

UDK 94(498)-05Vlad II Dracul
94(4-191.2)-05Sigismund, hrvatsko-ugarski kralj
27-678
<https://doi.org/10.53745/ccp.49.96.6>
Izvorni znanstveni rad
Primljeno: 14. lipnja 2025.
Prihvaćeno za objavljivanje: 11. srpnja 2025.

BEFORE AND AFTER SIGISMUND: VLAD II DRACUL AND THE QUESTION OF CHURCH UNION (1436–1440)

Alexandru SIMON
Romanian Academy, Centre for Transylvanian Studies
Cluj-Napoca, Romania
alexandru.simon@acad.ro

Vlad II Dracul is better known as the father of Vlad III Dracula. He was however a figure in his own right. Vlad II won Sigismund of Luxemburg's trust (who made him knight of the Order of the Dragon) and John Hunyadi's hatred (who beheaded Vlad and took his throne). Sigismund's dream was Church union. Hunyadi was a champion of the Florentine union. Raising the issue of Vlad II's stand towards ecclesiastical union therefore comes naturally. Yet, as it was already noted, his Wallachia was not represented at the Council of Ferrara-Florence, while Vlad's "agenda" seemed to draw him towards the rival Council of Basel. A review of the topic is enabled by a handful of sources that, interestingly enough, originate in the politics of the South. The explanation for it can be found at the end of Sigismund's rule when Vlad II was still only a claimant.

KEY WORDS: *Church Union, Councils of Basel and Ferrara-Florence, Eugenius IV, Sigismund of Luxemburg, Vlad II Dracul*

Introduction

The Union of Florence, in particular its consequences, has drawn significant scholarly attention.¹ Concluded in 1439, after over a year of negotiations between the "Western"

¹ For an overview: CHARALAMBOS, Reflections; BLANCHET, Metropolitan Ignatius of Tarnovo; HALFF, The Pope's Agents.

and “Eastern” delegates in Ferrara and in Florence, the long-awaited Church union was a success for Pope Eugenius IV, under heavy contestation from the rival Council of Basel, and much less for the Byzantine Empire and the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople in dire need for anti-Ottoman support (conditional on Church union) against Sultan Murad II.² Though predominantly Greek rite states, relatively young Wallachia (est. 1340s–1350s) and Moldavia (est. 1360s–1370s) were neither “classic members” of the Byzantine Commonwealth,³ nor proper vassal “borderlands” of the vast Latin rite Kingdoms of Hungary and Poland.⁴

One peculiar figure in that context was Vlad II *Dracul* of Wallachia, the father of the much better-known Vlad III the Impaler/*Dracula*.⁵ Vlad II was certainly not a beneficiary of the union concluded in Italy at the beginning of July 1439, where the Wallachians were represented by the metropolitan archbishop of neighbouring and rival Moldavia.⁶ The origins of the situation seem to be rooted in Vlad’s political rise that coincide with Sigismund of Luxemburg’s last decade of rule and with the growing dispute, over Greek rite Christians too, between the Council of Basel and (Venetian) Pope Eugenius IV.⁷ At that time more than one union was needed in order to mend the Christian divisions that had accumulated, in particular among Latin rite Christians, following the Western Schism and the “Hussite Reformation”.

Vlad was one of the illegitimate sons of Mircea I, whose three decades of rule had turned Wallachia into a power, before nearly crushing her.⁸ Vlad bounced between Adrianople (under both Mehmed I and Murad II), Constantinople (under Manuel II and John VIII Palaiologos) and Krakow (under Wladislaw II Jagiello) before finding again shelter at Sigismund of Luxemburg’s court.⁹ Sigismund received Vlad into the Order of the Dragon and made him protector of Transylvania’s borders, before leaving on his imperial *Romzug* (1431).¹⁰ However, he did not fully endorse Vlad’s claims (e.g., Sigismund needed respite from Murad, Wallachia’s other suzerain, chiefly during his Italian coronation journey of 1431–1433).¹¹ Eventually, in autumn 1436, Sigismund aided Vlad to ascend the throne of Wallachia, divided between boyar factions (apparently less because of pro-/anti- Ottoman and Hungarian options and more due to local rivalries that led either to fierce conflicts or to unstable compromises).¹²

² GILL, The Council of Florence; JEFFERSON, The Holy Wars.

³ SIMON, Moldova între Vilnius și Moscova, 18–19, 25–26; COMAN, Before *Byzance* après *Byzance*, 504–505.

⁴ MINEA, Politica orientală; PILAT, Moldova, Sfânta Coroană și regii jagielloni.

⁵ See, in this framework, in particular BARBU, Țara Românească, 12–14.

⁶ For the Wallachian rivalry between Wallachia and Moldavia: PAPACOSTEA, Politica externă, 20–25.

⁷ CHRISTIANSON, Cesarini, the Conciliar Cardinal; GASTGEBER, Byzanz und das Konzil zu Basel und Ferrara, 92–97.

⁸ This was largely due to Mircea’s involvement in the Ottoman civil war of 1402–1413 (KASTRITSIS, Sons of Bayezid).

⁹ PANAITESCU, Mircea cel Bătrân, 65–67; PIPPIDI, Despre Dan voievod, 62–63, 72, 89.

¹⁰ Still useful MINEA, Vlad Dracul, 98–144.

¹¹ E.g. FÉJER, Codex, X–8, no. 298, 631.

¹² CHIHAIA, Tradiții răsăritene, 39–77.

1. The Church Union(s) of Sigismund of Luxemburg and Eugenius IV

The restoration of the lost unity of the Church defined Sigismund of Luxemburg's manifold, as well challenged rules.¹³ The endings of the Western Schism, of the Hussite crisis and of the Eastern Schism were to be his legacy in particular after he had been crowned emperor in Rome by Pope Eugenius IV (1433).¹⁴ Given that Sigismund enjoyed close personal relations with Byzantine emperors, father and son, Manuel II and John VIII, the Eastern issue was even supposed to be sorted at a council to be held in Buda.¹⁵ A council in Buda of King Sigismund did not represent a satisfactory solution for Eugenius IV, who had his own supremacy to establish, in relation to the hostile Council of Basel and to Byzantium (and to Sigismund's Buda).¹⁶

In March 1436, Eugenius IV placed the Greek rite Christians (the Wallachians and Bulgarians, not the Serbians¹⁷) in the eastern parts of the realm of Hungary under the authority of Gregory, the Greek rite metropolitane of Moldavia (*Moldovlachia*). Gregory had travelled to Italy and acknowledged the pope as the head of the Church.¹⁸ The pontifical decision by which Gregory's powers had been extended annulled the arrangements concluded between Sigismund and Manuel II, and also Mircea I.¹⁹ Based on them, Greek rite Christians in Transylvania, Maramureş and Banat²⁰ were partitioned, along a "North-South line", between the Peri Monastery (in the north), a *stavropighia* of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople,²¹ and (in the south) the two metropolitanates (of *Ungrovlachia* and of Severin) of Wallachia.²²

In April 1436, Gregory, who had come to Rome from Constantinople, reached Buda. On the eve of the Bohemian Hussite compromise of Jihlava (July 1436),²³ Gregory's arrival was celebrated as a major step towards Church union.²⁴ In compliance with Eugenius' wishes, Sigismund provided Gregory with a residence *versus Vlachia*,²⁵ probably at Râmeţ, a monastery built under the Angevines in central Transylvania.²⁶ Yet, the hierarch did not attend the subsequent Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1439).²⁷ The (new) metropolitane

¹³ KOLDITZ, Johannes VIII, 119–123; FUDGE, The Hussites and the Council, 275–276.

