

Nicolaus Olahus 450

PUBLIKATIONEN DER UNGARISCHEN
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BD. XVII.

NICOLAUS OLAHUS 450

Proceedings of the International Conference
on the 450th Anniversary of Nicolaus Olahus' Death

Edited by EMŐKE RITA SZILÁGYI

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NICOLAUS OLAHUS 450

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zum 450. Todestag von Nicolaus Olahus

Herausgegeben von EMŐKE RITA SZILÁGYI

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Grabstein von Nicolaus Olahus in Trnava/Nagyszombat/Tyrnau (1568)
Foto: Kornél Divald (1927)

INHALTSVERZEICHNIS

EMŐKE RITA SZILÁGYI: <i>Preface</i> - - - - -	9
<i>Lebenslauf / Life</i>	
ISTVÁN FAZEKAS: <i>Vizekanzler, Kanzler, Erzkanzler: Nikolaus Oláh als Leiter der Ungarischen Hofkanzlei (1543–1568)</i> - - - - -	17
BORBÁLA GULYÁS: <i>The Second Letters Patent (Grant of Barony) Issued to Nicolaus Olahus (1558–1560)</i> - - - - -	37
VIKTOR KANÁSZ: <i>The Testimony of Miklós Oláh Given during the Investigation of the Murder of György Fráter</i> - - - - -	51
LEVENTE NAGY: <i>Genealogie der Familie Olahus von Dracula bis Pál Esterházy</i> - - - - -	65
<i>Bibliothek und historische Werke / Library and Historical Works</i>	
ISTVÁN MONOK – EDINA ZVARA: <i>Die Bibliothek von Nicolaus Olahus</i> - - -	85
GÁBRIEL SZOLIVA: “... <i>Ad laudem et gloriam Dei optimi maximi.</i> ” <i>Psalterium Strigoniense Surviving from the Viennese Residence of Nicolaus Olahus</i> - - - - -	97
PÉTER KASZA: <i>The Sources and Context of Nicolaus Olahus’ Hungaria</i> - - - -	107
GERGELY TÓTH: <i>The First Edition of Nicolaus Olahus’ Hungaria in Matthias Bel’s Adparatus (1735)</i> - - - - -	123
ANDRÁS ZOLTÁN: <i>Nicolaus Olahus’ Athila im älteren polnischen und ostslavischen Schrifttum</i> - - - - -	143
LÁSZLÓ SZÖRÉNYI: <i>Hungaria und Athila von Nicolaus Olahus als Quellen für die Hunnen-Trilogie von János Arany</i> - - - - -	149

Korrespondenz und Alchemie / Correspondence and Alchemy

GILBERT TOURNOY: <i>Nicolaus Olahus and His Humanist Network in the Low Countries</i> -----	163
CORNELIA POPA-GORJANU: <i>Friendship and Politics in the Correspondence between Nicolaus Olahus and Camillus Gilius</i> -----	179
EMŐKE RITA SZILÁGYI: <i>Editorial Procedures and Types of Censure: On the Upcoming Critical Edition of Nicolaus Olahus' Correspondence</i> ----	193
CRISTINA NEAGU: <i>Nicolaus Olahus and the Processus sub forma Missae: Identity, Authorship, and an Obscure Work on the Art of Alchemy</i> --	205
<i>Siglen und Abkürzungen</i> -----	219
<i>Namenverzeichnis</i> -----	221
<i>Abbildungen</i> -----	229
<i>Publikationen der ungarischen Geschichtsforschung in Wien</i> -----	241

PREFACE

This volume presents the proceedings of the international conference that took place on 15 January, 2018, the exact day of the 450th anniversary of the death of Nicolaus Olahus. This was not the first time the research community commemorated the humanist author and prelate with a large-scale conference: the cream of the research community specializing in Olahus, i.e. Miklós Oláh, also gathered on 10–11 January, 1993 in Cluj Napoca (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg) to synthesize their knowledge on the illustrious humanist. However, while the conference in Cluj Napoca was conducted in Hungarian, an express aim of the symposium organized for the 2018 memorial year was to gather the international research community and extend the horizon of research both in scope and in terms of language. This was necessary because surveying the research results of the last few decades made it clear that the data published in national languages – chiefly meaning research in Hungarian, Romanian, and Slovak – has not become part of common knowledge, or it did so only to a limited extent. The conference was conducted in English and German in order to put an end to our results being published in isolation, in our national languages, and so that parallels in research and inherited mistakes can be avoided and eliminated.

Why was it necessary and worthwhile to commemorate Olahus? Nicolaus Olahus (1493–1568) is one of the most important figures of 16th-century Hungarian literature and historiography, a humanist prelate, a patron of the arts, who supported countless talents and made sure they had a regular income. He established the Jesuit college in Trnava (Nagyszombat, Tyrnau), and the reforms he initiated as head of the Hungarian Royal Chancellery remained in force for the following two centuries. Olahus is one of our most important sources regarding the Kingdom of Hungary after Mohács, and he also cultivated friendships with famous contemporary humanists such as Erasmus of Rotterdam or Petrus Nannius. His name is not only known in Hungary; in fact, he is primarily well-known abroad. Excerpts from his *Collection of letters* (*Epistolae familiares*) and his historical works have been translated

into Hungarian, English, Romanian, as well as Slovak, Russian, and Polish and his descriptions of the 16th-century Kingdom of Hungary and the Netherlands are considered the gem of every compilation focusing on the era.

However, it is not only scientific reasons that call for internationalization, but in our author's case it is also warranted that we finally face questions of identity. Let us begin with his name: our humanist author wrote his name in two different ways, according to the autograph documents known today: he mostly signed as Nicolaus Olahus, i.e. in the fully Latinized version, although we can sometimes also find the name form Nicolaus Oláh. In other words, he also used what we today consider his last name in a Hungarian variant, while the name itself refers to his Oláh (*Olahus, Vlahus*), i.e. Romanian heritage. Works about him initially used the Latin variant, which was logical since the secondary sources were also written in Latin. However, with the emergence of the nation states and the parallel surge of literatures in the national languages, the names of our humanists increasingly appeared in vernacular variants: Nicolaus Olahus was followed by Oláh Miklós, Nicolae Valahul, and Mikuláš Oláh, and parallel stories also started to be written. The cataclysms and dictatorships of the 20th century not only did not help in a common processing of a shared past, but they often even pushed philologists living in different nation states but researching the same field further away from each other. Occasions of meaningful reflections on each other (either in the form of a footnote or as a review) are rare, while an overview of the research results of the 20th century (studies, scientific and educational text editions, translations, and monographs) makes it clear that research on our author could have been much more productive had the threads of research not run parallel to each other, had they touched each other or even occasionally intertwined with each other. At the same time, it is not too late for us to weave these threads together and create a completely new, shared image of our shared humanist, one that is more authentic than before. Nevertheless, a more authentic image also includes our accepting that research on Nicolaus Olahus is multifaceted, and the research results emerging as pieces of a puzzle do not have to be joined together by force. Time will tell where each piece fits. Therefore, as editor I decided not to standardize our author's name, since the variants reflect contemporary researchers' points of view, fitting their own research traditions. What I did strive to standardize were geographical names: although it may often seem unhistorical to use the contemporary form, for reasons of retrievability it seemed expedient and logical to prefer the form found on maps today.

Already during the organization of the international symposium it became clear that we were in the fortunate position of gathering the most extensive and active research community on Nicolaus Olahus to date. Literary historians, historians, art historians, historians of church music, both from Hungary

and abroad (Leuven, Oxford, Alba Julia [Gyulafehérvár, Karlsburg], Banská Bystrica [Besztercebánya, Neusohl]) all indicated their intention to attend the conference. Of the eleven presentations advertised in the program, ten were eventually held, which are included in this volume in a written and extended version.

The conference began with Gábor Kecskeméti's opening statement, followed by four sessions and closing remarks. István Fazekas, expert researcher on the history of the chancellery of the Kingdom of Hungary, presented on our humanist as the head of the Hungarian Royal Chancellery, revealing several previously unknown details to the audience. One of the greatest merits of the presentation and the study written by Fazekas is the index at the end of the study listing the names of the vice-chancellors, secretaries, keepers of the seal, and royal scribes active during Olahus' chancellery, the fullest such list to date. Borbála Gulyás, extending and augmenting the research of András Kovács, presented the richly decorated second letters patent of Olahus (1558) and its creators: the ornamented calligraphy was authored by György Bocskay, although it seems that he was not the creator of the ornament but another unknown person. As the organizer of the conference, I held a presentation on processes of authorial censorship and the editorial principles of Olahus detected during the preparation of the first volume of the critical edition of the Olahus correspondence I was preparing at the time, which has now been published. Based on the collection of humanist correspondence collated and redacted by Olahus himself, it is clear what kind of authorial profile he wanted to share with his contemporaries, and thanks to the surviving autograph corrections, on occasion it is also clear where he deviated from the truth.

Gilbert Tournoy used the same corpus to point out the humanist network of Olahus, primarily presenting the friendships he made at the beginning of the 1530s in the Netherlands. Professor Tournoy first started researching the humanist friendship between Olahus and Petrus Nannius at the recommendation of Tibor Klaniczay: he held a presentation on this topic at the 2006 IANLS conference in Budapest, and his present study should be interpreted as an organic continuation of that work. During the last decade Cornelia Popa-Gorjanu has also been researching Olahus' years in the Netherlands and his relationships there, and although she was not able to deliver her presentation, she submitted her study to the proceedings. In her present study she examines the correspondence and friendship between Olahus and Camillus Gilinus. Olahus' social network was extended during his years in Brussels, and quite illustrious names were added to it. However, it also seems to have continued to develop even after he returned home, even if it is not documented by a collection of correspondence as is the product of the 1530s. From the 1540s he resided mostly in Vienna, so it is not surprising that the connections he made during this time mainly

originate from Vienna and Upper-Hungary. His relationship with Sigismund Herberstein is of special note among these relationships, on which Farkas Gábor Kiss held a presentation. Unfortunately, this study was not submitted to this volume. Bence Péterfi has also discovered several additional pieces of information on Herberstein during the last few years, so hopefully these research projects will also soon be shared in print, even if not in this volume.

The third session was opened by István Monok and Edina Zvara, who aimed to reconstruct the library of Olahus. The co-authors have already touched upon this topic several times, especially in terms of provenance. Now they provided an even more thorough picture. This presentation also has a precedent: at the 1993 conference in Cluj Napoca, László Szelestei N. presented the pieces of the Olahus library that had been discovered at that time. Monok and Zvara have now extended this list and presented the provenance of the volumes. The reconstruction of the library presents an opportunity to characterize the literary and theological interests of Olahus, and the works cited by him can be hypothesized to have constituted part of his library. According to the analysis, Olahus paid special attention to Protestant theological works, although a more thorough contextualization of this needs further research. Cristina Neagu, author of the latest Olahus monograph (2003), presented on a specific work, the *Processus Universalis*, which is of dubious authorship. Although this work of alchemy was passed down as a work of Olahus for a long time, Farkas Gábor Kiss, Benedek Láng, and Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu convincingly refuted this idea in 2006. However, Neagu has reopened the issue and listed the arguments for and against the attribution. Gábor Szoliva OFM presented on a specific copy of a specific work, as well its provenance: the copy of *Psalterium Strigoniense* owned by Olahus survived in *Nicoletum*, the Vienna residence of the author and is held today by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. Szoliva published a facsimile edition of the psalterium in 2015. The historian of church music finished his presentation with an unusual performance: he played a record of one of the hymns from the psalterium also owned by Olahus.

The symposium ended with two presentations related to the reception of Olahus as a historian. In his presentation László Szörényi convincingly proved that János Arany not only knew Olahus' historical works, but Olahus' work *Athila* was most certainly a source of his Hun trilogy. Szörényi's presentation not only fit the program of the Olahus conference organically, but his was also one of the last scientific lectures of the János Arany bicentennial that was coming to a close at the time. András Zoltán also talked about the afterlife of *Athila*, specifically about its old Polish translation and its influence on old Slavonic works. The work immortalizing the Hun king was well-known thanks to the 1568 Zsámboky edition, although without a name

because the Polish translation did not include Olahus' name. However, the presenter showed that the original source can easily be identified based on Attila's descriptions.

