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The Admiral's *Vayvode* of 1598

This essay proposes that the subject of the lost play Vayvode, performed by the Admiral's Men in 1598, may have been John Hunyadi, a fifteenth-century Hungarian military commander celebrated as a bulwark of Christian Europe against the Ottoman threat. It considers which historical sources would have been available to the playwright, the popularity of Hunyadi in the sixteenth century, and the theatrical contexts of the 1590s, as well as some alternative possibilities for the hero of the Admiral's play.

In 1598 the Admiral's Men performed a play, now lost, by name of *Vayvode*. In his *Diary*, Philip Henslowe records four payments from August 21 to 25 for apparel and properties relating to the play, indicating that the company was preparing for a production; later that month, on August 29, a payment of 20s is recorded to Henry Chettle 'ffor his playe of vayvode'.¹ Some months later, Henslowe records 40s 'pd vnto my sonne Edward alleyn the 21 of Janewary for the playe of vayvod for the company'.² Apart from the play's mysterious title, the only other information we learn from Henslowe's *Diary* that might indicate anything about the play's content is the fact that its production required the services of a 'lace man[]' and a 'tayller[]', and involved a 'sewte & a gowne' as well as 'diuers thinges'. Even the original dramatist is unknown: the peculiar order and amount of the payments seem to indicate that *Vayvode* was an old play owned, in August 1598, by Alleyn, and that Chettle was paid for last-minute revisions or additions.³ In many ways *Vayvode* is typical of those myriad lost plays of the Renaissance whose extant traces offer theatre historians very little (if any) evidence of their narrative content. Yet despite the dearth of information that survives about this play, I will argue in what follows that the subject of the Admiral's *Vayvode* might well have been John Hunyadi, a fifteenth-century Hungarian military commander celebrated as a bulwark of Christendom against the Ottoman

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threat to eastern Europe. The story of John Hunyadi would have been easily accessible to a playwright at the end of the sixteenth century, at which time Hunyadi was a figure of considerable popularity who had taken part in events that occupied an important place in the cultural imagination of the later Crusades. A play about Hunyadi would have been consistent with the theatrical trends of the 1590s; indeed, if a strong enough case can be made for this claim, the Admiral's *Vayvode* could become relevant to our current understanding of the theatrical culture and repertory system of the London professional companies and, in particular, to the question of Marlowe's influence after his death.

The Case for John Hunyadi

Let us begin by considering the play's strange title, which appears six times in Henslowe's records as 'vayvode' (the sole occurrence of the spelling 'vayvod' is quoted above). While we might at first assume that *Vayvode* represents the proper name of a character about whom nothing further can be known, the unfamiliar word *vaivode* (or *voivode*, ultimately from an old Slavonic title for a military leader) was used in the Renaissance to denote 'a local ruler or official in various parts of south-eastern Europe (in older use esp. in Transylvania)' (*OED*). The word was by no means unknown in early modern England: the *OED*'s first citation occurs in 1560, and it appears often in accounts of eastern Europe, especially in the context of histories of the Ottoman empire.⁴ Through most of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Transylvania was part of the Hungarian kingdom, and its *vaivode* was a governor who controlled the region as a Hungarian province. Doubtless the title of the Admiral's *Vayvode* was meant to indicate such a figure, and theatre scholars have offered several suggestions along these lines. In 1845, John Payne Collier was the first to propose a specific historical figure: 'It seems likely that the play called Vayvode related to the adventures of the Vayvode Michael of Wallachia, in his struggle for independence against the Turks in 1597'.⁵ William Carew Hazlitt in 1892 suggested a slightly different context appropriate for the name: 'This drama, no longer known, was possibly founded on the current incidents in the war between Transylvania and Austria'.⁶ Writing about a quarter century later, Louis Wann noted 'it is likely that *Vayvode* was a conqueror play or tragedy ... treating of the long struggle between one of the Vayvodcs of Wallachia and the Ottoman Turks'.⁷ Wann later reiterated Collier's suggestion of Michael the Brave of Wallachia.⁸ Samuel C. Chew

advanced another proposal in his comprehensive study of early modern England and Islam, *The Crescent and the Rose* (1937), where he claimed that the play 'doubtless had to do with the fighting around Budapest and with other stirring events in the life of [John] Zapolya, the Voivode of Transylvania'.⁹ Others have speculated that the eponymous *vaivode* may have been Polish.¹⁰ A different proposal, raised by George Gömöri in a survey of depictions of John Hunyadi in Renaissance England, suggested that the Admiral's play may have been a dramatic version of the Hunyadi story.¹¹ This suggestion, I believe, constitutes the most likely candidate for the subject of *Vayvode*, one that a wealth of circumstantial evidence can support.

John Hunyadi (ca 1407–56), one of the most important figures in the Kingdom of Hungary, enjoyed a dazzling career as a military commander and politician. He was made the *vaivode* of Transylvania in 1440, attaining in 1446 the regency of Hungary during the minority of King Ladislaus Posthumus, and was himself the father of the future King Matthias Corvinus. Early readers could have encountered the stories of Hunyadi's martial exploits, especially at the Battle of Varna (1444) and the Siege of Belgrade (1456), in a number of sixteenth-century English sources. One particularly vivid version appeared in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, when it was expanded in its 1570 edition to include, among other additions, a long digression on the history of the Turks, part of which celebrates Hunyadi for his achievements in the fifteenth-century Crusades. Foxe's book was, of course, easily accessible to any later sixteenth-century reader. The 1570 edition, with its newly included history of the Ottomans, was ubiquitous after an 'order of the Privy Council instructed the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and Bishop of London to ensure that parish churches acquire copies of Foxe's book', often kept chained beside the Bible.¹² Playwrights no doubt availed themselves of this accessible resource: for example, the year after performing *Vayvode*, the Admiral's Men would stage the two parts of *Sir John Oldcastle*, their martyrological corrective to Shakespeare's Falstaff, for which Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* served as a major source.¹³

Before we consider Foxe's account of Hunyadi, we should address the apparently counterintuitive fact that the title of the Admiral's play would have referred to its protagonist's honorific designation rather than his name. Indeed, the very unfamiliarity of the distinction could easily cause confusion. A number of texts bear witness to this possibility, including, crucially, Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, at the moment when Hunyadi is introduced to the reader: 'Amurathes y^e great Turke ... inuaded the realme of Hu[n]gary:

where Huniades surnamed Vaiuoda, Prince of Transilvania, ioining with the new King Vladislaus, did both together set against the Turke'.¹⁴ Readers of George Whetstone's *The English Myrror* (1586), a source for Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, may have been led to a similar conclusion in the description of Hunyadi's performance at the Siege of Belgrade, where the Sultan Mahomet was 'driuen with dishonor, besides the losse of many men, & much artillery, by that valiant *Hungarian* captaine *Iohn Vaiuode*'.¹⁵ Again, in 1604, he is referred to as 'IOHN [H]VNIADDES VAIVODA (a very famous Captaine for the great victories which he had obtained against the Turkes)'.¹⁶ A playwright reading Foxe, then, could conceivably have made the same mistake of assuming 'Vayvode' to be Hunyadi's name, and perhaps even to have titled his play accordingly.

