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The Moldavian Lady and the Elder Lords of the East

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ESPECIALLY SINCE the 1390s,¹ the Duchy of Lithuania seemingly enjoyed the status of “favourite (co-) suzerain” of Moldavia,² along with the Kingdom of Poland, Moldavia’s official (main) suzerain since autumn 1387.³ This enabled Moldavia to manoeuvre between Krakow and Buda,⁴ the primary and disputed suzerain of the lands east of the Carpathians. Already in 1372 Louis I of Anjou, king of Poland as well since 1370,⁵ had ensured Emperor Charles IV of Luxemburg’s⁶ promise that he would not interfere with Hungary’s plan for Moldavia,⁷ a *Latin* rite duchy (for some 15 years),⁸ also since 1370, under the direct protection and authority of the Holy See.⁹ Between Hungarian and Polish power plays,¹⁰ Witold (Vytautas) of Lithuania’s ambitions¹¹ proved most useful for Moldavia,¹² which—by choosing Avignon over Rome¹³—during the Western Schism¹⁴ had basically defaulted *Latin* rite stately status and had become—with Byzantium’s approval¹⁵ and the support of the pro-Ottoman Genoese

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colonies¹⁶—a *Greek* rite vassal of Poland¹⁷ (in essence, Lithuania and Moldavia had “traded lanes” in the 1380s: the former should have become “Orthodox”; the latter should have remained “Catholic”).¹⁸ Much like the Moldavian duchy after Louis’ death (1382–1386), when Eastern Podolia too came under its control,¹⁹ the Duchy of Lithuania embarked on its own quest for a royal crown.²⁰

Witold passed away in his late seventies on 27 October 1430 in his castle at Trakai.²¹ He was awaiting the envoys of the sixty year old King of the Romans, Sigismund of Luxembourg.²² They were expected to deliver a second royal crown (of Lithuania), after the first one had been halted by the Polish nobles loyal to Witold’s cousin, Władysław II Jagiełło, equally in his late seventies.²³ Witold was succeeded by his approximately sixty year old cousin Svidrigiello (Švitrigaila), Algirdas’ son, as well as Władysław’s brother,²⁴ involved in Moldavian dynastic conflicts since the late 1390s,²⁵ well-known for his rebellions against and reconciliation with Witold to both the Teutonic Knights and to Sigismund who offered him shelter throughout the decades (most recently in 1418–1420).²⁶ The election of Svidrigiello as grand duke by the Lithuanian elite conflicted with the provisions of the Union of Horodło (1413), whereby the new grand duke had to be approved by the King of Poland.²⁷ Poland and Lithuania went to war and the Union of Krewo (1385) seemed near its end.²⁸ By June 1431, Svidrigiello secured the aid of the Teutonic Knights, eager to invade Poland.²⁹ In September, a two year truce was sealed between the belligerents.³⁰ Svidrigiello seemed to have lost his pace.³¹ Within the year, he was deposed by Lithuanian nobles³² and replaced with his cousin, Sigismund Kęstutaitis, Witold’s brother, in his late sixties, who resumed the union with the Polish kingdom.³³

In this Lithuanian clash of the “old guards,”³⁴ a peculiar role was played by Alexander I *cel Bun* (the Just) of Moldavia, the “youngest” of them (aged fifty at most).³⁵ Primarily an adversary of and a major target for Sigismund,³⁶ who twice—at the congresses of Lublau (1412) and Lutsk (1429)—attempted to partition Moldavia between Hungary and Poland,³⁷ Alexander I had enjoyed a special relation with Witold.³⁸ In addition to the family ties (Peter I, Alexander’s uncle and Władysław II’s *zjat* by 1388,³⁹ Roman I, Alexander’s father,⁴⁰ and Stephen I, Alexander’s <half-?> brother,⁴¹ had all wed close relatives, possibly even sisters, of Władysław and Witold⁴²), Witold’s royal prospects and his Moldavian influence were the main factors behind the rapprochement between Alexander and Sigismund after Lutsk.⁴³ By June 1431, Alexander I’s troops enthroned the boyar Aldea in Wallachia, successfully replacing Dan II defeated by the Ottomans.⁴⁴ Alexander had abandoned his Ottoman arrangement, established—mainly after the death of Mircea I (1418), his “Wallachian suzerain,”⁴⁵ and after the failed Ottoman attack on Cetatea Albă (1420)⁴⁶—in view of the—eventually successful—recovery of Moldavia’s former Danubian parts⁴⁷ controlled by the pro-Hungarian crusader Dan II.⁴⁸ Alexander I’s anti-Ottoman and pro-Hungarian commitment survived his death at the beginning of 1432, just months after

the Polish-Lithuanian-Teutonic compromise of September 1431.⁴⁹ The son of the late Alexander I, Elias I, upheld—victoriously at first—Moldavia’s anti-Ottoman course.⁵⁰

Alexander I’s designs—late in his life—seemed great and apparently blossomed after Witold’s death.⁵¹ In autumn 1425, his designated heir, Elias, had wed—not without Witold’s aid—Mary, the sister of Sophia, Władysław’s last wife.⁵² Alexander I had Wallachia under his grip,⁵³ with Aldea also seemingly married to a daughter of his.⁵⁴ Sigismund’s ambitions and the Lithuanian turmoil equally collected Alexander’s attention.⁵⁵ In effect, Svidrigiello—through his association with King Sigismund—opened the southern road for Alexander, as illustrated by the talks between Sigismund, Teutonic Grand-Master Paul von Rusdorf,⁵⁶ and Sigmund Roth, Svidrigiello’s envoy,⁵⁷ in spring 1431.⁵⁸

*Werbung an den Homeister zu Preussen von unsers Herren des Romischen Kunigs wegen*⁵⁹

. . . Item er hat Ewern Gnaden emboten. Als er euch zugesagt hat, nach Ewern Rat, das er sich mit beweiben wolle, also hat er das bißher gehalden, und sint demal in der Almechtig Got, nü erhohet hat, so wer er wol geneigt, durch mancherley Sache willen, des Wayvoda Tochter, uß der Molda zunemen, ob es mit Ewern Gnaden willen wer. Wann er hoft, wurd dieselb heyeret fur sich geen, das er damit denselben Wayvoda beyd den Turcken, ouch den Polan wol entziehen wolt, das er nicht mit in, Sunder ewer gnaden und sein getruer dyener sein wurde. . . .

