R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, Karton 29, Konv. 4. *September 1513*, ff. 38r–39r). However, on 22 August 1513 (prior to the above-cited letter sent by Saurer to Serntein), Ha(r)ber had informed Serntein that he was leaving from Vienna [...] *am Zug in die Mulda* [...] and had complained that he had been ill-equipped for it by Saurer (HHStA, R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, Karton 29, Konv. 3, f. 124r). Aside from the “inner affairs” of the Habsburg bureaucracy, Ha(r)ber’s message is interesting for *Zug* was usually used for campaign or for grand journeys with numerous participants (the best example is naturally the *Romzug*, the coronation journey of emperors-to-be, never undertaken by Maximilian).

⁴² E.g. *Acta Tomiciana*. Ed. Wenzel, Alphons. [hereinafter *Acta Tomiciana*] Vol. II. 1512–1513. Poznań, 1852. 205, n. 253; 217–218, n. 279; 226, n. 296; 231–232, n. 305; 239–241, n. 321; 244–245, n. 325–326; 248–250, n. 332–334.

⁴³ According to Sigismund’s message to marshal Stanisław Chodecki from 1 July. However, the wedding had already been postponed prior to 4 August, when the Polish king replaced Chodecki with George Krupski, castellan of Belcz, as his representative, at Bogdan’s request, who had a feud with the marshal. The main Tartar attack on Moldavia came around the Feast of St. Bartholomew (24 August). On 10 September, Sigismund jokingly congratulated Chodrecki for not going to Moldavia, (*Acta Tomiciana*, II, 218, n. 280; 227, n. 297; 243, n. 323; 245, n. 327).

⁴⁴ The postponement is automatically implied by the cited letters of the Habsburg authorities from 22 and 27 August.

⁴⁵ Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár, Budapest [hereinafter MNL OL], Diplomataikai Fényképgyűjtemény [hereinafter DF], 246560 (28 January 1514). See de Hurmuzaki, Eudoxiu, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor* [hereinafter Hurmuzaki]. Vol. XV/1. Acte și scrisori din arhivele orașelor ardeleni Bistrița, Brașov, Sibiiu. 1358–1600. Ed. Iorga, Nicolae. Bucharest. 1911. 170, n. 314).

⁴⁶ Costăchescu, Mihai, *Documente moldovenști de la Bogdan voievod (1504–1517)*. Bucharest, 1940. 368, n. 58.

⁴⁷ If we trust Stephen, the Wallachian (Basarab) father of Nicholas Olahus. Szilágyi, Emőke Rita, “Oláh István levele fiához, Miklóshoz. Egy régi magyar nyelvemlék 1520-ból”, = *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 125, 2021, 210–225.

⁴⁸ Her career and her marriages (Voica had been married before Mihnea) are very much worth a special study.

Voica was related to the voivode of Transylvania, John Szapolyai (according to the future king of Hungary himself).⁴⁹ John, absent from Transylvania in 1513, until the end of August,⁵⁰ was Maximilian's main Hungarian opponent.⁵¹ Unless we are in front of yet another "elaborated imperial scheme",⁵² Ruxandra, a Basarab-Hunyadi offspring nonetheless, cannot be identified with the "Habsburg bride" of 1513 (who was probably a close relative of Constantine Arianiti, an old and trusted councillor of Maximilian).⁵³ At any rate, due to the Tartar devastation of his lands (around 24 August),⁵⁴ Bogdan's wedding was off before "Maximilian's gift" left Vienna.

"The Wedding Crashers"

The Görlitz speeches and the Viennese documents are hard to reconcile in the same summer of 1513. Their authenticity and veracity⁵⁵ are nonetheless unquestionable. In both instances, the sources report about unmaterIALIZED plans: neither Transylvania was partitioned between Turks, Tartars and Wallachians, nor did Bogdan marry the lady of Maximilian's choosing. Plus, the Tartars devastated Moldavia and not Transylvania. A closer look at the details is hence necessary.

⁴⁹ Hurmuzaki, XV/1, no. 390, p. 216 (22 November 1511). For John, Voica was *affinis nostra*.