The key event with which Hunyadi is associated in Foxe and other sixteenth-century sources is the Battle of Varna (10 November 1444), at which he assisted Vladislaus, king of Poland and Hungary, against Sultan Murad II ('Amurath').¹⁷ In Foxe's account, Hunyadi's victorious long march through the Balkans, during which he overthrows the pasha ('Bassa') of Anatolia, precipitated the events at Varna. In one day, Hunyadi leads five separate victories against the Turks, inflicting 30,000 casualties. So decisive a defeat is it that Amurath, receiving news of another invasion by the prince of Karaman ('Caramannus'), settles a ten-year truce with Vladislaus and Hunyadi. After the departure of Amurath, however, the papal legate Cardinal Julian Cesarini arrives with a dispensation for Vladislaus, permitting him to break his oath with the Turks and promising reinforcements should he decide to resume the offensive crusade into the Balkans. (Unsurprisingly, this incident occasions a digression by Foxe on the papal abuse of power.) Advancing into Wallachia and Bulgaria, Vladislaus falls sick at the town of Varna, where Amurath, informed of the broken truce, encounters him with the Turkish army. The Battle of Varna is described as lasting 'three daies and three nightes together, with great courage & much bloudshed on each side: insomuch that the field did stand with lakes of bloud'.¹⁸ Vladislaus dies. The prelates prove incompetent military leaders, and the 'Popes Bishops flieng to saue themselues, fell into the marishes, and there were destroyed, sustaining a durtey death con-digne to their filthy falshode and vntruth'. Hunyadi survives by fleeing.

The debacle at Varna was not a success for the Christians; certainly, the Siege of Belgrade (1456) in which Hunyadi's forces fought against Mehmed II was a more decisive victory.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the Battle of Varna was both the central moment of Hunyadi's martial achievement and an important

event in the popular imagination of the Crusades. At the end of the Varna episode in *Actes and Monuments*, Foxe praises Hunyadi in hyperbolic terms:

This John Huniades the worthy warriar was borne in Walachia ... of all Capitaines y^t euer went against the Turkes, [the] most famous & singular, prudent in wit, discret in counsaile, expert and politike in warre, prompt of hand, circumspect before he attempted, quicke in expedition: in whom wa[n]ted almost no good propertie requisite in a warlike Capitaine. Against two most mighty and fierce tirants, Amurathes and Mahumetes, through the Lords might, he defended all Pannonia, and therefore was called the thunderbolt and terrour of the Turkes. Like as Achilles was vnto y^e Grecians, so was he set vp of God to be as a wal or bulwarke of al Europe against the cruell Turkes and enemies of Christ, and of his Christians.²⁰

Besides Foxe's version, the story of Hunyadi was available in a number of other sixteenth-century historical sources, repeating his reputation as a bulwark of Christian Europe and scourge of Islam.²¹ In popular lore (much later recounted by Gibbon), Hunyadi was so terrifying to the Ottomans that merely repeating his name could frighten children into silence; in this light he appears in Whitney's 1586 *Choice of Emblemes* beside the comparable terrors of Hector and Talbot:

So, HECTORS sighte greate feare in Greekes did worke,
 When hee was showed on horsebacke, beeing dead:
 HVNIADES, the terrour of the Turke,
 Though layed in graue, yet at his name they fled:
 And crying babes, they ceased with the same,
 The like in FRANCE, sometime did TALBOTS name.²²

In yet another elision of Hunyadi's name with his title, one sixteenth-century English version of this anecdote tells of 'Iohn Vaiuoda' and his victories against the Ottomans 'so that it was growen to a Prouerbe amonge y^e Turkes, y^t whe[n] y^e mothers woulde appease their chyldren from crying, or els w^t drawe them fro[m] any fonde desyre y^t they had, they would say, here co[m]meth Vaiuoda'.²³

Around the turn of the century, Hunyadi was far from an unfamiliar figure. We find his name appearing in Nashe's *Lenten Stoffe* ('this *Huniades* of the liquid element') and in Florio's translation of Montaigne.²⁴ Thomas Heywood, who was under contract as an actor at the Rose when the

Admiral's Men performed *Vayvode* in 1598, cites 'braue Prince *Huniades*' in the long historical chronicle that closes *Troia Britanica* (1609).²⁵ Indeed, for a playwright, the attraction to write about Hunyadi would have included the opportunity to dramatize both a celebrated war hero and an event that sixteenth-century Protestant divines saw as an important moral lesson. Martin Luther's address *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* (1520) cites the Battle of Varna as an example of Catholic perjury and its disastrous consequences, an interpretation upon which Foxe's version elaborated.²⁶ Again, in Thomas Beard's translation of *The Theatre of Gods Iudgements* (1597), Varna appears as a 'most notable example of the punishment of periurie & falshood'.²⁷ Depictions of the battle tended to embellish upon a moral chiaroscuro between its heroic military commander and its corrupt political and ecclesiastic leaders. This dynamic appears in a later play, *Hans Beer-Pot, His Invisible Comedy of See Me and See Me Not*, written by Dabridg-court Belchier and published in 1618, which gives an extended account of the Battle of Varna contrasting the noble Hunyadi with the perjured Vladislaus and the incompetent Julius Cesarini.²⁸ A playwright dramatizing the battle would have found the opportunity to write for the character types of a weak-willed monarch, a Machiavellian cardinal, and a war hero undermined by them both. (Indeed, given the contemporaneous association of Hunyades with Talbot, Shakespeare's *1 Henry VI* comes to mind.) Another attraction of the Hunyadi story might have been the possibility for subplots provided in the historical sources, including Foxe's account of the unsuccessful intrigues against Hunyadi by the 'wicked Ulricus Earle of Cilicia' (Ulrich of Celje), as well as the dissimulation of the Hungarian king (Ladislaus the Posthumous) after Hunyadi's death in a plot to kill his two sons, Ladislaus and Mathias. The plot is half-successful, resulting in the execution of the elder²⁹ while the younger goes on to succeed Ladislaus as the famous King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary.

