

MICHAEL THE BRAVE AND TRANSYLVANIA. HIS MEN*

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Disparate information brought to light from time to time, call for periodical revision of the biographical data of the counselors and collaborators of Michael the Brave. Thus, gradually, it will be possible to reconstitute the human background of the Voivode's political and military approach, especially in its last stage of evolution, when Michael the Brave acceded to the thrones of all the three states lying in the Lower Danube region.

1. "*Luciano Pernika, capitaneus arcis nostrae Dewa*". In a report to Emperor Rudolph II, written in Alba Iulia on 18 November 1599, agent Paolo Giorgi was pointing out to a situation liable to raise the concern of the Imperial Court, to be also confirmed by other observers: "Voivode Michael wishes to keep Transylvania for himself." In support to his remark, Paolo Giorgi was invoking the fact that a garrison of "Vlachs" had taken up quarters in the fortress of Deva, also noting that the same thing would no doubt be seen "in other places as well, for he does not trust the Hungarians"¹. Emil Turdeanu, who addressed this issue, identified the captain of Deva fortress in the time of Michael the Brave based on an Imperial report written in Satu Mare on 9 August 1600. The source also mentions the members of the embassy Michael intended to send to Prague for ratification of his treaty with Rudolph II. In addition to Teodosie Rudeanu and Gaspar Kornis – who would indeed travel to Prague² –, the delegation was to include "...et Lucianum quendam Dalmatum, qui erat capitaneus Dewe"³.

Based on the same landmark, Turdeanu made a connection with another document of 10 September 1597, a report written from Wallachia by Erich Lasota von Steblau, the Imperial Envoy entrusted with the enrolment and payment of the contingent of mercenaries of Michael the Brave. The author mentions the Voivode's decision to send another embassy, to the Emperor and to Pope Clement VIII, within the shortest delay. However, the Voivode's intention was no longer to

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¹ The latest edition of the document: *Mihai Viteazul în conștiința europeană*, vol. V, București, 1990, no 112, pp. 195-196.

² For this embassy, see Ștefan Andreescu, *Alți soli ai lui Mihai Viteazul*, in "Revista Istorică", new series, t. III, 1992, 3-4, pp. 392-398. I should point out here that the document of 14 September 1600, which I considered to have been first edited by Radu Constantinescu, was in fact discovered and published by C. Giurescu, *Documente răzlețe din Arhivele Vienei (1535-1720)*, in "Buletinul Comisiei Istorice a României", I, București, 1915, no XI, pp. 295-296.

³ Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, vol. XII, București, 1903, no MCCCCVIII, pp. 994; E. Turdeanu, *Quelques Ragusains auprès de Michel le Brave*, in the collection of studies: *Trois mémoires sur Michel le Brave*, Bucarest, 1938, p. 61.

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employ the “old Ban Mihalcea” for the mission, “but some other person, a Ragusan, a faithful servant of his called Luciano Pernice”⁴. Here is the identification needed!

Another document, which Turdeanu did not employ but which is mentioning the Captain of Deva, is an order issued by Michael the Brave in Alba Iulia on 18 April 1600. Its recipients also included “...Luciano Pernica, capitaneo arcis nostrae Dewa”⁵. Therefore, the character in question must have held this function in April-August 1600. Moreover, he must have served the Voivode faithfully, till the end, seeing that in an order issued on 30 October 1601 to the Chamber of Silesia, Emperor Rudolph II was requesting that 1,322 thalers and 56 pence from the revenue of the Königsberg estate should be paid to Luciano Pernica, the amount having been lent by Pernica to Michael the Brave, to cover the Voivode’s expenses⁶. One may assume that this money was lent to the Voivode either in the autumn of 1600, during the withdrawal to Wallachia – when the Voivode was in great need of liquidities for payment of wages to his mercenaries, or during the months of exile to Vienna and Prague.

As to Luciano Pernica, a set of documents from the archives of Ragusa, recently edited, indicate that he had been residing in Wallachia at least since 1594, namely since the beginning of Michael the Brave’s reign. Indeed, one of these documents, an inventory of the assets of “messer Giulio Salvaresso”, was drawn up in Bucharest on 14 March 1594 by “ser Luciano di Biaggio” and Girolamo Tomasi. The name of Luciano di Biaggio, as executor of the will of the same Giulio Salvaresso, also occurs in the will proper, drawn up on the same day. And a declaration made by “Luciano di Biaggio Pernica” in Târgoviște on 20 July 1597 in relation to the same will, gives the full name of the person in question⁷. The editor of the aforementioned documents makes the identification of Luciano di Biaggio in a note, quoting a document included in volume IV of the Veress collection. The document includes the instructions given on 14 December 1595 by Edward Barton, the English ambassador to the Porte, to an emissary he was sending to Transylvania, to the Court of Sigismund Báthory. Towards the end of the document, Barton was informing his emissary that a Sebastiano, who had traveled from Moldavia to Wallachia, had placed in the hands of “Luciano di Biaggio” certain assets - “alcune fodere et vesti”-, amounting to twenty thousand aspres. If

⁴ See *Călători străini despre țările române*, vol. IV, București, 1972, p. 67; E. Turdeanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57; see also N. Iorga, *Istoria lui Mihai Viteazul*, ed. N. Gheran and V. Iova, București, 1968, p. 226 (Iorga believed that Luciano actually undertook this mission). For the German original, see Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, XII, no CCCCLXXVI, p. 317.

⁵ A. Veress, *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești*, vol. VI, București, 1933, no 81, pp. 85-86.