⁵⁰ Neumann, Tibor (ed.), *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára*. Vol. I. Levelek és oklevelek (1458–1526). Budapest, 2012. 337–340. n. 381–383. On 30 August, the voivode was in Deva, after having spent the previous two months in the south, in Szeged or in Cenad (Csanád), because of the Turkish menace, aimed at Šabac (according to John Szapolyai).

⁵¹ Neumann, Tibor, "Two Palatines and a Voivode, or the Szapolyai Family's Journey to the Royal Throne", In: Fodor, Pál – Varga, Szabolcs (eds.), *A Forgotten Hungarian Royal Dynasty: The Szapolyais*. Budapest, 2020. 21–56. 41–43.

⁵² E.g. in particular the Papal plan. Wiesflecker, Hermann, "Neue Beiträge zur Frage des Kaiser-Papstplanes Maximilians I. im Jahre 1511", = *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 71, 1963, 311–332.

⁵³ In 1498, Maximilian had even named Constantine (related to both the Branković and the Comnenoi) "[...] [our] most-beloved blood relative and captain-general [...]" Babinger, Franz, *Das Ende der Arianiten* (Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften NS. X/4). Munich, 1960. 38 (and note 2), 86 (and note 4).

⁵⁴ Acta Tomiciana, II, 245, n. 327; 250, n. 334; see also 253–255, n. 342, 344–345. (2–8 October).

⁵⁵ Even if, using (key)words that had to be known and ring true to their audience in Upper Lusatia, the envoys of Vladislaus II spoke just a "true lie" in regard to the Turkish-Tartar-Wallachian fate of royal Transylvania.

In March 1513, it was rumoured that Transylvania will be raided by the Turks with aid from Wallachia.⁵⁶ Bogdan and his astute Wallachian counterpart Neagoe Basarab⁵⁷ had just received Pachomios, ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople, “Selim’s man”.⁵⁸ Bogdan had supported Selim during the latter’s conflict with his father Bayezid (1511–1512).⁵⁹ Since the 1470s,⁶⁰ the voivode of Moldavia was generally deemed ‘the (great) Wallachian’/ *der (Grosse) Wallache*, in opposition to his (often) rival, the ruler of (Transalpine) Wallachia.⁶¹ By *der Walache*, Bobolušky and Dóczy meant in Görlitz most probably Bogdan of Moldavia and not Neagoe of Wallachia.

Bogdan was ‘the Wallachian’ supported by Maximilian I of Habsburg. Such a thought was natural. The Hungarian envoys spoke in Görlitz (14 July) less than a week before the (first) date (20 July) set for Bogdan’s wedding (hardly a secret at that time) with the lady sent by the Western emperor and – it must be emphasized – co-king of Hungary.⁶² This raises a question: who stood to lose from Bogdan of Moldavia’s Habsburg sponsored matrimonial union? More precisely (given the anti-Ottoman frame of the embassy to Görlitz): who stood to lose on Christian soil?⁶³

⁵⁶ Hurmuzaki, XV/1, 222–223, n. 403. (letter sent by Szapolyai’s vice-voivode, Leonard Barlabássy, to the Saxon city of Sibiu). The Wallachia in question was however Transalpine Wallachia, not Moldavia.

⁵⁷ Still useful in this context: Bulat, Teodor G., “Din domnia voevodului Neagoe IV Basarab. Relațiunile cu Ungurii și Sașii Ardeleni”, In: Marinescu, Constantin (ed.), *Închinare lui Nicolae Iorga*. Cluj, 1931. 73–83.

⁵⁸ [Malaxos, Manuel,] “Historia politica constantinopoleos a 1454 usque ad 1578 annum Christi”, In: Bekker, Immanuel (ed.), *Historia Politica et Patriarchica Constantinopoleos. Epirotica* (Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae 3). Bonn, 1849. 140–141. In 1504, the Great Church had not supported Bogdan’s succession, who thus broke-off ties.

