

“ALEXANDRU IOAN CUZA” UNIVERSITY OF IAŞI
FACULTY OF HISTORY
INTERDISCIPLINARY CENTRE FOR ARCHAEOHISTORICAL STUDIES

**STUDIA ANTIQUA
ET
ARCHAEOLOGICA**

27/2, 2021

Supplementum-Honoraria

EDITURA UNIVERSITĂȚII „ALEXANDRU IOAN CUZA”
IAȘI — 2018

EDITORIAL BOARD

Lucrețiu Mihailescu-Bîrliba (**editor in chief**) (“Al. I. Cuza” University of Iași), Robin Brigand (French National Centre for Scientific Research, Besançon), Ashley Dumas (University of West Alabama), Alexander Falileyev (Institute for Linguistic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Sankt Petersburg), Svend Hansen (German Archaeological Institute, Berlin), Martin Hose (Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich), Gheorghe Iacob (“Al. I. Cuza” University of Iași), Ion Niculiță (Moldova State University Chișinău), Attila László (“Al. I. Cuza” University of Iași), Ioan Carol Opris (University of Bucharest), Daniele Vittorio Piacente (University of Bari), Alexandru-Florin Platon (“Al. I. Cuza” University of Iași), Adrian Poruciu (“Al. I. Cuza” University of Iași), Alexander Rubel (Iași Institute of Archaeology), Ion Sandu (“Al. I. Cuza” University of Iași), Eugen Sava (National Museum of History of Moldova, Chișinău), Christoph Schäfer (University of Trier), Wolfgang Schuller (University of Konstanz), Claire Smith (Flinders University, Adelaide), Acad. Victor Spinei (“Al. I. Cuza” University of Iași), Dan Gh. Teodor (Iași Institute of Archaeology), Nicolae Ursulescu (“Al. I. Cuza” University of Iași), Mihail Vasilescu (“Al. I. Cuza” Univ. of Iași), Olivier Weller (Pantheon-Sorbonne University, Paris).

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Roxana-Gabriela Curcă (**chief secretary**), Marius Alexianu, Neculai Bolohan, Vasile Cotiugă, Iulian Moga, Iulia Dumitache, Andrei Asăndulesei, Felix-Adrian Tencariu (**members**), Radu Alexandru Brunchi (**web editor**).

Postal address (materials sent for reviewing purposes and other correspondence):

Universitatea “Al. I. Cuza”, Facultatea de Istorie, Bulevardul Carol I, nr. 11, 700506 – Iași, Romania.

Tel.: +(04) 0232 201 615; Fax.: +(4) 0232 201 201, +(4) 0232 201 156;

Website: saa.uaic.ro; Email: saa.uaic.ro@gmail.com, blucretiu@yahoo.com.

The responsibility for the content of the materials published falls entirely on the authors.

This volume uses the free open-source typeface *Gentium* by SIL International.



© 2021 by the authors; licensee Editura Universității Al. I. Cuza din Iași. This article is an open access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons by Attribution (CC-BY) license (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

ISSN 1224-2284

ISSN-L 1224-2284

Table of Contents

ARTICLES

Andrea DEMJÉN, Florin GOGÂLTAN

- Contumatz Pricske. A study of Historical Archaeology..... 1

Alexandru SIMON

- Imperator et dux*: On the Churches and the Fortresses of *Dracula*..... 31

Radu BĂJENARU

- The early metal daggers in the Carpathian-Danubian area: contexts, significance, and functionality..... 61

Oliver DIETRICH

- Hortfund - Einzelfund – Einstückhort. Versuch einer Begriffsschärfung anhand des Beispiels der rumänischen Tüllenbeile..... 71

Tudor MANDACHE, Adrian ADAMESCU, Sorin Cristian AILINCĂI

- A forgotten cemetery at the edge of Lake Brateş. Funerary finds unearthed in the area of Vînători-La Jolică archaeological site..... 84

Cassandra BRAŞOVEANU, Radu-Alexandru BRUNCHI

- New discoveries concerning the end of the Bronze Age in Jijia catchment..... 104

Alexandru GAFINCU, Vasile DIACONU

- Guarding what? A Middle Bronze Age fortification near Moldova River Valley..... 131

Vasile DIACONU

- A Drajna type bronze axe (*Nackenknaufäxte*) from Eastern Romania..... 142

Ana DROB, Neculai BOLOHAN, Bogdan RĂȚOI, Sebastian DROB

- Same or different? Interdisciplinary analyses on the Costişa and Monteoro pottery from Siliştea-Pe Cetăţuie settlement..... 158

| | |
|--|-----|
| Florica MĂȚĂU, Vasile DIACONU, Mitică PINTILEI, Ovidiu CHIȘCAN | |
| Insights into the production technology of Late Bronze Age pottery identified at Topolița (Neamț County)..... | 194 |
| Sorin-Cristian AILINCĂI, Florian MIHAIL, Carmen ŞUŞMAN | |
| A new Late Bronze Age sceptre-pestle discovered at Limanu, Constanța County (SE Romania) | 244 |
| Ioan BEJINARIU | |
| An Eastern type bronze needle discovered at Șimleu Silvaniei, Sălaj County..... | 257 |
| Aurel ZANOCI | |
| Two bronze objects of Western origin in the Saharna microregion, Rezina district, Republic of Moldova..... | 276 |
| Ovidiu ȚENTEA, Florian MATEI-POPESCU, Vlad CĂLINA | |
| From Dacian Hillforts to Roman Forts: Making of the Roman Frontier on Mid-Olt River Valley..... | 298 |

Imperator et dux:
On the Churches and the Fortresses of Dracula

Alexandru SIMON¹

Abstract: Two weeks, before the predictable, yet unexpected death of King Matthias Corvinus (April 6, 1490), the great crusader congress of Christendom began in Rome (March 25, 1490), after a year's delay. From the speeches delivered at the congress, at whose abrupt end (triggered by the war for the Hunyadi successions), the Dacians were seated after the Hungarians and the Poles among the Eastern forces of the crusader project, time - rightfully - recorded the oration of Filippo Buonaccorsi Callimachus, the envoy of Casimir IV Jagiello, the king of Poland. "Enchanted adversary" and "jealous admirer" of the late king of Hungary, Croatia and Bohemia, but also of Dacia (according to Pope Pius II in March 1462, at least), Callimachus twice mentioned the long deceased Vlad III (Vladislav Dracula for the Italian humanist, as well as for many of his contemporaries), Vlad had been the ally, the prisoner and twice the relative - certainly by marriage - of the son the athleta of the Cross, John Hunyadi. For Callimachus, Vlad had been the imperator et dux of the Wallachians, a title that recalled - in Dantesque and millennialist fashion - the titles of the ancient Roman emperors, therefore - openly in fact - challenging Matthias' claimed Roman origins (and supremacy) and also his rightful rule over - paternal moreover - Wallachia.

The lives of Matthias and Vlad seemed intertwined after their deaths. A few churches and a couple of fortresses indicate why the two lords, the two relatives after all, could not be separated after none of them ruled. This should not come as a complete surprise given only the fact the "modern <Romanian> image" of Vlad was shaped - rather unjustified - by a monastery (Snagov) and by a fortress (Poenari). Arms, walls and crosses were the foundations of true - Christian (medieval) - imperial power, divinely military.

Rezumat: Cu două săptămâni înaintea morții previzibile, dar venite pe neașteptate, a regelui Matia Corvin (6 aprilie 1490), la Roma au început - după o amânare de un an - lucrările marelui congres cruciat al Creștinătății (25 martie). Dintre discursurile ținute la acel congres, la al cărui sfârșit - abrupt (datorită războului izbucnit pentru moștenirea huniadă) - dacii s-au „încolonat” după unguri și polonezi între fortele din Răsărit ale proiectului cruciat, timpul a reținut - pe bună dreptate - orațiunea lui Filippo Buonaccorsi Callimachus, trimisul regelui Poloniei, Cazimir al IV-lea Jagiello. Dușman „vrăjit” și - deopotrivă - admirator „gelos” al defunctului regele al Ungariei, Croației și Boemiei, dar și al Daciei (după papa Pius al II-lea, cel puțin, în martie 1462), Callimachus l-a pomenit de două ori pe de demult dispărutul Vlad al III-lea Țepeș (Vladislav Dracula pentru umanistul italian și pentru mulți dintre contemporanii săi). Vlad al III-lea fusese aliatul, prizonierul și de două ori ruda - sigur prin alianță - a fiului atletului Crucii, Iancu de Hunedoara. După Callimachus, Vlad le fusese imperator et dux românilor (valahilor). Titlul (re)amintea - în manieră dantescă și milenaristă - vechile intitulații ale împăraților romani. Era astfel un atac - deschis în fapt - la adresa originilor romane și a supremătiei - paternne - romane și valahe, clamate de către Matia.

¹ Romanian Academy, Centre for Transylvanian Studies, M. Kogălniceanu, 12-14, Cluj-Napoca. E-mail: alexandrusimon2003@gmail.com

Vorbele lui Callimachus de la Roma au îngemănat - la rândul lor - vietile lui Matia și Vlad. Câteva biserici și câteva cetăți par să ne arate de ce cei doi stăpânitori, cele două rude „în definitiv”, erau de fapt de nedespărțit și după moarte. Situația nu este neapărat surprinzătoare. „Imaginea (românească) modernă” a lui Vlad a fost definită - pe nedrept mai degrabă - de o mănăstire (Snagov) și de o cetate (Poenari). Armele, zidurile și crucile erau fundamentele - creștine (medievale) - ale puterii imperiale, divine, militare.

Keywords: Filippo Buonaccorsi Callimachus, Vlad III the Impaller (*Dracula*), Matthias Corvinus, Mehmed II, Beatrice of Aragon, Stephen III of Moldavia, *imperator et dux*, churches, fortresses, Rome, Wallachia.

Two weeks, before the predictable, yet unexpected death of King Matthias Corvinus (April 6, 1490)², the great crusader congress of Christendom began in Rome (March 25, 1490), after a year's delay³. From the speeches delivered at the congress, at whose abrupt end (triggered by the war for the Hunyadi successions)⁴, the *Dacians* were seated after the Hungarians and the Poles among the Eastern forces of the crusader project⁵, time – rightfully⁶ – recorded the oration of Filippo Buonaccorsi Callimachus, the envoy of Casimir IV Jagiello, king of Poland⁷. “Enchanted adversary” and “jealous admirer”⁸ of the late king of Hungary, Croatia and Bohemia, but also of *Dacia* (according to Pope Pius II in March 1462, at least⁹, Callimachus twice mentioned the long deceased Vlad III of Wallachia (*Dracula* for the Italian humanist, as well as for many of his contemporaries)¹⁰. The (in)famous Vlad¹¹ had been the ally, the prisoner and twice the relative –certainly by marriage¹²– of the son the *athleta* of the Cross, John Hunyadi, a ‘good Turk’(alike his son) for the enemies of Matthias, because John had allowed Mehmed II to take Constantinople¹³.

² Since 1486, Matthias was basically unable to walk (KUBINYI 2008, 149-150).

³ SETTON 1978, 412-416.

⁴ SIMON 2005, 103-106.

⁵ Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Abendländische Handschriften, Codices Latini Monacense, [no.] 461, ff. 188^r-193^v; POP, SIMON 2018, 49.

⁶ See also TAFIŁOWSKI 2013, 148-155.

⁷ CACCAMO 1972.

⁸ PAPARELLI 1971, 33-34, 160-161; SEGEL 1989, 59-60.

⁹ POP 2020a.

¹⁰ CD, I-2.

¹¹ Considering also the humanist framework of Callimachus' mention of Vlad, we recall the debate on the identity of the cruel “Eastern master” of Michael Marullus Tarchaniota in the 1470s: Vlad III of Wallachia or Stephen III of Moldavia? KIDWELL 1989, 32-33, 36-37; HASSELL 1998, 115, 117 (note 29); MCGANN 2013, 230 (note 114).

¹² SIMON 2011.

¹³ In February 1471, Gregory Heimburg, the former chancellor of the *Heretic King* of Bohemia, George Podiebrad, had branded – not without grounds – both Matthias and John, as traitors of the Cross: [...] der Ungarische künig ist gut Turck als sein vater was, do er den Turck liesse Constantinople zwingen [...] (PRIEBATSCH 1894, no. 137, p. 216).

The Roman Oration of Callimachus

Remembering the combats between the Christians (and their – Muslim – “associates”) and the Turks in his well-prepared ‘speech’ (the *oratio* was intended to mark – also – his triumphant return to political glory in Rome¹⁴), Callimachus wondered in front of his selected audience¹⁵:

[...] Quod si quoties in Europa victi, fusi, caesi a magno etiam illo Epirota Scandrabeo nec a minori aut viro aut imperatore Dracula Valacho¹⁶, praeterea omnes Venetorum mari ac terra partas de Turcis victoryas prosequi velim, quis est subinde crediturus tam multis magnisque stragibus unum aliquem saperuisse gerendis bellis in Asia, ubi inire non est, quam multos multos paulo ante Ussoncassanus in Mesopotamia...[...]¹⁷.