Four further researchers participated in the conference without delivering a presentation, but they did submit their studies to this volume, thus enriching the content of the volume and enhancing its quality. Péter Kasza researched the sources of another historical work by Olahus, *Hungaria* as a *chorographia*. The author concludes that beside scrivener Lázár's map, we have to attribute at least equal significance to the personal experiences of the illustrious humanist, since it is clear that he describes those areas and settlements with greater confidence to which he had some connection (he had either visited them or had an estate in the area). Gergely Tóth focuses on the afterlife of *Hungaria*, namely Mathias Bel's *editio princeps*, and he also draws a new, more convincing *stemma* for the transmission of *Hungaria*. Viktor Kanász publishes the testimony Olahus made during the trial in the matter of the murder of György Fráter, accompanied by a study. Although Olahus' testimony, which is only one of 139 in the matter, has been known by researchers for a long time, it has not been published before. In his study Levente Nagy creates the family tree of Olahus from Dracula to Pál Esterházy, based on the available sources and the Hungarian and Romanian literature. This is one of the key topics that seems have been written about in different 'lanes', sometimes in Romanian, at other times in Hungarian. However, thanks to the study by Nagy, at last a wider research community will now have access to the results. I am certain that this volume is not only the most up-to-date and comprehensive synthesis of our current knowledge on Olahus, but it will also be an influential starting point for all further research.

Last, but not least, I need to say a few words about support for this research. Both the organization of the international symposium and the publication of the present volume was made possible through the MTA Premium Post-doctoral Research Program and the MTA Publication Grant. I would like to once again thank for their support. Further thanks goes to the Library and Information Center of the MTA (Hungarian Academy of Sciences), which provided an excellent venue for the conference, as well as the Hungarian Historical Institute of Vienna, which has accepted the volume in its prestigious series. The conference, these proceedings, as well as the first volume of the edition of correspondence cited in several locations within the volume could not have been completed without support from my colleagues at my place of work, the Institute for Literary Studies, Research Centre for the Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Many of them helped me with the organization, and it is also worth remembering that the name of the Hungar-

ian Academy of Sciences is still an important buzzword both for Hungarian and foreign researchers. To conclude, I cannot find better lines than those of Olahus:

Si nihil in nostro est lepidi grative libello,
Anxia me melius scribere cura vetat.
Mens etenim duro patriae confecta periclo
Torpet et est longo nunc hebetata malo.

EMŐKE RITA SZILÁGYI

LEBENS LAUF

VIZEKANZLER, KANZLER, ERZKANZLER

Nikolaus Oláh als Leiter der Ungarischen Hofkanzlei (1543–1568)

EINLEITUNG

Im Mittelpunkt dieses Beitrages steht weder der Humanist, noch der Kleriker, sondern der Beamte Nikolaus Oláh, obwohl diese Identitäten nicht voneinander trennbar sind. Alle Spitzenbeamten dieser Zeit sind hochgebildete Humanisten. Die humanistische Ausbildung baut Fähigkeiten auf, die für die tägliche Beamtenarbeit notwendig sind, bzw. dient sie als eine Art von verbindender Gemeinsamkeit, auf welcher basierend wichtige Verknüpfungen unter den Humanisten, die gleichzeitig als Beamten (oft als Spitzebeamten) tätig waren, zustandekommen konnten.¹

Nikolaus Oláh war von Jugend an als Beamter tätig. Seine Beamtenlaufbahn begann er 1516 als Sekretär bei Georg Szatmári (†1524), Bischof von Fünfkirchen (Pécs), später Erzbischof von Gran (Esztergom). In seinen letzten Jahren war er als Erzkanzler (von 1553 bis 1568) bzw. als Statthalter des Königreichs Ungarn (von 1562 bis 1568) tätig. Diese Ämter waren ständig mit täglichen Aufgaben verbunden, nicht zuletzt wegen der aufgebauten Strukturen (die Kanzlei war zu klein, mit wenig Personal), wie es eine Nachricht aus dem Jahre 1567 zeigt: Als der führende Sekretär der Hofkanzlei, Johann Listhius, schwer erkrankt war, musste der alte Kanzler, der Erzbischof von Gran, Statthalter Ungarns, höchspersönlich die tägliche Büroarbeit in der Hofkanzlei leiten.²

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¹ Über die Welt und Mentalität der Beamten in der Frühen Neuzeit stehen kaum Untersuchungen zur Verfügung. Es wird hier nur auf einige allgemeine Werke hingewiesen: REINHARD, 2002, 125–132; HATTENHAUER, 1980, 43–59; MEGNER, 2010, 27–96.

² „Dominus Listhius valde infirmatus, solus cancellarius cum scholasticis cogitur expedire omnia scripta.“ Brief von Blasius Literatus, Bürger von Warasd an Christoph Batthyány, 27. Mai 1567, Wien (MNL OL P 1314 Nr. 1530.)

DIE WICHTIGSTEN STATIONEN DIESER BEAMTENLAUFBAHN

1516–1524	Sekretär von György Szatmári, Bischof von Fünfkirchen, später Erzbischof von Gran ¹
1526	wurde er zum königlichen Sekretär (16. März 1526) bzw. fast gleichzeitig zum Sekretär der Königin Maria (21. März 1526) ernannt ²
1526–1539	blieb er im Dienst der verwitweten Königin und folgte ihr als lateinischer Sekretär in die Niederlande, wo er acht Jahre verbrachte (1531–1539) ³
1543	wurde er zum ungarischen Vizekanzler ernannt, der mit der Leitung der Ungarischen Hofkanzlei betraut wurde (1. Aug. 1543) ⁴
1546	Zum ungarischen Hofkanzler befördert ⁵
1553	wurde er zum Erzbischof von Gran, Primas von Ungarn und damit verbunden gleichzeitig zum ungarischen Erzkanzler ernannt (7. Mai 1553) ⁶
1562	Ernennung zum Statthalter des Königreich Ungarns (nach dem Tod des Palatins Thomas Nádasdy, 9. Aug. 1562 oder kurz später) ⁷

³ PÉTERFFY, 1742, II. 187.

⁴ PÉTERFFY, 1742, II. 188; RÉCSEY, 1898, 494–498, hier 495.

⁵ PÉTERFFY, 1742, II. 188. Über seine Rückkehr berichtete Oláh seinen alten Freund Thomas Nádasdy, 17. Nov. 1539, Wien (*Egyháztörténelmi emlékek*, 1902–1912, III. 419–421).

⁶ ÖStA FHKA HKA HZAB Bd. 2. fol. 202v–203r. Nicht viel später wurde er zum Bischof von Zagreb ernannt, damit wurde Oláh Mitglied des ungarischen Episkopats (erste bekannte Erwähnung am 1. Jänner 1544, Brief von Oláh an Christoph Batthyány aus Prag, MNL OL P 1314 No. 34385.).

⁷ Erste bekannte Erwähnung: Brief von Oláh an Franz Batthyány, 8. Nov. 1546. Wien (MNL OL P 1314 Nr. 34390.).

⁸ PL AS AR Classis A. Nr. 24.; PÉTERFFY, 1742, II. 189.

⁹ Ferdinand I. an Maximilian, König von Böhmen, 9. Aug. 1562 Prag (ÖStA HHStA UA AA Fasc. 86. Konv. B. fol. 27–28.).

Oláh führte die Ungarische Hofkanzlei unter den verschiedenen Titeln 25 Jahre lang, damit war er der längst amtierende Hofkanzler in der Frühen Neuzeit (in dieser Zeit gab es nur eine einzige ähnlich lange Amtszeit, und zwar die von Georg Szelepcsényi im 17. Jahrhundert, der 22 Jahre lang als ungarischer Hofkanzler tätig war).¹⁰

I. ORGANISATION UND AUFGABENBEREICH DER UNGARISCHEN HOFKANZLEI

Der mittelalterliche Fürstenhof verfügte nur über eine einzige Behörde, besser gesagt Quasi-Behörde, die das Zentrum der Verwaltung und Justiz bildete, nämlich die fürstliche Kanzlei. Die Situation veränderte sich wesentlich in der Frühen Neuzeit, mit der Zeit ging eine Ausdifferenzierung der Zentralbehörden, was in vielen Ländern Europas einen Bedeutungsverlust für die Kanzleien bedeutete.¹¹ In der Habsburger Monarchie, wo die Zentralverwaltung eine große Rolle in der Verwaltung (Koordinierung) der einzelnen Länder des zusammengesetzten Staates (*composite state*) hatte, gestaltete sich die Lage anders.¹² Ferdinand I. versuchte schon am Anfang seiner Regierungszeit die Verwaltung seiner Länder miteinander in Harmonie zu bringen (1527 Hofstaatordnung), er konnte jedoch nur Teilerfolge erringen. Letztendlich wurde von ihm ein Regierungsstil ausgearbeitet, bei dem der Monarch seine Vorstellungen auf seine Machtbefugnisse stützend einzeln auf ihre Länder zwang. Wenn es notwendig war, war er bereit Kompromisse mit den jeweiligen Ständen zu schließen, während er aber das wesentliche immer vor seinen Augen behielt. Zwar setzte der Herrscher, Ferdinand I. 1528 einen Obersten Kanzler in der Person Bernhard von Cles (1485–1539) ein, die Kanzleien einiger Länder (nämlich die von Böhmen und Ungarn) konnten jedoch ihren Einfluss teilweise weiterhin bewahren.

Im Königreich Ungarn eröffnete sich in den 1540er Jahren die Möglichkeit umfassende Verwaltungsreformen durchzuführen.¹³ Der Schock, der durch die Eroberung der Hauptstadt Ofen durch die Osmanen (1541) verursacht wurde, verstärkte die Kompromissbereitschaft sowohl beim Herrscher wie auch bei den Ständen. Die Neuorganisierung der Ungarischen Kanzlei, die ihren Platz bisher noch nicht im neuen Regierungssystem gefunden hatte und während der Kanzlerzeit von Péter Perényi (1540–1542)

¹⁰ FALLENBÜCHL 1988, 99.

¹¹ Zusammenfassend REINHARD, 2002, 150–157.

¹² Über die Verwaltungsreformen Ferdinands I.: ROSENTHAL, 1887; RAUSCHER, 2005.

¹³ PÁLFFY, 2001; KENYERES, 2005.

immer unbedeutender geworden war, bildete ein wichtiges Element dieser Reformen.¹⁴

Oláh übernahm also eine zerfallene Institution, deren Aufgabenbereich immer schmaler wurde. Der ungarische Hofkanzler, Peter Perényi, wurde im Oktober 1542 nach der misslungenen Belagerung Budas (Ofen), wegen Hochverrates verhaftet. Der Vizekanzler, ein Vertrauter von Perényi, Johann Pécsi, Propst von Leles (Lelesz) war ab Sommer 1542 nicht mehr im Amt.¹⁵ Die ungarischen Angelegenheiten wurden provisorisch von Lorenz Saurer, Sekretär der Hofkanzlei, übernommen und etwa ein Jahr lang geführt.¹⁶

Der neue Vizekanzler führte seine Aufgabe mit Erfolg durch. Diese 25jährige Tätigkeit Oláhs als Hofkanzler war entscheidend in der Geschichte der ungarischen Hofkanzlei: er organisierte die Ungarische Hofkanzlei basierend auf seinen Erfahrungen von der Jagellonischen Zeit neu, während er die neuen Umstände auch berücksichtigen konnte. Merkmale der „Oláhschen“ Ungarischen Hofkanzlei:¹⁷

1.) Die Ungarische Hofkanzlei residiert immer in der nächsten Umgebung des Herrschers in Wien oder in Prag. Es gibt keine Abteilung in Ungarn, d. h. die Institution wurde zu einer wirklichen Hofkanzlei, die immer am Hof des Herrschers tätig war, und keine direkten Verbindungen mit den Ständen hatte.

