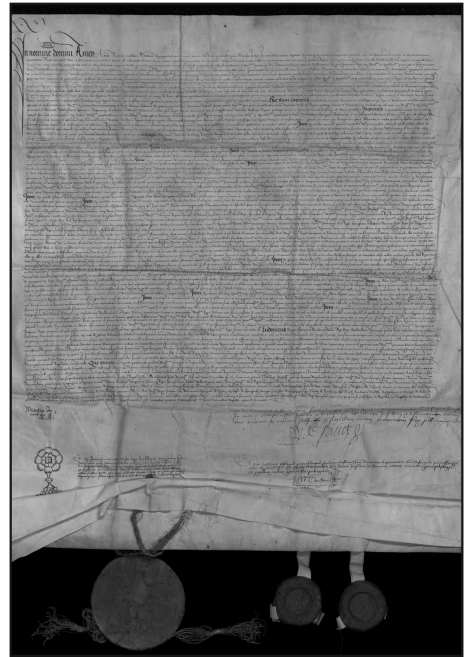




Forschungsgruppe "Ungarn im mittelalterlichen Europa"
Universität Debrecen - Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften

THE JAGIELLONIANS IN EUROPE: DYNASTIC DIPLOMACY AND FOREIGN RELATIONS

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FOREIGN RELATIONS**

EDITED BY ATTILA BÁRÁNY,
IN CO-OPERATION WITH BALÁZS ANTAL BACSA

Debrecen
2016

MEMORIA HUNGARIAE 2

Series Editor: ATTILA BÁRÁNY

Published by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences - University of Debrecen "Lendület"
Hungary in Medieval Europe Research Group (LP-2014-13/2014)

Editor-in-Chief: ATTILA BÁRÁNY

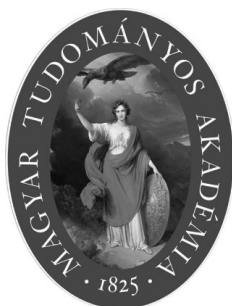
Sponsored by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Office for Research Groups

Copy-editor:

BALÁZS ANTAL BACSA

Desktop editing, layout and cover design by

ANETT LAPIS-LOVAS – Járom Kulturális Egyesület



ISBN 978-963-508-833-1

ISSN 2498-7794

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Printed by Kapitális Kft., Debrecen

Managing Director: József Kapusi

Cover illustration:

Alliance treaty between France, Hungary, Bohemia and Poland. Buda, 14 July 1500.

ANF J/458. No. 11. (by courtesy of Archives nationales, Paris)

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Szymon Brzeziński

Dynastic policy and its limits: the Jagiellonians and post-1541 Hungary

Several decades ago the American historian Paula Sutter Fichtner pointed out the limits of the Habsburg dynasticism in struggle for Hungary in the 1540s. Based on the events of 1542, she indicated that dynastic connections of this ruling house, although strong, proved as not sufficient to provide tools to restrain the Ottoman rule in Hungary.¹ Realization of dynastic potential rested upon fragile cooperation of its members. Moreover, the case of Ferdinand I and the House of Habsburg in fight for Hungary in 1542 reflected a general discrepancy of the contemporary rulers, frequently forced to maneuver between interests of the dynasty, own country and depending territories.² More recently, a similar conclusion drew Zoltán Korpás in his analysis of the Emperor Charles V's pragmatic, but not unconcerned attitude toward Hungary and the war against the Ottomans in Central Europe.³ With reference to this opinions on Habsburg policy I give a brief outline of key aspects of the policy of Sigismund I and Sigismund II August, Kings of Poland and Grand Dukes of Lithuania, toward Hungary in the 1540s.

This period is important for several reasons. First of all, it faced an essential geopolitical shift in South-Eastern Europe as the Ottoman expansion led to the tripartite division of Hungary in 1541. The event caused a significant resonance in the Jagiellonian countries, comparable to the defeat of Mohács. In the following years the division of Hungary and its permanence became even clearer as the attempts to integrate the remains of medieval Hungary and to stop the Ottomans failed. Parallel to that, an eastern Hungarian state came into being, which later became Principality of Transylvania. The key roles in it were played by non-dynastic actors, above all the influential bishop and treasurer George Martinuzzi (known also as Brother George/Fráter György) and Peter Petrovics, ban of Temesvár. As Isabel of Jagiellon, daughter of King Sigismund I of Poland, married John Zapolya in 1539, her brother and heir of the Polish-

¹ Paula SUTTER FICHTNER, 'Dynasticism and its Limitations: the Habsburgs and Hungary, 1542', *East European Quarterly* 4:4 (1970–1), 389–407.

² *Ibid.*, 406–407.