After reviewing the fall of Bulgaria, Serbia and Bosnia (the collapse of the latter two was viewed as the result of the “traitorous policies” of the Hunyadis too)¹⁸, Callimachus emphasized that¹⁹:

[...] Huc adde toties ductas totiesque inefficaces contra Valachos expeditiones, quae gens hodie in duas partes divisa, quarum neutra cum maxime floruit, haud amplius quam sexdecim armatorum milia in bella mittebat²⁰. Et tamen qui ex illis Besserabi nuncupantur, longissimo tempore tam exiguis copiis omnem Turcorum vim non modo substiuerere, sed saepissime etiam, provocavere, priusquam intestina seditione perciti et mutuo in semet saevientes maximum illum imperatorem et ducem suum Vladislauum Draculam amisere²¹. Quo orbati mirum omnino non statim succubuisse [...]²².

¹⁴ In 1468, Callimachus was deemed the master-mind behind the Roman (humanist) plot against Pope Paul II. Forced into exile, the ambitious lettered *condotierre* settled – via Constantinople and Moldavia (1469–1470) – in Jagiellonian Poland (von ZEISSBERG 1877, 46–47). Even though, as Casimir IV’s envoy, he was able to return to Rome under Sixtus IV (PAPACOSTEA 1972; BACZKOWSKI 1994), Callimachus’ Roman credibility was never fully restored.

¹⁵ IORGA 1916, no. 187, pp. 176–178.

¹⁶ An English translation of the ambivalent words would read: [...] ‘If each time they were defeated, routed and slain by that great Epirota Skanderbeg or by the younger man <or> Emperor Dracula the Wallachian’ [...]. We recall that Callimachus was closely associated to Pomponio Leto’s “circle” / *Accademia* (MIGLIO 2011).

¹⁷ CALLIMACHUS 1964, 33. The text was omitted by Annas (2017, Appendix, no. II, pp. 96–97) from her selection. Only the second excerpt cited below was included and analysed in the quoted study.

¹⁸ See also MANEA-GRGIN 2017.

¹⁹ The lines cited below were translated into Romanian and French by PAPACOSTEA (1975a, 16; 1975b, 424–425).

²⁰ We draw attention to the following part: [...] ‘against the Wallachians, whose tribeis now divided into two parts, neither of which truly flourished, being able to send – by no means – more than 16,000 armed men to war’ [...] (tribe is the legal Roman equivalent for *gens*; the English term employed – “via” the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary – for the medieval uses of *gens* is kindred). The French translation of Professor PAPACOSTEA (1975b, 424) read: [...] ‘contre les Valaques, peuple divisé actuellement en deux parties, dont aucune même, à son stade d’épanouissement maximal, n’envoya la guerre plus de 16 000 soldats’ [...].

²¹ Another noteworthy passage: [...] ‘And, nonetheless, those of them called the Bassarabs not only withstood the entire might of the Turks for a long time with such meagre troops, but also very often challenged [the Turks], before internal

“At the catafalque of Matthias”²³, derisively called *valachorum regulus*²⁴ and accused of wanting to become the Emperor of the Romans²⁵, but also the contested monarch who had claimed – especially in the 1480s²⁶ – that he had recovered paternal Wallachia²⁷, Callimachus twice used emperor for Vlad from the Wallachian Basarabs²⁸. A decade earlier (1480-1481), Vlad’s death (in winter 1476-1477) had been recorded as the death of the ‘King of Dacia from the House of Basarab’²⁹. For Callimachus, Vlad had been the *imperator et dux*<*Valachorum*>,³⁰ a title that recalled – in Dantesque³¹ and millennialist fashion³² – the titles of the ancient Roman emperors (*dux et imperator*<*Romanorum*>³³, *rex, imperatoreduxRomanorum*³⁴). Callimachus openly in fact challenged Matthias’ claimed – through his Wallachian ancestors – Roman origins (and supremacy)³⁵ and also the late king’s rightful rule over – paternal moreover – Wallachia³⁶.

divisions climaxed and, in the wreaking havoc, they allowed their great emperor and duke, Wladislav Dracula, to fall. Surprisingly, although deprived [of him], they did not immediately and entirely succumb’ [to the Turks] [...]. The French translation of Professor PAPACOSTEA (1975b, 425) read: [...] ‘Et pourtant ceux d’entre eux désignés sous le nom de Besserabi ont non seulement résisté fort longtemps, en dépit de leurs forces tellement réduites, au pouvoir des Turcs, mais très souvent ils les ont même attaqués, avant de perdre, par suite d’après luttes intestines, leur grand commandant et prince Vladislav Dracula; et c’est par miracle qu’ils ont échappé à la totale destruction une fois privés de lui’ [...].

²² CALLIMACHUS 1964, 50. Unfortunately Professor PAPACOSTEA (1975a, 16; 1975b, 424-425) omitted the first quoted passage on Vlad from his analysis. The Romanian consequences of this “lacuna” became evident chiefly after 1989.

²³ News of Matthias’ death in Vienna reached Milan, and Rome, within ten days, on April 15, 1490 (MDE, IV, no. 123, pp. 172-174). It left no apparent mark on Callimachus’ carefully carved speech, delivered and distributed after Matthias’ death became known. Callimachus’ approach was consistent with that of Venice. The republic had “paired” rival Hungary and Poland, since before the death of the Hunyadi monarch (POP, SIMON 2018, Appendix, 233-234).

²⁴ SIMON 2010.

²⁵ NEHRING 1974.

²⁶ POP, SIMON 2021a.

²⁷ E.g. the notes in de COMMYNES 1924-1925, I, 339; II, 335-338; III, 169.

²⁸ See also SACERDOȚEANU 1968.

²⁹ PERTUSI 1981, Appendix: *Opusculum reverendi Domini Martini de Segonis natione Catharensis origine autem Serviani ex Novomontio aliter Novobardo dicto Dei gratia episcopi Olchinensis ad Beatissimum Sextum IV Romanum Pontificem Tractatus de provisione Hydronti et de ordine militum Turci et eius origine*, 78-146, at 135-136. POP, SIMON 2019, 60-64.

³⁰ The structure of the title was very similar to that of *Lord and->Voivode< of Wallachia/ Moldavia>*. Dux had – at least in part – a Slavic equivalent in voivode (see also GRECU 1966).

³¹ DAVIS 2000, 254-255.

³² RENUCCI 1965.

³³ For the possible (republican) roots of the (late imperial title) title: Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Philippicae*, XI. In M. Antonium Oratio *Philippica*, 20. [...] *Milites veterani, qui illius auctoritatem, imperium, nomensemcuri pro re publica arma ceperant, volebant sibi ab illo imperari; legio Martia et legio quarta ita se contulerant ad auctoritatem senatus et rei publicae dignitatem, ut deposcerent imperatorem et ducem C. Caesarem. Imperium C. Caesari belli necessitas, fasces senatus dedit.* [...]). In the early 1300s, the title was associated with the coming of a new Augustus, at least by Dante’s son (ALIGHIERI, 1845, 39-48)

³⁴ See also MORIZOT 1989, 274 (note 39).

³⁵ DÜCKER 2011.

³⁶ SIMON 2017.

The lives of Matthias of the Roman *gens* Corvina and of Emperor' Vlad seemed intertwined after their deaths³⁷. A few churches and a couple of fortresses indicate why the two lords, the two relatives after all, could not be separated after none of them ruled³⁸. This should not come as a complete surprise given only the fact the “modern <Romanian> image” of Vlad was shaped – rather unjustified – by a monastery (Snagov)³⁹ and by a fortress (Poenari)⁴⁰. Arms, walls and crosses were the foundations of true – Christian (medieval) – imperial power, divinely military⁴¹.

Pious Dracula at the Death of Ladislas Hunyadi and at the Election of Matthias Corvinus

On March 5, 1458, some six weeks after Matthias' election as king of Hungary (January 24) and three weeks after the son of John Hunyadi had entered Buda (February 14)⁴², but also two days after the new king had asked the citizens of Saxon Sibiu in Transylvania to make peace with the ‘illustrious prince’ Vlad (March 3)⁴³, *Dracula* came to Tismana⁴⁴. He extended his grace over the foundation of Saint Nicodimus († 1406)⁴⁵, former refugee in the Land of Hațeg (the “Hunyadi cradle”⁴⁶) at turn of the century⁴⁷ and the trustee of both Mircea I of Wallachia and Sigismund of Luxemburg⁴⁸. In the hagiographies of Nicodimus, Sigismund was later confused with Matthias⁴⁹.

Not even a year earlier, in April 1457, a month after the beheading of Ladislas Hunyadi and the imprisonment of his younger brother Matthias (March 14–15/16)⁵⁰, the last living son of John Hunyadi⁵¹, the same Vlad III, the son of Vlad II *Dracul*⁵², Emperor Sigismund’s former knight⁵³, had issued a privilege for Cozia Monastery⁵⁴ (this is first domestic charter issued by Vlad III’s

³⁷ See also – for instance – the “statistical data” in URSPRUNG 2018, especially 47–48. The printed stories on Vlad (and thus – directly and indirectly – on Matthias) flourished between 1488 and 1494.

³⁸ The south-Carpathian cases outlined below may have had “pairs” north of the mountains, for instance, because of the Amlaș estate and the first Hunyadi wife of Vlad (e.g. the documents from 1464, two years after Matthias had Vlad “arrested”, published in UKB, VI, no. 3389, p. 192; no. 3400, p. 200).

³⁹ The monastery was connected in particular with the rule of Wladislaw II, beheaded by Vlad III (NĂSTASE 1999).

⁴⁰ *Istoria* 1960, 4; STOICESCU 1976, 49–50, 209–210.

⁴¹ See in this respect also DP. Needless, perhaps, to say that we do not share the “vantage points” of the volume.

⁴² ENGEL 2001, 298–299.

⁴³ UKB, VI, no. 3108, p. 7.

⁴⁴ DRH, B, I, no. 117, p. 202. Reprinted in CD, I-1, no. 9, pp. 50–51.

⁴⁵ RADOJIĆ 1966.

⁴⁶ POP 2021, 89–108.

⁴⁷ Between 1398/1399 and 1405/1406 (see also CREȚEANU 1976).

⁴⁸ POP, SIMON 2006.

⁴⁹ CIOCÎLTAN 2004, 159–160.

⁵⁰ See also GRABMAYER 2003.

⁵¹ SZEKÉLY 1988.

⁵² MINEA 1928.

⁵³ See also CHIHAIA 1993.

⁵⁴ DRH, B, I, no. 115, pp. 199–200; CD, I-1, no. 7, pp. 41–43. That same year (only the year is known), Vlad donated a bell for the Govora Monastery (later burnt by Albul the Great). The patron saint was – tellingly – Saint Nicholas. Later traditions claimed that the church was erected where a *Catholicchurch* had once stood (NEACȘA 2015, 274, note 29).

and preserved⁵⁵; the second domestic preserved charter was the one for Tismana⁵⁶). Since 1418, Cozia, the foundation of Radu I ('Pancras the Wise' for Sigismund's trustees)⁵⁷, the son of Alexander Basarab and of Clara de Ungaria⁵⁸, was the final resting place of Mircea I⁵⁹. In the entourage of Matthias' illegitimate son and heir, John Corvinus († 1504), duke of Croatia and citizen of Venice⁶⁰, Mircea was later deemed (around 1502) even the father of John Hunyadi⁶¹.

Matthias, John Hunyadi and Sigismund of Luxemburg at Cozia, Tismana and Vodita

The monasteries drew the lines of a – family – fresco of blood⁶². Ladislas Hunyadi had been the sworn enemy of Vlad III⁶³. Vlad had betrayed John Hunyadi on the eve of the battle of Belgrade (July 1456)⁶⁴. John had executed Vlad II (November 1447) and taken his place on the *Transalpine* throne⁶⁵. The name-giving *Dracul(<i>a</i>)/ Dragul(<i>a</i>)*⁶⁶, Vlad had been a member of Order of the Dragon, established by Sigismund in 1408⁶⁷. Since Matthias's days, John had been "labeled" Sigismund's bastard⁶⁸. Vlad II had been the illegitimate son of Mircea I⁶⁹. The – only? – wife of Mircea, Radu I's son, had been a lady from Hungary, feared even by Mircea's suzerain in Buda⁷⁰.

Afterwards (in 1462 and in 1473/1474), Vlad III wed two close relatives of Matthias.⁷¹ *Dracula's* first wife was even deemed John Hunyadi's – illegitimate – daughter⁷². The lady was certainly

⁵⁵ See also CD, I-1, no. 7, p. 39 (comments). Through this deed, Vlad confirmed to the Cozia Monastery the possession of the Troieneşti/ Troeneşti/ Troianeşti, located on both banks of the Olt river (cf. ILIESCU 1994, 128, and notes 50, 56). The name of the village is rather eloquent (see also TALOŞ 2021, 231-233).

⁵⁶ CD, I-1, no. 9, p. 49 (comments). The entire princely council was present, in Tismana, when all the estates held by the monastery in the days of Vlad II were confirmed by Vlad III, his son.

⁵⁷ WINDECKE 1893, 316-317 (1431).

⁵⁸ IONIȚĂ, KELEMEN, SIMON 2017, 507, 674, 734. This fact was accepted by the "Parisian school" (HASAN 2019, 35-41).

⁵⁹ IONIȚĂ 1998.

⁶⁰NAGY 1853.

⁶¹ POP, SIMON 2015b, 77-78. This "line of succession" was likewise accepted by the said "school" (CÎMPEANU, 180).

⁶² This was the unfortunately unfinished idea of XENOPOL (1907).

⁶³ DRH, D, I, no. 341, pp. 461-462 (December 1456).

⁶⁴ SIMON 2009, 43-45.