¹⁴ KOVÁCS, König Sigismund, 42–43, 244–245.

¹⁵ SCHWEDLER, Herrschertreffen des Spätmittelalters, 465–466.

¹⁶ DECALUWE, Successful Defeat, 144–149, 281.

¹⁷ The Serbians were probably omitted in order not to provoke despot George Branković.

¹⁸ Eugenius IV's bulla, issued in Florence, on 10 March 1436, was last edited in *Acta Eugenii PP IV*, no. 421, 229–230.

¹⁹ PAPACOSTEA, Byzance et la création, 136–141. The arrangements were concluded in 1391–1392.

²⁰ We have to emphasise that all three mentioned lands were distinct administrative units of the Kingdom of Hungary.

²¹ POPESCU, Compléments et rectifications, 455–477.

²² COTOVANU, Émigrer en terre valaque, 89–102.

²³ ŠMAHEL, Die Basler Kompaktaten, p. 74.

²⁴ BAV, Cod. Barb. Lat. 1809, 639–642 (Buda, 1 May 1436; first edited by PERI, Tre lettere inedite, 63–64).

²⁵ Vittorio Peri thought that the hierarch was settled 'in Wallachia'. The text clearly read 'towards Wallachia' (*versus Vlachia*), which, viewed from Buda, evidently meant Transylvania.

²⁶ On the church: DRĂGUŢ, Pictura murală, 61–63.

²⁷ The next acknowledged Greek rite hierarch in Transylvania (accepted by both the Papacy and by the Hungarian crown) was recorded only in the 1460s, when Makarios, former unionist bishop of Ruthenian Halych (DANIEL, Coping with the Powerful Other, 114–115), was settled by Matthias Corvinus on his family estate of Hunedoara.

of Moldavia and its main representative in Italy was Damian, a (Bulgarian?) a member of the inner circle of the ecumenical patriarch Joseph II.²⁸ For his part, Eugenius continued using Moldavia (and not Wallachia, finally ruled by Vlad Dracul at that time), as unionist Papal Wallachian spearhead into Eastern and Central Europe after the Union of Florence was signed (July 1439).²⁹

2. Moldavia ascending

In spring 1436, when Eugenius, and Sigismund, rearranged – via Moldavia – Greek rite structures in (mainly) Transylvania, *Dracula's* father, Vlad II was not yet voivode of neighbouring Wallachia and the secular ruler of the metropolitanates of *Ungrovlachia* (in Argeş) and of Severin (whose seat was under Hungarian rule since the early 1420s).³⁰ Vlad was just Sigismund's lord of the (southern) borders of Transylvania.³¹ Wallachia was still under the grip of Murad II, who finally married Mara, George Branković's daughter, in late August 1436.³² The sultan naturally opposed any (crusader) union between 'Greeks' and 'Latins'.³³ Additionally, in December 1433, at the Council of Basel, he had failed to win the goodwill of Sigismund through the agency of the 'other duke of Wallachia', presented as the 'brother of the Turk(s)' (i.e., of Murad himself)³⁴ and very likely identical with Vlad II.³⁵

Though partitioned between the brothers Elias I and Stephen II (a more lasting, reconciliation between them was reached in April 1436), Moldavia was under those circumstances a better option for Eugenius IV's designs (and for Sigismund's, and maybe even for John VIII's).³⁶ It controlled Cetatea Albă at the Dniestr Mounds, of pivotal importance for the Black Sea political plans of Venice and of its native, Pope Eugenius IV.³⁷ Last but not least, in 1370, Moldavia, ruled by (converted) voivode Ladislav (*Laţcu*), had been created a duchy (to whom the *natio Vlachie* had been entrusted by the Papacy) under Pope Ur-

²⁸ PILAT, Între Roma și Bizanț, 300–302.

²⁹ E.g. the Papal "press-release(s)", from 7 July 1439, in *Epistolae pontificiae*, II, nos. 178–193, 81–85 (to which we add the message to the commune of Siena in the ASSi, Concistoro, *Copiarii*, 1771, f. 27^v).

³⁰ In 1429, Sigismund "colonized" Teutonic Knights in Severin. The mission ended in failure within six years (FENEȘAN, *Cavalerii teutoni*, 30–47).

³¹ REZACHEVICI, *Cronologia critică*, 92–94; MINEA, Vlad Dracul, 116–124.

³² POPOVIĆ, Mara Branković, 40–46, 52–56.

³³ ZACHARIADOU, *The Ottomans*, 24–25.

³⁴ The plural form (see the citations below) leads in fact to Orhan Çelebi, the (Byzantine) brother/cousin of Murad.

³⁵ *Tagebuchaufzeichnungen*, 70–71, On Christmas eve, (...) *venit alter dux Walachiae, Turcorum frater, de quo supra* (i.e., (...) *in crastino intravit dux Turcorum*). The (...) *quidan dux ex parte regis Turcorum* (...) had come (...) *cum maximis muneribus publice* (...). The duke cannot be identified with either Alexander II Aldea of Wallachia or Elias I of Moldavia, who ruled and resided at that time in their countries. The only alternative to the identification of the duke with Vlad II is Stephen II, the half-brother of Elias. However, in 1433, and in comparison to Vlad, Stephen still lacked the political connections needed for such a journey to Basel.

³⁶ Simon, *Church, Crusade and Matrimony*, 114–120. Following his settlement of 1436 with Elias I, Stephen II held Sigismund's "share" of Moldavia, as delimited in the latter's agreement with Wladislaw II Jagiello two decades earlier at Stará Ľubovňa in 1412. Elias was married to Mary, the sister of Wladislaw's last wife, Sophia.

³⁷ See the excellent study of Campana, *Sailing into Union*, esp. 113–119.

ban VI's direct authority, and under the protection of Emperor Charles IV of Luxemburg, Sigismund's father.³⁸

The pontifical rise of Moldavia had also been the result of Urban VI's failure to convince Wladislaw I of Wallachia to accept union, in spite of the efforts of Clara of Hungary,³⁹ Wladislaw I's stepmother and probably Mircea I's paternal grandmother.⁴⁰ Mircea I was certainly the son of Radu I, named *Pankraz der Weiße* by Sigismund's trustee, Ebehard Windecke,⁴¹ and "black-listed" by the anti-unionist Athonite elite that had supported Wladislaw I, Radu's older half-brother.⁴² From this perspective, the "Roman credentials" of Radu's (illegitimate) grandson, Vlad II, were quite good.