We have further reason to imagine that the Admiral's Men's play took Hunyadi as its subject when we consider the broader theatrical trends of the 1590s. A play centred on a charismatic fifteenth-century military hero who fought against the Turks in exotic eastern settings may well have represented an intentional effort by the Admiral's Men to put audiences in mind of Marlowe's wildly popular *Tamburlaine*. As Roslyn L. Knutson observes, 'the company owners of Marlowe's old plays recognized their individual commercial value but recognized as well that their value would be enhanced by a complementary repertory that duplicated, exploited, or exaggerated certain

of their features'.³⁰ Important assets in the Admiral's repertory, the two parts of *Tamburlaine* were published in 1590 as having been performed 'sundrie times' by the company, who later revived both parts in 1594–95, with *Part One* receiving fifteen performances and *Part Two* seven.³¹ The two parts of the lost *Tamar Cham*, owned originally by Strange's Men, might well have depicted the conquests of Genghis Khan; the Admiral's Men acquired both parts in 1596, with performances running from May to November of that year.³² *1 Tamar Cham* was also apparently revived in 1602 when the company purchased the book from Alleyn, as it had *Vayvode*.³³ If performances of *Tamar Cham* represented attempts by both Strange's Men and the Admiral's Men to profit on the success of *Tamburlaine*, a play on John Hunyadi would have represented something similar.³⁴ Certainly, a vogue for plays about conqueror figures followed hot on the heels of Marlowe's play,³⁵ and *Tamburlaine*, along with Kyd's versions of 'Soliman and Perseda' and Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar*, inaugurated a popular trend of representing Turks on the stage.³⁶ A play about Hunyadi would have taken as its setting the easternmost frontier of Europe, the very threshold of Christendom abutting the vast and threatening Ottoman empire.³⁷

Yet another lost play from the turn of the century makes the claim more plausible. The '*true historye of GEORGE SCANDERBARGE*' was entered in the Stationers' Register on 3 July 1601 as having been '*lately playd*' by the earl of Oxford's players.³⁸ Considerably less ambiguous than *Vayvode*, this title indicates a play that almost certainly treated the exploits of George Castrioti (given the Turkish cognomen Scanderbeg, 'Lord Alexander'), another famous fifteenth-century military hero. Like Hunyadi, Scanderbeg was an icon of Christian resistance against the Ottoman empire: having been captured as a child and raised by Murad II, he rebelled against the Turks to protect his native Albania, converting from Islam back to Christianity.³⁹ The connection that Edward Gibbon would observe in the eighteenth century ('In the list of heroes John Huniades and Scanderbeg are commonly associated'⁴⁰) was well underway in the sixteenth. Foxe's accounts of Hunyadi and Scanderbeg alternate between the two, while explicitly drawing parallels between them: 'this noble and victorious Scanderbeius (whom the Lord also had rayseed vp the same tyme with Huniades, to bridle the fury of the Turkes) valia[n]tly defended agaynst all the power of Amurathes'; 'In the meane tyme while Amurathes this Turkishe tyra[n]ne was cloysterd vp in his Monkish Religion, *Ioannes Huniades* in the kyngdome of Hungary, and Castriotus Scanderbeius in Grecia, kept great styrre against the Turkes'.⁴¹

The voluminous *Historie of George Castriot, Surnamed Scanderbeg*, published in 1596, offers not only an elaborate account of the Battle of Varna, but also the narrator's fantasy of seeing Hunyadi and Scanderbeg fight side by side, along with a comparison of their characters.⁴²

In a recent article, David McInnis persuasively suggests that Oxford's players' *George Scanderbeg* may have represented yet another attempt by a rival company to capitalize on the success of *Tamburlaine*. Besides the contemporaneity of *Tamburlaine* and *Scanderbeg*, '[t]he two leaders' opposition to the Turks united them further in the popular imagination, and as at least one critic has suggested, the *Tamburlaine/Bajazeth* dynamic may conceivably have been replicated in the form of the *Scanderbeg/Mahomet II* relationship'.⁴³ While the specifically close relationship that McInnis draws between the characters of *Tamburlaine* and *Scanderbeg* would be less applicable to Hunyadi, they certainly represented a single type in the Renaissance imagination. Indeed, one seventeenth-century historian could unite all three with a shared accolade: '*Tamberlane, Zisca, Huniades, Scanderbeg, and Gustavus King of Sweden* of this Period, may be justly parale'd with the most famous Leaders, that we read of amongst the Ancients'.⁴⁴ At the very least, we can imagine both *Vayvode* and *Scanderbeg* as triumphalist Christian versions of *Tamburlaine's* campaigns in the East, and the likely performance of *Scanderbeg* around 1600 informs us that a company could suppose that this particular variation on the *Tamburlaine* theme was marketable at that moment.⁴⁵

Perhaps the most powerful evidence to connect a Hunyadi play to the *Tamburlaine* phenomenon, however, is the role that the Battle of Varna played in Marlowe's drama itself. In *2 Tamburlaine*, the Christian King Sigismund of Hungary is persuaded to break a truce with his Turkish enemy Orcanes, who has left with his army to confront *Tamburlaine*. The argument, put forward by Fredericke and Baldwine, lords of Buda and Bohema, is that Christians need not keep oaths made with infidel Turks, especially when presented with a God-given opportunity to 'scourge their foule blasphemous Paganisme'.⁴⁶ Orcanes's response to the news of the breach is shocked disbelief: 'Can there be such deceit in Christians, / Or treason in the fleshly heart of man[?]'⁴⁷ Orcanes prays to Christ for revenge, and, in the next scene, Sigismund dies after realizing his fault: 'God hath thundered vengeance from on high, / For my accurst and hatefull periurie'.⁴⁸ As critics have long recognized, Marlowe's chief source for this episode was the notorious Battle of Varna.⁴⁹ While the historical battle took place after the events depicted in the play, the subplot of

2 Tamburlaine superimposes the situation at Varna onto new characters. Sigismund, a Christian king of Hungary contemporaneous with Tamburlaine, stands in for the Hungarian king Vladislaus; Amurath becomes Orcanes (a name that appears elsewhere in Foxe); and the ostensibly moral Machiavelians Fredericke and Baldwine perform the role of Julian Cesarini. The play clearly grafts the famous historical event into its plot, and playgoers could quite possibly have picked up on this episode's similarity to the Battle of Varna, thereby triggering a host of moral associations that attended the event in Protestant literature.⁵⁰ In fact, as a telltale clue, Marlowe's Fredericke even refers to Varna by name in his speech to Sigismund ('How through the midst of *Verna* and *Bulgaria*').⁵¹ Perhaps also conceivable is that a playwright, having seen or read this historical event so powerfully (if briefly) dramatized, may have thought to dramatize the original in greater detail himself.