2.) Die tägliche Arbeit der Hofkanzlei, der Schriftverkehr, wird von Sekretären geführt und beaufsichtigt. Diese Sekretäre sind Angestellte der Hofkanzlei, und verkörpern einen anderen Typ Sekretär ähnlicher denen, die in der Zeit der Jagiello Könige tätig waren, als den königlichen Sekretären, die vor allem mit der Person des Königs verbunden waren, verschiedene Verwaltungsaufgaben übernahmen, und nebenbei manchmal auch an dem Schriftverkehr der Hofkanzlei teilnahmen.¹⁸ Die Bedeutung der Sekretäre erhöhte sich in dieser Zeit und ihre Amtsbefugnisse vermehrten sich, besonders nach 1553, als Oláh zum Erzbischof ernannt wurde.

3.) Die königlichen Notare und Schreiber sind Privatangestellte des Hofkanzlers (später auch der Sekretäre). Sie waren vom Hofkanzler angestellt, be-

¹⁴ Über die Ungarische Hofkanzlei zusammenfassend: FAZEKAS, 2012.

¹⁵ Letzte Spur über seine Tätigkeit in der Ungarischen Hofkanzlei stammt vom 9. Juli 1542 (MNL OL E 150 Reg. Fasc. 38. Nr. 14.).

¹⁶ Supplikation von Lorenz Saurer aus dem Jahr 1549 (ÖStA FHKA NÖKA r. Nr. 17. Konv. 1549. Jul. fol. 951–952.).

¹⁷ Die folgende Darstellung basiert auf meinen langjährigen Forschungen, die vor dem Abschluss stehen.

¹⁸ KUBINYI, 2005, 13–14.

zahlt und ihr Auftrag wurde mit dem Tod des Kanzlers beendet. Aus einem Bericht von 1568 weiß man, dass sich ihre Zahl in der Zeit von Oláh auf sechs belief.¹⁹ Der Hofkanzler bezahlte auch den Registrator (dieser Zeit Conservator genannt), der gleichzeitig als Siegelaufbewahrer tätig war.²⁰

4.) Die Erhaltungskosten der Hofkanzlei werden vom Hofkanzler übernommen (er genoss dafür zwei Drittel der gesamten Taxeinnahmen).

5.) Es existiert eine Verflechtung zwischen der Hofhaltung des Hofkanzlers und dem Personal der Hofkanzlei: die Privatangestellte des jeweiligen Hofkanzlers waren oft auch als königliche Notare (Schreiber) tätig.

Oláh schaffte damit eine billige Institution, nur der Hofkanzler bzw. später der Sekretär genoss ein staatliches Gehalt, alle anderen wurden praktisch von Taxeinnahmen bezahlt. Die Schreiber wurden nach Leistungsprinzip bezahlt. Es war genau geregelt, nach welcher Sorte der Dokumente welche Summe ihnen fällig wurde. Sie selbst führten ein Register über die verfertigten Konzepte und Mundierungen, und auf Grund dessen bekamen sie am Monatsende ihren Lohn. Sie konnten ihr Gehalt durch kleinere oder größere Geschenke der dankerfüllten Parteien ergänzen, die bis zu einem gewissen Grad toleriert waren.²¹

Man muss noch einige Erscheinungen, die nur vorübergehend und nur für die Amtszeit von Oláh spezifisch waren, behandeln. Nach 1553, als er zum Erzbischof von Gran und damit verbunden zum Erzkanzler ernannt wurde, wurde kein Hofkanzler ernannt. Oláh ließ die Leitung der Kanzlei nicht aus seinen Händen (sogar nach 1562, als er zum Statthalter ernannt wurde, behielt er die Leitung der Hofkanzlei, das bedeutete eine unglaubliche Machtkonzentration). Diese Lösung brachte Änderungen mit. Einerseits erhöhten sich die Bedeutung und die Amtsbefugnisse der Sekretäre und für einige Jahre erschien ein neuer Typ Sekretär, der hochrangige Kleriker, die oft Bischöfe und gleichzeitig auch Mitglieder des königlichen Rats waren (*consiliarius et secretarius*) (Georg Draskovich d. Ä., Franz Forgách d. Ä., Andreas Dudith). Andererseits wurden nach 1556 Vizekanzler ernannt, die anstatt des Hofkanzlers mit einigen Schreibern den reisenden Herrscher begleiteten,

¹⁹ Bericht von Johann Liszthy, vor 4. Juni 1568 (MNL OL E 21 ad 1568. jún. 4).

²⁰ Mit der Zeit merkt man gewisse Veränderungen bei dem Siegelaufbewahrer, der die königlichen ungarischen Sekreetsiegel verwaltete, die dem ungarischen Kanzler anvertraut waren. Er war im 17. Jahrhundert beinahe wie ein „Staatsbeamter“, und damit konnte er eine gewisse Unabhängigkeit von dem Hofkanzler gewinnen. Vor allem wurden die juristischen Agenda dem Registrator überlassen.

²¹ Regelung von Johann Listhy für die Schreiber der Ungarischen Hofkanzlei, 13. August 1561, Wien (EFSZK Formularius liber 919v–920r.).

der immer öfter wegen seiner Verpflichtungen im Reich unterwegs war. In der späteren Zeit waren nur stellvertretende Kanzler (*cancellarius substitutus*) ernannt, die für einige Monate tätig waren.

Es muss betont werden, dass der Einflussbereich eines frühmodernen Beamten nicht so festgelegt wie heutzutage war. Seine persönliche Tüchtigkeit bzw. seine Beziehung zum Herrscher und den anderen Schlüsselpersonen des Machtapparats könnten einen Einflussgewinn mitbringen, im negativen Fall aber musste er einen Verlust an Einfluss ertragen. Das galt auch für den ungarischen Hofkanzler bzw. für die Ungarische Hofkanzlei. Die Hofkanzlei übte normalerweise die königlichen Majestätsrechte aus und schützte die königlichen und staatlichen Interessen. Demnach stellte sie die Urkunden über königliche Donationen aus und bekräftigte die Donationsbriefe von Landeswürdenträgern. Im Prinzip verkehrte der Monarch mit den ungarischen Regierungsorganen (z. B. mit der Ungarischen Kammer, den Komitaten und den Städten) bzw. mit den ungarischen ständischen Würdenträgern über die Ungarische Hofkanzlei. Ihre Mitwirkung in der Rechtsprechung galt als Berufungsforum für die von oberen Gerichten gefällte Urteile, aber besaß doch ein sehr wirksames Mittel: es konnten nämlich Großrichter bzw. der König durch die eigenartige Rechtspraxis des Landes in den Prozessverlauf durch Mandate eingreifen. Von der Seite des Königs wurde dieses Recht durch die Hofkanzlei ausgeübt. Auf dem Gebiet der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten verfügte die Ungarische Hofkanzlei lediglich über einen geringen Einfluss: Präsentation (Nomination) der neu ausgewählten ungarischen Bischöfe an die päpstliche Kurie und Kontakt in ungarischen Angelegenheiten mit dem polnischen König. Als glaubwürdiger Ort durfte die Kanzlei auch gewisse notarielle Funktionen ausüben, sie war berechtigt, Privaturkunden und Testamente zu bekräftigen usw.

Eine Spezialität der Oláh-Zeit war, dass die Ungarische Hofkanzlei auch in die Finanzverwaltung eindringen konnte. 1545 erhielten die ungarischen Dreissigistämter ein königliches Mandat, dass sie im folgenden verpflichtet waren, die Verordnungen, die von der Ungarischen Hofkanzlei ausgestellt und von einem Rat der Hofkammer unterzeichnet wurden, durchzuführen.²² Die Zusammenarbeit funktionierte aber nicht wirklich, so wurde 1550 schon ein königliches Mandat verfasst, dass man den Verordnungen der Ungarischen Hofkanzlei, die ohne Bescheid und Wissen der Wiener Hofkammer ausgestellt wurden, nicht nachzukommen musste.²³ Trotz allem Einflussge-

²² Ferdinand I. an Sebastian Szerémi, Wolfgang Schreiber, Thomas Francisci, Georg Volker, 25. Jul. 1545. Wien (ÖStA FHKA HFU r. Nr. 2. Konv. 1545. fol. 109., UGB Bd. 384. fol. 206rv.).

²³ Hofkammer an die Ungarische Kammer, 20. Dez. 1550. (ÖStA FHKA HFU r. Nr. 3.

winn, wurden noch immer viele ungarische Angelegenheiten in der Hofkanzlei (nach 1559 in der Reichshofkanzlei) erledigt.²⁴ Das hängt mit dem Charakter des damaligen Verwaltungssystems zusammen, wo für Finanz- und Militärangelegenheiten Zentralorgane existierten, und die vertrauliche und Familienkorrespondenz durch Sekretäre der Hofkanzlei (nach 1559 Reichshofkanzlei) erledigt wurde.

Es muss noch die Frage gestellt werden, warum Oláh auf die Leitung der Hofkanzlei nicht verzichten wollte. Vor allem darf man nicht vergessen, dass die Hofkanzlei die einzige ungarische Einrichtung war, die sich ständig neben dem Herrscher befand. Sie besaß einen bedeutenden Wirkungskreis: die Entscheidungen des Herrschers über Ungarn wurden durch die Hofkanzlei in Schrift gesetzt. Aber sie funktionierte nicht bloß als eine Stelle für Urkunden- und Mandatsausstellungen, sondern wurde immer mehr in den Entscheidungsprozess eingebunden. Der Hofkanzler bzw. der Sekretär bereitete die eingereichten Supplikationen für die herrscherliche Audienz vor. In dieser Zeit waren noch am Wiener Hof der Habsburger kaum Experten, die die ungarischen inneren Beziehungen gut kannten, und der Hofkanzler konnte über seinen Amtsbereich seinen Einfluss ausüben. Wegen seiner Amtspflichten war der Hofkanzler ein Vertrauter des Herrschers, der täglich mit dem Herrscher in Verbindung stand. Er konnte eine Verbindung mit den Schlüsselfiguren der Zentralverwaltung bzw. der Hofhaltung aufbauen. Andererseits musste der Hofkanzler auch mit den führenden Persönlichkeiten der ungarischen Stände einen guten Kontakt pflegen. Mit Erfahrung und mit einer gewissen Geschicklichkeit konnte man also eine Schlüsselposition in der ungarischen Politik einnehmen, und Oláh besaß beide Eigenschaften. Das Amt des Hofkanzlers ermöglichte ihm für viele Leute Gefallen zu leisten, einen Schenkungsbrief vom Herrscher zu erwirken oder ein Mandat in einer Prozessangelegenheit aufsetzen zu lassen. Die Schriftstücke wurden oft ohne Taxen gratis ausgestellt.²⁵ Falls er diese Position aufgegeben hätte, wäre vielleicht sein Nachfolger als Konkurrent auftreten und dadurch den Einflussbereich Oláh's beschränken.

Es gibt noch einen zweiten Gesichtspunkt, den man auch meiner Meinung nach berücksichtigen muss. Die Hofkanzlei bildete eine wichtige Basis des Oláhischen Klientensystems. Über die Bedeutung der Patronage und des Klientensystems, über die Mikropolitik der frühen Neuzeit (Begriff von Wolf-

Konv. 1550 Dez. fol. 7).

²⁴ Siehe die Gesetzartikel 9. aus dem Jahre 1559 und 35. aus dem Jahre 1563, wo die ungarischen Stände gegen den Eingriff der *Cancellariae Germanicae* d.h. Reichshofkanzlei auftreten.

²⁵ Bericht von Johann Liszthy, vor 4. Juni 1568 (MNL OL E 21 ad 1568. június 4. pag. 36–38.).

gang Reinhard) wird in der letzten Zeit viel geschrieben. Früher beurteilten die Historiker die Patronage und den Klientelismus negativ. In der letzten Zeit veränderte sich die Einstellung der Historiker, und sie erkannten die Bedeutung der Patronage an, die eine wichtige Rolle bei der Funktionierung des frühmodernen Staats spielte, mit deren Hilfe man die fehlenden staatlichen Strukturen ergänzen konnte.²⁶ Ein gut aufgebautes Klientelsystem konnte bei der Karriere sehr hilfreich sein. Nikolaus Oláh kehrte 1539 nach Ungarn zurück, während seiner Abwesenheit zerfielen trotz seiner intensiven Briefkontakte seine Kontakte, Freunde und Feinde starben, neue Machtzentren entstanden. Er brauchte einige Jahre, um ein eigenes Klientelsystem aufzubauen, dazu war es notwendig, genug materielle Mittel zu verfügen, und dazu brauchte er auch ein wenig Zeit, erst als Bischof von Zagreb, und später Bischof von Erlau (1548) bzw. Erzbischof von Gran stand ihm das zur Verfügung. Wie sich die Hofhaltung Oláhs und das Personal der Ungarischen Hofkanzlei verknüpft, wird noch in den folgenden Absätzen dargestellt.

