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## PETRU RAREȘ AND LUDOVICO GRITTI. THE STORY ABOUT DIFFICULT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RULER OF MOLDOVA AND THE TURKISH SPY IN HUNGARY<sup>1</sup>

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Ludwig Jagiellon's (the king of Hungary and Bohemia) death at the battle of Mohacs (1526) changed the political situation in the Central and South-Eastern Europe. After his death, another war of thrones seemed unavoidable and soon to happen. There were two serious candidates to take power in Hungary: Ferdinand of Habsburg and Johannes Zapolya. After Zapolya became the tributary of the sultan in 1528, the Turkish army conquered Buda the following year, it became obvious that only those two forces, Habsburgs and Turkey, had enough power to compete for control over whole Central and South-Eastern Europe. As both sides wanted to strengthen their influence in this part of Europe, neither the ruler of Moldova – Petru Rareș, nor the ruler of Walachia – Vlad Vintilă couldn't stay neutral in this conflict. The situation became even more complicated in 1530s. At that time Habsburgs began their third war against Francis I, king of France. The latter was ready to support Suleyman the Great in order to get an ally against Ferdinand of Habsburg. Johannes Zapolya also counted on Suleyman's help (Hurmuzaki 1891, nr 39; Kretschmayr 1896, 13). Petru Rareș, who tried to continue the policy of his alleged-father Stephan the Great, wanted to keep Moldova's independence. In this case he wanted to set all his opponents against each other and make use of it to strengthen the position of his country. This complicated political connections and mutual dependences were the reason why all the above-mentioned rulers wanted to have the newest information about the intentions of their opponents as well as about the possible

conspiracies in this part of Europe. That is why a lot of spies had been sent to this region.

There is a lot of information in historical sources about spies. For examples: on January 20<sup>th</sup> 1535 Ferdinand of Habsburg informed his brother that he caught Zapolya's envoy who confessed that he was a Venetian merchant travelling from France. But in reality, he carried a letter to Ludovico Gritti (Hofinger et al. 2015, nr 855/14). On 18<sup>th</sup> February 1535 Ferdinand informed about the two other spies that had been caught. One of them committed suicide and the other one-Jehan Midasque didn't want to reveal any secret (Hofinger et al. 2015, nr 869/9; 878/12; 888/4). There is a lot of further information about spies at Ferdinand's territory (Hofinger et al. 2015, nr 869/9; 878/12; 888/4; 881/6; 884/2; 926/11; 932/9; 878/6; 888/5; 895/5; 932/4), a topic deserving a separate study, that cannot be elaborated here due to space limit. However, there is a lot of examples confirming that Ferdinand controlled the border of his country very strictly. There was also the ruler of Moldova – Stephan IV who wrote to the sultan that he had sent some spies to Hungary, and he swore that all information that he received from them about Polish and Hungarian intentions, he passed immediately to the sultan (Mehmed 1976, nr 10).

Also Ludovico Gritti, a Venetian merchant and traveler, was one of the spies in Hungary. But at first, I would like to write something about Gritti's family. They came to Venice from the small town Sorio near Vicenza. At that time their name was „Gratolani” (Kretschmayr 1896, 10). In Venice they became involved in trading business, that appeared to be very successful. Ludovico's father – Andrea Gritti (Sanuto 1880, 234, 244) – was „oratore straordinario” in Turkey before he assumed the office of the doge of Venice in 1523. About the year 1497 he married to Benedetta di Luca-Vendramin with whom he had a son Fran-

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<sup>1</sup> This article in similar form will be published in Poland under the title: Petru Rareși Ludovicus Gritti. Historia trudnych relacji między hospodarem mołdawskim, a tureckim szpiegiem na Węgrzech.