We may confidently assume that Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* would have been a readily accessible source for any dramatist working after 1570; however, source studies of Marlowe's play open up wider horizons for what material may have been available to the playwright of *Vayvode*. Given the chronological proximity of Hunyadi and Tamburlaine, Marlowe and the *Vayvode* playwright may have consulted similar authorities. Licensed by the fact that Marlowe resided at Cambridge in the 1580s, critics have speculated that these sources may have included Latin works, such as the *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades* (published in Basle, 1543 and 1568), a history of Hungary written by the Italian Antonius Bonfinius at the court of Matthias Corvinus. Certainly Bonfinius's work provides direct analogues for speeches in the Sigismund subplot of *2 Tamburlaine*: the scene in which Orcanes and Sigismund ratify their truce, the arguments used by Fredericke and Baldwine, and the curses of the betrayed Orcanes all have direct parallels in Bonfinius, at times appearing 'little more than a poet's transcript from history'.⁵² Indeed, the elevated rhetoric and embellished details of Bonfinius's humanist historiographical project would have made it potentially appealing to a dramatist educated in the Latin tradition.⁵³ At one moment, for example, Bonfinius gives Hunyadi a Livian oration to stir his troops following the defeat at Varna, a speech whose grandeur is clearly a flattering homage by Bonfinius to the father of his patron.⁵⁴ Given the presence of influential university-educated playwrights working for London companies, the playwright of *Vayvode* may also have had access to similar resources.

We may tentatively explore this possibility even further by considering one of the most interesting proposals, advanced by Hugh G. Dick, regarding

Tamburlaine's sources: namely, that Marlowe may have had access to Richard Knolles's magisterial *Generall Historie of the Turkes*, a book that was not in fact published until 1603. Dick substantiates his counterintuitive claim by establishing that both Marlowe and Knolles had a close connection to Sir Roger Manwood; that Knolles's book reached a state of near-completion well before it saw publication; and, as Knolles himself claims in his 'Induction', that he left the manuscript with Sir Roger's son Peter Manwood for 'many years'.⁵⁵ While Dick refrains from a detailed comparison of texts, he describes Knolles's *Historie* as having 'all the qualities pitiably lacking in all the sources as far claimed: superb amplitude of detail, extraordinary narrative and dramatic vigor, and an epic sweep of style and conception'.⁵⁶ Since Knolles's work extensively reproduced details from Bonfinius, Marlowe may have based some of the speeches in *2 Tamburlaine* on those that appeared in Knolles's version. Marlowe's access to this work in manuscript is, of course, far from certain; however, the possibility is worth mentioning in the context of *Vayvode* since the *Generall Historie* contains an extended narrative of the Battle of Varna and the role of Hunyadi therein, filling eleven dense folio pages.⁵⁷ As we assume from the nature of Henslowe's payments, Chettle was employed in August 1598 for revisions to an old play. As such, we have no evidence about the educational background or personal connections of the original *Vayvode* playwright. Even if we dismiss the Marlowe-Knolles connection as improbable, or too rare for any other playwright to have enjoyed, we can suggest that the anonymous author of *Vayvode* may well have had the educational background and ability to access non-English texts, such as Bonfinius, as sources for his play.

Other Candidates

As I have tried to show, the play titled *Vayvode* performed by the Admiral's Men in 1598 was likely about John Hunyadi. His story was accessible in one of the most ubiquitous books in early modern England, and could be supplemented by other sources, which, depending on the resources available to the playwright, may have included highly detailed depictions of Hunyadi's life and times. He was, moreover, a figure of considerable popularity who had participated in celebrated battles, and the genre and setting of his story would have been attractively compatible with popular and profitable theatrical trends of the 1590s. I will conclude by mentioning three other potential candidates for the eponymous *vayvode* of the Admiral's play;

my intention is less to disprove their candidacy than to acknowledge that Hunyadi is not the only possibility and to suggest that cases might well be made on their behalf.

John Zápolya (1487–1540), another *vaivode* of Transylvania, was, according to Samuel C. Chew, ‘doubtless’ the hero of the play.⁵⁸ This nomination is at least possible. In Foxe’s account of the life of Suleiman, Zápolya, who is mentioned several times with the title of *vaivode*, is a rival of Ferdinand, king of Austria, after the succession of the latter to become king of Hungary in 1526. Zápolya, unlike Hunyadi, creates alliances with the Turks, enlisting Suleiman to help him expel Ferdinand from Buda.⁵⁹ A long and impressive description of the Siege of Vienna (1529), however, overshadows the story of Zápolya, who plays no part in that famous event. Of course, the playwright may have consulted other contemporaneous sources that described Zápolya’s career in greater detail.⁶⁰

The suggestion by John Payne Collier and Louis Wann that the play treated more recent events and that its subject may have been Michael the Brave (1558–1601), the *voivod* of Wallachia, is another possibility worth considering, although ‘his struggle for independence against the Turks in 1597’ might seem somewhat too close to the performance date of 1598, given that Chettle’s job was that of a reviser, and that the original composition of the play (and therefore its choice of subject) must have predated August 1598, perhaps considerably. Of course, Renaissance dramatists did at times respond quickly to recent international events, as in the cases of *Sir John van Olden Barnavelt* in 1619 or the lost play on the overthrow of Turnhout in 1599.⁶¹ Michael had also been involved in significant military victories against the Turks in the years prior to 1598 after his decision to revolt against Ottoman authority. Accounts of his participation in several battles of 1595 quickly appeared in print in *Pannoniæ Historia Chronologia* (Frankfurt, 1596), a book to which Knolles apparently had access at some point: his *Generall Historie* includes descriptions of these battles and reproduces an illustration of the Battle of Giurgiu (also called ‘St. George’ or ‘Zorza’) from the German book.⁶² At the level of state, the young English ambassador to the Porte, Edward Barton, was sending regular dispatches on the situation to Lord Burghley, later to Sir Thomas Heneage, and then to Sir Robert Cecil, as the events were taking place.⁶³ Further research might well uncover evidence for a wider dissemination of the news in the years before the performance of *Vayvode*.⁶⁴ Incidentally, Michael the Brave’s short-lived achievement of

unifying the Romanian principalities and his subsequent assassination both postdate the Admiral's play.