II. DAS PERSONAL DER UNGARISCHEN HOFKANZLEI ZWISCHEN 1543 UND 1568

DIE VIZEKANZLER

Zwei Vizekanzler, Georg Draskovich d. Ä. (1525–1587), und Franz Forgách d. Ä. (1530/1535–1577) sind eindeutig „Kreationen“ von Oláh, beide studierten mit Unterstützung von Oláh in Italien, die ersten Benefizien bekamen sie mit der Hilfe des Erzbischofs. Andreas Dudith (1533–1589), ein Neffe des Augustin Sbardellati, Bischofs von Waitzen, gehörte nicht direkt dem Oláhischen Kreis an, das ehemalige Wunderkind landete vielleicht mit Hilfe von Maximilian II. in der Kanzlei.²⁷ Alle drei waren hoch gebildet, begabt und ehrgeizig, aber doch von unterschiedlichem Charakter. Draskovich konnte geduldig auf seine Zeit warten, er riskierte nur einen einzigen Konflikt mit Oláh (wegen der Pressburger Propstei gerieten sie aneinander – 1555).²⁸ Forgách und Dudith ertrugen nicht lang die Obhut des mächtigen Erzbischofs. Forgách wechselte zum Fürsten von Siebenbürgen (1568), später ging er nach Italien. Er wollte heiraten, doch als er sich gerade laisieren lassen wollte, ereilte ihn der Tod.²⁹ Dudith wechselte Glauben, trat zum Antitrini-

²⁶ DROSTE, 2003; EMICH – REINHARDT – THIESSEN – WIELAND, 2005; HENGERER, 2005; BRAKENSIEK, 2005; REINHARD, 1979; REINHARD, 2011.

²⁷ ALMÁSI, 2005, 902–903.

²⁸ KOLLER, 1782–1812, hier VI. 1–191; FAZEKAS, 2006.

²⁹ BÁRTFAI SZABÓ, 1904; SÖRÖS, 1896.

tarismus über und verließ den Klerikerstand. Er war später als habsburgischer Diplomat in Polen tätig.³⁰

DIE SEKRETÄRE

Wenn man die Liste der Sekretäre betrachtet (siehe Anhang), merkt man, wie langsam sich das Oláhische Klientensystem aufbaute. Johann Fejérthóy war ursprünglich Sekretär des früheren Bischofs von Zagreb, Simon Erdódy (ca. 1489–1543).³¹ Er wurde von Oláh, dem Nachfolger auf dem bischöflichen Stuhl, übernommen, am Anfang war er als Privatsekretär des Vizekanzlers tätig, der gleichzeitig auch als königlicher Notar (1545, 1546) bzw. Siegelaufbewahrer (1558) arbeitete, letztlich wurde er zum Sekretär der Hofkanzlei (1550, 1553) ernannt.³² Primus Merula ist auch ein Requisitenstück aus der Zeit von Thomas Szalaházy (1479–1535) aus den 1530er Jahren.³³ Federico Malatesta ist ebenfalls ein „Erbstück“, ein erfahrener Bürokrat aus der Umgebung von Paul Várday (1483–1549), Erzbischof von Gran und Statthalter von Ungarn, der schließlich von Oláh nicht angenommen wurde, obwohl selbst der Monarch, Ferdinand I., ihn unterstützte.³⁴ Malatesta beschwerte sich 1563, dass er in der Hofkanzlei immer mehr in den Hintergrund gegenüber den Vertrauten Oláh's, Johann Listhy (Listius), geriet.³⁵

Die späteren Sekretäre (Georg Draskovich, Franz Forgách, Johann Listhy, Andreas Dudith, Georg Bocskay) sind alle Geförderte von Oláh, ausgenommen den schon erwähnten Dudith. Die Gruppe von Draskovich, Forgách, Dudith, die alle Kleriker oder Prälaten waren und alle zum Vizekanzler aufstiegen, wurde schon vorher begünstigt. Die zwei übriggebliebene Sekretäre, Listhy und Bocskay verkörpern eine neue Art der Beamten, sie sind nämlich Laien. In der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts, innerhalb einiger Jahrzehnte spielte sich eine wichtige Veränderung in der Ungarischen Hofkanzlei ab: es verschwanden die Kleriker aus dem Beamtenstand. Im Hintergrund steht wahrscheinlich die rasche Verbreitung der Reformation bzw. der schnelle

³⁰ JUHÁSZ, 1938, 72–95. ALMÁSI, 2009.

³¹ PÁLFFY, 2003, 30–31.

³² MNL OL A 57 vol. 2. pag. 82., pag. 87. pag. 419–420. MAMERANUS, 1550, 44; ERDÖS, 1913, 14–17.

³³ FAZEKAS, 2007, 32.

³⁴ LACZLAVIK, 2012, 21.

³⁵ Ferdinand I. an Maximilian böhmischen König, 15. April 1563, Innsbruck (ÖStA HHStA Türkei I. Kt. 17. Konv. 2. fol. 94–101., fol. 100rv.). Maximilian beschuldigte den alten Sekretär, dass „er sich noch in der zeit seines secretariats, mit seiner correspondentz gegn alleraly potentaten sy sein Euer Mayestät verdächtlich gewesen“ (3. April 1563 Wien, ebd. Kt. 17. Konv. 2. fol. 65–80, fol. 79r.).

Rückgang der kirchlichen Benefizien, mit denen es bisher üblich war, die verdienstvollen Beamten zu belohnen. Dieser Vorgang lässt sich gut in der Ungarischen Hofkanzlei veranschaulichen, wo nach 1564 nur Laien als Sekretär angestellt wurden. Mit der interessanten Persönlichkeit des Kalligraphen Georg Bocskay (†1575) beschäftigt sich der Beitrag von Borbála Gulyás, aber die Gestalt der anderen Sekretäre Johann Liszthy (†1578) ist nicht weniger interessant. Liszthy, der aus einer Bürgerfamilie von Hermannstadt stammte, ebenso wie Oláh, nahm die uneheliche Tochter des Erzbischofs, Lucretia zur Ehefrau (1555).³⁶ So war der führende Sekretär der Hofkanzlei, der in einem Brief von Daniel Türck „*obrust secretarius*“ genannt wird (1558), gleichzeitig Schwiegersohn des Hofkanzlers.³⁷ Die Tatsache, dass Liszthy die Sekretessiegel, ein wichtiges Symbol der Kanzlerwürde, verwahrte, beweist das volle Vertrauen seines Herrn gegenüber ihm. Liszthy verwaltete wirklich die tägliche Arbeit in der Kanzlei, wie durch die von ihm zusammengestellte Regelung bestätigt wird.³⁸ Die spätere Karriere Liszthys ist auch aufschlussreich, als Laie konnte er nicht in der Hofkanzlei Karriere machen, nach dem Tode Oláh's (1568) musste er sich ordinieren lassen, dann wurde er zum Vizekanzler bzw. Bischof von Wesprim (Veszprém) ernannt (er war schon damals seit einigen Jahren (seit 1561) Witwer).³⁹

DIE KÖNIGLICHEN NOTARE UND SCHREIBER

Die Zusammensetzung der Kanzleiangeestellten niederen Ranges (Notare, Schreiber bzw. Registrator) war im 16–17. Jahrhundert in hohem Maße dadurch beeinflusst, dass sie Privatangestellte des Kanzlers waren, und sie, im Gegensatz zur Ungarischen Kammer, kein staatliches Gehalt genossen, sondern vom Kanzler ernährt und bezahlt wurden, wie schon erwähnt wurde. Die Unsicherheit der Stelle, mit dem Tod des Kanzlers endete ihre Anstellung, machte sie relativ mobil, und sie versuchten einen sichereren Unterhalt zu finden. Kein Zufall ist es also, dass aus der Kanzlerzeit von Nikolaus Oláh (1543–1568) von über 38 Notaren Angaben gefunden wurden.

Man kann unter ihnen einige markante Gruppen bemerken. Einerseits sind einige unter ihnen von bürgerlicher Herkunft (Christoph Armpruster, Gaspar Zula, Balthasar Zula, Sebastianus Liszthy, Johann Abstemius/Bornemissza, Hieronymus Strauss, Albert Huet, Tiburtius Himmelreich). Es ist sicher kein Zufall, dass viele von ihnen aus Siebenbürgen, sogar aus

³⁶ Tagebuch von Daniel Türck (OSZKK Quart. Lat. 556 fol. 111v.).

³⁷ DOMANOVSKY, 1922, 358.

³⁸ EFSZK Formularius liber 919v–920r.

³⁹ FAZEKAS, 2002, 229.

Hermannstadt (Șibiu, Nagyszeben) Oláhs Heimatstadt, stammten: Christoph Armpruster (bekanntes Name in der Literaturgeschichte), Sebastianus Liszthy (jüngerer Bruder von Johann Listhius), Hieronymus Strauss und Albert Huet.⁴⁰ Oláh unterstützte offensichtlich gern seine Landesgenossen. Einige Siebenbürger kehrten später in ihre Heimat zurück (wie Bornemisza, Huet), andere versuchten hier ihr Glück (wie Armpruster oder Sebastianus Liszthy). Die Anwesenheit vieler Bürgersöhne in der Staatsverwaltung ist kein Einzelfall in dieser Zeit. Die Beamtenlaufbahn übte noch begrenzte Anziehungskraft auf die Adligen aus. Sie werden erst später auf die Möglichkeiten aufmerksam, die im Staatsdienst steckten.⁴¹ Wenn man die soziale Abstammung der späteren Kanzleinotaren näher betrachtet, sieht man schon die Unterschiede. Die Anwesenheit der bürgerlichen und nicht adeligen Elemente wird immer geringer, obwohl sie nie ganz verschwinden, und die Adeligenzahl nimmt stark zu. Zur bürgerlichen Schicht gehörte auch der Kremnitzer Tiburtius Himmelreich, dessen Laufbahn in der Oláhischen Zeit seinen Anfang genommen hatte. Er war mit kleiner Unterbrechung fast 50 Jahre lang in der Ungarischen Hofkanzlei tätig (er starb 1610 als führender Sekretär der Kanzlei).⁴²

Die zweite Gruppe der Notare ist die der Adligen, welche die Grundlage ihrer Existenz mit dem Vordringen der Osmanen verlor. Sie mussten entweder als Soldat in der formierenden Grenzverteidigungslinie oder als Beamte in der Staatsverwaltung bzw. in den Organen der ständischen Verwaltung ihr tägliches Brot verdienen. Dieser Gruppe gehörten der Kalligraph György Bocskay aus Slavonien, der Historiker Miklós Istvánffy (1538–1615) aus dem Komitat Baranya, oder Georg Hosszuthóthy (†1590), der spätere Rat der Ungarischen Kammer aus dem Komitat Zala, an. Istvánffy ist ein gutes Beispiel wie der Privatapparat und der staatliche Apparat miteinander sich verflochten waren. Istvánffy diente ursprünglich im Hofe von Pál Várday, nach seinem Tod (1549) wurde er von Oláh übernommen.⁴³ Der begabte junge Mann wurde nach Italien geschickt, er studierte von 1552 bis 1555 an der Paduer Universität.⁴⁴ Nach seiner Rückkehr diente er einige Jahre beim Militär, dann wurde er Privatsekretär des Erzbischofs (1558), er blieb im Dienst des Erzbischofs bis zu seinem Tode 1568. Parallel mit dem Sekretärdienst arbeitete er, wenn es notwendig war, als Notar der Ungarischen Hofkanzlei (erste Erwähnung

⁴⁰ Über den Dichter Armpruster zuletzt: *Magyar művelődéstörténeti lexikon*, 2003, 142. (Artikel von Klára Pajorin).

