

ASPECTS OF THE HUNGARIAN-WALLACHIAN MATRIMONIAL RELATIONS OF THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

Abstract: In this study my aim was to demonstrate without doubts the fact that even in the case of Transylvanian nobility, from the end of 13th century and all along the 14th century, a pattern is present in naming the offspring of nobles. This model of giving name of the father to one of the sons, or from the grandfather to one of the grandson, or from an uncle to a nephew was identified by French and Italian scholars at the middle of the 90's, as existing in medieval world of nobles, studying the primary sources [documents from chapters, convents etc.]. In this case I tried to demonstrate with the help of 18th genealogical tables, drawn from published collections of documents, the fact that, in part, an unspecified amount of Transylvanian nobles knew this rule and tried it in the century proposed for investigation. The main idea it's that the rule of name giving doesn't represent a firm rule for Transylvanian nobility, but, with a retard, is tending to impose itself in some major clans but not only, at the half of the 14th century.

Keywords: Dynasty, Hungarian wives, royal marriage, genealogy, international relations.

The genealogy of the ruling House of Basarab, as well as of the House of Mușat, has stirred the interest of Romanian historiography since the late nineteenth century¹ and, so far, the studies examining this issue have been quite numerous. An aspect that is not insignificant as regards the genealogical evolution of our ruling houses is that of the voivodesses or princesses consort,² and thus far, there are considerable gaps and ambiguities in this niche.³ Thanks, however, especially to the monographs dedicated to the Wallachian and Moldavian voivodes from the first period of the formation and consolidation of state power, the chapters devoted to their families have allowed new fields of research to open, which have been successfully completed.⁴

¹ For a broader historiographical analysis of the problem, see C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor din Țara Românească și Moldova a. 1324-1881*, volume I, *secolele XIV-XVI*, Bucharest, Editura Enciclopedică, 2001, pp. 53-59.

² Among the most recent studies on this subject, see Ștefan Andreescu, "Alliances dynastiques des princes de Valachie (XIVe-XVIe siècles)," in *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, tome 23, no. 4, Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1985, pp. 359-368 [hereinafter RESEE].

³ Insofar as the problem of the ruler's wives is concerned, we should like to mention the study written by Gr. G. Tocilescu, *Doamna Stanca, soția lui Mihai Vitezul*, București, Noua Tipografie a Laboratorilor Romani, 1877, Nicolae Iorga's study, "Doamna lui Ieremia Vodă," an extract from *Analele Academiei Române, Seria II, Tom XXXII, Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice, no. 13*, Bucharest, Institutul de arte Grafice "Carol Göbl," 1910, pp. 1019-1077, the catalogue published by Nicolae Iorga, *Portretele Doamnelor Române*, Bucharest, 1937 or the work of Constantin Gane, *Trecute vieți de doamne și domnițe*, volume I, Bucharest, Editura ziarului Universul, S. A., 1933 [second edition], which remains indebted to the information from the 1900s-1920s, with all the incontestable beauty of the rhetoric, which was intended as a pioneering study on the border between history and literature, written by the illustrious descendant of the Gănești boyars.

⁴ See, for instance, the monograph of Ștefan S. Gorovei și Maria Magdalena Székely, *Princeps omni laude maior. O istorie a lui Ștefan cel Mare*, Sfânta Mănăstire Putna, 2005, pp. 9-13 or Ștefan S. Gorovei and

For the subject we wish consider in this study, information is available, and, still, it seems that there is not a lot left to be said about the known wives of the Basarabs from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; nonetheless, the matter has not been fully explored, to the extent that the existing sources might allow this.

The Wallachian princesses consort were of diverse ethnic and confessional origins, and they also differed as regards their social status: we do not intend to dwell on all of the most well-known of these ladies, but only on those whose extraction is certainly ascribed to the area of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. Despite the parsimonious information, however, we shall consider at least five of these princesses consort, derived exclusively from the nobility of the Hungarian kingdom. With only one exception perhaps - Mircea the Elder's wife, who came from the aristocracy, if Constantin Rezachevici's estimation is accurate⁵ - it would be safe to assume that these ladies came most likely from the middle nobility of the kingdom.

A somewhat different situation was that of Justina Szilágyi, the second wife of Vlad Țepeș,⁶ not because she was not derived from the comital nobility, but because of her family's alliance with the Hunyadis, which propelled her to the status of a royal cousin⁷ and a possible match for the royal interests.

From our perspective, the matrimonial preferences of the Wallachian rulers for the territory North of the Carpathians indicated, above all, the expression of a political will that was connected to the interests of the ruling Hungarian house South of the Carpathians⁸ and, secondly, the strictly Aulic perception of the subordinating realities at the level of the dominant elite, from the Hungarian Aulic Chancellery to Ungrovlahia.⁹ Whereas the first statement does not require many explanations [the Basarabs' oscillations between independence from and vassalage to the Holy Crown because of numerous factors of external and internal influence], the second statement has been

Maria Magdalena Székely, *Maria Asanina Paleologhina. O prințesă bizantină pe tronul Moldovei*, Sfânta Mănăstire Putna, 2006, 290 pages.

⁵ C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, see the genealogies attached at the end, plate I, row III, *supra*.

⁶ Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*, Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Szilágyi entry [horogszegi]. The reference to the two wives from the extended family of the Hunyadis offered to Vlad Țepeș is owed to the recent studies written by Alexandru Simon: "Refacerea trecutului dorit: ipostaze medievale, moderne și contemporane ale unui monarh," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "George Barițiu" din Cluj Napoca*, seria *Historica*, no. 50, 2011, p. 103, the end of note 10, and "Soțiile ungare ale lui Vlad III Țepeș: Rolul, impactul și receptarea unor alianțe și rivalități medievale," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "A.D. Xenopol" din Iași*, no. 48, 2011, pp. 5–12. We shall mention, in addition, only the author's preference for the sytagm Justina Pongrácz, instead of Szilágyi, after her first husband.

⁷ In the case of the Hunyadis, there may be certain explanations for their rapid access to the ranks of the aristocracy, just like the possible links of the Szápolya family with John Hunyadi may explain the nobility's fixation on János Szápolya as the "elected" King of Hungary, after the disaster from Mohács in 1526. To these, however, I shall refer in a few lines hereinafter.

⁸ For instance, by way of confirmation, see also the opinions of Ștefan Ștefănescu, *Țara Românească de la Basarab I "Întemeietorul" până la Mihai Viteazul*, Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1970, pp. 35–36.

⁹ Nicolae Stoicescu, Florian Tucă, 1330. *Posada*, Bucharest, Editura Militară, 1980, pp. 67–70, with the standpoints of Romanian historiography and with references to the Hungarian historiography from the 1910a–1970s.

much discussed and debated in all its aspects [see the note above], but, as far as we know, never in depth. They may be easily proved by recourse to the documents issued by the Hungarian Chancellery.

In the decree of 26 July 1324, King Charles Robert spoke about the faithful services rendered to His Majesty by Master Martinus, son of Bugar, mentioning, among others, the “delivery of his ‘embassies’ [*nostras legaciones*]” to “Bazarab, woyuodam nostrum Transalpinum.”¹⁰

This is the first document that indicates Basarab in a relation of subordination to the Angevin, but also places him in history. On 18 June 1325, Bozarab/ Bazarab was already “Bozarab Transalpinum, sancte corone regie infidelem.”¹¹

This time, Basarab was stripped of his natural authority of a royal/ ours voivode: he was only an unfaithful Transalpine of the Holy Crown. He was, in fact, to maintain this status and other appellatives in the documents of the royal chancellery of the Angevin monarch¹² whenever the latter resumed the subject of the disaster from Wallachia.

If for the Angevin King, Basarab was the “unfaithful Transalpine” in 1325, for Pope John XXIII, the same ruler was, on 1 February 1327, “our beloved son, the noble man, Basarab Voivode of Wallachia” [*dilecto filio, nobili viro Bazarab, voivoda Transalpino*].¹³

In this context, here, we are interested in this “noble man.” For the pontiff addressed in the same way the Comes of Braşov, Salomon, at the same date, in a letter with an identical content [*dilecto filio, nobili viro comiti Salomoni de Brasso*].¹⁴ From other sources, we know that identical letters were sent to Thomas, Voivode of Transylvania, and Mykud, Ban of Slavonia, Basarab being the last one introduced in the pontifical register, in accordance with his importance in the kingly structures.¹⁵

On 5 August 1331, however, the same John XXII wrote to King Charles Robert: “our most beloved son in Christ, Charles, illustrious king of Hungary” [*carissimo in Christo filio, Carolo, regi Ungarie illustri*].¹⁶ He had addressed the king in the same way on 13 September 1325, in a matter concerning a provost.¹⁷ In fact, this appears to have been the standard formula of address used by the pontiff towards the Hungarian sovereigns.¹⁸ From the point of view of the pontifical Curia, equality was found between

¹⁰ *Documenta Romaniae Historica, seria D, Relații între Țările Române*, volume I [1222-1456], Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1977, doc. 15, p. 36 [hereinafter DRH, D].

¹¹ *Ibidem*, doc. 16, p. 37.

¹² *Ibidem*, doc. 23, p. 48 or doc. 25, pp. 49-52, doc. 26, pp. 52-54.

¹³ *Ibidem*, doc. 17, p. 39.

¹⁴ Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, volume I, Hermannstadt, 1892, doc. 452, p. 408 [hereinafter *Ub.*].

¹⁵ E. Vârtosu *apud* Nicolae Stoicescu, Florian Tucă, 1330. *Posada*, p. 81. This would have indicated, in Emil Vârtosu's opinion, the weak connection with Hungary and would not lessen the status of Wallachia.

¹⁶ DRH, D, doc. 21, p. 44.

¹⁷ *Documente privind Istoria României, seria C, Transilvania, veacul XIV*, vol. II [1321-1330], Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1953, doc. 338, p. 159 [hereinafter DIR, C].

¹⁸ Georgius Fejér, *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, volume I, Pest, 1829, p. 274 [doc. from the year 1000; the pontiff Sylvester addressed Ștefan I with the formula: *Silvester Episcopus, Seruus Seruorum Dei, Stephano Duci Vngarorum salutem, et Apostolicam benedictionem*], p. 420 [doc. from 1074: *Gregorius Episcopus, Seruus Seruorum Dei, Geusae, Duci Hungarorum, salutem et*

the noble comes/ graf of Braşov and the Transalpine voivode, and not between Basarab and Charles Robert. A very simple explanation lies in the difference in status between the monarchies with a tradition and those newly created by people without a previous dynastic status or considered to be, in terms of the suzerain-vassal rapports, on a lower rung of nobility. In 1269, seeking to acquire a matrimonial alliance with the Kingdom of Hungary, Charles of Anjou said about Stephen V: “natus est de genere Sanctorum et maximorum Regum, Princeps potens et bellicosus, et probatus contra inimicos fidei Christianae, et sancte Romane Ecclesie.”¹⁹

Resuming the thread of the argument, we may see that almost one century before the events mentioned above, the Duchess of Austria was called by Pope Innocent IV “dilecta in Christo filia, **nobilis mulier** Ducissa Austriae.”²⁰ This should lead us to understand that in the hierarchy of *Christianitas*, Basarab was regarded as a duke or deemed to be on an intermediate rung between a duke and a comes, but he was certainly seen as a nobleman.²¹ In a letter that praised the arduous application for the Roman faith exhibited by some Romanians on either side of the mountains, his son, [Nicolae] Alexandru, the future ruler, was also called “tam nobilibus quam popularibus” by Pope Clement VI.²²

Similarly, in Moldova, in 1370, Laţcu was called by Pope Urban V: “**nobilis vir**, Laczko, dux Moldaviensis, partium seu nationis Wlachie,”²³ just like Lady Clara was referred to as “dilecte in Christo filie **nobile mulieri** Clare”²⁴ by the same pontiff.

Vladislav I [Vlaicu] not[no longer?]^{*} being* part of the Roman Church, could be only “**nobili viro** Latizlao wayvode Vlachie,”²⁵ without being a “beloved son” any more.

apostolicam benedictionem], p. 421 [doc. from 1074: *Gregorius Episcopus, Seruus Seruorum Dei, Salomoni Regi Hungarorum, salutem et benedictionem*], pp. 423-424 [doc. from 1075: *Gregorius Episcopus, seruus seruorum Dei, Geuzae, Hungariae Duci, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem*]; the standard formula of address appears to have been used for the first time for King Coloman, volume II, Pest, 1829, p. 13 [doc. from 1096: *Vrbanus Episcopus, Seruus Seruorum Dei, dilecto in Christo Filio Columbano, magnifico Vngarorum Regi, salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem*] from this moment, the address was made constantly in the standard or abbreviated form; volume III/2, Pest, 1829, p. 17 [doc. from 1225, the first part of the address syntagm is missing from the formula of address: *carissimo in Christo filio*], p. 19 [doc. from the same year, a complete formula of address], p. 48 [doc. from 1225], volume IV/1, Pest, 1829, p. 30 [doc. from 1235, the first part of the address syntagm is missing from the formula of address: *carissimo in Christo filio*], pp. 33-34 [doc. from 1236], p. 41 [doc. from 1236], p. 88 [doc. from 1237], p. 175, p. 206, etc. [hereinafter *Fejér*].

¹⁹ *Fejér*, IV/3, p. 510.

²⁰ *Fejér*, IV/2, pp. 27-28.

²¹ *DIR, Introducere*, volume II, Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1956, note 11, p. 287.

²² *DRH*, D, doc. 32, from 17 October 1345, p. 60: “**nobilibus viri** Alexandro Bassarati et aliis [...] Olachis Romanis.”

²³ *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*, vol. I, Part 2 [1346-1450]. *Cu două Apendice. Documentele slavone [1189-1450] şi cu portretulu lui Mircea cel Mare şi alu fiului seu Mihailu*, Sococ, Bucureşti, 1890, doc. 124, p. 160; [hereinafter *Hurmuzaki*].

²⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. 122, p. 158.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. 123, p. 159.

* The text of the pontifical document suggests that Vladislav I had previously considered converting to the Latin confession, just like, in fact, all his predecessors.

All of these appellations show without the trace of a doubt that from the perspective of the papal Curia, the Romanian rulers' monarchical rank was similar to that of a Western *dux* from the structures of *Christianitas*. Moreover, the semantic equivalence of the two terms - **duke** and **voivode** - was identical: a military commander.²⁶

Moving on to the Hungarian Chancellery and the official mode of perception of the Romanian extra-Carpathian voivodes, we must start with a few explanations, which complete their official image, establishing the necessary nuances from the Hungarian monarch's point of view.²⁷

At the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth, the forms of address that may be noticed tended to be definitively implemented: for example, in one of the monarch's documents with a donative purpose, King Charles Robert mentions the facts of bravery committed by the Vice-Castellan of Unguraş [Baluanus], Mark, and his brother, Nicolaus, the familiars of Stephanus Pogan, in his turn the familiar of the "magnificent man" [*magnifici viri*] Thomas Szécsényi, Voivode of Transylvania and Comes of Solnoc, in the context of the unfortunate campaign from the fall of 1330 against the Romanian infidels.

At the intervention of his relative [*proximi nostri*], Thomas, the sovereign granted them noble rank, elevating them from the category of conditional castrensians²⁸ to that of full nobility. We have selected the text from the vantage point of the protocol terminology used by the monarch as a form of address, *magnificus vir*, which was employed for the royal dignitary and from this period on, began to serve as a written indicator of the aristocrats who were part of the royal council.²⁹

²⁶ On the terms hertzog, voievod, dux belli and their equivalences, see an extensive treatment in Valentin Al. Gerogescu, *Bizanțul și instituțiile românești până la mijlocul secolului al XVIII-lea*, Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1980, pp. 38-40.

²⁷ Francisc Pall, the editor of the part dedicated to Latin diplomatics from the introductory section of DIR indicates very clearly: protocolar terminology allows the use of *magnificus vir* for the high royal dignitaries [the judge of the royal court, the voivode, the bans], in *DIR, Introducere*, volume II, Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1956, p. 287.

²⁸ *DRH*, D, doc. 26, pp. 52-54.

²⁹ For an extensive discussion of the royal council and the imposition of the term *magnificus vir* for the kingdom's barons, the dignitaries in office, see András Kovács, *Voievozii Transilvaniei și evoluția instituției voievodale până la începutul secolului al XV-lea*, Bucharest, 2005 (doctoral thesis), pp. 23-28.

In the royal diplomas, most of the times the monarch called the aristocrats with whom he ruled, our barons, starting from the thirteenth century: *Fejér*, IV/1, p. 148 [document from Bela IV in 1239: *quorum nos causam Baronibus nostris exposuimus intelligendam*], p. 314, p. 391, p. 402 [*de Baronum nostrorum consilio iudicaueramus*]. Nicolaus, the vice-judge of the royal court, mentioned them in 1239 with the formula: *Domino autem regi, et nobis simul cum omnibus regni Magnatibus*, including himself among the latter, *Fejér*, IV/1, p. 151. In fact, for instance, in 1239, when he issued a document referring to an estate matter, Palatine Dionysius, the most important magnate in the kingdom after the king, entitled himself: *Dionisius, Dei gratia, Palatinus et Comes de Zonuk*, in *Fejér*, IV/1, p. 167; the formula is found on p. 170 [1239]. In 1244, the new Palatine Ladislaus also entitled himself: *Ladislaus, Dei gratia, Palatinus et Comes Simighiensis*, in *Fejér*, IV/1, p. 309; the same formula was used in 1246, p. 442; it appears that Palatine Rolandus no longer used it in 1252 or 1255, in *Fejér*, IV/2, p. 156, p. 328; the first who used it appears to have been Gyula, the palatine in 1216, *Fejér*, VII/1, p. 95, while the last one was Moys in 1270, in *Fejér*, V/1, p. 89. About these aspects, see also the chapter dedicated to Latin diplomatics in the

The fixation of the formula of address used by the Hungarian king for his barons in his internal documents of the 1310s-1320s also provides a new perspective on the position adopted by the Transalpine - and Moldovan - rulers in relation to their mighty neighbour from the North or the West, amid the tumultuous political context of South-East Europe³⁰ and, insofar as the subject of our study is concerned, it explains, in our view, the reason for the choice of noble young women from the kingdom as the wives of princes: the Romanian voivodes were perceived as belonging to the category of the kingdom's great barons, and the fact starting with Nicolae Alexandru, they also received fiefs in the Hungarian Monarchy ensured, in addition, the Hungarian nobiliary indigenate. These statements are strongly supported by the chancellery documents existing so far.

Still, we do not wish to go further with the illustration before we bring some clarifications in this respect.

In the fourteenth century, of the great barons of Hungary, Thomas Szécsényi married, a second time, Anna of Auschwitz,³¹ a Polish kneginja related to the Piasts, and became thus the relative of the Angevin king by his last wife, as the monarch insisted on saying on various occasions.³² It was one of the highest marital alliances an aristocrat coming from the heirs of the Hungarian "dismounters" (founders) could hope for in the

introductory volume from *DIR, Introducere*, volume 2, Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1956, note 5, p. 282. From the time of King Stephen V [1270-1272], in the formula for authenticating the document through the list of dignitaries the syntagm: "*et honores*" was added after "*et aliis quam pluribus, Comitatus regni tenentibus*," in *Fejér*, V/1, p. 138, which indicated exactly the assignment of offices through the royal will and through the council's will. On *honor*, see András Kovács, *Voievozii Transilvaniei și evoluția instituției voievodale...*, pp. 28-31. The first list of dignitaries from the end of a royal document which assigned them the particle of *magnificus* also belonged to the chancellery of King Stephen V and dated from 19 March 1272: "**Magnificis** Moys, Palatino, Comite Soproniensi et iudice Cumanorum; Nicolao iudice Curiae, Comite Simegiensi"; etc., in *Fejér*, V/1, p. 230; on 19 May of the same year, the syntagm was not attached to the list, in *ibidem*, p. 236 and was only found there again on 5 January 1322 in a document from Charles Robert: "**Magnificis viris** Dosa Palatino Comite de Zonuk et de Zathmar; Demetrio Magistro Tawernicorum nostrorum, Comite Vachiensi et Trinchiniensi, Magistro Lamperto, Iudice Curiae nostrae, Comite Chanadiensi et Nitriensi, Thoma Vajuoda Transilvano et Comite de Zonuk, Nicolao Bano totius Sclauoniae, Comite Suproniensi et de Camarum, Paulo Bano de Machou, Comite Symmiensi, de Volkou et Bodrug, Dionysio Magistro Dapiferorum nostrorum, Blasio Magistro Agazonum, Paulo Magistro Tauemicorum Dominae reginae, consortis nostrae charissimae, Magistro Deseu Iudice Curiae eiusdem Dominae reginae, Magistro Blasio, Comite de Scepus et de Vjwar, Nicolao Comite Posenien. et aliis compluribus regni nostri Comitatus tenentibus et honores," in *Fejér*, VIII/2, p. 328. From now on, it was constantly used: on 2 June 1322, in *ibidem*, p. 337, on 10 June 1323, in *ibidem*, p. 401, etc.