⁶ *Ibidem*, no 443, p. 469; see also no 446, p. 472. In September 1602, Luciano Pernica, together with Aloisio Radibrat, lived at the Court in Prague (Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, XII, no MDCCCXXXVI, pp. 1245-1246). See also E. Turdeanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 68 and 70, n. 2.

⁷ Andrei Pippidi, *Hommes et idées du Sud-Est européen à l’aube de l’âge moderne*, București-Paris, 1980, no XII, pp. 105, 107 and 108; no XIII, p. 110.

need be, since Luciano was now in Transylvania, the emissary could always ask him for money, such as notified by Barton to Luciano under separate cover⁸. The aforementioned instructions can be related to another document making further references to Luciano. More exactly the letter sent by Edward Barton to Michael the Brave from Constantinople on 5/15 June 1597. Barton ends his letter as follows: “Thank you for the kindness shown to my old servants Luciano and Michele <*Luciano et Michel*>, for my sake, and I beg you to protect them with your well-known benevolence”⁹... Thus, one may conclude that Luciano di Biaggio Pernica had business relations with Edward Barton, and that the latter knew that Pernica had permanent residence in Wallachia.

Last but not least, the earliest piece of information pertaining to the issue under consideration can be found in the Romanian documents of the lawsuit between Giovanni de`Marini Poli and the former Voivode of Moldavia Petru Șchiopul. According to this document drawn up in 1593, immediately after 15 August 1591, one of the three persons who controlled the customs of Moldavia was: “Luțian de Raguza” (instead of Marini Poli)¹⁰. This may be one and same person, who subsequently relocated to Wallachia¹¹.

If Michael appointed aga Farcaș of Brabova captain of Făgăraș fortress and entrusted the command of the fortresses of Chioar and Gherla to aga Leca, the Dalmatian Luciano di Biaggio Pernica seems to have enjoyed similar trust on the part of the Voivode, since in 1599-1600, he was appointed Captain of the fortress of Deva. According to the information mentioned above, one may assume that Pernica had earned the Voivode’s trust through services and, very likely, deeds of bravery preceding the accession of Michael to the throne of Transylvania¹².

2. “*Georgius Pithar, provisor Albensis*”. In his well known selection of documents published under the title of *Scrisori de boieri – Scrisori de Domni*, Nicolae Iorga included the text of a short letter, translated from Hungarian into Romanian, dated 11 May 1600 in Alba Iulia. Iorga interpreted the signature of the letter as follows: “Gheorghe Pitar, *pârcălab* of Belgrade”¹³. The signature of the original letter was in Latin: “Georgius Pithar, provisor Albensis”¹⁴. Who was this “*pârcălab*” of Alba Iulia, in the service of Michael the Brave?

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 109; A. Veress, *op. cit.*, IV, București, 1932, no 175, p. 320.

⁹ The latest edition: *MVCE*, V, no 65, pp. 140-141.

¹⁰ The latest edition: *Documente și însemnări românești din secolul al XVI-lea*, with a foreword by Alexandru Mareș, București, 1979, no LXXXVIII, p. 179.

¹¹ Noted by N. Iorga, when editing Erich Lasota’s report of September 1597 (Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, XII, p. 317, n. 1).

¹² Another “Captain” appointed by Michael, to our knowledge, was a *Constantin Ztolnik*, who on 19 July 1600 is reported to having taken up quarters in Gurghiu (A. Veress, *op. cit.*, VI, no 139, p. 147).

¹³ N. Iorga, *Scrisori de boieri – Scrisori de Domni*, ed. a III-a, Vălenii de Munte, 1932, no XXXII, p. 47. The letter, written to the mayor of Bistrița, was about the delay in the delivery of a certain amount of wood.

¹⁴ Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, XII, no MCCLV, p. 900.

He is mentioned in no less than three diplomas issued by Michael the Brave on 1 and 29 January, and on 11 August 1600. The three documents indicate him as being a “provisor Albensis”, which could mean that he held the office in question in the residential fortress of the Voivode during Michael the Brave’s reign in Transylvania. In the first diploma dated 1 January 1600, his name appears as: “Georgius Borczun alias Pithar of Caransebes”, which may indicate that he was an aristocrat of Banatian origin. Michael the Brave endows him the village of Sărăzani (*Sarazani*), in Bujor County (*in pertinentiis oppidi Busor*), which until then had belonged to the fortress of Jdioara. Quite interesting is the motivation of the reward – the official in question had served Michael in an exemplary way, on various occasions, and for many years (*a compluribus iam annis*)¹⁵. Therefore, he had already been in the service of the prince previously, in Wallachia. It is natural that one should try to identify him in the sources dating to that time. But before doing so, it may be interesting to note that in the third diploma of 11 August 1600, by which the Voivode was giving him a house near the market place of Caransebeș, his name appears as: “Georgius Pittar alias Borczun”¹⁶.

The Wallachian internal documents of 1593-1599 do not mention a “*Gheorghe pitarul*”. On the other hand, in a later document, a charter of 21 April 1664, a “*Giurgiul pitarul*” is mentioned in the time of Michael the Brave. The former was rewarded by Voivode Michael with the village of Somorul, Mehedinți District, a village purchased by the prince. Subsequently, the prince would take the gift back, for “having commissioned him with a task, he betrayed him”. The village of Somorul would once again be given away, this time to *aga* Farcaș of Brabova, and would eventually become the property of Ciutura Monastery¹⁷.