Item. Als dann der Grosfurst sich gern verheyraten wolde, mit des von Moldaw Tochter, ob es mit unsers Herrn des Kunigs willen were, also sol der Meister, den Grosfursten bitten, daz er das ansteen lasse, biß unser Herre mit im zusammen kommet, So wil im sein Gnad in den und andern Sachen getrulich sein bestes raten, als seinen lieben Bruder, und danckt im unser Herre der Romisch Kunig, daz er die sache mit dem von Moldaw in von Turken und Polan zutziehen so wol und fruntlich unserm Herrn und seinen Landen zu Nutz fur sich genomen und betrachtet hat.⁶⁰ . . . [March–April 1431]⁶¹

The negotiations were successful: by June the Teutonic Knights entered Poland (though their war with Krakow officially started only in mid–August), pushing Svidrigiello (under considerable Polish pressure) towards Lithuanian victory, while in the south, Alexander of Moldavia had expelled the Ottomans from Wallachia.⁶² Sigismund, who—given also his Hussite problem—avoided an “official attack” on Władysław II,⁶³ seemed to be drawing closer to victory in the East (in the north- and south-east),⁶⁴ while Alexander I asserted his regional influence to an unprecedented level.⁶⁵

The key to this—nonetheless temporary success⁶⁶—seems to have been Sigismund’s approval of the marriage between the unnamed—previously unknown⁶⁷—

daughter of Alexander and Svidrigiello and his—nevertheless reluctant⁶⁸—acceptance of the replacement of his favourite (Vlad II), already appointed by him in February 1431, with Alexander’s candidate (Aldea) as the new anti-Ottoman ruler of Wallachia (where, at its western border, Teutonic Knights had been stationed since 1427)⁶⁹ thus effectively ending the truce concluded with Murad II after his failed siege of Golumbač.⁷⁰ In the absence of further evidence, the “dynastic and confessional identity” of Alexander I’s daughter is essential for the understanding of Sigismund’s eastern policies,⁷¹ given both his efforts for Church Union,⁷² to which end he had also made the most out of the Byzantine-Moldavian conflict in the 1390s,⁷³ and Svidrigiello’s pro-Greek stands,⁷⁴ often condemned irrespective of his and his relatives’ “errant ways” (most notably Vytautas/Alexander/Witold and Jogaiła/Jacob/Władysław travelled—almost back and forth prior to 1386—from Paganism to Greek, as well as Latin rite Christianity).⁷⁵ Because Svidrigiello (Lev/Bolesław as a Greek, respectively Latin rite Christian, after he converted together with his brother Jogaiła in 1386⁷⁶) was about sixty in 1431, Alexander’s daughter must have been a teenager, born the latest around 1417, when Alexander was married to Ringalla.⁷⁷

Ringalla (Anna) was Witold’s forty year old sister and had no (known at least) children from any of her marriages (while her brother only had a daughter).⁷⁸ Immediately after the failed Ottoman siege of Cetatea Albă (which probably led to a settlement⁷⁹ between Alexander and Murad II), she requested and received from Martin V the divorce (1420–1421) because she was too closely related to her husband, whom she had additionally failed to convert to the Latin rite⁸⁰ (still, by May 1422, to Sigismund’s dislike, Witold attempted to coerce Alexander to re-marry her).⁸¹ As Alexander’s last wife (after 1420),⁸² the daughter of the Moldavian boyar Bratu, Marina,⁸³ can be ruled out as the mother of Svidrigiello’s wife-to-be (the latter would have been too young for her—still heirless—elder husband), two other wives must be brought into question as mothers (due to the regional stakes of the marriage, we can hardly presume that the lady was an illegitimate child).⁸⁴ The first, Ringalla’s probable predecessor, was Anna-Neacşa (†1418),⁸⁵ Elias I’s mother (born in 1409),⁸⁶ once viewed⁸⁷ as the daughter of Anastasia (†1420)⁸⁸ Ladislas-Lațcu’s child,⁸⁹ Moldavia’s⁹⁰ first Latin rite duke.⁹¹ The second, known only through a 17th century record,⁹² was Margaret (†prior to 1410),⁹³ a Latin rite Christian (if she actually existed, she could have been Alexander’s first wife, possibly related—under the “terms”⁹⁴ of his enthronement—to the Hungarian wife of Mircea I of Wallachia).⁹⁵

Under the circumstances,⁹⁶ neither can be ruled out as the mother of the lady meant to become duchess, if not queen of Lithuania. She must have hence descended from a prestigious lineage,⁹⁷ as furthermore Sigismund was familiar with Wallachian matrimonial policies, through his Angevine legacy (Clara *de Ungaria*,⁹⁸ the wife of Alexander, *Weida in Vlachia*,⁹⁹ had been mother to *Ancha*,

Empress of Serbia,¹⁰⁰ and Anna, Empress of Bulgarian Vidin,¹⁰¹ the mother of Dorothea, Queen of Bosnia¹⁰²), and his own political time (in addition to Mircea's wife, Sigismund's uncle—and rival—Jobst of Moravia¹⁰³ had been married until his death in 1411¹⁰⁴ to Elisabeth-Ágnes,¹⁰⁵ the daughter of Władysław II, duke of Oppeln¹⁰⁶ and Elisabeth,¹⁰⁷ the child of *Transalpine Voivode* Alexander¹⁰⁸ and—most likely—of the same lady Clara¹⁰⁹). However, because of the Polish-Lithuanian truce (2 September 1431), Alexander's death (1 January 1432) and Svidrigiello's dethronement (31 August 1432),¹¹⁰ it could seem that the Lithuanian-Moldavian marriage was not celebrated or that it was ephemeral or deprived of immediate positive results for its authors, alike other “Moldavian schemes” (such as the Gattilusio lady expedited by Murad as a gift to Stephen II in 1446¹¹¹ or the bride sent as a personal token of greatness by Maximilian I of Habsburg to Bogdan III in 1513¹¹²). Yet, because of the useful Wallachian connections retained by Svidrigiello until the late 1430s¹¹³ and in the absence of further researches,¹¹⁴ it would perilous to ascribe with certainty a similar fate to the matrimonial project of 1431 brokered by Sigismund of Luxemburg and Paul von Rusdorf.¹¹⁵

After Alexander's death, Moldavia (or, more accurately speaking, at least a significant part of it)¹¹⁶ upheld his anti-*Turkish* option (possibly the most important consequence of the arrangement¹¹⁷ of the *duke* of Moldavia with Sigismund¹¹⁸), further supporting this assumption.¹¹⁹ In spring 1432, the *Turk* attacked, but was repelled by Elias.¹²⁰ Murad had created a Wallachian and a Moldavian “princely reservoir.”¹²¹ He wanted to enthrone Stephen II, Alexander's illegitimate son,¹²² who was/became also a favourite of the influential Zbigniew Oleśnicki,¹²³ Svidrigiello's foremost Polish adversary (with Władysław II's support, Moldavia had first come under Ottoman control¹²⁴ in the 1390s,¹²⁵ under Peter I¹²⁶ and Stephen I,¹²⁷ who had taken the throne from Roman I, Sigismund's and Witold's ally; the king “recovered” Stephen after Nicopolis¹²⁸ in exchange also for Transylvanian estates). By June 1432, Aldea had acknowledged Murad as his suzerain.¹²⁹ In November, Venice deemed Moldavia under *Turkish* rule.¹³⁰ Elias attempted to recover but was dethroned by Stephen, aided by Murad and Aldea,¹³¹ in September 1433.¹³² After combats and failed truces,¹³³ in 1435, Moldavia was partitioned along the old lines of division (that Alexander had attempted to cover)¹³⁴ between Elias I and Stephen II, quite to Buda's,¹³⁵ Byzantium's,¹³⁶ as well as Edirne's satisfaction.¹³⁷ By that time any Lithuanian scheme designed for Moldavia in cooperation with the Teutonic Knights and Hungary belonged to the past, like Svidrigiello and his “Moldavian fiancée” of 1431.¹³⁸ It took Moldavia more than three decades to rebuild its regional credentials to the level of 1430-1431,¹³⁹ in the last days of—“the hard to read”—Moldavian *Herczog Alexander, den man nennet Noss*.¹⁴⁰