³⁰ See also the observations of Ștefan S. Gorovei from *Princeps omni laude maior...*, note 80, p. 23, for the end of the fifteenth century [Stephen the Great, Vlad Țepeș], referring to the status of voivodes from the royal Hungarian perception. We believe, however, and will show hereinafter that unfortunately for our rulers, with the exception, perhaps, of Mircea the Elder, this was the perception of the royalty and its chancellery until the fall of Hungary at Mohács in 1526.

³¹ Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*, Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Kacsics/Szécsényi entry.

³² *DIR, C, Trans.*, veac XIV, volume III, Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1954, doc. 349, pp. 427-428, from 1337, 15 November, doc. 365, pp. 440-441, from 9 February 1338, doc. 447, pp. 514-515, from 21 September 1339, doc. 448, p. 516, from 23 September 1339.

Western *Christianitas*, given his own status, and with this marriage he cemented his old friendship with his sovereign. Thomas, who came from a good albeit less affluent family, had tied his fate to the destiny of the Angevin pretender from early on and played a winning card,³³ which eventually earned him even access to the royal family and a brilliant financial situation. It was an example which, by extrapolation, established - at the level of medieval perception - the Romanian voivodes' "pool of marriage options" on the territory of that Latin *Christianitas*. In the Greek, Orthodox environment, the situation was more lax and this can be seen in the dynastic connections established by the Wallachian and Moldavian voivodes with the Bulgarian Tsarates, the Serbian Empire, the Ukrainians, the Russian and Crimean princes, who were also related, collaterally, with the Constantinopolitan imperial families, which offered them great dynastic prestige and raised the monarchical standing of all these princes from South-East Europe. It is well known that it was on such a matrimony - between Zoe/Sophia Paleologhina and Ivan III - that the Moscow Knezate of the sixteenth century based its claim about their capital being the third Rome and representing the successor of the Constantinopolitan Empire.³⁴

In addition, after his marriage to Maria Asanina Paleologhina from the principality of Theodoro-Mangop, Stephen the Great called himself a "tsar," and asserted his claims of being the new Constantine.³⁵ This occurred amid the situation in which, in the mid-fourteenth century, the Orthodox states from the Balkans had increasingly fallen under the control of the young and rather aggressive state of the Ottoman Turks and the matrimonial alliances between the Orthodox states had become more and more difficult to form. Suffice it to think about the fact that after 1449, none of the Orthodox sovereigns assumed in practice a marriage with the Palaiologoi who ruled over a dying empire.³⁶

Closing the parenthesis and returning to the issue of the forms of address used in the Hungarian chancellery for the Wallachian rulers, we shall focus, to start with, on the one from the chronicle of the Archdeacon of Târnave, where he is referred to as a "baron,"³⁷ and then on that of 18 February 1355, where King Louis I simply calls [Nicolae] Alexandru Basarab "our Transalpine voivode,"³⁸ just like Basarab I had been called by the first Angevin in his good old days. Here, the scribe from the royal

³³ On Thomas's options, see a more extensive discussion in Pál Engel, *Regatul Sfântului Ștefan. Istoria Ungariei medievale [895-1526]*, Cluj Napoca, Editura Mega, 2006, pp. 171-172.

³⁴ A. A. Vasiliev, *Istoria Imperiului Bizantin*, Editura Polirom, Iași, 2010, p. 562: "Moscow started to be compared with 'Rome of the Seven Hills' and was called 'the third Rome.' The great Prince of Moscow became the 'Tsar of the entire Orthodoxy,' and Moscow, the capital of the Russian state, became 'the new city of Constantine' [...] at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the monk Filotei wrote: 'Two Romes have fallen down and the third is still standing, while the fourth will never be.'"

³⁵ Ștefan S. Gorovei and Maria Magdalena Székely, *Princeps omni laude maior...*, pp. 90-98, and especially 95-97.

³⁶ Donald M. Nicol, *Împăratul fără de moarte. Viața și legenda lui Constantin Paleologul, ultimul împărat al romanilor*, Iași, Editura Polirom, seria Historia, 2003, pp. 50, especially 56-62.

³⁷ Dimitrie Onciul, *Anul morții marelui Basarab voievod*, in *Scrieri istorice*, edited by Aurel Sacerdoțeanu, volume II, Bucharest, Editura Științifică, 1968, p. 326: "quidam princeps seu baro potentissimus... Alexander vayvoda Transalpinus."

³⁸ *DRH*, D, doc. 38, p. 70: "wayuodam nostrum Transalpinum."

chancellery did not grant the ruler south of the Carpathians the gratification of “magnificus vir.” He also refused to award it to him on 29 August 1359, when the monarch made a donation in Timiș County to the grandchildren of Zarna [Zârna?], the sons of Ladislaus [Vladislav], “his faithful Romanians,” Romanian boyars who had fled Wallachia and entered the Hungarian king’s service, at the time when Nicolae Alexandru no longer recognised Louis as his suzerain.³⁹

On 5 January 1365, when the king made conscription to war public, neither the late Alexandru Basarab, nor his son, Vladislav [Ladislaus], considered to be the usurper of the regal rights by his self-appointment as the ruler of Wallachia, with the “treacherous consent and secretive agreement of the Romanians and the inhabitants of that country” [of the legal country, we might say, that wanted him as ruler] held, under these circumstances, any other position than that of “Transalpine voivode.”⁴⁰ Of course, we may note that the son’s royal wrath was milder than that of his illustrious father, who had called Basarab merely the “Transalpine,” infidel, of course, denying him even his title, not to mention his rights.

In fact, it seems that during this period, even the Romanians who were the “dilectis” and “fidelis” of the mighty Angevin did not yet enjoy the gratification of a Baronial rank, although they had shed their blood in his Moldovan country, where Bogdan and his sons, “the devil-stricken,” had fled.⁴¹ The lack of titular gratifications was probably caused by the fact that they had just lost a borderland for the king. The irony notwithstanding, the reason why Balk does not appear in the document of 1365 except with the syntagm “strenuum virum” and “voyvodam nostrum Maramoriensem” lies in lower nobiliary status and, obviously, in his lack of an official mandate in the royal council.⁴²

The document of 10 October 1366, by which the king required that an estate boundary should be established between Aciliu [*Echellev*] and Tilișca [*Thylichke*], Săcel [*Ffeketevyz*] and Orlat [*Waraliafalu*] indicated a reconciliation between the two parties previously involved in a conflict [the possessive pronominal adjective “nostrum” from the expression “wayuodam nostrum Transalpinum” reoccurs, this time in the genitive singular, for Vladislav I] and used a phrase reminiscent of the notion of *honor*. In fact, in this case, it is synonymous to the point of becoming identical with it, the sense that it is no longer referred to as the “territory pertaining to this *honor*,” but as “parte terrarum sub **vaivodatu** domini Ladislai,”⁴³ that is, the part pertaining to the voivodeship/

³⁹ *Ibidem*, doc. 40, p. 73: “wayuoda Transalpinus.”

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, doc. 42, p. 78: “wayuoda Transsalpinus.”

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, doc. 43, pp. 80-81.

⁴² In 1373 Balk and his brothers, the sons of the late Voivode Saaz, bore the title of *magister* and were familiars of the royal court [*aule nostre familiares*], cf. Ioan Mihalyi de Apșa, *Diplome maramureșene din secolele XIV și XV*, second edition, Cluj Napoca, Editura Societății Culturale Pro Maramureș “Dragoș Vodă,” 2000, doc. 36, p. 65. It was in the same year, on 30 October, that Voivode Balk was mentioned also with the office of Comes of Maramureș County, *ibidem*, doc. 38, p. 69. On 18 November 1378, Balk and his brother, Drag, were mentioned with the position of Comites of Maramureș and Sătmar, *ibidem*, doc. 41, p. 73. Finally, on 25 November 1387, both brothers were mentioned as “**magnificorum virorum** Balk et Drag Woywode inter ceteros honores Comitum Siculorum,” *ibidem*, doc. 52, p. 87.

⁴³ *DRH*, D, doc. 44, p. 83.

mandate/ *honor* of the ruler Vladislav, “our Transalpine voivode” for Făgăraș and Amlaș. A novelty was the placement of the particle “dominus” before the Wallachian voivode’s name, used in the forms of address to the monarch,⁴⁴ certain clerics⁴⁵ or magnates⁴⁶ of the kingdom, which reinforces the idea of the relations between the two rulers being more than cordial. The answer of the chapter in Alba Iulia, dated 24 November 1366, which informed the king that the boundaries of the estates had been drawn, was part of the classical editorial pattern: the royal witness was mentioned, in this case the very Vice-Voivode of Transylvania, Petrus Járái, and the man of the chapter, the priest Stephanus who had raised the border signs, separating the estates of Săcel [*Ffeketevyz*] and Orlat [*Waraliafalu*] from “terra seu tenutis **magnifici viri, domini** Ladislai, **vaivode** Transalpini.”⁴⁷

By way of comparison, let us refer to a document issued by the convent from Cluj Mănăstur in 1368 and two notes addressed to the voivodes of Transylvania. The document of the convent is reminiscent of the call to war against Vladislav I from 1368 and mentions the royal army commander, Nicolaus Lackfi: “**magnifico viro, domino** Nicolao, **woyuoda** Transsiluano et comite de Zonuk.”⁴⁸ The notes are as follows: one from 1408, sent by the Vice-Voivode of Transylvania, Johannes Dobokái, referring to his masters: “**magnificorum virorum, dominorum** nostrorum metuendorum **vayvadarum**,”⁴⁹ and the other sent by the Congregation of Cojocna County to the Voivode of Transylvania in 1467: “**Magnifico viro** Johanni, comiti de Sancto Georgio et Bwzyn, **wayuoda** Transsilvano Siculorumque comiti **domini** ipsorum multum metuendo et precolendo, universitas nobilium comitatus de Colus notificamus eidem vestre magnificentie.”⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Fejér, IV/3, p. 12: *Quod cum Dominus Bela Rex*; *ibidem*, p. 80: *Dominus Rex, et Domina regina eiusdem monasterii fundatores maluerint*, etc.

⁴⁵ DIR, C, Trans., veac XIV, volume II, doc. 451, pp. 223-226: *venerabilis pater dominus, frater...*, *dominus* Ladislaus prepositus..., in DIR, C, Trans., vol. III, doc. 56, pp. 41-253; Fejér, IV/1, p. 97: *Dominus Vrias Abbas, Pater venerabilis praefatae Ecclesiae...*

⁴⁶ *Documenta Romaniae Historica, seria C, Transilvania*, volume X, Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1977, doc. 247, pp. 253-256: “as regards the complaint filed against him by that Master Toma in the ruling assembly of the said *our lord, the voivode*, comprised in that letter of *our lord, the voivode*”; Fejér, XI, p. 506: *et ipse Dominus Joannes Vajda, in loco certaminis de equo suo in terram prostratus et deiectus, annotatus Theodorus equum sub ipso habitum, eidem Domino Vajda contulisset...*; *hodie a Magnificis Dominis, Nicolao (Ujlaki) Vaywoda, et Ladislao de Palocz (Curiae regiae Iudice) ad nos in legacione aduenisse [...] et iam Dominus Nicolaus, Waywoda Transiluanus, per se profecturus est Wiennam, predictum Mathiam captum, ad Strigonium reducturus, qui Matthias captus interim pro obside in manibus Dominorum, Dionysii Archiepiscopi Strigoniensis, et eiusdem Nicolai Waywode Transilvani debet permanere, quousque predicta castra regia Domino nostro Regi restituentur*, in *ibidem*, pp. 260-262.

⁴⁷ DRH, D, doc. 45, p. 84. The formula of address to King Louis: “Excellentissimo principi domino Lodouico, dei gratia illustri regi Hungarie, domino ipsorum naturali.”

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, doc. 52, p. 92.

⁴⁹ Barabás Samu, *A romai szent birodalmi gróf Szeki Teleki Család oklevéltára. A család áldozatát a Maros-Vásárhelyi levéltárból kiadja*, volume I [1206-1437], Az Athenaeum R. Társulat könyvnyomdája, Budapest, 1895, doc. 255, pp. 329-330 [hereinafter *Teleki*].

⁵⁰ Béla Ivány, *A Tomaj Nemzetségbeli Losonczi Bánffy család története. Oklevéltár a Tomaj nemzetségbeli Losonczi Bánffy család történetéhez*, volume II [1457-1526], Hornyámszky V. R. T. M. KIR. UDV. könyvnyomda, Budapest, 1928, doc. 75, pp. 90-91 [hereinafter *Bánffy*].

On 20 January 1368, in the letter patent to the merchants from Braşov, negotiated with Master Demetrius Lepes, a knight of the court and a royal envoy entrusted with this matter, Vladislav entitled himself as “Dei et regi maiestatis gracia weyuoda Transalpinus et banus de Zeurino.”⁵¹

The king called him in two consecutive decrees, of March 1368, simply Layk, “the Transalpine voivode,” but these were two mandates for his friend and dignitary, Benedictus Himfi, not *citatoria* or *prorogatoria*.⁵² In September, the Hungarian-Wallachian relations were difficult again because of the situation of the Vidin Tsarate and war loomed on the horizon.⁵³ There followed a few years in which relations vacillated between concord and conflict, a state that would actually be perpetuated until the death of the Wallachian ruler and even during the reign of his brother, Radu I [cca. 1377-1385]. We should also note that in 1372, Vladislav entitled himself *Baron* of Făgăraş and Amlaş⁵⁴ when he made a few donations, and in 1374, the king summoned his friend and close collaborator, Benedictus Himfi, the “expert” on Wallachian problems, to resolve an emergency situation of several runaway boyars, one of whom was Selibor, the voivode’s henchman, because he did not know how the ruler would react if he received them.⁵⁵

A document issued by the Făgăraş castellan, Paulus Thomoryi, in 1511 strengthened the ownership of some estates belonging to a man by the name of Costea, whose ancestors had received them from “quondam magnifici domini Mirce vajvode partium regni Transalpinarum et bani Zveriniensium.”⁵⁶

The ruler’s standing as an indigenous nobleman, Mircea, in this case, is proved also by the fact that like any magnate of the kingdom, with estates in Transylvania, in 1399, his case was defended by his procurator Nicolaus of Ludas, in the general congregation of Transylvania for the domain of the Bologa fortress: “Nicolaus de Ludas pro magnifico viro domino Meche, waywoda partis Transalpine, cum procuratoriis litteris eiusdem...”⁵⁷

King Sigismund of Luxemburg wrote to a close collaborator on 23 March 1399, mentioning the fact that he had written only one week before to “fidelis nostri, dilecti magnifici viri, domini Merche, woyuode Transalpine”.⁵⁸ On April 4 1404, speaking about the loss of the city of Turnu [Small Nikopol], King Sigismund showed that it had been conquered by the Sultan Bayezid from “Merche, waiuoda, **familiari nostro**.”⁵⁹ A few years later, the relations went sour, and the king was attacked at (a) Posada (a gorge,

⁵¹ DRH, D, doc. 46, p. 86.

⁵² *Ibidem*, doc. 47-48, pp. 88-89.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, doc. 51, p. 91. An extensive treatment in Maria Holban, *Din cronică relațiilor româno-ungare în secolele XIII-XIV*, Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1981, *passim*.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. 59, p. 103.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. 63, p. 107.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, doc. 103, p. 170.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, doc. 104, p. 171.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, doc. 105, p. 171. A solid study on Sigismund of Luxembourg Oriental policy during all these years, with all the obvious errors, due to later clarifications is that written by I. Minea, *Politica orientală a împăratului Sigismund. Note istorice*, Bucharest, Tipografia Convorbiri Literare, 1919.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, doc. 108, p. 177.

in Romanian), incurring great losses,⁶⁰ by Mircea who had slid down the slope of infidelity and who resumed his alliance with the Poles in around 1411.⁶¹

On 10 July 1424, King-Emperor Sigismund wrote referring to Voivode Dan II as “*fidelis nostri magnifici Daan vayvode*.”⁶² On 10 November of the same year, Dan thanked “*dominus meus naturalis et graciossimus*” for having allowed him to mint coins called *fileri* and small *denari* in vernacular out of “*sue regie maiestati immensas graciaram accione*.”⁶³ On 4 April 1425, Sigismund wrote a writ to Dan, drafted as for a high royal dignitary exercising his *honor* in the areas subjected to the authority of the Holy Crown, lest he should oblige the people of Braşov to accept his coin. Sanction was not present in its classical form: *aliud secus non facturi*,⁶⁴ but “*aliud pro nostra gracia non facturi in premissis*.”⁶⁵ In the document of 5 November 1426, the monarch established with the Barons’ Council the military necessary for guarding Voivode Dan in the Transalpine areas of Emperor-King Sigismund; the formulas of address were unchanged compared to the previous documents.⁶⁶

We shall conclude here this long exposition, whereby we wanted to show that according to the perception of the monarch and, implicitly, of all the decision makers at the superior level of the Hungarian kingdom, the South Carpathian ruler was seen as a magnate, a high dignitary of the court,⁶⁷ a familiar of the king’s, with a document from Vlad Ţepeş who wrote to the people of Braşov that he would defend them against their enemies just like all the rulers from Mircea’s family had done for the Holy Crown and for the Holy Roman faith, as faithful loyals.⁶⁸

Considering that these explanations have clarified certain image-related aspects of perception on the Hungarian-Wallachian relations, which were already intuited and partly discussed by Nicolae Iorga, P. P. Panaitescu, Maria Holban or Ştefan Ştefănescu,

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, doc. 112, p. 182.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, doc. 115, pp. 187-188.

⁶² *Ibidem*, doc. 140, p. 225.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, doc. 141, p. 227.

⁶⁴ More about these aspects in Francisc Pall, *DIR, Introducere*, volume II, p. 299.

⁶⁵ *DRH*, D, doc. 146, p. 235: “*Sigismundus, dei gratia Romanorum rex semper Augustus... fideli nostro dilecto, specatbili et magnifico Daan, parcium nostrarum Transalpinarum wayuode, salutem et graciarn*.” By way of comparison, the writ for the Castellans of Bran is drafted in almost the same manner, doc. 148, p. 236. Doc. 149, p. 238 a reference of the king-emperor to the former Voivode of Transylvania, identical in terms of its wording with that addressed to Dan. Only the geographical space is different. Moreover, in document 149 of 8 May 1426, King Sigismund expressly asserted that the Holy Crown was directly interested in *parcium nostrarum Transsilvanarum ac parcium nostrarum Transalpinarum*.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, doc. 151, pp. 242-243. Doc. 128, 129 and 169 from *DRH*, D, the years 1419, 1429. Igumen Agaton received, in fact, the letter patent drafted in Slavonian at Pojon. Sigismund seemed in those years the true sovereign of Ungrovlahia, which was one of his numerous possessions. This only meant in this case accepting some self-evident realities: the Wallachian state had to be preserved and that could only be done through the mightiest monarch of the time. Being the emperor’s direct familiar must have been a proof of being held in high esteem.

⁶⁷ Adrian Andrei Rusu has noticed, in his turn, that the rulers across the mountains had the custom of considering themselves the equals of the appointed voivodes of Transylvania: “Truly, but partially unjustly, the rulers across the mountains deemed themselves to be the equals of the Transylvanian voivodes, even though their internal authority was incomparably more substantial,” in “Ştefan cel Mare şi Transilvania. Un inventar critic, date nevalorificate şi interpretări noi,” in *Analele Putnei*, I, 2005/2, p. 94.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, doc. 338, pp. 456-458.

we may now address the central theme of this study: the Wallachian princesses-consort of Hungarian origin or originating from the Hungarian kingdom.

1. Lady “Marghita”/ Margareta [?] of Basarab I.

Chronologically, the first envisaged would be Lady “Marghita”, the wife of Voivode Basarab I [prior to 1324-1352]. Several natural questions arise from the very beginning: whence did the name Marghita/Margareta become naturalised in our historiography at some point and what type of sources called her thus? (since, in fact, they barely said anything about the founder), and, last but not least, why was she considered to be of Hungarian origin? The last query should be linked to the number of matrimonies: was this lady the sole wife of the first Basarab? Let us start logically, with one question at a time, hoping to remove at least a few small veils.