⁵⁹ Ciucă, Marcel Dumitru, “Din relațiile Moldovei cu Imperiul otoman în timpul lui Bogdan al III-lea”, = *Revista de Istorie* 31:7, 1978, 1253–1263. Bogdan probably hoped that Selim would return the habours, Chilia and Cetatea Albă (known otherwise also as the ‘harbours of the Hungarian’), conquered by Bayezid in 1484.

⁶⁰ Priebatsch, Felix, *Politische Correspondenz des Kurfürsten Albrecht Achilles, 1470–1486* (Publikationen aus den Königlichen Preußischen Staatsarchiven 59). Vol. I. 1470–1474. Leipzig, 1894. 555, n. 660.

⁶¹ On these Wallachian rivalries: Papacostea, Șerban, “Politica externă a lui Ștefan cel Mare: opțiunea polonă (1459–1472)”, = *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie* 15, 2007, 13–28. 20–24.

⁶² Maximilian was not mentioned even once by the Hungarian envoys in Görlitz. The omission is most conspicuous.

⁶³ We discard Neagoe in this context, because he was to be Bogdan’s cible, even if the voivode of Moldavia married Ruxandra, Mihnea’s daughter. Her brothers, especially Mircea, were claiming the Transalpine Wallachian throne.

Three names immediately come up: Vladislaus II of Hungary and Bohemia (Maximilian's reluctant "partner"),⁶⁴ his brother, Sigismund of Poland (Bogdan's traditional adversary),⁶⁵ and Sigismund's brother-in-law, John Szapolyai (Maximilian's enemy and voivode of Transylvania, where Bogdan held sizeable estates).⁶⁶ Vladislaus vilified Bogdan through his envoys in Görlitz (unless they acted out of line, which is doubtful),⁶⁷ yet he had a *modus vivendi* with Maximilian.⁶⁸ In comparison, Sigismund and John, each nominally at peace with the voivode of Moldavia, stand out as the (natural) main opponents of Bogdan's Habsburg marriage of summer 1513.⁶⁹

Smarter and even more resilient than his elder brother Vladislaus,⁷⁰ Sigismund was married since February 1512 to Barbara, John's sister.⁷¹ Under John and already under his father, palatine Stephen, the Szapolyais had replaced the Hunyadi's as the "national family" of Hungary.⁷² The latest since

⁶⁴ Tringli, István, "Der Weg des ungarischen Hofes zur Doppelheirat 1515", In: Dybaś, Bogusław – Tringli, István (eds.), *Das Wiener Fürstentreffen von 1515. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Habsburgisch-Jagiellonischen Doppelvermählung*. Budapest, 2019. 235–260. 256.

⁶⁵ Marinescu, Iulian, *Bogdan III cel Orb (1504–1517)*. Bucharest. 1910. 70–79. Most sources were known by 1900.

⁶⁶ On their importance and perils: Diaconescu, Marius, "Peșitorii nepoatei lui Ștefan cel Mare în 1517. Despre căsătoria lui Alexandru cu fiica lui Bartolomeu Drăgfi", = *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A. D. Xenopol* 49, 2012, 55–70.

⁶⁷ This would imply that the Görlitz speech was a "cover story" for the Tartar attack (in the making thus at that time).

⁶⁸ In the summer of 1513, for instance (HHStA, R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, Karton 29, Konv. 4, f. 38v), Johannes Cuspinian was in Buda negotiating with Vladislaus, who distrusted his brother in Krakow and was not very fond of Szapolyai. Cuspinian went three times that year to Buda: in January-February, in June-July and in August. Ankwicz, Hans, "Das Tagebuch Cuspinians," = *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 30, 1909, 280–326. 309. His stays in Buda, which have received chiefly humanist scholarly attention, call also for a political analysis.

⁶⁹ See also von Güttner-Sporzyński, Darius, "Contextualising the marriage of Bona Sforza to Sigismund I of Poland: Maximilian I's diplomacy in Italy and Central Europe", = *Archiwum* 27:2, 2021, 63–90. 71–73.

⁷⁰ Wojciechowski, Zygmunt, *Zygmunt Stary (1506–1548)*. Warsaw¹, 1946.

⁷¹ The marriage was first discussed in summer 1505. Sroka, Stanisław A., *Jadwiga Zapolya*. Krakow, 2005. 45–53.