Another charter of Matei Basarab of 30 November 1645, which does not mention “*Giurgiul pitarul*”, is nonetheless extremely interesting, as it describes the circumstances in which Michael decided to reward *aga* Farcaș by giving him the village of Somorul, which he had owned “since he was a boyar”: “Thus, when Voivode Michael was forced to go on exile, he gave this village to the *aga*, to Farcaș, for faithful service”¹⁸. In other words, *aga* Farcaș of Brabova, alongside

¹⁵ I. Lupaș, *Documente istorice transilvane*, vol. I (1599-1699), Cluj, 1940, no 9, p. 22.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, no 27, pp. 64-65; on 29 January 1600, Michael the Brave confirmed the exchange occurred on 10 January between “Georgius Borczun of Caransebes”, on the one hand, and brothers Sigismund and Stephen Kovacsoczy, on the other hand, concerning a house in Alba Iulia and the estate of Meșcreac (Megyerék) (*Ibidem*, no 11, pp. 25-28). For a previous commentary on this set of documents, see: Ilie Minea, *Despre Ardealul lui Mihai Vodă Viteazul (Câteva documente date pentru moșii ardelențești)*, in “Cercetări Istorice”, an. X-XII (1934-1936), 1, Iași, 1936, p. 185; Ion I. Nistor, *Domnia lui Mihai Viteazul în Transilvania (1 noemvrie 1599 – 19 august 1601)*, București, 1946, p. 53 (excerpt from “Analele Academiei Române”, *Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, Seria III, t. XXVIII).

¹⁷ Abstract to Ștefan D. Grecianu, *Genealogiile documentate ale familiilor boierești*, vol. II, București, 1916, p. 397; see also Ion Donat, *Satele lui Mihai Viteazul*, in “Studii și materiale de istorie medie”, IV, 1960, p. 500. For a commentary on the document of 1664, see also Ioana Cristache-Panait, *Contribuții la istoricul mănăstirii Ciutura*, in “Mitropolia Olteniei”, an. XXIII, 1971, 3-4, p. 207.

¹⁸ Document included in Volume XXX of the collection *Documenta Romaniae Historica* edited by Violeta Barbu, Marieta Chiper and Gheorghe Lazăr, București, 1998, no 343, p. 372. The original, in Romanian, is kept at the Museum of History and Art of Bucharest, no 13977.

ban Mihalcea of Cocorăști or *comis* Leca, was among the few who accompanied the Voivode to Vienna and Prague in the winter of 1600-1601, a fact unknown until now¹⁹.

There is no doubt that Giurgiul *pitarul*, mentioned above in connection with the village of Somorul and the office bearer of Alba Iulia in the service of Michael the Brave are one and the same. This form of the Christian name in question was used in Wallachia to designate several other attendants of Michael. For instance, one of them is often referred to by historians as *Gheorghe Raț* (=the Serbian). A document of 1 February <1611>, issued at a time when the latter, after the invasion of Wallachia by the troops of Prince Gabriel Báthory, was appointed grand *ban* of Craiova, is a chart in which he appears as “*Jupan Rați Giurgi...*”²⁰.

The charter of 1664 confirms the fact that this boyar had indeed been in the service of Michael the Brave before the expedition into Transylvania and, more importantly, by corroboration with the document of 1645, throws a light into the evolution of his relations with the Voivode. It is very plausible that under the dramatic circumstances of September 1600 which accompanied the fateful battle of Mirăslău Giurgiu *pitar* might have deserted the prince and joined the enemy camp. Quite significant in this respect is the fact that the internal documents of Wallachia of the first two decades after the death of Michael do not mention him anymore. He would never return in the region to the south of the Carpathians, where he seems to have had only an estate, the village of Somorul, confiscated by the prince around October-November 1600. The financial records of Cluj mention on 26 August 1600 “*pitar* Gheorghe’s son”, no doubt the son of the same Giurgiu of Alba Iulia²¹.

Pavel Binder is one of the historians who recently addressed the issue of the character in question. He believes that the position held by him in Alba Iulia “was equivalent to that of *pitar* in Wallachia”. Moreover, he believes that “*Pitar*” became a cognomen which eventually replaced the family name of Borțun! The hypothesis of Binder is based on another document dating to Michael the Brave, an order issued on 18 April 1600 in Alba Iulia, on the eve of the campaign into Moldavia. The order, issued to Captain General Moise Székely and written in Hungarian, gave exemption from military service to eight men who had been chosen “to serve at our court here in Belgrade”, together with Giurgiu *Pitar* (Pithár

¹⁹ Cf. N. Stoicescu, *Dicționar al marilor dregători din Țara Românească și Moldova (sec. XIV-XVII)*, București, 1971, p. 58.

²⁰ *Documente privind istoria României*, B, veac. XVII-2, no 2, p. 1; in points of toponymy, the most eloquent example is that of the town and fortress of *Giurgiu*, a name indicated in 1645 by Udriște Năsturel as coming from “Gheorghe” (Ștefan Andreescu, *Une fondation de Matei Basarab à Giurgiu*, in “Revue Roumanie d’Histoire”, t. XXV, 1986, 4, p. 345).

²¹ Ștefan Meteș, *Domni și boieri din țările române în orașul Cluj*. Cluj, 1935, p. 19. He seems to have borne the title of treasurer, since on 28 August this boyar was in Satu Mare, sent out by the Voivode on an embassy to George Basta, together with the Transylvanian aristocrat Melchior Bogáthy (Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, XII, no MCCCCLVIII, p. 1015; see also N. Iorga, *Istoria lui Mihai Viteazul*, ed. cit., p. 360).