Notes

1. Unfortunately, most recent researches have focused—chiefly in relation to the Lithuanian-Moldavian question—on later stages, providing however relevant information. In this respect, see the data in Egidijus Banionis, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės pasiuntinybių tarnyba XV-XVI amžiais*, eds. Zigmantas Kiaupa and Žydrūnas Mačiukas (Vilnius, 1998), 86–88, 181–182, 335–360.
2. Ștefan S. Gorovei, *Întemeierea Moldovei: Probleme controversate*, 2nd edition (Iași, 2014), 141–146, 268 (n. 235). The earliest matrimonial ties could date back to the 1370s (even to the 1360s).
3. For the circumstances of this highly peculiar arrangement, see here the classic estimates by Octavian Iliescu, “Le prêt accordé en 1388 par Pierre Mușat à Ladislas Jagellon,” *Revue Roumaine d’Histoire* (Bucharest) 12, 1 (1973): 123–138.
4. See also Șerban Papacostea, “Moldova începuturilor între regii Ungariei și Poloniei,” *Revista istorică* (Bucharest), new ser., 9, 5–6 (1998): 425–429.
5. Norman Housley, “King Louis the Great of Hungary and the Crusades 1342–1382,” *The Slavonic and East-European Review* 62, 2 (1982): 192–208. His Moldavian policy cannot be separated from *Pagan* and *Schismatic* issues.
6. For his eastern (south- and north-eastern) policies, see Jaromir Mikulka, “Zur Frage nach Kaiser Karls IV. *Slawentum* und zum *slawischen* Programm seiner Politik,” *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus* 4 (1980): 173–185.
7. See *Monumenta Historica Bohemiae*, vol. 2, ed. Gelasius [Job Felix] Dobner (Prague, 1768), no. 65, pp. 386–387.
8. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City (ASV), Registra Vaticana (Reg. Vat.), 250, fols. 129v–131r (24 July 1370; *Acta Urbani PP. V (1362–1370)* (= *Fontes*, III, 11), ed. Aloisie L. Tăutu (Rome, 1964), nos. 204–205, pp. 337–341); 268, fol. 8r (25 January 1372; *Acta Gregorii PP. XI (1370–1378)* (= *Fontes*, III, 12), ed. Aloisie L. Tăutu (Rome, 1966), no. 20, p. 48).
9. For the context of the papal commitment to Moldavia (“almost irrespective” of Angevine pressure), see also Anthony Luttrell, “Gregory XI and the Turks: 1370–1378,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (Rome) 46, 2 (1980): 319–417.
10. With emphasis on the Hungarian anti-Tartar campaigns and the “partitions” of Moldavia, see also Denis Deletant, “Moldavia between Hungary and Poland, 1347–1412,” *The Slavonic and East-European Review* 66, 2 (1986): 189–211.
11. S. C. Rowell, *Lithuania Ascending: A Pagan Empire within East-Central Europe 1295–1345* (Cambridge, 1994).
12. Virgil Ciocîltan, “Raporturi moldo-lituaniene (1420–1429),” in *România în istoria universală*, ed. Gheorghe Buzatu, vol. 3 (Iași, 1988), 129–143 (notwithstanding the series’ title).
13. *Acta Bonifacii Papae IX* (= *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, VIII), ed. Edmund Długopolski, 1, 1389–1391 (Krakow, 1939), no. 85, pp. 75–76 (the papal letter to the first bishop of Moldavia and then Lithuania, Andrew Jastrzębiec, was only partially edited; Oskar Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou and the Rise of East-Central Europe* (New York–Boulder, 1991), 266).

14. In relation to the Wallachians, see also Anton Kern, “Der *Libellus de notitia Orbis* Johannes III (de Galonifontibus?) O.P. Erzbischofs von Sultanieh,” *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* (Rome) 8 (1938): 82–123, at 100, 104, 107.
15. Franz Miklosich and Joseph Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, vol. 2 (Vienna, 1862), no. 393, p. 98.
16. Archivio di Stato di Genova, Genoa (ASG), Sala 34, *Caffae-Massaria*, reg. 590/1226bis. 1386–1387, fol. 390r (15 April and 2 May 1387). Gian Giacomo Musso (“Note d’archivio sulla Massaria di Caffa,” in id., *La cultura genovese nell’età dell’umanesimo*, eds. Edoardo Grendi and Salvatore Rotta (Genoa, 1985), 143–183, at 159, 179, note 83) dated in 1968 the embassy to Peter I to 1386. A decade later, Aldo Agosto (“Orientamenti sulle fonti documentarie dell’archivio di stato di Genova per la storia dei genovesi nella Russia Meridionale,” *Genova, la Liguria e l’Oltremare tra Medioevo ed Eta’ Moderna* (Genoa), 3 (1979): 9–38, at 34)—apparently without noticing it—correctly dated the Genoese mission to 1387.
17. Mihai Costăchescu, *Documente moldovenesti înainte de Ștefan cel Mare*, vol. 2 (Iași, 1932), nos. 162–163, pp. 559–603. Peter I’s oath of fealty to Władysław II was blessed by Cyprian, metropolite of Kyiv and All Rus’, Władysław’s old ally and Emperor John V Palaeologus’ special envoy.
18. Vitalien Laurent (“Contributions à l’histoire des relations de l’Église byzantine avec l’Église roumaine au début du XV^e siècle,” *Bulletin de la Section Historique de l’Académie Roumaine* (Bucharest) 26 (1945): 165–184) already noticed this—disturbing—core of the changes occurred in the mid-1380s and of the subsequent Moldavian-Byzantine conflicts.
19. Victor Spinei, *Moldova în secolele XI–XIV*, 3rd edition (Chișinău, 1994), 334. In 1386 (i.e. after the Union of Krewo), Vasili, Dimitri Donskoi’s son, escaped from the Tartars to Podolia, ruled by Peter I of Moldavia.
20. Even Oskar Halecki, *Borderlands of Western Civilization: A History of East Central Europe* (New York, 1952), 135–150.
21. E.g. Giedrė Mickūnaitė, *Making a Great Ruler: Grand Duke Vytautas of Lithuania* (Budapest, 2006), 67–70, 72–75.
22. For a “classical overview” of Sigismund’s attitude towards Krakow and its connections: Hugo-Zeno Nowak, “Kaiser Sigismund und die polnische Monarchie (1387–1437),” *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* (Berlin) 15 (1988): 423–436.
23. Lithuania’s stately foundations and dynastic imbroglios can be traced also in John Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia: A Study of Byzantine-Russian Relations in the 14th Century* (Cambridge, 1981), with an Eastern perspective.
24. The standard study is Jonas Matusas’ *Švitrigaila Lietuvos didysis kunigaikštis* (Vilnius, 1991). Unfortunately, no extensive modern scholarly work (Matusas’ was initially published in 1938) in an international language is available.
25. Constantin Racoviță, “Începuturile suzeranității polone asupra Moldovei,” *Revista istorică română* (Bucharest) 10 (1940): 237–332, at 255–264.
26. In April 1418, Svidrigiello also found shelter for the first known time in Moldavia, from where he left for Hungary.