⁷² See also Neumann, Tibor – Varga, Szabolcs, "The Szapolyai Family's Representation of Power", In: Fodor, Pál – Varga, Szabolcs (eds.), *A Forgotten Hungarian Royal Dynasty: The Szapolyais*. Budapest, 2020. 57–82.

the turbulent aftermath of the Diet of Rákös (1505),⁷³ John and Sigismund (and nearly deposed Vladislaus) knew that an entente between Maximilian and Wallachians could be highly detrimental to their interests.⁷⁴ Because of such an alliance (between Maximilian and Bogdan's father, Stephen III),⁷⁵ Sigismund had lost the – “royal looking” – throne of Moldavia in 1497.⁷⁶

In July 1512, Sigismund had blamed Bogdan for not crushing the retreating Tartars, who had plundered the Jagiellonian lands.⁷⁷ What happened to the voivode a year later echoed divine punishment. Perhaps it was more human and had a Sigismund touch. Since spring 1513, he was negotiating Tartar peace (sealed some two weeks after the Tartar invasion of Moldavia)⁷⁸ and support against Muscovy (Maximilian's ally)⁷⁹ with khan Mengli Ghiray.⁸⁰ The Tartar

⁷³ Kubinyi, András, “Az 1505-ös rákosi országgyűlés és a szittya ideológia”, = *Századok* 140:2, 2006, 361–374.

⁷⁴ *Acta Alexandri regis Poloniae, magni ducis Lithuaniae etc. (1501–1506)*. Ed. Papée, Fryderik (Monumenta Medii Aevi res gestas Poloniae illustrantia 19). Krakow, 1927. 515, n. 305. (30 November 1505); Letter sent almost two months after the diet by chancellor John Łaski to Lucas Watzenrode, bishop of Warmia (Ermland); Simon, Alexandru, “Valahii și Dieta de la Rákös (1505). Considerații asupra sfârșitului epocii huniade”, = *Apulum* 43, 2006, 99–121. Nevertheless, we have no evidence that Bogdan supported Maximilian's subsequent short-lived Hungarian campaign.

⁷⁵ After Stephen defeated invading John Albert of Poland, Maximilian warned the voivode that the Jagiellonians will try to break his rule starting in Transylvania: “[...] partes Transilvane intrabunt et te de tota terra tua disperdent [...]” See in these matters already 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.

⁷⁶ E.g. MNL OL, DF 278383. First edited and discussed in Pop, Ioan-Aurel – Simon, Alexandru, “Moldova și celălalt Imperiu: Preliminariile și consecințele conspirației lui Maximilian I de Habsburg și Ștefan cel Mare (1497)”, In: Cristea, Ovidiu – Lazăr, Gheorghe (eds.), *Vocația istoriei. Prinos profesorului Șerban Papacostea*. Brăila, 2008. 331–406.

⁷⁷ *Acta Tomiciana*, II, 112, n. 110. Reprinted in Hurmuzaki, Vol. II/3. 1510–1530. Ed. Densușianu, Nicolae. Bucharest, 1892. 66, n. 81.

⁷⁸ *Acta Tomiciana*, II, 239–242, n. 321–322 (7 September, in Vilnius, where Sigismund spent most of the year).

⁷⁹ E.g. Dodgson, Campbell, “A German-Russian Alliance in 1514,” = *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 76:5, 1940, 139–144.

⁸⁰ E.g. *Acta Tomiciana*, II, 186, n. 226 (6 April); 187–188, n. 228 (13 April); 201–202, n. 247 (8 May); 215, n. 276 (29 June); 244–245, n. 325 (9 September); 256–258, n. 349–350 (24 October). It should also be noted that the question of Bogdan's marriage (or even the voivode's name) did not come up in the known correspondence between Sigismund and Maximilian. *Acta Tomiciana*, II, 188, n. 229; 189–191, n. 231–232; 246, n. 328; from 27 February, 8 March and after, and after/around 10 September.