György)²². Hence, the conclusion that “the Romanian boyar changed his family name, preserving only the ‘Muntenian’ one”. Further on, by extrapolation, the same author concludes that “it is further evidence of the unity of the Romanians, more exactly of a tendency for unification of the administration and nomenclature of the boyars.”²³

As already seen, it is almost certain that Giurgiu came from Wallachia with the title of “*pitar*”. Let us examine more closely the meaning of the Latin term “provisor” which accompanies his name in the diplomas issued by Michael the Brave, and in the signature of the letter of 11 May 1600. The document upon which Pavel Binder based his theory is quite helpful in this respect, since “Pithár György” is preceded here by the Hungarian equivalent for “provisor” - *udvarbiránk*. This term was translated by Andrei Veress as “*vornic*”. And I believe that the translation provided by the editor of the document in question is quite correct. Therefore, in the Latin medieval glossary of the Hungarian Kingdom by A. Bartal, only one among the meanings of the word “provisor” is equivalent to the Hungarian word *udvarbiró*, namely that of “*iudex aulicus*”²⁴. On the other hand, in the Latin medieval documents concerning Wallachia or Moldavia, a *vornic* is occasionally designated by word combinations such as “provisor curiae” or “*iudex curiae*”²⁵. Therefore, there is no equivalence between the title of “*pitar*” borne by Giurgiu and the office he held in Alba Iulia. He was there “*vornic* of the Court”, with the task of managing it and overseeing its supplying.

The terminological discussion above is far from superfluous. Its result can provide further information on the antecedents of Giurgiu *pitarul*. The question arises whether the appointment of Giurgiu Borșun to this office was made owing to

²² A. Veress, *op. cit.*, VI, no 80, pp. 84-85. Three of the eight men exempted from military service were clerks who were to be employed in the chancellery of Alba Iulia.

²³ Pavel Binder, *Contribuții privind domnia lui Mihai Viteazul în Transilvania*, in "Revista de Istorie", t. 28, 1975, 4, pp. 597-598. The "family name" of "Borczun" seems to be more likely a surname. People wearing the name of *Borșun* are attested in Wallachia in the sixteenth century or the beginning of the seventeenth century. A charter issued in the time of Michael the Brave, on 4 August 1599, mentions a certain Borșun of Spăteni (*DRH*, B, XI, no 337, p. 469). The name in question comes from the noun "borș", which also produced the word "borșos", still in use (N. A. Constantinescu, *Dicționar onomastic românesc*, București, 1963, p. 211 and 224, which quotes the form *Burșan*, derived from the plural "Burși"). An anonymous letter of 24 August-3 September 1596 informed Michael the Brave that the Tatars were advancing, and that the boyars Dumitru *logofătul*, Mitrea *vornicul*, "*Borzan*" (underlined by Șt. A.), "Moldaj" and "Balaban" had been already advised to look after themselves and after the whole country (Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, III-1, București, 1880, no CCVII, p. 275; for the exegesis of the document, see I. Sârbu, *Istoria lui Mihai Vodă Viteazul domnul Țării Românești*, edited by Damaschin Mioc, Timișoara, 1976, p. 234; N. Iorga, *Istoria lui Mihai Viteazul*, ed. cit., p. 210). The name "Borzan" may actually be a distorted form of the cognomen *Borșun*.

²⁴ *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis Regni Hungariae*, Lipsiae, 1901, s. v. Colleague Sergiu Iosipescu believes that the word "provisor" from an inscription of 1616 found at Vinț Castle is the equivalent of "*ispravnic*" ("Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie A. D. Xenopol", t. XIX, Iași, 1982, p. 674).

²⁵ See Nicolae Stoicescu, *Sfatul domnesc și marii dregători din Țara Românească și Moldova (sec. XIV-XVII)*, București, 1968, pp. 186 and 193.

his having previously held the same office at the Wallachian Court. One should now look at another document, the report of 27 July 1595 by the Polish messenger Liubienecki on his meetings with Michael the Brave. In the Polish version of the document, the author describes his arrival in Bucharest, and notes at a certain point that, "The boyars accompanied me to the host, whose house was near the Princely court, and then left. After which, he sent Gheorghe, his marshal, his most faithful servant" who asked the messenger if he had any secret information to convey. In the Polish version, the name appears as ...*Giorgiego, marsalka swego*. The same proper name reoccurs in the text, without the office being mentioned though: "In the evening, he sent Deli Gheorghe, his favorite, to fetch me, and I immediately went to see him" (Michael the Brave). In the original, he appears as *Deli Giorgie*²⁶. The Latin version of the report, more synthetic, omits the proper name of the character in question. As a matter of fact, only the first mention is kept, that of "alius eius Mareschalcus". Aurel Decei, who provided a translation of the Latin version into Romanian, noted with good reason that reference was being made to a *vornic*, but believed that the person in question was a higher boyar, namely Chisar of Leotești²⁷. As for myself, given all the above, I believe that he should be identified as Giurgiu Borțun, this also being his earliest record as a *vornic* at the Court of Bucharest in the summer of 1595.

The biography of Giurgiu *pitar* of Caransebeș – such as known at present – can throw a light into a less known aspect of Michael the Brave's rule in Transylvania. His case, set against other cases, shows that the Romanian Voivode sought to employ men in his retinue he considered reliable, of Transylvanian or Banatian extraction, and, as far as possible, having spent some time in Transylvania. Indeed, such men could help him make better contact with the political and mental milieu.

I have recently examined the similar case of Grigore Balogh – known in Wallachia as Gligorie *postelnic* of Boldești -, who during the first months of Michael's rule in Transylvania was considered by the Imperial circles as a *factotum* of the Prince's. Grigore Balogh was Transylvanian by his father, and, by his mother, the descendant of a Wallachian higher boyar of the first decades of the sixteenth century. In May 1585, aged 28, he was still living in Alba Iulia. After which he crossed over into Wallachia and married Maria of Boldești, a boyar's daughter. Moreover, he is known as one of those who strongly advised Michael the Brave not to give Transylvania over to the Imperials²⁸.