⁴¹ HINTZE, 1981, 34–35.

⁴² FAZEKAS, 2016, 55–61.

⁴³ Über die Laufbahn und Persönlichkeit boten die Beiträge des folgenden Bandes einen guten Überblick: ÁCS – TÓTH, 2018.

⁴⁴ VERESS, 1915, 51.

9. Aug. 1559).⁴⁵ Seine typische Handschrift ist bei zahlreichen Schriftstücken erkennbar, unter ihnen war sie bei einigen Opinionen des Ungarischen Rates (Consilium Hungaricum), des obersten Beratungsgremiums des Landes, deren schriftliche Arbeit durch die Ungarische Hofkanzlei bewältigt wurde.⁴⁶

Die dritte Gruppe ist die Gruppe der Adelligen, die die Sprösslinge bekannter adeligen Familien waren. Sie wurden wahrscheinlich von ihren Familien an den Hof des Hofkanzlers geschickt, um dort etwas zu lernen, wie im einem kurzem Bericht von Johann Liszthy aus 1568 steht. Der Sekretär bzw. der frisch ernannte Vizekanzler bemerkte gleichzeitig, dass wenn die jungen Adelligen nicht angenommen wurden, sofort eine Empörung auf dem Landtag entstand.⁴⁷ Zu dieser Gruppe gehörte zum Beispiel Georg Alaghy, Martin Berzeviczy, Wolfgang Büdy, Bernhard Csányi etc. Sie verbrachten einige Jahre neben dem Hofkanzler, dann verließen sie die Beamtenlaufbahn.

Es muss noch angemerkt werden, dass sich die verschiedenen Aufgabenbereiche im erzbischöflichen Hof zusammenmischten, und die schreibkundigen Leute, Notare und Sekretäre nach Bedarf verwendet wurden. Zum Beispiel war Gregorius Bodroghy eher für den Schriftverkehr der Statthalterei angestellt, aber wenn es notwendig war, war er auch als Notar der Ungarischen Hofkanzlei tätig.⁴⁸ Im Verzeichnis der Oláh'schen Servitoren, was nach dem Tode des Erzbischofs (1568) aufgenommen wurde, wurde er auch Sekretär genannt.⁴⁹ Er war wahrscheinlich für die Angelegenheiten der Statthalterei zuständig. Diese Vermutung wird dadurch unterstützt, dass er auch als Sekretär von dem Nachfolger Paulus Abstemius/Bornemissza angenommen wurde.⁵⁰ Diese Lösung ist ungewöhnlich (Mischung von privat und geschäftlich), aber

⁴⁵ HOLUB, 1909, 18.

⁴⁶ Z. B. „Opinio domini consiliariorum Hungarorum circa administrationem justitiae et militiae in absentia Caesareae Maiestatis vacando palatinatu. 8 Augusti 1562” – ÖStA HHStA UA Miscellanea Fasc.425. Konv. B. fol. 208–213.

⁴⁷ „Taxa autem ejusmodi inde ab antiquo semper exacta est pro cancellariis vel vicecancellariis, ex qua tamen secretarii regii in consilio locum habentes percipere solent, taxae omnium literarum suae quisque expeditionis terciam partem, reliquum cedit cancellario vel vicecancellario, qui de hoc providere solet omnibus cancellariae necessitatibus, et ex hoc residuo intertenet notarios et scribas, nunc plures nunc pauciores, solent tamen ut plurimum est numero sex, aliquando plures, eo quod plerunque cancellariis vel vicecancellariis de veteri consuetudine obruduntur filii nobilium, ut discant, et si propter sumptus non acceptantur in dietis propterea publici fiunt clamores.” – Bericht von Johann Liszthy, vor 4. Juni 1568 (MNL OL E 21 ad 1568. június 4. pag. 36–38.).

⁴⁸ MNL OL A 57 vol. 3. pag. 846., ÖStA HHStA FA Erdödy Lad. 25. Fasc. 9. Nr. 7.

⁴⁹ KÁRFFY, 1901, 467.

⁵⁰ ÖStA FHKA HFU r. Nr. 27. Konv. 1574. Jul. fol. 300–301.

in der frühmodernen Zeit wurde der Schriftverkehr stark durch Kontinuität unterstützt.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Tätigkeit Oláhs als Leiter der ungarischen Hofkanzlei ist bedeutend. Er organisierte die Kanzlei neu und festigte den Einflussbereich der Hofkanzlei innerhalb der Zentralverwaltung. Die neuorganisierte Hofkanzlei konnte ihre Aufgaben erfüllen und erst ab Mitte des 17. Jahrhundert wurden neue Reformen notwendig. Für Nikolaus Oláh war die Hofkanzlei gleichzeitig eine wichtige Basis, wo er seine Förderlinge unterbringen konnte. Es bestand eine starke Verflechtung zwischen Hofkanzlei und der Hofhaltung von Oláh.⁵¹ Wenn man die Namensliste der Kanzleiangestellten betrachtet, muss man die Schlussfolgerung ziehen, dass Oláh ein sehr geeigneter und begabter Patron war, der mit scharfen Augen die Begabten auswählen konnte. Das ermöglichte ihm relativ schnell ein eigenes, erfolgreiches Klientensystem auf die Beine zu bringen. Aber der Erzbischof musste auch eine sehr massive Persönlichkeit gewesen sein. Der Bewegungsraum der Klientelen wurde von ihm bestimmt, und sein immer breiterer Einfluss in der Politik, im kirchlichen und weltlichen Leben ließ keinen Raum für Einzelne zur Geltung zu kommen und das konnte in einigen Fällen Spannungen hervorrufen.

ISTVÁN FAZEKAS

⁵¹ Im Verzeichnis der Servitoren, die oben zitiert wurden, findet man sechs Leute, die gleichzeitig als Kanzleinotare tätig waren: Jakab Vízkelethy, Benedikt Zercheky, Andreas Ferencffy, Matthias Almásy, Gregorius Bodroghy, Thomas Milith, Nikolaus Persey, siehe: KÁRFFY, 1901, 468.

ANHANG

**Das Personal der Ungarischen Hofkanzlei während der Oláh Ära
1543–1568****Vizekanzler**

Georg Draskovich d. Ä. Propst von Pressburg (Bratislava, Pozsony), später Bischof von Fünfkirchen 1556–1561
Franz Forgách d. Ä. Bischof von Grosswardein (Oradea, Nagyvárad) 1562, 1563
Andreas Dudith Bischof von Fünfkirchen 1565, 1566

Sekretäre

Johann Fejérthóy 1550, 1553
Primus Merula Domherr von Wesprim 1550
Federico Malatesta 1552–1556
Georg Draskovich d. Ä. Propst von Jasow 1553–1555
Johann Liszthy 1554, 1568
Franz Forgách Bischof von Grosswardein 1558, 1561
Andreas Dudith Bischof von Fünfkirchen 1563, 1564
Georg Bocskay 1564, 1575

Registrator und Siegelaufbewahrer

Paul Mucei 1543
Johann Fejérthóy 1548
Johann Liszthy 1552/1553–1568

Königliche Notare und Schreiber (38)

Primus Merula Domherr von Wesprim 1527, 1544
Paul Mucei 1543, 1544
Johann Fejérthóy Domherr von Zagreb 1545, 1546
Georg Bocskay 1545, 1564
Christoph Armpruster 1548, 1555
Franz Makó 1548, 1549
Peter Csúzy Domherr von Neutra 1548
Gaspar Szula (Zwla) 1548, 1552
Gabriel Szentgyörgyi 1548
Georg Hosszuthóthy 1549

Emerich Paluczki/Palugyay 1551, 1554
Thomas Sárpataky 1551
Matthias Tólnai Deák (Literatus) 1551, 1556
Felix Steinperger 1551
Sebastian Kerekes 1551
Balthasar Zula (Dinkh) 1553, 1559
Sebastianus Liszthy 1553, 1560†
Johann Bornemissza de Brasso 1554, 1555
Jakob Vízkelethy 1553, 1571
Georg Alaghy 1556, 1563
Hieronymus Strausz 1557, 1559
Martin Berzeviczy 1559, 1563
Albert Huet (Hutter) 1558
Nikolaus Istvánffy 1559, 1567
Wolfgang Büdy 1560
Bernhard Csányi 1561, 1564
Benedikt Zercheky 1560, 1572
Andreas Bosnyák 1561
Paulus Madocsányi (Madaczansky) 1561
Andreas Ferencffy 1561
Johann Zasskovszky 1562
Georg Csemiczky 1562, 1564
Matthias Almásy 1563, 1568
Tiburtius Himmelreich vor 1564, 1576
Gregorius Pálffy vor 1564, 1580
Gregorius Bodroghy 1565, 1567
Thomas Milith vor 1568, 1577
Nikolaus Persey vor 1568

LITERATURVERZEICHNIS

ARCHIVALISCHE QUELLEN

EFSZK Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár

Formularius liber = Batthyány-gyűjtemény Cat.V.Tit.II.a. „Formularius liber variorum expeditionum in Cancellaria Hungarica Nicolao Olaho cancellario anno 1555 compilatus”

Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltár [MNL OL] [Ungarisches Nationalarchiv Staatsarchiv, Budapest]

A 57 Libri regii

E 21 Benignae Resolutiones

E 150 Acta Ecclesiastica

P 1314 Batthyány család levéltára [Archiv der Familie Batthyány], Missiles

OSZKK

Quart. Lat. 556.

Österreichisches Staatsarchiv [ÖStA, Wien]

Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv [FHKA]

Hoffinanz Ungarn [HFU]

Hofzahlamtsbücher [HZAB]

Niederösterreichische Kammerakten [NÖKA]

Haus-, Hof- und Staatarchiv [HHStA]

Ungarische Akten (Hungarica), Allgemeine Akten [UA AA]

Türkei I. (Turcica)

Familienarchiv Erdődy [FA Erdődy]

Prímási Levéltár [Primatialarchiv, Esztergom]

Archivum Saeculare

Acta radicalia

GEDRUCKTE QUELLEN

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THE SECOND LETTERS PATENT (GRANT OF BARONY) ISSUED TO NICOLAUS OLAHUS (1558–1560)

The second letters patent issued to Nicolaus Olahus and his family is among the most richly decorated charters produced in Hungary in the second half of the sixteenth century.¹ The grantee of these letters patent, the humanist prelate Nicolaus Olahus, was at that time Archbishop of Esztergom (1553–1568); earlier he had served as Bishop of Zagreb (1543–1548), and Bishop of Eger (1548–1553); he also headed the Hungarian Court Chancellery in Vienna from 1543 to 1568 as deputy chancellor, chancellor, and finally high chancellor.² As a significant member (and later head) of the Hungarian ecclesiastical elite, who also served as royal regent from 1562, he was an outstanding collector and patron of the arts of the period.³

Portraits of Olahus frequently appeared on works of art in which he was involved in some capacity (as publisher, patron, etc.). In 1558, the year his second letters patent was issued, he commissioned German engraver Hans Sebald Lautensack of Vienna to execute his portrait. This half-length depiction is the earliest known example of a Hungarian portrait accompanied by epigrammatic praise. These epigrams featured common humanist topoi related to art (e.g. the ancient painter Apelles) and were written by Olahus and other

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¹ For more on the two letters patent issued to Nicolaus Olahus, see the essential articles by András KOVÁCS, 1969; KOVÁCS, 1994.

² For his career, see, among others: R. VÁRKONYI 2003; FAZEKAS, 2005; FAZEKAS, 2012, 50–51; FAZEKAS, 2013, 106–107; see also the chapter by István FAZEKAS in the present volume.