attack on Moldavia in August 1513 appears⁸¹ to have been Sigismund's revenge for the Tartar raids into Poland-Lithuania instigated, after the Polish-Moldavian peace (February 1510,⁸² by Bogdan in August 1510, at – most importantly – the council of Maximilian's representative.⁸³ Regional history has its fair share of such “dubious” political arrangements prior to the battle of Mohács.⁸⁴

Christian Allegiances and Marriages

The matrimonial talks between Maximilian and Bogdan (a special protégé of the Habsburg since the late 1490s)⁸⁵ predated the events of 1513. Related to John Szapolyai through her mother Voica, Ruxandra had first emerged as potential bride in fall 1511, “under John”, who supervised relations between Voica and Bogdan⁸⁶ and tried to control Mircea, Ruxandra's brother, bound

⁸¹ Prior to 17 July, Vladislaus had demanded from Sigismund not to take action against Bogdan and/or his subjects. Sigismund acknowledged receipt and did not comment. *Acta Tomiciana*, II, 222, n. 289.

⁸² Cf. already Zivier, Ezechiel, *Neuere Geschichte Polens*. Vol. I. Die beiden letzten Jagellonen (1506–1572). Gotha, 1915. 61–63; Iorga, Nicolae, *Istoria românilor*, Vol. IV. Cavalerii. Bucharest¹, 1937. 281.

⁸³ “[...] Scripsit nobis capitaneus Camenecensis, quod terre custodie relatione edoctus sit, duos filios imperatoris Precopensis Orde cum gentibus suis ad Koczmyanka visos esse, quibus junxisse se feruntur mille sexcenti Tartari, qui sunt Turco subjecti. Veremur, ne dominia nostra bello adorianatur, quod clandestine suggestiones Valachi fecisse deberent, cui nescimus quomodo sit fidendum, nam et nunc nuncius regis Romanorum apud eum est [...]” (1 August 1510). In this message to Łaski. *Acta Tomiciana*. Vol. I. 1507–1511. Poznań, 1852. 96–97, n. 83; reprinted in Hurmuzaki, Vol. II/2. 1451–1510. Ed. Densușianu, Nicolae. Bucharest, 1891, 632–633, n. 490. Sigismund continued to name Maximilian king and not emperor, of the Romans, in spite of the (self-) coronation of 1508.

⁸⁴ For instance, a well-known Habsburg example in von Zimmern, Froben Christoph, *Zimmerische Chronik*. Ed. Barack, Karl August, Vol. I. Freiburg–Tübingen, 1881. 521–526.

⁸⁵ Höflechner, Walter, *Die Gesandten der europäischen Mächte, vornehmliche des Kaisers und Gesandte des Reiches, 1490–1500* (Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte 129). Vienna, 1972. 64.; Simionescu, Ștefana, “Legăturile dintre Ștefan cel Mare și Maximilian I de Habsburg în lumina unui nou izvor”, = *Revista de Istorie* 28:1, 1974, 91–98.

⁸⁶ Bogdan III, christened Bogdan-Vlad, was related on his mother's side to the Basarab dynasty (Mary Voichița had been the daughter of Radu III, the step-brother of Vlad III, Ruxandra's paternal grandfather). Until his older step-brother, Alexander, died in 1496, Bogdan was his father's choice for the Wallachian and not for the Moldavian throne. Pop, Ioan-Aurel – Simon, Alexandru, “Moartea ducelui Valahiei: situația din Moldova în

to use Bogdan's Transylvanian lands for his, never accomplished, return to the Transalpine throne.⁸⁷

Soon after, in May 1512 (three months after Sigismund's Szapolyai wedding),⁸⁸ Vladislaus offered his sister Elisabeth, Bogdan's former fiancé, in marriage to Maximilian.⁸⁹ The emperor declined.⁹⁰ It was then, at the latest, when the thought of Bogdan's Habsburg marriage arose.⁹¹

Since October 1510, and at first in the company of Vladislaus' ambassadors,⁹² Moldavian representatives⁹³ regularly re-attended Reichstage,⁹⁴ the same way Bogdan's men came to Diets of Hungary⁹⁵ and less to the Sejms of Poland (Bogdan claimed to be only the vassal of the king, of the lawful kings of

informațiile Casei de Habsburg din vara anului 1496", = *Analele Științifice ale Universității Alexandru Ioan Cuza Istorie* NS. 69, 2023, 25–32.