²⁶ See *Mihai Viteazul în conștiința europeană*, I, București, 1982, no 16, pp. 101 and 102 (transl. pp. 105 and 106).

²⁷ See the anthology *Literatura română veche (1402-1647)*, vol. II, București, 1969, p. 27, as well as n. 4 on pp. 33-34. Indeed, in the list of autochthonous higher boyars of Wallachia and Moldavia, drawn up in 1595 by Giovanni de' Marini Poli, the name of Danciul (of Brâncoveni) bears the following note: "...hora Duornik, Marescial" (Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, III-1, no CLXXXIX, pp. 196-197). It is by no means a singular example.

²⁸ Ștefan Andreescu, *Doi soli ai lui Mihai Viteazul*, in "Revista Istorică", new series, t. I, 1990, 5, pp. 471-474. I should add here that during the exchange of embassies which preceded the battle of Șelimbăr, Gligorie *postelnic* was sent as a hostage to the camp of Cardinal Báthory, together with Preda (Buzescu), at a time when Moise Székely and Melchior Bogáthy were arriving at Michael's court for negotiations (Matthias Miles, *Siebenbürgischer Würg-Engel*, Sibiu, 1670, p. 241). Therefore, it is certain that he subsequently fought in the battle.

Better known in this respect is the case of the Transylvanian aristocrat Ioan Keserü of Gibarth, whom Michael the Brave appointed collector of his Transylvanian taxes and comes of Alba²⁹. The favor he enjoyed from Michael is also seen in the fact that on 25 July 1600, by a document issued in Alba Iulia, the Voivode granted him exemption from tax for the estates he had at Vingard and in other 12 villages³⁰. As already noted on before, he came himself from a mixed marriage, more exactly the marriage of princess Zamfira, the daughter of Voivode Moise of Wallachia (1529-1530), to a Transylvanian aristocrat, Ștefan Keserü³¹. There is also evidence that as early as 1597, when he was claiming ownership of an estate inherited in Wallachia, Ioan Keserü de Gibarth was in contact with the Princely Court of Târgoviște³².

3. *The French Physician of Michael the Brave.* In a letter by General Basta to the nuntio in Prague, Filippo Spinelli, written in Cașovia (Kaschau, Košice) and dated 4 June 1600, one may read: "... a French physician, who attended the Vlach <= Michael the Brave> for many years (*un medico Francese, ch`ha servito il Valacco molti anni*), has just arrived, and he delivered the letter of 12 of the previous month, written by the Imperial commissaries, confirming that Ieremia has fled and Moldavia has been taken over by the Vlach." Further on, Basta was noting that the two commissaries, namely David Ungnad and Michael Székely, "are under close surveillance in Cluj, but no one knows to what purpose."³³ Therefore, the physician had come to Cașovia from Cluj.

Before any further considerations, the holding into custody of the commissaries at Cluj calls for revision of the date of Basta's letter. Other sources indicate that the two arrived in Cluj only of the evening of 16 May 1600³⁴. Therefore, they could not have sent from there a letter in 12 May, such as it would result from the text quoted above. As a consequence, the correct date of the letter in question should be *4 July 1600*.

On the other hand, it is perfectly true that in June the Imperial commissaries who were at Cluj received fresh information from Moldavia, which

²⁹ The most recently discovered document, in which he appears as holding these offices, is dated 4 August 1600 (Ion Ranca, *Patru documente sighișorene emise de Mihai Viteazul*, in "Revista Arhivelor", an. XLVIII, vol. XXXIII, 1, p. 106. At the beginning of Michael's reign, more exactly on 26 November 1599, Benedict Mindzenthius was collector of the taxes in Transylvania (P. Abrudan and D. Avriceanu, *Două documente inedite de la cancelaria din Alba Iulia a lui Mihai Viteazul*, in "Revista de Istorie", t. 28 1975, 4, p. 607).

³⁰ A. Veress, *op. cit.*, VI, no 142, pp. 149-150.

³¹ See more recently, Andrei Kovács, *Date privind viața Zamfirei, fiica lui Moise-Vodă*, in "Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca", t. XXVII, Cluj, 1985-1986, pp. 349-350 and 355-356.

³² A. Veress, *op. cit.*, vol. V, no 47-49, pp. 72-75; see also A. Rusu, *Mănăstirea Cerna*, in AIIAC, t. cit., p. 342.

³³ The latest edition: *MVCE*, V, no 192, p. 282.

³⁴ Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, XII, no MCCLXVI, pp. 910-911.

they immediately passed on. For a "servant of sire Székely" – identified as Ioan Darahi³⁵ - came to them and wrote a detailed report about what he had seen and heard until 4 June, the date of his departure from Iași. Among other things, he related that on 31 May he had had a conversation with "*Doctore Josepho*, and he is sending his answer to the commissaries through me: They should know this for certain: if they approach the Prince in the proper way, they will be able to obtain whatever they wish, *mos illi est gerendus*"³⁶. The fact that this "Doctor Joseph" was the "French physician" mentioned by Basta is confirmed in a report written in Alba Iulia on 22 December 1599 by the Imperial agent Giovanni de`Marini Poli.

