

HABSBURG POLITICS AT THE BORDER OF CHRISTENDOM IN THE EARLY 1500s*

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In the summer of 1506, king Alexander I of Poland died. The youngest of the Jagiello brothers, Sigismund, former contender to the Moldavian throne in 1497, and John Corvinus' successor as duke of Glogov and Liptov in Silesia, was crowned king. He rapidly concluded a treaty with brother Wladislaw II, king of Bohemia and Hungary (where the latter still faced major challenges after the attempt to dethrone him in late 1505 had failed). The alliance was directed against the king of the Romans, Maximilian I of Habsburg, whose influence over Wladislaw II had grown in the last months because of their common Hungarian enemies and Wladislaw's own domestic weakness. Buda also tried to secure her eastern, respectively Krakow's southern flank by pressuring Bogdan III of Moldavia. Bogdan was eager to revenge his Polish defeat of mid 1505. But he was equally eager to retain the Transylvanian estates and privileges granted by Matthias Corvinus and Wladislaw II to his father, the late Stephen III. Furthermore, Bogdan was also interested, like his father and the Hungarian elite, to remain the vassal of Buda and not of Krakow (according to the provisions of the treaty between Sigismund and Wladislaw, Moldavia was to remain Hungary's vassal state as long as they and their descendants lived). Well aware of Wladislaw's domestic and Habsburg problems (the ties between Suceava and Vienna had been particularly strong during the last years of Stephen III's reign), though he seemingly and eventually refrained himself

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from interfering in Hungarian affairs, Bogdan III pursued his border conflict with the Polish kingdom¹

At the same time, after losing the support of Thomas Bakócz, the influential archbishop of Esztergom, recently elevated to the cardinalate (Bakócz, Venice's Hungarian man of confidence and usually the adversary of Maximilian I had come to terms with the latter in front of the threat posed by the Szapolyai 'nationalist Hungarian' party to the royal party led by the archbishop), Maximilian I kept pressuring Buda, whether with matrimonial propositions, reverting around the two children, Louis and Anna, of Wladislaw, or with prospects of common anti-Ottoman actions (August 1506-November 1507). Still, at that time, both Buda and Vienna were more concerned with Venetian politics. Buda wanted the yearly subsidies the republic had promised her since the conclusion of the Ottoman-Venetian peace and the *general peace* of Buda (1503). Meanwhile, succession crisis of the Gorizia (Görz) countship gave Maximilian the long awaited opportunity of taking action against the republic. He joined forces with pope Julius II, otherwise not too found of the king of the Romans. Their

¹ For instance: Biblioteca Museo Correr, Venice, *Manoscritti*, Mss. 310, f. 39^v [Late (November-December?) 1510]; Erdödy Archiv, Vienna (EA) [in the custody of the HHStA], no. 11176 (Ladula 65, fasc. 2, no. 13) (2nd of April 1506); Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna (HHStA), Mainzer Erzkanzlerarchiv (M.E.A.), *Reichstagakten*, reg. 3a, f. 461^{r-v} (14th of May 1507); Reichhofkanzlei (R.H.K.), *Maximiliana*, fasc. 11-1, ff. 11^r, 194^r (14th of January, 11th of March 1507); fasc. 34-III.10, f. 213^r [Autumn (September-October?) 1508]; Urkundenabteilung (U.A.), Allgemeine Urkundenreihe (A.U.R.), 1507, X.11-12, XI.12 (11th-12th of October, 12th of November 1507); *Acta Alexandri Regis Poloniae, magni ducis Lithuaniae, etc. (1501-1506)* (= *Monumenta Medii aevi res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, XIX), edited by Fryderik Papée, Krakow, 1927, no. 295, p. 499; no. 298, p. 505; no. 303, p. 512; [Miklós Istvánffy/Istvánfi] Nicolaus Isthvánffy, *Regni Hungarici historia post obitum gloriosissimi Mathiae Corvini Regis libris XXXIV, ab anno 1490 exacte descripta* (Cologne, 1724), p. 59-65 (*Istvánffy*); [Marino Sanudo II Giovanne], *I diarii di Marino Sanuto* (MCCCCXCVI-MD XXXIII) *dall'autografo Marciano ital. cl. VII cod. CDXIX-CDLXXVII*, edited by Guglielmo Berchet, Frederico Berchet, Nicolo Barozzi, Rinaldo Fulin, Marco Allegri, VII, *1 Marzo 1507-28 Febbraio 1509*, Venice, 1882, col. 344 (*Sanudo*); Ludwig Finkel, *Elekey Zygmunta*, I, Krakow, 1910, p. 153-160; Krzysztof Baczkowski, *Przselienie polityczne na Węgrzech w latach 1505-1507 natle stosunków habsbursko-jagiellońskich*, in *Universitas Iagiellonica. Acta Scientiarum Litterarumque. Schedae Historicae*, XCI, 1987, p. 7-30. For the Hungarian-Polish context, see also Adorján Divéky, *Zsigmond lengyel herceg budai számadásai (1500-1502., 1505.)*, in *MTT*, XXVI, 1914, p. 1-260; András Kubinyi, *Az 1505-ös rákosi országgyűlés és a szittya ideológia*, in *Sz.*, CXL, 2006, 2, p. 361-374; Al. Simon, *Válahii și Dieta de la Rákos (1505). Considerații asupra sfârșitului epocii huniade*, in *Apulum*, XLIII, 2006, p. 99-121 (here p. 106-111).

‘League of Cambrai’ seemed to work at first. Venice found support against Vienna neither in Central Europe, nor in Istanbul. Yet, like Central Europe, Istanbul too was on unstable ground and major changes were in view. In July 1509, Moldavians and Ottomans defeated the Poles. Most likely, the Ottomans had attacked without Bayezid II’s consent. The sultan did not want to break the Polish-Ottoman treaty, but since 1508 his control over the empire was rapidly declining. A new Ottoman civil had become unavoidable by the beginning of 1510².