⁶⁵ PALL 1963.

⁶⁶ See also RĂDUȚIU 1966.

⁶⁷ LŐVEI 2006. The establishment of the Order of the Dragon (1408) and the donation of Hunyad by Sigismund to Voicu, knight of the royal court and already the father of John (1409) are both worth a closer comparative inspection.

⁶⁸ LUPESCU 2008, 35-36. Antonio Bonfini felt compelled to – apparently first – recorded the rumour and to refute it. Yet, John Hunyadi's Sigismundian "illegitimacy could have come to John Corvinus' advantage. However, Bonfini completed this part of his *Decades* after 1490, after the bastard John had failed to become the king of Hungary.

⁶⁹REZACHEVICI 2001, 92-93.

⁷⁰Zala, II, no. 117, p. 299 (1400). In 1399, Mircea received (a) Hunyad from Sigismund, lost by 1412. Immediately, after Hunyad was granted and confirmed to Voicu (1409), Mircea attacked Transylvania (DRH, D, I, no. 113, p. 183).

⁷¹ See also SIMON 2020d, 148.

⁷² CAZACU 2017, Appendix, *Geschichte Dracole Waide* (1463), 310-316, at 316.

powerful enough to frighten the Saxons from Sibiu even after Vlad's downfall⁷³. Vlad's second Hunyadi bride was Justine Szilágyi, Matthias' first degree cousin on his mother's side⁷⁴.

And, Matthias, in his turn, showed grace to the Greek rite monks in Wallachia⁷⁵, following in the footsteps of Sigismund (during the anti-Ottoman combats of 1419 and 1428)⁷⁶ and John (in 1444, before he left on the crusade of Varna)⁷⁷. However, as far as we know, it was neither Tismana, nor Vodița, the foundations of Nicodimus, that benefitted from Matthias, but Cozia, the necropolis of Mircea⁷⁸. At that time (June 29, 1473), on one hand, Mehmed II, accompanied by Vlad III's unwanted successor and brother, Radu III *the Handsome*⁷⁹, but also by the soldiers of Stephen III *the Great* of Moldavia⁸⁰, fought in Asia Minor against the Turkmen khan, Usun Hassan, Christendom's great hope⁸¹; on the other, Matthias, whose – only – son John had just been born (on April 2, 1473, in Buda)⁸², battled for his royal survival in Bohemia,⁸³ but also at the Adriatic borders of the Balkans⁸⁴. 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 power⁸⁵.

Vlad on Mount Athos and at the Lower Danube and Skanderbeg in Italy

The connection between grand politics and pious deeds seems defining for Vlad's history⁸⁶. It marks the consolidation (1457-1478) of his second rule (1456-1462)⁸⁷ and the start of his return

⁷³ UKB, VI, no. 3389, p. 192; no. 3400, p. 200. The weeding was celebrated prior to March 4, 1462 (BIANU 1883, p. 34).

⁷⁴ FEDELES 2010.

⁷⁵ The year 1458 also stands for Matthias' reconstruction of the *Saint Nicholas* – apparently Vlad's favourite patron saint – church in Hunedoara. The church had been destroyed by the “zealots” of John Capestran (PINTER, TIPLIC 1999).

⁷⁶ DRH, D, I, no. 125, pp. 204-205; nos. 128-129, pp. 210-212; no. 169, pp. 266-268. For the context PÁLOSFALVI 2018, 173, 194. Prior to Mircea's death (1418), only řtefan 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.

⁷⁷ DRH, D, I, no. 276, pp. 384-387. For the events of 1444 and the crown of *Bulgaria* promised to John Hunyadi in exchange for breaking the “Peace of Szeged-Oradea” and resuming the war against Murad II, see ENGEL 1994.

⁷⁸ DRH, B, I, no. 144, pp. 240-241. Unlike the deeds of Sigismund and John for Tismana, Matthias' charter for Cozia was never – wrongfully – deemed an 18th century forgery from the time of the Austrian administration of Oltenia/ Lesser or Western Wallachia (PANAITESCU 2001, 421-423).

⁷⁹ CRISTEA, PIENARU 2012.

⁸⁰ SIMON 2016.

⁸¹ DĄBROWSKA 2017.

⁸² SCHÖNHERR 1894, 18-19. We note that the royal 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 (HORVÁTH 2011, 98).

⁸³ BÁRÁNY 2012, 76-77.

⁸⁴ SPOLJARIĆ 2019, 476-481.

⁸⁵ SIMON 2021a, 197-206. At the end of January 1474, Vlad had probably already Justine. The talks for the marriage between Matthias and Beatrice, the daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon, king of Naples, were first recorded on March 19, 1474. Considering the distances involved, these matrimonial negotiations had begun – the latest – in mid-February.

⁸⁶ Cf. SIMON 2007a, 522-527. 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.

(1473-1474) to Wallachia (1476)⁸⁸. In fact, half of the “domestic charters” preserved from Vlad were pious deeds⁸⁹. Their timing was apparently very precise. The link between Church and rule through God’s grace can be identified also on the eve of Vlad’s anti-Ottoman rise in early 1462⁹⁰.

The other known pious deeds of Vlad were: for his church of Saint Nicholas in Târgșor (June 24, 1461)⁹¹, his “urban” foundation in the town where he had beheaded Wladislaw II⁹², for the Athonite monastery, deemed *Albanian*⁹³, Philotheou (before August 31, 1461)⁹⁴, and for the Comana Monastery (September 27, 1461)⁹⁵, who then may have served as Vlad’s burial place⁹⁶. All donations were made in the second half of 1461⁹⁷, at a time of apparent calm in the Balkans.

John Hunyadi’s successor as the Papacy’s *sathleta*, the Albanian Skanderbeg, was about to leave on a profitable Italian condotta (September 1461-February 1462)⁹⁸. Protected by the truce concluded with Skanderbeg⁹⁹, but also on that (re) agreed with Matthias¹⁰⁰, Mehmed II conquered Trebizond (August 15, 1461)¹⁰¹, the capital of the “last Byzantine Empire”¹⁰². When Skanderbeg

⁸⁷ The case of Dan, the contender supported by Frederick III too against Vlad, the ally and vassal of Matthias, should also be reviewed. Dan emerged in early 1459, when Frederick, in possession of the Holy Crown of Hungary, began to challenge Matthias’ reign (see also HALLER 1973, 123-125).

⁸⁸ For an overview: ANDREESCU 1977.

⁸⁹ DRH, B, I, XXXV. The number of “domestic charters” preserved from Vlad is: 0 for his first rule (of probably less than three months in autumn 1448), 8 for his second rule (summer 1456-autumn 1462) and again 0 for his third rule (of some two months at the end of 1476). Vlad’s vast Transylvanian correspondence (chiefly with the Saxons) has to be dealt with separately. Even under Hungarian authority, Wallachia and Transylvania represented distinct entities.

⁹⁰ See also LUNGU 1983.

⁹¹ GIURESCU 1924.

⁹² STOIDE 1986.

⁹³ Alike the smaller monastery Karakallou, according to the Russian monk Isaiah in 1492 (de KHITROWO 1889, 289-294) and to an Ottoman *defter* from around 1520 (LOWRY 1981, 126).

⁹⁴ DRH, B, I, no. 119, p. 205. Document omitted from CD, I-1. The donation was also attributed to Vlad III’s half-brother, Vlad IV the Monk (see also BODOGAE 1941, 244-245). Vlad IV was the last – Wallachian – heir on Mount Athos of Mara Branković, the widow of Murad II (BOJOVIĆ, NĂSTUREL 2003, 160-161).

⁹⁵ DRH, B, I, no. 121, pp. 206-207. Document omitted from CD, I-1.

⁹⁶ REZACHEVICI 2003.

⁹⁷ The interval should be expanded also to the final months of 1460, because we know only the year of Vlad’s Athonite *Albanian* deed: 6969, i.e. September 1, 1460-August, 31, 1461 (DRH, B, I, no. 119, p. 205). Given the “Albanian nature” of the monastery, we note that the negotiations and preparations for Skanderbeg’s departure to the Italian Peninsula, to Naples, had already begun in mid-1460 (see – in comparison as well – also SIMON 2020b).

⁹⁸ SCHMITT 2014, 207-211, 214-219. Skanderbeg acted in the service of his suzerain Ferdinand of Aragon, king of Naples, and of Pope Pius II, Skanderbeg’s protector and Ferdinand’s suzerain (Naples was a Pontifical fiefdom).

⁹⁹ Mehmed II had already offered a three year truce to Skanderbeg after the Ottoman conquest of Serbian Smederevo (1459). Pressured by Pius II, the Albanian had refused it (NOLI 1945, 157). Two years later, with Papal and Neapolitan approval, Skanderbeg accepted the renewed proposal. The duration of the truce was – again – of three years.

¹⁰⁰ Since the start of Matthias’ reign (1458), Ottoman-Hungarian truces were limited to two years (recently: SALIHOVIĆ 2019; SIMON 2021b). Both Matthias and Skanderbeg may have already reached arrangements with Mehmed in 1460.

¹⁰¹ BABINGER 1949.

¹⁰² SHUKUROV 2016, 258-259.

was on his Adriatic journey back to Albania¹⁰³ and the *Epistola ad Mahumetem* “was published” under Pope Pius II’s name¹⁰⁴, Vlad, already engaged to Matthias’ *parente*¹⁰⁵, moved against the Ottoman Empire (January–February 1462)¹⁰⁶. Word spread quickly to Rome (March 1462)¹⁰⁷, where, for Pius, the contested Matthias united – through Transylvania – Hungary and *Dacia*¹⁰⁸.

Beatrice of Aragon and the Fortresses of Wallachia

Roughly a year later¹⁰⁹, the same pope recorded the “famed” letter sent by Vlad, “styled” *John Dragula*¹¹⁰, to Mehmed II, through which he had betrayed Matthias (November 7, 1462)¹¹¹. Vlad II’s son promised to the son of Murad II to hand him over Transylvania, and even much more¹¹². In the political logic of Pius¹¹³, as well as in the natural course of the relations between Matthias and Vlad¹¹⁴, Transylvania played a pivotal role¹¹⁵. The same role was ascribed to Transylvania, and even expanded¹¹⁶, by Beatrice of Aragon, Matthias’ last wife¹¹⁷. The Neapolitan matrimony of Matthias had been contracted (February/March–September 1474)¹¹⁸ against the “background” of the Moldavian and then Hungarian attacks on *Vlachia Maior*¹¹⁹, whose ruler had to be Justine Szilágyi’s husband, Vlad III.¹²⁰ He was “somehow and somewhat” restored to power (1476)¹²¹.

Four years later, in June 1480, the Hungarian and Moldavian troops managed to temporarily depose Basarab IV *Tepeluş* (~ ‘the Little Impaller’)¹²². The former favourite of Matthias, but also of

¹⁰³ In May 1462, Skanderbeg was apparently still in Ragusa and not in Kruja (SCHMITT 2014, 218).

¹⁰⁴ D’ASCIA 2003, 234.

¹⁰⁵ According to the famous letter, sent on February 11, 1462, from Bucharest, by Vlad to Matthias (last edited in CD, I-1, no. 23, pp. 108–126, here at p. 108, at the very beginning of the message sent by the voivode to the king).

¹⁰⁶ This connection between Skanderbeg and Vlad was seemingly overlooked. The same however applies for the battle of Baia, between Matthias and Stephen III of Moldavia, and the downfall of Skanderbeg (POP, SIMON 2012).

¹⁰⁷ SIMON 2019b.

¹⁰⁸ POP, SIMON 2020a, 283–284, 287–292.

¹⁰⁹ SIMON 2020c, 63–65, 71–82.

¹¹⁰ See also BOGDAN 1896, X.

¹¹¹ Rhotel, from where the letter was sent, was identified with either Rucăr or Cisnădie. At that time, early November 1462, Matthias certainly “went missing”, somewhere between Brașov and the Szeklerland (HORVÁTH 2011, 71–72).

¹¹² The letter was last published in CD, I-1, no. 61, pp. 198–199.

¹¹³ SIMON 2020a.

¹¹⁴ GÜNDISCH 1969, 981–992.

¹¹⁵ John Hunyadi’s “legacy” should also be reviewed from this perspective (see POP 2020b, 139–193).

¹¹⁶ This documented aspect eluded the attention of both Romanian “nationalists” and Transylvanian “separatists”. This can only be viewed as further proof that theories do not need sources, but only some “selected” foundations.

¹¹⁷ von BERZEVICZY 1908.

¹¹⁸ De VAJAY 1999. See also PONTIERI 1946, 69–70.

¹¹⁹ SIMON 2007b.

¹²⁰ POP, SIMON 2016a, 36–40.

¹²¹ See recently WEBER, GHEORGHE 2019.

¹²² In Hungarian, *cipős* is shoe and *cipész* is shoemaker. *Cypelles* may have – also – meant either “little shoe” or “little shoemaker”. The fact that before his rise to power *Tepeluş* spent time not only in *Turchia* and Moldavia, but also in Hungary

Stephen¹²³, as well as the first Wallachian heir of Sultana Mara Branković on Mount Athos¹²⁴, Basarab IV had joined the Ottoman campaign in Transylvania (October 1479) ¹²⁵. The attack had ended in Christian triumph at Câmpul Pânii¹²⁶, which led to the official acknowledgment of John Corvinus' existence by Matthias, with the at best reluctant consent¹²⁷ of still childless Beatrice¹²⁸. The alleged “posthumous father” of Neagoe Basarab¹²⁹, deemed ‘the Marcus Aurelius of the Romanian Middle Ages’¹³⁰, *Tepeluş* had been *Tepes*’s “associate” during the latter’s last rule¹³¹ and even his “superior”, according to the information that reached Venice after Vlad’s death¹³².