In an account of his discussion with Dionysius Rally, the Metropolitan of Trnovo, who at the time was residing at the Court of the Voivode, Marini Poli claimed to have discovered a plot against the interests of the House of Austria. Dionysius Rally had allegedly attended the meeting between Michael and "doctor Iosep, a French" (*dotor Isepo francese*), who seems to have handed the Prince a letter by the King of France, offering protection on condition that he should desert the House of Austria and make peace with the Turks. A letter with a similar offer had been delivered by the same person to Sigismund Báthory, "al suo ritorno", that is in the autumn of 1598³⁷. These are undoubtedly rumors put about at the Court of Alba Iulia. To our present knowledge, King Henry IV kept himself abreast of political and military developments at the Lower Danube in an indirect way, through his ambassador to Constantinople³⁸. One may admit however that Doctor Joseph was in contact with the ambassador to the Porte and informed him, as far as possible, about the local situation.

The writers of the history of Romanian medicine have been aware of the elements presented above. They have the merit to have established the place and date of death of Doctor Joseph. Therefore, "Josephus medicus Coronensis Gallus natus", a Catholic, died on 12 November 1602, and was buried at Biserica Neagră in Brașov. In the last years of his life he was therefore the physician of the town of Brașov³⁹.

On the other hand, the same historians have assumed that the character in question must have been Doctor *Josephus Longinus* of Paris, who in 1598 was "Physikus" (= official physician) in Sibiu⁴⁰. Then how could one explain Basta's remark of the summer of 1600, according to which this physician had served Michael "for very many years"? The documents in the Ragusan archives can once again throw a light into the issue, as for the biography of Luciano di Biaggio Pernica.

³⁵ See *Călători străini despre țările române*, IV, pp. 138-139, no 2.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 140; see also MVCE, IV, București, 1986, no 211, pp. 279-282.

³⁷ Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, III-1, no CCCXIX, pp. 394-395.

³⁸ See Georges Boissard, *Témoignages français sur Michel le Brave (dans la correspondance diplomatique d'Henri IV)*, in "Revue Roumaine d'Histoire", t. XXIV, 1985, 1-2, pp. 137-146.

³⁹ Georg Valentin Huttmann, Arnold Huttmann, *Medicii lui Mihai Viteazul*, in the collection *Momente din trecutul medicinei*, edited by Dr. G. Brătescu, București, 1983, p. 136.

⁴⁰ G.V. Huttmann, *Die Beziehungen des Fürsten Michael des Tapferen zu den Ärzten seiner Zeit*, in "Korrespondenzblatt des Arbeitskreises für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde", III. Folge, 4. Jahrgang, 1974, p. 54.

The will of Giulio Salvaressi, drawn up in Bucharest on 14 March 1594, mentions a "spada alla turchesca", which Salvaressi promised and bequeathed "al dottor Joseppo", together with the sum of five thalers. And on 30 May 1594, also in Bucharest, "Io Ioseppo Longi, medico francese" was writing a receipt to the two trustees of the deceased, attesting to the fact that the testamentary clause in question had been carried through⁴¹. This is clear evidence that shortly before the reign of Michael, this French physician, whose name must have been Joseph le Long, was indeed a member of the colony of westerners living in Bucharest, where the Prince held Court at that time. His presence at the Court of Alba Iulia in 1590-1600, and the fact that he accompanied the Prince in his expedition into Moldavia can no longer be regarded as coincidental.

4. *Armașul Hrizan*. On 18 December 1599, in Alba Iulia, Michael the Brave was issuing a detailed passport to all the military and civilian authorities in Transylvania. The prince was notifying them that: "I have sent out to you, and to various places, my servant and highly respected man, Hrizan *Armaș* <*Herizan Armast*>, to whom I gave instructions in relation to some very important issues, which he will explain to you in detail. Therefore I require you, whatever he may say or do in my name, to trust his words and obey him. And wherever he may go, to give him horse, and food, and drink; and to help him in any other way."⁴²

It is certain that the aforementioned boyar set out very shortly. For on 3 January 1600 his name appears in the financial records of the town of Bistrița. There, by the order of *armaș* Hrizan <*Armas Herizan*> the gallows were put up in the market place. And two runaways were hanged there, at different times⁴³. In other words, the boyar in question had in Transylvania the same attributions he had had as an *armaș* in Wallachia, namely those of enforcing the law. In fact, he was in charge of all the jails, and had the executioners under his subordination⁴⁴. Hrizan left the city of Bistrița shortly after 10 January 1600, not without being presented with a gift by the town council⁴⁵.

It is the only piece of information attesting to the presence of this Wallachian boyar in Transylvania in the time of Michael the Brave's rule. His name seems to derive from *Hrisant* or *Hrisostom* (in Greek: "Golden Flower" or "Golden Mouth"), such as the name of his brother Nan – to whom I shall refer in what follows – is derived from *Anania*⁴⁶.

⁴¹ See A. Pippidi, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 and 110. The author noted that it was "the first French physician reported in the Romanian Principalities", and related this piece of information to the document of 1599 by Marini Poli (*Ibidem*, p. 111).

⁴² Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, XII, no DCCCLXXVII, p. 546.

⁴³ N. Iorga, *Studii și documente*, I-II, București, 1901, p. 21.

⁴⁴ See Nicolae Stoicescu, *Sfatul domnesc și marii dregători din Țara Românească și Moldova (sec. XIV-XVII)*, pp. 227-229. Hrizan seems to have only been "second *armaș*", for in Transylvania there was also Sava *armaș*, who in Wallachia had been in the Prince's Council and was therefore "grand *armaș*" (see N. Stoicescu, *Dicționar al marilor dregători din Țara Românească și Moldova (sec. XIV-XVII)*, București, 1971, pp. 86-87).

⁴⁵ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

⁴⁶ See N. A. Constantinescu, *Dicționar onomastic românesc*, p. 75 (s.v. Hriza) and 9 (s.v. Anania).