cesco, who unfortunately died 1505 (Romanin 1856, 385; Kretschmayr 1896, 8; Decei 1974, 102). Ludovico<sup>2</sup> was born at 1480 in Constantinople as a son of Andrea and her common-law wife who came from Greece. He had also three brothers: Pietro, Gregorio and Lorenzo. In 1496 Ludovico came back together with his father from Constantinople to Venice and studied in Padua (Kretschmayr 1896, 9). Unfortunately, the fact that he was an illegitimate child, blocked him a possibility to make a career in Venice. That is why, around 1507/1508, Ludovico decided to leave Italy and move back to Constantinople. There he began his career as a merchant. He became very successful, and above all selling of noble stones and wines made him very popular and draw sultan's attention to him (Viaggi fatti 1545, 155v; Kretschmayr 1896, 10). The crucial was the year 1523 as Ibrahim Pasha assumed the office of a grand vizier. Gritti, who knew a lot of languages: Turkish, Italian and Greek as well as had insight into many courts in Europe, was found a valuable advisor by Ibrahim Pasha. However, Gritti's talents weren't the only thing that stipulated his career. At that time Ibrahim Pasha had some big financial debt by Gritti and probably helped him in hope for canceling or reducing this debt (Albèri 1840, 1-32; Kretschmayr 1896, 10)<sup>3</sup>. Gritti did not hesitate to make use of this situation and of Ibrahim's and Suleiman's trust. He successively strengthened his position. The best example that show Gritti's increasing position at sultan's court was his role in the negotiation between Ibrahim Pasha and Johannes Zapolya that took place in 1528. I will try to describe this complicated political situation of that period. In late 1526 Ferdinand of Habsburg was elected as a king of Hungary and was crowned the following year. As a result of this, Johannes Zapolya who hadn't enough support in Hungary escaped to Transylvania but even in this region he couldn't feel safe and he had to leave it (Hirschberg 1888, 65). He desperately needed help, so sent an envoy Hieronymus Laski to sultan Suleyman the Great asking him for help. But before Laski could speak

with sultan, he decided to meet with Ludovico Gritti. He was aware how important Gritti was at the Turkish court in that time, as there were even some rumors that it was Gritti who prevented Turkish attack at Hungary and thanks to that fact save Zapolya's throne (Hirschberg 1888, 72-73; Kretschmayr 1896, 14). So, Laski asked Gritti for an intercession with sultan, because he wanted to make an alliance between Turkey and Zapolya, but only under condition that Zapolya won't pay any kharaj to Turkey. Gritti enabled him the meeting with Ibrahim Pasha. But at the beginning Ibrahim strongly refused a possibility of making such an alliance without the obligation of paying kharaj, and only after Gritti's intervention he changed his mind and allowed Laski to speak with sultan. Finally, on 28<sup>th</sup> January 1528, the alliance between Zapolya and Suleyman the Great was formed without any obligation to pay kharaj or give loots by Zapolya<sup>4</sup>. When Hieronymus Laski informed Zapolya about the alliance, he underlined Gritti's role and he was sure, that without his help, it wouldn't be possible to conclude such a good alliance under such profitable conditions (TN 45, nr 85; Hirschberg 1888, 87)<sup>5</sup>. But two anonymous letters that were addressed to Ferdinand as well as future events, give new light to this case. In the first letter, written to Ferdinand on 29<sup>th</sup> September 1528, it was said that the great vizier Ibrahim Pasha was owned Gritti 50000 ducats in that time. According to this letter Ibrahim accepted Laski's demands, because he had made some agreement with sultan and Gritti before, that Gritti will assume power in Hungary. In the second letter, written at 10<sup>th</sup> March 1529, there is an information that Gritti was to be a governor of Hungary (Kretschmayr 1896, 18, 21). So, this seemingly successfully Laski's mission who was sure that without Gritti's help this alliance couldn't be concluded, seems to be in reality a fiction, it seems to be only a great Turkish plan that's goal was to assume power in Hungary. Another point of view at this case had Gritti's secretary who tried to explain this situation. So, on 13<sup>th</sup> March 1529 he wrote to Zapolya's envoy that admittedly Gritti had got such pro-

<sup>2</sup> By the Turkish people in Hungary he was called Ludwig, but he wrote his name mostly as Ludovicus. Luigi and Alvise were in Venetia commonly used nicknames for this name. Sometimes it is also said that his true name was Alovizius.

<sup>3</sup> Daniello de'Ludovisi mentioned at 3<sup>th</sup> June 1534 during the senate of Venetia about Gritti's great credits for Ibrahim Pasha, see: Albèri 1840, 1-32: Relazione dell' Impero Ottomano riferita in senato dal segretario Daniello de'Ludovisi from 3<sup>th</sup> Juni 1534.

<sup>4</sup> The Laski's relation from his mission in Turkey, see: Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien, Turcicia I 1, Konv. 3, nr 38-59; see also: Bel 1735, 159-189; Kretschmayr 1896, 14; Hirschberg 1888, 68, 72-73.