Another possible candidate for the *vaivode* of the Admiral's Men's play, perhaps the most tempting, is the notorious Vlad the Impaler (1431–1476) of Wallachia.⁶⁵ Allusions in English texts to Vlad as a cruel and sadistic tyrant generally appear to postdate the entries for *Vayvode* in Henslowe's *Diary*. In 1635, for example, we encounter: 'The mountainous part of *Transylvania* was lately subdued by *Matthias Huniades*, whose surname was *Corvinus*, and afterward by *Stephen King of Hungary*. This *Matthias* tooke alive one *Dracula*, a *Vaivode* or Prince of the mountainous *Transylvania*, a man of unheard of cruelty, and after ten yeares imprisonment, restored him to his former place'.⁶⁶ Further research, however, might well uncover some relevant allusions in English texts before 1598. One of the key works that propagated the monstrous reputation of Vlad was Bonfinius's *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*. Unlike German broadsides and Russian manuscripts that we may safely suppose would have been inaccessible, Bonfinius was apparently known to some English writers in the sixteenth century: even if one is sceptical about Marlowe's familiarity, Bonfinius's name appears cited in *Of the Russe Common Wealth* by Giles Fletcher (London, 1591) and as one of the historical authorities in the aforementioned *Historie of George Castriot, Surnamed Scanderbeg* (London, 1596). In Bonfinius we find the familiar image of Vlad's extreme cruelty, elegantly chatting with his friends amidst the impaled corpses of innumerable Turks.⁶⁷ As described earlier, Marlowe may well have encountered Bonfinius either in the original Latin or in translation; however, another possible source for Marlowe was the Turkish history of Laonicus Chalcocondylas,⁶⁸ written in Greek, translated into Latin by Conrad Clauserus in 1556 and later into French by Blaise de Vigenère in 1577.⁶⁹ Like Bonfinius, Chalcocondylas is another early historian to depict Vlad as a murderous tyrant, giving the episodes of his cruelty more detail.⁷⁰ One particularly vivid description of Vlad's technique of impaling his enemies appears when Mehmed II ('Mahomet') pursues the Wallachians under Vlad ('Wladus') in 1462. The passage appears Englished in Knolles's *Generall Historie* as follows:

As he marched along the countrey, he came to the place where the Bassa and the secretarie were hanging vpon two high gibbets, and the dismembred Turks empailed vpon stakes about them: with which sight he was grieuously offended. And passing on farther, came to a plaine containing in breadth almost a mile,

and in length two miles, set full of gallowes, gibbets, wheels[,] stakes, and other instruments of terrour, death, and torture; all hanging full of the dead carkases of men, women, and children, thereupon executed, in number (as was deemed) about twentie thousand. There was to be seene the father, with his wife, children and whole family, hanging together vpon one gallowes; and the bodies of sucking babes, sticking vpon sharpe stakes; others with all their limbes broken vpon wheeles, with many other strange and horrible kinds of death: so that a man would haue thought, that all the torments the Poets faigne to bee in hell had been there put in execution. All these were such as the notable, but cruell prince, jealous of his estate, had either for just desert, or some probable suspition, put to death; and with their goods rewarded his souldiours: whose cruell manner was, together with the offender to execute the whole family, yea sometimes the whole kindred. *Mahomet*, although he was by nature of a fierce and cruell disposition, wondred to see so strange a spectacle of extreame crueltie: yet said no more but that *Wladus* knew how to haue his subjects at commaund.⁷¹

That Marlowe may have read passages like this is within the realm of possibility. The possibility that the playwright of *Vayvode* may have done so too cannot be discounted outright.

Indeed, to think about lost plays is to work in a world of competing probabilities and shifting assumptions: new evidence and new arguments can illuminate what was once obscure and unsettle claims that once seemed self-evident. While the first section of this essay argues that John Hunyadi represents a particularly strong candidate for the subject of the Admiral's *Vayvode*, I hope that this cursory survey of some alternative possibilities might encourage other scholars to champion the claims of these rival *vaivodes* and even to send new contenders into the fray.⁷² 'Here commeth Vaivoda'.

Notes

This essay began as a contribution to the online *Lost Plays Database* (lostplays.org). I wish to thank Roslyn L. Knutson and David McInnis, the editors of the *LPD*, for their thoughtful feedback on an earlier version of this essay, the two anonymous readers for this journal, and Ivan Lupić for their many helpful recommendations, as well as Benjamin Auger for his generous assistance with the Latin texts consulted.

1 R.A. Foakes and R.T. Rickert (eds), *Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge, 1961), 97.

- 2 Ibid, 103. Besides the appearances in the *Diary*, the play is also listed in 'A Note of all suche bookes as belong to the Stocke, and such as I have bought since the 3d of March 1598' (323–4), although its appearance here may be a mistake (316).
- 3 W.W. Greg (ed.), *Henslowe's Diary*, 2 vols (London, 1904), 2.197; Neil Carson, *A Companion to Henslowe's Diary* (Cambridge, 1988), 62; Roslyn L. Knutson, 'The Commercial Significance of the Payments for Playtexts in *Henslowe's Diary*, 1597–1603', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 5 (1991), 130; Andrew Gurr, *Shakespeare's Opposites: The Admiral's Company 1594–1625* (Cambridge, 2009), 239.
- 4 Of course, many of the claims of this essay were made possible by the EEBO-TCP database, a resource that has already enabled fascinating discoveries in the scholarship of lost plays: see, for example, Matthew Steggle, 'A Lost Jacobean Tragedy: *Henry the Una* (c 1619)', *Early Theatre* 13.1 (2010), 65–81, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.12745/et.13.1.833>.
- 5 J. Payne Collier (ed.), *The Diary of Philip Henslowe* (London, 1845), xxxii. I will briefly address the case for Michael the Brave at the end of this essay. A separate and more cryptic clue in Collier's edition, 'See Painter's "Pal. of Pleasure," ii., fo. 140, &c., respecting "Vayvode"', was discarded by Greg as a dead end: 'The reference is evidently to the edition of 1567, tome ii., novel 21, the story of Anne, Queen of Hungary. Since, however, the hero of this tale is one Philipppo dei Nicuoli of Cremona, secretary to the Lord Andrea Borgo, and that no such person as a Vaivode is mentioned therein, this misleading suggestion may be at once dismissed'. See Collier (ed.), *Diary*, 132n, and Greg (ed.), *Diary*, 2.197. In fact, a relevant allusion exists in the second tome of *Palace of Pleasure*, although an error in Collier's edition has obscured the citation. In the story of 'A Lady of Boeme', the lady's husband claims to 'haue serued vnder the Lorde *Vaiuoda* in *Transsylvania*, against the Turk': see William Painter, *The Second Tome of the Palace of Pleasure* (London, 1567; STC: 19124), f 294v. Apparently, the error was either Collier's or his printer's, since the relevant passage occurs in the 1580 edition on f 240r (not 'fo. 140'). If Collier had pursued this hint further, it might well have led him to John Hunyadi, since Painter's story takes place during the reign of Matthias Corvinus and the *vaivode* referred to is likely Corvinus's father. Incidentally, Philip Massinger dramatized Painter's story in the late 1620s as *The Picture, A True Hungarian History*: see Philip Edwards and Colin Gibson (eds), *The Plays and Poems of Philip Massinger*, 5 vols (Oxford, 1976), 3.181–287.
- 6 W. Carew Hazlitt, *A Manual for the Collector and Amateur of Old English Plays* (London, 1892), 244. Albert Feuillerat was less optimistic, stating imperiously that 'Nothing is known of this play with its mysterious title, and further conjecture