⁸⁷ Bogdan, Ioan, *Documente și regeste privitoare la relațiile Țării Rumânești cu Brașovul și Ungaria în secolul XV și XVI*. Bucharest, 1902. 143–144, n. 147. (11 September); 148, n. 151. (22 January [1512?]); Hurmuzaki, XV/1, 215, n. 387. (11 October); 216–217, n. 389–390 (13 and 21 November 1511); 220, n. 399. (19 July 1512); *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára*, I, 327, n. 369. (21 December 1511).

⁸⁸ Neither party was pleased that Bogdan still received yearly Hungarian royal subsidies, that is, in March 1512, 3 000 Florins, collected from the taxes of the Transylvanian Saxons (Hurmuzaki, XV/1, 219, n. 395).

⁸⁹ Maximilian's third and last wife, Bianca Maria Sforza had died at the end of December 1510. She had been the former wife (by proxy) of John, Matthias Corvinus' son. Vladislaus seemingly showed a sense of irony in 1512.

⁹⁰ Szabó, Dezső, *Küzdelmeink a nemzeti királyságért 1505–1526*. Budapest, 1917. 117.; Tringli, *Der Weg*, 256.

⁹¹ Because of the Habsburg envoy at Bogdan's court, recorded in August 1510, the matrimonial talks possibly predated the first mention, by Voica, of Ruxandra's dowry in September 1511. Bogdan, *Documente și regeste*, 144, n. 147.

⁹² *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Maximilian I. Deutsche Reichstagsakten, Mittlere Reihe I–XII. [Deutsche Reichstagsakten]* Vol. XI. Die Reichtage zu Augsburg 1510 und Trier/Köln 1512. Ed. Seyboth, Reinhard. Berlin–Boston, 2017. 976, n. 727.

⁹³ Maximilian "put them on display" chiefly in March–May 1512. Christoph Scheurl, "Geschichtsbuch der Christenheit von 1511–1521", = *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches und der Deutschen Kirche im Zeitalter der Reformation* 1, 1872, 1–179. 22; or for instance *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, XI, 2567, n. 1833).

⁹⁴ After Stephen's death (1504), and because of Bogdan's Polish Jagiellonian matrimonial efforts (1504/ 1505–1509/1510), the ties between Maximilian and Moldavia lost strength, not only apparently, until Sigismund defeated Bogdan.

⁹⁵ However, at least on one occasion (10 July 1510), the Venetians ranked the Moldavian representative at the diet as an ambassador, the same as the envoys of the Papacy, of France, Poland, Venice and Transalpine Wallachia, as well as of the Ottoman Empire. Sanudo, Vol. X. 851.

Hungary).⁹⁶ As he had learnt from his father Stephen (i.e., since Matthias Corvinus' succession in 1490),⁹⁷ Bogdan did not remove the king in Buda from the equation, but added a Habsburg as king (as had been the case since the Peace of Wiener-Neustadt in 1463).⁹⁸

Considering the political costs incurred by both parties,⁹⁹ Bogdan's relation with Maximilian may have well exceeded that between a vassal and a suzerain king of Hungary¹⁰⁰ (in 1512, *des Walachen botschaft* was listed under *Kurfürstliche Botschaften*, next to those of Brandenburg and Saxony).¹⁰¹ Because of Maximilian's ongoing conflict with Venice,¹⁰² Bogdan's Habsburg deal came at the expenses of his old alliance with the Serenissima,¹⁰³ who, in 1513, did her utmost to prevent an agreement between Maximilian and the new sultan,¹⁰⁴ not inclined, also in relation to Vladislaus, to upkeep the arrange-

⁹⁶ See also Matei Cazacu, "Poziția internațională a Țării Românești și implicațiile ei poloneze la începutul secolului al XVI-lea. Pe marginea unui document", = *Buletinul Bibliotecii Române din Freiburg* 11 (15), 1984, 299–316.