27. In this respect, given the clear Teutonic connections of our topic and of the discussed project, see William Urban, *Tannenberg and after: Lithuania, Poland, and the Teutonic Order in search of immortality* (Chicago, 1999), 195–196.
28. In relation to Polish-Lithuanian formative “constitutional relations,” see S. C. Rowell’s summary in *1385 m. rugpjūčio 14 d. Krėvos aktas* [The Krewo Act (14 August 1385)], ed. Jūratė Kiaupienė (Vilnius, 2002), 135–143.
29. In these matters: Jorg K. Hoensch, “König/Kaiser Sigismund, der Deutsche Orden und Polen-Litauen: Stationen einer problembeladenen Beziehung,” *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropaforschung* (Marburg) 46, 1 (1997): 1–44, at 27–33.
30. Zigmantas Kiaupa, Jūratė Kiaupienė, and Albinas Kuncevičius, *The History of Lithuania before 1795* (Vilnius, 2000), 205–211.
31. Aleksander Gieysztor, “The kingdom of Poland and the grand duchy of Lithuania, 1370–1506,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 7, c. 1415–c. 1500, ed. Christopher Allmand (Cambridge, 2002), 727–747, at 735–736.
32. In relation to Svidrigiello’s fate: Rimvydas Petrauskas, *Літоўская знаць у канцы XIV–XV ст. Склад-структура-ўлада* (Smolensk, 2014), 178–182.
33. E.g. Daniel Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1385–1795* (= *A History of East-Central Europe*, IV) (Seattle, 2002), 22.
34. In these matters (prior and after the impact of the Black Death), see M. A. Jonker, “Estimation of Life Expectancy in the Middle Ages,” *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society—Statistics in Society* 166, 1 (2003): 105–117.
35. Roman I’s son (1391/1392–1394) from his second marriage, implicated in state affairs by 1392–1393, along with his baby-brother Bogdan (†1407), was enthroned by Mircea I (1400) and ruled alone, being thus probably born in the 1380s.
36. With emphasis on anti-Ottoman crusading and on the relations to Byzantium, see in this matter Șerban Papacostea, “Byzance et la croisade au Bas-Danube à la fin du XIV^e siècle,” *Revue Roumaine d’Histoire* 30, 1–2 (1991): 3–21.
37. Florin Constantiniu and Șerban Papacostea, “Tratatul de la Lublau (15 martie 1412) și situația internațională a Moldovei la începutul veacului al XVI-lea,” *Studii: Revistă de istorie* (Bucharest) 17, 10 (1964): 1129–1140.
38. Jan Tęgowski, “Powiązania genealogiczne wojewodów moldawskich Bogdanowiczów z domem Giedyminowiczów w XIV i XV wieku,” *Genealogia: Studia i materiały historyczne* (Wrocław) 3 (1993): 45–66, at 53–55.
39. See Costăchescu, vol. 2, no. 164, pp. 605–606 (1388). *Zjat* was often translated by son- or brother-in-law (yet the age difference rules out the first option). *Close relative* seems more neutral.
40. *Documenta Romaniae Historica* (DRH), A. *Moldova*, vol. 1, 1384–1448, eds. Constantin Cihodaru, Ioan Caproșu, and Leon Șimanschi (Bucharest, 1975), no. 23, pp. 32–33 (1408). Anastasia, Alexander’s mother and the—probably second—wife of Roman I was deemed to have been either of Wallachian or Lithuanian origins. The latter option seems more likely given the *tercio affinitatis gradu* grounds for divorce between Alexander and Witold’s sister Ringalla in 1420.
41. *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi Magni Ducis Lithuaniae 1376–1430* (= *Monumenta Medii Aevi Historica Res Gestas Poloniae Illustrantia*, VI), ed. Antoni Prohaska (Krakow, 1882), Appendix, no. 6, p. 1027 (Teutonic information from 1417).

42. See also Alexandru Pînzar, "Câteva lămuriri cu privire la înrudirile primilor domni ai Moldovei cu dinastia lituaniană," *Analele Universității Alexandru Ioan Cuza: Istorie* (Iași), new ser., 46–48 (2010–2012): 117–128 (an issue closely connected also to the question of Alexander's <second?> wife Anna-Neacșa).
43. For the nature of Wallachian-Hungarian-Moldavian conflicts and interests in those years, see also Ștefan Andreescu, "Une ville disputée: Kilia pendant la première moitié du XV^e siècle," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 24, 3 (1985): 217–230.
44. Officially an anti-Ottoman action, Alexander's intervention was also intended to limit Sigismund's influence, who had granted in late January–early February 1431 the rule over Wallachia to Vlad II *Dracul*, a Knight of the Order of the Dragon, as well as one of Mircea I's numerous illegitimate sons. In this respect, see Virgil Ciocîltan, "La campagne ottoman de Transylvanie (1438) dans le contexte politique international," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 15, 3 (1976): 437–445.
45. For the rivalry between Moldavia and Wallachia, see Șerban Papacostea, "Politica externă a lui Ștefan cel Mare: opțiunea polonă (1459–1472)," *Studii și materiale de istorie medie* (Bucharest) 15 (2007): 13–28, at 18–19, 22–23.
46. Virgil Ciocîltan, "Competiția pentru controlul Dunării inferioare (1412–1420)," (I–II), *Revista de istorie* 35, 10 (1982): 1090–1100; 35, 11 (1982): 1191–1203, at 1193, 1201.
47. After his enthronement, Alexander had handed them over to Mircea. Șerban Papacostea, "Aux débuts de l'État moldave: Considerations en marge d'une nouvelle source," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 12, 1 (1973): 139–158, at 150–155.
48. The "international crusade" in Walachia: Nicolae Iorga, "Un prinț cruciat portughez în Țara Românească a secolului XV," *Analele Academiei Române: Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice* (Bucharest), 3rd ser., 4 (1925): 333–337.
49. Ilona Czamańska, *Moldavia i Włoszczyzna wobec Polski, Węgier i Turcji w XIV i XV wieku* (Poznań, 1996), 82–88. According to Jan Długosz, Alexander I died saddened by Svidrigiello's failure, however far less obvious in the 1430s than it became decades later.
50. In relation to Wallachia as well, see the outline by Constantin Cihodaru, *Alexandru cel Bun* (Iași, 1984), 269–270.
51. For the main known data, also in relation to Svidrigiello's designs, see the literature cited by Constantin Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică a domnilor din Țara Românească și Moldova (a. 1324–1881)*, vol. 1, *Secolele XIV–XVI* (Bucharest, 2001), 474–475, 477–478.
52. The marriage was of paramount importance for Moldavia during the 1430s–1450s. Edward Rudzki, *Polskie królowe. Zony Piastów i Jagiellonów*, 2nd edition, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1990), 98–99.
53. Aldea (who took on the name Alexander as a ruler) became Murad II's vassal (June 1432) after Alexander I's death.
54. See Ilie Minea, *Principatele române și politica orientală a împăratului Sigismund* (Bucharest, 1919), 207–208. New researches on this issue are much needed.
55. The traditional perspective on the relations between Alexander and Svidrigiello is illustrated by Veniamin Ciobanu, *Țările Române și Polonia: Secolele XIV–XVI* (Bucharest, 1985), 43–46.