1. The Walachian and Polish Conflicts of Bogdan III of Moldavia

In spite of the favorable Ottoman circumstances as well of the general tension within the Muslim world, the Christian neighbors of the empire failed to achieve any military profits and seemed content with short-term political gains that allowed them to continue their already traditional local quarrels. Already in conflict with Radu IV of Walachia and without having a solution to his Polish problems, Bogdan III wrote to Wladislaw II that Bayezid II was ready to attack him and that Radu IV had left for Istanbul to receive his orders. Bogdan urged king Wladislaw to prepare troops in Transylvania for battle. The king of Hungary did not believe him. He thought that it was a scheme meant to relieve Polish pressure from Moscow, Suceava’s ally and Krakow’s main enemy at that moment. Nonetheless, at the same time (summer of 1507), Buda and

² For Venice and Hungary: V. Fraknoi, *Lónyay Albert zengi kapitány velencei követségei 1501-1515. Közlemények a velencei állami levéltárból*, in *MTT*, XXII, 1877, nos. 2-5, p. 11-16; no. 16, p. 24 (a key figure in these relations was, after Bakócz, the agile diplomat Philippe (Filip/Fülöp) More; Tamás Fedeles, *Egy Jagelló-kori humanista pályaképe. Csulai Móré Fülöp (1476/1477-1526)*, in *Levéltári Közlemények*, LXXVIII, 2007, 2, p. 35-84. Hungary’s rival factions and the Ottoman Empire: [George of Sirmium] Szerémi György, *Magyarország Romlásáról 1484-1543* (= *Monumenta Hungariae Historica*, II, 1), edited by Gusztáv Wenzel, Pest, 1857, p. 19-24, 32-39; [John Mihály Brutus] János Mihály Brutus, *Magyar története 1490-1552 [Ioannis Michaelis Bruti Ungricarum Rerum libri qui exstant]*, I, II. *Ulászló király országlata* [The Fate of Country under King Wladislaw II] (= *Monumenta Hungariae Historica*, II, 12), edited by Ferenc Toldy, Pest, 1863, p. 14-17; Pál Fodor, *The Simurg and the Dragon. The Ottoman Empire and Hungary (1390-1533)*, in *Fight against the Turk in Central-Europe in the First Half of the 16th Century*, edited by István Zombori, Budapest, 2004, p. 9-35 (p. 21-29). Maximilian after 1505: Hermann Wiesflecker: *Maximilian I. Die Fundamente des habsburgischen Weltreiches*, München, 1991, p. 173-181; Manfred Hollegger: *Maximilian I. 1459-1519, Herrscher und Mensch einer Zeitenwende*, Stuttgart, 2005, p. 319-325.

Suceava sent together envoys to Persia, to Shah Ismael, Bayezid's great rival. Soon afterwards, Wladislaw managed to avoid, at the last moment, a direct confrontation between Bogdan III and Radu IV, due the mediation of the royal envoy, the former Serbian despote, George Branković (now the monk Maxim), related to both Radu and Bogdan (in case Maxim's mission failed, the Hungarian troops had been instructed to attack Radu). A few months earlier, Radu's envoys had complained about Bogdan's 'behavior' as far as Venice and Rome. The republic and the papacy were viewed by Radu as the only powers able to calm Bogdan down. Bogdan III's political confidence had grown over the last two years³.

In order to fortify his regional and domestic positions, Bogdan had planned as early as mid 1505 to marry the youngest sister of the Jagellonian brothers, Elisabeth. He counted on Venice's and namely on Rome's support. The two had refused to support a general *Christian* (Polish, in particular, and Hungarian) action against him, in the late autumn of 1504, when Bogdan III still fought for his Moldavian throne. Bogdan had turned to Julius II for support

³ E.g. Archiwum Głowne Akt Dawnych, Warsaw, (AGAD), Dokumenty Pergaminowe (D.P.) *Hungaria*, nos. 5595-5596, 5621 (28th of May 1507; copies: Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest (MOL), (U section) Diplomataikai Fényképgyűjtemény (DF), [nos.] 289016-289017, 289021); Eötvös Loránd Tudományos Egyeteme Könyvtár, Budapest, Codices, *Diplomatarium Autographum*, O8, ff. 94^r-95^v [early 1508; copy: MOL, DF 283446]; Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, XV-1, *Acte și scrisori din arhivele orașelor ardelenne Bistrița, Brașov, Sibiu, 1358-1600*, editor Nicolae Iorga, Bucharest, 1911, no. 327, p. 177-179 (*Hurmuzaki*); *Actae et epistolae relationum Transylvaniae Hungariaeque cum Moldavia et Valachia* (= *Fontes Rerum Transylvanicarum*, IV, VI), I, 1468-1540, edited by Endre Veress, Budapest, 1914, nos. 65-72, p. 83-97 (especially no. 68, p. 85); Carol Göllner, *Turcica. Die europäischen Türkendruke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, I, 1501-1550, Bucharest-Baden Baden, 1961, no. 32, p. 34-35; *Materialy do dziejów dyplomacji polskiej z lat 1486-1516 (Kodeks Zagrzebski)*, edited by József Garbacik Wrocław-Warsaw-Krakow, 1966, nos. 48-50, p. 148-163 (especially no. 48, p. 151-153); nos. 53-54, p. 165-166 (*Materialy*); [Bernard Wapowski], *Chronicorum Bernardii Vapovii partem posteriorem 1480-1535*, edited by J[ózsef]. Szujki, in *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, Krakow, II, 1874, p. 66-68, 82-83 (*Wapowski*); *Letopisețul anonim al Țării Moldovei, Cronica lui Macarie*, in *Cronicile slavo-române din secolele XV-XVI publicate de Ioan Bogdan*, edited by P[etre]. P[etre]. Panaitescu, Bucharest, 1959, p. 23-24, 91-92 (*Cronicile*); *Sanudo*, VII, cols. 8, 120, 232, 301; Lajos Tardy, *Beyond the Ottoman Empire. 14th-16th Century Diplomacy* Szeged, 1978, p. 118-119, 122-123 note 6; Matei Cazacu, *Poziția internațională a Țării Românești și implicațiile ei poloneze la începutul secolului al XVI-lea. Pe marginea unui document*, in *Buletinul Bibliotecii Române din Freiburg*, XI (XV), 1984, p. 299-316 (especially in this case p. 304-310).

in view of his Polish marriage. The pope backed him up compelling Krakow to issue a formal approval of the marriage (1506-1507), disliked in essence by both Istanbul (fearful of any Moldavian increase in power) and Vienna (who felt that she was losing her Moldavian ally in the competition with the House of Jagiello). Still, though Julius II repeatedly intervened in his favor (the pope had his own design for the region which did not ‘fully’ coincide with that of Maximilian), Bogdan III was not allowed to marry Elisabeth. The main official Polish reason for refusal was that Bogdan III was still a schismatic. Krakow was in fact much more worried about Bogdan’s potential influence over her affairs in all Jagiellonian kingdoms after his marriage. A union, in the fashion of the Polish-Lithuanian union, between Krakow and Suceava was eventually turned down by all sides. By 1509, Moldavia and Poland were back at war. In July, Moldavians and *Turks* defeated the Poles. Bayezid II did not want to break his treaty with king Sigismund of Poland, but he feared even more an entente between the Polish and Moldavian rivals at the northern border of the empire⁴.