<sup>5</sup> *Commisio a Ludovico Gritti per Stanislaum Kostkam Regni Poloniae referenda*, Biblioteka Czartoryskich in Cracow, Teki Naruszewicza (further: TN) 45, nr 85.

posal to assume the post of governor of Hungary, but he had refused (Kretschmayr 1896, 18, 21). Such kind of rumors about Gritti's intentions became even more popular when 1529 the Turkish expedition started and Gritti stood by sultan (Bernhauer 1858, 9). After conquering Mohacs (at 19<sup>th</sup> August 1529) sultan with his army went to Vienna, and Gritti was left in Ofen with 300 Turkish knights (Kretschmayr 1896, 22; Pach 1987, 129-149). He also took up the position of the great treasurer and a bishop of Erlau (it was execution of Laski's promise) (TN 45, nr 79; Fessler, Klein 1874, 443; Pálffy 2009, 45). At the beginning of the year 1530, he came back to Constantinople but shortly after that he was sent to Hungary again as an "orator Turci" who had to take care of the Turkish interests there. His other task was to talk Ferdinand round to stop the fight against Zapolya. Before 23<sup>rd</sup> December he took up the position of the governor of Hungary and his son Antonio the position of the bishop of Erlau (TN 45, nr 79; ATomic 1906, nr. 418)<sup>6</sup>. After completing this mission, he should have come back to Constantinople, but fluent situation in Hungary made his return impossible at that time. While being in Hungary, he sent a lot of letters to sultan to inform him about the situation in Moldova, Wallachia and Transylvania, therefore his person became very suspected for Habsburg's diplomacy that inform Ferdinand about every single Gritti's steps<sup>7</sup>.

Situation changed dramatically in 1534. On 29<sup>th</sup> September 1534 Ludovico Gritti was arrested and on 14<sup>th</sup> October he was murdered in Mediaș (ATomic 1961, nr 536; Cioranescu 1940, nr 6 - with the date of 18<sup>th</sup> October). It was Petru Rareș who was blamed for the death of Gritti, but there are some questions that need to be answered. Firstly, why Rareș did it? What was the reason for that? Did he make this alone or had supporters? In order to try to answer these questions, it is necessary to analyze the purpose of Gritti's mission in Hungary as well as to find out why there were conflict of interest between Rareș and Gritti. I will analyze some sources that could help us to find

the answers. Firstly, there are some Gritti's letters to sultan in which he wrote about the situation in this part of Europe, secondly there are also letters written by other persons that had been involved in Gritti's death. The problem is that their relations and opinions about Gritti's role are mostly totally discrepant. According to Johannes Tarnowski's letter to Ferdinand, written on 8<sup>th</sup> April 1534, Gritti explained to one of the Polish noblemen that he had been sent to Hungary to clear up the misunderstandings between Ferdinand and Suleyman. According to Gritti, Suleyman, as a condition for concluding the peace treaty, demanded Ferdinand's retreat from the part of Hungary that he occupied and giving it to Zapolya. Ferdinand however, was said to misunderstand this demand and claim that he can hold this part of Hungary. That is why, Gritti was sent to Hungary to clarify this misunderstanding. But Sigismund Herberstein who commented this letter wrote that Gritti's mediation is unwanted (ATomic 1957, nr 595; ATomic 1960, nr 236; Decei 1974, 101-161; Gemil 1978, 147)<sup>8</sup>. The second important source is the letter written at 22<sup>nd</sup> May by Johannes Laski. Laski mentioned that on the day before (so at 21<sup>st</sup> May) he had received the letter from his brother Hieronymus written at 11<sup>th</sup> April in Kolozsvár, in which the latter related that Gritti had already passed Danube, came to Tîrgoviște and called him there. Gritti had informed him, that the ruler of Moldova – Petru Rareș forbid him to pass Transylvania, because he was afraid of losing his influence in this territory. It was already known – explained Rareș – that sultan had sent Gritti to Hungary so that he gave Transylvania to Zapolya. Because of Rareș's standpoint Gritti was forced to stay in Tîrgoviște to strengthen his army. Gritti ensured also Zapolya, that he negotiated the best possible conditions of the treaty with Turkey (ATomic 1960, nr 301). Equally important is Gritti's letter written between 4 and 31<sup>st</sup> August 1534, so just before his death. Gritti explained to Suleyman why he was not able to realize his task in Hungary so defending of Buda. Admittedly, he got safe conduct from sultan that should allowed him to pass Wallachia, Transylvania and Hungary without

<sup>6</sup> TN 45, nr 79, printed: ATomic 1906, nr 418, Kretschmayr wrote incorrectly that it was at 26<sup>th</sup> December when Gritti took up this position of the governor, see: Kretschmayr 1896, 26-27.