In naturally exaggerated manner¹³³, Beatrice announced the victory of 1480 to her relatives in Modena (she had not done the same after Câmpul Pânii) ¹³⁴. For her, *la Gran Valacchia*¹³⁵ was a part of Transylvania¹³⁶, which bordered the (Lower) Danube¹³⁷. Deprived of their fortresses, the

(*Cronicile* 1958, 32), and the contempt voiced by Beatrice in her cited letters support both variants. At the same time however, that contempt also renders substance to the classic translation: *Tepeluş* ~ ‘Little Impaller’.

¹²³ SIMON 2004.

¹²⁴ See also PĂUN 2016, 152 (nota 82). After Basarab’s death, Vlad IV married his widow, Mary, and took Basarab’s place as Mara Branković’s heir. Possibly the special – Serbian – connection was owed to Mary. At any rate, she was prestigious enough to be held, after her capture, by Stephen Báthory, voivode of Transylvania, as his own daughter.

¹²⁵ POPA 2010.

¹²⁶ DRĂGAN 2007.

¹²⁷ Beatrice’s father, Ferdinand himself, was the bastard son of Alphonse V (NUCIFORO 2019). Her attitude towards John, especially after, by 1483, it was evident that she could not give birth to children, is thus even more interesting.

¹²⁸ POP, SIMON 2010.

¹²⁹ PLEŞIA 1969, 53.

¹³⁰ The original words read *acest Marc Aureliu al Țării Românești* (i.e. Wallachia) and were written by B.P. Hașdeu in the late 1800s. The words came to real proeminence – in Draculian style almost – after 1970 (e.g. ZAMFIRESCU 1973).

¹³¹ Yet, Stephen, alike Matthias, or Matthias, like Stephen, went to great lengths to emphasize that Vlad’s restoration was solely his accomplishment. Then both Matthias and Stephen “allowed” Vlad to perish (SIMON 2019a).

¹³² [...] *Per altre mie del 27 del passato [January 27, 1477] a Vostra Illustrissima Signoria [Bona of Savoy] furono avisata, como per la via de Albania se haveva nova, che'l Turco [Mehmed II] haveva expugnato uno bastione, il quale el Re de Ungaria [Matia Corvin] 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'expugnazione del dicto bastione li Turchi sono etiam corsi nella Valachia Maggiore, et di novo le hanno riacquistata tutta et hanno tagliato ad pezzi Dracula [Vlad III], capitaneo del dicto Re, con circa quattro mille persone, et similiter hanno morto Bozarab [IV], Signore della dicta Valachia, la quale novella e riputata qua molto sinistra et pernitosia 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 [...] (MDE, II, no. 234, pp. 339-340). The report sent from Venice, on February 1, 1477, by the experienced Milanese diplomat, Leonardo Botta, was – certainly – mistaken in one respect. Only Vlad III had died. Basarab IV had survived.*

¹³³ MDE, II, nos. 288-289, pp. 436-438 (July 9, 1480). Also in *Acta*, I, no. 32, pp. 34-35. For the original, see below.

¹³⁴ POP, SIMON 2021a; SIMON 2021c.

¹³⁵ In March 1476, for Gabriele Rangoni, bishop of Eger and former bishop of Transylvania, too, ‘Grand Wallachia’/ *Vlachia Maior*/ *Gran Valacchia* did not cover the entire territory of Wallachia “proper” (for details: SIMON 2018).

¹³⁶ Beatrice did not even recall the voivode of Transylvania, Stephen Báthory, who played a significant role in the battles of 1479-1480 (HORVÁTH, NEUMANN 2012, 52-55). The queen only mentioned Stephen III of Moldavia.

¹³⁷ E.g. [...] *Liquali [the captains of Matthias], circa la festa deloCorpo de Christo, intrarono in le dicte parte/ de Transilvania, per nome chiamata la Gran Valacchia [...] Ancora haveno/assediate doe forteze, lequalesono al incontro de Nicopolim, dal altra parte de/*

Valacchihad completely surrendered to the *Ongari*¹³⁸, possibly even stating (still according to Queen Beatrice) [...] ‘that they now longer wanted to be Wallachians, but Hungarians’[...]¹³⁹.

If we follow Beatrice’s lead, the *forteze*¹⁴⁰, were the pillars of Basarab IV’s power¹⁴¹, and of Wallachian identity¹⁴². Even if we factor-in the queen’s magnifications and interests¹⁴³, Wallachia in the 1470s-1480s was by no means reputed for her fortresses¹⁴⁴. The main *forteze* connected to the *Gran Valacchia* had long been lost: Severin to the Hungarian realm and Giurgiu to the Porte¹⁴⁵.

Churches, Fortresses and an Empire

The association in mid-1480¹⁴⁶ between fortresses and Basarab IV *Tepeluş*’s Wallachia (though he was her last ruler to coin ducats)¹⁴⁷, may seem as unnatural as that between Vlad III *Tepes* († 1476/1477) and the Church/ Churches¹⁴⁸. Still, we recall, half of Vlad’s preserved “domestic

Transilvania, accosto lo Damnubio [...] (Archivio di Stato di Modena, Modena, Archivio Segreto Estense, Cancellaria, Carteggi con principi esteri, Ungheria, busta 1623, 1477-1624, nn).

¹³⁸ [...] *Expugnaro etiam tucte forteze de quelle provincie et e parso ad tucti/ construerene dele altre et fare nove monitione, dicendo non volere essere piu de Valacchi,/ma de Hungari. Et con fede et gran cautela, li haveno promixo essere fideli de Hungari,/ per modo che maypiu ce sera periculo, chequelle parte se habianoda revoltare, maxime/ per le bone provisione ce sono state facteet continuamente se faranno [...].*

¹³⁹ No doubt would have arisen had the usual *di* been used instead of *de* in [...] *dicendo non volere essere piu de Valacchi,/ma de Hungari [...]* (see POP, SIMON 2021a).

¹⁴⁰ Not necessarily (of course) made out of stone, but out of wood and earth (palankas/ mottes). E.g. the forts erected by Matthias after the Serbian and Bosnian campaign led by Vlad III and Vuk Branković in early 1476 (FINE 1995).

¹⁴¹ We redraw attention to the already mentioned case of Michael Marullus Tarchaniota. If he place his “Eastern” service in chronological context (McGANN 2013, 230 (note 114), the year 1477 results and Basarab IV, (re)enthroned by Stephen III – as his vassal (as *prefect* according to Jan Dlugosz) – in November 1477, emerges as another potential cruel master of unfortunate Marullus. Due to the Bessi in Marullus’ verses and because of Callimachus’ *Besserabi*, we therefore quote the original lines in view of future researches: [...] *si procul a patria Scythico deprensus in orbe,/ heu facinus, Bessi iusa superba fero/ imperiumque ferox patior dominumque potenter,/ nec nisi libertas nomen inane mea est,/ utilius fuerat duro servire tyranno/ cumque mea patria cuncta dolenda pati [...]* (HASKELL 1998, 115)

¹⁴² Additionally, in the summer of 1480, there were “old” and “new” *forteze*. We recall the ambiguous words of Beatrice: [...] *et e parso ad tucti construerene delealtreet fare nove monitione [...]*. Had the new fortifications been built by Matthias’ or by Basarab’s subjects? Or by both?

¹⁴³ She viewed Transylvania, to which the *Gran Valacchia* belonged all the way to the Danube, as a separate entity from Hungary (proper). The Wallachians swore perpetual allegiance to the Hungarians, still according to the queen. Her words may be viewed as her own “attempted centralization” that she communicated to her sister, Eleanor, and to her brother-in-law, Ercole d’Este. Under the circumstances, Beatrice’s actual target could have been only John Corvinus, “invented” not only duke of Liptov, but also count of Hunedoara on October, 21, 1479 (POP, SIMON 2010, 573-574).

¹⁴⁴ CANTACUZINO 2001.

¹⁴⁵ See MOISESCU 1987 (based on the situation in the days of Mircea I, Vlad III’s grandfather). The monasteries were listed among the fortresses. The abovementioned case of Govora, burnt to the ground in 1459, justifies the inclusion.

¹⁴⁶ We emphasize that Beatrice’s letters were sent between the Ottoman attacks on Rhodes and on paternal Otranto.

¹⁴⁷ ILIESCU 1975; ILIESCU 1980. We recall that the so-called Wallachian “crusading ducats”/ “ducats of crusade” were attributed either to Vlad III or to his predecessor Wladislaw II.

¹⁴⁸ For less simplistic views, see REZACHEVICI, 2010, 115-128; NEACŞA 2014, 100-111; ANDREESCU 2017, 189-196.

charters” were pious deeds¹⁴⁹. Additionally, one of the main charges against him, from Orthodox – Russian – perspective (1480s-1490s)¹⁵⁰/ one of the “mitigating circumstances” granted from Catholic – German – point of view (likewise in the 1480s-1490s)¹⁵¹ was Dracula’s conversion, that is: Vlad III had/ would have had renounced the Greek rite and embraced the Latin rite¹⁵².

Albeit that – as in the case of military figures¹⁵³, “overstatements” were defining for those days¹⁵⁴, the case of the fortresses of Wallachia as fundament of her power must be reviewed¹⁵⁵. Queen Beatrice of Aragon’s words directly concerned Basarab IV Țepeluș. Yet they raise two simple questions about the times of Țepeluș’s predecessor: the late Vlad III Țepes, the “ktetor” of Poenari in the early modern chronicles of Wallachia (1600-1700s)¹⁵⁶: (1) on what was Vlad’s – medieval – power based on? (2) On what was the – medieval – image of his power founded on?

Only by answering them, we will be able to truly understand, without replacing one delirium with another (without “inverted commas”)¹⁵⁷, why, for Marino Sanudo *il Giovane* (in 1502), *Dracula* had defeated Sultan Bayezid II in 1486¹⁵⁸, and – more importantly – what was the real message that Callimachus – had – wanted to convey in Rome in 1490¹⁵⁹. A first response may be sketched, at least in relation to the latter issue, if not in respect to both matters¹⁶⁰. This attempt relies on the previously avoided¹⁶¹ contextualization of Callimachus’ Draculian passages. More importantly however, this answer is based on the “Callimachus papers”¹⁶², preserved precisely in Zagreb, in the heart of young John Corvinus’ power after his royal Hungarian failure of 1490¹⁶³. When

¹⁴⁹ DRH, B, I, nos. 114-121, pp. 197-207.

¹⁵⁰ Cronicile 1958, 212. The epilogue of the 1490 copy of Russian story on Vlad (first recorded in 1486) read: [...] And he [Dracula] married, he took a princely wife [original: vojvodskujuzhenu], and after that he lived a short while and was murdered by Stephen of Wallachia (NANDRIŞ 1966, 386). According to the known version of the story, Vlad fell fighting his own (Cronicile 1958, 214). The discrepancy between versions calls for a review of the extant sources

¹⁵¹ E.g. CAZACU 2017, Appendix, *Die Geschichte Dracole Waide* (1488 and 1499), 364-369, at 369.

¹⁵² Such a conversion seems however highly unlikely because of the policies of both Matthias and Pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484) during whose pontificate Vlad was “liberated” (for the post-Florentine unionist context, see also HALECKI 1958, 101-105). Yet, given the Wallachian “pairing” from 1476, Țepes-Țepeluș, we cannot rule out the possibility that Matthias had forced Vlad to change rites (i.e. fully convert), when he had deemed Vlad “a lost – Wallachian – case”.

¹⁵³ GHEORGHE 2017.

¹⁵⁴ See for instance the case of Stephen III in POP 2019-2020.

¹⁵⁵ Hence, the selection of maps in the appendix. Due to the manifold uncertainties, the maps cover a large time span.

¹⁵⁶ It is however possible that at least the “tower” of the fortress was built under Mircea I (CONSTANTINESCU 1981, 54).

¹⁵⁷ DOGARU 1993. The “oeuvre” was rendered possible by the hesitations of Romanian historiography and less by its exaggerations (chiefly in the 1980s).

¹⁵⁸ Sanudo, IV, cols. 324-327. The list of Christian-Ottoman confrontations, compiled during the Venetian-Ottoman war of 1499-1503, featured the following entry: 1486. *Exercito di Bayseto in Valachia, roto da Uracula Wayvoda*.

¹⁵⁹ For instance: CALLIMACHUS 1964, 70-73, 80; NOWAKOWSKA 2007, 31, 45

¹⁶⁰ In 1502, Radu IV *the Great*, Stephen’s Wallachian rival, had become increasingly important for Venice, chiefly as a negotiator with the Porte. Stephen’s victory of Vaslui was not even included on Sanudo’s “list” (SIMON 2013).

¹⁶¹ With the exception of Professor PAPACOSTEA (1975a, 16; 1975b, 424), who mentioned the crusader congress of 1490.

¹⁶² GARBACIK 1966; PAPACOSTEA 1970, 535 (note 1), 538 (note 1).

¹⁶³ ŠIŠIĆ 1937; NEUMANN 2014.

attempting to win Stephen III's favour, after Matthias' death, during the congress of Rome, Callimachus listed his message to the Moldavian under *Woyewode Moldavie alias Besserabie*¹⁶⁴.