- would be futile' and dismissing Hazlitt's proposal 'an ingenious proof of an equally ingenious hypothesis': see *The Composition of Shakespeare's Plays: Authorship, Chronology* (New Haven, CT, 1953), 9, 9n.
- 7 Louis Wann, 'The Oriental in Elizabethan Drama', *Modern Philology* 12 (1915), 428, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/386971>.
 - 8 Louis Wann, 'The Oriental in the English Drama of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', PhD thesis (U of Wisconsin, 1919), 49.
 - 9 Samuel C. Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England During the Renaissance* (New York, 1937/1965), 139n. I will briefly address the case for Zápolya at the end of this essay.
 - 10 Jerzy Limon has proposed that the play may have been written after the visit of Olbracht Łaski ('Albertus Alasco') to England in 1583: see 'Pictorial Evidence for a Possible Replica of the London Fortune Theatre in Gdansk', *Shakespeare Survey* 32 (1979), 197–8; and *Gentlemen of a Company: English Players in Central and Eastern Europe, 1590–1660* (Cambridge, 1985), 135. See also Robert Boies Sharpe, *The Real War of the Theaters: Shakespeare's Fellows in Rivalry with the Admiral's Men, 1594–1603* (Boston, 1935), 177.
 - 11 George Gömöri, 'The Image of János Hunyadi and Matthias Corvinus in 16th–17th Century England', Tibor Klaniczay and József Jankovics (eds), *Matthias Corvinus and the Humanism in Central Europe* (Budapest, 1994), 111. Gömöri also offered John Zápolya and Sigismund Báthory as possible alternatives. Unfortunately, the scope of Gömöri's article prohibited him from expanding on these observations. Martin Wiggins has also recently proposed Hunyadi as a possible candidate, alongside Zápolya, Vlad the Impaler, and the Moldavian *voivode* Stephen III. See Martin Wiggins, in association with Catherine Richardson, *British Drama 1533–1642: A Catalogue*, Volume IV: 1598–1602 (Oxford, 2014), 50.
 - 12 John N. King, *Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge, 2006), 112–13. King also notes that 'the long-standing view that the book was required by law "to be kept in every church for the people to read in" represents a stubborn myth' (113). The privy council order is discussed at length in Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas S. Freeman, 'Print, Profit and Propaganda: The Elizabethan Privy Council and the 1570 Edition of Foxe's "Book of Martyrs"', *English Historical Review* 119 (2004), 1288–1307, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ehr/119.484.1288>.
 - 13 Peter Corbin and Douglas Sedge (eds), *The Oldcastle Controversy: Sir John Oldcastle, Part I and The Famous Victories of Henry V* (Manchester, 1991), 7.
 - 14 John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of Matters Most Speciall and Memorable, Happenyng in the Church, with an Vniuersall History of the Same* (London, 1583; stc: 11225), 720.

- 15 George Whetstone, *The English Myrror* (London, 1586; STC: 25336), 73–4; cited by Gömöri, ‘The Image of János Hunyadi’, 110–11.
- 16 Pedro Mexia, *The Historie of all the Roman Emperors*, W.T. (trans.) (London, 1604; STC: 17851), 816. The 1604 edition misprints Hunyadi’s name as ‘AVNIADES’, which is corrected in the 1623 edition: see *The Imperiall Historie: or The Liues of the Emperours* (London, 1623; STC: 17852), 606. As Joseph Moxon’s type case illustration would suggest, the 1604 reading is probably the result of a fouled case.
- 17 For an extensive recent historical account of the Battle of Varna, see John Jefferson, *The Holy Wars of King Wladislas and Sultan Murad: The Ottoman-Christian Conflict from 1438–1444* (Leiden, 2012), esp. 1–7, 455–87. See also Colin Imber, *The Crusade of Varna, 1443–45* (Aldershot, 2006), 2–36.
- 18 Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, [741].
- 19 For Foxe’s account, see *Actes and Monuments*, 721, 743.
- 20 Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, [741].
- 21 Some examples before the 1590s include [Antoine Geuffroy,] *The Order of the Greate Turckes Courte* (London, [1542]; STC: 24334), cii–ciii, cxii; Johannes Carion, *The Thre Bokes of Cronicles* (London, 1550; STC: 4626), ff. clxxxiiii–clxxiir; Andrea Cambini, *Tuvo Very Notable Commentaries the One of the Originall of the Turcks and Empire of the House of Ottomanno, Written by Andrewe Cambine, and thother of the Warres of the Turcke against George Scanderbeg*, John Shute (trans.) (London, 1562; STC: 4470), f 7r–14v.; Thomas Newton, *A Notable Historie of the Saracens* (London, 1575; STC: 6129).
- 22 Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes, and Other Devises* (Leyden, 1586; STC: 25438), 195. The anecdote also appears later in the seventeenth century in Charles Aleyn’s poem ‘The Battai[l]e of Poitiers’: ‘As when the nurses rod cannot appease / The Child; at th’hearing of some horrid name / ’Tis husht: thus *Turkey* with *Huniades* / Stilled their children saying that he came’. See Charles Aleyn, *The Battails of Crescey, and Poitiers* (London, 1631; STC: 351), D4r. The association with Talbot occurs again in a royalist tragedy on Charles I, when Oliver Cromwell is addressed: ‘Most valiant, and invincible Commander, whose Name’s as terrible to the *Royallists* as e’re was *Huniades* to the *Turkes*, or *Talbot* to the *French* ...’ See *The Famous Tragedie of King Charles I* ([London?], 1649; Wing: F384), 2.
- 23 Cambini, *Tuvo Very Notable Commentaries*, f 8r.
- 24 See Thomas Nashe, *Nashes Lenten Stuffe* (London, 1599; STC: 18370), 30; cited in Gömöri, ‘The Image of János Hunyadi’, 111. See also John Florio (trans.), *The Essayes or Morall, Politike and Millitarie Discourses of Lo: Michaell de Montaigne* (London, 1603; STC: 18041), 407.