³ Zoltán Korpás, *V. Károly és Magyarország (1526–1538)*, [Charles V and Hungary] Budapest 2008.; See: *Idem*, 'The History of Charles V in Hungary. The Unavailable Subject of Hope', in C. Scott DIXON and Martina FUCHS (eds.), *The Histories of Emperor Charles V. Nationale Perspektiven von Persönlichkeit und Herrschaft*, Münster 2005, pp.203–36. [Edited volume hereinafter: DIXON-FUCHS 2005]

Lithuanian throne Sigismund August in 1543 after several years of postponed negotiations married Elisabeth of Austria, daughter of Ferdinand I. The relations with the Ottoman Empire were based upon the Polish-Ottoman treaty from 1533 and remained stable despite the permanent tensions in the borderland region. Therefore, the Jagiellonians were diplomatically bound to major actors of the conflict in the Carpathian Basin. Moreover, this involved dynastic ties with antagonists in the struggle for Hungary.

Recently historiography largely contributed to our understanding of the process of the Ottoman conquest of Hungary, the Ottoman-Habsburg rivalry and shaping of the Transylvanian state, together with its external and internal factors.⁴ I do not attempt to summarize its results here. However, I think there is a need to reconsider some opinions on Polish-Hungarian relations in this period. For example, Janusz Pajewski, author of an impactful pre-war Polish monograph on the Polish policy toward Hungary between 1540 and 1571, blamed Sigismund I for a 'lack of policy toward Hungary' and opposed the 'weak' Sigismund to Bona, his royal consort, which he perceived as a main author of the Polish policy in Hungarian matters. This kind of dual diplomacy was perceived then as a cause of failure, expressed by the decisions of the 1549 Habsburg-Jagiellonian treaty of Prague.⁵ That view, in somewhat moderated form, was basically shared also by more recent authors.⁶ A much more balanced approach presented by

⁴ Out of the rich scholarship and for further references see: Géza PÁLFFY, *The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century*, Boulder/New Jersey 2009; Géza DÁVID and Pál FODOR (eds.), *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe: the Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest*, Leiden 2000.; Cristina FENEȘAN, *Constituirea principatului autonom al Transilvaniei*, București 1997.; Sándor PAPP, *Die Verleihungs-, Bekräftigungs- und Vertragsurkunden der Osmanen für Ungarn und Siebenbürgen. Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung*, Wien 2003.

⁵ Janusz PAJEWSKI, *Węgierska polityka Polski w połowie XVI wieku (1540–1571)*, Kraków 1932, pp.51–3, 66. [hereinafter: PAJEWSKI 1932] See also Zygmunt WOJCIECHOWSKI, *Zygmunt Stary (1506–1548)*, Poznań 1946.; Władysław POCIECHA, *Królowa Bona (1494–1557). Czasy i ludzie odrodzenia*, Poznań 1958, IV.; Henryk ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Polityka Jagiellonów*, Poznań 1999 (written in 1940s); 'beyond the Carpathian Mountains Sigismund sacrificed just ambitions of his family, not the interest of Poland': Władysław KONOPCZYŃSKI, *Dzieje Polski nowożytnej*, Warszawa 2003 (First edn. 1936), p.121. Critical review of some views of earlier Polish historiography: Anna SUCHENI-GRABOWSKA, *Zygmunt August. Król polski i wielki książę litewski 1520–1562*, Kraków 2010, p.63. [hereinafter: SUCHENI-GRABOWSKA 2010] ; Eadem, 'Stanisław Hozjusz jako dyplomata Zygmunta Augusta. Wokół traktatu praskiego 1549 roku', *Studia Warmińskie* 18 (1981), 99–156; for historiographical overview in English see: Natalia NOWAKOWSKA, 'Jagiellonians and Habsburgs: Polish Historiography of Emperor Charles V', in DIXON-FUCHS 2005, pp.249–73.

⁶ Marian BISKUP (ed.), *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, Warszawa 1982, I.; Maria BOGUĆKA, *Bona Sforza*, Wrocław 2004², pp.192–8; Małgorzata DUCZMAL, *Izabela Jagiellonka królowa Węgier*, Warszawa 2000.; Jacek WIJACZKA, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne Polski z Rzeszą Niemiecką (1519–1556)*, Kielce 1998, pp.170–3.: Jagiellonians 'gave up dynastic aims in Hungarian matters', 'the [...] policy of neutrality brought no benefits'. See also Alfred KOHLER, *Expansion und Hegemonie. Internationale Beziehungen 1540–1559*, Paderborn/München/Wien/Zürich 2008, p.245.

Anna Sucheni-Grabowska. According to her research, the Jagiellonians did not abandon active policy towards Hungary, but were forced to reemphasize their goals by growing importance of Baltic, Livonian and Muscovite issues.⁷

It seems necessary then to highlight the continuity of Jagiellonian diplomacy. Contrary to widespread chronological patterns, the so-called 'Jagiellonian age' in Hungary did not end with the disaster of 1526. The dynasty continued to affect the country after this date – mainly due to the fact that Isabel of Jagiellon remained Queen of Hungary up to her death in 1559. Both her widowhood (as of July 1540) and endangered reign strengthened the role of bonds with the family of origin. That also concerned her son, John Sigismund, who later made use of his Jagiellonian kinship.