The “Moldavian Heir”

Stephen III of Moldavia was the only living political actor in the gallery of “frontier warriors” evoked by the emissary of the Polish king (Skanderbeg, Vlad and Matthias, whose father had caused Wladislaw I/ III Jagiello’s death at Varna¹⁶⁵, had passed away). According to the said chronicles of Wallachia, Stephen had ruled over Wallachia for 16/ 17 years (i.e. from the combats of 1473/1474 to Matthias’ death in 1490)¹⁶⁶. Callimachus attempted to lure Stephen back to the Jagiellonian camp¹⁶⁷. The voivode had to support Jan Albert as Matthias’ successor¹⁶⁸. Stephen declined¹⁶⁹. He had sworn to support John Corvinus and Maximilian of Habsburg as “co-kings” of Hungary¹⁷⁰. Callimachus consequently recommended the dethronement of Stephen and his replacement (as monarch)¹⁷¹ with Sigismund, the youngest – secular – son of King Casimir IV¹⁷².

In mid-1490, Stephen III¹⁷³, who, in 1462, had “backstabbed” Vlad III during the Ottoman campaign in Wallachia¹⁷⁴, was apparently the – final – cible of the words spoken by Callimachus in front of Innocent VIII¹⁷⁵. In 1489, the pope had freed the voivode of Moldavia from the oath of fealty Stephen had sworn to the king of Poland in 1485¹⁷⁶. Immediately, after presenting Vlad, the Italian envoy of Krakow, who targeted the living through the dead (speaking well even of Matthias)¹⁷⁷, depicted Stephen as the ‘ally and friend’ of Bayezid II¹⁷⁸, who had been the ally and

¹⁶⁴ Arhiv Hrvatske Akademije Znanosti Umjetnosti, Zagreb, Cod. IV.c.6, f. 17^r.

¹⁶⁵ Both Jan Dlugosz (in particular) and Callimachus blamed John Hunyadi for the death of the young king of Poland and Hungary (see also JEFFERSON 2012, 8-9, 370).

¹⁶⁶ Iстория 1960, 5; POP, SIMON 2018, 21 (note 36).

¹⁶⁷ The personal contacts between Stephen and Callimachus (PAPACOSTEA 1970, 538, note 1) may have also led to ‘direct conversations’ (in the words of Professor Papacostea).

¹⁶⁸ SIMON 2006-2007.

¹⁶⁹ GARBACIK 1966, nos. 5-7, pp. 13-16.

¹⁷⁰ For the data available prior to 2000: MINEA 1929-1931; SIMIONESCU 1975; SIMIONESCU 1980; CĂZAN 2004, 62-65.

¹⁷¹ WAPOWSKI 1874, 19-20; PAPACOSTEA 1970, 540 (note 2); An eloquent proof for Stephen’s “rank” is his Venetian designation as *re* (king), since autumn 1492 the latest (POP, SIMON 2020b, Appendix, no. 2, p. 83). Callimachus – then – attempted to secure a “position” for Sigismund in the service of the Serenissima (Della SANTA 1913).

¹⁷² Frederick was already archbishop of Krakow (NOWAKOWSKA 2007).

¹⁷³ PAPACOSTEA 1970, 530-533.

¹⁷⁴ CRISTEA 2011, 101-102.

¹⁷⁵ Later events further support this idea (e.g. POP, SIMON 2008, Appendix; PILAT, CRISTEA 2017, 253-254; HOLLECKER 2018, 200-201; HOLLECKER 2019, 143-144; PILAT 2020, 40-41; POP, SIMON 2021b).

¹⁷⁶ Codex, I, no. 265, p. 293.

¹⁷⁷ For this reason, Callimachus listed Skanderbeg together with Vlad. For this reason, at the end, he pleaded for the cardinal hat of Frederick Jagiello. Only the Jagiellonians could lead the crusade (see also WEINTRAUB 1979-1980, 925).

¹⁷⁸ CALLIMACHUS 1964, 50; PAPACOSTEA 1975A, 16; PAPACOSTEA 1975B, 425. Like in Matthias’ case, Callimachus however did not fail to mention Stephen’s merits. Because Stephen was presented as the vasall of Casimir IV, who in his turn had concluded an armistice with Bayezid II in spring 1489 (KOŁODZIEJCZYK 2000, Appendix, no. 2, p. 200), “due to” the policy of

friend of the late Matthias¹⁷⁹. Stephen had risen, and continued to rise, where Matthias and Vlad had once stood: in *Valachia*, in *Dacia*¹⁸⁰. ‘The cause [matter] of the Wallachian < is > frail’ were words sent – with visible satisfaction and since before the death of Matthias¹⁸¹ – by Callimachus to his friend Zoe (Sofia) Palaeologus of Moscow, Stephen’s mortal enemy (March 1490)¹⁸².

By twice recalling and styling Vlad III of Wallachia in the fashion of the ancient Roman emperors¹⁸³, Filippo Buonaccorsi Callimachus delegitimized Stephen III of Moldavia¹⁸⁴ and annulled the deceased Matthias Corvinus¹⁸⁵ among the Wallachians, in old and new *Dacia*, whose Roman origins the Italian humanist had constantly endorsed¹⁸⁶. Did Callimachus have any grounds to do any of these¹⁸⁷? The most thorough response must come from archaeology, from the researches on the churches and on the fortress of Wallachia after the fall of Byzantium¹⁸⁸.

Matthias who had left the Jagiellonian monarch no other choice than an agreement with the sultan), Callimachus had a multitude of apparently conflicting elements that he could command to his advantage.

¹⁷⁹ For instance: KALOUS 2021, no. 32, 132; no. 40, 227; no. 46, 257.

¹⁸⁰ POP, SIMON 2020b.

¹⁸¹ The original text read: [...] *La cosa del Valacho debile* [...] (GARBACIK 1966, no. 4, p. 11).

¹⁸² See also HARRIS 1995, 544–546; REZACHEVICI 2004, 63–65.

¹⁸³ The messianic nature of the title associated by Callimachus with Vlad (*imperator et dux*) and the original meaning of the word *gens* (employed by the humanist politician) for the “kindred of the Wallachians”, sketch the image of a “new Moses” destined to lead his tribe through the desert. It is a matter certainly worth a closer analysis.

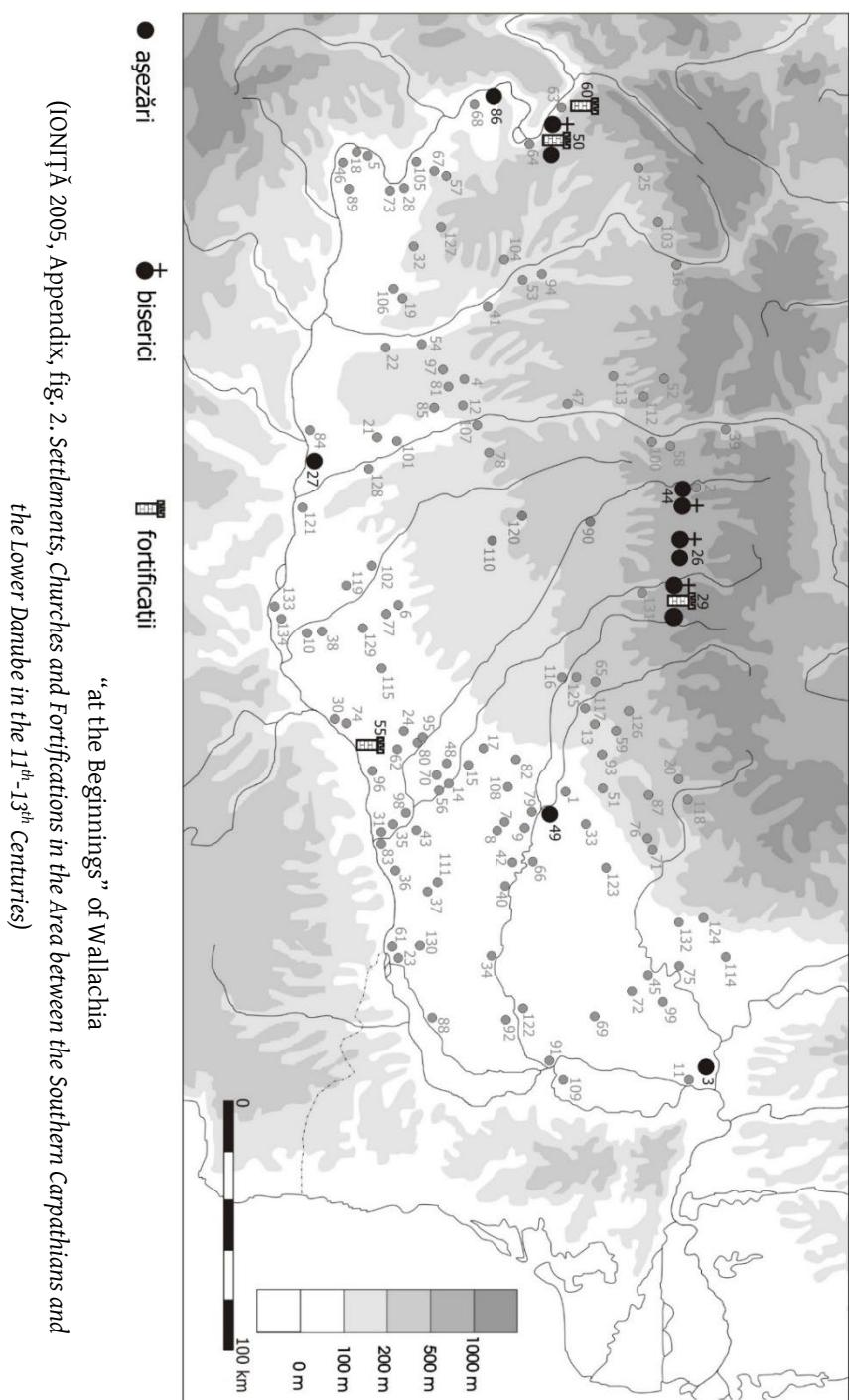
¹⁸⁴ It was perhaps because of this reason as well that Polish historiography attempted to deny the authenticity of Callimachus’ *Consilia* for Jan Albert or at least the authenticity of his advice regarding Stephen (SEGEL 1989, 67–68).

¹⁸⁵ Matthias did not even matter, in relation to Vlad, as well as in relation to the Jagiellonians, “the chosen ones” (CALLIMACHUS 1964, 68).

¹⁸⁶ ARMBRUSTER 1993, 72–74. Unlike Dlugosz however, Callimachus contested the Roman origins of the Lithuanians (Callimachus 1962, 26–28, on the Roman Wallachians, 38–41, on the – contested – Roman Lithuanians).

¹⁸⁷This is most likely the question Professor Papacostea avoided to answer, in the 1970s as well as later.

¹⁸⁸ For the current situation, see for instance BĂTRÂNĂ 1974.