³ JAKÓ, 1968, 200–204; JAKÓ, 1997, 351–357; MIKÓ, 2009, 126. For more on Olahus' library, see the chapter by István MONOK and Edina ZVARA in the present volume.

members of his humanist circle, including György Bóna, Miklós Istvánffy, and Sebestyén Liszthy. This etching and an updated copy of it, a woodcut made by German printmaker Donat Hübschmann in 1560 (also in Vienna), were published six times between 1558 and 1562 in Olahus' printed works and in books the publication of which he had supported.⁴ Another portrait of Olahus, a full-length figure, can be found on his excellent sepulchral monument, which was erected in accordance with his last will and testament in the St. Nicholas Church in Trnava (Nagyszombat, Tyrnau), seat of Hungarian archbishops, sometime after 1568.⁵

In the following, we will see that Olahus' painted portraits also appeared in the border decorations of his two letters patent, which he commissioned in 1548 and 1558, respectively. However, in contrast to the previously mentioned portraits, the decorations on these charters did not contribute to the prelate's public self-representation because they adorned extraordinarily important official documents and were thus stored among Olahus' most treasured personal effects.⁶

The richly decorated second letters patent (a grant of barony) was issued to Nicolaus Olahus and his family on 17 April, 1558 in Vienna by Ferdinand I of the House of Habsburg, in his capacity as the King of Hungary. This charter is now stored in the Archive of the Esterházy family, at the National Archives of Hungary in Budapest.⁷ As was previously noted, Olahus was the Archbishop of Esztergom and high chancellor of the Hungarian Court Chancellery in Vienna at that time.

The charter was produced in booklet form; it is a so-called *libellus*. The manuscript comprises three parchment bifolia held together by a gold and silver cord. It seems that it was originally an unbound manuscript; the thick, blank parchment bifolium that covers the booklet might originally have

⁴ RÓZSA, 1960, 433–438; GALAVICS, 1990, 401–406; FAZEKAS – UJVÁRY, 2001, No. 14.1.; GALAVICS, 2001, 66–68; SEIPEL, 2003, No. IV.11. (István FAZEKAS); RÉTHELYI – F. ROMHÁNYI – SPEKNER – VÉGH, 2005, No. VIII-12. (Zuzana LUDIKOVÁ); MIKÓ – VERŐ, 2008, Vols. I–II., No. II-1. (GÖDÖLLE Mátýás); LUDIKOVÁ (ed.), 2009, No. II.1.7–8. (Zuzana LUDIKOVÁ); BUZÁSI, 2014, 33, 67.

⁵ GALAVICS, 1995, 316; LUDIKOVÁ, 2002, 85–86, 90–91; MIKÓ, 2005, 630; BUZÁSI, 2014, 33, 35.

⁶ Cf. KOVÁCS, 1994, 106.

⁷ National Archives of Hungary, Budapest, P 108, Rep. 2–3, Fasc. K, No. 163 (NYULÁSZINÉ STRAUB, 1999², 184–185; NYULÁSZINÉ STRAUB, 2000, No. 167; <http://adatbazisokonline.hu/adatbazis/cimereslevel-adatbazis/>), cf. RADOCSAY, 1964, 101, 106; SZÁNTÓ, 1965, 1, 80–81; JAKÓ, 1968, 203–204; KOVÁCS, 1969, 106–108; VIGNAU-WILBERG, 1992, 8; KOVÁCS, 1994, 105–106; SEIPEL, 2003, No. IV.13. (István FAZEKAS); LUDIKOVÁ, 2009, No. II.2.4. (Zuzana LUDIKOVÁ); MIKÓ, 2009, 126; GULYÁS, 2016, 111.

served as the binding of the charter.⁸ The original wax seal of these letters patent is the double seal (*sigillum duplex*) Ferdinand I used as King of Hungary. Folia 1 and 2r of the booklet are blank. The two-page frontispiece of the letters patent is located on ff. 2v and 3r (Fig. 1. [Abb. 1.]). The text of the charter continues until f. 5r, where the signature of the grantor, King Ferdinand I, can be found. Ff. 5v and 6 are blank as well.

This work was dated and signed by the calligrapher György Bocskay.⁹ This artist's oeuvre includes a large number of charters, both in single folio and in booklet form, most of which were letters patent issued to Hungarian nobles. This is because Bocskay worked at the Hungarian Court Chancellery¹⁰ in Vienna for thirty years, the central governmental office of the Kingdom of Hungary within the composite state of the Habsburg Monarchy. As mentioned above, Nicolaus Olahus headed the Chancellery, which he operated out of his own house in Vienna,¹¹ between 1543 and 1568. If the king conferred a coat of arms upon a Hungarian nobleman or elevated him to a higher rank (e.g. a barony), the letters patent certifying such royal acts were prepared at the Chancellery. In accordance with their importance, such manuscripts were drawn up on ornately decorated parchment and fitted with a miniature depicting the granted coats of arms, usually accompanied by other painted or calligraphic ornamentation. Many of the latter decorations appearing on letters patent drawn up at the Chancellery between around 1550 and 1575 can be attributed to Bocskay. Through his work at this office, Bocskay established a sort of school, with the most distinctive decorative elements living on past his death, continuing to appear on letters patent, albeit in simplified form, even into the seventeenth century.

Based on my research, I consider it highly likely that Bocskay first came to the Chancellery in 1545 as a personal scribe to Nicolaus Olahus.¹² Bocskay's subsequent appointment as Hungarian court secretary (c. 1563–1564), a position he would hold for the rest of his life, was an important promotion for him, as it meant that he was now an employee of the state; from then on, he would receive an annual salary from the Hungarian Chamber.¹³ In

⁸ Opponent's review by Árpád Mikó: MIKÓ 2013, 338.

⁹ GULYÁS, 2016, 111. The calligraphic decoration on this charter has been attributed to Bocskay by SZÁNTÓ, 1965, 1, 80–81; JAKÓ, 1968, 204; KOVÁCS, 1969, 106; VIGNAU-WILBERG, 1992, 8; KOVÁCS, 1994, 105; SEIPEL, 2003, No. IV.13. (István FAZEKAS); LUDIKOVÁ, 2009, No. II.2.4. (Zuzana LUDIKOVÁ).

¹⁰ PÁLFFY, 2002, 71–74; FAZEKAS, 2012; FAZEKAS, 2013; see also the chapter by István FAZEKAS in the present volume.

¹¹ PERGER, 1994, 17–18; FAZEKAS, 2012, 51.

¹² Letter from György Bocskay to Tamás Nádasdy, Vienna, 9 June 1557, National Archives of Hungary, Budapest, E 185.

¹³ Cf. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna, AVA FHK HKA HFU Rote Nr. 11, Konv. 1564, 234–235; this information was kindly shared by István FAZEKAS.

those days, two people were generally employed as Hungarian court secretaries; these men occupied positions of influence within the Chancellery. Bocskay's fellow secretaries included, for example, the humanist András Dudith, historians Miklós Istvánffy and Ferenc Forgách, and the future leader of the Chancellery, János Liszthy.¹⁴ As mentioned above, Istvánffy, and János Liszthy's brother Sebestyén, who also served at the Chancellery, were among the authors of the epigrams that accompanied Olahus' printed portrait.

The calligrapher Bocskay was thus commissioned these extraordinarily high-quality letters patent by his first patron in Vienna and his immediate superior at the Chancellery. The close relationship between Bocskay and his patron Olahus explains the appearance of the artist's signature on this document. The miniature painted coat of arms and border decorations occupy all of the marginal space on the left side of the two-page frontispiece. The coat of arms is repeated along the border in the lower left-hand corner of the page. Behind the shield stands a crucifix, the lower upright of which bears Bocskay's signature, written in gold (Fig. 2. [Abb. 2.]). This signature has been interpreted as "15 HGB 60,"¹⁵ but it ought to be read as "15 FGB 60," which stands for "15 Fecit Georgius Bocskay 60," meaning "Made by György Bocskay in 1560." Although this charter was issued in 1558, the signature on it suggests that the decoration was completed two years later.

It is important to note that Bocskay used the abbreviation "FGB" as a signature on several occasions in his two writing model books, which were prepared around the same time. The first one was a small-scale manuscript, which Bocskay made for Ferdinand I in 1561–62, and which the Flemish artist Joris Hoefnagel illuminated for Rudolf II a few decades later, sometime before 1596.¹⁶ Folio 99r of this work contains a writing sample dated 1562, which is framed by a decorative scrollwork (*Rollwerk* in German). The calligrapher placed his signature in the center of the lower border of the ornamental frame. In another manuscript Bocskay prepared around that time, a large-scale, oblong-format work he dedicated to Ferdinand I in 1562,¹⁷ the same signatures are hidden within letters: in a writing sample of interlaced *Fraktur* initials (a form of German blackletter), it can be found in the letter "O" (f. 9r), while in another sample of decorated Roman inscriptional capitals it can be found in the letter "I" (f. 10r).

¹⁴ PÁLFFY, 2002, 72–73; FAZEKAS, 2012, 50–51; FAZEKAS, 2013, 105–106, 116–119.

¹⁵ cf. SZÁNTÓ, 1965, 1, 80–81.

¹⁶ The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Ms. 20., cf. *Prag um 1600*, 1988, No. 600 (Thea VIGNAU-WILBERG); HENDRIX, 1988, 110–117; HENDRIX – VIGNAU-WILBERG, 1992; VIGNAU-WILBERG, 2017, 82–91.

¹⁷ Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. ser.n. 2664., cf. VIGNAU-WILBERG, 1992, 9; GULYÁS, 2015, 222; VIGNAU-WILBERG 2017, 72; GULYÁS, 2018, 118–119.

Before discussing the ornamentation on this charter, it is worth looking at the first letters patent granted to Nicolaus Olahus (Fig. 3. [Abb. 3.]). The latter is a single folio manuscript, which lacks any significant calligraphic details and features a different painted decoration. Ferdinand I had issued this charter (a confirmation of nobility and grant of arms) to Olahus and his family ten years earlier, on 23 November, 1548, in Bratislava (Pozsony, Pressburg); it is also stored in the Archive of the Esterházy family at the National Archives of Hungary in Budapest.¹⁸

As Dénes Radocsay and András Kovács have pointed out,¹⁹ the margins of this manuscript are occupied by miniatures that include foliate ornamentation and fourteen separate scenes, most of which are portraits. According to the inscriptions on the portraits along the left border, they depict members of the Jagiellonian and Habsburg dynasties who played important roles in Olahus' career: starting in the upper left-hand corner and moving downward, these illustrations represent Holy Roman Emperor Charles V seated across from King Wladislas II of Hungary and Bohemia, King Louis II of Hungary and Bohemia and his spouse, Mary of Hungary, Holy Roman Emperor and King of Hungary and Bohemia Ferdinand I and his spouse, Anna Jagiellon, Archdukes Maximilian and Ferdinand of the House of Habsburg, and Joanna of Austria. Each of these figures is presented in a niche flanked by columns. The coat of arms granted to Olahus is composed of a shield charged with roses and laurels, with a unicorn in the middle, supported by lions, and surmounted by a crowned helmet also bearing a unicorn. It appears to have been modelled after the coat of arms of Nicolaus Olahus' former patron György Szatmári, the secret chancellor who served as Bishop of Pécs and later Archbishop of Esztergom.²⁰ Olahus' personal coat of arms, a smaller version of this shield surmounted by a miter, is positioned along the upper border decoration beside a figure of Olahus kneeling to pray in front of a crucifix. According to the inscriptions on the other portraits along the upper bar, they represent the other grantees of these letters patent: his brother Máté Oláh and his family; his sister Orsolya Oláh and her family; and his sister Ilona Oláh with her husband Miklós Olasz. In addition, along the upper bar of the border, each family portrait is followed by a depiction of a landscape. These

¹⁸ National Archives of Hungary, Budapest, P 108, Rep. 2–3, Fasc. K, No. 162 (NYULÁSZINÉ STRAUB, 1999², 184–185; NYULÁSZINÉ STRAUB, 2000, No. 151; <http://adatbazisokonline.hu/adatbazis/cimereslevel-adatbazis/>), cf. RADOCSAY, 1964, 96–101; JAKÓ, 1968, 203; KOVÁCS, 1969, 101–106; KOVÁCS, 1994, 103–105; FAZEKAS – UJVÁRY, 2001, No. 14.2; SEIPEL (ed.), 2003, No. IV.12. (István FAZEKAS); RÉTHELYI – F. ROMHÁNYI – SPEKNER – VÉGH, 2005, No. VIII-13. (ÉVA KÜNSTLERNÉ VIRÁG); LUDIKOVÁ, 2009, No. II.2.3. (Zuzana LUDIKOVÁ); MIKÓ, 2009, 126.