Both marriages, that of Isabel with John Zapolya and of Sigismund August with Elisabeth, were parallel political steps and just seemingly in contradictory directions. The marriage of Isabel with Zapolya was a counterweight to the strengthened position of the House of Habsburg in Central Europe. Both contracts revealed an unchanged belief in effectiveness of dynastic policy in securing the country's and the dynasty's position.⁸ In case of the marriage with Zapolya, it proved to be more durable and decisive than many agreements or treaties, negotiated and signed so eagerly in those years by Habsburgs, the Zapolyan (Transylvanian) and Polish sides in order to settle the situations of Hungary.⁹ However, the situation in Hungary became highly complicated in consequence of the events of 1540 and 1541: the birth of Zapolya's heir, the death of Zapolya, the failed military attempts of Ferdinand to occupy whole Hungary and finally but decisively, the Ottoman seizure of Buda and central Hungary. Dynastic marriage undoubtedly remained an eligible mean of

⁷ SUCHENI-GRABOWSKA 2010, pp.60ff., 278ff.; Eadem, 'Jagiellonowie i Habsburgowie w pierwszej połowie XVI w. Konflikty i ugody', *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka* 38:4 (1983), 449–67; Eadem, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Vertrages von 1549 zwischen Ferdinand I. und Sigismund II. August von Polen', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 89:1–2 (1981), 23–51. [hereinafter: SUCHENI-GRABOWSKA 1981] See: also: Stanisław CYNARSKI, *Zygmunt August*, Wrocław 2006. (First edn. 1988)

⁸ See Alfred KOHLER, 'Dynastes, bellum et pax. Zur Systemisierung und Verrechtlichung der Internationalen Beziehungen im 15./16. Jahrhundert', in Thomas ANGERER *et al.* (eds.), *Geschichte und Recht. Festschrift für Gerald Stourzh zum 70. Geburtstag*, Wien/Köln/Wiemar 1999, pp.391, 410. On Jagiellonian and Habsburg dynastic marriages of the age See: Urszula BORKOWSKA, 'Pacta matrimonia domo Jagiellonów', *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 48:2 (2000 [Special issue]), 45–60. [hereinafter: BORKOWSKA 2000]; Paula SUTTER FICHTNER, 'Dynastic Marriage in Sixteenth-Century Habsburg Diplomacy and Statecraft: An Interdisciplinary Approach', *The American Historical Review* 81:2 (1976), 243–65.

⁹ See: Ludwig BITTNER, *Chronologisches Verzeichnis der österreichischen Staatsverträge*, Wien 1903, I.11–25; Roderich GOOSS, *Österreichische Staatsverträge. Fürstentum Siebenbürgen (1526–1690)*, Wien 1911, pp.65–149.

diplomacy in settling down the Hungarian issues, as revealed by repeated efforts to arrange marriages of the widowed Isabel and, later, of John Sigismund.¹⁰ Meaningful remains an example from 1545, when the Habsburg agents spread a rumour about planned marriage of John Sigismund with (intended to be baptized) daughter of sultan, what should have secured the Zapolya's heir rule over vast part of Hungary.¹¹ Yet, the contest for Hungary with the Ottomans was not to be settled by such means, well-known for European side of the conflict.¹² The situation demanded other instruments of diplomacy and statecraft, which could help to meet the changing conditions in the region.

The first major motive of the Jagiellonian policy toward Hungary after Zapolya's death were the family relations, that is, the fate of Queen Isabel and her estates in Hungary. In the 1540s it remained a main issue in the dynasty's relations with Hungary, Austria, and Ottoman Empire. As Sigismund I ensured Ferdinand I in January 1541, Isabel's dowry was then the limit of Jagiellonian ambitions in Hungary.¹³ Of course it cannot be a surprise at all, but we should notice that the family relations of Jagiellonians appeared as very close, even if we consider the usual courtesy, expressed in correspondence and also keep in mind

¹⁰ On rumours and news concerning Isabel's marriage in the 1540s: Karolina LANCKOROŃSKA (ed.), *Elementa ad fontium editiones*, Romae 1960–1992, vol. 48, no. 398; vol. 49, no. 524; Karl NEHRING (ed.), *Austro-Turcica 1541–1552. Diplomatiscche Akten des habsburgischen Gesandtschaftsverkehrs mit der Hohen Pforte im Zeitalter Süleymans des Prächtigen*, München 1995, pp.320–1, no. 110., p.539, no. 203. [hereinafter: NEHRING 1995]; Lipót ÓVÁRY, *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történelmi Bizottságának oklevél-másolatai* [The charter collection of the Historical Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences], Budapest 1894, II.no. 435. [hereinafter: ÓVÁRY 1894]

¹¹ HHStA, Ungarische Akten Allgemeine Akten, Fasc. 54, Konv. B, f.67–8 [hereinafter: HHStA, UA AA] (Maciej Łobocki to Leonhard von Fels, 22 July 1545).