⁹⁷ Simon, Alexandru, "Domnul Moldovei și regii Ungariei din 1490. Un document de la Ștefan cel Mare", = *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A. D. Xenopol* 43–44, 2006–2007, 15–36.

⁹⁸ In general: Kubinyi, András, "Die Wahlkapitulation Wladislaus II. in Ungarn (1490)", In: Kubinyi, András, *Stände und Ständestaat im spätmittelalterlichen Ungarn*. Herne, 2011. 167–198. Plus, after the Polish-Moldavian peace (Lakatos Bálint, "A királyi diplomatai. Követek és követségek a Jagelló-korban (1490–1526) II", = *Történelmi Szemle* 62:1, 2020, 281–362. 320–332.) no Hungarian envoy was seemingly sent to Moldavia until Stephen Telegdi's mission in spring 1514 (see below).

⁹⁹ In relation to Maximilian, see the "daily effects" in Péterfi, Bence, "...nach vermügen des tractats zu Pressburg..." Der Pressburger Vertrag (1491) als ein Widerspruchsvolles Element", In: Dybaś, Bogusław – Tringli, István (eds.), *Das Wiener Fürstentreffen von 1515. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Habsburgisch-Jagiellonischen Doppelvermählung*. Budapest, 2019. 189–212.

¹⁰⁰ To Bogdan's father, Stephen, Maximilian had sworn to protect Moldavia (1497–1498): "[...] non minus quam prope/ bona nostra hereditaria et signater [lacuna] Austrie et Stirie [...]" (MNL OL, DF 278383.; Hollegger, Im Osten nichts Neues?, 143–144). If this applied also in 1513 (and we can presume that it did), the bond constituted grounds for Vladislaus' support of the Tartar attack on Bogdan (possibly) devised by the royal Polish brother of the king in Buda.

¹⁰¹ Deutsche Reichstagsakten, XI, 2575, n. 1836 (according to the list compiled in Vienna in May/June 1512).

¹⁰² For the main coordinates: Fraknói, Vilmos, *Ungarn und die Liga von Cambray*. Budapest, 1883. 91–96.

¹⁰³ Venice had supported him in his Polish matrimonial quest and also in his conflict with Radu IV of Wallachia (e.g. Sanudo, Vol. VI. 290, 297; Vol. VII. 119–120, 180, 301, 465, 763; Vol. IX. 99).

¹⁰⁴ Plus, Selim may have been angered by Maximilian's over-confident message written on 24 August 1513 (Iorga, Nicolae, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au*

ments made by his father and foe, Bayezid.¹⁰⁵ Sigismund too had to wait for more than a year (from March 1513 to May 1514) for a treaty with Selim.¹⁰⁶ By “betting on” Maximilian, Bogdan undermined his standing in Venice and on the Bosphorus.¹⁰⁷

Additionally, in 1513, the attendance by Bogdan’s envoys of the protracted and moreover anti-Venetian¹⁰⁸ Reichstag in Worms and Maximilian’s ostensibly – too – close involvement,¹⁰⁹ may have fatally delayed the voivode’s Habsburg nuptials from 20 July to (intended) September (14?). In between, Moldavia was devastated by the Tartars (around 24 August), who, according to Vladislaus’ envoys in Görlitz (14 July), had occupied Transylvania, together with Selim’s and Bogdan’s troops.¹¹⁰ In our opinion, there is still more to the story than meets the modern eye.

The failure of Bogdan III of Moldavia’s Habsburg marriage of 1513, due to an “unsanctioned Tartar hit”,¹¹¹ may have eased the way for the Habsburg-

XV^e siècle. Vol. VI. 1501–547. Bucharest, 1915. 67, n. 103), at a time when (27 August) the emperor’s men were exalting his glory manifested through the bride sent to Bogdan.

¹⁰⁵ Fodor – Dávid, Magyar–török béketárgyalások, 205–207, 212–214. Selim was utterly hostile towards Vladislaus’ stance, accepted earlier, of speaking on behalf of “everybody”, Maximilian, Moldavia or Wallachia explicitly included.