<sup>7</sup> Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien, Turcicia I 3, Konv. 2: fol. 131-133, 163-163v, 164-164v, 195-196, 199-202v, 216v in; Konv. 3: Gesandtschaft von Hieronimus von Zara, fol. 1-66; Konv. 4: Cornelius Duplicius Schepper, fol. 1-34.

<sup>8</sup> Andreas of Tęczyn after he had met Ibrahim Pasha in Aleppo, wrote to Petrus Tomicki that Ibrahim didn't trust Gritti anymore and was afraid that he realized his own goal and that is why he had told Gritti not to undertake the negotiations between Zapolya and Ferdinand without consulting this with the Polish king, see: ATomic 1960, nr 147.



any harassment and the ruler of Wallachia should give him knights and money (14×100000 aspri) that he needed to defend Buda. But the ruler of Wallachia Vlad Vintilă, regardless of sultan's demand, had refused to support him with army and money that he should have paid as a kharaj. Gritti wrote also that he had met the officers of Wallachia: wistenik, perkolab Stan and logofet Vilcsan who ensured him that Vintilă was traitor and in reality, he conspired with Ferdinand against Suleyman. Vilcsan told him that Vlad gathered the kharaj from surrenders six time a year instead of one a year and when peoples asked him why he did it so often, he explained that it was sultan's command. In reality he gave over this money for the preparation of the conspiracy. That is why Vintilă neither let him pass Wallachia nor give him promised army and money. Gritti asked sultan for permission to kill Vintilă and he assured him that he would get enough support from the people in Wallachia against Vintilă. All he need is sultan's permission. He wrote also that because he hadn't had enough knights and money to protect Buda, he couldn't realize his tasks waiting for further sultan's commands. This is the end of Gritti's letter but in another letter that had been written at 10<sup>th</sup> June 1535 by Wallachian's officers to sultan, it was mentioned that Vlad Vintilă was murdered (Mehmed 1976, nr 18).

However, a report by Tranquillus Andronik, who was Gritti's secretary, set a new light on this case. Andronik wrote that it was the new woiwode of Transylvania Emerik Czibak – the Zapolya's trusted man – who spread rumors about Gritti's alleged willingness to assume power in Wallachia and that was the reason why Vintilă didn't trust Gritti and didn't let him pass his territory. When he finally understands that it was only rumors and they were lies, he let Gritti go (ATomic 1961, nr 644).

At that time Petru Rareș – the ruler of Moldova continued his politics of playing his enemies off against each other and made some used of it. According to his letter written to sultan (with doubtful date, but written probably in 1530, see: Gemil 1978, 146, footnote nr. 28) he tried to set a variance between Poland and Turkey. At the same time Suleyman planned to strengthen his influence in Moldova. He was afraid that the situation there could become similar to Wallachia's one, where after Vlad VI Înecatul's death (who was sultan's son-in-law) Suleyman's influence was re-

duced significantly. So, now he tried to strengthen his control over Moldova<sup>9</sup> (Gemil 1978, 147; ATomic 1957, nr 595). Rareș was aware of it and he was afraid of Poland's intentions as well (he wrote about it in above mentioned letter). So in this dangerous situation, he decided to make an agreement with Ferdinand Habsburg. As Suleyman the Great started his expedition against Iran (at 11<sup>th</sup> June 1534) Petru decided to make use of it and attacked Transylvania. On 28<sup>th</sup> September 1534 he met Ferdinand and proposed him cooperation against Turkey and suggested that also Transylvania should take part in this agreement. As a result of this meeting, it was treaty that has been conducted on 4<sup>th</sup> April 1535 (Hurmuzaki 1891, nr 66, 67). Rareș hoped to get Ferdinand's permission to take control over Transylvania. At the same time when Rareș started undertaking his plan, Gritti came to Mediaș (Gemil 1978, 149). The Venetian who had been sent by Suleyman, was a treat for Rareș's plans. The goal of Gritti's mission was for sure to strengthen Turkish influence in this part of Europe and maybe –that was the biggest Rareș's concern – to assume the power in Transylvania, and maybe even in Moldova and Wallachia. Such concerns became even bigger when it turned out that Gritti came to Europe together with his two sons: Pietro and Antonio (Decei 1974, 101-161; Gemil 1978, 147). In the meantime (in 1534) Jan Banffy – the woiwode of Transylvania died (Hirschberg 1888, 207) and it was Hieronymus Laski who hoped for taking over this post. Laski's relations with Zapolya were in that time not good anymore, so he counted on Gritti's help (ATomic 1899, nr 302; Hirschberg 1888, 207), because the latter, as a governor of Hungary, had right to decide who will be the new woiwode. Gritti complained to the Ferdinand's envoy Konrad Schleppe that Laski wanted to be woiwode, but Zapolya found it impossible without Gritti's permission, so that is why Laski kept asking Gritti for support. On the other hand, Zapolya asked Gritti not to nominate a new woiwode until he arrives to Hungary. In reality Zapolya didn't want that Laski, so the man who was his opponent, assuming an importance of the post (Hirschberg 1888, 209). So, Laski went to Constantinople to ask Gritti for help and probably there was some