One may subsequently find the two brothers, to begin with 1602, in Moldavia, among the boyars who had fled there and were giving support Simion Movilă. Thus, on 9 April 1604, these boyars were writing from Iași to the Polish Chancellor Jan Zamoyski asking him to obtain from the King a final answer to their request for the comeback of Voivode Simion to the throne of Wallachia. They were threatening otherwise to reach their goal by approaching the Turks⁴⁷. On the other hand, the same boyars, among whom again Hrizan *armaș* and Nan *postelnic*, were trying to win the good graces of Emperor Rudolf II, by addressing almost concomitantly a petition to the Habsburg authorities in Transylvania. They were requesting that “those evil people who devastated that country”, especially the Buzescu brothers and the prince of their choice Voivode Radu Șerban, should be banished from Wallachia. And that the Emperor “should allow us to have the Prince we used to have before, Voivode Simeon, for we trust that there would be thus peace on all parts.” Further on, they were declaring themselves wholeheartedly in favor of Christendom, also alluding to the treaty with Emperor Rudolf II of the time of Michael the Brave: “... for we are bound to the Christians and this from the very beginning, and have never had anything to do with the pagans”. The Turks had invited them to the Porte on several occasions “to give us prince there”, but they had always refused categorically⁴⁸. No doubt, this appeal to the Habsburgs was a measure of last resort, at a time when the group of Wallachian boyars had come to the conclusion that they were waiting in vain for the Poles to renew their support.

I shall examine now the Wallachian internal documents in relation to the two brothers. One should first note that they were the cousins of *Doamna Stanca*, the spouse of Michael the Brave⁴⁹, which may explain the Voivode confidence in Hrizan. On the other hand, such as attested by an order of Voivode Radu Mihnea of 7 March 1613, “Herezan *postelnic*” was married to *jupâneasa* Maria, the daughter of *jupan* Dan, former grand *vornic*⁵⁰. In other words, he was the son-in-law of the greatest enemy of Michael the Brave since the first years of the Voivode’s reign⁵¹. This explains why brothers Nan and Hrizan would rally at a certain point to the group of boyars who had fled into Moldavia, headed by Teodosie Rudeanu and

⁴⁷ Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, Supl. II-2, București, 1895, no CLXVI, pp. 333-335. Initially, in October 1602, one may only find “Nanul *postelnic*” among the Wallachian boyars who had fled to Moldavia (Ilie Corfus, *Documente polone privitoare la domnia lui Simion Movilă în Țara Românească*, Cernăuți, 1939, no 10, p. 212).

⁴⁸ Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, IV-1, București, 1882, no CCCXLVIII, p. 406.

⁴⁹ Charter of 10 February 1646, în *DRH*, B, XXXI, no 28, p. 42.

⁵⁰ *DIR*, B, *Țara Românească*, XVII-2, no 155, p. 159; see the family tree published by Ioan C. Filitti, *Schitul Aninoasa-Cislău (Buzău) și neamul Doamnei Neaga*, in “Revista Arhivelor”, an. I, 1925, 2, p. 221.

⁵¹ For a short biography, see N. Stoicescu, *Dicționar*, pp. 47-48.

Dan⁵². One should also note that the two were related, also by marriage, to the family of the boyars Rudeanu, since according to a charter of 28 September 1650, Nan *postelnic* “of Bărbătești” was married to *jupanița* Samfira, the daughter of Tudor Rudeanul of Curtișoara⁵³.

By examination, the documents concerning Hrizan *armaș* reveal the existence of a third brother, actually the first born, called Drăghici. Therefore, a charter of 20 July <1614> shows that Cernica, former grand *vornic*, bought half of the village of Floreștii de la Colentina from “Drăghici *spatarul* and his brothers, Nan and Hrizan *postelnic*”. It is previously mentioned that they were the “sons of Oprișor *logofăt*”⁵⁴. This Drăghici *spatar* was no longer alive on 15 June 1621, when Voivode Radu Mihnea was ordering that his widow, “*jupanița* Mihna of Drăghici *spăt<ar>* of Mănești”, should be exempted from a debt contracted in the time of Michael the Brave, the payment of which was claimed by her “brothers-in-law”, Nan *postelnic* and Hrizan *postelnic*⁵⁵. However, he was alive on 28 April 1618, when together with Mihna and their son Pătrașco, and with his brothers Nan and Hrizan, the three of them “sons of Oprișor *logofăt* of Mănești”, was selling an estate in the village of Ciurnic⁵⁶. What can be added in relation to Drăghici *spatar* of Mănești – a village formerly belonging to Dâmbovița District, and nowadays to Prahova District– is that he held this title during the reign of Michael the Brave when, on 30 July 1597, he was involved in a lawsuit concerning an estate in the village of Grădiștea de Jos, near the town of Câmpulung⁵⁷.

The earliest record of Hrizan until now dates to 6 February 1580. He is mentioned there as “Hirizan of Mănești”, selling together with “Oprea, the son of Anca”, the fourth of half the village of Curești⁵⁸. He is often quoted in documents, if taking into account the fact that on 15 April 1624, brothers Nan and Hrizan, now appearing as “the nephews of Dragul *portarul*”, were giving a receipt to the grand equerry Gligorie attesting to the sale of their estate of “Muscelul Sărăcii” (Sărății), inherited from their uncle “Dragul Robul *portarul*”⁵⁹.

The information concerning Dragul *portarul* Robul is liable to throw a light on the entire family. One should first note a document of 6 April 1636, according to which “Dragul *portarul* din Mănești” had the following estates: a fourth of Mănești and another fourth of Bârsești (Ialomița District), of Muscel (Săcuieni District, nowadays Buzău), as well as an estate in Poiana (Dâmbovița District). This particular estate was sold by Velica, the daughter of Dragul *portar*,

⁵² For the initial nucleus of the opposition against Michael the Brave, see Ștefan Andreescu, *Restitutio Daciae*, III, *Studii cu privire la Mihai Viteazul*, București, 1997, pp. 396-397 and 405-409. For the political orientation of Teodosie Rudeanu and its significance, *Ibidem*, p. 364.