In February 1510, peace was concluded between Sigismund and Bogdan. Buda and Rome had made great efforts to see the conflict ended. The settlement

⁴ E.g. MOL, (Q section) *Diplomatikai Levéltár* [Diplomatic Archive] (DL), [no.] 21783 (21st of November 1507; edited under September 25, 1508, in *Actae et epistolae*, no. 71, p. 94); *Hurmuzaki*, II-2, *1451-1510*, editor Nicolae Densusișanu, Bucharest, 1891, nos. 432-433, p. 534-541; no. 448 p. 557; no. 459, p. 578; nos. 465-467, p. 583-586; *Actae et epistolae*, nos. 63-64, p. 75-81; *Materialy*, no. 43, p. 128; nos. 46-47, p. 148-150, nos. 49-51, p. 153-163; no. 54, p. 166-168; *Sanudo*, IX, *1 Agosto 1509-28 Febbraio 1510*, Venice, 1883, cols. 99-100. The reference works on Moldavia after 1504 (and in particular up to 1527, up to the enthronement of Peter IV Rareș, Stephen III’s best known illegitimate son) are rather sparse and often lack the historical overview (in particular in relation to Bogdan III, also known as Bogdan *the Blind* or *the One Eyed*, because of his glaucoma), as well the needed informational basis (e.g. D. Ciurea, *Relațiile externe ale Moldovei în secolul al XVI-lea*, in *AIIA Iași*, X, 1973, p. 1-47, in particular, in this context, p. 2-6, and Horia I. Ursu, *Moldova în contextul politic european. 1517-1527*, Bucharest, 1972, notably p. 66-72. Two notable exceptions have to be emphasized however: first, the nowadays outdated seminar work of Iulian Marinescu, *Bogdan III cel Orb, domn al Moldovei (1504-1517)*, Bucharest, 1910, p. 17-31, in this case, but mainly Virgil Pâslariuc’s synthesis *Raporturile politice dintre marea boierime și domnie în Țara Moldovei în secolul al XVI-lea*, Kishinev, 2005, here p. 24-31. Plus, in several respects, the (overlooked on eastern soil) PhD thesis of Marianna Mur, *Die Ostpolitik Kaiser Maximilians I. in den Jahren 1506-1519*, Graz, 1977, here p. 111, 131-132, can be viewed as a more important scientific addition than most studies referring to the reign of Bogdan III.

avored neither side, which in fact favored Bogdan, given his failure to capitalize on any of the political and military advantages he had obtained over the last years. In effect, Bogdan III had only made the most out of the enduring Moldavian diplomatic wish and threat to Poland-Lithuania (e.g. 1493 to 1523): *May God give that Christendom will not fall in Your days* [i.e. in the days of the Polish king or Lithuanian duke in office]. It was therefore rather natural that Bogdan III of Moldavia judged all his regional relation as unsatisfactory (with the partial exception of the Moldavian-Hungarian relation) and remained very involved in regional politics (1510-1511). Bogdan III intended to make the most out of his father's legacy and take Moldavia even further than Stephen III had done, thus proving himself worthy of the latter's crown in front of his princely council, consisting largely of Stephen III's very powerful barons. Prince Bogdan III had already attempted to secure his status of Walachian suzerain over Târgoviște (a peculiar suzerainty that worked as a 'local Walachian addenda' to the Hungarian and Ottoman suzerainties over Walachia and Moldavia). Soon after their truce of 1507, Bogdan had tried to replace Radu with Mihnea, the son of Vlad III *Dracula*, in exile in Hungary, but the local elite, still marked by Vlad III's rule, desired another Hungarian candidate. Walachia re-became a battlefield for boyar factions, *Turks*, Hungarians and Moldavians (1508-1512)⁵.

Bogdan's actions apparently also had a Habsburg utility. As Maximilian's ally, he seemingly stirred things up in the East, not allowing Krakow and Buda to focus on the Venetian propositions that offered the two kingdoms great sums of money in return for their anti-Habsburg support. Likewise, Bogdan III's Walachian actions for instance also forced John Szapolyai, Maximilian I's

⁵ For instance: AGAD, D.P., *Moldavia*, nos. 5409-5411 (23rd of January 1510; copies in MOL, DF 288973-288975); Metrika Korona (M.K.), *Libri legationum*, IV, ff. 12^r-14^r (20th of March 1512; copy: DF 290338); *Hurmuzaki*, II/2, nos. 453-460, p. 572-579; no. 481, p. 613; no. 488, p. 624; II/3, no. 193, p. 246; no. 310, p. 444; nos. 333-334, p. 477-483; no. 341, p. 489; nos. 457-458, p. 708, 719; suppl. II/1, *Documente culese din archive și biblioteci polone 1510-1600*, editor I. Bogdan, Bucharest, 1893, no. 1, p. 1, 6; I. Bogdan, *Documentele lui Ștefan cel Mare*, II, [1493-1503; 1458-1503], Bucharest, 1913) no. 171, p. 384; *Diarii Udinesi dall'anno 1508 al 1541 di Leonardo e Gregorio Amaseo e Gio. Antonio Azio* (= *Monumenti Storici Pubblicati dalla Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria*, III, 9), edited by A. Ceruti, Venice 1884, p. 153. For Walachia and the Ottoman Empire after the death of Radu IV in 1508, see Mihai Maxim, *Țările Române și Înalta Poartă. Cadrul juridic al relațiilor româno-otomane în Evul Mediu*, Bucharest, 1993, p. 54-55; Cristina Feneșan, *Mihalođlu Mehmet Beg et la principauté de Valachie. 1508-1532*, in *Journal of Turkish Studies*, XV, 1995, p. 137-155 (especially p. 140-145).

main Hungarian rival, to divide his attention, as the former had become more and more involved in south-Carpathian politics prior even to his appointment as voivode of Transylvania in 1510. Except for the ‘Habsburg profits’, Bogdan III’s Walachian actions brought however little gain. After Buda had abandoned him (she did not want to antagonize the local elite), Mihnea had won the throne with Ottoman support. Then he crossed over to his former protectors. This costed him his throne and his life (1508-1510). The Ottomans did not take direct action against Moldavia and were content to replace Mihnea with Vlad V. Vlad V too lost his life, but not because he chose the ‘Christian side’, but because he broke his loyalty to Bayezid during the Ottoman civil and sided, like several Walachian boyars, and in particular Bogdan, with the sultan’s challenger and son, Selim I. Although the new imperial crisis exceeded even the Djem crisis in Ottoman importance, no major *Christian* plan was drafted in order to bring the empire to at least its European fall, not even by Maximilian I of Habsburg. In 1508, he had crowned himself emperor without a *Romzug*, which he had claimed, for more than a decade, to be just the start of his great *Türkenzug*⁶.