We do not consider it useful to resume the problem of the origins of Basarab I and his father, Thocomerius,⁶⁹ despite the controversy recently revived by Neagu Djuvara.⁷⁰ Thus, as Constantin Rezachevici noted in 2001, he was called *Olacus* in most of the royal diplomas because the nations of contact in the kingdom were well known⁷¹: Pechenegs, Cumans, Saxons, Szeklers, Romanians, etc. Of course, the voivode’s and his father’s names may be Cuman,⁷² but in this case ethnic evidence was definitively

⁶⁹ István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the pre Ottoman Balkans, 1185-1365*, Cambridge U. P., 2005, p. 159, the author claims that he upholds the perspective adopted by Györfy G., who saw the royal diploma in the original and allegedly read *Thotomery*.

The letter patent number DL 2733 from 26 November 1332 [with the Romanian translation in DRH, D, doc. 25, pp. 51-52] is found in photocopy, in digitised form, posted on the official site the National Archives of Hungary, at the address: <http://mol.arcanum.hu/dldf/opt/a110505htm?v=pdf&q=JELZ%3D%282733%29&a=list>, accessed on 10.09.2012.

Although there is the shadow of a doubt on the letter read as “c,” I also incline to think that it might represent a “t,” because, if the text is magnified very much, that c/t considerably resembles the “t” in “*merita*” [*eximia merita que nobis...*], while the lower part of the letter has the tendency to curve on the inside. If it were read Thotomerius/Thatamerius, as the Hungarian author noticed, then the name would have been frequently encountered in Hungary in that period, *ibidem*, p. 152 and note 6. Furthermore, we would like to highlight, as a “curiosity,” besides the royal vice-chancellor attested between 1332 and 1351/1368, the knezial serf *Thathemirus Rufus*, a districtual juror assessor in Hațeg in 1360, DL 41429; *Tatamerius de Zalathna Banya* [Zlatna], a local, son of Kend, son of Nicolaus, Ioannes, Henneng, Blasius, Ladislaus and Stoyan, who in 1363 was in a conflict with the Voivode of Beiuș, Iwan and his brothers, for several crimes, *Fejér*, VII/3, p. 46; similarly, Knez *Tatamyr* in 1366, in *DRH, C, Trans.*, XIII, doc. 61, p. 107; also, Knez *Thamerius* in 1372, *DRH, C, XIV*, doc. 152, p. 238; we may mention a nephew of Balk’s, *Thatamir*, who died in Louis’s battles, referred to as such in 1387, in *Fejér*, XI/1, p. 372. We may notice that it is a common Romanian name from Hațeg, the Apuseni, Maramureș and the Banat.

⁷⁰ *Thocomerius. Negru Vodă. Un voivod de origine cumană la începuturile Tarii Romanesti*, Bucharest, Editura Humanitas, 2007, and, respectively, “*Răspuns criticilor mei și neprietenilor lui Negru Vodă*,” Bucharest, Editura Humanitas, 2011.

⁷¹ C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, pp. 68-70.

⁷² Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoria Românilor. Din cele mai vechi timpuri până la moartea lui Alexandru cel Bun [1432]*, volume I, fifth edition, Bucharest, Fundația Regală pentru Literatură și Artă, 1946, p. 316: “conquering father”; p. 386. Nicolae Stoicescu, Florian Tucă, 1330. *Posada*, p. 64, note: Basarab, “dominating father” who vanquished the Black Tatars from the former Black Cumania = Negru Vodă [Radu the Black], plus other plausible explanations. István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the pre Ottoman Balkans...*, a very well-balanced analysis on pp. 151-153.

confirmed by a king⁷³ surrounded by schismatics and pagans whom he knew very well. Besides, the Roman pontiff knew this and mentioned it quite often: on 16 June 1332, Holy Pope John XXII wrote to King Charles that “we were shown by you that, sometimes, when you, most dear son, driven by the zeal of the Catholic faith, turn your army against the *schismatics* and the *infidel heretics neighbouring your kingdom* (our emphasis), you often happen to reach with your army some places that are so dry and barren”⁷⁴; the same Pope John XXIII wrote on 11 July 1334, this time to “all the believers in Christ found in the Kingdom of Hungary and in other lands subjected to our beloved son in Christ, the illustrious King of Hungary [...] *you endure* from the *schismatics, Tatars, pagans and other mixed nations of unbelievers, invasions, devastation, the taking of captives, enslavement, imprisonment and other various kinds of torture and countless torments* (our emphasis)”⁷⁵; on July 11 1351, Clement VI wrote that “in the kingdom and *around his kingdom of Hungary* (our emphasis), there are many schismatics, Philistines, Cumans, Tatars, pagans and infidels, whom he is going to make receive the Holy Baptism”⁷⁶; on 1 August 1410, Pope John XXIII addressed his envoy to Hungary, the Bishop of Placentia, “*reformatoris [...] in spiritualibus*,” for eradicating the heresy that had seized the Roman faith because of the proximity to the kingdom’s borders of the mixed nations of Cumans, Tatars, Romanians and others,⁷⁷ the idea being reiterated in the document of 18 August 1410.”^{78*}

Regarding the first question, according to Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu, those who launched the names of Marghita/Margareta for the consort of Basarab I in their chronicles were Dionisie Fotino and Tunusli,⁷⁹ while the genealogy of the Cantacuzinos simply calls her Cneajna [*<kneaghina = the knez’s daughter*].⁸⁰ Since the entire genealogy of the first Basarabs up until 1352/1364 was a phantasmagoric blend and some continue to perpetuate it on the Internet by going back to the Roman Empire, we believe that the reference from the Cantacuzinian Genealogy relates to Nicolae Alexandru’s first wife, while Fotino and Tunusli referred to the wife of Basarab I [the Radu Negru of the first genealogies]. In an extraordinary attempt to clear the genealogical detritus from Basarab’s family, Alexandru Lapedatu showed that the unaltered popular tradition was aware that the Catholic spouse of Negru Vodă,

⁷³ C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, p. 69.

⁷⁴ *DIR, seria C, Transilvania, veacul XIV*, vol. III, doc. 95, pp. 271-272.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. 197, pp. 328-329.

⁷⁶ *DRH, seria C, Transilvania*, vol. X, doc. 45, p. 40.

⁷⁷ *Hurmuzaki*, I/2, doc. 385: “hereses pullulant et imunerabilia catholice fidei ex propinquitate, quam habent cum Cumanis, Philisteis, Valachis, Tartaris et quamplurimis aliis infidelibus in finitibus partibus commorantibus, ...,” pp. 466-468.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, doc. 386, pp. 468-469. In a letter issued from Rome on 15 December 1399, Boniface IX was even more explicit when he stated: “in oppido de Corona seu vulgariter Brascho nuncupato Strigoniensis dioceses in **confinibus christianitas** situato,” in *Ub.*, III, doc. 1445, pp. 246-247. The same holds for Martin V, when he made reference to “Transilvanensis dioceses in **ultimis confinibus** regni Hungarie constitutum,” in *Ub.*, IV, doc. 2092, p. 402.

* The passage was taken, with slight modifications in the footnotes, from our doctoral thesis: *Proscriși și infractori în Transilvania în secolele XIV-XVI*, Cluj Napoca, 2007, p. 4.

⁷⁹ Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae...*, tome IV, p. 207.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*.

Marghita, had raised the church in Câmpulung [Cloașter] and was prosecuted for this fact by her husband, or being embittered that he had destroyed her church, she committed suicide in *Pârâul Doamnei*.⁸¹ The historian then followed a logical thread and dismantled the legends about Negru Vodă. In note 1 on page 291, he showed the same sources as Hașdeu, but added others as well. Alexandru Lapedatu's excursus clearly demonstrated that the source of inspiration remained the Diptych from Câmpulung Muscel.⁸² Dimitrie Onciul wrote in one of his articles from 1916 that the Diptych from Câmpulung was rewritten, "revised and renewed" [according to a note from the manuscript probably] in 1701 and was kept in the Romanian Academy Library with the call number mss. 3722⁸³: "Io Basarab Voevod i gospodža ego Marghita." The fact that Lady Marghita appears in the Diptych from Câmpulung would logically/theologically have only one explanation: because the Orthodox Church forbids [forbade] commemorating the dead of other confessions in the Proskomedie during the Liturgy, aside from the personal prayers for the demised made in the special ceremonies, and, for instance, the second wife of Voivode Nicolae Alexandru, Clara, known to have been a Catholic, was not mentioned together with her husband [the first, Maria, was] leads to the idea of the Greek confession for the wife of Basarab the schismatic, son of Thocomerius - Thotomerius. We shall offer three working hypotheses below. Could this have been a scribal error from 1710, when the text was copied, or from 1758-1762? Could the fact that the "hierarch" Nicola was unable to make the association between Nicolae and Alexandru, actually, already irreversibly confused in the mentality of the time with Radu Negru Vodă not have been the only error? This is possible too, but, for example, the list of metropolitans from the copy of 1826-1831 is accurately rendered,⁸⁴ without graphic errors. But this copy of the diptych comprises the list of rulers that Onciul knew to be incomplete because there were two types. In the copy of 1831, they appear to be mixed, as noted in the two descriptions that are 91 years apart. From our perspective, despite all the possible graphic errors, we believe that

⁸¹ Alexandru Lapedatu, "Cum s-a alcătuit tradiția națională despre originile Țării Românești," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională al Universității din Cluj*, volume II/1923, Bucharest, Editura Cartea Românească S.A., 1924, p. 290.

⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 291. The same source was given by Constantin Kogălniceanu, *Cercetări Critice cu privire la Istoria Românilor, Basarab I zis Negru Vodă întemeietorul Țării Românești*, Fascicola I, Bucharest, Minerva, Institut de Arte Grafice și Editura, 1908, p. 5.

⁸³ Dimitrie Onciul, "În chestiunea bisericii domnești de la Curtea de Argeș," in *Scieri istorice*, edited by Aurel Sacerdoțeanu, volume II, Bucharest, Editura Științifică, 1968, pp. 239-240. Fr. Lecturer Dr. Radu Tascovici indicates that the diptych is from 1710, copied by Nicola the "hierarch" [renewed at the order of kir Iosif the pilgrim hieromonk] and recopied between 1758 and 1762 and updated during the time of Igumen Nicodim Belețeanul. In fact, we find out further on, the document of 1710 no longer exists, only the copy from 1762, another copy from 1784 identified in 1925 also disappearing until the present moment. Instead, the copy from 1831 has been retrieved, having initially been considered lost; the call number BAR given by Onciul is in fact the call number of the copy from 1758-1762, in "Manuscrisele copiate în Mănăstirea Negru Vodă din Câmpulung," in *Revista Teologică*, no. 3, Editura Andreiană, Sibiu, 2007, pp. 306-307.

⁸⁴ Fr. Lecturer Dr. Radu Tascovici, *Manuscrisele copiate în Mănăstirea Negru Vodă...*, pp. 312-315. We do notice that the historian C-tin Rezachevici is inclined to name Basarab's consort in *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, plate II.

Basarab's consort was called Marghita⁸⁵ <Margaret, but as regards her confession, there are three possibilities: she may have been Catholic, but converted to Orthodoxy, or she was Orthodox and, possibly, not from the Kingdom of Hungary, or she was Catholic, but her association with the church of the Orthodox founder was so strong [through donations, support of another type, cofounder] that all hindrances were in this case surpassed. What do we base our statements on? On the comparison with the Diptych from Monastery of Moldovan Bistrița. The ladies known to have had the Latin confession also do not appear there: Margaret-Mușata, Ringalla, Maria Holszanka, the relatives of Governor John Hunyadi married to the rulers of Moldova, and while some are very well known [Ringalla, the founder's wife, Maria, the founder's daughter] and from the founder's next of kin [Alexandru cel Bun], the Diptych overlooks them. Just like it overlooks the Armenian or the Jew Aron [princely name Petru],⁸⁶ just like it overlook the sons and the wife of Iuga Ologul, the founder Alexandru's brother, the wife of Stephen I, the brother of the founder, or that of Peter I, with her sons Roman and Ivașcu, the cousins of the ruler. This would explain the first two situations presented.

We believe that the very strong foundational associations could also explain the difference of names between the two Wallachian diptychs for the wives of Voivode Radu, the nephew of Lady Marghita: Ana⁸⁷ [the Diptych from Câmpulung Muscel]⁸⁸ and Kalinikia⁸⁹ [Tismana Monastery].⁹⁰ The clerics from Câmpulung commemorated Ana as a cofounder/ donor of their church, and those from Tismana - Lady Kalinikia, who had made donations of villages⁹¹ to her husband's monastery. As other historians have noticed too, when Dan I made donations to the monastery, on behalf of his late father, he did not mention Lady Kalinikia,⁹² Dan II called her "lelea" [aunt, big sister], but Vlad Dracul reconfirmed the donations made by "Lady Kalinikia, the grandmother of my highness."⁹³

The name of the first princess consort of Wallachia is that of a saint from the primary age, worshipped both in the West and in the East, but under different names [Saint Margaret of Antioch - Saint Marina]. After 1271, in the space of the Hungarian

⁸⁵ În 1213, the Register from Oradea attested a *Margueta*, the servant of the priest Custodia, which makes us believe that this is name that the lady must have used for herself, and the first drafters of the diptych will have written down exactly this form, which after being recopied several times turned from Margueta into Margita, in *DIR, C, XI-XIII*, doc. 67, p. 48.

⁸⁶ Damian P. Bogdan, *Pomelnicul Mănăstirei Bistrița*, f. ed. Bucharest, 1941, p. 86.

⁸⁷ According to a Serbian chronicle, the daughter of Knez Lazăr of Serbia, in C-tin Rezachevici, *Istoria popoarelor vecine și neamul românesc în Evul Mediu*, Editura Albatros, Bucharest, 1998, p. 374. Let us retain only the basic idea from the chronicle: the possibility that Lady Ana came from the highest ranks of the Serbian nobility.

⁸⁸ Nicolae Șerbănescu, Nicolae Stoicescu, *Mircea cel Mare [1386-1418]. 600 de ani de la urcarea pe tronul Țării Românești*, Bucharest, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1987, p. 12.

⁸⁹ On her origins, see the discussions from Panaitescu, Andreescu, Șerbănescu and Stoicescu, *op. cit.* in the chapters dedicated to Mircea's family.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 8.

⁹¹ P. P. Panaitescu, *Mircea cel Bătrân*, pp. 47-48.

⁹² *Ibidem*, p. 42.

⁹³ *Ibidem*.

kingdom, at least, the adoption of the anthroponym Margaret for girls would, of course, be increasingly linked to the initiation of the beatification process for the daughter of King Bela IV of Hungary. What is interesting in the above-mentioned context is the mention of a church dedicated to Saint Marina in Câmpulung, with a dating that ranges from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century.⁹⁴

The first Margaret mentioned in the Transylvanian area, whence Basarab's "Catholic Lady" was assumed to have come, was the daughter of Forcasius, the wife of Torcunca, attested by the Registry of Oradea in 1234⁹⁵ as *Margaretha*. She was accused of having donated an estate to the Joannites unbeknownst to her brothers. On 1 July 1296, the chapter of the Church of Transylvania issued a document which mentioned another *Margaretha*, Iwanka's wife, the mother of Johannes and Gregorius, the grandmother of Johannes, who along with her grandson Johannes prevented her sons from selling certain estates from Cojocna County to the nobles of Geoagiu.⁹⁶ We mention her in opposition to the noble lady Margaretha from 1234, who donated estates to the Joannites. The second seems related to an anthroponymic environment of Oriental confessional extraction, with a Slavic background, *via* her husband, the noble Iwanka. In 1313 was attested a *Margareta*, Tyuan's daughter, Scolastic's sister, in the German space near Alba County.⁹⁷ Perhaps Basarab's consort was from this southern area of Transylvania, where the name Margareta was rather well documented in the families of grafs, or perhaps even from Câmpulung and its surroundings,⁹⁸ an area of definite Saxon colonisation and expression until the late fifteenth century. The Saxon graf families were quite strong and proud of their origin and status. Perhaps it should be noted that only after crushing the revolt of Henning of Petrifalău near Rupea fortress [Cohalom] by the Cumans' light cavalry troops and the other troops of Voivode Thomas [1324] did King Charles I have definitive silence in Transylvania, giving full rope to his violent and corrupt relative.⁹⁹

The answer to the last question in this section, that of multiple matrimony, is quite clear: from the evidence we have so far, such a possibility is not confirmed. Basarab and his consort, Margueta/ Marghita/ Margaret/ X did, however, have heirs. The descendants of the royal couple were a daughter [see below] and several sons, as we are informed by a document from the Hungarian chancellery of 19 May 1335, which, recalling the disaster of the royal army on the return journey, said that it had been caused by "Bazarab Olacus et filios eius,"¹⁰⁰ We know one of them, probably the only survivor

⁹⁴ Gheorghe I. Cantacuzino, *Săpături arheologice la monumente din Câmpulung*, a presentation from 2006 in the seventh symposium of the Association for Architecture Restoration Archaeology, seen online: http://www.simpara.ro/ara7/a7_01_10.htm, accessed on 12.09.2012.

⁹⁵ *DIR, C, XI-XIII*, doc. 67, p. 143.

⁹⁶ *DIR, C, XIII/2*, doc. 476, p. 425.

⁹⁷ *Ub.*, I, doc. 333, p. 306.

⁹⁸ Tudor Sălăgean, *Un voievod al Transilvaniei: Ladislau Kán [1294-1315]*, Cluj Napoca, Editura Argonaut, 2007, p. 120, the clear idea of the control Ladislaus Kán exerted over the Câmpulung area, connected also with the presence of Laurencius's tombstone.

⁹⁹ See also *Ibidem*, pp. 180-184.

¹⁰⁰ *DRH, D*, doc. 29, p. 57.

of his father in 1351/1352, by his first name "Alexandrum Bozorabi,"¹⁰¹ that is Alexandru son of Basarab. One of these sons had been offered by his father as hostage to the Hungarian royal court, as part of the peace offer proposed to the Angevin sovereign, "I shall send one of my sons to your court, so that he may serve on my money and on my expense."¹⁰² Perhaps, in terms of his age, he fit into that category of court youth [*aule iuvenis*].¹⁰³ Pál Engel believes that the court officers were called *aule parvulus*, while the pages/ court youth were *aule juvenis*, the first in rank being the knights of the court, *aule miles*; these were generalised at the Angevin court in the period 1311 [the youth] - 1321 [the officers] - 1324 [the knights].¹⁰⁴

What seems certain is that some of Basarab's sons were past the apprenticeship of weapons, so they could already consider themselves to be fighters. This also shows us that Basarab must have been over 40-45 years old in 1330. If the founder had not been past the middle age, it would mean that all Wallachian voivodes after him were teenagers. In support of this idea comes some information from the Balkan space. According to the memories of Emperor John VI Cantacuzenus, between 1323 and 1330 the Ungro-Vlachs and the Scythians [Tatars] supported Tsar Michael III Shishman [1323-1330] to seize power in Bulgaria.¹⁰⁵

Given the fact that during this period Basarab appeared as Voivode of Wallachia, it is already known that he supported Michael III both in 1323 and in the lost battle against the Serbs in Velbujd [28 July 1330].¹⁰⁶ This was confirmed in the preface of Stephan Dušan's *Zakonik*, where the Serbian Tsar remembered how his father had also fought against "Basarab Ivanco, the father-in-law of Tsar Alexandru" in the already mentioned battle.¹⁰⁷ The one who first put the news into circulation appears to have been Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu. Beyond his eccentric attempts to explain the name Basarab = ban sarab [the ruler *sarabă*]¹⁰⁸ or the invention, furthermore, after reading a passage of the text we shall reproduce below, an Alexandru [by misreading the extended apposition of the text], because of the very genealogical chaos of our first Wallachian rulers,¹⁰⁹ the historian nonetheless provided some valuable information, including the reporting of black heads on the Angevin coins in Hungary.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*, doc. 38, p. 70.

¹⁰² George Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele istoriei românilor*, volume XI, *Cronica pictată de la Viena*, Bucharest, Tipografia Bucovina, 1937, p. 234.

¹⁰³ On these, see András Kovács, *Voievozii Transilvaniei și evoluția instituției voievodale...*, p. 27.

¹⁰⁴ Pál Engel, *Regatul Sfântului Ștefan...*, pp. 173-174.

¹⁰⁵ *Fontes Historiae Daco Romanae*, edited by Alexandru Elian, Nicolae Șerban-Tanașoca, volume III, *Scriptori bizantini [secolele XI-XIV]*, Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1975, pp. 483-486.

¹⁰⁶ Nicolae Stoicescu, Florian Tucă, 1330. *Posada*, pp. 66-67. More recently, for an extensive presentation of the actions in Bulgaria from the years 1323-1324, see C-tin Rezachevici, *Istoria popoarelor vecine și neamul românesc în Evul Mediu*, Bucharest, Editura Albatros, 1998, pp. 326-327.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 67. According to *The Cambridge Medieval History*, volume IV, editor John B. Barry, Cambridge University Press, 1923, p. 538: next to the 12,000 Bulgarians, there also participated Basarab's troops and 3,000 Tatar mercenaries against Stephen Uroš III.