¹² See: Gábor ÁGOSTON, 'Az oszmán és az európai diplomácia a kölcsönösség felé vezető úton' [The Ottoman and the European diplomacy on the road to mutuality], in Péter HANÁK and Mariann NAGY (eds.), *Híd a századok felett. Tanulmányok Katus László 70. születésnapjára*, Pécs 1997, 83–99; Arno STROHMEYER, 'Das Osmanische Reich – ein Teil des europäischen Staatensystems der Frühen Neuzeit?', in Marlene KURZ et al. (eds.), *Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie*, Wien/München 2005, pp.149–64.; Daniel GOFFMAN, 'Negotiating with the Renaissance state: the Ottoman Empire and the new diplomacy', in Virginia H. AKSAN and Daniel GOFFMAN (eds.), *The Early Modern Ottomans. Remapping the Empire*, New York 2007, pp.61–74; A. Nuri YURDUSEV (ed.), *Ottoman Diplomacy. Conventional or Unconventional?*, Basingstoke 2004; Moritz CSÁKY, 'Ideologie oder "Realpolitik"? Ungarische Varianten der europäischen Türkenpolitik im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', *Anzeiger der Philosophisch-Historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 120:7 (1983), 176–95.

¹³ Sigismund's instruction for envoy Andrzej Czarnkowski: Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (The Central Archives of Historical Records, Warsaw), Metryka Koronna, Libri Legationum [hereinafter: AGAD, LL] vol. 7, f.137^v–142^r, edition: Péter TÓTH (ed.), *A lengyel királyi kancellária Libri legationum sorozatának magyar vonatkozású iratai* [The Hungarian-related documents of the *Libri legationum* series of the Polish Royal Chancellery], Miskolc 2003, II.403–7. [hereinafter: Tóth 2003]

some serious conflicts, which later emerged between the family members because of Sigismund August's marriages. Things did not change, however, in the relations of the royal parents toward Isabel. She was their beloved child, just as her brother. Significantly, that relation was expressed also in the marriage contract of Isabel.¹⁴ Royal letters to her were full of warmth and care. King Sigismund for many times hurried his daughter to deliver news about her and her welfare – as in June 1539, when he stated that he expected a courier from her for a long time and that is why he decided to send his own with greetings.¹⁵ This was especially apparent in the first months and years of Isabel's reign in Hungary and was obviously even strengthened by the dramatic events of 1540–1541. This attitude did not change in the following years. After 1541, the royal worries concerned Isabel's security, revenues and court. The latter was expected to be 'proper', that is, corresponding to her royal descent and dignity. The problem returned again and again in the 1540s because of the internal struggle in Transylvania of Martinuzzi and his followers and on the other hand, of Petrovics and other supporters of the Zapolyas. Especially painful for Isabel were accusations against her raised by Martinuzzi to her parents.¹⁶ What is noteworthy, the diplomatic actions in Isabel's interest were frequently undertaken jointly by her royal parents. This was the case in December 1542, when the envoy of Ferdinand I, Gáspár Serédy, reported to his sovereign that Sigismund and Bona were real authors of Isabel's policy, carried on '*ex suggestione regis ac praesertim reginae Poloniae*' – which was, by the way, an answer to the numerous former requests of the widowed queen.¹⁷ Similar views expressed also another informer of Ferdinand, Maciej Łobocki, reporting on the attitude of the Polish royal pair toward the 1542 treaty of Gyálu/Gilău between Ferdinand and Isabel.¹⁸

Not only Sigismund and Bona tried to interfere the situation on behalf of Isabel. From mid-1540s Sigismund August joined them in these efforts, which coincided with his growing role after he took over rule in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1544. In his letter to Martinuzzi from 1546 he insisted on safeguarding the sister's security and adequate conditions (meaning proper

¹⁴ BORKOWSKA 2000, 48.

¹⁵ Biblioteka Czartoryskich w Krakowie (Czartoryski Library, Cracow), Teki Naruszewicza [hereinafter: TN], 56.675, no. 134.

¹⁶ Biblioteka Narodowa (National Library, Warsaw), Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamoyskich, Teki Górskiego [hereinafter: Teki Górskiego], 22.67–8 (in 1542).

¹⁷ HHStA, UA AA, Fasc. 49, Konv. B, f.51^v, 53.; Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu (Ossoliński Library, Wrocław, hereinafter: Ossol.), Ms 179/II (AT, vol. 20), pp.168–9; See: TN, 58.521–3, no. 115.; ÓVÁRY 1894, no. 390. (Isabel to Jan Tarnowski, 18 October 1541).