56. Carl Augustus Lückerath, *Paul von Rusdorf: Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens 1422–1441* (Bad Godesberg, 1969).
57. Unfortunately, additional information on this—important under the circumstances—figure is not available at present.
58. The text was written after Witold’s death and Svidrigiello’s election (October 1430) and prior to Alexander’s anti-Ottoman campaign in Wallachia (before June 14, 1431, when Aldea issued his first known charter as ruler for the city of Braşov). *DRH*, D. *Relații între Țările Române*, vol. 1, *1222–1456*, eds. Ștefan Pascu, Constantin Cihodaru, Konrad G. Gündisch, Damaschin Mioc, and Viorica Pervain (Bucharest, 1977), no. 180, p. 281. Because Vlad *Dracul* had been appointed ruler of Wallachia by Sigismund prior to February 8 (*DRH*, D, 1, no. 179, p. 280), unless we presume deliberate Wallachian “foul-play” on Alexander’s behalf (which his usual “conduct,” the nevertheless *ab ovo* mistrusted Hungarian rumour of early July, after Aldea’s enthronement, that Alexander’s host might even move against Braşov, and Vlad’s subsequent—yet undated—reactions could substantiate; e.g. *DRH*, D, 1, nos. 181–185, pp. 282–286), we must suppose that the text dated from spring 1431 (due to the preparations involved by Alexander’s campaign and the distances that had to be covered in this diplomatic network, the interval can be narrowed down to March–April).
59. In the Geheimes Staatsarchiv (GstA), Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ordensbriefarchiv (ODA), Berlin, no. 5542 [fols. 1r–3r].
60. In order to facilitate the understanding of the source, majuscules were inserted in compliance with modern German.
61. Because the source was calendared in *Regesta historico diplomatica ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum 1198–1525*, eds. Erich Joachim and Walther Hubatsch, vol. 1, pt. 2, *1198–1454* (Göttingen, 1948), no. 5542, the Romanian historiography was aware—or so it seems—of the existence of the source (e.g. Gorovei, 164), but clearly failed to search for it, like in the case of the matrimonial ties between Witold and Mircea I, recorded in late July 1416 (*Regesta historico diplomatica*, I–2, no. 2354; *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár*, general-ed[s]. Elemér Mályusz <and Iván Borsa>, vol. 5. *1415–1416*, ed. Iván Borsa (Budapest, 1997), no. 2023, pp. 545–546).
62. E.g. GstA, ODA, nos. 5636–5639, 5649, 5657, 5660, 5665–5667, 5672, 5674, 5678, 5684, 5700–5701, 5705, 5711, 5719, 5723, 5738–5739, 5760–5761 (4–9 May, 4, 20, 25 June, 3, 11, 14, 15, 21 July, 1, 2, 6, 7, 14, <16–21>, 17, 20 August, 2 September); *DRH*, D, 1, nos. 180–181, pp. 281–283 (14 June, 2 July).
63. On this Polish-Imperial matter: Mark Whelan, “Walter von Schwarzenberg and the Fifth Hussite Crusade reconsidered (1431),” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 122, 2 (2014): 322–335.
64. To which one certainly has to add the Hussite question, as Sigismund’s aim—at that time (unlike during Witold’s final years)—seems to have been to coerce—by using Lithuanian, Teutonic and even Moldavian means—Władysław to come to terms with him on the Hussite and Ottoman issues (as revealed also by his letter sent to Władysław “just after” the Teutonic Knights officially declared war on Poland; GstA, ODA, nos. 5723, 5739; <16–21 August>, 17 August).
65. Throughout his first two decades of rule (until the Wallachian crisis of 1418–1420), Alexander largely moved in the shadow of Władysław II, Witold and Mircea I, while

over the next decade (until the Congress of Lutsk) his primary concern was to secure his southern parts, using Hussite refuges as well, a practice he pursued during his alliance with Svidrigiello, and with Sigismund. For instance: Șerban Papacostea, “Moldova: desăvârșirea unui stat. Țara de Sus și Țara de Jos,” *Studii și materiale de istorie medie* 29 (2011): 9–26.

66. The truce (valid until June 24, 1433) was concluded on September 2 between the allies (the duke, the Teutonic and Livonian Knights, Moldavia) and Władysław II (GStA, ODA, nos. 5760–5761). Sigismund seemed naturally more concerned by Hussite and Ottoman issues that—chiefly the first one—were difficult (if not impossible) to solve without Władysław, who since April 1431 had “written proof” that he had demanded Alexander to withdraw his protection of the Hussites.
67. For his “classic family,” see Constantin C. and Dinu C. Giurescu, *Istoria românilor*, vol. 2, *De la mijlocul secolului al XIV-lea până la începutul secolului al XVII-lea* (Bucharest, 1976), 109.
68. He then retained Vlad II *Dracul* stationed at the realm’s Wallachian border (e.g. *DRH*, D, 1, nos. 182–185, pp. 283–286).
69. On Sigismund’s Wallachian-Teutonic policies, see Liviu Cîmpeanu, “Dan al II-lea, Sigismund de Luxemburg și cruciada târzie: Un document inedit din arhiva Ordinului Teutonic,” *Studii și materiale de istorie medie* 30 (2012): 55–76.
70. László Veszprémy, “King Sigismund of Luxemburg at Golumbač (Galamboc),” *Transylvanian Review* 18, suppl. 2 (2009): 291–307. It could seem that he used “Moldavian means” in Wallachia in order avoid a major conflict.
71. In this matter, see most recently the essays and articles collected in *Kaiser Sigismund (1368–1437): zur Herrschafts-praxis eines europäischen Monarchen*, eds. Karel Hruza and Alexandra Kaar (Vienna–Cologne–Weimar, 2012), *passim*.
72. For a classical narrative from both perspectives (*Greek* and *Latin*), see the data discussed by John W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1969), 315–318, 482–483.
73. Chiefly Șerban Papacostea, “Byzance et la création de la Métropole de Moldavie,” *Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines* (Bucharest) 2 (1991): 133–150. An ecclesiastically motivated feud, the conflict (ignited after the first contact between Sigismund and Manuel II in 1391) was settled only after Alexander’s enthronement and his Wallachian-Hungarian deals.
74. Alexandru Simon, “Moldova între Vilnius și Moscova: Anii trecerii de la Roma la Constantinopol (1386–1388),” *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai: Historia* (Cluj-Napoca) 48, 1–2 (2003): 3–57, at 23–24, 55 (n. 322); Mickūnaitė, 7–8, 46–47.
75. For instance, see (already) Joseph Pfitzner’s *Grossfürst Witold von Litauen als Staatsmann* (Brünn, 1930), 68–69.
76. Meyendorff, 181, 191–197; Simon, 10–16.
77. Constantin Rezachevici, “Ringala-Ana: Un episod dinastic în relațiile moldo-polonolituane din vremea lui Alexandru cel Bun,” *Revista de istorie* 35, 8 (1982): 917–923. The marriage is commonly—and rather accurately—dated to around 1414–1415.
78. Chiefly: Kazimierz Jasiński, “Henryk Siemowitowic i jego zona Ryngała: Studium historyczno-genealogiczne,” in *Słowianie w dziejach Europy: studia historyczne ku uczczeniu 75 rocznicy urodzin i 50-lecia pracy naukowej profesora Henryka Łowmiańskiego*, ed. Jerzy Ochmański (Poznań, 1974), 159–165.