Allied with Elias I and Stephen II, the sons of Alexander I of Moldavia, enthroned by Mircea I in 1400,⁴³ Vlad II eventually ascended the throne in late autumn 1436 in spite of Ottoman opposition.⁴⁴ By April 1437 however (prior to Sigismund's death in December), Vlad acknowledged Murad as his (only) suzerain.⁴⁵ He did not protect Transylvania (ravaged by the uprisings since, again, spring 1437) at all costs and then even led the way for the sultan's troops into Transylvania (but after Sigismund's passing away).⁴⁶ Hence, Vlad was rapidly and justly called a 'son of whore' by Windecke († 1440).⁴⁷ Vlad had proven to be a disappointment, unworthy of being ever again called a knight of the Cross.

3. Absent Wallachia

None of the metropolitans of Wallachia were present at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (February/ April 1438-July 1439), although the Council of Basel had been informed, in August 1437, that both were active.⁴⁸ Their absence served not only Murad II, but also Albert II of Habsburg, Sigismund's son-in-law and successor.⁴⁹ Albert supported the rival

³⁸ Monumenta Historica Bohemiae, II, no. 65, pp. 386–387. The archbishop of Prague, Jan Očko, supervised the conversion of Ladislas (*Lațcu*), the first duke of Moldavia in the summer of 1370.

³⁹ Her daughter, Anna, married to John Stratsmir, tsar of Vidin, called herself *svetorodna*: 'born in holiness'/'born from holy kindred' (GEORGIEVA, *The Last Diplomatic Marriage*, 492–493; BILIARSKY, *Transmiterea și legitimarea*, 32).

⁴⁰ *Acta Urbani PP. V*, nos. 180-d, 305–307; no. 193, 327; IONIȚĂ et al., *AL WA*, 507, 734.

⁴¹ See WINDECKE, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 316–317. *Pankraz* (Pancras) was one of the *Eisheilige* (Ice Saints).

⁴² *Actes du Kutlumus*, no. 36, 136.

⁴³ WHELAN et al., *The Moldavian Lady*, 116–117, 128 (note 131). Alexander's mother was the sister of Mircea.

⁴⁴ IORGA, *Notes et extraits*, IV, no. 17, 26, 28–29 (the report sent by the Dominican John Stojković of Ragusa, in November 1436, from Constantinople, to the Council of Basel).

⁴⁵ Vlad, maybe accompanied by his sons, personally paid homage to Murad in Brusa.

⁴⁶ CIOȚILTAN, *Între sultan și împărat, 1779–1781* (with focus on Vlad's Ottoman oath; according to Stojković's report to the Council of Basel from November 1436, the Wallachian voivodes swore to the sultan *more Ecclesie Grecorum*).

⁴⁷ WINDECKES, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 317.

⁴⁸ The anonymous *Terre hodie Grecurum*: LAMBROS, *Υπόμνημα*, 364–365; IORGA, *Notes et extraits*, IV, no. 17 [!], 34. The report shows that none of the seats was vacant and that both hierarchs were politically relevant.

⁴⁹ The clarification of the conciliarist/papal options of the Latin rite bishops in Wallachia and Moldavia and also in Transylvania (1438–1439), as well as of the appointments operated in Basel and by Eugenius would be most useful (*Die Concordate*, 316–324; *Acta Eugenii PP IV*, no. 773, 369–370). The below outlined case of John Stojković is more than eloquent in this respect.

“anti-Papal” Council of Basel, endorsed also in Poland, ruled by the very young Wladislaw III Jagiello.⁵⁰ Moreover, in order to protect his Hungarian kingdom, Albert II had been compelled to come to terms with Vlad II (by July 1439 the latest).⁵¹

Even though, from the beginning until the end of the unionist talks in Italy, it would have been in their power (and in their interest),⁵² neither the Byzantine emperor, nor the ecumenical patriarch replaced the metropolitans of *Ungrovlachia* and Severin with men of their confidence.⁵³ Considering also that, as late as spring 1439 (at that time Vlad was again on good terms with Albert),⁵⁴ John VIII unsuccessfully pleaded with Eugenius IV that Vlad II should also be included in the crusader Church union (for he possessed ‘the bravest men in the world!’),⁵⁵ we can only speculate as to the reasons (“besides”, the imperial West did not have a man of Sigismund of Luxemburg’s standing and experience in Albert II of Habsburg⁵⁶).

The starting points are Gregory’s travels: from Constantinople to Rome and from Rome to Buda. His Roman journey was seemingly “an experiment” of John VIII and Eugenius IV (and Sigismund) that failed, likely because of the Greek rite Byzantine hostility triggered by Gregory’s submission in Rome.⁵⁷ This led to his replacement with Damian on the ecclesiastical throne of Moldavia, who reluctantly signed the decree of union, which he later rejected.⁵⁸ What happened to Gregory’s centre of power, located ‘towards Wallachia’, remains a mystery.⁵⁹ At any rate, afterwards for the Papacy, Moldavia stood for the Wallachians in their entirety (though Elias I was loyal to pro-Basel Jagiellonian Krakow),⁶⁰ and the crusaders of Wladislaw III (elected also king of Hungary after Albert’s death in October 1439, just three months after the conclusion of the union)⁶¹ and of John Hunyadi (the recently appointed co-voivode of Transylvania and Vlad’s relative)⁶² drove Vlad and his sons into Ottoman exile (1442).⁶³

⁵⁰ STIEBER, Pope Eugenius IV, 39–44, 115–121; SMOŁUCHA, Poland as the Bastion, 37.

⁵¹ MINEA, Vlad Dracul, 142–143; CIOCÎLTAN, Între sultan și împărat, 1786–1787.

⁵² For the problems faced by both John VIII and Joseph II in securing – Greek rite – support even in Ferrara and Florence, see also GILL, Joseph II, 22–27. The efforts made to convince “Eastern delegates” to agree to the union are relevant also in relation to archbishop Gregory, who, in spring 1436, had certainly become the “pope’s agent”.

⁵³ Two notes might be useful: (1) at the time of the fall of Byzantium, both hierarchs of Wallachia were on the Bosphorus (IORGA, Notes et extraits, IV, no. 9, 65; the often cited “report” of *Bladick* Samuel); (2) at Ferrara-Florence, only Moldavia’s main hierarch (the metropolitan in Suceava) was present (PILAT, Între Roma și Bizanț, 320–324; the recently anointed metropolitan of Roman, “for southern Moldavia”, was absent and it was speculated that he opposed Church union).

⁵⁴ CIOCÎLTAN, Între sultan și împărat, 1785–1786 (most relevant sources were already available in the 1970s).

⁵⁵ DE LA BROUQUIERE, Voyage d’Outremer, 265 (16 March 1439).

⁵⁶ See in comparison HÖDL, Albrecht II, and BURKHARDT et al., Concepts of Diversity.

⁵⁷ POPESCU, Compléments et rectifications, 466–467.

⁵⁸ BLANCHET, Scholarios, 472.

⁵⁹ We must bear in mind that the *de facto* ruler of Transylvania was its bishop, George Lapes, very hostile towards heretics (Hussites) and schismatics, whose policies caused a major rebellion soon afterwards (HELD, The Peasant Revolt, 27–30).