II. Crusader Thoughts and *Türkenpraktiken* during the Ottoman Civil War of 1510-1512

The Ottoman civil war completed the Muslim turmoil. Since 1504, the Muslim world was at war. The former adversaries, the Ottoman Empire and

⁶ For the context: F. Babinger, *Kaiser Maximilians I. Geheime Praktiken mit den Osmanen (1510/ 1511)*, in *Südost-Forschungen. Internationale Zeitschrift für Geschichte, Kultur und Landeskunde Südosteuropas*, XV, 1956, p. 201-236; A. Kubinyi, *The Road to Defeat: Hungarian Politics and Defense in the Jagiellonian Period*, in *From Hunyadi to Rákóczi: War and Society in Later Medieval and Early Modern Hungary*, edited by János M. Bak, Béla K. Király, New York-Boulder, 1982, p. 159-178 (p. 161-165); Hans [Peter-Alexander] Theunissen, *Ottoman-Venetian Diplomats: The Ahdnames. The Historical Background and the Development of a Category of Political Commercial Instruments*, in *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies*, I 1998, 2, p. 3-586 (p. 148-152); Martin C. Rady, *Rethinking Jagiello Hungary 1490-1526*, in *Central Europe*, London, III, 2005, 1, p. 3-18 (especially p. 10-12); Ștefan Andreescu, *Marea Neagră în lupta pentru succesiunea la tronul otoman din anii 1510-1512*, in *SMIM*, XXV, 2007, p. 29-46. For Ottoman-Christian comparative perspectives (1480s and 1510s), see also Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire. 1300-1650. The Structure of Power*, New York, 2002, p. 43-44; Al. Simon, *Lumea lui Djem. Suceava, Buda și Istanbul în anii 1480*, in *AIIA Cluj*, 2005, p. 11-43 (here p. 38-42).

Mamluk Egypt, allied themselves (until 1511) against Safavid Persia (the eastern recipient of most ‘crusader style’ anti-Ottoman propositions). Like the Christian powers felt that these were auspicious moments for anti-Ottoman actions (but did little in this respect), the Ottoman power, divided as it was, sensed that its Christian neighbors lacked the stamina and the attention needed to profit from the imperial crisis (and moreover the Ottoman power employed his resources to make sure that things remained that way). Emperor Maximilian’s Venetian war and the break with Julius II caused by Maximilian’s self-coronation significantly increased the Ottoman Empire’s Christian stability as well as the instability in East-Central Europe too. In spring-summer 1510, in order to further distance Hungary from the league of Cambrai, Venice promised her to pay yearly up to 60.000 ducats in exchange for her anti-Habs-burg support. More interested in settling the score with the mighty Bakócz (who was almost slain as a ‘Venetian traitor’), than in securing money for a royal budget that came short of providing for basic state necessities, the Diet refused and decided that it was time to retake Dalmatia (lost by Sigismund of Luxemburg in the early 1400s) from the republic. Little Hungarian attention was given to the Ottomans, other than in propaganda words. Istanbul had been almost completely destroyed in September 1509 by an earthquake, but Hungary had been devastated by the plague and her finances were exhausted. Nevertheless, Buda played her part of Christendom’s *bulwark*⁷.

Meanwhile, Maximilian I who had previously tried to limit his Ottoman ties in order to avoid further charges of *Türkenpratiken*, had contacted the sultan in the late fall of 1509. He asked Bayezid to attack Venice. Bayezid was very friendly, but made no promises. Venice was outraged by Maximilian I’s audacity. The emperor responded that the Venetians were responsible that the

⁷ HHStA, R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, fasc. 14a-3, ff. 38^r-41^r; fasc. 14b-1, ff. 37^r-39^r; fasc. 14b-3, ff. 27^r-31^r; fasc. 15b-2, ff. 52^r, 109^r-114^r (10th of June, 21st of July, 31st of October 1509, 13th, 29th of July 1510); fasc. 36-V.1, f. 10^r [May-June 1510; most matters were foretold by Vincenzo Querini, Venetian ambassador at Maximilian I’s court, in his report from autumn 1507: *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, I-6, edited by Eugenio Albèri, Venice, 1862, p. 5-58, here p. 49-52; [Girolamo Priuli], *I diarii di Girolamo Priuli [AA. 1494-1512]* (= *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, NS, XXIV, 3), edited by Arturo Segre, IV, [1509-1512], Città di Castello, 1912 [1921]), col. 331; *Sanudo*, VII, cols. 340, 344, 346, 465; IX, cols. 563-565; Sydney N. Fisher, *The Foreign Relations of Turkey (1481-1512)*, Urbana, Ill, 1948, p. 94-99. See Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and Levant (1204-1571)*, II, *The Sixteenth Century* (= *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, CLXI), Philadelphia, 1984, III, p. 43-49, 92-95, 104-108, 121-122. A key part in Maximilian’s

Turk had not been chased away from *Graecia* and even Europe. They had also provided the pope with Ottomans for Julius II's Italian wars. According to Julius II, this was nothing new, and so Maximilian I kept on calling for a crusade. In fact, he wanted the Jubilee revenues, for an anti-Jagellonian action (Frederick III's son was coming to terms with the fact that he could not defeat Venice). Maximilian I thus initiated talks with Bogdan in view of common action in the East. This prospect terrified Krakow (July 1510). Only a few months earlier, by Wladislaw II's offices, the peace treaty between Sigismund and Bogdan III had been signed, putting an end to a conflict that *had done no little damage to the whole of Christendom*. King Sigismund was menaced also by Moscow, Bogdan III's and Maximilian's ally, the Tartars and the Teutonic Knights, Maximilian's protégés. Wladislaw II had tried to come to Sigismund's support by opening new negotiations with Istanbul and Venice (August-September). The development of the Ottoman dynastic conflict however changed the situation, giving more reasons to worry than to hope to *Christian* powers⁸.