¹⁰⁸ Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae, Dicționarul limbei istorice și poporane a Românilor*, volume III, *B-Bărbat*, Stabilimentul Grafic I. V. Socecu, Bucuresci, 1893, p. 2550 et sqq.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 2458. The same error appears in Iorga, though with the mention, this time, of a more probable Basarabă, son of Ivancu, in *Istoria Românilor*, volume III, *Ctitorii*, f. ed., Bucharest, 1937, p. 176.

We shall reproduce the exact text of the *Zakonik*'s preface after Haşdeu's study from his already cited work: "Alexandru, the Tsar of the Bulgarians and Basarab Ivanca, the **father-in-law** of Tsar Alexandru of the neighbouring Black-Tatars and the Saxon rulers and other rulers with them"¹¹⁰ [we have operated a small change/ reversal in the translation because the Serbian text has the following wording: *Alezendra xara Blagarmu n Basarabu Ivanka tasta Alezendra*, meaning "Basarab Ivanka" and not "Ivanco Basaraba" for which Haşdeu opted in his translation].

After the disaster from Velbujd, where Tsar Mikhail died either killed under his horse or a few days later, from his wounds, his army was dismantled and the Serbian King Uroš reinstated his repudiated sister and his nephew, John Stephen, on the Bulgarian throne.¹¹¹ Tsar Michael's last wife, the sister of the basileus Andronikos III Palaiologos, was banished from the capital, and in revenge, the Greek emperor occupied the South of Bulgaria.¹¹² A few months later, Ivan Alexander, a nephew of Michael III's and Basarab's son-in-law, gave a coup and seized power [1331-1371].¹¹³ The father-in-law was perhaps not a stranger to these actions,¹¹⁴ in the sense that he might have financially helped his son-in-law, being able, for example, to offer 7,000 silver marks to the Hungarian king a different context in the fall of 1330.¹¹⁵

During the campaign that ended with defeat from Velbujd, the future tsar, then only the nephew of the tsar in office,¹¹⁶ had long been married to Basarab's daughter,¹¹⁷ which makes us believe that she was grown up, having been born probably in 1299/1300 at the earliest and no later than in 1302/1303. This is not simply a hypothesis [see note], and towards the end of 1321, the eldest son of the future tsar was already born, being baptised Michael Asen,¹¹⁸ after his uncle, which leads to the idea that perhaps

¹¹⁰ Bogdan Petriceicu Haşdeu, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae...*, p. 2458. Translated also in G. Mihăilă in 1972, cf. Ştefan Andreescu, *Alliances dynastiques des princes de Valachie...*, p. 360, note 7.

¹¹¹ *The Cambridge Medieval History*, volume IV, p. 538.

¹¹² *Ibidem*.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 539.

¹¹⁴ C-tin Rezachevici, *Istoria popoarelor vecine şi neamul românesc...*, p. 328, claimed that the party of the anti-Byzantine and anti-Serbian boyars, who wanted the alliance with Wallachia, actively supported Ivan Alexander.

¹¹⁵ George Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele istoriei românilor*, volume XI, p. 234.

¹¹⁶ On the prosopography of the last tsars, see Ivan Božilov, *Familijata na Asenevci (1186-1460)*, Izd-vo na Bŭlgarskata akadēmii a na naukite, Sofia, 1985.

¹¹⁷ According to C-tin Rezachevici, the matrimonial alliance Shishmanids-Basarabs was concluded in 1321, when Ivan Alexander's father had not been appointed yet as ruler in Kran by his brother-in-law Michael III, in *Istoria popoarelor vecine şi neamul românesc...*, p. 328. In our opinion, the matrimonial alliance should be placed a little earlier, in around 1315/1316, when the Transylvanian rebels of King Charles Robert were in close connections with Halicz, Serbia, Vidin, Wallachia and the Bulgarian Tsarate and unleashed the revolt that would last until 1321/1322; for all these aspects, see Tudor Sălăgean, *Un voievod al Transilvaniei: Ladislau Kán [1294-1315]*, Cluj Napoca, Editura Argonaut, 2007, pp.168-182. For the external alliance of the rebels, see p. 173. A royal document from 23 October 1317 relates about the conflicts with Ban Theodor of Vejtech, with "*domini dozpoth de Budinio*" and with the sons of Ladislaus Kán, under the city of Deva, in Zsigmond Jakó, *Codex Diplomaticus Transsylvaniae*, II, 1301-1339, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 2004, doc. 281, p. 125 [hereinafter *CD Trans.*].

¹¹⁸ In 1332, at his engagement with Maria, the 4-year old daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos III, the fiancé was 10, see *Ibidem*, p. 329.

Basarab I, the grandfather of the child, must have been, in 1330, 50-52 years old, at most, and 44-45 years old, at least, so he must have been born sometime between 1278 and 1286.¹¹⁹ According to several statements made by the Romanian historians, the daughter was called Theodora¹²⁰ and had served as a means of strengthening the alliances of the two sovereigns¹²¹ [Michael III and Basarab I] against neighbours¹²² [for instance, Serbia, Hungary, the Empire of Constantinople], in the context of increased instability on the Balkan-Danubian political stage. Later, the divorce of the couple was pronounced [after 1341], and Ivan Alexander married a Jew who had recently converted to Orthodoxy, Sara-Theodora.¹²³

We know nothing about Basarab's other sons, except that Alexandru outlived him, as shown above. Alexandru or Nicolae Alexandru, as his only document refers to him, preserved in transumpt, from 13 November 1618,¹²⁴ for the church of the princely court in Câmpulung, has raised extensive discussions among our historians on account of his two names.¹²⁵ We do not wish to resume the issue but simply to make a few observations. Alexandru is neither a "Catholic," nor simply a Greek name. Through the victory of Christianity in the Roman Empire and the imposition of the worship of saints

¹¹⁹ Alexandru Lapedatu also places his birth towards the end of the thirteenth century, "Cum s-a alcătuit tradiția națională despre originile Țării Românești," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională al Universității din Cluj*, volume II/1923, Bucharest, Editura Cartea Românească S.A., 1924, p. 303.

¹²⁰ Ioan Lupaș, "Atacul lui Carol Robert, regele Ungariei, contra lui Basarab cel Mare, domnul Țării Românești," in *Studii, Conferințe și Comunicări Istorice*, volume II, Bucharest, Tipografia Cartea Românească, 1940, p. 46; P. P. Panaitescu, *Mircea cel Bătrân*, f. ed., Bucharest, 1943, p. 33: "On Teodora, daughter of Basarab this is what the old diptych from Târnova says in Slavic: 'Teodora the right believer tsarina of the great Tsar Ivan Alexandru, who took on the face angel being called Theofana, eternal memory'; Ion I. Nistor, *Istoria Românilor*, edited by Florin Rotaru, volume I, Bucharest, Editura Biblioteca Bucharestlor, 2002, p. 142. C-tin Rezachevici, *Istoria popoarelor vecine și neamul românesc...*, p. 328 [Teofana as a nun]; C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, genealogical plate I.1, r. 3.

¹²¹ Ioan Lupaș, *Atacul lui Carol Robert, regele Ungariei...*, p. 46.

¹²² The defensive-offensive purposes of the military alliance, derived from the goals of the matrimonial relations from around 1315/1316 are also confirmed by the letter of King Charles Robert from March 1329, who admitted that he had placed Dionysius Szécsi as castellan of the city of Mehadia "located at the margin [of the kingdom, our note]" in 1322, "in order for him to stand against the Bulgarians, of Basarab, Voivode of Wallachia, the schismatic King of Serbia and the Tatars," his former enemies. Charles Robert accused them of undermining the unity of the Roman faith and his kingdom, in *DRH, D*, doc. 18, p. 41. The four powers were engaged in a conflict 8 years later in a rapport of 3:1. On 18 March 1322, Dionysius Szécsi was attested with the position of Castellan of Mehadia, in Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457*, vol. I, MTA Történettudományi intézete, Budapest, 1996 [*Archontológia*], p. 367. Similarly, the document of 1329 confirmed Basarab's rule also for the period prior to 1322, but also the swivelling policy of the surrounding states relative to the aggressive approach of the Angevin monarch, who continued a project idea launched by his great-grandfather, Charles of Anjou, the brother of the Holy King Louis IX, that of creating an empire, see Steven Runciman, *Vecerniile Siciliene*, Bucharest, Editura Nemira, 2011, after the ninth English edition Cambridge UP, 2008 [ed. I, CUP, 1958], p. 318.

¹²³ C-tin Rezachevici, *Istoria popoarelor vecine și neamul românesc...*, p. 337.

¹²⁴ *DRH, B, Țara Românească*, volume I, Editura Academiei RSR, Bucharest, 1966, doc. 2, p. 11: "Io Neculai Alixandru voivode, the son of the old, the late Io Basarab voivode...."

¹²⁵ The most recent overview, with an attempt to conclude the polemics, in C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, p. 71.

and angels at the level of Christian society, anthroponyms of a hagiographic, martyrial nature, or in any way connected with the Church became charisma bearers, just like their carriers became citizens of Heaven, enjoying the gifts of the King Eternal.

In such clear conditions, “the need was felt in the Christian atmosphere to link the identity of an individual to that of a prophet, an apostle, a martyr [...] accessing an intimate, personal rapport with an invisible spiritual comrade.”¹²⁶ Imposing a name was no longer just a simple quotidian gesture. Through baptism, the choice of godparents and of the new-born’s name, the latter became a full citizen of *Christianitas*, guided by a spiritual patron. In addition, the name became an integral part of the new-born’s identity and indicated a manner of perception on the family: a subgroup was created within the great group of relatives.¹²⁷

About the name of the Founder’s successor much has been said and written, as shown in the above note. Western sources, as many as have been preserved, called him Alexandru,¹²⁸ and his son, Vlaicu, called him so, too,¹²⁹ whenever he had the opportunity. This does not mean that the ruler did not have a very close connection with the Saint Nicholas the Great Wonderworker, especially since he was a patron saint of the royal or imperial house members from the Orthodox Orient,¹³⁰ and then Alexandru will have chosen this agname in a particular context. Constantinopolitan sources contemporary with him called him “Alexandru” [1359],¹³¹ and posthumously they called him “kir Nikolaos” [κύρ Νικόλαος]¹³² or “kir Nicolaos Alexandros” [κύρ Νικόλαος Ἀλεξανδροῦ].¹³³

We believe that the explanation of the duplication of names for the first Wallachian rulers up until Dan I and then, occasionally, for others in the fifteenth or the sixteenth century¹³⁴ was made out of the express desire to mark an important event, either by adding to the proper names some dynastic names that were already in use, like Ivanco [the theophoric Ioannes > IO, God’s anointed one], Vladislav, even sacralised,¹³⁵ or by adding certain saints’ names as patronyms.

¹²⁶ Șerban Turcuș, “Biserica Romană și reglementarea impunerii numelui în Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIII-lea,” in *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, Theologia Catholica*, year 54, no. 4, 2009, p. 111.

¹²⁷ Constance Brittain Bouchard, “*Those of My Blood*”: *Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001, p. 98.

¹²⁸ DRH, D, doc. 32, p. 60, doc. 38, p. 70, doc. 40, p. 73. See also *Scriptores rerum hungaricarum veteres ac genuini, partim primum, tomus secundus, cura et studio Ioannis Georgii Schwandnerii, Impensis Ioannis Pauli Kraus, Bibliopollae Vindobonensis*, MDCCXLVI, p. 643: “Sancita igitur hic concordia et **Alexandro Transalpinæ Valachiae Vaiuoda** in gratiam recepto, fidelitatisque sacramento obligato.” C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, p. 72, *Psalterium* with a note about the death of “Alexandru the Transalpine voivode.” The French chronicler Philippe de Mezieres spoke in 1389 about “la terre d’Alexandre de Basserat en Ablaquie,” in Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae...*, tome IV, p. 206.

¹²⁹ DRH, B, Țara Românească, volume I, doc. 3, p. 12.

¹³⁰ Voyeslav Yanich, C. Patrick Hankey, *Lives of the Serbian Saints*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1921, pp. 58-59.

¹³¹ A patriarchal decision to transfer Iachint from Vicina to Argeș, in *Fontes...*, volume III, p. 197.

¹³² *Ibidem*, p. 297.

¹³³ *Ibidem*, p. 287.

¹³⁴ Such as Alexandru Aldea, Basarab Laiotă, Neagoe Basarab, Radu Paisie.

¹³⁵ For instance, Saint Ladislaus of Hungary or Saint Vladislav of Serbia [† 1264].

A special case is that of dual use of the name,¹³⁶ depending on the language in which the document was issued [Latin or Slavic] or the adoption of a stronger dynastic name.¹³⁷

Thus, “Alexandru son of Bazarab” added, if we accept the mention of 1618, the name Nikolaos/ Nicolaus [victorious over the people] before 1352 and used it at will. His baptism name is linked to one of the numerous saints Alexandru from the first Christian centuries, who were celebrated both in the Occidental and in the Oriental milieus.¹³⁸ We will see when we discuss Lady Clara how interesting the name of Basarab’s son is from the point of view of anthroponymic use.

On the neighbouring territory of Hungary, one of the first names of Alexandru was that of the Abbot of Bozok, from Vác County,¹³⁹ in 1163, while in Transylvania it was mentioned in 1214.¹⁴⁰ The fact that the future voivode was baptised Alexandru has led some historians to regard him as Catholic. It is certain that both he and his father toyed with the pontifical Curia for several years, but the fact that they were “schismatics” is attested by a connoisseur of the problems of Ungrovlahia, the monarch Charles Robert, who, in his decree of 1332, called Basarab “the son of Thocomerius - Thotomerius the schismatic” [see also above]. That both father and son were laid to rest in the church they founded in Câmpulung indicates the same certain fact: they flirted with the Latin confession, but remained “schismatics.” When his son from his first marriage made a donation to the Monastery of Kutlumuş from Mount Athos [1369], he said at one point: “let thus be remembered **the parents of my highness** and I, now and in the days to come, glory in life here and absolution from sins in the next life [...] and rest to the souls and bodies of those departed from among their kin.”¹⁴¹ This is the text that informs us that both his parents had the Greek confession and may be commemorated in the Litany during the Liturgy.

Onomastically, Nicolae Alexandru is the “protector of the people”, but also the “victor over the people.” Despite other assertions, we would tend to link the adoption of his second name to the anti-Tatar campaign in which he participated between 1345 and 1350,¹⁴² after having resumed, according to the information from the Hungarian chronicles and chancellery documents, his relations with Angevin Hungary [1343/1344] and occupied the originary territory of modern Bessarabia.¹⁴³ This would

¹³⁶ Vladislav/Layk-Ladislaus, Vlad-Ladislaus Dragulya.

¹³⁷ Stolnik Petru from Lăpuşna became Alexandru (protector of the people/warrior) after seizing power in Moldova [1552].

¹³⁸ Most likely St. Alexander I of Romei [† 115/116], St. Bishop and Martyr Alexander of Jerusalem [†250 d. Hr.], St. Patriarch Alexander of Alexandria [250-328 d. Hr.], St. Bishop Alexander I of Constantinople [† 336-340?] or perhaps St. Alexander from Bergamo who became a military martyr after his martyrdom in the fourth century [† 303].

See an extensive treatment: <http://www.santiebeati.it/dettaglio/34250>, accessed on 11.09.2012.

¹³⁹ Fejér, II, p. 116.

¹⁴⁰ DIR, C, Trans., veac XI-XIII, volume I, Registrul de la Oradea. Year 1214, doc. 67.

¹⁴¹ Fontes..., volume III, p. 281.

¹⁴² Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoria Românilor. Din cele mai vechi timpuri până la moartea lui Alexandru cel Bun [1432]*, volume I, p. 379. For information from the chronicle of Raguzan Villari, see Bogdan Petriceicu Haşdeu, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae...*, tome IV, pp. 197-199.

¹⁴³ Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoria Românilor. Din cele mai vechi timpuri până la moartea lui Alexandru cel Bun [1432]*, volume I, p. 379. Maria Holban’s observations expressed in *Din cronica relațiilor...*, *passim*, may still not change our point of view.

certainly also be an explanation for the choice of the patron saint to which the church from Curtea de Argeș is dedicated - the Great Holy Hierarch Nicholas the Wonderworker.¹⁴⁴

Why was he given the baptism name of Alexandru? We believe that a reasonable explanation resides in the marriage between Theodora and Ivan Alexander, the nephew of Michael III Shishman. We consider that a consequence of this matrimonial tie was the baptism of Basarab's son by the future Tsar of the Bulgarians,¹⁴⁵ his brother-in-law, which would mean that he was born around the years 1315/1321. Nicolae Iorga claimed in one of his studies that Louis I and Alexandru were almost the same age when they negotiated, in 1343, an agreement between them as former enemies.¹⁴⁶ Louis was born in 1326, so when his father Charles Robert was 38, which does not deny this possibility to Basarab I too,¹⁴⁷ he must have been close to the age of the Hungarian king [see our own considerations above]. If our assumptions are correct, then Alexandru must have been older than the Hungarian king, a nearly mature man [22/28 years old] and will have already contracted his first marriage or was perhaps a widower/ divorced man, or else he would have married away the daughters from his

¹⁴⁴ The devotion to St. Nicholas is known throughout Russia, being often called the "fourth member of the Trinity," precisely because of the Russian people's piety. The iconographic type "St. Nicholas of Mozhaïsk" became famous in this area, being disseminated after 1302, when the Saint defended the town against the Tatars, appearing with a sword in one hand and with an ark in the other. More details in Helen Bome, "The Icon of St. Nicholas of Mozhaïsk in the Petseri Monastery in Setu folklore," in *Folklore, Electronic Journal of Folklore*, edited by Mare Kõiva & Andres Kuperjanov, published by FB and Media Group of Estonian Literary Museum, volume 34, 2006, pp. 74-75. [<http://www.folklore.ee/folklore/>]. What is interesting is the assertion according to which the latest datings of the icon in Estonia place it in the **fourteenth century** and the model is of **Balkan, possibly Serbian, influence**, p. 75. This indicates, without a doubt, that the story of the rescue of Mozhaïsk through the divine intervention of the Saint was spread extremely rapidly after that moment in 1302. According to the author, p. 75, it was to this carved icon of the statuary type, "not made by human hands" [an analogous model is that of the St. Archangel Michael in Modon-Egee], originally placed on the city wall, then in a chapel, that all the Grand Dukes of Moscow went on pilgrimage, as did the Russian saints or, later, the tsars. Another late hagiography of St. Nicholas on the Russian territory mentions how the Saint frightened and drove away the Tatars who wanted to destroy a Russian fortress occupied by the Cossacks, on the Irkut River, in 1674. The Saint appeared with a Mongoloid face, riding a donkey and with a fiery halo around his head. After their victory, the Cossacks ordered an icon of the Saint, as it had appeared to them, and on that site they raised a wooden church dedicated to the Saint, in *Viața și minunile Sfântului Nicolae*, editor: L. S. Desartovici, Bucharest, Editura Sophia, 2006, pp. 60-61. It seems that the Mongol tribes, such as the *calmâci*, worshipped the one who had terrified them once, under the name of the "Old White" or the "Venerable White," and the ballads dedicated to him said the same thing [his statues and representations indicate certain Christian symbolic elements next to the Mongoloid face, see [<http://www.all-creatures.org/articles/rf-russian.html>]]. It is interesting how the chronicler Johannes of Kukullew also ascribed Andreas Lackfi's victory over Altamir to St. Ladislaus's intervention in around 1345, see Dimitrie Onciul, "Papa Formosus în tradiția noastră istorică," in *Scrieri istorice*, edited by Aurel Sacerdoțeanu, volume II, Bucharest, Editura Științifică, 1968, pp. 7-8.

¹⁴⁵ With an insight that was often his distinctive mark, Nicolae Iorga linked the name Alexandru of Wallachia to that of Ivan Alexander of Bulgaria, without continuing his statement with a logical assumption; the son of Basarab was named in honour of his brother-in-law, freshly related to the Basarab family, in *Istoria românilor pentru poporul românesc*, sixth edition, Vălenii de Munte, Editura Așezământului Tipografic "Datina Românească," 1926, p. 64; *Istoria Românilor*, volume III, *Ctitorii*, p. 185.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 185.