<sup>9</sup> Andrzej of Tęczyn wrote after his mission to Constantinople, that sultan want to support Poland against Moldova and that is why he plan to dethrone Rareș with the Hungarian's help. The new ruler of Moldova should be elected in agreement with Polish king Sigismund I.

agreement between them because as Gritti left Turkey at 18<sup>th</sup> June and went towards Transylvania, Laski stood by him. It was the reason for new rumors that had been spread in Balkans, that Gritti wanted to give the post of new woiwode of Transylvania to Laski. That is why Zapolya, who wanted to stop this nomination, decided to forestall it and set his candidate – Emerik Czibak the bishop of Waradin – as a new woiwode (ATomic 1961, nr 644). Czibak – Zapolya’s trusted man, didn’t like Gritti as much as Johannes Zapolya did. According to Tranquillo Andronik, who wrote a letter to Johannes Tarnowski, Zapolya intentionally let Czibak assume the post in Transylvania, because he wanted to weaken Gritti’s position. According to Andronik it had been already decided in that time that Gritti must be killed (ATomic 1961, nr 644). So, when Czibak found out that Gritti was coming to Transylvania, he called an army and made a treaty with Rareș. According to it, the ruler of Moldova should ensure Gritti that he always helps him when needed, so that it is unnecessary that Gritti looks for help in Turkey. According to the plan, Rareș should come with his army to Transylvania with an official mission to help Gritti, and in reality, he helped Czibak to defeat Gritti’s army and kill him (Schuller 1859, 51-52; Kretschmayr 1896, 72). But Gritti didn’t trust Czibak. He knew that Czibak was his enemy, who was against giving Gritti the post of governor of Hungary, he also questioned the fact that Gritti gave Hunedoara to Georg von Brandenburg, and it was Czibak who mobilized the army in Transylvania against Gritti and spread the lies about him. That is why Gritti didn’t trust him. But some of the Hungarian noblemen wanted to make use of the conflict between them. One of these men was Dóczy, who couldn’t forgive Czibak that he once slapped his face, so Dóczy decided to make some trick. Namely, when Gritti came to Brașov, Czibak sent him some gifts to calm down the situation. The man who should have delivered these gifts was the monk Peter. However, Gritti refused to accept the presents, but Dóczy convinced Peter not to tell Czibak about Gritti’s standpoint but instead to tell him that the Venetian invite him for a meeting. The monk did it and Czibak decided to meet Gritti. As he was on his way in the night at 11<sup>th</sup> August 1534, he was attacked and murdered around Felmer by Batthiani’s army. Next day Hieronymus Laski came to Gritti’s camp (Francesco della Valle 1857, 38; Hirschberg 1888, 211; Con-

stantinescu 1978, 73; Kretschmayr 1896, 74-75). There were Gritti and Laski who were charged of killing Czibak. That is why Gritti had to leave Brașov and went to Mediaș. He counted on promised Rareș’s help but unavailingly. Rareș refused any help regardless of previous assurances (Constantinescu 1978, 73). In Mediaș Gritti was besieged by the Maylath’s army. As he again asked Rareș for help, he gave an order to catch him and kill him instead. At 28<sup>th</sup> September Moldova’s army (12000 knights) came to Mediaș and started to besiege the town (Francesco della Valle 1857, 42; see also: ATomic 1961, nr 503). At the end, Gritti was caught and killed by Kendi Ferenc<sup>10</sup> (Francesco della Valle 1857, 43-52; Kretschmayr 1896, 81-82; Constantinescu 1978, 73). Gritti’s sons had been taken firstly to Suceava but then Rareș ordered to take them to Transylvania and kill (Constantinescu 1978, 73; ATomic 1961, nr 644).