Imperator et dux: On the Churches and the Fortresses of Dracula

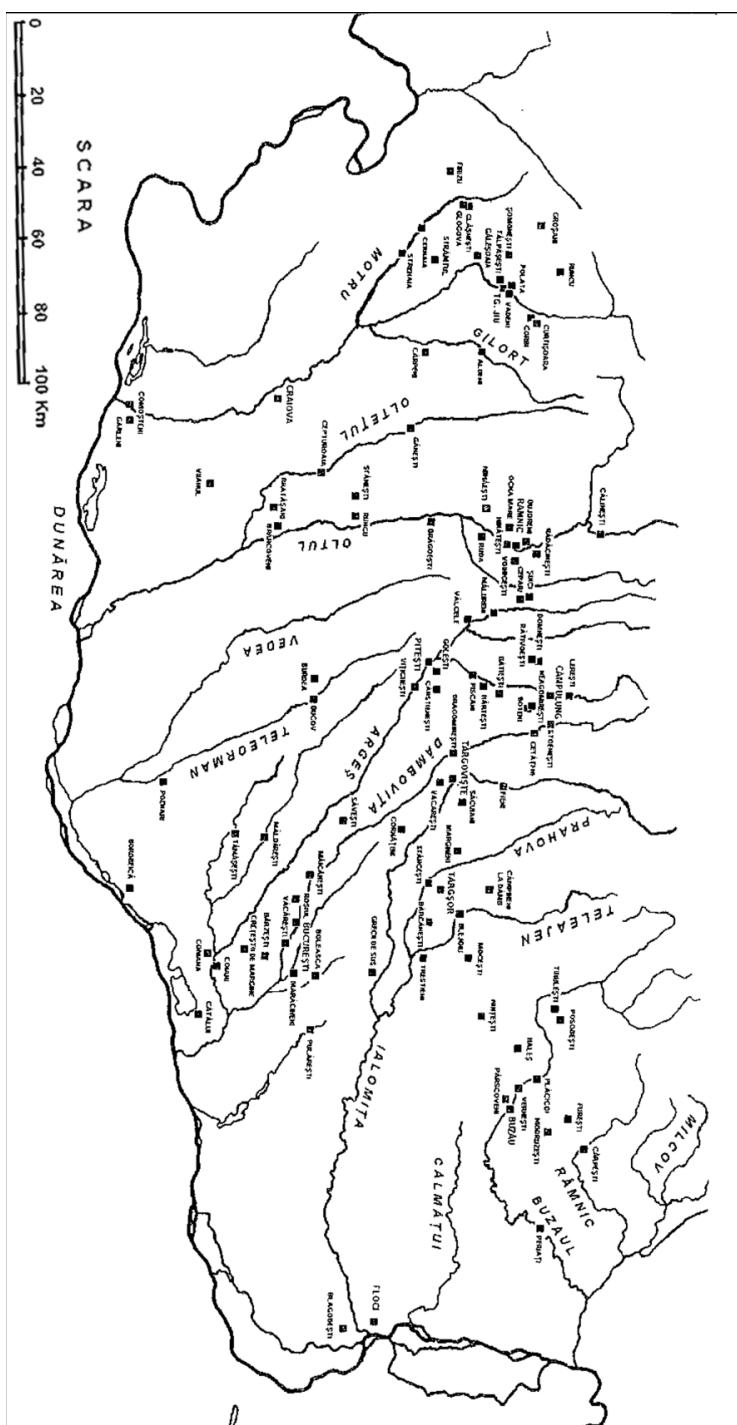
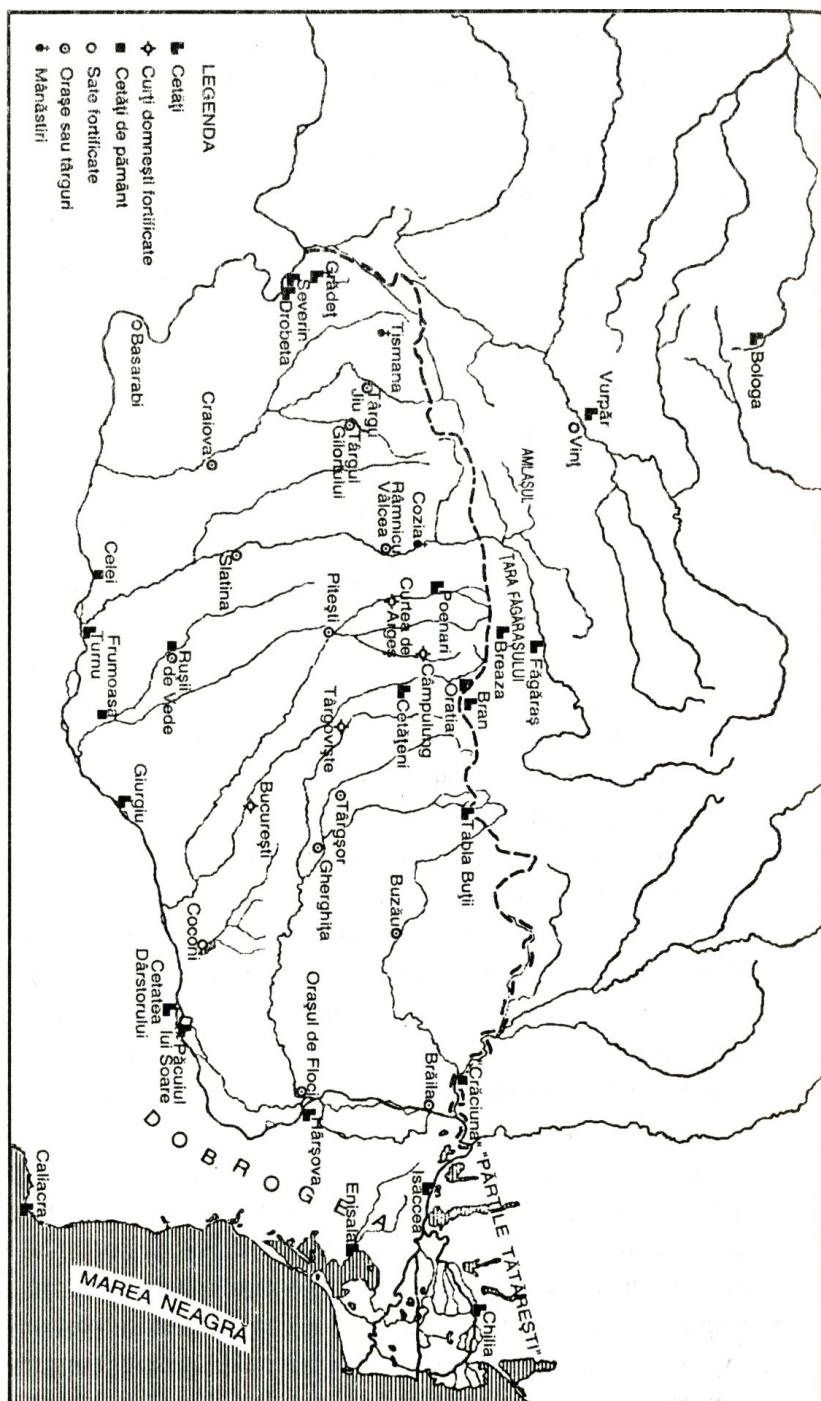


Fig. 2. Boyar Residences in Late Medieval Wallachia
(APETREI 2009, Appendix fig. 1).



(CANTACUZINO 2001, 11, fig 1).

References

- Acta, I. *Acta et epistolae relationum Transylvaniae Hungariaeque cum Moldavie et Valachia*, ed. Endre Veress, I. 1468-1540. Budapest, 1914.
- ALIGHIERI, P. 1845. *SuperDantis ipsius genitoris Comoediam Commentarium*, ed. V. Nannucci. Florence.
- ANDREESCU, Șt. 1977. L'action de Vlad Țepeș dans le sud-est de l'Europe en 1476. *Revue DES ÉTUDES SUD-EST EUROPEENNES*, 15, (2), 259-272.
- ANDREESCU, Șt. 2017. Vlad the Impaler and the Bible. In Th. M. Bonn, R. Einax, St. Rohdewald (eds.), *Vlad der Pfähler-Dracula: Tyrann oder Volkstribun*. 189-196, Wiesbaden.
- ANNAS, G. 2017. Vlad III. Țepeș im Spiegel humanistischer Geschichtsschreibung: Antonio Bonfini, Filippo Buonaccorsi, Jan Długosz. In Th. M. Bonn, R. Einax, St. Rohdewald (eds.), *Vlad der Pfähler-Dracula: Tyrann oder Volkstribun*. 71-97, Wiesbaden.
- APETREI, C.N. 2009. *Reședințe boierești din Țara Românească și Moldova în secolele XIV-XVI*. Brăila.
- ARMBRUSTER, A. 1993. *Romanitatea românilor: istoria unei idei*. Bucharest.
- D'ASCIA, L. 2003. *Il corano e la tiara. L'epistola a Maometto II di Enea Silvio Piccolomini*. Bologna.
- BABINGER, F. 1949. La date de la prise de Trébizonde par les Turcs (1461). *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 7, 205-207.
- BACZKOWSKI, K. 1994. Callimachus e le ambascerie veneziane in Polonia negli anni'70 del XV secolo. In Quirini-Popławska D (ed.), *Viaggio in Italia e viaggio in Polonia*. 42-52, Krakow.
- BÁRÁNY, A. 2012. Matthias Corvinus and Charles the Bold. *Chronica*, 12, 69-88.
- BĂTRÂNA, L. and A. 1974. Evoluția ansamblului fostei mănăstiri Comana în lumina cercetărilor arheologice. *Revista Muzeelor*, 43 (1), 7-20.
- von BERZEVICZY, A. 1908. *Beatrix királyné (1457-1508)*. Budapest.
- BIANU, I. 1883. Ștefan cel Mare. Cateva documente din arhivul de stat de la Milano. *Columna lui Traian*, 4 (1-2), 30-47.
- BODOGAE, T. 1941. *Ajutoare românești la mănăstirile din Sfântul Munte Athos*. Sibiu.
- BOGDAN, I. 1896. *Vlad Țepeș și narațiunile germane și rusești asupra lui: Studiu critic, cu cinci portrete*. București.

- BOJOVIC, B.I., NASTUREL, P.Ş. 2003. Les fondations dynastiques du Mont-Athos: des dynasties serbes et de la sultane Mara aux princes roumains. *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, 41 (1-4), 149-176.
- CACCAMO, D. 1972. Filippo Bunoaccorsi (Callimachus Experiens). *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 15, *sub voce*.
- CALLIMACHUS, Ph. 1962. *Vita et mores Sbignei cardinalis*, ediție I. Lichonska, Warsaw.
- CALLIMACHUS, Ph. 1964. *Ad Innocentium VIII de bello Turcis inferendo oratio*, eds. I. Lichońska, T. Kowalewski. Warsaw.
- CANTACUZINO, Gh. I. 2001. *Cetăți medievale din Țara Românească în secolele XIII-XVI*. Bucharest.
- CAZACU, M. 2017. *Dracula*. Boston-Leiden.
- CĂZAN, I. 2004. *Dușmani de temut, aliați de nadejde. Țările Române în epoca lui Ștefan cel Mare în contextul politică central-europene*. Bucharest.
- CD, I-1 and I-2.Th. M. BOHN, A. GHEORGHE, Ch. PAULUS, A. WEBER (eds.), *Corpus Draculianum: documentele și cronicile relative la viața și domnia voievodului Vlad Țepeș (1437-1650)*, I. Scrisori și documente de cancelarie, A. GHEORGHE, A. WEBER, AL. ȘT. ANCA, G. LAZĂR, J. FUCHSBAUER (eds.), 1. *Cancelarii valahe*; A. WEBER, A. GHEORGHE, ȘT. MARINCA, AL. ȘT. ANCA (eds.), 2. *Cancelarii externe*. Bucharest - Brăila, 2019-2020.
- CHIHAIA, P. 1993. Vlad Dracul voievod al Țării Românești și cavaler al Ordinului Dragonului. In Id., *Tradiții răsăritene și influențe occidentale în Țara Românească*. 63-101, Bucharest.
- CIOCILTAN, V. 2004. Înțelesul politic al minunii Sfântului Nicodim de la Tismana. *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, 22, 153-168.
- ÎMPEANU, L. 2019. *Ex bono tirone miles fortissimus, ex milite imperator optimus emersit*. Reflections on the Beginnings of John Hunyadi's Career. In Z. Jusztin (ed.), *Politics and Society in Central and South-Eastern Europe (13th-16th Centuries)*. 175-204, Cluj-Napoca.
- Codex,I.Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti, I. 1384-1492, Anatol Lewicki (ed.), Krakow, 1876.
- de COMMYNES, Ph. 1924-1925. *Mémoires*, J. Calmette(ed.), I-III. Paris.
- CONSTANTINESCU N. 1981. *Mircea cel Bătrân*. Bucharest.
- CRETEANU, R. 1976. Personalitatea cuviosului Nicodim de la Tismana după documentele vremii. *Mitropolia Olteniei*, 28 (11-12), 932-945.

- CRISTEA, O. 2011. *L'amie l'ami et ennemi de l'ennemi: la collaboration militaire moldo-ottomane pendant le règne d'Etienne le Grand.* *Medieval and Early Modern Studies for Central and Eastern Europe*, 3, 87-103.
- CRISTEA, O., PIENARU, N. 2012. Țara Românească și bătălia de la Bașkent. *Analele Putnei*, 8 (1), 17-36.
- Cronicile 1958. *Cronicile slavo-române publicate de Ioan Bogdan*, P.P. Panaiteescu (ed.)Bucharest.
- DĄBROWSKA, M. 2017.Uzun Hassan's Project of Alliance with the Polish King. In Eadem, *Hidden Secrets: Late Byzantium in the Western and Polish Context*. 211-232.
- DAVIS, Ch. T. 2000. Dante's Vision of History. *Dante Studies*, 118, 243-259.
- DP. [Şt.S. Gorovei, M.-M. Székely (eds.),]De potestate. *Semne și expresii ale puterii în Evul Mediu românesc*. Iași, 2007.
- DOGARU, M. 1993. *Dracula, împăratul Răsăritului. Gândirea politică și practica militară în epoca lui Vlad Tepeș: tradiție și originalitate*. Bucharest.
- DRAGAN, I. 2007. Câmpul Pâinii (1479): o luptă de români contra românilor. In N. Edroiu, S. Andea, Ş. Turcuş (ed.), *Națiune și europenitate: Studii Istorice. In Honorem Magistri Camilli Mureșanu*. 76-82, Bucharest.
- DRH. *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, B. Țara Românească, P.P. Panaiteescu, D. Mioc (eds.), I. 1247-1500. Bucharest, 1966; D. Relațiile între Țările Române, Șt. Pascu, C. Cihodaru, K.G. Gündisch, D. Mioc, V. Pervain (eds.), I. 1222-1456. Bucharest, 1977.
- DÜCKER, J. 2011. Konstruktion einer ruhmreichen Vergangenheit: die Abstammung des ungarischen Königs Matthias Corvinus. In M. Borgolte, J. Dücker, M. Müllerburg, B. Schneidmüller (eds.), *Integration und Desintegration der Kulturen im europäischen Mittelalter*. 137-151, Berlin.
- ENGEL, P. 1994. János Hunyadi and the Peace of Szeged (1444).*Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 47 (2), 241-257.
- ENGEL, P. 2001. *The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526*. London.
- FEDELES, T. 2010. "Drakwlyahza," In T. Almási, É. Révész, Gy. Szabados (eds.), Fons, skepsis, lex. *Ünnepi tanulmányok a 70 esztendős Makk Ferenc tiszteletére*. 107-114, Szeged.
- FINE, J.V.A. 1995. 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 T.S. Miller, J. Nesbitt (eds.), *Peace and War in Byzantium. Essays in Honor of George T. Dennis, SJ*. 181-196, Washington.