¹⁴⁷ Nicolae Iorga probably made one of his ingenious suppositions, which he subsequently did not develop, either because of the absence of some sources or because of abandoning the line of research he had opened.

second marriage, Anca and Ana, who were very young, which would not have necessarily represented an exception in that period. Nicolae Iorga believed that Alexandru's first wife had been a Bosnian, based on the fact that his first born was baptised Vlaicu/ Layk, a specific name of that Balkan area.¹⁴⁸ In any case, the anthroponym Vladislav also belongs to Slavic area. What this lady was called is not unknown,¹⁴⁹ her name apparently having been Maria,¹⁵⁰ just like her Bosnian or Balkan origin tends to remain a constant in our historiography. One certainty is that this first wife of Alexandru's and Vladislav's mother came from an elite Orthodox environment. We do not know when she died, in any case before 1343, and she was probably buried in Câmpulung Muscel, where the old Diptych that mentioned her has been preserved.

Insofar as her mother is concerns, "Lady Marghita," her tomb probably lay either in the founder's church, or in one of Western-rite churches from Câmpulung Muscel: "Bărăția" [the oldest, with archaeological material dating from the thirteenth century, whence the tomb stone of Comes *Laurencius of Longo Campo* came] or "Cloașter" [possibly dating from the second half of the fourteenth century, destroyed in 1646].¹⁵¹

2. Lady Clara of Nicolae Alexandru [1351/1352-1364].

This lady, the third in their succession since the founder, became famous because of the play written by Alexandru Davila, the son of the famous founder of the modern school of medicine in Romania. Her name is known to us thanks to a document of the papal Curia from 1370, addressed to the illustrious widow of Nicolae Alexandru, in the context of the mission and conversion initiated by the Holy See.¹⁵² From here started the historiographical carousel, which seems to have set a few fixed points: the lady came from the Dobokai family, the house of Kőkényesradnót, the niece of Ban Mykud, the mother of the Balkan Tsarinas¹⁵³ Ana and Anca and of Radu I.¹⁵⁴ In

¹⁴⁸ Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria românilor pentru poporul românesc*, p. 65 [1926]. He maintained his opinion in *Istoria românilor și a civilizației lor*, Bucharest, Editura Fundației Ferdinand I-ul, 1930, on p. 70, but in volume 3 of *Istoria românilor*, pp. 226-227, he believed that Vladislav was the Bosnian name, and Layk was a shortened form of Ladislaus.

¹⁴⁹ Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae...*, tome IV, p. 207: the Cantacuzène genealogy calls her Cneajna/Kneaghina [the knez's daughter]. See the explanation from the name of Lady Marghita.

¹⁵⁰ Dimitrie Onciul, *În cheștiunea bisericii domnești de la Curtea de Argeș*, in *Scrieri istorice*, volume II, p. 240. The historian explains the fact that Alexandru's second name, Nicolae, was written down as sole voivode before "Io Alexandru Voievod i gospodă ego Maria" by suggesting that the old copyist was not aware of this aspect.

¹⁵¹ Gheorghe I. Cantacuzino, *Săpături arheologice la monumente din Câmpulung*, a presentation from 2006 in the seventh symposium of the Association for Architecture Restoration Archaeology, seen online: http://www.simpara.ro/ara7/a7_01_10.htm, accessed on 12.09.2012.

¹⁵² Hurmuzaki, I/2, doc. 122, p. 158.

¹⁵³ Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae...*, tome IV, p. 207. See his bibliography there, his explanations being mentioned by Ștefan Andreescu in the above quoted article *Alliances dynastiques des princes de Valachie (XIVe-XVIe siècles)*, note 1, p. 1, where the author considers that Lady Clara came from Dăbâca/Făgăraș, and not from the homonymous locality in Doboka County. Still, it is interesting that Hașdeu placed the village in Szekler Land, where, he claimed, Ban Mikéd owned many estates, in *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae...*, tome IV, p. 213.

addition to the story with Dumitru Dăbăcescu,¹⁵⁵ which was much to the liking of our interwar historiography, and the efforts made by Voivode Vlaicu's "bigoted" stepmother "to Catholicise" Wallachia, it appears that nothing is left to be said. Still, beyond the text of the document that mentions her and the fact that the kin of the Wallachian princess consort came from two families of Spanish immigration¹⁵⁶ that had settled in the Hungarian kingdom, there are incongruences that ought to be resolved [for instance, the Făgăraș origin, see *infra* notes]. Moreover, in his attempts to clarify the matter of Clara, Hașdeu created an amalgam that falls to pieces in the face of historiographical criticism today, but has often been taken *tale-quale*: her origin in the Szekler Land, the genealogy of her family, the Dăbăcescu, or even the notion of a maternal brother of Ladislaus of Doboka's, Petrus, who sold a mill in Hoghiz to Ladislaus himself in 1374.¹⁵⁷

I shall follow the traces of Lady Clara from the hypothetical moment of her marriage to Voivode Alexandru son of Basarab, sometime around the 1343, but no later than 1344-1345, in the period when the "mighty" Transalpine "baron" was subject to the Angevin monarch. Given that Louis I's battles with the Tatars began in 1345, and Alexandru bowed to the king in 1343/1344¹⁵⁸ [see above], our historiography has contended that the deputations of Demetrius Futaki, Bishop of Oradea, to Wallachia, mentioned in the act of 18 February 1355¹⁵⁹ took place in around these years and it was also then that their marriage was concluded.¹⁶⁰ In clarifying these issues we are assisted

¹⁵⁴ C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, plate II. We do not understand the preference of the illustrious scholar for the form Clara of Dobca for Alexandru's consort. The voivode called his relative of "Dobka" in the donation document of 1372, *DRH, D*, doc. 60, p. 103, and even if it opened the family's way to Făgăraș by granting the estates to the sons of Barnabas, the donated "Dobgka" estate had nothing in common with Doboka from the homonymous Transylvanian county whence the noble Knight Ladislau came. The only explanation would be that Rezachevici considers her, like Hașdeu, to have come from the Szekler Land, or like Andreescu, from Făgăraș, which is erroneous.

¹⁵⁵ The first were Hașdeu's remarks, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae...*, tome IV, p. 215, according to which Demetrius, son of Mikud, settled, after the marriage of Clara, his niece, in Jaleș County and passed to Orthodoxy, living until 1387, when he donated estates to Tismana; this information was also taken over by Iorga, *Istoria Românilor*, volume III, *Ctitorii*, p. 186, but it was seriously questioned by Constantin Gane, *Trecute vieți de doamne...*, note 1, p. 17.

¹⁵⁶ George Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele istoriei românilor*, volume XI, p. 140, but also Hașdeu, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae...*, tome IV, p. 215.

¹⁵⁷ A document mentioned as forged in *DRH, C, XIV*, doc. 2, p. 601.

¹⁵⁸ *Chronica Hungarorum* [1473]: "quidam princeps seu baro potentissimus Alexander, voyvoda transalpinus... audita pietatis ac etiam pietas eiusdem regis Lodouici fama: ad ipsum sponte personaliter veniens circa confinia ipsorum partium, ad pedes regie maiestatis humotenus et prostratus et ad obedientiam ac fidelitatem debitam reductus et integratus solemnina munera et clenodia presentando et suus dominus sub sancta corona recognoscendo," Dr. Andrei Veress, *Bibliografia româno-ungară*, volume I, Bucharest, Editura Cartea Românească, 1931, p. 1.

¹⁵⁹ *DRH, D*, doc. 38, pp. 69-72.

¹⁶⁰ Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria Românilor*, volume III, *Ctitorii*, p. 186, placed the marriage in 1345 and claimed that this was the goal of the episcopal deputations. Constantin Giurescu did not believe that Alexandru came to Transylvania to bow to the king in 1343, but that the peace and concord were perfected through Demetrius, in successive deputations, after the year 1341, in Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoria Românilor. Din cele mai vechi timpuri până la moartea lui Alexandru cel Bun [1432]*, volume I, p. 387. Dimitrie Onciul, "Anul morții marelui Basarab voievod," in *Scrieri istorice*, edited by Aurel Sacerdoțeanu, volume II, Bucharest, Editura Științifică, 1968, pp. 326-327.

by King Louis's statements, whereby Demetrius Futaki was sent on these legations to the Wallachian ruler "after obtaining the episcopal ministry."¹⁶¹ Demetrius was appointed as bishop by Clement VI on 15 July 1345.¹⁶² Did the Hungarian chronicler slip in an untruth, as Giurescu believed,¹⁶³ did he come to Transylvania to start the peace negotiations prior to the year 1345, when Alexandru was only co-regent?

This scenario seems the most natural, and after Demetrius Futaki's installation in the episcopal see of Oradea, because he was an experienced ambassador, he was sent to Câmpulung or Argeş to conclude peace with Basarab I. We also believe that the papal letter of 17 October 1345¹⁶⁴ to the Hungarian king, issued after receiving information from sources that were certainly Minorite and that also mentioned Bishop Demetrius, as well as Alexandru Basarab, denotes the disappearance of the conflicting situation between the two states, and even their good relations, for the pontiff would otherwise have avoided making reference to a royal enemy.

Besides, the Hungarian chronicler was not so wrong about the date of that encounter, mistaking it by only about one year. If we notice the royal itineraries to the eastern parts of the Hungarian Kingdom, in October 1343 the king was in Oradea, on 28 May 1344 he was at Lipova and around 15 June 1344, in Braşov, to meet the Wallachian co-regent himself, as Susana Andea considers,¹⁶⁵ because the only time the king was close to the Hungarian-Wallachian border at this time was in Haţeg in 1349.¹⁶⁶

It was then, sometime between October 1343 and 15 June 1344, that the meeting between Alexandru and Louis I must have occurred, perhaps also with his future wife, Clara, given that the king travelled with a large suite. There is no other way of explaining the way in which then ruler contracted this marriage than by assuming that he had also been to Transylvania prior to the years 1343/1344.

Through the former Ban Mikud and Nicolaus, his son, the family members had carried out administrative services in the Banat of Severin¹⁶⁷ and in Doboka County,¹⁶⁸ but were greatly involved in the kingdom's policy, in the second half of the thirteenth century, when a branch came off the house of Kökényesradnót, which formed the Dobokai family¹⁶⁹ through Mikud/ Mykud. The rise of the descendants of Comes

¹⁶¹ DRH, D, doc. 38, pp. 69-72.

¹⁶² Pál Engel, *Archontológia*, volume I, p. 76, note 155.

¹⁶³ Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoria Românilor. Din cele mai vechi timpuri până la moartea lui Alexandru cel Bun [1432]*, volume I, p. 388.

¹⁶⁴ DRH, D, doc. 32, p. 60.

¹⁶⁵ Susana Andea, "Itinerariile regilor în Transilvania voievodală şi în comitatele vestice şi nordice," in *Transilvania [secolele XIII-XVII]. Studii istorice*, Editura Academiei Române, 2005 [editor Susana Andea], p. 23.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 24.

¹⁶⁷ Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*, Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Kökényesradnót entry nem, 1. tábla: Dobokai. Bogdan Petriceicu Haşdeu, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae...*, tome IV, p. 214: 1275-1279. The one who was definitely attested with this office in DIR, C, XIII/2, doc. 184, p. 175: 10 February 1275, on 3 April 1275 the Ban was Ugrinus [doc. 185], la 11 August Paul [doc. 188], in 1276 [undated] Mikud again [doc. 192, p. 179] and in 1279 [doc. 231 and 232].

¹⁶⁸ *Idem*, *Archontológia*, volume I, p. 246: 1317.

¹⁶⁹ Tudor Sălăgean, *Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIII-lea. Afirmarea regimului congregaţional*, Cluj Napoca, Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2007, p. 147.

Mykud [I], the depositor of an unfulfilled Crusader vote and Comes of Doboka [1269, 1274],¹⁷⁰ was achieved through the unconditional adherence of his two sons, Mykud [II] and Emeric, to the cause of the young King Stephen.¹⁷¹ As Ladislaus IV the Cuman [1272-1291] recalled in several decrees of 1279, the son of Comes Mykud [I], namely Mykud [II], also served King Bela IV in the battles against the Bohemians, for “he was wounded in his right hand and in his ribs” when he attacked Mynen fortress, wishing to be, with his banner, among the first to enter the city, while in the siege of the city of Karchaulag in Austria, his right leg was crushed by the defenders with a boulder, and his left foot was pierced with a lance, the king being present at the scene.¹⁷² In addition, the king was satisfied that the ban had not taken the side of his infidels, after the death of Stephen V. In another document, he showed just how under the harsh circumstances from the city of Codlea, the family of Mykud [I] had stood by the side of King Stephen V.¹⁷³ Tudor Sălăgean explains why the king claimed that Mykud [II] had not taken sides¹⁷⁴: in 1274-1275, Mykud, related by marriage to the Monoszló family and a familiar of the Csáks, was propelled to the office of Ban of Severin,¹⁷⁵ through the complicated political game of the nobiliary parties. Also, his father had been renowned as Comes of Doboka following the Csáks’ victory.¹⁷⁶ After 1300, the prestige of Ban Mykud was transmitted to his son, Master Nicolaus, who, as the opponent of Voivode Ladislaus Kán, accommodated and feasted the King Charles Robert in his propaganda visit to his village, Agriș, from the end of 1310, then to Sânmiclăuș [around 8 December] in Turda County.¹⁷⁷ He and his relatives were Comites of Doboka up until 1330, as a result of their constant support of the Angevins and their opposition to the powerful Ladislaus Kán.¹⁷⁸ The family’s estates from the Doboka, Turda and Alba Counties included, among others, Geneu [Fundătura], Schoboltelky, Schepantelki [prior to 1269, reconfirmed],¹⁷⁹ Balwanus and *villam Nemty* [1269],¹⁸⁰ Dăbâca village, the land from Lujerdiu, several deserted lands pertaining to the *castrum* from Dăbâca [after 1269, reconfirmed in 1279],¹⁸¹ the Chobolou estate [1312?],¹⁸² the estates Igruchteluk and Kerekyeghaz [prior to 1269, reconfirmed],¹⁸³ Coppan [before 1288],¹⁸⁴ as well as Copand, near Mureș, donated by Emeric to the chapter of Transylvania in 1285¹⁸⁵ or Scentmyklous, near Arieș, donated to the Bishop of Transylvania, Petrus Monoszló, in

¹⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 260, 398.

¹⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 124.

¹⁷² *DIR, C, XIII/2*, doc. 231, p. 211.

¹⁷³ *Ibidem*, doc. 232, p. 213.

¹⁷⁴ Tudor Sălăgean, *Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIII-lea...*, note 25, p. 191: he had been on the winners’ side.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 171-172.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 177.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 328.

¹⁷⁸ *Idem*, *Un voievod al Transilvaniei: Ladislau Kán [1294-1315]*, p. 184.

¹⁷⁹ *DIR, C, XIII/2*, doc. 109, p. 119.

¹⁸⁰ *CD Trans.*, I, 1023-1300, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1997, doc. 275, p. 218.

¹⁸¹ *DIR, C, XIII/2*, doc. 232, p. 213.

¹⁸² *CD Trans.*, II, 1301-1339, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 2004, doc. 202, p. 99.

¹⁸³ *DIR, C, XIII/2*, doc. 109, p. 119.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. 335, pp. 294-296.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. 308, pp. 270-271.

1288 [a donation of King Stephen V's, from 1269]¹⁸⁶ and Jobusteluke in Alba County, sold by Mykud [II] and his sons, Master Nicolaus, Demetrius and Petrus, in 1297.¹⁸⁷

We know that from the large branch of the Kőkényesradnót house [family, *genere*], Renoldus, the son of Comes Johannes, and his brother-in-law, Master Petrus, son of Mychael, had been granted ownership of the estates of Vrman and Kepesteluk from Solnoc County by the Hungarian kings, for their deeds of arms.¹⁸⁸

For our older historiography, Clara was the daughter of Johannes, whose brothers were Nicolaus, Demetrius and Petrus.¹⁸⁹ As shown above, Constantin Gane rightly doubted this. The error of our historiography stemmed from the interpretation of the letter patent for the relative of Vlaicu, Ladislau of Doboka, who was called the nephew [*nepos*] of Mykud,¹⁹⁰ when in fact he was his grand-nephew. And since Ladislaus was the son of Johannes [Janus], he logically, but unrealy became the son of Mykud. Johannes was actually the son of Nicolaus, as shown in the act of 11 November 1312, issued by the chapter of Transylvania.¹⁹¹

His brothers were attested until around 1365, another brother, Leukus, appearing in 1340.¹⁹² Nicolaus, being mentioned as of age in 1297, and already having sons in 1312, who presented in a trial by themselves, some barely past their teens, must have been born in around 1270. In 1317, Nicolaus was involved in a trial for the estate of Izthyen, which was recognised as a royal donation made to him for his faithful service.¹⁹³ The estate had belonged to Dominicus yclept Zeuke, unfaithful to the king. Charles I ordered the passing of that estate into the hands of the Comes of Doboka [17 May 1317], until the clear setting of boundaries of the other estates by the chapter of Transylvania, when all the estates of that Dominicus were to pass into the possession of the comes. On 5 March 1320, the king ordered the chapter of Alba Iulia to send a witness for the establishment of some boundaries in the city of Bologa, and the king's witness was Master Nicolaus, son of Mykud.¹⁹⁴ On 3 October 1321, Nicolaus and his brother Petrus filed an injunction for the Jobusteluke estate, which they had sold at one time, but which they now claimed.¹⁹⁵ On 24 July 1322, Petru and his sons, together with his sons Nicolaus and his sons, were mentioned in conveyancing act for the estate of Banabic.¹⁹⁶ The fact is that Nicolaus must have been Clara's grandfather rather than her father. Then Ladislaus of Doboka, Vlaicu's relative, must have been Clara's brother, and he appears

¹⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, doc. 335, pp. 294-296.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, doc. 482, p. 429.

¹⁸⁸ *Ub.*, I, doc. 331, p. 304.

¹⁸⁹ Bogdan Petriceicu Haşdeu, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae...*, tome IV, p. 215.

¹⁹⁰ *DRH, D*, doc. 60, p. 105. There is a big question mark about that *nepos*, which was unusual for the diplomatics of the time. The drafter should have written instead *Ladislaus... filius Janus... filius Myked...*

¹⁹¹ *CD Trans.*, II, doc. 202, p. 99: Johannes, Nicolaus, Ladislaus and Michael, sons of Nicolaus, son of Ban Mykud.

¹⁹² Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*, Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Kőkényesradnót entry nem, I. tábla: Dobokai.

¹⁹³ *CD Trans.*, II, doc. 265, p. 119, doc. 269, p. 120, doc. 272, p. 121.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. 356, p. 149. It was also in this quality that he was mentioned on 19 April, doc. 362, p. 120. The document is found in the National Hungarian Archives under number DL 1991.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. 407, p. 162.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, doc. 437, p. 170.

in the documents between the years 1352¹⁹⁷/1359 and 1375.¹⁹⁸ Lady Clara must have been born after 1312, sometime in the 1310s-1320s, up until 1330. The first mention of a young woman named Clara in space of the seven counties was that of Clara, the daughter of Dominicus of Galda [Kald] in 1325,¹⁹⁹ the granddaughter of Benedictus, from Alba County. Later, in 1331, mention was made of Clara, the daughter of Ws of Fratha,²⁰⁰ fellowship Ws, who received the ¼ of her father's estates in Cojocna County.

If Johannes must have been Clara's father, then his first major action, after his first mention in 1312, was that in 1329, during the conflict between Thomas Szécsényi, Voivode of Transylvania, and the Bishop of Transylvania, Andreas Szécsi, when, on the demise of Michael of Jucu, the former Vice-Voivode, serving the bishop, this pretext launched the conflict. Michael of Jucu, who became the bishop's treasurer, filed, through his new master, a suit against his former master, who sent his familiars to teach him a lesson. From among the nearly 30 familiars who attacked *manu militari* the villages of Suatu, Sărmașu, Gădălin and Imbuz,²⁰¹ the third on the list, after the Comes of Doboka, Johannes, son of Martinus of Moruț [Morouch], who led the operation, and Jacobus of Grind [Gerendi/de Gerend], son of Nicolaus,²⁰² was Johannes, son of Nicolaus, son of Mykud. In order, he was also followed by members of the Wass or Apafi family, all of them familiars of the mighty Transylvanian voivode. Also, we may believe that his father, Master Nicolaus, died sometime between 1322 and 1329 or after that date, because he would appear only as a means of identifying his son: Johannes, son of Nicolaus. In another order of ideas, we may assume that since he was a familiar of the Voivode of Transylvania, the main instigator, together with Dionysius Szécsi, of the campaign against Basarab,²⁰³ he participated in the unfortunate expedition from the autumn of 1330, along with other familiars of the house of Thomas.