Aided by Tartars, Selim, at that time merely one of Bayezid's rebellious sons had, gained control over the Crimean Peninsula, the Danube and the Dniestr Mounds, causing fear in Suceava, Buda and Krakow. In late 1510, the Walachian states were about to become Ottoman battlefields or, on the contrary, fiefs, namely Moldavia, for Selim I, in view of a settlement of the Ottoman conflict.

oriental politics was played by Constantine Arianiti Comnen (Maximilian's *most beloved blood-relative and captain-general* in the future emperor's own words of 1498), probably a close parent of Bogdan's unnamed „Habsburg bride” of 1513 (Constantine was also related to the Branković, house of which Bogdan's mother, Mary Voichița, the grand-niece of Mara Branković, Murad II's wife, was a member; see also Simon, *Lumea lui Djem*, p. 17-20). For Constantine, see here Franz Babinger, *Das Ende der Arianiten* (=Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, NS, X, 4, Munich, 1960, p. 38 (note 2), 86 (note 4)

⁸ Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Venice (ASVe), S.S., *Deliberazioni*, reg. 43, cc. 156^r-157^v (23rd, 30th of September 1509); HHStA, R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, fasc. 12-3, f. 144^r; fasc. 15a-1, f. 29^{r-v}; fasc. 15b-1, ff. 79^r-81^v; fasc. 15b-3, ff. 4^r-14^r, 15^r-25^r, 51^r-58^v; fasc. 15b-4, f. 58^r; fasc. 17-2, ff. 6^r-11^r; fasc. 19a-1, ff. 106^r-113^r (20th of April 1508, 1st of September 1509, 7th of April, 25th of June, 5th-8th of August, 21st of September 1510, 5th of February, 15th of April, 27th of July 1511); *Relazioni di ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, XIX, *Constantinopoli. Relazioni inedite (1512-1789)*, edited by Maria Pia Pedani-Fabris, Venice, 1996, p. 15; *Acta Tomicianae*, I, 1852, no. 74, p. 96; no. 83, p. 96; no. 232, p. 181; no. 242, p. 194; no. 301, p. 227; II, 1854, no. 218, p. 183; *Hurmuzaki*, II-2, no. 481, p. 613; suppl. II-1, no. 1, p. 1-10; p. 15; *Sanudo*, IX, cols. 573-574; XII, *1 Marzo 1511-30 Settembre 1511*, Venice, 1886, col. 508; XIV, *1 Marzo 1512-31 Agosto 1512*, Venice, 1887, col. 50; [Giovanni Mari Angiolello] Donado da Lezze, *Historia Turchesca*, edited by I[Joan].

The situation did not calm down until a year later. Initially on Bayezid II's side, Bogdan attacked the troops of Selim, who had just been defeated by his father, and forced Selim to come to the terms with the Moldavian ruler. Out of necessity, more than out of ambition, Bogdan III tried to take up the part of 'maker of sultans' against the (again) 'weak sultan' who had inflicted the heaviest defeat to Bogdan's father, when the latter (though apparently not as involved as his son in the early 1510s in the Ottoman imperial crisis of 1481-1484) believed that the Christian and Ottoman fall of Bayezid was only a matter of time. Bogdan III's decision to side with Selim was a major gamble. He risked being crushed if Bayezid won and also if Bayezid and Selim settled their feud. Bayezid was by no means an easy prey. The sultan had even used Radu IV of Walachia as an example in his speech to the angry mob of Janissaries calling for Bayezid's deposition. Though Radu IV could barely move for seven years, prior to his death, none of his notoriously infidel subjects thought of deposing him and, moreover, he had also come, twice, in his condition to Istanbul. Sultan Bayezid II's *Christian* example had a great effect on the mob, calming her down⁹.

The situation in the East was seldom a matter of black and white. Rome knew that, but still the Walachian, especially the Moldavian, involvement in the Ottoman crisis, displeased her, giving Buda and Krakow the grounds to push their claims through. Based on Polish and Hungarian data, Walachia and Moldavia were labeled as *schismatic* lands (1511-1512). Following Maximilian

Ursu, Bucharest, 1910, p. 270-271 (*Historia*); *Aus der Chronik des Hanivaldanus (Hanivaldanus)*, in *Der fromme Sultan Bayezid. Die Geschichte seiner Herrschaft (1481-1512) nach den altosmanischen Chroniken des Oruç und des Anonymus Hanivaldanus (=Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber, IX)*, edited by Richard F. Kreutel, Graz-Vienna-Cologne, 1978, p. 258-260 (*Bayezid*); *Istvánffy*, p. 55-59; Ezechiel Zivier, *Neuere Geschichte Polens, I, Die zwei letzten Jagiellonen*, Gotha, 1915, p. 61, 63 (Krakow, Suceava and Vienna in the months following the conclusion of the Polish-Moldavian peace of 1510).

⁹ *Historia*, p. 268-271; *Aus der Chronik des Oruç*, in *Bayezid*, p. 83, 90, 96; *Hanivaldanus*, p. 198-201, 212-222, 267 (the Muslims too used *Infidel* examples in order to convince their peers.); Dorothy M. Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk: A Pattern of Alliances. 1350-1700*, Liverpool, 1954, p. 93-99; Tahsin Gemil, *Din relațiile moldo-otomane în primul sfert al secolului al XVI-lea (pe marginea a două documente din arhivele de la Istanbul)*, in *AIIA Iași, IX*, 1972, p. 133-143 (p. 134-136); Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Le règne de Selim I^{er}*, in *Turcica, VI*, 1974, p. 34-48 (pp. 35-37); Ferenc Szakály, *Phases of Turko-Hungarian Warfare before the Battle of Mohács. 1365-1526*, in *AOASH, XXIII*, 1979, 1, p. 65-112 (p. 105-110); Adel Allouche, *The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict (906-962/ 1500-1555)*, Berlin, 1983, p. 35-36.

I's and Bakócz's pressures (Matthias Corvinus' former secretary knew that he needed the Walachians both within Hungary, namely for his political and ecclesiastical purposes, as he had been anointed <Latin> patriarch of Constantinople in 1507, and outside the realm, especially for his crusade), Moldavia was re-listed by Rome as the papacy's main eastern crusader force (1513). Bakócz, who had lost the recent papal elections at Julius II's death pushed his country into a crusade, after, in the summer of 1511, the Diet had approved a 4 year prolongation of the truce with the Porte, which included also Venice. Bayezid II did not want any trouble in the north as he felt that his victory over Selim had not actually ended the Ottoman conflict. Selim's entente with Bogdan (who, as Wladislaw's and as Bayezid's vassal, should have respected this truce and fought Selim) allowed Selim to start his victorious comeback of early 1512 (in exchange, Bogdan III probably hoped to receive the harbors lost by his father to Bayezid in 1484). With Selim I as his ally on the throne in Istanbul, which Bayezid II had been recently forced to relinquish, and with the Walachian throne in his sight, Bogdan III's envoys proudly attended the Imperial *Reichstag* of Trier in May 1512¹⁰.