79. It is an assumption that has to be made, due also to Alexander's active pro-Hussite policy initiated at the same time.
80. Archiwum Głowne Akt Dawnych (Central Archives of Historical Records), Warsaw (AGAD), Dokumenty Pergaminowe (Parchment Documents), *Moldavia*, no. 5309 (13 December 1421); Ioan C. Filitti, *Din arhivele Vaticanului*, vol. 1 (Bucharest, 1913), nos. 20–21, pp. 34–36. The idea of a Lithuanian mother of Alexander consequently emerged.
81. *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi*, no. 1002, p. 550; no. 1013, p. 556. Sigismund's main concern was that Witold's—potentially military—pressure might drive Alexander even closer to the *Turk*, an endeavour that was not even canonical for Witold's cousin (not sister), and Alexander's wife-to-be, and the lord were closely related. Unless, Witold pushed forward another (younger) relative for Alexander, Sigismund's complaint can be viewed also as proof for the confusing Lithuanian puzzle.
82. She was his wife by 1428 (Maria Ana Musicescu, "Date noi cu privire la epitrahilul de la Alexandru cel Bun," *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei* (Bucharest) 5, 1 (1958): 75–114). Their son (Peter II) was born in 1422, soon after Alexander's (political) divorce.
83. Rezachevici, 499, 522 (Peter III Aaron too was falsely deemed to have been Marina's son).
84. Alexander had illegitimate—male—children, though—unlike Mircea—not as numerous as presumed and accepted in later decades because of the dynastic conflicts in Moldavia (see also Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică*, 513–515).
85. Nicolae Iorga, *Inscripții din bisericile României*, vol. 1 (Bucharest, 1905), no. 86, p. 39. It is rather self-evident that Alexander had to divorce Neacșa in order to marry Ringalla (certainly by 1415). Given also Elias' prestigious Polish marriage (1425), endorsed by Witold, a Lithuanian origin appears quite plausible in her case too.
86. *Letopisețul anonim al Moldovei*, in *Cronicile slavo-române din secolele XV–XVI publicate de Ioan Bogdan*, ed. P. P. Panaitescu (Bucharest, 1959), 6–23, at 14. Elias I and Bogdan III (1479) are the only rulers whose birthday is known.
87. Valentin Constantinov, "Documentul original de la Alexandru cel Bun pentru episcopia de Rădăuți," *Arhiva Moldaviei* (Bucharest-Iași) 1 (2009), 145–149, at 148.
88. E.g. *Repertoriul monumentelor și obiectelor de artă din timpul lui Ștefan cel Mare*, ed. Mihai Berza (Bucharest, 1958), no. 68, pp. 262–263 (from 1497).
89. *DRH*, A, 1, no. 35, p. 50. The modern German translation of his charter for Anastasia (1413) listed her as his *mother-in-law*. The recently discovered original read *aunt*. Such confusions are not uncommon in relation to Slavonic charters.
90. We must advocate caution in relation to the DNA analysis of the first princely necropolis: Lia and Adrian Bătrîna, *Biserica Sfântul Nicolae din Rădăuți: Cercetări arheologice și interpretări istorice asupra începuturilor Țării Moldovei* (Piatra-Neamț, 2012), 121–168, 191, 208. A brief scanning through the revised Cambridge Reference Sequence indicates for instance that the deceased in Grave 85 ("Ladislav") was in fact unrelated to the deceased in Graves 79 ("Roman I") and 81 ("Peter I") on their maternal side. The influential *Latin* rite lady Margaret was certainly Peter I's and Roman I's mother (hence Alexander I's grand-mother) and should have been the daughter of Bogdan I, who was definitely Ladislav's father.
91. The modern editions of the sources: *Acta Urbani PP. V*, nos. 204–205, pp. 337–341; *Acta Gregorii PP. XI*, no. 20, p. 48.

92. See Marco Bandini, *Codex, Vizitarea generală a tuturor bisericilor de rit roman din Provincia Moldova: 1646–1648*, ed. Traian Diaconescu (Iași, 2006), 212; Laurențiu Rădvan, *At Europe's Borders: Medieval Towns in the Romanian Principalities (= East-Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, 7)* (Leiden–Cologne–Boston, 2010), 461–462.
93. Bandini, 212. According to the inscription (now lost) transcribed in the late 1640s, the Latin rite Church St. Mary in Baia (“the first capital” of Moldavia) was erected in 1410 by Alexander in the memory of his wife, Maragaret.
94. He had to accept for instance the cession of the vital direct commercial connection—via the Oituz Pass—between the Danube Mounds and Hungary. A substantial portion of Moldavia’s disputed southern parts reverted to Mircea, befitting Sigismund’s aims, though Alexander retained Cetatea Albă at the Dniestr Mounds. For an overview: Ș. Papacostea, “The Black Sea in the Political Strategies of Sigismund of Luxemburg,” *Transylvanian Review* 18, suppl. 2 (2009): 279–289.
95. Mircea’s wife (*Mara*?) was probably from the Bánffy-Losonczi family. See in this matter Ioan-Aurel Pop, “Stăpânirile lui Mircea în Transilvania,” *Revista de istorie* 39, 7 (1986): 685–695, at 693.
96. At any rate the date of birth of Svidrigiello’s wife-to-be further substantiates—alongside the wedding between Anna Ringalla and Alexander (1414–1415)—the early dating (1402) of the transfer of the relics of the—anti-Latin and anti-Semitic shaped—St. John the New from the Pontic area to Suceava. For the record on the year 1402, see Grigore Ureche, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei*, ed. Tatiana Celac (Chișinău, 1991), p. 34.
97. As the daughter of Anna, the (young) lady would have been Elias’ sister, married to the sister of the Polish queen. As the daughter of Margaret, she would have probably been connected to the Hungarian elite. Both could have suited Sigismund’s Polish (–Hussite–Ottoman) and Lithuanian interests. In particular the latter origin would have favoured him.
98. ASV, Registra Avenionensia (Reg. Aven.), [reg.] 144, fol. 473r (14 August 1360; cited—though under fol. 443—by Șt. Pascu, “Contribuții documentare la istoria românilor în secolele XIII–XIV,” *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională* (Cluj) 10 (1945): 149–220, at 176; yet omitted from *Acta Innocentii PP. VI (1352–1362)* (= *Fontes*, III, 10), ed. Aloisie L. Tăutu, Rome, 1961).
99. ASV, Reg. Aven. 172, fols. 350v, 372v; Reg. Vat. 250, fol. 20r (here *Weida* was even rendered *Weyda*); 260, fols. 9r–v, 37v (18 January 1370; unlike in *Acta Urbani PP. V*, nos. 180–d, pp. 305–307; or in Augustin Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungarica sacram illustrantia*, vol. 2, *Ab Innocentio P. VI. usque ad Clementem P. VII. 1352–1526* (Rome, 1859), no. 184, p. 95; in both cases the German style *Weida Weyda* was “latinized”; in Tăutu’s edition *W/Vlachia* too was turned into *Valachia*).
100. Sima Cirković, “O jednoj srpsko-ugarskoj alijansi,” *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* (Belgrade) 44, 2 (2007): 411–421, with reference to an undated document (possibly from 1346–1347) in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Codices, 2042, fol. 1r.
101. See also Kyril Petkov, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria. Seventh–Fifteenth Century: The Records of a Bygone Culture (= East-Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, 5)* (Leiden–Cologne–Boston, 2008), no. 243, p. 514.