- GARBACIK, J. 1966. *Materiały do dziejów dyplomacji polskiej z lat 1486-1516 (Kodeks zagrzebski)*. Wrocław-Warsaw-Krakow.
- GHEORGHE, A. 2017. Understanding the Ottoman Campaign in Wallachia in the Summer of 1462: Numbers, Limits, Manoeuvres and Meanings. In Th. M. Bonn, R. Einax, St. Rohdewald (eds.), *Vlad der Pfähler-Dracula: Tyrann oder Volkstribun 159-188*, Wiesbaden.
- GIURESCU, C.C., O biserică a lui Vlad Țepeș la Târgșor. *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice*, 17, 74-75.
- GRABMAYER, J. 2003. Das Opfer war der Täter: Das Attentat von Belgrad – über Sterben und Tod Ulrichs II. von Cilli. *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichte*, 111 (3-4), 286-316.
- GRECU, V. 1966. BOEBOΔOΣlawischen Ursprungs oder Homoionymie. In P. Wirth (ed.), *POLYCHRONION. Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag*. 207-210, Heidelberg.
- GÜNDISCH, G. 1969. Vlad Țepeș und die sächsischen Selbstverwaltungsgebiete Siebenbürgens. *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 8 (6), 981-992.
- HALECKI, O. 1958. *From Florence to Brest (1439-1596)*. Rome.
- HALLER, B. 1973. Kaiser Friedrich III. und die Stephanskrone. *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, 26, 94-147.
- HARRIS, J. 1995. A worthless prince? Andreas Palaeologus in Rome, 1465-1502. *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 61 (2): 537-554.
- HASAN, M.-F. 2019. Încă ceva despre Mircea cel Bătrân, înrudirile și rubedenile sale. Completări genealogice și familiale. *Revista Bistriței*, 33, 16-60.
- HASKELL, Y. 1998. The *Tristia* of a Greek Refugee: Michael Marullus and the Politics of Latin Subjectivity after the Fall of Constantinople (1453). *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, 44, 110-136.
- HOLLEGGER, M. 2018. *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 J. Helmrath, U. Kocher, A. Sieber (eds.), *Maximilians Welt. Kaiser Maximilian I. im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innovation und Tradition*. 191-208, Göttingen.
- HOLLEGGER, M. 2019. Im Osten nichts Neues? Kernräume der Politik Maximilians I.. In B. Dybaś, I. Tringli (eds.), *Das Wiener Fürstentreffen von 1515. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Habsburgisch-Jagiel-lonischen Doppelvermählung*. 125-148, Budapest.

- HORVÁTH, R. 2011. *Itineraria regis Matthiae Corvini et reginae Beatricis de Aragonia (1458-1476-1490)*. Budapest.
- HORVÁTH, R., NEUMANN, T. 2012. *Ecsedi Bátori István. Egy katonabáró életpályája (1458-1493)*. Budapest.
- ILIESCU, O. 1975. Ducații Țării Românești cu numele lui Basarab voievod. *Studiile Cercetări de Numismatică*, 6, 139-152.
- ILIESCU, O. 1980. Ducatul de argint emis de Basarab al II-lea. *Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică*, 7, 109-116.
- ILIESCU, O. 1994. Evoluția valorii bunurilor funciare în Țările Române. *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, 12, 121-150.
- IONITA, A. 1998. Observații asupra sarcofagului lui Mircea cel Bătrân. *Arheologia Medievală*, 2, 125-128.
- IONITA, A. 2005. *Spațiul dintre Carpații Meridionali și Dunărea Inferioară în secolele XI-XIII*. Bucharest.
- IONITA, A., KELEMEN, S., SIMON, AL. 2017. *AL WA: prințul negru al Vlahiei și vremurile sale*. Cluj-Napoca.
- IORGA, N. 1916. *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV^e siècle*, V. 1476-1500. Bucharest.
- Istoria 1960. *Istoria Țării Românești. 1290-1690*, C. Greceanu, D. Simionescu(eds.), Bucharest.
- de KHITROWO, B. [Sofia Petrovna Khitrovo] 1889. *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, Geneva.
- JEFFERSON, J. 2012. *The Holy War of King Wladislas and Sultan Murad: The Ottoman-Christian Conflict from 1438-1444*. Leiden-Boston.
- KALOUS, A. 2021. *The Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli at the Court of the King of Hungary (1488-1490)*. Budapest – Rome.
- KIDWELL, C. 1989, *Marullus: Soldier Poet of the Renaissance*, London.
- KOŁODZIEJCZYK, D. 2000. *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th-18th Century)*. Boston-Leiden.
- KUBINYI, A. 2008. *Matthias Rex*. Budapest.
- LOWRY, H.W. 1981. A Note on the Population and Status of the Athonite Monasteries under Ottoman Rule (ca. 1520). *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 73, 115-135.

- LŐVEI, P. 2006. Hoforden im Mittelalter, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Drachenordens. In I. Takács (ed.), *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387-1437*. 235-263, Mainz.
- LUNGU, R. À propos de la campagne antiottomane de Vlad l' Empaleur au sud du Danube (Hiver 1461-1462). *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 22 (2), 147-158.
- LUPESCU, R. 2008. Matthias Hunyadi: from the Family Origins to the Threshold of Power. In P. Farbaky, E. Spekner, K. Szende, A. Végh (eds.), *Matthias Corvinus, the King: Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court 1458-1490*. 35-49, Budapest.
- MANEA-GRGIN, C. 2017. Two Ill-Fated Rulers on the Christian-Ottoman Borderline: Wallachian Prince Vlad III *TepeşDracula* and Bosnian King Stephen Tomašević. In Th. M. Bonn, R. Einax, St. Rohdewald (eds.), *Vlad der Pfähler-Dracula: Tyrann oder Volkstribun*. 49-68, Wiesbaden.
- MCGANN, M.J. 2013. An Exile's Hopes: The Search for a Liberator in Michael Marullus. *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*. 37 (2), 226-244.
- MDE. II and IV. I. Nagy, A. Nyáry, *Magyar diplomacziai emlékek. Mátyás király korából 1458-1490*, II. [1466-1480], IV. [1489-1490; 1458-1490] Bucharest, 1876, 1878.
- MIGLIO, M. 2011. *Homo totus simplex*: Mitografie di un personaggio. In A. Modigliani, P. Osmond, M. Pade, J. Ramminger (eds.), *Pomponio Leto tra identità locale e cultura internazionale*. 1-15, Rome.
- MINEA, I. 1928. Vlad Dracul și vremea sa. *Cercetări Istorice*, 4 (1), 65-276.
- MINEA, I. 1929-1931. Ştefan cel Mare și împăratul Maximilian I. *Cercetări Istorice*. 5-7, 354-355.
- MOISESCU, C. 1987. Arhitectura epocii lui Mircea cel Mare. In Ion Pătroiu (ed.), *Marele Mircea voievod*. 469-505, Bucharest.
- MORIZOT, P. 1989. Pour une nouvelle lecture de l'*elogium* de Masties. *Antiquités Africaines*, 25, 263-284.
- NAGY, I. 1853. Corvin János velenczei nemességéről. *Új Magyar Múzeum*, 3 (1), 655-656.
- NANDRIŞ, G. 1966. The Historical Dracula: The Theme of his Legend in the Western and in the Eastern Literatures of Europe. *Comparative Literature Studies*, 3 (4), 367-396.
- NĂSTASE, D., 1999. Domnul Țării Românești Vladislav II și asediul din 1453 al Constantinopolului. *Revista de Istorie*, NS, 10 (1), 85-98.
- NEACŞA, R. 2014. *De la Mircea cel Bătrân la Neagoe Basarab. Raporturile dintre domnie și biserică în Tara Românească*. Târgoviște.

- NEACSA, R. 2015. *Şi încă a pustuit şi sfânta mănăstire. Mănăstirea Govora şi un gest de putere de la mijlocul secolului al XV-lea*. *Studii şi Materiale de Istorie Medie*, 33, 267-285.
- NEHRING, K. 1974. Herrschaftstradition und Herrschaftslegitimität. Zur ungarischen Außenpolitik in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts. *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 13 (3), 463-471.
- NEUMANN, T. 2014. A gróf és a herceg magánháborúja (Szapolyai István és Corvin János harca a liptói hercegségért). *Századok*, 148 (2), 387-426.
- NOLI, F.S. 1945. *George Castrioti Scanderbeg (1405-1468)* [PhD Thesis]. Boston.
- NOWAKOWSKA, N. 2007. *Church, State and Dynasty in Renaissance Poland: The Career of Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellon (1468-1503)*. Aldershot.
- NUCIFORO, B. 2019. Bâtards e bâtardise nella Napoli aragonese: la dignissima prole di Ferrante I. In A. Araneo (ed.), *I luoghi e le forme del potere dall'antichità all'età contemporanea*. 245-259, Potenza.
- PALL, F. 1963. Intervențialui Iancu de Hunedoara în Țara Românească și Moldova în anii 1447-1448. *Studii. Revistă de Istorie*, 16 (5), 1049-1072.
- PÁLOSFALVI, T. 2018. *From Nicopolis to Mohács: A History of Hungarian-Ottoman Warfare. 1389-1526*. Leiden-Boston.
- PĂUN, R.G. 2016. Mount Athos and the Byzantine Slavic Tradition in Wallachia and Moldavia after the Fall of Constantinople. In V. Stanković (ed.), *The Balkans and the Byzantine World before and after the Captures of Constantinople, 1204 and 1453*. 117-164.
- PANAITESCU, P.P. 2001. *Mircea cel Bătrân*, Gh. Lazăr(ed.), Bucharest.
- PAPARELLI, G. 1971. *Callimaco Esperiente (Filippo Buonaccorsi)*. Salerno.
- PAPACOSTEA, Ș. 1970. De la Colomeea la Codrii Cosminului (poziția internațională a Moldovei la sfârșitul secolului al XV-lea). *Romanoslavica*, 17, 525-554.
- PAPACOSTEA, Ș. 1972. La guerre ajournée: les relations polono-moldave en 1478. Refléxions en marge d'un texte de Filippo Buonaccorsi-Callimachus. *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 11 (1), 3-21.
- PAPACOSTEA, Ș. 1975a. Politica externă a Moldovei în vremea lui Ștefan cel Mare: puncte de reper. *Revista de Istorie*, 28 (1), 15-31.
- PAPACOSTEA, Ș. 1975b. La politique extérieure de la Moldavie à l'époque d'Etienne le Grand: points de repère. *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 14 (3), 423-440.
- PERTUSI, A. 1981. *Martino Segono di Novo Brdo, vescovo di Dulcigno. Un umanista serbo dalmata del tardo Quattrocento. Vita e opere*, ed. C. Faraggiana. Rome.

- PILAT, L. 2020 [2021]. Războiul antiotoman, tratatul de pace moldo-polon și problema Pocuției (1498-1499). *Analele Putnei*, 16 (1), 39-54.
- PILAT, L., CRISTEA, O. 2017. *The Ottoman Threat and Crusading on the Eastern Border of Christendom during the 15th Century*. Leiden-Boston.
- PINTER, Z.-K., ȚIPLIC I.M. 1999. Cercetări arheologice la Biserica Sf. Nicolae – Hunedoara. *Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice*, NS, 10 (1-4), 60-67.
- PLEȘIA, D. 1969. Neagoe Basarab. Originea, familia și o scurtă privirea asupra politicii Țării Românești la începutul veacului al XVI-lea (I). *Valachica*, 1, 45-60.
- PONTIERI, E. 1946. *Per la storia di Ferrante I d'Aragona re di Napoli*. Napoli.
- POP, I.-A. 2019-2020 [2021]. The Romanians from Moldavia at the Jubilee in Rome (1475). *Il Mar Nero*, 9-10, 163-170.
- POP, I.-A. 2020a, *Hunedoreștii: o familie europeană*, Cluj-Napoca.
- POP, I.-A. 2020b [2021]. Matia Corvin, *re de Ungaria, de Dacia etc.*, în anul 1462. *Revista Iсторică*, NS, 21 (3-4), 235-248.
- POP, I.-A. 2021. Pop, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Power and Influence between Vatican and Orthodoxy*. Berlin.
- POP, I.-A., SIMON, Al. 2006. Misiunile Sfântului Nicodim în contextul politicilor bisericești ale Veneției și Ungariei. *Mitropolia Olteniei*, 58 (9-12), 234-252.
- POP, I.-A., SIMON, Al. 2008. Moldova și celălalt Imperiu: Preliminariile și consecințele conpirației lui Maximilian I de Habsburg și Ștefan cel Mare (1497). In O. Cristea, Gh. Lazăr (eds.), *Vocația istoriei. Prinos profesorului Șerban Papacostea*. 331-406, Brăila.
- POP, I.-A., SIMON, Al. 2010. Din Secuime în Țara Hațegului: expediții otomane în Transilvania la sfârșitul anilor 1470. In V. Rusu-Bolindeț, T. Sălăgean, R. Varga (eds.), *Studia Archaeologica et Historica. In honorem Magistri Dorin Alicu*. 565-575, Cluj-Napoca.
- POP, I.-A., SIMON, Al. 2012. The Venetian and Walachian Roots of the Ottoman-Hungarian Truce of 1468: Notes on Documents in the State Archives of Milan. In I.M. Damian, I.-A. Pop, M.St. Popović, Al. Simon (eds.), *The Italian Peninsula and Europe's Eastern Borders. 1204-1669*. 283-302, Vienna.
- POP, I.-A., SIMON, Al. 2015a [2016]. *Ungaria et Valachia: promisiunile valahe ale Republicii Sfântului Marcu din anii 1470*. *Revista Iсторică*, NS, 26 (1-2), 3-66.
- POP, I.-A., SIMON, Al. 2015b [2016]. *Hungaria, Polonia, Dacia et Crouatia: Veneția, Casa de Habsburg și Moldova la sfârșitul secolului al XV-lea*. Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A.D. Xenopol, 52(suppl.), 43-89.