3. Selim I's and Maximilian I's Walachian Actions on the Eve of the „Hungarian Crusade”

Bayezid II had been forced to abdicate. Crusader plans began to sparkle. It was as if Christians had not dared to dream of a crusade until the ‘weak

¹⁰ E.g. ASVe, S.S., *Deliberazioni*, reg. 46, c. 3r. (18th of August 1513); HHStA, R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, fasc. 19a-1, f. 87^r (25th of July 1511); *Acta Tomiciana*, II, no. 253, p. 205; nos. 279-270, pp. 217-218; nos. 296-298, pp. 226-227; *Hurmuzaki*, II-3, 1510-1530, editor N. Densușianu, Bucharest, 1893, no. 63, p. 57; no. 121, p. 120; no. 122, p. 131; XV-1, nos. 391-392, p. 217-218 (especially no. 391, p. 217); *Monumenta rusticorum in Hungaria rebellium anno MDXIV*, edited by Antál Fekete-Nagy, Victor Kenéz, László Solymosi, Géza Érszegi, Budapest, 1979, no. 2, p. 33; no. 7, p. 54, no. 19, p. 6; *Memoriale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum a F. Ioanne de Komorowo compilatum*, edited by Xawery Liske, Antoni Lorkiewicz, in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, V, Krakow, 1888, p. 305; *Sanudo*, XII, col. 240; XIII, 1 Ottobre 1511-28 Febbraio 1512, Venice, 1886, cols. 221, 480, 521; *Wapowski*, p. 77-84; Vilmos Fraknói, *Ungarn und die Liga von Cambray*, Budapest, 1883, p. 50-58, 61-64; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, III, p. 138-142. Bogdan III's envoys at the *Reichstag* of Trier: Christoph Scheurl [1481-1542], *Geschichtsbuch der Christenheit von 1511-1521*, edited by J.K. F. Knaake, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Reiches und der Deutschen Kirche*, Leipzig, I, 1872, p. 1-179 (here p. 31-32).

sultan' was gone. Selim was not expected to rule long. But, in April 1513, at Yenişehir, Ahmed, Selim's brother and his last major rival, was defeated. Selim I was more cruel and ambitious than his father had ever been. Regardless of their previous stands and of their seemingly increasing difficulties in interpreting the Ottoman context, the Christian states had to reconsider their relations with Selim. Moldavia apparently failed to do so, even though by 1513, she had almost run out of crusader memories and advantages. Because of its Habsburg alliance, Suceava could rely in the *Latin* world only on Vienna and, partially, on Buda and on Rome. Within the *Greek* world, where he was at odds with the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople which had not endorsed his succession of 1504, Bogdan had no other ally than the very distant, yet effective at times, Vasili III of Moscow. Bogdan also had no legitimate male heir and had recently become a widower (after his Polish failure, he had married a Moldavian lady Anastasia). In a land divided between boyar clans and where he could not count on the support of the Church due to his pro-Western authoritarian politics, the ruler of Moldavia, the son of the famed *athlete* Stephen III and of Mary Voichița Branković, could not marry again below his rank and take a boyar's daughter as his wife, thus favoring one clan over the other. Nonetheless, there were not many dynastic options left after 1453 for a *Greek* rite ruler in search of a prestigious bride¹¹.

Julius II, Bogdan's former protector, died in February 1513. This should have postponed the crusader plans. Yet it did not. The new pope, Leo X, wanted to make an impact in the name of the cross and also compensate Thomas Bakócz, his still very powerful counter-candidate. Prior even to the conclusion of the papal elections, Maximilian I had already drafted his own crusader plan (an anti-Jagiellonian, and in particular anti-Polish, plan at the same time). With Russian, Teutonic, Moldavian and Tartar (if possible) aid, the emperor wanted

¹¹ E.g. [Manuel Malaxos], *Historia politica constantinopoleos a 1454 usque ad 1578 annum Christi*, in *Historia Politica et Patriarchica Constantino poleos. Epirotica* (=Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, III), edited by Immanuel Bekker, Bonn, 1849, p. 140-141 (*Malaxos*); *Letopiseșul de la Putna I, Cronica sârbo-moldovenească, Cronica lui Macarie*, in *Cronicile slavo-române*, p. 51-52, 91-92, 192-193; Al. Simon, *Fata de la nemți. Maximilian I de Habsburg, Bogdan III și o căsătorie din 1513*, in *AȘD*, II, 2006, p. 101-116 (p. 108-109). For the context, see also Teodor G. Bulat, *Din domnia voevodului Neagoe IV Basarab. Relațiunile cu Ungurii și Sașii Ardeleni*, in *Închinare lui Nicolae Iorga*, edited by Constantin Marinescu, Cluj, 1931, p. 73-83.

to strike Istanbul and coerce Krakow. Maximilian I overlooked the fact that the Crimean Tartars were one of Selim I's most trusted supporters. He seemingly also overestimated his grip on Walachian matters (a year later he did the same). Walachia was under sultan Selim's firm control, after Neagoe Basarab, the favorite of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and of the Orthodox monastic and secular elites around it, had won the sultan's favor (Neagoe had been enthroned against Selim's will) and also rapidly gained domestic support (1512-1513). The Ottomans could thus launch their raids against Hungary. These raids increased in intensity after Selim's victory over Ahmed in spring 1513 (Wladislaw II even sent word to remote Görlitz that Selim I, Neagoe Basarab and the Tartars had occupied Transylvania and planned to divided Hungary's eastern province among themselves). The riders were however not the only Ottoman figures and forces crossing the Danube line in the first half of 1513. Patriarch Pachomios too came to Walachia and Moldavia in an attempt to exploit also *Greek* 'millennarist' fears (1512, year marked by natural catastrophes in Moldavia, should have brought the end of the world). Bogdan III reconciled with the patriarchate. Stephen III's son made penitence in front of Pachomios and of Moldavian metropolite Theoctiste II for (his 'anti-*Greek*' and pro-*Latin*) deeds¹².