On 25 May 1340, he entered into the possession of some estates together with his brothers,²⁰⁴ and in 1348, he was a voivodal witness man,²⁰⁵ just like in 1350,²⁰⁶ indicating a transfer to the Lăckfi family, Stephanus Sr. fulfilling this office of voivode between 1344 and 1350.²⁰⁷ In August 1352, together with his brother Ladislaus, he pledged - because of some financial needs - the estate of Morău, Doboka County to the Bishop of Transylvania, Andreas Szécsi, for 27 marks, after the weight in Buda²⁰⁸ and not the local one, from Transylvania. In November the same year, the Vice-Voivode

¹⁹⁷ DRH, C, vol. XI, doc. 108, pp. 109-111.

¹⁹⁸ Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*, Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Kőkenyészradnót entry nem, I. tábla: Dobokai.

¹⁹⁹ DIR, C, XIV/2, doc. 352, pp. 167-169.

²⁰⁰ DIR, C, XIV/3, doc. 35, pp. 27-28.

²⁰¹ DIR, C, XIV/2, doc. 556, pp. 296-297.

²⁰² Nicolaus was a loyal of Ladislaus Kán's: Comes of Turda [1312], Castellan of Lita [1315]; he later became a familiar of Thomas Szécsényi: Comes of Solnocul Interior [1325], then of Turda [1326] cf. Pál Engel, *Archontológia*, II, p. 84.

²⁰³ George Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele istoriei românilor*, volume XI, p. 233.

²⁰⁴ DIR, C, XIV/3, doc. 480, p. 537.

²⁰⁵ DIR, C, XIV/4, doc. 609, p. 421.

²⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, doc. 806, pp. 550-551.

²⁰⁷ Pál Engel, *Archontológia*, I, p. 12.

²⁰⁸ DRH, C, X, doc. 140, p. 146.

Transylvania, Stephanus, adjourned a trial for the estate of Micușa between the two brothers, present in person, and other nobles.²⁰⁹

On 16 April 1357, together with all the other family members, Johannes donated the estate of Morău, with all its rights, to some of their familiars who had distinguished themselves in battle by shedding their blood.²¹⁰ The estate must have been retrieved in the meanwhile from the Bishop of Transylvania, at some point between 1352 and 1357.

On 5 February 1358, he requested, together with his brother Ladislaus, a writ of injunction from the vice-voivode for the neighbours, to stop them from reaping the fruits of their estates.²¹¹ On 4 October 1361, Johannes and his relatives refused to show up in a royal court trial, lest they should break the custom, wishing to appear only before the voivode.²¹² On 11 November 1362, he requested the chapter of Transylvania to rewrite a document on the estates of Dârja and Chobolou in Doboka County,²¹³ and on 11 May 1364, he had not shown up to make a payment of 12 florins to some guests from Fărău and Medveș.²¹⁴ In February 1365, his son, Ladislaus, filed an injunction for an armed attack on his estate from Sânpetru,²¹⁵ which makes us believe that he will have passed away at around this date.

In accordance with Vlaicu's decree of 1372, we know that Ladislaus, who had distinguished himself in the battles against the Turks and the late uncle of the Wallachian rule, Ivan Alexandru, had two children: an unnamed daughter and, in the best anthroponymic tradition of naming,²¹⁶ a son Nicolaus,²¹⁷ thus named after his great-grandfather, or after his grandfather's brother, or after his father's cousin. Through the donation of his nephew, Ladislaus received the borough of Șercaia, and the villages of Veneția, Hoghiz and Dobka from Făgăraș.

On 2 February 1375, Master Ladislaus yclept the Brave was already dead, as stated by the convent of Cluj Mănăstur, which mentioned his widow, Doroteea, the daughter of the late David, a townsman from Cluj.²¹⁸ We suspect that either she was the second wife, or did not appear with the descendants before the convent. Since she was the daughter of David from Cluj, we believe that her father might have been that "David of Kuluswar" from 1336,²¹⁹ known from two documents as the "son of Bartholomeus and the brother of Stark" [April 1341],²²⁰ and, respectively, David "the brother of Stark,

²⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, doc. 154, pp. 167-168.

²¹⁰ *DRH, C*, vol. XI, doc. 108, pp. 109-111.

²¹¹ *Ibidem*, doc. 216, p. 223.

²¹² *DRH, C*, vol. XII, doc. 60, p. 44.

²¹³ *Ibidem*, doc. 133, pp. 109-110.

²¹⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. 255, pp. 242-243.

²¹⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. 386, p. 402.

²¹⁶ See Hasan Mihai, "Antroponimia și modalități de transmitere a antroponimelor în cadrul familiilor nobiliare transilvănene de la sfârșitul secolului al XIII-lea și din secolul al XIV-lea," in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 48, seria Historica, 2/2011, Cluj Napoca, 2011, pp. 17-18.

²¹⁷ *DRH, D*, doc. 60, p. 103.

²¹⁸ *DRH, C*, vol. XIV, doc. 376, p. 523.

²¹⁹ *DIR, C, XIV/3*, doc. 307, p. 398.

²²⁰ *DIR, C, XIV/4*, doc. 25, pp. 21-22.

the uncle of Bartholomeus" [May 1345].²²¹ He was a descendant of the families that had engaged in a veritable *vendetta* in the 1320s-1330s in Cluj.

About Lady Clara, we have two documents that allow us to complete her genealogical tree, but also to get a glimpse of her personality. These were published in the Hurmuzaki collection, Volume I, Part II, under the numbers 122 and 123 for the year 1370. One was previously published by Fejér in Volume IX/ 7 of his *Codex*, under number 191 on page 249. From these we learn that Lady Clara had two daughters married to the Balkan tsars, one of whom, Ana, had renounced schismatic Orthodoxy for the light of the Latin faith, according to Pope Urban VI. The latter asked the noble Lady Clara to insist on also converting Anca,²²² the daughter of the last Serbian Tsar, Stephen Uroš IV. Vladislav Vlaicu was her stepson, however. The two daughters, Ana and Anca, who wore two names derived from the initial of their father's name, Alexandru, as well as Radu I were the children resulting from the union between the second ruler of Ungrovlahia and the noble Lady Clara,²²³ daughter of Johannes, son of Nicolaus, son of Ban Mykud from the house of Kőkenyesradnót. These three must all have been born during the fifth decade of the fourteenth century, between 1343 and 1348. If the intuition of the historian Constantin Rezachevici was correct, then Radu came from the second marriage, he must have married very early and, like his father, he must have very soon become a widower after his first marriage, which would not be impossible taking into account the low life expectancy during that period.²²⁴ Ana was the first who got married, to Ivan Strașimir, before 1360²²⁵ and they had several children.²²⁶ Ana's conversion must have taken place between 1365 and 1369, probably towards 1369, so that would be consonant with the papal congratulations on the efforts of Alexandru's widow. Ivan Strașimir and his family disappeared somewhere in Anatolia after 1396, when the Ottoman Turks conquered the state.²²⁷ Anca, the second daughter, married Stephen Uroš V, Dušan's successor, also around 1360, and Vlaicu constantly helped his brother-in-law, who was under the incipient pressure of the Turks, until his disappearance in 1371.²²⁸ Unfortunately, we do not have news about the fate of the "schismatic" daughter of Voivode Alexandru and Lady Clara after the death of her husband, the last crowned Tsar of the "Empire of the Serbs and the Romanis." We only know that they did not have offspring, the tsar being about 30 years old at the time of his disappearance, and Anca being much younger.

²²¹ *Ibidem*, doc. 308, p. 239.

²²² *Hurmuzaki*, I/2, doc. 122, p. 158.

²²³ C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, plate II.

²²⁴ In the Turkish-Byzantine history, Ducas shows how in 1413/1414 Manuel II Palaiologos married his son, John VIII, to a Russian princess, rebaptised Ana, aged 11, who died after a plague epidemic in 1418, in Ducas, *Istoria Turco-bizantină [1341-1462]*, edited by Vasile Grecu, Bucharest, Editura Academiei RSR, 1958, pp. 132-134.

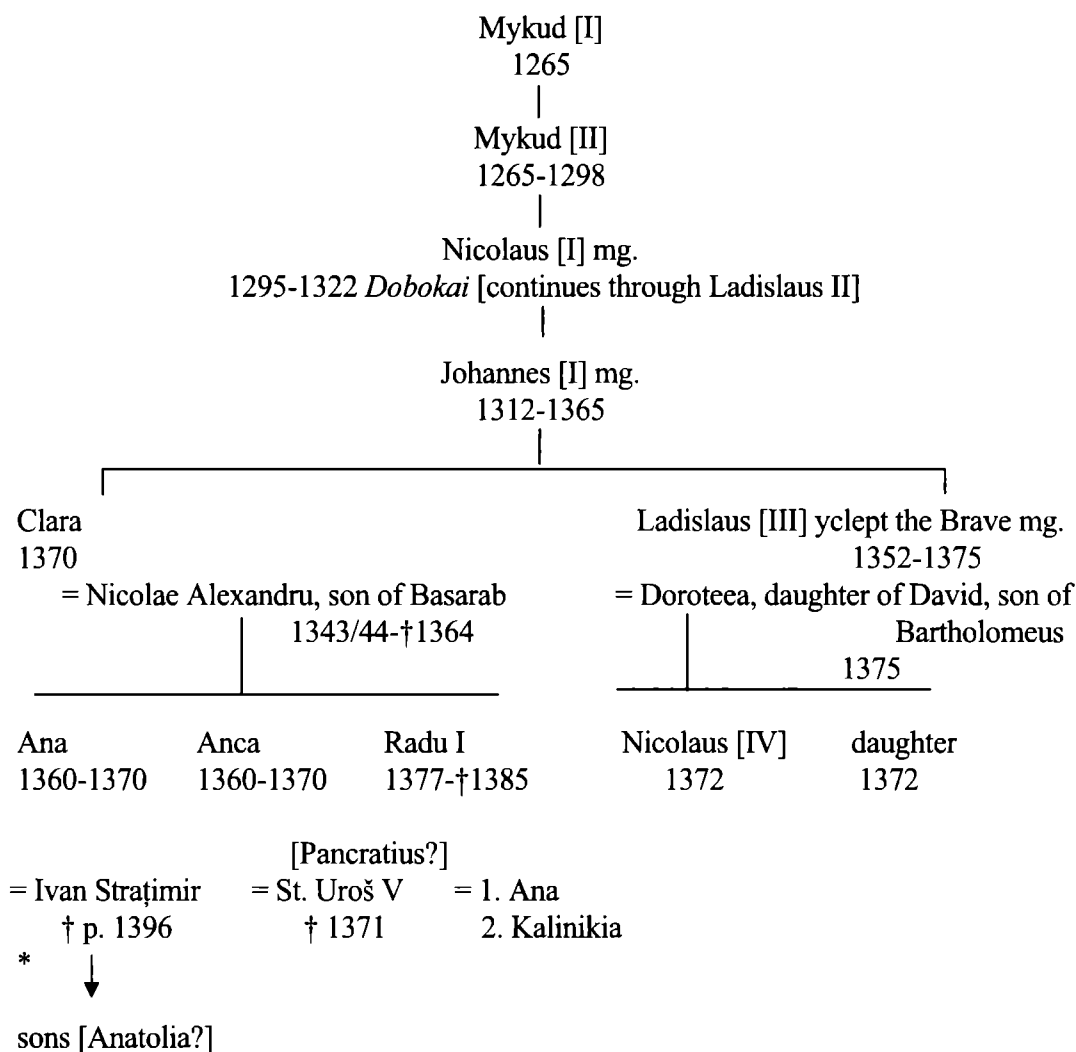
²²⁵ *Idem*, *Istoria popoarelor vecine și neamul românesc...*, p. 338. See also the following note.

²²⁶ Nicolae Iorga, *Domnița Anca și patronagiul ei literar (1360)*, *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, seria III, tom IV, memoriul 5, Bucharest, Cultura Națională, 1926, p. 374.

²²⁷ C-tin Rezachevici, *Istoria popoarelor vecine și neamul românesc...*, p. 343.

²²⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 373-374.

About Lady Clara, we know that she lived as a widow at her stepson's court from Argeş in 1370, that she was certainly alive at the moment of the royal donation to her brother Ladislaus [perhaps she was the one who suggested the donation], "our beloved blood relative," as Vlaicu said. Whether she was still alive in 1376/1377, at the time of Vlaicu's death, is an unanswered question for now, and we can surmise that her grave lies in one of the necropoles from Câmpulung.



1. The genealogical table of the Dobokai family and its descent along the line of Johannes [I].²²⁹

²²⁹ Developed and completed along the genealogical line suggested by Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*, Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Kökényesradnót entry nem, l. tábla: Dobokai.

3. Lady “Mara” of Mircea “the Elder” [1386-1418].

About Lady Mara of Mircea “the Elder,” everything appears to have been said by the monographers of Mircea’s reign and life. Still, we shall attempt to fasten a few loose items that are not very well fitted into the apparatus that has been produced. Perhaps we may clarify or simply reconsider them. Mircea’s reign has benefited from three monographic researches and numerous articles that have shed light where possible, as new sources have been discovered. What really intrigued us was a passage from the work of Constantin Gane, whose source we have not been able to identify: “and Mircea the Elder - Mara, a first cousin of his, so a Basarab as well. To make this wedding, Voivode Mircea first asked permission from Archbishop of Ohrid, who gave it to him, and then from the Patriarch of Constantinople, who answered (1394) that he would not approve of a consortium with a woman who was so close a relative of his, but would not disapprove of a marriage recognised by the Archbishop of Ohrid.”²³⁰ Panaitescu’s research would suggest that the lady was from Zala County and the historian associates her with the Cilly family,²³¹ as does Constantin Rezachevici.²³² The four documents associated with his estates²³³ are actually only two. Those referring to 1380 and 1398 are related to Tomaj de Sus [today, Badacsony Tomaj, the District of Tapolczától],²³⁴ which Panaitescu did not notice, while it was only the document of 3 July 1400 that mentioned the Tolmaj of Mircea’s consort. Tomaj de Sus was owned, from 1380 on, by the Bánfi family, which also owned the city of Lyndau [Lyndau Inferiori/Alsólendva, today in Slovakia],²³⁵ and in 1398, Paulus, Ladislaus and Bartholomeus, the sons of Jacobus of Noogh Thomay [Badacsony Tomaj] called for the establishment of borders for the estate “*Wduarnok Thomay*.”²³⁶ In 1380, the late Lucas, son of Nicolaus, had *iure hereditarii* over the estate of Laadthumay [part of Tomaj de Sus], which had passed into the possession of his sisters, Margaretha and Agnes. They transferred their rights “irrevocably” to other noblemen for other parts of estates in Zala County.²³⁷ The third Tomaj/ Tolmaj is Lesencze-Tomaj, near Tapolczá.²³⁸ Thus the only documents of 1400 and 1418 indicate that the lady owned estates in Zala County. The one that interests us is that of 1400, Tolmaj, also in the Balaton area [today a steppe near the town of Keszthely],²³⁹ an inheritance estate, in our opinion, which she certainly visited in 1400²⁴⁰

²³⁰ C-tin Gane, *Trecute vieți de doamne...*, p. 16.

²³¹ Petre P. Panaitescu, *Mircea cel Bătrân*, pp. 50-53.

²³² C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, genealogical plate II.

²³³ Petre P. Panaitescu, *Mircea cel Bătrân*, pp. 48, 50.

²³⁴ Dezsó Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza*, volume III, Kiadja A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Budapest, 1897, p. 117.

²³⁵ Pál Engel, *Archontológia*, I, p. 266 și Dezsó Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza*, volume III, p. 117.

²³⁶ Nagy Imre, Veghély Dezsó, Nagy Gyula, *Zala vármegye története, kiadja Zala vármegye közönsége oklevéltár*, II, Budapest, 1890, doc. 112, p. 292. D. Csánki shows that it is identical with Tomaj de Jos, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

²³⁷ Nagy Imre, Veghély Dezsó, Nagy Gyula, *Zala vármegye története*, II, p. 166.

²³⁸ D. Csánki, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

²³⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁴⁰ Nagy Imre, Veghély Dezsó, Nagy Gyula, *Zala vármegye története, kiadja Zala vármegye közönsége oklevéltár*, II, doc. 117, pp. 298-300.

and in 1418.²⁴¹ On 3 July 1400, King Sigismund wrote her, among other things, that she should cease levying customs from the inhabitants of Ketzell and respect their rights, as they had them from the ancient kings. According to the royal writ, the one entrusted with seeing that these rights were respected was Nicolaus of Kanisza, the great treasurer [judge of the towns] who, among other *honors*, was also Comes of Zala. Entrusted with the observance of the royal mandate were also the royal castellans of Rezi, who had actually also had problems with the people of Ketzell,²⁴² just like castellans of Tadyka.

In 1403, in relation to the Tomaj estate, a certain Leukus, son of Petrus of Thomay,²⁴³ was mentioned as the one who bought from Joseph and his minor son, Benedictus, his part of the estate *Kebelekuthgulach* [Gulács today, on the banks of the lake, the District of Tapolcztól].²⁴⁴ In 1421, the estate of Mircea's consort was included among the villages of the Rezi castellany, which were donated to Bishop Johannes of Veszprem and his brother Rudolphus until the return of 10,000 florins, which had been borrowed by King Sigismund from the two.²⁴⁵ According to Csánki, in 1427, Tolmaj was definitively among the pertinences of the castellany.²⁴⁶ That in 1421, Mircea's consort was no longer the owner means, however, that contrary to what the P. P. Panaitescu or Csánki have claimed, she died soon after the beginning of May 1420 [the murder of Michael I]²⁴⁷ and before 20 April 1421 [the assignation of the castellany to the bishop]. The death without direct descendants of the owners meant the passing of such estates into the ownership of the king. As Michael and his direct relatives perished in battle against the Ottomans, they, as direct heirs, had no way of taking possession of their mother's estates. Naturally, one question may be added: Is it not then that Mircea's consort perished too? Since the time span between the two events was very short.

Referring to the family of origin of Lady "Mara," we do not necessarily believe that it should be related to the Cilli family, for in the region there were also nobles from the Szécsi family, the houses of Balog, Hahóti and Bánfi, just like it is possible is that the lady came from the family of Jacobus of *Noogh Thomay*.

There must have been direct descendants of the royal couple, one of them was surely Michael I, but there were perhaps other sons too,²⁴⁸ in addition to natural ones, mentioned by Chalcocondylos.

The fact that Mircea's consort was called "magnifica domina" in the document of 1400 is of course related to the titlature of her spouse, mentioned immediately after her as "magnificus vir." We believe that otherwise she would not have received this aristocratic gratification from the king.

²⁴¹ DRH, B, I, doc. 42, pp. 87-88: "And I, Mihail, who wrote in Târgoviște, at the time when Your Highness's mother, Her Majesty, came from the Hungarians, the month of proto-June 22, the years 6926 and indiction 11." P. P. Panaitescu pointed out the copyist's joy and his breaking the writing protocol. Who knows what was so important to solve then, and what matter Her Majesty, who had returned from Hungary, had to take care of?

²⁴² Nagy Imre, Veghély Dezsó, Nagy Gyula, *Zala vármegye története, kiadja Zala varmegye közönsége oklevéltár*, II, doc. 114, p. 293.

²⁴³ *Ibidem*, doc. 125, p. 313.

²⁴⁴ D. Csánki, *op. cit.*: Gulács entry.

²⁴⁵ Nagy Imre, Veghély Dezsó, Nagy Gyula, *Zala vármegye története*, doc. 190, p. 427.

²⁴⁶ D. Csánki, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

²⁴⁷ C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, p. 85.

²⁴⁸ *Ibidem*.

Regarding the lady's name, in our view, given that we know only the last two letters of the lady's name "... RA"²⁴⁹ [the painting of 1761], which was according to what Odobescu saw as "Voivode Mircea and His Lady Mara," we should probably take it with a grain of salt. If the lady was Catholic and we have no reason to doubt this, then, in her case, we should see her mentioning in the Diptych from Brădet Monastery in Argeș, related also to her position as a cofounder [see the discussion from Marghita with the three possibilities] together with husband. And maybe from Klara in the initial Diptych, the copyist who re-transcribed in around 1632-1654, when the rules of commemorating the dead may have entered a more applied phase, may have thought that the lady should be **Mara**, a name that will have sounded more Orthodox to his ears. Or the upper line of the K may no longer have been legible and an M from the **Hl** group may have been seen, which could be the beginning of the name Clara [Klara]. This is just a hypothesis, as are those referring to Mara or Anna, advanced historiographically for at least 70 years now.

As regards her resting place, it is not known: if she died in around 1427, as Csánki and Panaitescu believed, she may have been buried at St. Mary's in Târgoviște, a Roman-rite church that she may have founded in around 1417.²⁵⁰ If our hypothesis is correct and the lady died during the sultan campaign of 1420 or afterwards, then we may never find out the location.