102. See Ivan Božilov, *Фамилията на Асеневици (1186–1460): Генеалогия и просопография* (Sofia, 1994), 200–202 (with focus on her parents, John Stratsmir and Anna).
103. In relation to this short-lived King of the Romans (1410–1411), with Alexander’s niece as his wife, see also Andreas Rütter, *Region und Identität: Schlesien und das Reich im späten Mittelalter* (Cologne–Weimar–Vienna, 2010), 91–92.
104. He had recently been elected King of the Romans. His sudden disappearance freed the imperial road for Sigismund.
105. See in particular Dieter Veldtrup’s *Frauen um Herzog Ladislaus (+1401): Opper Herzoginnen in der dynastischen Politik zwischen Ungarn Polen und dem Reich* (Warendorf, 1999), 53–60 (based on his earlier work published in 1988).
106. “Yet” his wife was Andrew Lackfi’s daughter according to Stanisław Sroka (“Methods of Constructing Angevin Rule in Hungary in the Light of Most Recent Research,” *Quaestiones Mediae Aevii Novae* 1 (1999), 77–90: at 84–85).
107. The debate (settled in Veldtrup’s favour) hosted by Polish historiography between 2000 and 2001 was summarized by Tomasz Jurek, “Piastowie śląscy i ich rodowód,” in his edition of Jasiński’s *Rodowód Piastów śląskich* (Krakow, 2007), 7–24, at 15–16, 18–19, 21.
108. Nicolae Iorga, “Români în câteva izvoare apusene,” *Revista istorică* 6, 10–12 (1920): 193–201, at 200, n. 1 (the “1374 record” of the Bishopric of Oradea, transcribed by János Karácsonyi). In direct relation to Alexander I until 1413, see also the study of Alexandru Pânzar, “Originea lui Stanislav de Ielova-Rotompan: O ipoteză,” *Acta Moldaviae Septentrionalis* (Botoșani) 10 (2011), 34–43.
109. Because the marriage between Elisabeth and Władysław of Oppeln took place in 1355, when Elisabeth—given also the births of her three daughters (1357–1360)—was at least 12, and due to the fact Dorothea was born in 1355–1356, means that Anna was born the latest in 1340–1341 and that Elisabeth was conceived within a year or two (1341–1342).
110. Military activities (May–August) largely rule out the possibility that the marriage was celebrated prior to the truce.
111. Archivio di Stato di Milano, Milan (ASM), Archivio Ducale Sforzesco (ADS), Potenze Estere, *Ungheria*, cart. 650, 1452–1490, fasc. 1, 1452–1457, nn (28 April 1446). The gift backfired. Stephen was dethroned and beheaded (1447).
112. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, Reichshofkanzlei, Karton 29, 1513 März–September, fasc. 23a–2. 1513 Juli–August, fol. 133r (27 August); Landes- und Regierungsarchiv von Tirol, Innsbruck, *Maximiliana*, Karton 20, 1513, fasc. XIII–256–9, fols. 49r–50r (9 July 1513); *Acta Tomiciana* (Krakow), II (1854), no. 253, p. 205; no. 269, p. 217; no. 296, p. 226.
113. In 1438, Svidrigiello found shelter in divided Moldavia, probably near Elias I (Urban, 310).
114. In addition to the Teutonic documents, new data could be found in Italian archives given the “*Turkish* implications.”
115. Irrespective of the actual outcome of the matrimonial plan, we must refute the mid-16th century Muscovite dating (1430) of Svidrigiello’s marriage to Anna, Ivan of Tver’s daughter (*The Nikonian Chronicle*, eds. Serge A. and Betty J. Zenkovsky, *From the Year 1425 to the Year 1520* (Princeton, NJ, 1989), 22–25), as the project of

- spring 1431 made no reference to the divorce logically implied by the future wedding between Svidrigiello and Alexander's daughter. Given also that Svidrigiello easily took refuge in 1438 in Moldavia (Jan Długosz, *Annales seu cronici incliti Regni Poloniae* (= *Jan Długosii Senioris Canonici Cracoviensis Opera omnia*, XIII–XIV), ed. Alexander Przedziecki, vol. 1 (Krakow, 1883), 568–571, 578–581), the Lithuanian-Russian marriage (if real at all, or—given the extant uncertainties—unless the bride had not died soon after) either predated—by a couple of years—the proposal of 1431 or was concluded after 1438–1439.
116. As clearly revealed by the conflicts (1432–1457) even after Elias was blinded (1442) and Stephen beheaded (1447).
117. See the information already collected and analysed—without neglecting King Sigismund's role—by Ilie Minea, *Vlad Dracul și vremea sa* (offprint *Cercetări istorice* 4) (Iași, 1928), 28–32.
118. Duchy had been Moldavia's papal stately rank (1370–1385/1386) and *Herzog* was also used to designate Alexander, in particular during his Western papal talks in the first two decades of the 15th century (e.g. Șerban Papacostea, "La Valachie et la crise de structure de l'Empire ottoman (1402–1413)," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 25 (1986): 23–33, at 31–33).
119. For the Byzantine prequels and aftermath of this Moldavian political direction: Șerban Papacostea, "Un humaniste italien au service de Byzance en Europe Centrale au XV^e siècle," *Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines* 5 (2006): 365–375.
120. Długosz, 1: 153–154. The astute chronicler, diplomat and prelate, thought rather highly of Stephen II.
121. In particular Bertandon de la Brouquière, *Voyage d'Outremer*, in *Recueil des voyages et des documents pour servir à l'histoire de la géographie depuis le XIII^e jusqu'à la fin du XVI^e siècle*, ed. Charles Scheffer (Paris, 1892), 149, 263.
122. For the Wallachian context in the early 1430s: Minea, 27; Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică*, 515.
123. In relation to Hungary, Lithuania and Moldavia, see in this respect Długosz, vol. 2 (Krakow, 1887), 1–2, 7–8.
124. In connection to both the alliance between Roman and Mircea (1392/1393–1394), and the relation between Mircea and Alexander (1399/ 1400–1418), we note that an anonymous apocalyptic text (early 1470s), listed Mircea, whose successful resistance against Bayezid, *the fourth Ottoman regulus*, was recorded, as the lord of Moldavia and Wallachia, although it confused Mircea (*Dracula de Molda et Wallachia*) with his nephew, the infamous Vlad III *Dracula* (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (BStB), Abenländische Handschriften, Codices Latini Monacenses (CLM), [mss.] 14.668, fol. 23v).
125. Johannes Löwenklau, *Annales Sultanorum Othomaniarum a Turcis sua lingua scripti* (Frankfurt, 1588), 312, 318.
126. AGAD, *Dokumentów Tureckich*, dos. 66, no. 1. See here also Franz Babinger, "Cel dintâi tribut al Moldovei către sultan," in *Fraților Alexandru și Ion I. Lapedatu la împlinirea vârstei de 60 de ani* (Bucharest, 1936), 29–37.
127. Thomas Ebendorf, *Chronica regem Romanorum* (= *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, 18), ed. Harald Zimmermann, vol. 1 (Hannover, 2003), 552. Ebendorf

provided the date of the submission (1395) and Löwenklau the name of the ruler. In February 1395, in the wake of the major Ottoman confrontations of 1395–1396, Sigismund attempted to dethrone Stephen I, just a few months after the latter's enthronement, but failed to successfully complete his campaign.