¹⁸ HHStA, UA AA, Fasc. 48, Konv. B, f.69.

court and financial conditions of the household), that is, he joined the efforts and argumentation of his parents.¹⁹ As Sigismund August assured Isabel in June 1548, shortly after he succeeded his father, looking after sister was indispensable part of the royal 'officium'.²⁰ He undertook the duty to look after unmarried sisters and widowed Isabel. It meant he declared to continue to use this argument as a tool in his policy. The next years of his reign showed that he was able to use this position in diplomatic mediation between the Zapolyas (Isabel and John Sigismund) and Ferdinand I. That was the aim of the 1549 Transylvanian legation of bishop Andrzej Zebrzydowski who previously already served as envoy in Hungarian matters to Ferdinand in 1543.²¹ The 1549 treaty of Prague between Sigismund August and Ferdinand settled down the relations between two monarchs, among them also the Hungarian issue. It did not mean an abandonment of Hungarian policy and still gave Jagiellonians some possibilities to take advantage of Queen Isabel's rights, even if her situation actually became a real burden for her brother.²²

As Queen of Hungary Isabel met serious difficulties in exercising her power in the 1540s. She remained largely dependent to hostile parties and often seemed to be an object of other policies. Organization of power in the Transylvanian state made it harder to constitute a centre of royal authority with adequate resources, which could be then influenced by usual means. It was caused by the essential role of non-dynastic actors (above all Martinuzzi) and rapidly changing political relations and loyalties.²³ It was not without a reason that the Jagiellonian diplomacy so constantly insisted on providing Isabel proper financial background to exercise her power. Additionally, the Jagiellonian dynasticism met serious difficulties in the late 1540s originating from the relations of the members of the dynasty. Because of internal conflicts between the members of the royal family (above all between Queen Bona and Sigismund August) and as a result of age and worsening health of Sigismund I the marriages of Jagiellonian

¹⁹ Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN (Polish Academy of Sciences, Kórnik Library), Ms 221, f.164–6.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, f.444–6.

²¹ On the legations: Katarzyna GOŁĄBEK, *Działalność publiczna biskupa wrocławskiego Andrzeja Zebrzydowskiego w latach 1546–1551 w świetle jego korespondencji*, Warszawa 2012, pp.62–5, 222–35.

²² HHSStA, Staatsabteilungen Polen, Karton 6, Konv. 1, f.63–9^v.; SUCHENI-GRABOWSKA 1981.

²³ See: The legations of Sigismund I from 1546 and 1547: Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN, Ms 221, f.191–4, 213–5 (to Süleyman), 206–7, 209–10 (to Francis I), 210–2 (to Martinuzzi); Teréz OBORNI, *Udvar, állam és kormányzat a kora újkori Erdélyben (tanulmányok)* [Court, state and government in Transylvania in the early modern period], Budapest 2011.; Eadem, 'From Province to Principality: Continuity and Change in Transylvania in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century', in István ZOMBORI (ed.), *Fight Against the Turk in Central Europe in the First Half of the 16th Century*, Budapest 2004, pp.165–79.

princesses were delayed until 1550s (Sophia) and 1560s (Catherine). That fact influenced the dynasty's effectiveness in relations with other ruling houses. Death of Elisabeth of Austria in 1545 undermined the Habsburg alliance. Decease of the aged monarch and shift on the Polish-Lithuanian throne made it necessary for the Jagiellonians to renew the alliances with Habsburgs and Ottomans. This need affected their attitude to the Hungarian issues after 1548.

Parallel to that challenges the Jagiellonians noticeably tended to rely on Isabel's opinion in matters that concerned her and her reign. At the end of 1541, Sigismund I, Bona and Sigismund August stated in the joint mission to Isabel that they wish to help her, but not to enforce anything upon her against her will. As they directly wrote, she should not rely solely on their opinions, as they want to follow her mind.²⁴ This view repeated in the following years.²⁵ It may be considered as an excuse and solely diplomatic trick, which aimed to keep a convenient distance in highly complicated Hungarian matters. But it is equally justified to interpret such words as an evidence of close family relations and careful usage of them in foreign policy. Behavior of Isabel after death of Sigismund I supports this view. As she emphasized to the Porte in October 1548, close family ties will not urge her to leave Hungary.²⁶

Undoubtedly the fate and security of Isabel and her son were a chief matter for the Jagiellonians in their south-eastern diplomacy. From this perspective, an opinion of Jagiellonian 'withdrawal' from Hungary in this period seems to be a misinterpretation. It does not mean that the dynasty's policy did not evolve: in 1541–1542 the royal parents clearly advised Isabel to return to Poland, even if they treated such a decision only as temporary. In the following years, after the failure of Habsburg attempts to regain Hungary in 1542, proven elusiveness of Ferdinand's promises according Isabel's future Hungarian domains and – last but not least – considerable military successes of Ottoman armies in the Carpathian Basin, the main goal of the Jagiellonians was to prevent an internal conflict in Transylvania and strengthen the position of the new country in order to avoid further Ottoman expansion in the region. A plan to send Isabel back to Poland appeared again in 1548, but it was not initiated by the Jagiellonians.

²⁴ Joint legation of Sigismund I, Sigismund August and Bona to Isabel, 25 November 1541, Ossol., Ms 179/II, f.197–198^v; TN, 58.381–4., no. 86.