⁵³ DRH, B, *Țara Românească*, XXXV, no 293, p. 312.

⁵⁴ DIR, B, XVII-2, no 272, p. 308.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, XVII-4, no 47, p. 44.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, XVII-3, no 194, p. 220.

⁵⁷ DRH, B, XI, no 253, p. 333.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, VIII, no 282, p. 462.

⁵⁹ DIR, B, XVII-4, no 410, p. 398.

upon the death of the latter, “for the burial”. The other estates were sold after a trial held in the time of Voivode Radu Șerban, for restitution of the dowry of *jupănița* Erina (Irina), the widow of Dragul *portar*⁶⁰.

As indicated by another document that can be dated to 1607⁶¹, Velica, the daughter of Dragul *portar* and of Irina, died without children. Therefore, the two brothers Nan and Hrizan descended from Dragul *portarul* Robul, through his sister Stanca⁶². As to the cognomen of Dragul and his ascendance, information is provided in a charter of 20 November 1569. Dragul, the son of Stan of Mănești and of Stana “fled in the days of the late Voivode Mircea from Wallachia into Moldavia. And he spent there quite a long time, until the Tatars took him into slavery. After which a Turk of Belgrade bought him over from the Tatars...” In the time of Voivode Petru cel Tânăr, this Hasan came to Wallachia and claimed the price of the ransom, so that he may free the boyar “from chains, and from jail”. Stana, the mother of Dragul, was thus forced to sell Dragul’s part of estate in the village of Bârsești⁶³. One can understand that Dragul *portar* counted among the enemies of Voivode Mircea Ciobanul, and chose to live away from the country for many years, either in Transylvania or in Moldavia⁶⁴.

I shall now examine the last charter relating to the family of the boyars of Mănești-Bărbătești, which clearly points out to its illustrious origin. It is a charter issued by Voivode Alexandru Iliăș on 5 June 1629, confirming the ownership of Argeș Monastery over the village of Grecii of Romanați District. One may learn that this village initially belonged to the boyar Neagoe Tunsul, who gave it to Voivode Neagoe Basarab in exchange for the village of Grădiștea of Câmpulung. Indeed, a note on a document of 28 September 1582 shows that “Oprea *logofăt*” (of Mănești), the father of Drăghici, Nan and Hrizan, was buying at a certain time an estate at Grădiștea “de Jos”⁶⁵. And in 1629, Nan *postelnic* confirms before the Princely Council that he belonged to “the family of Neagoe Tunsul, for he also owns the village of Grădiștea of Câmpulung”⁶⁶. No doubt, as noted by Dan Pleșia,

⁶⁰ *DRH*, B, XXV, no 247, pp. 260-261.

⁶¹ For a correct dating of the document, see *DRH*, B, VIII, p. 553. It was initially thought to have been written in 1577, and it was printed in *DIR*, B, XVI-4, no 306, pp. 302-303.

⁶² *DRH*, B, XI, no 92, p. 126. Based on the document quoted in the note above, Dan Pleșia thought that Nan and Hrizan of Bărbătești were the descendants of Dragul *portar*, being the sons of a daughter of Dragul from a first marriage, called Irina, betrothed to Oprea *logofăt* (see below n. 25). However, the document in question is unclear, for which reason it would be more plausible to consider them the descendants of Stanca, Dragul’s sister.

⁶³ *DRH*, B, VI, no 172, p. 211.

⁶⁴ See Ștefan Andreescu, *Restitutio Daciae*, I, *Relațiile politice dintre Țara Românească, Moldova și Transilvania în răstimpul 1526-1593*, București, 1980, pp. 186-201.

⁶⁵ *DIR*, B, XVI-5, no 88, p. 85. n.1. As already seen, in 1597 Drăghici *spătar* of Mănești was also in Grădiștea de Jos.

⁶⁶ *DRH*, B, XXII, no 289, p. 550.

Neagoe Tunsul was a forefather of the boyars of Mănești-Bărbătești “most probably on maternal line”⁶⁷.

Dan Pleșia has also suggested that the grand boyar of the beginning of the sixteenth century was also related to the family of the boyars of Hotărani, to which Neaga, the future spouse of Pârvul *vornic* Craiovescu, was born. This would explain the exchange of estates between him and Prince Neagoe Basarab. On the other hand, the lamented genealogist added that Neagoe Tunsul must have also been related to the boyars of Cepturoaia, since the great charter of the Buzescus of 10 June 1656 notes that the “inheritance charters” for the estates of the boyars of Drăgoești – claimed by the Buzescus – were found “in the possession of Nan *postelnic* of Bărbătești”⁶⁸.

Without being a forefront figure, such as were the members of Michael the Brave’s council of Alba Iulia, *armaș* Hrizan of Mănești-Bărbătești belongs to the gallery of elements that made the Romanian administration of Transylvania in 1599-1600 and thus deserves special attention.

⁶⁷ See Dan Pleșia, *Contribuții documentare la istoricul mănăstirii Argeș în timpul lui Alexandru Iliăș (1627-1629)* in “Mitropolia Olteniei”, XXIII, 1970, 1-2, pp. 75-76, n. 4.

⁶⁸ The new translation of the charter of 10 June 1656, kept at “N. Iorga” History Institute of the Romanian Academy, was employed here.