Explaining of the complexity of the above-mentioned incidents and finding answers for the questions is not easy. Firstly, it is due to sources that are completely contradictory to each other. They judge Gritti and the other persons who were involved in this accident in totally different way, depending on which side of conflict the author of the source represented. So, there are two main parts of sources. The first one, uttered by Zapolya’s or Jan Laski’s supporters, who wanted to justify the death of Gritti and to convince everyone that there was no basis for allegations against Jan Laski’s brother Hieronymus about his responsibility for Czibak’s death and conspiracy against Zapolya. The second one uttered by authors connected with Gritti and his supporters. An example of the former group is an anonymous report written in October 1534 in Transylvania. It claims, that it was Gritti who killed Czibak and then conquered Mediaș. After that Hungarians, under the command of Maylath, attacked him and asked Rareș for help. As Gritti finally was caught and tortured, he admitted that his main goal was to kill all the Hungary’s officers and to let Turkish people to assume the leading role in Hungary. His next step would be taking power in Hungary and then giving Transylvania to the Turkey (ATomic 1961, nr 503). It was probably the Hungarian noblemen who were written this text

<sup>10</sup> Kendi Ferenc wanted to be vice-woiwode. He fought for it four years now, so when he had such possibilities, he decided to make use of it and killed Gritti; about Gritti’s death, see also: ATomic 1961, nr 503, 552, 644.

in case to justify and explain why Gritti had had to be killed. It is significant that after Gritti's death it was Maylath who assume the post of the woiwode of Transylvania (ATomic 1961, nr 503). To this group of sources can be also counted letters of Johannes Laski – the brother of Hieronymus. The most interesting seems to be the one of these letters written at 12<sup>th</sup> September 1534, in which Johannes promised that his brother – Hieronymus had nothing to do with Czibak's death. He wrote that it had been two days before Hieronymus met Gritti, when Czibak had been killed. Hieronymus had found out about his death from some boy, but he had had nothing to do with that. When Hieronymus had been called by Gritti, he had reproved his action and had immediately decided to go to Waradin to ensure that the town stay by Zapolya. He had been afraid that, because of the Gritti's action, the burgher of Waradin could left Zapolya and stand for Ferdinand. But exactly in that moment, he had been called to Buda and there had been arrested (ATomic 1961, nr 465). Another point of view represents Tranquillus Andronik. Andronik was Gritti's secretary and his supporter, so this source can be counted to the second of the above-mentioned groups. Tranquillus wrote to Johannes Tarnowski that he blamed Zapolya for all the conspiracy against Gritti. He was sure that it was Zapolya who had gave the power in Transylvania to Czibak because he wanted to weaken Gritti's position. He had already planned to kill Gritti. It was Czibak who had spread the lies about Gritti's willingness to take the power in Transylvania and also to give the throne of Wallachia to his son. That is why Vlad Vintilă who believed Czibak was right, didn't let Gritti to pass his territory and sent an army against him. When he made out that these were all lies spreading by Czibak, he let Gritti go. Venetian was aware of the hostile standpoint of Czibak, so when he came to Brasov, he sent 600 knights under the command of Batthiani to caught Czibak alive. But another Czibak's enemy – Dóczy, disposed Batthiani to kill him. In the same time, Rareș who was in conspiracy with Czibak sent to Gritti proposal of help and friendship. He made this to make Gritti sure that he can counted on him and needn't ask Turkey for help. After Czibak's death the insurrection in Transylvania broke out, Gritti reached his shelter in Mediaș and sent his army under the command of Batthiani against his enemies. But Batthiani when met the enemy's army, refused to