128. *DRH*, D, 1, nos. 102–103, pp. 169–171. Mircea I was granted the estate of Bologa (near Cluj) prior to January 1399. By May 1398, Stephen I had to go to trial for an unnamed estate in the Târnava County. The donations were connected.
129. *DRH*, D, 1, nos. 191–198, pp. 290–296. Apparently Elias failed to aid Aldea against the Turks who attacked both lands.
130. And she asked Władysław II to aid Moldavia. See *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti* (= *Monumenta Medii Aevi Res Gestas Poloniae Illustrantia*, II, XI–XII, XIV), vol. 2, 1382–1445, ed. Anatol Lewicki (Krakow, 1891), no. 209, p. 305.
131. Virgil Ciocîltan, “Între sultan și împărat: Vlad Dracul în 1438,” *Revista de istorie* 29, 11 (1976): 1767–1790, at 1782–1783. According to Długosz (I: 561), when he finally won Wallachia in late 1436 (deposing the pro-Ottoman Aldea, Stephen II's ally), Vlad II was married to Elias' daughter (aged around 9–10) from his marriage to the sister of Władysław III's mother (king since 1434). A contemporary note, in margin of a report on Murad II's Transylvanian campaign (*Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter König Albrecht II.* (= *Regesta Imperii*, XIII), ed. Gustav Beckmann, I, 1438 (Göttingen, 1957), no. 283, p. 524), stated however that he was the *sororius* of the half-brothers Elias and Stephen, both the *consanguinei regis Poloniae*, which made Vlad Władysław III's *affinis* (1438). The latter record was quite biased (the note, not the report, claimed that Vlad's Polish blood-ties had led to the Ottoman attack). The former was rather subjective (Długosz favoured Stephen; hence he too was viewed as the brother of Vlad's wife). Still they do not necessarily have to be regarded as adverse (unless we presume that Stephen's pro-Ottoman stand and Moldavia's partition led to the “expansion” of Elias' Polish and Wallachian ties). Yet, in order to accommodate both Elias and Stephen, this would mean that Alexander's mother (Roman's second wife) was Mircea's relative and that either Roman's mother (Margaret) or father (*Costea?*) was related to Władysław II, Władysław III's father (see here also note 90).
132. For this new Ottoman attack, see also Minea, 31–32; Rezachevici, 479–480.
133. In relation to the Moldavian situation, see also the sources published by Ioan-Aurel Pop and Adinel Dinca, “Témoignages sur les relations de suzeraineté-vassalité polono-moldaves à la fin du règne du premier roi Jagellon,” in *The Age of the Jagiellonians* (= *Eastern and Central-European Studies*, 2), eds. Florin Ardelean, Christopher Nicholson, and Johannes Preiser-Kapeller (New York–Oxford–Frankfurt am Main–Basel–Vienna, 2013), 157–196, mainly 188–196.
134. E.g. Papacostea, “Aux débuts de l'État moldave,” 150–152; id., “Moldova: desăvârșirea unui stat,” 20–24.
135. As—in view of his political survival—Elias lent towards the party of his wife's nephew, Władysław III (king since 1434), and because he established direct ties with the papacy (1435–1436), the pro-Ottoman and anti-unionist (yet adaptable), Stephen, “in charge” of Moldavia's southern parts, came to represent Sigismund's interests

- east of the Carpathians. See also Alexandru Simon, “Old and New Powers in Quest of Danubian and Pontic Hegemony,” *Istros* (Brăila) 19 (2012), 291–300.
136. By early 1436, Elias approached Rome outside the unionist designs of both Byzantium and Buda (*Acta Eugenii PP IV (1431–1447)* (= *Fontes*, III, 15), ed. Giorgio Fedalto (Rome, 1990), no. 421, p. 229). Constantinople began to support—ecclesiastically and politically—Stephen (see also Emilian Popescu, “Compléments et rectifications à l’histoire de l’Église de Moldavie à la première moitié du XV^e siècle,” in id., *Christianitas Daco-Romana: Florilegium Studiorum* (Bucharest, 1994), 455–477), strengthening the Moldavian territorial divide (e.g. BStB, CLM, 18.298, fol. 115v; 13 July 1437).
137. In addition to their old relation, though he could not regard without mistrust Stephen’s Hungarian and Byzantine connections (in 1444 they certainly worked—for a while—against the Sultan, yet also against Stephen; e.g. ASG, Archivio Segreto, *Diversorum*, [reg.] 38/533, 1444, carta/fol. 94r; 16 October 1444), Murad had every reason to support Stephen II in order to complicate the already difficult anti-*Turkish* and unionist schemes at the northern border of the Ottoman realm.
138. Svidrigiello’s flight (1438) probably only weakened Elias’ position (by 1440, he lost also Cetatea Albă to Stephen). After his Sigismund Kęstutaitis’ assassination (1440), Svidrigiello, compelled also to resize his ambitions (as Władysław III’s younger brother, the future Casimir IV was elected duke by the Lithuanian elite), ruled in Podolia until his death (1452).
139. Until the Polish-Teutonic Peace of Toruń in 1466 (BStB, CLM, 229, fols. 95v–104r; 19 October) and the Hungarian-Moldavian war of 1467 (ASM, ADS, Potenze Estere, *Venezia*, cart. 354, 1468, fasc. 2, *Febbraio*, nn; 18 February).
140. BStB, CLM, 22.372, fol. 467r [anonymous report sent probably to Peter von Schaumburg, Bishop of Augsburg, in late 1430 (after Witold’s death), when Svidrigiello and Alexander were seizing Podolia]. *Noss* is worth further investigation.

Abstract

The Moldavian Lady and the Elder Lords of the East

The article seeks to bring a new perspective to the political and diplomatic history east of the Carpathians in the early 1430s by drawing upon a recently discovered document in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin), probably dating from spring 1431, in which Duke Svidrigiello of Lithuania states his readiness to marry the daughter—hitherto unknown—of Alexander I *cel Bun* (the Just) of Moldavia. This document provides new information regarding the relationship between Sigismund of Luxemburg and the Duchy of Lithuania in the aftermath of Duke Witold’s death in autumn of 1430, and sheds new light on the various agendas at play between the duchies of Moldavia and Lithuania and the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland in the face of the *Turkish* threat commanded by the astute Sultan Murad II.

Keywords

Lithuania, Teutonic Knights, Moldavia, Svidrigiello, Sigismund of Luxemburg, Alexander I the Just