⁶⁰ Elias I and Vlad II lost their powers to Stephen II and to Basarab II (supported by John Hunyadi) at the same time (July/August–September 1442) (REZACHEVICI, Cronologia critică, I, 94, 489).

⁶¹ See also JEFFERSON, *The Holy Wars*, 46–49, 103–104.

⁶² NAGY et al., *Hollókötől Esztergomig*.

⁶³ We recall that one of Murad’s conditions appended to his very generous peace offer of 1444 was the re-entrenchment of Vlad (ENGEL, *János Hunyadi*, 243–245, 250–256).

As to Vlad, in June 1439,⁶⁴ shortly before the conclusion of Union of Florence, he was accused of being a schismatic by Michael, the abbot of the Cistercian Cârța,⁶⁵ in southern Transylvania (whom Vlad had tried to replace with a Latin rite priest from his capital, Târgoviște).⁶⁶ Afterwards (and even after he was dethroned and executed by John Hunyadi in late 1447),⁶⁷ in spite of frequently traitorous stands towards Buda, neither Vlad, nor his successors were named schismatics in Hungary,⁶⁸ as the Florentine union spread in the realm.⁶⁹ This brings us to the issue of Vlad II's Christian allegiance.⁷⁰

4. “The Basel alternative”

By 1437, not only the Papacy, but also Venice had chosen Moldavia over Wallachia as the state for and of the Wallachians.⁷¹ Next to Constantinople and Trebizond, Moldavia's main harbour, Cetatea Albă (Moncastro, Akkerman) was used as assembly point for the Eastern delegates⁷² that sailed on Venetian galleys to the council in Italy.⁷³ Vlad *Dracul's* traditionally divided Wallachia⁷⁴ could not compete with that. The union to be decided in Italy held no promise for Vlad. He was not Rome's Wallachian choice.

Basel was certainly aware of this fact, when the council appointed a Dominican from Ragusa, highly familiar with both Wallachia and Constantinople,⁷⁵ John Stojković, as the Latin rite bishop of Wallachian Argeș in October 1438.⁷⁶ Stojković was even created cardinal *tituli Sancti Sixti* in October 1440⁷⁷ by Felix V, elected (anti-) pope by the Council of Basel (November 1439), after the conclusion of the Union of Florence (July 1439).⁷⁸ The Ragusan, who had enjoyed the favour of late Albert II of Habsburg

⁶⁴ *Urkundenbuch*, V, no. 2342, pp. 28–30 (28 June 1439), the union was concluded less than ten days later (6 July 1439).

⁶⁵ “In addition”, the Cistercians were quite divided between the Papal and the conciliarist camps (NOTHAFT et al., Introduction).

⁶⁶ For Vlad, Cârța was his property. Yet Cârța was not among the known Transylvanian fiefs of the rulers of Wallachia.

⁶⁷ PALL, *Intervenția lui Iancu de Hunedoara, 1068–1069*; CAZACU, *Dracula*, 50–51.

⁶⁸ In fact, no voivode of Wallachia (or of Moldavia) was named in the Hungarian realm (and by its representatives) a schismatic in the second half of the 15th century (for an overview of the sources: SIMON, *From Dragula to Cypelles*, 158).

⁶⁹ On this phenomenon, see (“viewed from the South-West”) PETKOV, *From Schismatic to Fellow Christians*, 176–182.

⁷⁰ In this and other respects, Barbu's analysis (from 1994) is distorted by the “neglect” of Peri's study (from 1983).

⁷¹ In relation to chiefly Stephen II of Moldavia, see also PIPPIDI, *Despre inscripțiile*, 81–84.

⁷² Previously (January 1436), conciliar envoys too had voyaged via Cetatea Albă (CECCONI, *Studi storici*, no. 26, 64).

⁷³ ASVe, Senato, *Deliberazioni. Misti*, reg. 60, f. 11^r (14 May 1437). The galley from (Moldavian) Cetatea Albă reached Constantinople on 5 November 1437 (ASVe, Collegio, *Secreti*, reg. 4, ff. 225^v–226^r), a month after the arrival of “the fleet of the Council of Basel”, on 4 October 1437 (cf. already CAMPANA, *Sailing into Union*, 113–115, 119).

⁷⁴ On Wallachia's inner divisions and local “boyar unions”: COMAN, *Putere și teritoriu*, 111–119, 142–146.

⁷⁵ E.g., his frequently cited report from November 1436 in IORGA, *Notes et extraits*, IV, no. 17, 26–29.

⁷⁶ See also TUILIER, Jean Stojković, 16.

⁷⁷ For an overview of his career: TOMLJENOVIĆ, *Prilozi*; CONGAR, *La place de Jean de Raguse*.

⁷⁸ Felix V resigned only in April 1449, more than two years after the death of Eugenius IV (February 1447). The German reported conversion of Vlad III *Dracula* after John Hunyadi, regent of Hungary and voivode – to

(† October 1439)⁷⁹ was in fact the first (and only) cardinal of predominantly Greek rite Wallachia.

John Stojković was in Constantinople at the time when Gregory of Moldovlachia sailed to Rome at the beginning of 1436.⁸⁰ General assumption was that in 1436, in Pope Eugenius IV's name and with his blessing, Gregory had acted against the interests of John VIII Palaiologos and of Sigismund of Luxemburg.⁸¹ This view is contradicted by the previously mentioned report on Gregory's arrival in Buda (1 May) sent to Fantino Vallaresso, archbishop of Crete,⁸² by the servant (simply styled *B* in the preserved coeval copy)⁸³ of Giovanni de Dominis, Papal legate for Hungary, bishop of Senj and future bishop of Oradea.⁸⁴ Gregory's mission had been sanctioned by Byzantium and the pope had sent the hierarch, empowered with vast Hungarian, Wallachian and Bulgarian authority, to Emperor Sigismund (10–11 March).⁸⁵ This reflects also on Stojković's otherwise celebrated Byzantine legation.

On 9 February, the same year, 1436, Stojković, together with fellow diplomat, Simon Fréron⁸⁶, had triumphantly reported back to the Fathers at the Council of Basel that Emperor John VIII and Patriarch Joseph II had summoned also the lords of Wallachia and Moldavia (of *Walachia Maior et Minor*) for talks in Constantinople that summer in view of the ecumenical council to be held under Basel's auspices.⁸⁷ It was, at least, "an abort signal" sent in relation to Gregory's Roman and, then, Hungarian missions. Even though relations between Byzantium and Basel remained strong, nothing became of this Greek rite assembly, mainly because of delays in East-West communications.⁸⁸ This, in addition to Sigismund's support (who, with Venice's aid, tried to push through Buda as venue for the ecumenical council), may have saved Gregory for a while, because Damian was appointed new metropolitane of Moldavia only shortly before October–November 1437.⁸⁹ For Vlad nonetheless, the efforts of the Basel envoys in Constantinople were a welcome respite for they placed a Byzantine question mark over the Wallachian grand-designs of

be – of Wallachia, executed Vlad II *Dracul* (and his first born son, Mircea) in November 1447 (ANNAS et al., *Geschichte und Geschichten*, 193 (=Episode 1)), might have an additional meaning: Hunyadi removed an adversary of the Papal unity of Christendom.