- 25 Thomas Heywood, *Troia Britanica* (London, 1609; STC: 13366), 455. For Heywood's agreement with Henslowe on 25 March 1598, see Foakes and Rickert (eds.), *Diary*, 241.
- 26 Roy W. Battenhouse, 'Protestant Apologetics and the Subplot of *2 Tamburlaine*', *English Literary Renaissance* 3 (1973): 30–43; Vivien Thomas and William Tydeman, *Christopher Marlowe: The Plays and Their Sources* (London, 1994), 78.
- 27 Thomas Beard (trans.), *The Theatre of Gods Judgements* (London, 1597; STC: 1659), 166; see Battenhouse, 'Protestant Apologetics', 37. See also L[aurence] H[umphrey], *A View of the Romish Hydra and Monster, Traison, Against the Lords Anointed* (Oxford, 1588; STC: 13966), 96–7.
- 28 Dabridgcourt Belchier, *Hans Beer-Pot His Invisible Comedie, of See Me, and See Me Not* (London, 1618; STC: 1803), E4v–Fr.
- 29 About this execution, Foxe provides the following morbid anecdote: 'after the hangman had 3. blowes at his necke, yet notwithstanding the sayd Ladislaus hauing his hands bound behinde hym, after the thirde stroke, rose vpright vppon hys feete, and looking vp to heauen, called vpon the Lord, and protested his innocency in that behalf: and so laying downe his necke againe, at the fourth blowe was dispatched' (*Actes and Monuments*, 721).
- 30 Roslyn L. Knutson, 'Marlowe Reruns: Repertorial Commerce and Marlowe's Plays in Revival', Sara Munson Deats and Robert A. Logan (eds), *Marlowe's Empery: Expanding His Critical Contexts* (Newark, DE, 2002), 25. I am especially indebted to David McInnis's article 'Marlowe's Influence and "The True History of George Scanderbeg"', *Marlowe Studies: An Annual* 2 (2012), 71–85, which will be discussed below.
- 31 However, for a reconsideration of the actual lucrateness of Marlowe's own plays through the period, see Holger Schott Syme, 'The Meaning of Success: Stories of 1594 and Its Aftermath', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 61 (2010), 490–525.
- 32 Greg, *Diary*, 2.155; Greg, *Dramatic Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouses: Commentary* (Oxford, 1931), 161–2; Knutson, 'Marlowe Reruns', 33; McInnis, 'Scanderbeg', 78. The 'plot' of this play was preserved in a transcription by Steevens. See Greg, *Dramatic Documents: Commentary*, 160.
- 33 Greg, *Diary*, 2.156.
- 34 As David McInnis notes, one of the characters in the extant plot, 'Mango Cham', was known in the Renaissance for his conversion to Christianity: see *Mind-Traveling and Voyage Drama in Early Modern England* (New York, 2013), 71.
- 35 John Bakeless, *The Tragicall History of Christopher Marlowe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 1942) 1.238–73; Peter Berek, 'Tamburlaine's Weak Sons: Imitation as Interpretation Before 1593', *Renaissance Drama*, ns 13 (1982), 55–82.

- 36 Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose*, 469–540. For recent studies, see Daniel J. Vitkus (ed.), *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England* (New York, 2000) and *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570–1630* (New York, 2003); Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576–1626* (Cambridge, 2003) 13–67; Matthew Dimmock, *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2005); Debra Johanyak and Walter S. H. Lim (eds), *The English Renaissance, Orientalism, and the Idea of Asia* (New York, 2010). As Roslyn L. Knutson has shown, depictions of Turks on stage might have resonated with playgoers' real-life experience, since parishes often took collections for captives in the Mediterranean: see 'Elizabethan Documents, Captivity Narratives, and the Market for Foreign History Plays', *English Literary Renaissance* 26 (1996), 75–110, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6757.1996.tb01484.x>. These captives were not limited to Englishmen, but also included Christian foreigners, such as Hungarians (82; see also 92).
- 37 Palmira Brummett, 'Imagining the Early Modern Ottoman Space, from World History to Piri Reis', Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman (eds), *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire* (Cambridge, 2007) 15–58, esp. 24. For more on Renaissance drama's attention to central Europe, see Monica Matei-Chesnoiu, *Early Modern Drama and the Eastern European Elsewhere: Representations of Liminal Locality in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (Cranbury, NJ, 2009), 110–41.
- 38 Edward Arber (ed.), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640, A.D.*, 5 vols. (London and Birmingham, 1875–94), 3.187. Wann speculated that *Vayvode* and *Scanderbeg* may have been related in genre and historical context ('Elizabethan', 428).
- 39 For a catalogue of sixteenth-century English sources for the Scanderbeg story, see McInnis, 'Scanderbeg', 84–5. For recent discussions of the story in the wider context of European attitudes towards the Ottoman empire and dramatic depictions thereof, see Barbour, *Before Orientalism*, 25; Dimmock, *New Turkes*, 64–5. For a broader chronological and geographic scope of the story's reception, see B.B. Ashcom, 'Notes on the Development of the Scanderbeg Theme', *Comparative Literature* 5 (1953), 16–29, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/11768689>.
- 40 Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–89), 8 vols. (London, 1887), 8.135.
- 41 Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, 740–4, esp. [741].
- 42 Jaques de Lavardin, *The Historie of George Castriot, Surnamed Scanderbeg*, Z[achary] J[ones] (trans.) (London, 1596; STC: 15318), 75–6. To give a seventeenth-century example: 'like those worthy wights, / *Huniades*, and *Scanderbeg* that rode / Attended on with many matchlesse Knights, / Ouer the neckes of *Mahometan* bands, / And

- slue whole hundreds with their proper hands'. See Sir John Stradling, *Beati Pacifici* (London, 1623; STC: 23352), 38.
- 43 McInnis, 'Scanderbeg', 77.
- 44 Mathias Prideaux, *An Easy and Compendious Introduction for Reading All Sorts of Histories* (Oxford, 1648; Wing: P3439), 255. Also of note is that 'Gustavus, King of Swethland' is the name of a lost play by Thomas Dekker, appearing in the Stationers' Register on 29 June 1660. I am grateful to David McInnis for alerting me to this reference.
- 45 However, a sense of triumphalism may have been somewhat nostalgic after Buda fell to the Turks in 1541. 'The kingdome hath bene a great obstacle against the Turkes comming into Christendome: but especially in the time of Iohannes Huniades, who did mightily with many great victories repulse the Turke. ... But the glory of this kingdome is almost vterly decayed, by reason that the Turke, who partly by policie and partly by force, doth now possesse the greatest parte of it': see *A Briefe Description of the Whole Worlde* (London, 1599; STC: 24.5), B2v.
- 46 [Christopher Marlowe,] *Tamburlaine the Great* (London, 1590; STC: 17425), G4r.
- 47 *Ibid*, G5r.
- 48 *Ibid*, G5v.
- 49 Ethel Seaton, 'Marlowe and His Authorities', *Times Literary Supplement* (16 June 1921), 388; Bakeless, *Tragicall History*, 1.232–6; Roy W. Battenhouse, *Marlowe's Tamburlaine: A Study in Renaissance Moral Philosophy*, 2nd ed. (Nashville, TN, 1964), 156–62; Thomas and Tydeman, *Marlowe*, 78–9, 144–50.
- 50 Battenhouse, 'Protestant Apologetics', 30–43. In particular, critics have noted the association between Vladislaus and the Hungarian king who betrayed John Hus, also named Sigismund.
- 51 Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, G3v.
- 52 Bakeless, *Tragicall History*, 1.235.
- 53 Lucille Kekewich, 'Humanism', Lucille Kekewich (ed.), *The Renaissance in Europe: Volume 1, The Impact of Humanism*, (New Haven, CT, 2000), 98–100. Bonfinius had already served as the source for a neo-Latin epic poem about Hunyadi by the Viennese poet laureate Elias Corvinus: see *Ioannis Hunniadae Res Bellicae Contra Turcas, Carmen Epicum*, ed. Oscarius Sárkány (Leipzig, 1937), 9.
- 54 *Antonii Bonfinii Rerum Vngaricarum Decades Tres* (Basle, 1543), 472–3. For the modern edition, see I. Fógel, B. Iványi, and L. Juhász (eds), *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*, 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1936–1976), decade 3, book 7, paragraphs 83–107. For an English translation of Hunyadi's speech, see Peter Burke, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past* (London, 1969), 117–19; excerpted in Kekewich, 'Humanism', 99.