4. The consorts of Vlad Țepeș [1448, 1456-1462, 1476].

Like his grandfather, Mircea, Vlad benefited from monographs that were intended to be exhaustive,²⁵¹ but two recent studies²⁵² have pointed to the possible existence of two wives from the Hunyadi family: the one from 1462, who is said to have been the cousin of Mathias Corvinus,²⁵³ and Justina Szilágyi Horogszegi, who certainly was Mathias's cousin.²⁵⁴

If everything possible at this time has been written about the first wife, about Justina there are several things to note, since the sources about her are more numerous. Pál Engel considered her to be the daughter of Ladislaus Szilágyi,²⁵⁵ starting from

²⁴⁹ Nicolae Șerbănescu, Nicolae Stoicescu, *Mircea cel Mare [1386-1418]. 600 de ani de la urcarea pe tronul Țării Românești*, p. 22 et sqq.

²⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 26 for the foundation.

²⁵¹ Nicolae Stoicescu, *Vlad Țepeș*, Editura Academiei RSR, Bucharest, 1976; Ștefan Andreescu, *Vlad Țepeș*, Bucharest, 1976, reedited in 1992 by Editura Enciclopedică; Kurt W. Treptow, *Vlad III Dracula: The Life and Times of the Historical Dracula*, Portland, Oregon, Center of Romanian Studies, 2000.

²⁵² Alexandru Simon: "Refacerea trecutului dorit: ipostaze medievale, moderne și contemporane ale unui monarh," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "George Barițiu" din Cluj Napoca*, seria *Historica*, no. 50, 2011, p. 103, the end of note 10, and "Soțiile ungare ale lui Vlad III Țepeș: Rolul, impactul și receptarea unor alianțe și rivalități medievale," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "A.D. Xenopol" din Iași*, no. 48, 2011, pp. 5-12.

²⁵³ See in Al. Simon, *Soțiile ungare ale lui Vlad III Țepeș*, notes 2 and 3 with documentary and bibliographical references to the first wife, who was probably one of John Hunyadi's natural daughters and was related to the Szapolya family.

²⁵⁴ Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*, Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Szilágyi entry (horogszegi).

²⁵⁵ *Ibidem*.

Dezsó Csánki, who nevertheless claimed that she might also have been the daughter of Osvaldus, and the granddaughter of Franciscus.²⁵⁶ András Kubinyi considered her rather to have been Osvaldus's daughter.²⁵⁷ In a document of 28 May 1479, issued by King Mathias to the Convent of Cluj Mănăştur, he called her Justina, daughter of Osvaldus.²⁵⁸ On 9 June 1496, she was referred to as the daughter of Ladislaus.²⁵⁹ Probably the first assertion, being older, is not the real one. She must have been born after 1450, up until 1455, and her family originated from confluence between Timiş and Cenad Counties.²⁶⁰ We believe that her father, Ladislaus, died when Justina was one year at the most,²⁶¹ and this would explain the divalent fathers. Osvaldus must have adopted his niece into his family. The first of the family who managed to pull this noble house out of anonymity of its native county was Ladislaus, who became the familiar of the powerful Johannes Mároti, and from this position occupied, in turn, the position of Vice-Comes of Valko [1404], Vice-Comes of Bács [1405] and Castellan of Srebernik [1405-1408],²⁶² all in the south of the kingdom. Ladislaus had several brothers who did not outlive him. From his marriage to Katherina Bellenyi, several children were born, six in number, three girls and three boys. Elisabeth, the first daughter, married John Hunyadi,²⁶³ Hungary's future regent, and Osvaldus, the first born, married Agata Posáfi, became the familiar of John Hunyadi, and had a daughter, Margaret.²⁶⁴ In 1446, he became Comes of Timiş County. The second son, Michael, also became the familiar of the future governor and became Comes of Bistrița and governor during the minorage of his nephew, Mathias.²⁶⁵ Ladislaus, the third son, did not occupy any public office, but we may suspect that, like his brothers, he was a familiar of the Hunyadis. We do not know who he was married to, but he certainly had a daughter, Justina, whom he raised in the turbulent years after the death of John Hunyadi. We do not know where she spent her childhood and adolescence, probably on the family estates from Timiş or Cenad, and the first time she married, probably at the suggestion of his family, was in around 1474, with Ladislaus (Vencel) Pongrác, son of Pancratius Liptói, Comes of Liptó,²⁶⁶ from the house of Bogomér.

²⁵⁶ D. Csánki, *op. cit.*, volume V, pp. 467-468.

²⁵⁷ András Kubinyi, *Hunyadi Mátyás, a személyiség és a király*, in AETAS 22. évf. 2007. 3. szám, p. 84, accessed online at: <http://epa.oszk.hu/00800/00861/00038/pdf/083-100.pdf>, 19.09.2012.

²⁵⁸ DL 27537 of 28 05 1479.

²⁵⁹ DL 74240 and 74174, 74260, 74263, 74264.

²⁶⁰ Pál Engel, *Archontológia*, II, p. 231.

²⁶¹ Cf. Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*, Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Szilágyi entry (horogszegi), Ladislaus no longer appears in the documents after 1454.

²⁶² *Idem*, *Archontológia*, II, p. 232.

²⁶³ Adrian Andrei Rusu has brought back into discussion the two theses referring to the origin and rapid ascent of John Hunyadi: the natural son of Sigismund of Luxembourg or the Basarab descent, in *Ioan de Hunedoara și românii din vremea lui. Studii*, Editura Cluj Napoca, PUC, 1999, pp. 28-30. In fact, the author inclines to consider Thuróczy's assertions as real [the Wallachian origin], but from more modest Romanian nobiliary families.

²⁶⁴ *Idem*, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*, Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Szilágyi entry (horogszegi).

²⁶⁵ *Ibidem*.

²⁶⁶ Pál Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*, Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Szilágyi entry (horogszegi).

We do not know if this was a political marriage, we cannot associate the interests of the royal house of the Hunyadis with the house of Bogomér based on the information we have at the moment, but the fact is that marriage did not last very long. Ladislaus, attested for the first time with his relatives in 1448,²⁶⁷ died in the year 1474, and in later documents, Justina was called - although she had four marriages - the widow of Ladislaus Pongrác of Sancto Nicolao or of Solna,²⁶⁸ with one exception: when she mentioned as selling her house in Pécs. Perhaps in 1475 she met the "Royal Captain"²⁶⁹ Ladislaus Dragwlya/ Dragula, who, we believe, was already widowed by his first wife, who had died in unknown circumstances around the year 1472/1473.²⁷⁰ Kuriczyn's report story, written after 1481-1484, brought important data gleaned from the Hungarian royal court, which sustain this notion: the Russian Ambassador stated that before putting Țepeș on the throne for the third time [1476], Mathias gave his sister as a wife, with whom he had two sons, they lived together for 10 years and then the ruler died in the pagan [Latin] law. The information provided by Kuricyn is essentially real, but the ambassador may have combined/ misunderstood some data.²⁷¹ Let us take

²⁶⁷ DL 15120.

²⁶⁸ Teleki, I, doc. 96, p. 142.

²⁶⁹ "Dragula, capitaneus meum," in Iván Nagy and Albert B. Nyáry, *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Mátyás király korából* [1458–1490] volume IV, A M. Tud. Akadémia Könyvtár-és Hivatala, Budapest, 1878, doc. 23, p. 325, also *Monumenta Vaticana. Historia Regni Hungariae Illustrantia*, series I, tomus VI. f. ed. Budapestini, 1891, doc. 98, p. 123.

²⁷⁰ The editor first Russian version of the stories about Dracula, identified by Ioan Bogdan, after the Russian historian Vostokov, with the Secretary-Ambassador of Knez Ivan III of Moscow at Mathias's court, a certain Kuricyn [p. 107, Vostokov's thesis, p. 120 Bogdan's subscription to the hypothesis] or from what he or his close collaborators from Mathias's court had heard in 1481-1484, says towards the end of stories, which sound somewhat like embassy reports in this part [Chapters 14-17 certainly do]: "And the king gave him not only the rule of Wallachia, but his good sister as a wife, who gave birth to two sons, living with her for about ten years and dying in the pagan law," in Ioan Bogdan, *Vlad Țepeș și narațiunile germane și rusești asupra lui. Studiu critic*, Bucharest, Editura Librăriei Socecu & Comp., 1896, p. 133. Four decades ago, Ștefan Andreescu ruled in favour of a Romanian editor from Transylvania, rallying himself to the opinions of P. P. Panaitescu and A. Balotă, developing further these hypotheses Feodor Kuritzyn's being the editor, in *Premières formes de la littérature historique roumaine en Transylvanie. Autour de la version slave des récits sur le voievode Dracula*, RESEE, 13, tome 13, no. 4, pp. 521-523. We declare in favour of the older, Russian thesis because the argument Mr. Andreescu adduces, according to which the editor must have been an Orthodox Transylvanian priest who was aware of the south-Carpathian political realities and did not like Vlad's conversion to Catholicism, seems a bit forced. A Russian cleric [see the Isidor moment on the return to Kiev after 1439] is more likely to have had such a strong theological anti-Latin conception than a clergyman from the fledgling Orthodox intellectual environment in Transylvanian, which probably developed on hesychast structures, concealed from the courtly milieu from Buda.

²⁷¹ Consideration of these issues are found in Nicolae Stoicescu, *Vlad Țepeș*, note 14, p. 152. The statement that the Wallachians would not have received a ruler of the Roman confession should be treated with reserve, being judicious. As long as the ruler respected the Eastern cult, we do not believe that the nobiliary parties and the church would have vehemently opposed him. Let us not forget that the King-Emperor himself, Sigismund of Luxembourg made donations to the monasteries of Tismana and Vodița, and during the years when Wallachia was perceived as "royal marginal possession," he expressly asserted the freedom of worship of the Wallachians who followed the Greek precepts, doc. 128, 129 and 169 of DRH, D, the years 1419, 1429. Igumen Agathon received the letter patent written in Slavonic at Pojon. The conflict between Iacob Heraclid Despot, a Lutheran, and the Moldavian nobility over a century later

them one by one. The first information refers to Justina [marriage simultaneous with/ following the installation on the throne], but the rest refers to the wife with an unknown name,²⁷² who preceded her and with whom the Wallachian voivode had certainly had one of his two sons. Due to the confusion between two items of information that

must be seen from the perspective of the existence of an Orthodox Counter-Reformation phenomenon initiated by Stephen Rareș. For these later aspects, see Maria Crăciun, *Protestantism și Ortodoxie în Moldova secolului al XVI-lea*, Cluj Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 1996, *passim*.

²⁷² According to Al. Simon, supported by two documents from *Ub.*, VI, he had estates within the limits of the "royal land" in *Soțiile ungare ale lui Vlad III Țepeș: Rolul, impactul și receptarea unor alianțe și rivalități medievale*, note 2.. Franciscus of Kezy was the Castellan of Hunedoara, as he signed at the address from the end of the document [*Ub.*, VI, doc. 3389, p. 191] and clearly showed that Jacobus Soor from Sibiu owed 663 gold florins. Franciscus showed the people of Sibiu that when the king had come to those parts [1462], he had requested - with a hand-written note from Governor John Hunyadi, who registered now the debit of the now deceased Soor - the restitution of the sum, and that latter had bound himself to return it before the judges and jurors of the town. After several cunning delays, before the judges of Sibiu, Franciscus had not recovered the money and Soor had died. Now he required that Jacobus's property should be impounded until he or his familiars came to recover the debt. Should Jacobus's friends not want to give in, then Franciscus could require a new royal warrant that he would enforce in favour of Drakula's wife. Alexander Simon notes that King Mathias's moving of the debt to John Hunyadi onto Vlad's wife strengthens the idea of her relations with the governor, p. 6.

From our perspective, we believe that the commissioning of the Hunyadis' old familiar with these financial problems might indicate the presence of Vlad's wife in Hunedoara in the summer of 1464. Franciscus of Kezy is the same as the Comes of Hunedoara and Castellan of Hunedoara, Franciscus of Páznád from 1446-1452/54, Pál Engel, *Archontológia*, I, p. 248. András W. Kovács has shown, starting from Csánki's arguments, that the clerk Franciscus of Páznád Deacon and his colleague Mathias Rápolti were actually vice-comites and castellans appointed by the owner of Hunedoara city [then John Hunyadi], in *Administrația comitatului Hunedoara în Evul Mediu, Sargetia, Acta Musei Devensis*, Deva, Editura Muzeului Civilizației Dacice, volume 35-36/2007-2008, p. 206. Kovács András did not notice that it was also Franciscus [now called of Kezy] who was the Castellan of Hunedoara in 1464. Páznád, his place of origin, was in Timiș County [Csánki, V, Kovács, *Administrația...*, p. 224], and he was the familiar of Stephanus Rozgonyi Sr. [1439] and then of Desiderius Losonci [1439-1441], and finally of John Hunyadi [1441-1454], remaining in the service of the house of the Hunyadis [Kovács, *Administrația...*, p. 224-225]. The addition we may make is that after a caesura in 1454, Franciscus was probably the castellan of Hunedoara, certainly until 1464. From 1465, the castellan was Johannes Geréb of Vingard [*Ub.*, VI, doc. 3441]. Kezy was a family estate before 1443. According to Csánki, Kezy [Csánki, *op. cit.*, volume I, Arad County, Keszi/Kezi entry] is Keszincz/Chesint today, in the commune of Zăbrani, Arad County, and is located 13 km away from Lipova. According to DL 29 475 of 16 October 1443, the vice-voivodes of Transylvania, Pancratius Dengelegi and Nicolaus of Wyzakna wrote to the chapter in Alba Iulia that the elected [egregius] Franciscus litteratus de Páznád had come before them in person, with the noble lady called Anka, his wife, and Ioannes and Georgius, blood [carnal] brothers, as well as Blasius *litteratus de Keszy*, their adoptive brother [*adoptivi fratri suorum*], and requested entry into possession of the estate Babolna [Bobâlna] in Hunedoara County. The document of the type *introductoria et statutoria* was issued in Turda on the Wednesday before the feast of St. Gallus the Confessor in 1443. From the copy of the document, we also find out what happened next: on the Saturday before the feast of 11 thousand virgins, Dionysius of Rakosd and the man of the chapter, the rector of the chapter school, Ambrosius, after waiting for the three legal days, made the entry into possession without dispute. What is certain is that Franciscus could enter into the service of the governor, either from or the county of Timiș, or from the county of Arad, both being coordinated by John Hunyadi since 1441, Pál Engel, *Archontológia*, I, p. 98, p. 205. Returning to the document on the debt of the Saxon Jacobus, it is not by chance that the document was written from Lyppua/ Lipova on 6 July 1464. The castellan probably arranged various family businesses in the counties where he had his estates of origin.

differed in terms of time [the last reign, the marriage to the first wife], this hybrid resulted. We should retain the second information, the existence of the two sons from the marriage and the duration of the marriage, about a decade [1462-1472], as well as the death of Țepeș in the pagan [Latin] law. Also, the mentioning of this lady as Mathias's sister, instead of another type of kinship, strengthens the assumption of an illegitimate daughter from the Szapolya family of John Hunyadi [see note above].

The meeting between Justina and Țepeș must have occurred in Buda, when, according to Kuriczyn's information, King Mathias had asked him if he still wanted to reign, subject to his becoming a Catholic.²⁷³ According to Constantin Rezachevici, after an analysis of wrongly dated documents, during this period Radu *the Handsome*, Vlad's brother, had also taken refuge in Transylvania, dying in the summer or the autumn of 1475²⁷⁴ [probably right after Laiotă's surrender to the Turks in January]. Radu may have stayed in the Făgăraș area, where in 1474 the Șercaia and Mica villages were confirmed to him.²⁷⁵

Vlad aka Ladislaus Dragula/ Dragwlya was released in early 1475 and no later than the spring of 1475 when he was given a residence in Pest.²⁷⁶ Kuriczyn mentioned this house when he recounted how Țepeș executed the commander of a group of soldiers pursuing a thief who had entered the house of a great prince without asking his permission.²⁷⁷ This passage [15], correlated with the next chapter [16], which tells about Vlad's conversion after the death of the Wallachian Voivode [Radu], is an indicator for Țepeș's release most likely in the spring of 1475, his being retained in Buda for a short period and his being provided with a home in Pest. It is there that the ruler's legitimate and/ or natural children must also have been brought, who had [hypothetically] lived with their mother until 1472, and afterwards at the royal court in Buda perhaps.

Constantin Rezachevici said that Vlad had been invested with the Wallachian rule by King Mathias before 25 June 1475, based on the document of the royal messengers from Bistrița.²⁷⁸ If we consider that Stephen wrote the document for his suzerain on 20 June 1475, and his representatives met the royal messengers before June 24, because on 25, they drew up their own report to the king, we may estimate, with greater accuracy, that the Hungarian King granted the reign to Vlad at the beginning of spring at the earliest and at the beginning of May at the latest. We shall explain this hypothesis below.

By virtue of this information, we also need to take into account the fact that the former ruler, probably in exile in the Făgăraș-Brașov area, Radu, Vlad's brother, must have passed away then at the latest. This is how we must probably understand

²⁷³ Ioan Bogdan, *Vlad Țepeș și narațiunile germane și rusești asupra lui. Studiu critic*, p. 133.

²⁷⁴ C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, p. 114.

²⁷⁵ Ștefan Meteș, *Moșiile domnilor și ale boierilor din Țerile Române în Ardeal și Ungaria*, Arad, Editura Librăriei Diecezane, 1925, p. 16.

²⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 116.

²⁷⁷ Ioan Bogdan, *Vlad Țepeș și narațiunile germane și rusești asupra lui. Studiu critic*, p. 132.

²⁷⁸ C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, p. 116. Ioan Bogdan, *Documentele lui Ștefan cel Mare*, volume II, Atelierele Grafice Socec & Co., Societate Anonimă, Bucharest, 1913, pp. 327-328: "in facto inmissionis vajvode Draculia, quas post earum lectionem comunicavi cum bojaronibus, qui post acceptas has novitates dicunt laudando quod Majestas Vestras creaverit eum in vaivodam."

Kuriczyn's statements, which mixed up the events once again, but, of course, because of the distance at which they were reported to him compared to the events themselves [7-8 years]. Then the investment of Vlad becomes logical, because Radu had also sworn allegiance to the Sacred Crown in as early as 1469. Against him, however, at that moment, was the antipathy of another "Royal Captain," Stephen of Moldova, who wanted a "verified" anti-Ottoman warrior on the throne of Wallachia, who would be unwilling to negotiate with the Ottoman Empire²⁷⁹: "because the Wallachians are like the Turks to us. And you must believe that they are so, as we say they are..." [20 June 1475].²⁸⁰

Let us just say that what was not noticed in the document published in the Hurmuzaki collection, Volume XV, Part 1, under number 146, was a small dating problem. In fact, it derives from its publication by Ioan Bogdan²⁸¹ in his volume. The historian placed a note after the document number 265 and wrote: "wrongly dated 2 June in the register from the archives of Sibiu." In fact, what did the document say at that date: "Ex Argyas²⁸², feria sexta proxima Inventionis dextre beati Stephani protomartyris ano Domini MmoCCCCmoLXXV." This confused the historian. Bogdan was certain about the Inventio Stephani protomartyris, which really coincides with 3 August, and in 1475 it was on a Thursday, while the date of the celebration *feria sexta proxima post* had to be on Friday, 4 August. This is how the editors of the Hurmuzaki text took it over. But in Roman calendar, the feast mentioned by the voivode's copyist is celebrated on 30 May [*Inventio dextre Stephani regis*].²⁸³ The error belonged to the ruler's copyist, who most likely confused the royal function of Hungary's Christianiser [king] with that of St. Stephen Deacon as the "First Martyr," whence we must suspect that he was Orthodox who was not educated in the Latin confession from the Hungarian/Transylvanian environment. When the ruler dictated the date to him, the Ascension of the Right St. Stephen, his Orthodox copyist thought of the only great Saint Stephen he knew, the First Martyr, and thence, we believe, came the confusion. The ruler was not wrong, nor were the archivists from Sibiu, who were clearly guided by that "dextre" and placed the actual date of June 2 in arranging the archive. The ones who were wrong were Ioan Bogdan, who probably overlooked the fact that this feast existed and all those who took over Bogdan's date without checking it.²⁸⁴ In light of this reinterpretation of the date when the document was issued, that is, 2 June, correctly

²⁷⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁸⁰ Ioan Bogdan, *Documentele lui Ștefan cel Mare*, volume II, Atelierele Grafice Socex & Co., Societate Anonimă, Bucharest, 1913, p. 327.

²⁸¹ Ioan Bogdan, *Documente privitoare la relațiile Țării Românești cu Brașovul și cu Țara Ungurească în secolele XV și XVI*, volume I, 1413-1508, Bucharest, Institutul de Arte Grafice Carol Göbl, 1905, doc. 265, p. 323.