⁷⁹ For Stojković's missions and stay with Albert II, see HELMRATH, *Das Basler Konzil*, 364–370.

⁸⁰ DELACROIX et al., *Les Dominicains*, 327–331; GADRAT, *Un traité*, 381–382.

⁸¹ Less than year before finding the source in BAV, Barb. Lat. 1809 and then Peri's edition, we also shared this view (SIMON, *Un "comunicat de presă"*, 104–105).

⁸² DESPOTAKIS, *Fantino Vallaresso*.

⁸³ The source was last edited in VALLARESSO, *Epistolario*, no. III-9, 697–698.

⁸⁴ PAJORIN, *A bázeli zsinat hatása*, 6. *De Dominis, who died at Varna in 1444, is certainly worth a special analysis.*

⁸⁵ We cite a few lines from the said report: (...) *Graecus quidam metropolitanus de Constantinopoli VIII idus Apriles Budam ad Caesarem quibusdam cum famulis et uno monacho religioso ut videtur probo applicuit, qui litteras apostolicas videlicet commendatitias ad imperatorem portavit (...) Cum itaque imperator intellexerit quid ipse metropolitanus per litteras domini nostri a maiestate Caesaris peteret, maiestas sacra sereno vultu iucundoque animo versus Vlachim miserat eum, ubi eidem debeat ecclesia una cum aliqua possessione conferri (...)* (BAV, Barb. Lat. 1809, 639–640).

⁸⁶ CARDINI, *Le concile de Ferrare*, 47–48.

⁸⁷ CECCONI, *Studi Storici*, no. 77, 202.

⁸⁸ GASTGEBER, *Byzanz und das Konzil zu Basel und Ferrara*, 146, 169–172.

⁸⁹ CECCONI, *Studi storici*, no. 179, 523–525; SYROPOULOS, "Mémoires", 162–163.

Eugenius and Sigismund, designs in which Vlad did not play the main part, in spite of the support he still received from the emperor and king in Buda.⁹⁰

5. East and West vs North and South?

Vlad II Dracul was, by all accounts,⁹¹ a pragmatic ruler. His tumultuous relation with Sigismund of Luxemburg's "illegitimate son", John Hunyadi, speaks for itself.⁹² For such a figure, Church union was less about righteous beliefs and more about immediate earthly profits (prior and after 1439).⁹³

The dealings and double-dealings connecting "Westerners" and "Easterners" until Eugenius IV decided to hold the ecumenical council in Ferrara (September 1437), leading to his excommunication by the Council of Basel, and the Greek rite delegates sailed from Constantinople (and Cetatea Albă and Trebizond) to Italy (November 1437)⁹⁴ altogether gave Vlad more than enough political space. By April, that same year, only a few months after he had secured his throne against the pro-Ottoman Wallachian party, Vlad had (re)won the trust of Sultan Murad II, while remaining also the vassal of Sigismund.⁹⁵ Viewed from a distance, he was establishing himself as a middleman between worlds.

Vlad had no other options because in the Wallachian arrangements made by the Roman Papacy, Byzantium and Buda while he was still a prince "in waiting" in Transylvania (and revived even after Sigismund's death and the inception of the Italian council) this member of the Order of the Dragon had only, at best, a secondary role to play.⁹⁶ Telling enough for those time, Vlad asserted himself in fact after he aided Murad to devastate Transylvania (August 1438).⁹⁷ After that, the Council of Basel decided to transfer Transylvanian Paul Peter(fy?), the long-serving Latin rite bishop of Arges (1421–1438) to Zagreb,⁹⁸ replacing him in the centre of Wallachia with John Stojković (February 1439),⁹⁹ favourably inclined towards Vlad since November 1436 (when, however, Vlad fought Murad).¹⁰⁰ The (potential) impact of Stojković (†1443), in contact with officially pro-Papal Suceava (i.e.,

⁹⁰ E.g. MNL-OL, DL 44109 (14 November 1436; cf. Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis to Mohács*, 80, note 19).

⁹¹ See also AGRIGOROAEI, *Literary Leakings*.

⁹² ANDREESCU, Vlad Ţepeş, 13–30.

⁹³ A comparison between Vlad II Dracul and George Branković would be most welcome.

⁹⁴ STIEBER, *Pope Eugenius IV*, 38–39. We must emphasize that the pope's decision predated Sigismund's death.

⁹⁵ CIOCILTAN, *Între sultan și împărat*, 1780. He was able to travel all the way to Brusa, in Asia Minor, where he paid homage.

⁹⁶ From his perspective, as the son of the once mighty Mircea I, Vlad could claim that Sigismund had betrayed him.

⁹⁷ PALL, *Știri noi*, 17–22. Yet, in 1442, Murad accused Vlad of double-dealings during the campaign and imprisoned him.

⁹⁸ In relation to the diocese of Zagreb after Sigismund's death, see also MATIĆ, *Petar Kottler*, 20–25.

⁹⁹ Cf. already Eubel (*Hierarchia catholica*, I, 105; II, 10, 94). It should be added that Stojković died (October 1443) when Vlad II, and his sons (Vlad III and Radu III, not Mircea), were in the custody of Murad II (summer 1442–spring 1444).

¹⁰⁰ Stojković's memoir to the Council of Basel (17 November) can also be found in Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, no. 17, 26.

Moldavia's capital),¹⁰¹ on Vlad's Wallachia remains to be determined as the issue belongs to a larger picture.

The Union of Florence, with its prequels and its aftermath, was largely regarded as a West-East affair, even though, "technically", Rome and Constantinople laid in the South, in relation to Central Europe (and, partially, even South-Eastern Europe).¹⁰² With, above-all, the notable exception of the lands of old Kievan Rus',¹⁰³ the South-North relation was rather frequently neglected, albeit the fact that, since before the decree of the Florentine union was publicly read in Buda,¹⁰⁴ Greek rite Lazar, the son of George Branković, despot of Serbia, was widely and openly taken into consideration as the next king of Hungary (1439–1440).¹⁰⁵ A review of the longitudinal connection, based on the case of Vlad II Dracul of Wallachia, the father of the famous Vlad III the Impaler, might prove relevant.¹⁰⁶

SAŽETAK

PRIJE I POSLIJE SIGISMUNDA: VLAD II. DRAKUL I PITANJE CRKVENE UNIJE (1436. – 1440.)

Kompleksnost vladavine Vlada II. Drakule vidljiva je i u kontekstu crkvene politike. Vlad II., poznatiji je u povijesti kao otac Vlada III. Drakule, bio je osoba od povjerenja kralja i cara Žigmunda Luksemburškog, dok je bio u krugu neprijatelja Janka Hunjadija. To se ogledalo i u pitanju crkvene politike. Poznati Žigmundov san bilo je crkveno ujedinjenje, dok je Hunjadi zastupao pitanje firentinske unije. Stoga je potrebno upitati se kakav je bio stav Vlada II. prema tom pitanju. Vlaška nije bila zastupljena na papinskom koncilu u Italiji, a čini se da je Vlad II. više bio sklon koncilu u Baselu. Rad nudi pregled njegove politike prema jugu na temelju nekoliko novih izvora, koji nude obrazloženje problematike na samom kraju Žigmundove vladavine dok je Vlad II. bio još uvijek samo pretendent na prijestolje.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: Crkvena unija, Basel, Ferrara-Firenca, Eugen IV., Žigmund Luksemburški, Vlad II. Drakul

¹⁰¹ According to one of the Greek manuscripts in Stojković's library (Năsturel, D'un document byzantin, 350, note 24). We note that, in March 1412, at least, the manuscript had been in Wallachia (DRH, B, I, no. 36, 77–78).