¹⁹ RADOCSAY, 1964, 96–99; KOVÁCS, 1994, 103–105.

²⁰ KOVÁCS, 1994, 106–107; FARBAKY, 1999/2000, 267, Note 84; FARBAKY, 2002, 80–81; Opponent's review by Péter Farbaký, FARBAKY 2013, 344.

miniatures were painted by a skilled but as yet unidentified master, whose poetic landscapes preserved the tradition of the “Danube School” of the first half of the sixteenth century.²¹

Let us now turn to the miniatures of the second letters patent (Fig. 4. [Abb. 4.]). As András Kovács has noted,²² the entire left side of the frontispiece is covered with a decorative border fitted to the shape of the text it accompanies. A separately framed miniature of the granted coat of arms is placed in the upper left-hand corner at the beginning of the text. The nature-themed border decoration is strewn with flora and fauna, including a variety of three-dimensional flowers, fruits, and birds. The full border also features symbolic depictions such as the phoenix arising from the ashes on the left. These symbols are multiplied in the decorations along the lower border, where Nicolaus Olahus himself is portrayed (Fig. 5. [Abb. 5.]). Olahus’ personal coat of arms is positioned in the lower left-hand corner, on a crucifix that is surmounted by his miter. Olahus is depicted here kneeling and praying in front of this crucifix. He is wearing choir robes and is holding a crosier, accompanied by his cross and biretta. To the right of this figure are several symbolic elements. The pelican feeding its young with its own blood is a reference to the Holy Church. This bird is seated in a nest in a laurel tree, which is a symbol of eternity. The description of the coat of arms in the text of the charter mentions this laurel (“laurus”), along with the fruits of “bonae litterae” and other pleasures of a peaceful life. Another motif of Olahus’ coat of arms, the unicorn, also recurs in the lower border. This fabled animal generally denotes chastity; however, the description of the coat of arms interprets it here as a symbol of valor (“fortitudo”). The thistle refers to Christ’s victory over evil. The lily of the valley depicted here in a vase denotes chastity; the flying bee also evokes chastity, as well as diligence and eloquence.

In the literature on this subject, Dénes Radocsay has suggested that this manuscript was painted by an unknown master, who also worked in the style of the aforementioned “Danube School” but was not the artist who prepared Olahus’ first letters patent.²³ Zsigmond Jakó has attributed the miniatures featured in the second letters patent to masters active in Vienna.²⁴ According to András Kovács, the painter of this charter originated from a German-speaking country, or possibly the Netherlands, given that his work reflects the traditions of Renaissance miniature painting

²¹ RADOCSAY, 1964, 99; KOVÁCS, 1994, 104.

²² KOVÁCS, 1994, 105. All of the observations in this paragraph are based on the work of KOVÁCS.

²³ RADOCSAY, 1964, 106.

²⁴ JAKÓ, 1968, 203.

influenced by the style of the Late Gothic period.²⁵ In my dissertation, I suggested that György Bocskay was responsible for both the calligraphy and the border decorations of this manuscript;²⁶ however, in the debate during the defense of my thesis, Árpád Mikó convincingly argued against my view.²⁷ As a result, the painter of this manuscript has yet to be unequivocally identified.

Let us now look at the lettering of this charter. Like other calligraphers, György Bocskay derived his letter forms from printed writing manuals, which enjoyed great popularity at that time. Unlike most of his contemporaries, however, he was not always satisfied with simple copies of existing letters; instead, he preferred to individualize them. Another characteristic that made him superior to others working in the same field was that he was equally at home producing Gothic and humanistic scripts; he would even use these different styles in combination within the same text. This individuality is also on display in these letters patent, which Bocskay produced using letter forms from the printed writing manuals of at least three Italian calligraphers — Ludovico degli Arrighi, Giovanbattista Palatino, and Vespasiano Amphiareo — and one German calligrapher, Johann Neudörffer the Elder.²⁸ The authors listed here were among the most influential writing masters of the age, which demonstrates how widely read and up-to-date Bocskay was as a practitioner of his art. These same writing manuals were also demonstrably the primary sources for Bocskay's own calligraphic writing model books.²⁹

On the left side of the two-page frontispiece (Fig. 4. [Abb. 4.]), the Latin text of Ferdinand I's titulary begins with the word "Ferdinandus". The opening element of the first line is a finely shaped, symmetrical arabesque in black. Such curvilinear ornamentation was a popular motif in the sixteenth century; it was widely disseminated in printed pattern books.³⁰ This is followed by a Neudörffer-style interlaced *Fraktur* (German blackletter) F-initial (*Flechtwerkinitial* in German), in gold with gold and red flourishes³¹. The text of the first line continues in Roman inscriptional capitals (*antiqua*) in red, which Bocskay supplemented with black arabesques. The letters of the second line are Amphiareo-

²⁵ KOVÁCS, 1994, 105–106.

²⁶ GULYÁS, 2012, 140.

²⁷ Opponent's review by Árpád Mikó: MIKÓ 2013, 339.

²⁸ For more on the aforementioned masters of calligraphy, see, among others: JOHNSON, 1950, 24–26, 31–36; OGG, 1953; DOEDE, 1958, 37–40, 42–43; LINKE – SAUER, 2007.

²⁹ cf. HENDRIX, 1992, 34–37.

³⁰ KÜHNEL, 1949.

³¹ cf. NEUDÖRFFER, c.1550, f. 12.

style decorative Roman capitals in the forms of tree trunks,³² written in black, and again adorned with gold arabesques. The third unit of text is composed of Arrighi-style gold blackletters, formed in the shapes of banderoles.³³ The fourth line features another set of Amphiareo-style decorative Roman capitals,³⁴ also executed in gold. In the fifth line, likewise written in gold, Bocskay reverted to the Arrighi manual, using the Italian writing master's decorative interwoven capitals.³⁵ In the last line, again executed in black, Bocskay combined the letter types of the two previous lines, thus creating an individual letter form based on Amphiareo's and Arrighi's decorative capitals.³⁶

This alternation of styles continues on the right side of the frontispiece (Fig. 6. [Abb. 6.]), which features a wide selection of Gothic and humanistic hands supplemented by rich interlinear foliate ornamentation, including, among others, Palatino's round Italian Gothic type (*Lettera Moderna*),³⁷ the same writing master's swashed *Lettera Trattizata* (highly flourished capitals of italic script),³⁸ and Amphiareo's blackletters with zigzagged or dotted lines.³⁹ These styles are ultimately followed by German blackletter, which is then replaced in the final lines by the aforementioned blackletter by Palatino.⁴⁰ From that point until its end, the text is written using this same letter form, with the more important words highlighted in gold Roman inscriptional capitals. In short, Bocskay created a novel decorative effect for this frontispiece by making simultaneous use of multiple letter forms and styles of ornamentation.

In summarizing the calligraphic details which distinguish the second letters patent issued to Nicolaus Olahus, it should be noted that another one of Bocskay's works serves as a companion piece to this charter, namely the letters patent (also a grant of barony) issued to Márk Horváth-Stanchich by Ferdinand I in Vienna in the same year as Olahus.⁴¹ The grantee of this latter charter had served in a number of significant military capacities in the Kingdom of Hungary, including captain general of the key border fortress of Szigetvár, and his charter was prepared in a similar booklet format.⁴² The systems of

³² cf. AMPHIAREO, 1554, ff. BVIIIv–CIr.

³³ cf. ARRIGHI (VICENTINO), 1523. (OGG, 1953, 54–55.)

³⁴ cf. AMPHIAREO, 1554, ff. BVIIv–BVIIIr.

³⁵ cf. ARRIGHI, 1523 (OGG, 1953, 52–53.)

³⁶ cf. AMPHIAREO, 1554, ff. BVIIv–BVIIIr; ARRIGHI, 1523 (OGG, 1953, 52–53.)

³⁷ cf. PALATINO, 1561, f. DVIIv.

³⁸ cf. PALATINO, 1561, f. EIIr.

³⁹ cf. AMPHIAREO, 1554, ff. BVIr, BVIIr.

⁴⁰ See Note 38.

⁴¹ Vienna, 4 June 1558, Spišský archív v Levoči [City Archive of Levoča], Horváth-Stansith zo Strážok, bez signatúry, cf. GULYÁS, 2016, 109–112.

⁴² SZAKÁLY, 1987, 46–50; VARGA, 2007, 7–8.

calligraphic decoration on these two manuscripts are almost identical. Even so, the miniatures featured on Olahus' letters patent differ stylistically from those of Horváth-Stanchich: the full border of the latter features a variety of grotesque elements which have to be attributed to another unknown master.

In conclusion, the second letters patent issued to Nicolaus Olahus and his family is an exquisite work of art, which, given the quality of its miniatures and its calligraphic ornamentation, occupies a prominent place in the history of Late Renaissance art in Hungary.

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ONLINE SOURCE

Letters Patent (Grants of Arms) Database of the National Archives of Hungary: <http://adatbazisokonline.hu/adatbazis/cimereslevel-adatbazis>

MIKLÓS OLÁH'S TESTIMONY GIVEN DURING THE INVESTIGATION OF THE MURDER OF GYÖRGY FRÁTER

THE MURDER OF GYÖRGY FRÁTER AND THE INVESTIGATION OF THE HOLY SEE

On the night of 16–17 December, 1551, the soldiers of Sforza Pallavicini and Giovanni Battista Castaldo brutally killed Primate György (Martinuzzi or Utyeszenovics) Fráter,¹ archbishop of Esztergom and voivode of Transylvania.² The soldiers of Ferdinand I murdered him, fearing he would betray them and the Christian army to the Ottomans. This controversial act, although it was not unprecedented in the history of contemporary Europe, created a stir throughout the Christian world.³

The news of the murder soon reached Rome. When Pope Julius III heard that the Pauline monk, who had been appointed a cardinal not long before on the recommendation of Ferdinand I, had been murdered by the monarch's soldiers, was enraged. On hearing about the incident, the pope excommunicated the perpetrators of the murder, Marquis Giovanni Battista Castaldo and Chief Sergeant Sforza Pallavicini by virtue of canon law; Ferdinand I only received a temporary absolution.⁴ In March 1552, the pope ordered the establishment of a body of four cardinals to investigate the case.⁵ An often halting, detailed and complex inquiry process started, which lasted until 1554. The case rested upon articles of law collected by

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¹ He can be identified under the names Frater Georgius, Friar George, György Utissenius/Utješenić, and György Martinuzzi.

² The latest on the life of György Fráter: OBORNI, 2017a; NEMETH PAPO – PAPO, 2017.

³ The cardinal became a popular literary character and has captured the attention of historians, writers and artists both in Hungary and abroad. KANÁSZ, 2017, 173; KANÁSZ, 2018; OBORNI, 2017a, 11–12.

⁴ TUSOR – NEMES, 2011. 105. On the canonical background of this: SZUROMI, 2010, 120–122.

⁵ FRAKNÓI, 1903, 81; BARTA, 1988, 47.

the lawyers of Ferdinand and the pope, the main purpose of which was to prove the friar's betrayal or innocence by examining the legitimacy of the murder.⁶

In this delicate and confusing diplomatic situation, which resounded with the Valois–Habsburg conflict, the inner struggles of Charles V's empire, and the battle sounds of religious wars, until 7 February, 1554 the inquiry was led by Count Abbot Girolamo Martinengo, the papal nuncio to the court of King Ferdinand.⁷ His main task was to summon and hear the witnesses associated with Fráter and collected by Ferdinand's people; to take down their statements; to collect the letters and extracts that could be used as evidence, and to prepare an authentic copy and a translation, if necessary. To support this work, he received help from his staff; however, these lawyers, secretaries, or councillors were mainly appointed by Ferdinand.⁸

During the investigation, there were altogether 139 statements recorded, given by members of smaller nobility, civilians, ecclesiastical and secular leaders, and numerous letters and letter extracts were attached as evidence. The majority of these survived in the Vatican Secret Archives and in the Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv of Vienna.⁹ In the end, on 13 July, 1554 the investigation was closed by Nuncio Zaccaria Delfino, Martinengo's successor, and the statements were sent to Rome.¹⁰ The pope made his decision on the basis of these documents, according to which in 1555 he absolved King Ferdinand and his soldiers of excommunication once and for all.¹¹

THE TESTIMONY OF MIKLÓS OLÁH

Miklós Oláh was also among the witnesses. His testimony can be found in the Vatican Secret Archives. Although the source is known and used by Hungarian historiography, its full-text publication has not been prepared yet.¹² A lot of valuable information on the history of the Kingdom of Hungary and on György Fráter's life can be found in the source; moreover, one can see what

⁶ On the investigation of the Holy See and its sources: BARTA, 1988; KANÁSZ, 2017.