²⁵ See: Teki Górskiego, 23.13–14^v (legation of Sigismund I to Isabel, 16 August 1542), 35 (March 1543), 96^v–97^v (Sigismund's answer to the legation from Isabel, in June 1543, concerning her doubts whether to stay in Transylvania or leave the country).

²⁶ HHStA, UA AA, Fasc. 55, Konv. A, f.34^v. See: Árpád KÁROLYI (ed.), *Codex epistolaris Fratris Georgii Utyesenovics (Martinuzzi dicti) 1535–1551. Fráter György levelezése 1535–1551* [Correspondence of Frater György], Budapest 1881, p.357, no. CCXXXIV.; NEHRING 1995, 311–7, no. 110.

Another question is, what use the dynasty made out of the family ties. It is noteworthy to examine the arguments by which the royal policy tried to explain key decisions. In correspondence with political actors outside the family, the responsibilities emerging from valid alliances, above all with the Ottomans, dominated the family's duties. The cautious attitude of King Sigismund, characteristic also for his earlier policy toward Hungary, was present after Isabel's marriage as well. In January 1540 in the letter to Piotr Kmita, the voivode of Cracow, he distinguished that in the Hungarian question there were 'public' and 'private matters'. He declared the 'public' ones as more important in making decisions.²⁷ However, at that time, the king concentrated on 'private matter', that is, securing Isabel's property in Hungary and declared his readiness to abandon serious plans in his Hungarian policy²⁸. After Zapolya's death the king constantly refused to help militarily (as in a letter from 13th August 1540 to Petrovics and Martinuzzi).²⁹ As he repeatedly described his situation, using a phrase by Plautus from Erasmian *Adagia*, he found himself 'between the shrine and the stone'.³⁰ In a letter to Hungarian lords loyal to Isabel at the beginning of 1541 he used threats from Muscovy and Tatars as an excuse. '*It is easy to start the war*' – claimed Sigismund – '*but it is hard to finish it*'.³¹

A major reason behind this policy was the will to maintain peaceful relations with the sultan. On the other hand, Sigismund was well aware of his duties toward daughter and grandson, as he expressed his doubts in the aforementioned letter to senators, asking them for advice in August 1540.³² The 'public' prevailed in the king's argumentation for the Emperor Charles V from 5 October 1540: '*Dear is our daughter to us, dear is her son, but dearer is the good and peace of the Christian commonwealth*'.³³ Such declarations were rather rhetoric, as the Jagiellonian diplomacy served both goals: to secure a possibly best and

²⁷ Ossol., Ms 179/II, f.36^v–38; TN, 57.4–5, no. 2.

²⁸ Sigismund I to Ferdinand I, 10 January 1540, Ossol., Ms 179/II, f.40^v–41.

²⁹ AGAD, LL, vol. 9, f.9^v–11 (TóTH 2003, no. 146); TN, 57.455–7, no. 121.

³⁰ AGAD, LL, vol. 9, f.19–20 (TóTH 2003, no. 155): '*Itaque inter sacrum, quod aiunt, et saxum stamus*', Sigismund to the Polish senators, 26 November 1540.

³¹ Ossol., Ms 179/II, f.46.

³² AGAD, LL, vol. 9, f.19–20. See: PAJEWSKI 1932, 19–20.

³³ AGAD, LL, vol. 9, f.26–27 (TóTH 2003, no. 166), Teki Górskiego, 21.137.; HHSStA, Staatsabteilungen Polen, Fasc. 2, f.87–8 ('*Chara quidem nobis est serenissima filia nostra, charus est nepos ex illa natus, sed multo charior salus et tranquillitas reipublicae Christianae, cui nihil est, quod anteponendum existimemus*'). See: Sigismund's legation to Hungarian lords in January 1541: '*Amat quidem* [King Sigismund – S.B.] *nepotem suum [...] ardentius [...], sed non minor ei est de regno Hungariae conservando, quam de ornando nepote cura*': AGAD, LL, vol. 7, f.147^v (TóTH 2003, p.411, no. 191.).

firm position for the family and to keep as large part of Hungary out of direct Ottoman authority as possible.

In decisive for Hungary the early 1540s and in the following period as well the Jagiellonian diplomacy had indeed dual character. This dualism, however, should not be described through diversity of policies ('active' Bona vs. 'weak' or 'lukewarm' Sigismund), but as dualism of principles of dynastic policy and pragmatic approach. Nevertheless, the dynastic ('private') goals were interrelated with those defined as 'public', state interests. Separating or opposing them according to modern patterns would be artificial. The royal diplomacy used both arguments, depending on the recipient. I suggest then to be very careful in applying the modern idea of the 'reason of state' to this policy. It had much more common with classical understanding of this idea and with a type of ruler promoted by Erasmus. Therefore, it is more useful to consider this policy as cautious continuation, a careful and tactic 'appeasement', as a matter of fact, an effect of so carefully maintained relations of Jagiellonians with the Ottoman Empire. Jagiellonian aim was not to act directly, not to be burdened by rule over Hungary but simultaneously to prevent negative trends there: extending zone of instability and further Ottoman expansion, highly unfavourable for Polish and Lithuanian domains.³⁴ They accomplished this general goal. Paradoxically, the difficult situation in the Carpathian Basin, an effect of a policy realized by mainly dynastic means had to be solved by consciously restrained dynasticism. The Jagiellonians used the advantages of dynastic ties, but were well aware of their limitations. The European dynasticism met difficulties in confrontation with the Porte. In contrary to failed Habsburg attempts to control whole Hungary, sovereigns from Cracow and Vilnius were able to earlier realize this limits and concentrated to save what can be saved. Nevertheless, Hungary should not be seen solely as an 'obstacle' in the Jagiellonian policy. The engagement of the dynasty still made it possible to save at least some chances to play a role in the Carpathian Basin, all that in extremely unfavourable circumstances.