¹⁰² One of the best-known consequences of this "divide" is the so-called Huntington line in the 1990s.

¹⁰³ PHILIPPIDES et al., Cardinal Isidore, 100–109.

¹⁰⁴ Cardinal Isidore's Buda speech of March 1440 can be found in *Acta slavica*, "Documenta", no. IV, 140–142.

¹⁰⁵ MNL-OL, DF 239744 (14 January 1440); PÁLOSFALVI, From Nicopolis to Mohács, 85, note 40.

¹⁰⁶ A preliminary research of BML, Cod. Strozzi 33 (e.g. ff. 116^v, 122^v, 205^v, 208^v, 221^v; up to 1 January 1443), devoted to the Council of Basel, in which Stojković features prominently, indicates that, in this case too, "there is more to the story".

Archives and libraries

- ASSI, Concistoro, *Copiarrii*: Archivio di Stato di Siena, Siena, Concistoro, *Copiarrii*, [reg.] 1771. 1436–1483.
- ASVe, Collegio, *Secreti*: Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Venice, Senato, Collegio, *Secreti*, reg. 4. 1436–1438.
- ASVe, Senato, *Deliberazioni. Misti*: Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Venice, Senato, *Deliberazioni. Misti*, reg. 60. 1437–1440.
- BAV, Cod. Barb. Lat.: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Codices Barberini Latini, [no]. 1809.
- BML, Cod. Strozzi: Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Florence, Codices, Strozzi, [no.] 33.
- MNL-OL, DF/ DL: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár, Budapest, Diplomatikai Levéltár (DL)/ Fényképgyűjtemény (DF).

Editions of sources

- Acta Eugenii PP IV (1431–1447)* (=Fontes, III, 15). Ed. Georgio Fedalto. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1990.
- Acta slavica Concilii Florentini. Narrationes et documenta* (=Concilium Florentinum, XI). Ed. Joannes Krajcar S.J. Rome: Pontificium Institutum orientalium studiorum, 1976.
- Acta Urbani PP.V (1362–1370)* (=Fontes, III, 11). Ed. Aloisie L. Tăutu. Rome: Typis Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae, 1964.
- Actes du Kutlumas* (=Archives de l'Athos, II). Ed. Paul Lemerle. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1988².
- ANNAS, Gabriele – PAULUS, Christof. *Geschichte und Geschichten: Studien zu den “Deutschen Berichten” über Vlad III. Drăculea* (=Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Studien und Texte, 67). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2020.
- DE LA BROUQUIERE, Bertandon. *Voyage d'Outremer* (=Recueil des voyages et des documents pour servir à l'histoire de la géographie, 12). Ed. Charles Scheffer. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892.
- CECCONI, Eugenio. *Studi storici sul Concilio di Firenze*. Florence: Tipografia all'Insegna di S. Antonino, 1869.
- Die Concordate des Zwölferausschusses 1437. Die Concils-Protokolle des Jakob Hügling 1438–1439* (=Concilium Basilense, VI). Ed. Gustav Beckmann. Basel: sine editore, 1925.
- Documenta Romaniae Historica* (DRH), B. Țara Românească, I. 1247–1500. Eds. P[etre]. P. Panaitescu, Damaschin Mioc. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1966.
- Eberhard Windeckes Denkwürdigkeiten zur Geschichte des Kaisers Sigmund*. Ed. Wilhelm Altmann. Berlin: R. Gaertners Verlagsbuchhandlung – Hermann Heyfelder 1893.
- Epistolae pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum spectantes* (=Concilium Florentinum: documenta et scriptores, I, 1–3), II. *Epistolae pontificiae de rebus in Concilio florentino*

- annis 1438–1439 gestis*. Ed. Georg Hofmann. Rome: Pontificium Institutum orientalium studiorum, 1944.
- EUBEL, Conrad. *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, I–II. Munich: Sumptibus et typis librariae Regensbergiana, 1913–1914.
- FENEȘAN, Costin. *Cavalerii teutoni în Banatul Severinului și la Dunărea de Jos în prima jumătate a secolului al XV-lea: Documente și extrase*. Reșița: Muzeul Banatului Montan, 2015.
- FEJER, György. *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, X-8 [1382–1437]. Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Vngaricae, 1843.
- GADRAT, Christine. Un traité de croisade écrit par un dominicain. *Le Directorium ad passagium faciendum*. *Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes* 43 (2022): 387–400.
- IORGA, Nicolae. *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au XV^e siècle*, IV. 1453–1476. Bucharest: Édition de l'Académie Roumaine (fonds Alina Stirbey), 1915.
- LAMBROS, Spyridon. Ὑπόμνημα περὶ τῶν ἐλληνικῶν χωρῶν καὶ ἐκκλησιῶν κατὰ τὸν δέκατον πέμπτον αἰῶνα. Νέος Ἑλληνομῆμων 7 (1910): 360–371.
- Les «Mémoires» du Grand Ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le concile de Florence (1438–1439) (=Concilium Florentinum: documenta et scriptores*, II, 9). Ed. Vitalien Laurent. Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1971.
- Monumenta Historica Bohemiae*, II. Ed. Gelasius [Job Felix] Dobner. Prague: Literis Johanna Sophiae Clauseriana, 1768.
- PERI, Vittorio. Tre lettere inedite a Fantino Valaresso e un suo catechismo attribuito a Fantino Dandolo. In: *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Vittore Branca (=Biblioteca dell'Archivum Romanicum*, I, 180), III. *Umanesimo e Rinascimento a Firenze e a Venezia*. Florence: Leo Olschki, 1983, 41–67.
- Tagebuchaufzeichnungen, 1431–1435 und 1438. Akten der Gesandtschaft nach Avignon und Konstantinopel, 1437–1438. Brief des Enea Silvio, 1433. Tagebuch des Andrea Gatari, 1433–1435 (=Concilium Basiliense*, V). Eds. Gustav Beckmann, Rudolf Wackernagel, Giulio Coggiola. Basel: sine editore, 1904.
- Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, V. 1438–1457. Ed. Gustav Gündisch. Bucharest – Cologne: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România – Böhlau, 1975.
- VALLARESSO, Maffeo. *Epistolario (1450–1471) e gli altri documenti trasmessi dal codice Vaticano Barberiniano Latino 1809*. Eds. Matteo Melchiorre, Matteo Venier. Ljubljana: Založba Univerze v Ljubljani, 2024².