fight against them. In that moment Gritti asked Hieronymus Laski to call the Turkish army from Buda, but before Hieronymus arrived Buda, he was arrested by Zapolya. Gritti who was taken ill, couldn't lead the defense of Mediaș so Johannes Dóczy, Urban Batthiani and Franz Dobó should made this for him. But in reality, they collaborated with Gritti's enemies. Andronik –the faithful Gritti's secretary knew about this and advised Gritti to take an escape. But the Venetian was too ill for this, so he ordered Batthiani to undertake the negotiations. But he delayed this on purpose because he waited for the catapult's coming, and after they were fetched and the siege of Mediaș began, the Hungarian's army that was in Mediașto support Gritti ratted him and suddenly started to fight against him. In that moment Gritti was sure that he was betrayed, so he wanted to make an agreement: he wanted to give up but under condition that Rareșlet him and his sons leaving. The ruler of Moldova agreed, but after that he broke his promises and ordered Kendi Ferenc to kill Gritti. His sons were taken to Moldova and also killed (ATomic 1961, nr 644). About the conspiracy against Gritti wrote also Ibrahim Pasha in his letter dated on 19<sup>th</sup> December 1534 (Hurmuzaki 1891, nr 62).

This discrepancy between sources makes any attempt to explain reason of Gritti's death and the role of Rareș very difficult. That is why there are different standpoints of historians. According to some of them Rareș was afraid that Gritti's goal is to assume the power in Moldova because sultan, who had already set off to Asia, want to set a new, loyal ruler of Moldova (Hurmuzaki 1893, nr. 21, 22; Kretschmayr 1896, 35)<sup>11</sup>, but according to Tahsin Gemil it is simplification. Gritti had only 200 knights and it was not sufficient to try to conquer Moldova. However, according to Gemil it is possible that Gritti's mission was to take up the power in Transylvania on behalf of Turkey. That is why Rareș made agreement with Wallachia and Ferdinand of Habsburg to strengthen anti-Turkish coalition. And the time for that was not bad, as sultan was already in Asia (Gemil 1978, 148-150). Another point of view represents Radu Constantinescu. According to him Gritti, who was one of the richest Turkish nobility from Fanar, wanted to get some lucrative office, and the best for that was the

<sup>11</sup> That was the reason for his efforts to make the peace with Poland, see: Hurmuzaki 1893, nr 24, 25, 26.



office of woiwode of Transylvania. But the problem was that the same goal had Petru Rareș, who 1529 conquered Székely Land and part of Transylvania (Constantinescu 1978, 31-33). He also taxed a lot of towns (above all Bistrita) in Transylvania that gave him a lot of money. So there became conflict of interests between him and Gritti. But – according to the historian – this action against Gritti it was a conspiracy, because there were Bathiani and Dóczy who were responsible for Czibak's death, not Gritti. This rumor, that had been spread that it was Gritti who killed Czibak, served only justifying an arresting and killing him. It was the noblemen supported Zapolya who were responsible for Czibak's death and after that Zapolya sent letter to Suleyman and try to convince him that Maylath and Dóczy – the men who were Ferdinand of Habsburg's supporter, in collaboration with Rareș were responsible for Gritti's death. He wanted to underline that that was all not his fault (Constantinescu 1978, 69-72). According to another historian Johann K. Schuller, who points to Rareș's letters, it is hard to say if Gritti indeed wanted to assume the power in Hungary or take up the office of the woiwode of Transylvania but for sure his death was not an accident but the result of Rareș's secret plan (Schuller 1859, 50-52). Iorga rejected the possibility that Gritti wanted to assume power in Hungary or in Transylvania because he had to know that in this region the noblemen won't accept "strength" person as a ruler. So, it would be very difficult for him to take the power there, even if the sultan supports him. According to Iorga Suleyman didn't want that Gritti assume power there, it was too dangerous because that would give Gritti too much power. In Iorga's opinion Gritti's task was to make peace in Transylvania, in this way that he discretely kills all Turkish opponents and make some conspiracy against Ferdinand. After defeating all Ferdinand's supporter Gritti should have also eliminated all Zapolya's supporter so Turkish enemies. The goal was to have the ruler of Transylvania completely depended from Turkey. Moldova and Wallachia should have similar position (Gemil 1978, 148; Gemil 1991, 93). I think that the Gemil's and above all Constantinescu's opinions are the most accurate. The above-mentioned sources seem to point that Gritti indeed wanted to assume the power in Transylvania or eventually give the post of woiwode to some person who was loyal for Turkey. For sure such belief was present in Mol-