¹⁰⁶ Kolodziejczyk, Dariusz, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th–18th Century): An Annotated Edition of Ahdnames and Other Documents* (The Ottoman Empire and its Heritage 18). Leiden–Boston–Cologne, 2000. 113–115, Appendix, 216–217, n. 9. (no mention was made of Moldavia, according to Sigismund his vassal state).

¹⁰⁷ However, Selim manifested malice towards Maximilian only after the Ottoman-Venetian treaty of October 1513.

¹⁰⁸ Deutsche Reichstagsakten, Vol. XII. Die Reichstage zu Worms 1513 und Mainz 1517. Ed. Seyboth, Reinhard. Berlin–Boston, 2023. 122, n. 44.

¹⁰⁹ We quote here only Serntein’s letter to Saurer from 9 July 1513: “[...] Die walechisch potschaft hat sich zu Augspurg kaiserliche Mayestat reten und mir angezeigt. Darauf hat kaiserliche Mayestat dieselbe botschaft zu irer Mt. gen Wurms beschieden [...]” (LRAT, Maximiliana, fasc. XIII-256, f. 49r; in Deutsche Reichstagsakten, XII, no. 51, p. 126). Maximilian was in Worms between 18 and 24 (?) June. He left for Frankfurt-am-Main and then, together with Henry VIII Tudor, king of England, went to fight, Louis XII of Valois, king of France, at the “Battle of the Spurs.”

¹¹⁰ Why did the Tartars not attack a month earlier? We could speculate that it took some persuasion to convince them.

¹¹¹ The issue is threefold. (1.) Mengli Ghiray still wanted to show his independent (from the Porte) imperial power. (Fisher, Alan W., *The Crimea Tartars*. Stanford, 1978. 11–12.) (2.)

Jagiellonian talks and arrangements in Vienna two years later,¹¹² as well as for John Szapolyai's Eastern Hungarian (and Wallachian) "hegemony".¹¹³ By spring 1514, in the wake of the (rebellious) anti-Ottoman crusade,¹¹⁴ Bogdan III had to choose "Basarab-Szapolyai" Ruxandra as his wife.¹¹⁵ Sigismund and Maximilian came to terms, with the emperor largely abandoning his eastern allies/ the Polish king's adversaries (Muscovy, the Teutonic Order and even Moldavia), in exchange for Habsburg (co-) dominium over Hungary and Bohemia.¹¹⁶ Nonetheless, East-Central Europe was not prone to lasting deals.

Selim, suspicious by nature. Mikail, God's Shadow, 325.), might have feared that Maximilian (and Bogdan) would turn on him. (3) The khan could always blame the attack on Moldavia on his 'devilish children', as he had done, in fall 1510, when apologizing to Sigismund for the most recent raid (Kolodziejczyk, Dariusz, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania: International Diplomacy on the European Periphery (15th–18th Century)* (The Ottoman Empire and his Heritage 47). Leiden–Boston, 2011. 39).

¹¹² If his marriage had been celebrated in 1513, Bogdan would have become a "major Habsburg player" on regional level. As far we know at present, Maximilian did not use him afterwards as leverage in relation to the Jagiellonians.

¹¹³ E.g. Coman, Marian, *Putere și teritoriu. Țara Românească medievală (secolele XIV–XVI)*. Iași, 2013. 208–216.

¹¹⁴ Recently: Papp Sándor, "A török béke kérdése a Dózsa-féle parasztháború idején", = *Certamen* 3, 2019, 229–243.

¹¹⁵ On 26 May 1514, the city of Sibiu informed the city of Brașov that, by royal command, it had to cover the travel expenses of Stephen Telegdi sent to Moldavia and the gifts he had to bring (Hurmuzaki, XV/1, 227, n. 410). It is logical to presume, as Iulian Marinescu already did, that all this was related to Bogdan's wedding.

¹¹⁶ As East-Central European consensus is rather debatable, see also Stone, Daniel, *The Polish-Lithuanian State. 1386–1795* (A History of East Central Europe 4). Seattle, 2001. 47–48. (immediate gains versus lasting dangers).

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.

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