Historiography

- AGRIGOROEI, Vladimir. Literary Leakings into Wavrin's Danube: Three Strongholds and a Broken Bombard. In: *Between Worlds (=Mélanges d'Histoire Générale*, NS, I, 1-2), II. *Extincta est lucerna orbis: John Hunyadi and his Time*. Eds. Ana Dumitru

- tran, Loránd Mádly, Alexandru Simon. Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Academy, Centre for Transylvanian Studies, 2009., 51–67.
- ANDREESCU, Ștefan. *Vlad Țepeș (Dracula). Între legendă și adevăr istoric*. Bucharest: Albatros, 1976.¹
- BARBU, Daniel. Țara Românească și Conciliul de la Basel. *Revista Istorică* 5 (1994) 1–2: 5–15.
- BILIARSKY, Ivan. Transmiterea și legitimarea puterii ultimilor suverani bulgari din dinastia Asăneștilor (1323–1396). *Revista Istorică*, NS, 34 (2023.) 1–3: 19–63.
- BLANCHET, Marie-Hélène. *Georges-Gennadios Scholarios (vers 1400-vers 1472). Un intellectuel orthodoxe face à la disparition de l'empire byzantin (=Archives de l'Orient Chrétien, 20)*. Paris: Éditions de l'Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 2008.
- BLANCHET, Marie-Hélène. Metropolitan Ignatius of Tarnovo and the Union of Florence (1439.), In: *Southeast Europe: History, Culture, Politics, and Economy*. Eds. Dimitar Dimitrov, Milko Palangurski, Nadezhda Hristova, Veneta Hristova, Vihren Bouzov. Bologna: Filodritto, 2018., 28–34.
- BURKHARDT, Julia – SCHWEITZER-MARTIN, Paul. Concepts of Diversity in the Time of Sigismund of Luxembourg (1368–1437). *Hungarian Historical Review* 13 (2024.) 2: 153–171.
- CAMPANA, Lilia. Sailing into Union: The Byzantine Naval Convoy for the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1438). *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 73 (2019.), 103–126.
- CARDINI, Franco. Le concile de Ferrare et la croisade. *Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales* 1 (1996.): 45–52.
- CAZACU, Matei. *Dracula (=East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, 46)*. Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2017.
- CHARALAMBOS, Dendrinios. Reflections on the Failure of the Union of Florence. *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 39 (2007.) 1–2: 135–152.
- CHIHAI, Pavel. *Tradiții răsăritene și influențe occidentale în Țara Românească*. Munich: Editura Ion Dumitru, 1983.
- CHRISTIANSON, Gerald. *Cesarini, the Conciliar Cardinal: The Basel Years, 1431–1438 (=Kirchengeschichtliche Quellen und Studien, 10)*. St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1979.
- CIOCÎLTAN, Virgil. Între sultan și împărat. Vlad Dracul în 1438. *Revista de istorie* 29 (1976.), 11: 1767–1790.
- COMAN, Marian. *Putere și teritoriu. Țara Românească medievală (secolele XIV–XVI)*, Iași: Polirom, 2013.
- COMAN, Marian. Before *Byzance* après *Byzance*: The Making of Wallachia and the Byzantine Political Toolkit. In: *Revisiting the Byzantine Commonwealth: Nodes, Networks, and Spheres*. Eds. Jonathan Shepherd, Peter Frankopan. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2025., 504–518.
- CONGAR, Yves. La place de Jean de Raguse dans l'histoire de l'ecclésiologie, In: *Misao i djelo Ivana Stojkovića (=Analecta Croatica Christiana, 20)*. Ed. Franjo Šanjek. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1986., 291–319.

- COTOVANU, Lidia. Émigrer en terre valaque. Estimation quantitative et qualitative d'une mobilité géographique de longue durée (=Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'Études Sud-Est Européennes, 21). Brăila: Istros, 2022.
- DANIEL, Cristian-Nicolae. *Coping with the Powerful Other: A Comparative Approach to Greek-Slavonic Communities of Rite in Late Medieval Transylvania and the Banat*. Doctoral thesis, Central European University, Budapest, 2014.
- DECALUWE, Michiel. *Successful Defeat: Eugene IV's Struggle with the Council of Basel for Ultimate Authority in the Church, 1431–1449* (=Bibliothèque de l'Institut historique belge de Rome, 59). Turnhout: Brepols, 2009.
- DELACROIX-BESNIER, Claudine. *Les Dominicains et la chrétienté grecque aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles* (=Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 237). Rome: l'École Française de Rome, 1997.
- DESPOTAKIS, Eleftherios. Fantino Vallaresso. *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 118 (2020.): *sub voce*.
- DRĂGUȚ, Vasile. *Pictura murală din Transilvania*. Bucharest: Meridiane, 1970.
- ENGEL, Pál. *János Hunyadi and the Peace of Szeged (1444)*. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 47 (1994.) 2: 241–257.
- FUDGE, Thomas. The Hussites and the Council. In: *A Companion to the Council of Basel* (=Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, 75). Eds. Michiel Decaluwe, Thomas M. Izbicki, Gerald Christianson. Leiden: Brill, 2017., 254–281.
- GASTGEBER, Christian. Byzanz und das Konzil zu Basel und Ferrara. Neue Dokumente der Kaiser-sowie Patriarchatskanzlei und der Umgang mit Latein im Kontakt mit dem Westen. *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 70 (2020.): 89–196.
- GEORGIEVA, Sashka. The Last Bulgarian-Wallachian Diplomatic Marriage in the Middle Ages: Facts and Hypothese. *Bulgaria Mediaevalis* 8 (2017.): 483–494.
- GILL, Joseph. *The Council of Florence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959.
- GILL, Joseph. Joseph II, Patriarch of Constantinople. In Id., *Personalities of the Council of Florence and Other Essays*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1964., 15–34.
- HALFF, Maarten. The Pope's Agents in Constantinople: Eugenius IV's Legation on the Eve of the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1439). *Mediterranea* 5 (2020.): 91–151.
- HELD, Joseph. The Peasant Revolt of Bâbolna, 1437–1438. *Slavic Review* 36 (1977.) 1: 25–38.
- HELMRATH, Johannes. *Das Basler Konzil 1431–1449. Forschungsstand und Probleme* (=Kölner historische Ahandlungen, 32). Köln: Böhlau, 1987.
- HÖDL, Günther. *Albrecht II. Königtum, Reichsregierung und Reichsreform 1438–1439*. Vienna: Böhlau, 1978.
- IONIȚĂ, Adrian – KELEMEN, Beatrice – SIMON, Alexandru. *AL WA: prințul negru al Vlahiei și vremurile sale* (=Minerva, I, 15). Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane – Argonaut, 2017.
- JEFFERSON, John. *The Holy Wars of King Wladislas and Sultan Murad: The Ottoman-Christian Conflict from 1438–1444* (=History of Warfare, 76). Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2012.