²⁸² The identification with Arghiș in Cojocna County has already been proved, see Nicolae Stoicescu, *Vlad Țepeș*, p. 154 and note 20 on the same page. More recently, cf. *Ub.*, VII, doc. 4062, p. 56, the location proposed by the German editors is Moardăș, Sibiu County. This location is found in Ștefan Andreescu, *Vlad Țepeș*, part II, note 180, but the date is obviously 4 August! 1475.

²⁸³ *DIR, Introducere*, volume I, p. 538/152 and calendar table 5.

²⁸⁴ Including Nicolae Stoicescu, *Vlad Țepeș*, p. 154, who, inexplicably, places the date of 8 August 1475, calculating six days (!), not the sixth day of the week, from the date of 2 August, when *Stephanus papa* appears in the Roman calendar. Bogdan and the others saw that Thursday 3 August was *inventio Stephani*, and the rest was simple, Friday was indeed the sixth day of the first week of August.

inserted by the Sibiu archivists, and not 4 August [Bogdan, *Relațiile...*, doc. 265, Hurmuzaki, XV/1, Ub., VII, doc. 4062, p. 56] or 8 August [N. Stoicescu, Vlad Țepeș, p. 154], which was also a Friday, we can say that Vlad was already present in Moardăș, Sibiu County [much more logical than Cojocna or Alba County, proposed by Constantin Rezachevici]²⁸⁵ on the second day of June 1475. Vlad sent Chief Magistrate Cristian, his trusted man, to the people of Sibiu, in order to arrange a house for him among the locals and to convey them his messages/ commands. Invested with military authority [see the report from Ferrara], he sent word to the people of Sibiu to listen to him carefully, and to his man too, as if he, the ruler, were among them.

So what Florius Reverella, the Ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara, Herculio I, to the Hungarian court, informed his master, the Duke, on 18 July 1475, namely that Stephen, Voivode of Moldavia, had reconciled with King Mathias, and that Dragula, who “had been the prisoner of this king,” had been reinvested as voivode and sent with money, soldiers and letters to Transylvania, where the royal commissioners were preparing his return and 50,000 soldiers so that he could reject the Turkish attacks on Moldova and Wallachia²⁸⁶ was already old news. In fact, the news about Vlad was older and, in order of importance, it was placed third in terms of progress, after the tidings about the proposed crusade with Italian money, about the movements of the Turks [the latest news] and the suzerain-vassal covenant with Ștefan [signed by the voivode in Iași on 12 July].²⁸⁷

In these circumstances, what Dominicus, the apostolic protonotary, announced about the fall of Caffa,²⁸⁸ but also about the fact that Vlad was in Transylvania²⁸⁹ should be placed around the date of 20-25 June 1475, probably because he was in connection with Mathias’s envoys, Provost Dominicus and the nobleman Gasparus of Hathwan. From the moment Vlad requested the house until 21 September, there is no knowing what actions Țepeș undertook in Transylvania, but it is clear that he stayed in the Sibiu area, while the people of Brașov developed ever better relations with Basarab Laiotă, after the later informed them that he had been to the Porte way before 26 June and had secured his reign from the sultan.²⁹⁰ The fact that Basarab informed them that he had also been to the Porte in their interest mean that he also let the sultan know about his desire to normalise trade relations with the south-east of the Hungarian kingdom. It seems that Mehmed II agreed with a state of truce, since he hastened to liquidate the last enclaves of foreign trade in the Black Sea. The normalisation of Laiotă’s relations with the people of Brașov may be seen from the documents of 11 July 1475.²⁹¹

²⁸⁵ C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, p. 116.

²⁸⁶ Dr. Andrei Veress, *Fontes rerum Transylvanicarum*, tomus IV, volume I [1468-1540], Budapest, 1914, Cluj, 1914, doc. 13, pp. 14-15.

²⁸⁷ Ștefan S. Gorovei, *Princeps omni laude maior...*, p. 128. Related, in fact, to the exchange of deputations, see *loc. cit.* for an extensive treatment.

²⁸⁸ *Ibidem*: the fall of Caffa took place on 6 June 1475 and was a hard blow even for the ruler of Moldova, p. 127.

²⁸⁹ Hurmuzaki, II/1, doc. 15, pp. 12-13.

²⁹⁰ Ioan Bogdan, *Documente privitoare la relațiile Țării Românești cu Brașovul...*, doc. 89, pp. 115-116.

²⁹¹ Ub., VII, 4059, 4060, 4061, pp. 55-56.

On 21 September 1475, Mathias wrote to the people of Sibiu, requesting them to give Vlad a financial aid of 200 florins from revenue of the tricesima and the turnover from Baia de Arieș.²⁹² On 3 October 1475, Țepeș confirmed that he had received from Judge Thomas Altenberger the sum of 200 florins offered by the people of Sibiu, Brașov and other cities. At that moment, the invested ruler was at Bălcaciu, on the Târnava, a territory belonging to the mayor of Sibiu.²⁹³ We may suspect that between 2 June to 21 September, there was an exchange of letters between the royal captain and the king, the only document preserved to this day being the king's request for funding, a pale echo of this suzerain-vassal relation. After this date of 3 October, he left Transylvania, probably due to the normalisation of the relations between Laiotă and Mathias. Perhaps Vlad reached Buda at the middle of the month, where the king was probably preparing the expedition south of the Danube. Vlad certainly bought that house in Pécs now, which his wife would bestow upon her servant, Dionisius, and that was also known as "Drakwlya-haza."²⁹⁴ András Kubinyi believed that the marriage took place after the king recognised his rule in Wallachia,²⁹⁵ so sometime after the spring of 1475. Justina apparently was not on extraordinarily good terms with her cousin,²⁹⁶ but had to accept the marriage, which probably reinforced the relations between the ex-brothers-in-law. From our point of view, probably an engagement was initially concluded [Țepeș was already in Transylvania in early June 1475], and Țepeș may have wanted a house for him and his future wife in Sibiu until his takeover of power south of the Carpathians. Since the project was suspended due to the normalisation of diplomatic relations between Mathias and Laiotă, and Țepeș retreated from Sibiu to the periphery of the Saxon area, the marriage between the two can be placed between mid-October 1475 and 3-5 December of the same year, when King was in Petrowaradin, in Serbia,²⁹⁷ preparing the campaign that brought horror shivers to the Turks on the occupation Sabac by the royal captain Drakula, in the spring of 1476.²⁹⁸ He probably resided in Pécs or Pest between March 1476 and July 1476. Towards the end of the year, it is likely that a child was born to him, in Kubinyi's opinion,²⁹⁹ which we consider to be correct. After July 1476, with his return to Transylvania, his great adventure to recover the throne of Wallachia began, materialising with his involvement in the liquidation of the Turkish squads, which were in utter disarray in Moldova, in August 1476.³⁰⁰ It is from this period that we find out the name of one his familiars, sent by the ruler together with his

²⁹² *Ibidem*, doc. 4067, p. 60; *Hurmuzaki*, XV/1, doc. 147, p. 86.

²⁹³ Nicolae Stoicescu, *Vlad Țepeș*, p. 155, *Hurmuzaki*, XV/1, doc. 148, p. 86.

²⁹⁴ András Kubinyi, *Hunyadi Mátyás, a személyiség és a király*, in AETAS 22. évf. 2007. 3. szám, p. 84, accessed online at: <http://epa.oszk.hu/00800/00861/00038/pdf/083-100.pdf>, 20.09.2012.

²⁹⁵ *Ibidem*.

²⁹⁶ *Ibidem*.

²⁹⁷ Nicolae Stoicescu, *Vlad Țepeș*, p. 155, *Ub.*, VII, doc. 4079, p. 68, Lajos Thallóczy és Antal Áldásy, *Magyarország Mellékartományainak Oklevéltára*, Második Kötet, 1198-1526, Kiadja A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Budapest, 1907, doc. 367, p. 265.

²⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 155-156, but also extensively in the account of Gabriel of Verona, the Bishop of Agria: Lajos Thallóczy és Antal Áldásy, *Magyarország Mellékartományainak Oklevéltára*, doc. 369, pp. 265-267.

²⁹⁹ András Kubinyi, *Hunyadi Mátyás, a személyiség és a király*, p. 84.

³⁰⁰ Ștefan S. Gorovei, *Princeps omni laude maior...*, p. 159, note 345. Together with Vlad was the despot Vuk Branković, Demetrius Iakšićs and, probably, some of Țepeș's familiars.

own servant to Braşov, namely Sebastianus,³⁰¹ who should probably be seen as one of the familiars brought by Justina.

We know that in January 1476, Voivode Johannes Pongrác Dengelegi ordered the people of Braşov to send his supporters with their families to Vlad because peace had been made between Basarab and Mathias. It is logical to suspect that some of the boyars joined their ruler in the fight from Serbia, and the women with their children and servants will have waited the end of the campaign, perhaps in Pécs, together with new princess consort. We say this because the people of Sibiu did not want to put an end to the hostilities against Laiotă, harassing his people in Făgăraş³⁰² [25 February 1476], after it had originally appeared to be the case.³⁰³ Similarly, the people of Braşov, as Basarab's spies informed him, held a partisan of Țepeş's, one named Chorya [Horia?], as well as others, whom Laiotă wanted extradited on 15 April 1476.³⁰⁴ On 9 May, Laiotă repeated the request for two great boyars who had fled to Braşov: Woyko Thatul and Opr[ea] the chancellor, with their kin. Moreover, the ruler sent to the judge and jury of Braşov his father-in-law, the "egregius" [distinguished] Zidradin, who had to inform them about certain things.³⁰⁵ On 25 June, the people of Sibiu warned the people of Braşov that Basarab did not really harbour good thoughts towards them,³⁰⁶ and on July 21, Vice-Voivode Stephanus Erdely of Somkerek, Justina's future father-in-law, requested from them the military contingent from Turda.³⁰⁷

On 7 October Vlad Țepeş issued from Braşov a trade privilege for the people of Bârsa and Braşov,³⁰⁸ and was probably in his last days before the start of the military campaign. Of course, just like during the campaign to Serbia, his consort and the families of the wanderers attached to the house of Vlad waited for the outcome of the campaign that was started after that date, by the pretender, together with Stephanus Bátori with 25,000 soldiers and Stephen of Moldova with 15,000.³⁰⁹ Between mid-November and 26 November 1476, after heavy fighting, Țepeş was crowned and recognised as ruler by the boyars.³¹⁰ On 3 or 17 November, he informed the people of Braşov, through his man, Christian, whom we have met before, that they should enjoy his victory, and demanded two carpenters with their aids [3 for each master] to make him a new home in Târgovişte,³¹¹ which had probably been devastated. We believe that

³⁰¹ Hurmuzaki, XV/1, doc. 164, p. 94.

³⁰² *Ibidem*, doc. 151, p. 87.

³⁰³ *Ibidem*, doc. 150, p. 87.

³⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. 153, p. 89.

³⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. 154, p. 89. Voico Tatul was a member of the voivode's council, then he was exiled to Transylvania, reappearing in the council between 1480 and 1481. Nicolae Stoicescu, *Dicţionar al marilor dregători din Țara Românească și Moldova, sec. XIV-XVII*, Bucharest, Editura Enciclopedică Română, 1971, p. 28.

³⁰⁶ Hurmuzaki, XV/1, doc. 161, p. 92.

³⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, doc. 162, p. 92.

³⁰⁸ C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, p. 116.

³⁰⁹ Ștefan S. Gorovei, *Princeps omni laude maior...*, p. 162.

³¹⁰ For the chronology of the period, we have opted for the version suggested by Ștefan Gorovei, *Princeps omni laude maior...*, pp. 163-165, which is largely consistent with that advanced by C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, pp. 116-117. See in Ștefan Gorovei the option for 3 November.

³¹¹ Hurmuzaki, XV/1, doc. 168, p. 95.

his request was related to Vlad's desire to give his wife a comfortable home, closer to Hungary/ Transylvania rather than to Bucharest. It is not known whether Justina went south of the Carpathians and attended the enthronement ceremonies. We would tend to say yes, she must have attended them. Cautious, Țepeș requested from his relative, Ștefan, a guard of 200 soldiers, not trusting the boyar parties in the country, and demanded the people of Brașov to let the soldiers from the kingdom to come and join a formula of familiarity to his house: "and my highness will have mercy on him, and I will feed like I do my servants, but I cannot give them any wages."³¹² At that time, the financial resources of the family could not have been very large. Vlad's violent death in early January 1477, his beheading and the burying of his body in an as yet unidentified place for sure, left Justina a widow again, taking care of an adopted son and, probably, of her own.

On 13 January 1478, being mentioned as the widow of Ladislaus of Solna, she was summoned to court in litigation against the Erdely Somkereki family, whereby the latter hoped to retrieve from Justina Gernyezegh Castle and the villages thereof, donated by Mathias to his cousin.³¹³ The king probably made this donation for the financial reasons mentioned above. Part of the castle belonged to the Suki family, and because of the infidelity of Michael Suki, the king had seized it from him after 1467 and had initially given it to Nicolaus Csupor.³¹⁴ From here it was passed Justina, the king showing, on 14 August 1478, that he wanted to keep her as the owner.³¹⁵ This must have been the reason that prompted Paul Suki, the nephew of Mihail, who was executed, to marry Justina after 14 August 1478 and before 26 January 1479, when they were already mentioned as spouses.³¹⁶ On 28 May 1479, Justina was still married to him,³¹⁷ and Paul died that year, launching ownership disputes between Justina and the relatives from the Suki family.³¹⁸ Perhaps, however, after Vlad's death, Justina left the house in Pécs to the servant Dionisius, who brought her major services, although we do not know in what respect, except in the period after 1479. The fact is that this Dionisius was accused of murder and executed, and the house of his former master passed from the king's possession into other hands.³¹⁹ In around 1481 [after 18 June],³²⁰ Justina married Johannes Erdely Somkereki,³²¹ probably because of the Somkereki family's

³¹² Ștefan S. Gorovei, *Princeps omni laude maior...*, p. 167.

³¹³ *Teleki*, II, doc. 93, pp. 132-135.

³¹⁴ According to the document published by Dr. Andrei Veress, *Fontes rerum Transylvanicarum*, tomus IV, volume I, doc. 4, pp. 3-5: "Swk et Zowath [...] cum earundem pertinentiis in comitatu de Kolos, possessiones vissa, Magiar Kallyan, Olah Kallyan, Magiar Sarmas, Olah Sarmas, Azzonfalva, Olah Bare [...] Zowath et Kethelen in de Colos, necnon possessionem Omboz vocatas in de Doboka comitatibus existentibus" were passed into Nicolaus Csupor's possession, together with other estates of Michael's, such as Gernyezegh Castle.

³¹⁵ *Teleki*, II, doc. 95, pp. 137-138.

³¹⁶ *Ibidem*, doc. 96, pp. 139-142.

³¹⁷ DL 27537.

³¹⁸ *Teleki*, II, doc. 101, pp. 147-150.

³¹⁹ The Latin text at DF 260165. The epic history of the document and observations on its content, in Al. Simon, *Sofiile ungare...*, p. 9 and note 3.

³²⁰ DL 74174.

³²¹ The first genealogy of the family in Gyula Décsényi, *A somkereki Erdelyi Család 1415. évi czimeres levele és nemzedékvendje*, in *Turul*, Budapest, 1892, pp. 105-112. The last known, but incomplete, in Pál

desire not to lose the territorial patrimony passed by the king into his cousin's possession. Between 19 January 1483 and 19 October 1486, Justina's last father-in-law died: the former Vice-Voivode Stephanus.³²² Justina passed away at an age of over 43/44, after 13 June 1497.³²³ She constantly appeared in the documents, dying, therefore, in around this year.³²⁴ Justina didn't have children from the other two marriages contracted after Vlad's death. We do not know what happened to Vlad Drakwlya after his mother's death. Could he have died before 1505? On 16 January 1505, Cristophorus Hunyadi, son of Johannes and grandson of Mathias, filed a lawsuit against Johannes Erdely Somkereki and his nephew, Martinus,³²⁵ probably related to Justina's inheritance, left in the possession of Johannes Erdely. Prior to 31 October 1505, the latter got married a second time, to Petronella Czeke,³²⁶ but died a few days before 14 April 1507.³²⁷ We do not know at present where the tomb of Vlad's last wife is, just like we do not know the whereabouts of her husband's [Vlad's head probably reached the Bosphorus, after its victorious display in Constantinople].

From our perspective, we consider that of the three sons Kuriczyn mentioned: the "recently dead" was the son of Vlad's first wife, who had been the familiar of the Bishop of Oradea [?] [Bordon],³²⁸ the one who lived with "the king's son" [Johannes Corvinus] must have been the future contender Vlad from 1495, mentioned by Paul Binder,³²⁹ the son of Justina,³³⁰ and Mihail³³¹ the natural son, the future Mihnea the Evil One, the oldest of them, born from one of Vlad's transient affairs, before his first marriage.³³²

Engel, *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457. Középkori magyar genealógia*, Budapest, 2001 [CD-ROM], Becsegergelyi.

³²² Teleki, II, doc. 105, pp. 157-158, doc. 109, pp. 165-166.

³²³ *Ibidem*, doc. 143, pp. 218-221.

³²⁴ DL 74174, DL 74236, 74237, 74238, 74240, 74254, 74263, 74264, 74315.

³²⁵ Teleki, II, doc. 175, p. 274.

³²⁶ *Ibidem*, doc. 179, p. 278.

³²⁷ *Ibidem*, doc. 187, pp. 294-295: "quamvis superioribus diebus prefatus condam Johannes Erdely dominus et maritus tuus ab hac luce nutu divino decesserit."

³²⁸ Cf. C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, p. 134 *apud* *Cronicile slavo-române*, pp. 206, 213, he died in around 1486, according to the dating suggested by Panaitescu, who nonetheless contested the Vostokov-Bogdan hypothesis, which we consider closer to reality, meaning around 1484/85.

³²⁹ Paul Binder, "Une famille noble roumaine de Transylvanie: les Drakula de Sintești," in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 27, no. 4, Bucharest, 1988, p. 301.

³³⁰ We may notice the fact that Binder placed Sintești in the Banat, more precisely in Timiș County, whence his mother, Justina, came, if we accept this fact as real. In favour of this argument stands the fact that the king's nephew, by his cousin, grew up together with the king's natural son, Johannes Corvinus.

³³¹ Ioan Bogdan, *Vlad Țepeș și narațiunile germane și rusești asupra lui. Studiu critic*, pp. 54-55. Bogdan stated, by way of an assumption, that Mihnea probably lived in the very house that his father had asked from the people of Sibiu in 1476.

³³² Cf. C-tin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor...*, p. 133, this mother of Mihail/Mihnea married later Dracea the armsman, who became his stepfather. In 1474-75, Mihnea probably went to Hungary together with his father, then sought refuge, with a series of boyars, in the Ottoman Empire until 1484/85, when he returned to Buda, where Kuriczyn met him.

ANNEX

The familiars of the house of Drakulia between 1475 and 1476.

Christian Porkolab, noster boyar specialis 2 June 1475 [Hurmuzaki, XV/ 1, doc. 146, pp. 84-85]

probably the same as *Kerstgion porcolab* 2 November 1476 [Hurmuzaki, XV/ 1, doc. 168, p. 95, dated 17 Nov.]

Sebastianus cum suo famulo August 1476 [Hurmuzaki, XV/ 1, doc. 164, p. 94]

*Ladislaus familio de vaivoda Dracula*³³³ 7 August 1476 [Fontes Rerum Tr., IV/ 1, doc. 19, p. 21]

*The servant zupan Rătundul*³³⁴ 8 November <1476> [Tocilescu, 534 documents, p. 97]

Zupan Stoica armsman November [?] 1476 [Tocilescu, 534 documents, pp. 99, 100]

*Dionisius*³³⁵ 1475 - prior to 1489 [DL 260135].

³³³ After 26 July, he had left Moldova, coming with news about the Turks' movements. The report says that he had travelled for only 10 days from there. He was probably the middle man between Vlad and Ștefan.

³³⁴ Gr. G. Tocilescu, 534 *historical Slavo-Romanian documents from Wallachia and Moldova referring to the relations with Transylvania [1346-1603] from the archives of the towns of Brașov and Bistrița, in the original Slavic text, accompanied by the Romanian translation*, Vienna, 1905-1906, Bucharest, 1931, doc. 101, p. 97. He brought the people of Brașov the news that Laiotă had been deposed.

³³⁵ DL 260135, 10.09. 1489: "quam quidem domum sive fundum generosa domina Iustina, relicta condam Dragwlya waywode, cuidam Dionisio famulo suo ob serviciorum suorum merita, in perpetuum contulisse perhibetur" according to the text published by Al. Simon, *Sojiile ungare...*, p. 9 and note 3.