³⁴ See: Teréz OBORNI and Szabolcs VARGA, 'Peace as the Basis of Power in the courts of Wladislaw II of Jagiellon and John I of Szapolyai', in Arno STROHMEYER and Norbert SPANNENBERGER (eds.), *Frieden und Konfliktmanagement in interkulturellen Räumen*, Stuttgart 2013, pp.31–50.

Abbreviations

AGAD. LL	Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie Zbiór Dokumentów pergaminowych. Libri Legationum
ANF	Archives nationales (France), Paris
ASF AA	Archivio Segreto Vaticano. Archivum Arcis
ASM. A.D.S.	Archivio di Stato di Milano. Archivio Ducale Sforzesco
AT	[Acta Tomiciana] <i>Epistole, legationes, responsa, actiones, res geste serenissimi principis Sigismundi, eius nominis primi, regis Polonie, magni ducis Lithvanie, Russie, Prussie, Masovie domini...</i> per Stanislaum GORSKI. I–VIII. Posnaniae 1852–1860.
BESSENYEI, Fejedelmi	<i>Lettere di principi. Litterae principum ad papam (1518–1578). Fejedelmi levelek a pápának (1518– 1578).</i> Edidit József BESSENYEI. Roma-Budapest 2002.
BL	British Library, London
BnF	BNF – Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
BAV	Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana
CSP Spain	<i>Calendar of Letters, Despatches and State Papers relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain preserved in the Archives of Simancas and elsewhere.</i> Ed. G. A. BERGENROTH – Pascual de GAYANGOS. I–III/1., Supplement I–II. 1485–1526. London 1862–73.
Cameralia	<i>Cameralia Documenta Pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae (1297–1536).</i> I–II. Eds. †József LUKCSICS – Péter TUSOR – Tamás FEDELES. Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae, 9–10. (Budapest – Roma: Gondolat, 2014)
Consistorialia	<i>Consistorialia Documenta Pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae (1426–1605).</i> Eds. Péter TUSOR – Gábor NEMES. Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae, I. 7. (Budapest – Roma: Gondolat, 2011.)
CESDQ	<i>Codex Epistolaris Saeculi Decimi Quinti</i>

Documente	<i>Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor. 1510–1530.</i> Culese, adnotate și publicate de Nic. Densușianu. București, 1892. (Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, II/3.)
DF	Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény
DL	Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Levéltár
DRTA	<i>Deutsche Reichstagsakten.</i> Mittlere Reihe. <i>Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Maximilian I.</i> [1486–1505] Bd. 1–8. Bearb. Heinz ANGERMEIER – Ernst BOCK – Heinz GOLLWITZER – Dietmar HEIL – Reinhard SEYBOTH. Göttingen 1989–2008. Bd. 4. Reichsversammlungen 1491–1493. Bearb. Reinhard SEYBOTH. Göttingen 2008.; Jüngere Reihe. <i>Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Karl V.</i> (1519–1555) Bd. 1–20. 1893–2009. Bd. 1–4. Bearb. August KLUCKHORN – Adolf WREDE. Gotha 1893–1905.
EUBEL, <i>Hierarchia</i>	Conrad EUBEL et al., <i>Hierarchia catholica medii aevi, sive Summorum Pontificum, S. R. E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series ab anno 1198 usque ad annum perducta e documenta tabularii praesertim Vaticani collecta, digesta</i> , I–III. Monasterii 1913–23)
FEJÉR, CD	<i>Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae Ecclesiasticus ac Civilis</i> , ed. Georgius FEJÉR. I–XI Buda 1828–1844.
Helytartói oklt.	<i>Politikatörténeti források Bátori István első helytartóságához (1522–1523).</i> Ed. Norbert C. TÓTH (A MOL Kiadványai II. Forráskiadványok 50.) Budapest 2010.
HHSStA	Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs, Wien
Index	<i>Index actorum Romanorum pontificum ab Innocentio III ad Martinum V electum</i> , Citta del Vaticano 1975–2003.