- KASTRITSIS, Dimitris J. *The Sons of Bayezid. Empire building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402–1413* (=The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage, 38). Leiden – Boston – Cologne: Brill, 2007.
- KOLDITZ, Sebastian. *Johannes VIII. Palaiologos und das Konzil von Ferrara-Florenz (1438/ 39): das byzantinische Kaisertum im Dialog mit dem Westen*, I. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2014.
- KOVÁCS, Péter E. *König Sigismund in Siena*. Budapest: Corvina, 2018.
- MATIĆ, Tomislav. Petar Kottler – zagrebački biskup s potvrdom Baselskog koncila. *Croatica christiana periodica* 44 (2020.) 1: 15–35.
- MINEA, Ilie. *Principatele Române și politica orientală a împăratului Sigismund. Note istorice*. Bucharest: Tipografia “Convorbiri Literare”, 1919.
- MINEA, Ilie. *Vlad Dracul și vremea sa* (offprint *Cercetări Istorice*, IV). Iași: Viața Românească S.A., 1928.
- NAGY, Levente – SZILÁGYI, Emőke Rita. Hollókötől Esztergomig. Új adatok az Oláh, a Hunyadi és a Drakula család genealógiájához. *Történelmi Szemle* 65 (2023.) 4: 639–698.
- NASTUREL, Petre Ș. D’un document byzantin de 1395 et de quelques monastères roumains. *Travaux et Mémoires* 8 (1981.): 345–351.
- NOTHAFT, C. Philipp E. – SCHABEL, Christopher. D. Introduction. In: *The Cistercian Hermann Zoest’s Treatise on Leavened and Unleavened Bread (De fermento et azimo): Oecumenism, Exegesis, and Science at the Council of Basel* (=Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales. Bibliotheca, 21). Leuven – Paris – Bristol, CT, 2022., 13–136.
- PAJORIN, Klára. *A bázeli zsinat hatása Magyarországon (Görögök, görög tudósok és a korai magyar humanizmus)*. *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 115 (2011.) 1: 3–26.
- PALL, Francisc. Știri noi despre expedițiile turcești din Transilvania în 1438. *Anuarul Institutului de istorie din Cluj*, 1–2 (1958–1959): 9–28.
- PALL, Francisc. Intervenția lui Iancu de Hunedoara în Țara Românească și Moldova în anii 1447–1448. *Studii. Revistă de Istorie* 16 (1963.) 5: 1049–1072.
- PANAITESCU, P[etre]. P. *Mircea cel Bătrân*. Ed. Gheorghe Lazăr. Bucharest: Corint, 2000.
- PAPACOSTEA, Șerban. Byzance et la création de la Métropole de Moldavie. *Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines* 2 (1991.): 133–150.
- PAPACOSTEA, Șerban. Politica externă a lui Ștefan cel Mare: opțiunea polonă (1459–1472). *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie* 15 (2007.): 13–28.
- PÁLOSFALVI, Tamás. *From Nicopolis to Mohács: A History of Ottoman-Hungarian Warfare, 1389–1526* (=The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage, 63). Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2018.
- PETKOV, Kiril. From Schismatic to Fellow Christians: East Central European Religious Attitudes Towards the Orthodox Balkans (1354–1572). *Mediaevistik* 8 (1995.): 171–192.
- PHILIPPIDES, Marios – HANAK, Walter K. *Cardinal Isidore (c. 1390–1462): A Late Byzantine Scholar, Warlord, and Prelate*. New York: Routledge, 2018.

- PIPPIDI, Andrei. Din nou despre inscripțiile de la Cetatea Albă. In: *In honorem Paul Cernovodeanu*. Ed. Violeta Barbu. Bucharest: Kriterion, 1997., 75–87.
- PIPPIDI, Andrei. Despre Dan voievod: Rectificări cronologice și genealogice. *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie* 31 (2013.): 47–96.
- PILAT, Liviu. *Între Roma și Bizanț: societate și putere în Moldova*. Iași: Editura Universității Alexandru Ioan Cuza, 2008.
- PILAT, Liviu. *Moldova, Sfânta Coroană și regii jagielloni. Vasalitate, putere și gândire politică (1387–1526)*. Târgoviște: Cetatea de Scaun, 2023.
- POPESCU, Emilian. Compléments et rectifications à l’histoire de l’église de Moldavie dans la première moitié du XV^e siècle. In: Id., *Christianitas Daco-Romana. Florilegium Studiorum*. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 1994., 455–477.
- POPOVIĆ, Mihailo St. *Mara Branković. Eine Frau zwischen dem christlichen und dem islamischen Kulturkreis im 15. Jahrhundert (=Peleus, 45)*. Mainz – Wiesbaden: Rutzen – Harrassowitz, 2010.
- REZACHEVICI, Constantin. *Cronologia critică a domnilor din Țara Românească și Moldova, c. 1324–1881, I. Secolele XIV–XVI*. Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2001.
- SCHWEDLER, Gerald. *Herrschartreffen des Spätmittelalters. Formen – Rituale – Wirkungen (=Mittelalter-Forschungen, 21)*. Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2008.
- SIMON, Alexandru. Moldova între Vilnius și Moscova. Anii trecerii de la Roma la Constantinopol (1386–1388). *Studia Universitatis Babeș Bolyai. Historia* 48 (2003.) 1–2: 3–56.
- SIMON, Alexandru. Church, Crusade and Matrimony: The Eastern Limits and Perspectives of John Hunyadi’s Anti-Ottoman Policy. *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 123 (2010.) 1: 112–136.
- SIMON, Alexandru. From *Dragula* to *Cypelles*: Wallachia in the Late 1470s. *Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis* 20 (2021.): 153–168.
- SIMON, Alexandru. Altfel despre Unirea de la Florența: un «comunicat de presă» pontifical din arhiva sieneză. *Crisia* 53 (2023.): 91–106.
- SMOŁUCHA, Janusz. Poland as the Bastion of Christianity and the Issue of a Union with the Orthodox Church. *Perspektywy Kultury* 36 (2022.) 1: 35–50.
- STIEBER, Joachim W. *Pope Eugenius IV, the Council of Basel and the Secular and Ecclesiastical Authorities in the Empire (=Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 13)*. Leiden: Brill, 1978.
- ŠMAHEL, František. *Die Basler Kompaktaten mit den Hussiten (1436): Untersuchung und Edition (=Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Studien und Texte, 65)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2019.
- TOMLJENović, Ivica. Prilozi za biografiju Ivana Stojkovića, In: *Misao i djelo Ivana Stojkovića (=Analecta Croatica Christiana, 20)*. Ed. Franjo Šanjek. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1986., 111–132.
- TUILIER, André. Jean Stojković de Raguse, lecteur de saint Jérôme. *Croatica christiana periodica* 28 (2024.) 1: 9–18.

WHELAN, Mark – SIMON, Alexandru. The Moldavian Lady and the Elder Lords of the East. *Transylvanian Review* 24 (2015.) 3: 113–129.

ZACHARIADOU, Elizabeth A. The Ottomans, the Greek Orthodox Church and the Perils of the Papacy. In: *Sylvester Syropoulos on Politics and Culture in the Fifteenth-Century Mediterranean: Themes and Problems in the Memoirs Section IV* (=Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies, 16). Eds. Fotini Kondyli, Vera Andriopoulou, Eirini Panou, Mary B. Cunningham. Farnham: Ashgate, 2014., 23–32.