dova's peoples, Wallachian and the inhabitants of Transylvania (Kretschmayr 1896, 72; ATOMIC 1952, nr 73). It is also fact that the Gritti's goal was to strengthen Turkish influence in Hungary and to weaken Zapolya's position. Rareș couldn't find it good. He wanted to solidify his political and financial influence in Transylvania. The ruler of Moldova was afraid that Gritti's next step will be to strengthen Turkish influence also in Moldova. That is why he decided to hinder him. But he didn't operate alone. For sure Zapolya, who was concerned about Gritti's mission and his support for Hieronymus Laski, wanted to weaken his position and was especially interested in making Gritti and Laski "harmless". Also the Hungarian noblemen, who hoped on becoming the lucrative offices, were involved in this conspiracy. In September Gritti and Laski were arrested under the accusation of killing Czibak, but according to sources it was noblemen connected to Zapolya and Rareș who were responsible for his death. They counted on some benefits after Gritti's death and indeed Maylath – one of the most important persons in this insurrection – after Gritti's death assume the office of the woiwode of Transylvania. It seems that the accusing Gritti of killing Czibak was only a pretext to arrest Laski and finally also Gritti. Nevertheless, if the spreading rumors about Gritti's willingness of assume the power in Transylvania Moldova and Wallachia were lies or not, for sure people believed it (Hirschberg 1888, 216, footnote nr 1) and that is why Rareș, Zapolya and Hungarian's noblemen wanted to stop Gritti. After his death Zapolya explained sultan that this accident was not his fault, it was Maylath and Kun who were responsible for it and Rareș collaborate with them. He was afraid of sultan's reaction and that is why he wanted to protect himself and made someone else responsible for this accident (Constantinescu 1978, 74). But sultan shined to know who was responsible for weaken Turkish influence in that region. That is why Rareș asked Polish envoy Lanckoroński at 29<sup>th</sup> October 1534 to renew the alliance between Poland and Moldova. He seemed to be afraid of Turkish attack at his territory (ATOMIC 1961, nr 552). That is why in January 1535 he offered Ferdinand his help in war against Turkey (ATOMIC 1966, nr 25) and at 4<sup>th</sup> April 1535 declared his loyalty towards Ferdinand (Hurmuzaki 1891, nr 66). In March 1535 Matthias Lobocki wrote that he had heard that Suleyman the Great want to send Ibrahim Pasha to punish Moldova



and Transylvania for killing Gritti (ATomic 1966, nr 158). When Suleyman in January 1536 came back from his expedition to Asia, he decided to take serious steps. At 4<sup>th</sup> April 1536 bishop Thurzo wrote to Ferdinand of Habsburg that sultan decided to avenge Gritti's death (Hurmuzaki 1891,

nr 76). Firstly, he proposed Rareș to make common expedition against Ferdinand and promised him that when he had agreed, sultan forgave him all his fault since 1534, but Rareș refused, because he counted on Habsburg's help. However, this action lead slowly to his own decline two years later.

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### **Petru Rareș și Ludovico Gritti. Unele considerații despre relațiile dificile dintre Moldova și spionii turci din Ungaria**

*Cuvinte-cheie:* Petru Rareș, Ludvik Gritti, Moldova, Ferdinand Habsburg, Ungaria.

*Rezumat:* Scopul articolului este de a prezenta relațiile controversate dintre domnul Moldovei Petru Rareș și Ludovico Gritti, care acționează la comanda turcilor din Ungaria. În 1534, Gritti a fost ucis în Mediaș, iar principalul vinovat al acestei crime era considerat Petru Rareș. Articolul încearcă să răspundă la întrebările: de ce domnul Moldovei a săvârșit un astfel de act, ce conflict de interese a avut loc între el și Gritti, care a fost scopul misiunii lui Gritti și dacă Petru Rareș a acționat singur.

### **Петру Рареш и Людвик Гритти. Некоторые соображения о сложных отношениях между Молдовой и турецкими шпионами из Венгрии**

*Ключевые слова:* Петру Рареш, Людвик Гритти, Молдова, Фердинанд Габсбург, Венгрия.

*Резюме:* Цель этой статьи – показать противоречивые отношения между молдавским господарем Петру Рарешом и Людвиком Гритти, который действовал под руководством турок из Венгрии. В 1534 году Гритти был убит в Медиаше, и главным виновником этого убийства был Петру Рареш. В статье делается попытка ответить на вопросы: почему молдавский правитель это сделал, какой конфликт интересов произошел между ним и Гритти, какова была цель миссии Гритти в Молдове и действовал ли Петру Рареш в одиночку.

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