- Letters and Papers Henry VIII *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII.* I-XXI.; I/1-2: Appendix., Addenda I-II. Eds. J. S. BREWER – James GAIRDNER – R. H. BRODIE. London 1867-1910; 1920-32.
- Itineraria *Királyok és királynék itineráriumai, 1382–1438. Itineraria regum et reginarum (1382-1438)*, Ed. † ENGEL – Norbert C. TÓTH. *Subsidia ad historiam medii aevi Hungariae inquirendam*, 1. Budapest 2005.
- Katona, *Historia critica* Stephanus KATONA, *Historia critica regum Hungariae* I–XLII. Pestini–Posonii–Cassoviae–Claudiopoli–Budae 1779–1813.
- MDE *Magyar Diplomáciai Emlékek Mátyás király korából, 1458-90.* Eds. Iván NAGY – Albert NYÁRY. I-IV. (Magyar Történelmi Emlékek. 4. osztály: Diplomáciai emlékek) Budapest 1875-78.
- Mon.Vat. *Relationes oratorum pontificiorum. Magyarországi pápai követek jelentései 1524-1526.* (Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia. Vatikáni Magyar Okirattár, Series 2, t. 1.) (Budapest 1884 [2001])
- MNL OL Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár
- OBA Ordensbriefarchiv, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin
- MTT Magyar Történelmi Tár
- Óváry I. *A Magyar tud. akadémia Történelmi bizottságának oklevél-másolatai*, ismerteti Óváry Lipót. 1. füz. A Mohácsi vész előtti okiratok kivonatai. Budapest 1890.
- RI *Regesta Imperii: XIII. Regesten Kaiser Friedrichs III. (1440–1493) nach Archiven und Bibliotheken geordnet.* Bd. I-XXVII. Hrsg. J. F. BÖHMER. neu hg. H. P. KOLLER – J. HEINIG – A. NIEDERSTÄTTER. Wien 1982-2010.; XIV. *Ausgewählte Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Maximilian I. (1486/1493-1519).* Bd. 1,1 – 4,2. [1486-1504] Hrsg. Hermann WIESFLECKER – Manfred HOLLEGER – Angelika SCHUH – Christa BEER – Inge FRIEDHUBER. Köln 1990-2004. [<http://www.regesta-imperii.de/>]

RGS	<i>Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores</i>
RYMER, Foedera	Thomas RYMER, <i>Foedera, conventiones, literae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica inter reges Angliae</i> . I-XX. London, 1704-35. [London Edn]; Haag, 1739-45. I-X. [Haag Edn]
TNA/PRO	Public Record Office / The National Archives, Kew, Surrey, England
Sanuto	<i>I diarii di Marino Sanuto</i> . (MCCCCXVI-MDXXXIII) dall'autografo Marciano Ital. cl. VII codd. CDXIX. CDLXXVII pubblicati per cura di Rinaldo FULIN – Federico STEFANI – Niccolò BAROZZI – Guglielmo BERCHET – Marco ALLEGRI. I-LVIII. Venezia 1879-1902.
SIMONYI, Okmánytár	<i>Magyar történelmi okmánytár a londoni könyv és levéltárakból, 1521-1717</i> . I-II. Ed. Ernő SIMONYI. Pest – Budapest 1859-1875. (Magyar tört. emlékek. Első osztály: Okmánytárak 5 [16])
Sigismundus	<i>Sigismundus Rex et Imperator. Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387-1437</i> . Ausstellungskatalog. Ed. Imre TAKÁCS. Budapest – Luxembourg 2006.
SZ	Századok
THEINER, VMHH	<i>Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia</i> , vol. I-II, ed. Augustinus THEINER. Romae 1859-1860.
THEINER, Vetera monumenta Slavorum	<i>Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia maximam partem nondum edita ex Tabulariis Vaticanis deprompta collecta ac serie chornologica disposita</i> . I: <i>Ab Innocentio PP. III. usque ad Paulum PP. III. (1198-1549)</i> . II: <i>A Clemente VII. usque ad Pium VII. (1524-1800) cum additamentis saec. XIII. et XIV.</i> Ed. Augustinus THEINER. Romae – Zagrabiae 1863-1875.

- THEINER,
Vetera monumenta
Poloniae
- Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiam illustrantia, maximam partem nondum edita, ex tabulariis vaticanis deprompta, collecta, ac serie chronologica dioposita, I–IV.* ed. Augustinus THEINER. Romae 1864.
- TSZ
- ZsO
- Történelmi Szemle*
- Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár.* Budapest, 1951–2013. I–II/1–2. (1387–1410) Ed. Elemér MÁLYUSZ. III–VII. (1411–1420) Ed. Iván BORSA. 1993–2001.; VIII–IX. (1421–1422) Eds. I. BORSA – Norbert C. TÓTH. 2003–2004.; X. (1423) Ed. N. C. TÓTH. 2007.; XI. (1424) Eds. N. C. TÓTH – Tibor NEUMANN. 2009.; XII. (1425) Eds. N. C. TÓTH – Bálint LAKATOS. 2013. (A MOL kiadványai II., Forráskiadványok 1., 3., 4., 22., 25., 27., 32., 37., 39., 41., 43., 49.; 52)