Pachomios' timing was precise. The papal seat was vacant. Bogdan III wanted to remarry and was in close relations to emperor Maximilian I. Together with Wladislaw (relations between Buda and Suceava had bettered), Bogdan III planned to dethrone Neagoe, the patriarch's protégé and a major threat to Moldavia's *Greek* and Walachian prestige and interests. Pachomios' mission

¹² Staatsarchiv, Görlitz, *Handschriften*, ff. 211^v-212^r (edited in [Johannes Hasse], *Mag. Johannes Hasse Burgermeisters zu Goerlitz Goerlitzer Rathsanalen*, I, *Erster und zweiter Band (1509-1520)* (= *Scriptores Rerum Lusaticarum*, NS, III), edited by Theodor Neumann, Görlitz, 1852, p. 261-263, Al. Simon, *Neagoe Basarab, Imperiul Otoman și Transilvania în 1513*, in *Studia Vară in Honorem Professoris Ștefan Ștefănescu Octogenarii*, edited by Ionel Cădea, Cristian Luca, Bucharest-Brăila, 2009, p. 311-320; Erich Joachim, Walter Hubatsch, *Regesta historico-diplomatica Ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum 1198-1525*, I-1, *Urkunden 1198-1525*, Göttingen, 1948, no. 74, p. 229; no. 82, p. 237; *Sanudo*, XIX, *1 Settembre 1514-28 Febbraio 151*, 1887, col. 87; *Viața sfântului Nifon*, edited by Vasile Grecu, Bucharest, 1944, p. 94-95; *Malaxos*, p. 140; N. Iorga, *România și Muntele Athos*, in *AARMSI*, 2nd Series, XXXVI, 1914, p. 207-253 (p. 231-232); Mustafa A. Mehmet, *Două documente turcești despre Neagoe Basarab*, in *Studii*, XXI, 1968, 5, p. 923-928; Al. Simon, *The Walachians between Crusader Crisis and Imperial Gifts (Mid 1400s and Early 1500s)*, in *AIRCRO*, IX, 2007, p. 141-191 (p. 175-183). Vienna, Buda, Rome and crusading in the early 1510s: H. Wiesflecker, *Neue Beiträge zur Frage des*

was therefore a complete success, at least until he crossed the Danube back into the Ottoman Empire. Bogdan III however went along with his own plans. Bogdan had already managed to find a bride. Invitations to the wedding scheduled for July had been sent out in spring 1513. Things did not go Bogdan III's way. The wedding had to be twice postponed because of the Tartars who ravaged Moldavia. Eventually, it should have taken place in early September. At the end of August, the Tartars attacked again exactly when the situation seemed to have calmed after Bogdan III had repelled the attacks (the Polish nobles, who had not left for Suceava to attend the wedding, were very pleased for not having been enslaved during the new raid). The new attack had been a shock for Bogdan as well. Bogdan was awaiting the return of his ambassadors sent in June to Innsbruck. They had to return with his bride. According to the correspondence between Zyprian von Serntein and Lorenz Saurer (27th of August 1513), Maximilian I of Habsburg's 'right' and 'left' hands, the bride for Bogdan III was the emperor's personal gift and his token of greatness sent to the East¹³.

Erstlich, so schreibt mir E<ure>G <naden> in seinem brief des dato stet zu Innsprugg am VIII-ten tag Augusti der Walacheyschen botschaft halber wie die durch Kay<serliche> May<estät> widerumb an Haim zu Irem Herren zu ziehen abgefertigt, unnd das I<hre> Kay<serliche> May <estät> Fridrichen Harber mit bestimbten Walachen in die Walachey zu ziehen verordnet den ich

Kaiser-Papstplanes Maximilians I. im Jahre 1511, in *MIÖG*, LXXI, 1963, p. 311-332; K.M. Setton, *Pope Leo X and the Turkish Peril*, in *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, CXIII, 1969, 6, p. 367-424; A. Kubinyi, *Hungary's Power Factions and the Turkish Threat in the Jagellonian Period (1490-1526)*, in *Fight against the Turk*, p. 115-145 (especially p. 129-136).

¹³ HHStA, R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, fasc. 23a-1, f. 133^r (27th of August 1513; at that time, the Tartars had just attacked). Other data on the mission (still unavailable to us): Landes- und Regierungsarchiv von Tirol/ Tiroler Landesarchiv, Innsbruck, *Maximiliana*, fasc. XIII-256, ff. 49^r-50^r (9th of July 1513); *Relațiile istorice dintre popoarele URSS și România în veacurile XV-începutul celui de al XVIII-lea*, I, 1408-1632, edited by J.S. Grosul, A.C. Oțetea, A.A. Novoselski, L.V. Cerepnin, Bucharest-Moscow, 1966, no. 11, p. 73, no. 26, p. 87; no. 28, p. 90 (at first, in 1511, the new Moldavian-Musovite plans had apparently been sanctioned by Wladislaw II's as well, whose envoys accompanied Bogdan III's messengers to Moscow, even if only in order to make sure that any anti-Polish action from Vasili III and Bogdan III would cause Buda as little as possible damage); Theodor Holban, *Noi documente românești din arhivele polone și franceze* (I), in *AIIA Iași*, XV, 1978, p. 475-484 (here no. 3, p. 482); *Acta Tomiciana*, II, no. 253, p. 205; nos. 269-270, p. 217-218; nos. 296-298, p. 226-227; *Hurmuzaki*, II-3, nos. 94-96, p. 87-89; nos. 100-101, p. 92-93; nos. 103-106, p. 94-96; Simon, *Fata de la nemți*, p. 103-105. Ștefan Sorin

also auf Kay<serliche> May<estät>t bevelh wol unnd statlich abgefertigt also an Heut Dato hir zu Wienn weggezogen. Bin sonnder Zweifel der Weida in der Walachey werde ab der Verordnung seiner Braut die Kay<serliche> May<estät> mit dem Harber hinein schickht gut gevallen tragen. Muessen manigerley nation der welt bei Kay<serliche> May<estät> erkennen lernen etc.