- 55 Hugh G. Dick, 'Tamburlaine Sources Once More', *Studies in Philology* 46 (1949), 154–66. Dick also notes 'the by no means negligible possibility that Knolles and Marlowe were personally acquainted' (166).
- 56 Ibid, 165.
- 57 Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (London, 1603; stc: 15051), 288–99. For an abridged version of the narrative in Knolles's translation, see Thomas and Tydeman, *Marlowe*, 144–50. For Knolles's translation of Hunyadi's speech as it appears in Bonfinius, see *Generall Historie*, 306–7. The printed version praises Hunyadi in a poem in fourteen couplets that appears beneath the portrait of Amurath (Knolles, *Generall Historie*, 254). For the role of Hunyadi in Knolles, see Gömöri, 'The Image of János Hunyadi', 111–12. Hunyadi's connection with Scanderbeg is also made explicit in *The Generall Historie*, and Gömöri interprets Knolles as favouring the former (112). Scholars have identified Knolles's treatment of Hunyadi as a source for a speech in Massinger's later play *The Picture*: see Edwards and Gibson (eds.), *The Plays and Poems of Philip Massinger*, 3.184.
- 58 Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose*, 139n; cf. Gömöri, 'The Image of János Hunyadi', 111. Zápolya is also closer than Hunyadi to what Hazlitt had in mind in 1892.
- 59 Linda McJannet, who also endorses Zápolya as the hero of *Vayvode*, suggests that, since he was allied with Suleiman, the depiction of the Turk in this play may have been a positive one: *The Sultan Speaks: Dialogue in English Plays and Histories about the Ottoman Turks* (New York, 2006) 202, n84.
- 60 The major historians Bonfinius and Laonicus Chalcocondylas (discussed below) both died before Zápolya was made *vaivode* of Transylvania. However, some later sixteenth-century continental historians addressed Zápolya at length: for example, Martin Fumée, *Histoire des troubles de Hongrie* (Paris, 1594), which would be published in an English translation in 1600 (stc: 11487). See also Knolles, *Generall Historie*, 604ff.
- 61 As reported in two letters by Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney: see Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord De L'Isle & Dudley*, 6 vols. (London, 1925–66), 2.406, 408; Michael G. Brennan, Noel J. Kinnamon, and Margaret P. Hannay, *The Letters (1595–1608) of Rowland Whyte* (Philadelphia, PA, 2013), 362–3, 365.
- 62 *Pannonia Historia Chronologia* (Frankfurt, 1596) 121; Knolles, *Generall Historie*, 1076.
- 63 E.D. Tappe, *Documents Concerning Rumanian History (1427–1601)*, *Collected from British Archives* (The Hague, 1964), 72–119. In Barton's correspondence, Michael is occasionally referred to with his title of *vaivode*, although he is often simply 'Prince

- of Wallachia', as in Barton's partially ciphered letter of 2 May 1596 (NA: SP 97/3, f 121v).
- 64 For example, Sir Robert Sidney was receiving recent news of the battles from Joannes Lobetius in November of 1595: see HMC, *De L'Isle & Dudley*, 2.180–1.
- 65 Robert Lima, *Stages of Evil: Occultism in Western Theater and Drama* (Lexington, KY, 2005), 281; Wiggins, *British Drama*, IV, 50.
- 66 Jodocus Hondius, *Historia Mundi, or Mercators Atlas*, W.S. (trans.) (London, 1635; STC: 17824), 174.
- 67 Főgel, Iványi, and Juhász (eds), *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*, decade 3, book 10, paragraphs 287–91. See especially: 'Inaudit[a]e crudelitatis et iustiti[a]e Draculam fuisse memorant. Hunc aiunt ... innumeros palis Turcos prefixisse et inter eos cum amicis laute discubuisse' (paragraphs 287, 288). In the 1543 edition, see *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*, 533. See also Matei Cazacu, *L'Histoire du Prince Dracula en Europe centrale et orientale (XV^e siècle)* (Genève, 1988), 168. A marginal note in a 1614 text uses an anecdote from Bonfinius to compare Dracula with Tamburlaine: 'Tamberlan slew as many lepers as he found, that they might haue an end of their miseries, and infect no more by their co[n]tagion. Calcondile. For the same reason Dracula Prince of Valachia shut a great troupe of Beggers into a barne, and set it on fire, hauing made them all drunke. Bonfin. Lib. 3'. See Pierre Matthieu, *The History of Levvis the Eleventh*, Edward Grimeston (trans.) (London, 1614; STC: 17662), 104.
- 68 Bakeless, *Tragicall History*, 1.227; Thomas and Tydeman, *Marlowe*, 77, 142–3.
- 69 *De Origine et Rebus Gestis Turcorum* (Basle, 1556); Blaise de Vigenère (trans.), *L'histoire de la décadence de l'empire Grec, et établissement de celuy des Turcs* (Paris, 1577).
- 70 Vigenère (trans.), *L'histoire*, 651–74 *passim*.
- 71 Knolles, *Generall Historie*, 362–3. Chalcocondylas appears with Bonfinius on the list of authorities consulted by Knolles (*Generall Historie*, A6v). For the correspondent passage in the 1577 French translation, see Vigenère (trans.), *L'histoire*, 668–9.
- 72 Fortunately, the advent of the online *Lost Plays Database* (lostplays.org) now offers the ideal forum to do precisely this, providing a wiki-style platform for scholars to gather evidence, collect critical commentary, make conjectures, and advance new arguments about the lost drama of early modern England. Discussion of the Admiral's *Vayvode* can be found at <http://www.lostplays.org/index.php/Vayvode>.