- POP, I.-A., SIMON, Al. 2018. *Re de Dacia: un proiect de la sfârșitul Evului Mediu*. Cluj-Napoca.
- POP, I.-A., SIMON, Al. 2019 [2020]. *Regele Daciei din familia Basarabilor: mărturii despre români și domnii lor din secolul al XV-lea*. In M. Motogna, M. Hasan, V. Vizauer (eds.), *Cel care a trecut făcând bine. Nicolae Edroiu*. 60-64, Cluj-Napoca.
- POP, I.-A., SIMON, Al. 2020a. Reapariția pontificală a Daciei romane din Răsăritul Europei (1453-1462). *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, 36, 271-294.
- POP, I.-A., SIMON, Al. 2020b [2021]. Ștefan cel Mare, căpitanul Veneției, regale Moldovei și crăișorul valahilor, în toamna anului 1492. *Revista Iсторică*, NS, 31 (1-2), 61-85.
- POP, I.-A., SIMON Al., 2021a. Transilvania de la Dunăre: scrisorile de la Modena ale reginei Beatrice de Aragon din vara anului 1480. *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, 5th series, 36, in press.
- POP, I.-A., SIMON Al., 2021b. *Partes Transilvane intrabunt et te de tota terra tua disperdent*: Maximilian I de Habsburg către Ștefan cel Mare după Codrii Cosminului (I-II). *Transilvania*, NS, 5 (1), 21-42, 60-78.
- POPA, C.I., 2010. Lupta de pe Câmpul Pânii (13 octombrie 1479). De la universalitatea lied-ului medieval la recuperarea eroilor naționali. *Terra Sebus*, 2, 269-306.
- PRIEBATSCH, F. 1894. *Politische Correspondenz des Kurfürsten Albrecht Achilles, 1470-1486*, I. 1470-1474. Leipzig.
- RADOJICIC, Đ. Sp. 1966. *Bulgaroalbanitoblahos et Serboalbanitobulgaroblahos*: deux caractéristiques ethniques du Sud-Est Européen du XIV^e et XV^e siècle. Nicodème de Tismana et Grégoire Camblak. *Romanoslavica*, 13, 77-79.
- RADUTIU, A. 1996. Sur le nom de *Drakula*. *Transylvanian Review*, 5 (1), 101-113.
- RENUCCI, P. 1965. Dante et les mythes du Millénium. *Revue des Études Italiennes*, NS, 11, 393-421.
- REZACHEVICI, C. 2001. *Cronologia critică a domnilor din Țara Românească și Moldova (a. 1324-1881)*, I. *Secolele XIV-XVI*. Bucharest.
- REZACHEVICI, C. 2003. Mormântul lui Vlad Țepeș – cea mai plauzibilă ipoteză. In I. Cândeа, P. Cernovodeanu, Gh. Lazăr (eds.), *Închinare lui Petre Ș. Năsturel la 80 de ani*. 245-266, Brăila.
- REZACHEVICI, C. 2004. Ștefan cel Mare, Ivan III, Sofia Tominicina (Paleolog) și Elena Ștefanovna Voloșanca. *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, 22, 51-72.
- REZACHEVICI, C. 2010. Vlad Țepeș și Biserică. In C. Rezachevici (ed.), *Izvoare istorice, artă, cultură și societate: în memoria lui Constantin Bălan (1928-2005)*. 115-128, Bucharest.

- SACERDOTEANU, A. 1968. Stema lui Dan al II-lea în legătură cu familiile Huniade și Olah.*Revista Muzeelor*, 37 (1), 5-16.
- SALIHOVIĆ, D. The Process of Bordering at Late Fifteenth Century Hungarian Ottoman Frontier.*History in Flux*, 1, 93-120.
- Della SANTA, G. 1913. Di Callimaco, Esperiente in Polonia e di una sua proposta alla Repubblica di Venezia nel 1495.*Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, 26, 134-161.
- [Sanudo, M.] *I diarii di Marino Sanuto (MCCCCX CVI-MDXXXIII) dall'autografo Marciano ital. cl. VII cod. CDXIX-CDLXXVII*, eds. G. Berchet, F. Berchet, N. Barozzi, R. Fulin, M. Allegri, IV. 1 aprilie 1501-31 marzo 1503, ed. N. Barozzi. Venice, 1879.
- SCHMITT, O.-J. 2014. *Skanderbeg: noul Alexandru din Balcani*. Cluj-Napoca.
- SCHÖNHERR, Gy. 1894. *Hunyadi Corvin János. 1473-1504*. Budapest.
- SEGEL, H.B. 1989. *Renaissance Culture in Poland: The Rise of Humanism, 1470-1543*. Ithaca, NY.
- SETTON, K.M. 1978. *The Papacy and Levant (1204-1571)*, II. *The Fifteenth Century*. Philadelphia, PA:
- SHUKUROV, R. 2016. *The Byzantine Turks, 1204-1461*. Leiden-Boston.
- SIMIONESCU, Șt. 1975. Legăturile dintre Ștefan cel Mare și Maximilian I de Habsburg în lumina unui nou izvor. *Revista de Istorie*, 28 (1), 91-98.
- SIMIONESCU, Șt. 1980. Știri noi despre relațiile diplomatice dintre Ștefan cel Mare și Maximilian I de Habsburg. *Revista de Istorie*, 33 (10), 1981-1986.
- SIMON, Al. 2004. În jurul bătăliei de la Vaslui (1474-1475). Considerații asupra relațiilor dintre Moldova, Țara Românească și Regatul Ungariei. *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia*, 49 (2), 3-26
- SIMON, Al. 2005. Țările Române ca loc de pasaj cruciat în anii 1490. *Anuarul Școlii Doctorale Istorie. Civilizație. Cultură*, 1, 101-116.
- SIMON, Al. 2006-2007 [2008]. Domnul Moldovei și regii Ungariei la 1490. Un document de la Ștefan cel Mare. *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A.D. Xenopol*, 43-44, 15-36.
- SIMON, Al. 2007a. *Ștefan cel Mare și Matia Corvin. O coexistență medievală*. Cluj-Napoca.
- SIMON, Al. 2007b. Anti-Ottoman Warfare and Crusader Propaganda in 1474: New Evidences from the Archives of Milan. *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 46 (1-4), 25-39.
- SIMON, Al. 2009. John Hunyadi between Belgrade and Cetatea Albă in the 1450s. *Banatica*, 19 (2), 41-59.

- SIMON, Al. 2010. *Crăișorii valahilor din a doua jumătate a secolului al XV-lea*. *Crisia*, 40, 159-167
- SIMON, Al. 2011. Soțile ungare ale lui Vlad III Țepeș: rolul, impactul și receptarea unor alianțe și rivalități medievale. *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A.D. Xenopol*, 48, 5-12.
- SIMON, Al. 2013. Valahii și domnii lor în războiul veneto-otoman (1499-1503). *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A.D. Xenopol*, 50, 39-52
- SIMON, Al. 2016. Habsburgs, Jagiellonians and Crusading: The Wallachian Case in the 1470s. In A. Bárány, *The Jagiellonians in Europe: Dynastic Diplomacy and Foreign Relations*. 53-68, Debrecen.
- SIMON, Al. 2017. *Al treisprezecelea apostol: valachorum regulus*. Cluj-Napoca.
- SIMON, Al. 2018 [2020]. *De Dragule crudelitate: ultima domnie a lui Vlad al III-lea Țepeș pe pământurile Valahiei Mari*. *Revista Iсторică*, NS, 29 (5-6), 517-540.
- SIMON, Al. 2019. A doua venire a lui Mehmed al II-lea în Moldavia în anul 1476. *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A.D. Xenopol*, 56, 23-32.
- SIMON, Al. 2019. Nașterea și moartea unui anti-erou: Nicolae de Modruš, Francesco Gonzaga, Rodrigo Borgia și cele 21 660 de victime ale lui Vlad al III-lea Țepeș. In I.-M. Țiplic, M. Crîngaci-Țiplic, N. Teșculă (eds.), *Relații interetnice în Transilvania: interferențe istorice, culturale și religioase*. 209-234, Sibiu.
- SIMON, Al. 2020a [2021]. A Humanist's Pontifical Playground: Pius II and Transylvania in the Days of John Dragula. *Transylvanian Review*, 29 (suppl. 2), 35-70.
- SIMON, Al. 2020b. În vara anului 1466: ridicarea athonită a lui Ștefan al III-lea cel Mare și prăbușirea otomană a atletului Gheorghe Castriota Skanderbeg. *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A.D. Xenopol*, 57, 45-64.
- SIMON, Al. 2020c. The Pope, the Hunyadis and the Wallachians: The Curious Case of Pius II. *Banatica*, 30 (2), 59-108.
- SIMON, Al. 2020d. At the Turn of the Fourteenth Century: Notes on Sigismund of Luxemburg and the Wallachian Princely "Stars" of the Fifteenth Century. *Acta Terraes Septemcastrensis*, 19 (1), 135-155.
- SIMON, Al. 2021a. *In the World of Vlad: The Lives and Times of a Warlord*. Berlin.
- SIMON, Al. 2021b. The Wild <South-> East or Flexible Christian-Muslim Borderlands? On the Relations between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Ottoman Empire (1453-1526). *Academia. Letters*, 1 (7), 1-5.

SIMON, Al. 2021c. Scrisori pierdute din vara anului 1480. *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A.D. Xenopol*, 58, in press.

SPOLJARIĆ, L. 2019. Nicholas of Modruš and his *De Bellis Gothorum*: Politics and National History in the Fifteenth-Century Adriatic. *Renaissance Quarterly*, 72 (2), 476-481.

STOICESCU, N. 1976. *Vlad Țepeș*. Bucharest.

STOIDE, C.A. 1986. A doua domnie a lui Vlad Țepeș. Luptele pentru ocuparea tronului și consolidarea domniei (1456-1458). *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie A.D. Xenopol*, 22 (1), 111-130.

SZEKELY, Gy. 1988. Hunyadi László kivégzése: struktúraváltozások a magyar állam és főváros kormányzásában. *Tanulmányok Budapest Multjábol*, 22, 61-102.

ŠIŠIĆ, F. 1937. Rukovet spomenika o hercegu Ivanisu Korvinu i o borbama Hrvata s Turcima (1473-1496). *Starine*, 38, 1-180.

TAFIŁOWSKI, P. 2013. *Imago Turci: studium z dziejów komunikacji społecznej w dawnej Polsce (1453-1572)*. Lublin.

TALOŞ, I. 2021. *Împăratul Traian și conștiința romanității românilor. Cultură orală și scrisă din secolele XV-XX*. Cluj-Napoca.

UKB, VI. *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, G. Gündisch, H. Gündisch, G. Nussbächer, K. Gündisch (eds.), VI. 1458-1473. Bucharest, 1981.

URSPRUNG, D. 2018. Propaganda și popularizare. Povestirile tipărite despre Vlad Țepeș în contextul anului 1488. *Analele Putnei*, 14 (1), 45-60.

de VAJAY,Sz. 1999. Un ambassadeur bien choisi: Bernardinus de Frangipanus et sa mission à Naples, en 1476. In B. Nagy. M. Sebők (eds.), *The man of many devices, who wandered full many ways: Festschrift in Honour of János M. Bak*. 550-557, Budapest – New York.

WAPOWSKI, B. 1874. *Chronicorum Bernardii Vapovii partem posteriorem 1480-1535*, ed. J. Szujki. In *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, II. 1-363, Krakow.

WEBER, A., GHEORGHE A. 2019. Noi descoperiri în arhivele Italiei și Austriei cu privire la ultimul an din viața lui Vlad Țepeș (1476). *Muzeul Național*, 31, 27-46.

WEINTRAUB, W. 1979-1980. Renaissance Poland and Antemurale Christianitatis. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 3-4 (2), 920-930.

WINDECKE, E. 1893. *Denkwürdigkeiten zur Geschichte des Zeitalters Kaiser Sigmunds*, ed. Wilhelm Altmann. Berlin.

Imperator et dux: On the Churches and the Fortresses of Dracula

XENOPOL, A.D. 1907. Lupta dintre Drăculești și Dănești. *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, 2nd series, 30, 183-272.

Zala, I. Zala vármegye története. Oklevélétár, I. Nagy, D. Véghely, Gy. Nagy (eds.), II. 1364-1498. Budapest, 1890.

ZAMFIRESCU, D. 1973. *Neagoe Basarab și Învățăturile către fiul său Theodosie. Probleme controversate*. Bucharest.

von ZEISSBERG, H. 1877. *Kleinere Geschichtsquellen Polens im Mittelalter*. Wien.



© 2022 by the authors; licensee Editura Universității Al. I. Cuza din Iași. This article is an open access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons by Attribution (CC-BY) license (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).