The bride did not bring Bogdan the stability intended by the emperor (she was probably a close relative of Maximilian's trusted councilor, Constantine Arianiti, related to both the Branković and the Comnenoi). After the Tartars failed to break Bogdan's will, in late autumn, another nemesis was unleashed against him, this time from the south. In January 1514, the unnamed contender (one of the numerous sons of former Moldavian rulers sheltered in the Ottoman Empire) entered Moldavia with aid from Neagoe Basarab and Selim I, and probably also from Poland. Bogdan III's rival seemed so powerful that not even Buda gave Bogdan a chance. Bogdan III however defeated the pretender and kept his throne in a country in which, according to the patriarchate, he was just one of *the rulers of Moldavia* not the ruler. Then he fought back. Ties between him and Maximilian I remained strong. Bogdan also reached an agreement with John Szapolyai, voivode of Transylvania. They wanted to replace Neagoe with Mircea, former ruler of Walachia, sheltered on Bogdan's Transylvanian estate of Cetatea de Baltă, after Mircea's failed transalpine attempt of 1512 (John had been very active on south Walachian soil as early as 1508, when instigated by Julius II, Wladislaw and Bogdan had tried to enthrone Danciu, son of Basarab IV *Țepeluș*, housed by John Szapolyai on his estates, because

Gorovei *O controversă: doamnele lui Bogdan III*, in *SMIM*, XXVII, 2009, p. 145-158) attempted to „solve the matter” (i.e. the identity of the bride of 1513). Hélas, he overlooked, in what can only be described as a blind rage of frustration (its motifs will hopefully still elude us), two discussions of the matter (prior to the discovery of the source in question; see in this respect: Al. Simon, *Între porturi și cer. Chilia, Cetatea Albă, Istanbul și Veneția în vara anului 1484*, in *AMN*, XXXIX-XL, 2002-2003 [2005], 2, p. 229-271, p. 259, note 173; Idem, *Quello ch'è appresso el Turcho. About A Son of Stephen the Great*, in *AIRCROU*, V-VI, 2004-2005, p. 139-164; p. 155, note 73) of princess Ruxandra, daughter of Mihnea of Walachia, recorded as Bogdan III's wife in 1515 (see Mihai Costăchescu, *Documente moldovenești de la Bogdan voievod (1504-1517)*, Bucharest, 1940, no. 58, p. 367-369). As long as we do not have a positive documentary identification of the bride of 1513 and because Ruxandra's mother, Voica, was related to the Szapolyais (Maximilian I's arch-enemies), according to John Szapolyai himself in autumn 1511 (*Hurmuzaki*, XV-1, no. 390, p. 216), we cannot claim that Ruxandra was the bride of 1513.

Mihnea had sided with the *Turk*). But in 1514, John Szapolyai's main concerns were not the Ottomans, but the Hungarian crusaders gathered on the Rákos field, over which crusader cardinal, patriarch and archbishop Thomas Bakócz had lost control. From 1514 onwards, *crusader* in Hungary was to mean foremost delinquent and not hero of the cross¹⁴.

¹⁴ Serviciul Județean Brașov al Arhivelor Naționale, Archiv der Stadt Kronstadt, Familiennachlässe., *Fronius*, I, no. 121 (28th of January 1514; copy in MOL, DF 246560; miss-edited under 1505 in *Hurmuzaki*, XV/1, no. 314, p. 170); Grigore Tocilescu, *534 documente slavo-române din Țara Românească și Moldova privitoare la legăturile cu Ardealul. 1346-1603. Din arhivele orașelor Brașov și Bistrița*, Bucharest, 1931 [Vienna, 1905], no. 230, p. 222; *Hurmuzaki*, II/2, nos. 453-455, p. 472-473; nos. 459-460, p. 577-579; II-3; no. 224, p. 307-309; XV-1, no. 401, p. 220; *Actae et epistolae*, no. 84, p. 109; Constantin Cihodaru, *Pretendenți la tronul Moldovei între anii 1504 și 1538*, in *AIIA Iași*, XIV, 1977, p. 103-122 (here p. 107, 112-114). For Hungary and the crusade of 1514, see Norman Housley, *Crusading as Social Revolt: The Hungarian Peasant Uprising of 1514*, in *JEH*, XLIX, 1998, p 1-28 (in particular p. 18-23); J. M. Bak, *Delinquent Lords and Forsaken Serfs: Thoughts on War and Society during the Crisis of Feudalism*, in *Society in Change: Studies in Honor of Béla K. Király*, edited by Steven Béla Vardy, Agnes Huszár Vardy, Boulder-New York, 1983, p. 291-304 (namely p. 295-296). Moreover, apparently, George Dozsa, the Szekler captain/ leader of the rebellious crusaders, wanted to enthrone cardinal Thomas Bakócz in Constantinople on his *rightful throne* <of patriarch of Constantinople>, an/ a possible aim (recorded by George of Sirmium) that thus increases the 'mysteries of 1514.

POLITICA HABSBURGICĂ LA FRONTIERELE CREȘTINĂȚII LA ÎNCEPUTUL ANILOR 1500

Rezumat

În vara lui 1506, regele Alexandru I al Poloniei a murit. Cel mai tânăr dintre frații Jagiello, Sigismund, fostul pretendent la tronul Moldovei în 1497 și succesorul lui Ioan Corvin ca duce de Glogov, Liptov și în Silezia, a fost încoronat rege. El a încheiat rapid un tratat cu fratele său Vladislav al II-lea, rege al Boemiei și Ungaria (în cazul în care acesta din urmă încă se confrunta cu provocări majore după încercarea eșuată de a-l detrona la sfârșitul anului 1505). Alianța a fost îndreptată împotriva regelui romanilor, Maximilian I de Habsburg, a cărui influență asupra Vladislav al II-lea a crescut în ultimele luni din cauza inamicilor ungari comuni și a slăbiciunii pe plan intern a lui Vladislav. Buda, de asemenea, a încercat să securizeze granița ei de est, respectiv flancul sudic al Cracoviei, supus presiunilor lui Bogdan III al Moldovei. Bogdan a fost dornic să răzbune înfrângerea sa din Polonia de la mijlocul anului 1505. Dar, în egală măsură, a dorit să păstreze moșiile din Transilvania și privilegiile acordate de Matia Corvin și Vladislav al II-lea tatălui său, regretatul Ștefan III. În plus, Bogdan a fost de asemenea interesat, ca și tatăl său și elita maghiară, să rămână vasal de la Buda și nu de Cracovia (în conformitate cu prevederile tratatului dintre Sigismund și Vladislav, Moldova avea să rămână stat vasal Ungariei, atâta vreme cât el și descendenții săi vor trăi). Conștient de problemele interne ale lui Vladislav și ale Habsburgilor (legăturile între Suceava și Viena au fost deosebit de puternice în ultimii ani ai domniei lui Ștefan al III-lea), deși aparent s-a abținut să intervină în treburile limba maghiară, Bogdan III urmărit soluționarea conflictului său de la frontiera cu regatul polonez.