⁷ On Girolamo's activities: GOETZ, 1965.

⁸ FRÁKNÓI, 1903. 82; BARTA, 1988, 59–62; KANÁSZ, 2019, 97–99.

⁹ KANÁSZ, 2017, 177–180. Part of the sources survived in the collections of the Hungarian National Archives (MNL OL), the National Széchényi Library, and of the Eötvös Loránd University Library. OBORNI, 2017a, 279–280.

¹⁰ BARTA, 1988. 84. On the activities of Delfino: GOETZ, 1970.

¹¹ UTJEŠINOVIĆ, 1881. (Urkundenbuch) n. XVII, 73–75; BARTA, 1988, 194.

¹² Extract: PODHRADCZKY, 1855, 235–266 and 248–249; BARTA, 1988, *passim*; OBORNI, 2017a, 101 and 193; PAPO, 2011, 348–349.

a pro-Habsburg Hungarian church leader thought of his fellow bishop, and which channels of information he used to gain the knowledge and data based on which he formed his opinion.

Although the murder had happened in December 1551, the hearings only began in the spring of 1553, due to the rather eventful national and international developments that were taking place at the time. On 14 March, 1553, the lawyers of Ferdinand I visited Nuncio Martinengo in Graz and named the first witnesses: Chancellor Miklós Oláh, Pál Bornemissza, the bishop of Veszprém, Ferenc Pesty, Heinrich Wolfgang Kneissl, and Farkas Schreiber.¹³ All of them were granted an exemption from their oath of allegiance. On 15 March, Martinengo summoned the persons in question, and the hearings started. After Farkas Schreiber, Ferenc Pesty and Pál Bornemissza, on 21 March Miklós Oláh also visited the nuncio in Graz and testified in front of him.

During the hearing, the nuncio questioned Oláh with the help of an 87-point questionnaire.¹⁴ He did not ask all the questions, he combined many of them instead. Martinengo first asked about the relationship between Oláh and Fráter, then he went through Fráter's life and the most important life events related to him. He combed through the reign of János Szapolyai, the occupation of Buda, the exile of Queen Isabella and his son Zsigmond János in Transylvania, up until the events of 1551. He was particularly interested in the monk's economic and judicial activity in Transylvania, as well as his negotiations with the Ottomans, in tax remittances, and other cases.

In his testimony, Oláh painted a negative picture of György Fráter.¹⁵ In his view, King János reconciled with the Ottomans as a result of Monk György's contrivances, and he prevented the widow of King János Szapolyai, Isabella Jagiellon from handing the castle of Buda over to Ferdinand I when Buda was occupied by the Ottomans in 1541.¹⁶ Moreover, just like Péter Pálczán,

¹³ BARTA, 1988, 77. It should be noted here that later, on 2 May, 1553, Miklós Oláh's vassal, Ferenc Bornemissza of Aszód also gave evidence in Sopron. *Archivio Segreto Vaticano Misc. Arm. II*, vol. 61. fol. 150r–152v.

¹⁴ UTJEŠINOVIĆ, 1881, (Urkundenbuch) n. XVI, 62–73, The points in Latin and in Hungarian translation: BESSENYEI, 2002, 210–233.

¹⁵ FRAKNÓI, 1903, 75, 79. Apart from the above-mentioned testimony, Oláh's negative opinion of Fráter is also shown by his letter of 6 January, 1552, addressed to his chief supporter, Queen Mary, the sister of Ferdinand I and the widow of Louis II. In this letter he mentions the death of the Monk and remarks that although Ferdinand I endeavoured to make Fráter a cardinal and obliged him by many benefices, he could not "call him away from his guilty character; therefore he found the destiny that he had searched with his deeds and that he deserved". HATVANI, 1858, 315; KISS, 2018, 222.

¹⁶ Point 1–2. On this: DOMOKOS – MÁTYUS, 2016; OBORNI, 2017b; OBORNI, 2017a, 89–109.

the former town crier of Buda, he thought that Fráter had claimed he would rather serve the Ottomans than the Roman king. He remarked that Isabella had answered Fráter that she would rather be among Christians no matter in how deep a poverty than under the rule of the Ottomans.¹⁷ Oláh expressed this concisely by saying that he understood that Fráter had not acted in good faith but in order to keep his position in governance forever by referring to the interests of the queen and the country.¹⁸

Fráter's commercial and judiciary activity also received negative feedback. According to Oláh, Fráter oppressed the people through public collections and via private blackmail and profiteering, and he also practiced these in various ways during jurisdiction.¹⁹ However, when Martinengo asked him to provide more detail, he answered that he had heard a lot about the damaged persons, although he could not recall them specifically, since this had been an open complaint against him. He also expressed this opinion in no uncertain terms: Fráter not only possessed more than anyone else, he possessed everything, and his income was higher than that of any other voivode.²⁰

In Oláh's view, Fráter's independence and obstinacy generated further problems, and he also opposed the will of Ferdinand I. Oláh also shared his own experience: once he heard in the royal council that Fráter did not write to the sultan and the pasha what he had been instructed to by the king, instead he wrote what he wanted.²¹ His continuous delays during the Ottoman attack of 1551 belong to these problems. Although Castaldo and András Báthory had asked for the Monk's help, according to Oláh, Fráter's delay was the reason why the Ottomans were able to cross the Danube and the Tisza so easily.²²

His regular contact with Istanbul and the Ottoman leaders of the Balkan territories and the Hungarian territories under Turkish rule, as well as welcoming envoys and chieftains was the cause of one of the most important problems with Fráter, i.e. the distrust towards him.²³ When Martinengo asked him

¹⁷ Point 1–2, in Péter Pálczán's testimony: Archivio Segreto Vaticano Misc. Arm. II, vol. 61. fol. 148r.

¹⁸ Point 7.

¹⁹ Point 3–4. The latest on Fráter's commercial and economic activity: OBORNI, 2017a, 258–264.

²⁰ Point 9–12.

²¹ Point 15–16.

²² Point 31–34.

²³ It is interesting that while Fráter's relationship with the Ottomans played a key role in the Habsburg court's distrust, in Istanbul it was his relationship with Ferdinand I that caused suspicion. In 1548, the following information was passed to the sultan from one of the henchmen of the beylerbey of Buda: "The envoys of Fráter frequently visit Ferdinand; they inform him [the monarch] about every step of the blessed Padishah. The Monk is building and strengthening a castle day and night. Along with Ferdinand, his envoy at-

about this, Oláh confirmed that this was the case; moreover, he stated that he had heard this from reliable people, and that the information was well-known throughout Transylvania. He also spoke about this connection with the Ottomans in other parts of his testimony, namely, he had heard that Fráter sent and welcomed envoys from the Ottoman Empire, and there was also a *chiaus* in his residence when he was murdered.²⁴ What is more, Oláh levelled even more grave accusations against the monk. Among others, when describing the depth of his relationship with the Ottomans, he brought up Fráter's relationship with Bey Uliman, and he stated that during the siege of Lipova (Lippa), Fráter also sent rifles to Uliman's escorts. He also heard that when Buda was handed over to the Ottomans in 1541, Fráter was detained in the camp, along with Bálint Török and other Hungarians, and he was freed through Bey Uliman's intervention; therefore they swore an oath of brotherhood to each other.²⁵ Finally, he did not describe Castaldo, the main executor of the murder, in such detail: he only noted that he knew him as a good Christian.²⁶

After all these, one must touch upon Oláh's sources on Fráter. At the beginning of the hearing, Martinengo asks him how long he had known Fráter, and he answers that he did not know him personally; however, he had often corresponded with him in the previous eight years, and he had never experienced injustice from him and did not hate Fráter.²⁷ Therefore, in Oláh's case we can exclude the possibility that he formed his impressions after a personal meeting.

Beyond their correspondence, there were three ways for him to gather information. On the one hand, he gained information during the meetings of the royal council. During these meetings he was included among those best-informed about the affairs of the country, and as such we have to consider both what was being said during the meetings and the various letters repeat-

tends the negotiations with Charles to inform the Monk immediately about any decisions that are made. I have heard that the Monk had all of his soldiers be on the alert with the intention that if the monarch and his brother, Charles launched a war, he could fly to their assistance. He did not hand the castle of Becse [Bečej] over to the blessed Padishah for the simple reason that if the monarch came with a massive army, he would also rise up and aid him. If the monarch did not come, presumable he would have to give it [the castle of Becse] over. DÁVID – FODOR, 1999, 197–202.

²⁴ Point 24.

²⁵ Point 71–72.

²⁶ Point 86. On Castaldo's activities: KROPF, 1895–1896; SZEKFŰ, 1914; RITOÓKNÉ SZALAY, 2012; ARDELEAN, 2017.

²⁷ It obviously contributed to the lack of a personal meeting that Miklós Oláh stayed in the Low Countries until 1539, and György Fráter had never been to Vienna, nor did he visit Ferdinand I personally. FAZEKAS, 2005, 42; OBORNI, 2017a, 62. Fráter was in correspondence not only with Oláh but also with their ancestor, Pál Várday. LACZLAVIK, 2014, 59.

edly mentioned by Oláh that could also be read by the future archbishop. On the other hand, he could have gained information on Fráter in the course of other conversations. In his statement he occasionally also indicates his sources more precisely: for instance, concerning the siege of Buda in 1541, he refers to the verbal communication of the burghers of Buda who were there in person.²⁸ Furthermore, together with many other witnesses, he often identifies common knowledge as his source.²⁹

Miklós Oláh was one of the most reliable people of the House of Habsburg in the Kingdom of Hungary. He was heard before being appointed archbishop of Esztergom; therefore, the Habsburg administration that assigned him witness likely was not afraid that his testimony would hurt Ferdinand I. This was further strengthened by the fact that Oláh had never met Fráter in person. As a result, during the hearing the bishop of Eger had to depend on information from the royal council, on the letters that he had read, and public rumours (*publica fama*). As a result, compared to other statements, Oláh's testimony does not provide new or important information concerning Fráter's life; however, it clearly shows what a prelate, the later archbishop of Esztergom thought of his predecessor, and how he had gained the information on the basis of which he formed his opinion, which is also likely to have represented the opinion of the pro-Habsburg Hungarian clergy.

VIKTOR KANÁSZ

²⁸ Point 1–2.

²⁹ E.g.: 1–2., 13–14., 22., 23., 37–39., 55. Cf.: Slíz, 2004.

APPENDIX

Graz, 21 March, 1553.

The testimony of Miklós Oláh

(Archivio Segreto Vaticano Misc. Arm. II, vol. 61. fol. 105v–108v)³⁰

Actum die XXI. Martii 1553. in Gratz.

Reverendissimus Dominus Nicolaus Olahus episcopus Agriensis et cancellarius regiae maiestatis Hungaricus etc., interrogatus quamdiu noverit Fratrem Georgium respondit se eum de facie non nosse, sed ad se testem saepe scripsisse ab octo annis citra, neque iniuria unquam ab eo affectus, nec se eum odio prosequi.

Super p^o, 2^o articulo dixit: cum Ioannes vayvoda,³¹ postea rex, non satis firmus esset in regno, adhaesit Turcis consilio Fratris Georgii, praticamque [!] cum eis tenuit, et Ioanne rege mortuo, cum Buda³² obsideretur a Romanorum rege, et regina vidua presente et consentiente oratore regis Poloniae voluisset credere Buda[m] in favorem regis Romanorum, cumque hanc cessionem impediret Frater Georgius cum suis factiosis, praefata regina voluit una cum filio et aliquot puellis sola, relicta urbe et bonis suis omnibus, excedere, et se Romanorum regi³³ tanquam patri tradere, quod ipsum quoque a Fratre Georgio et suis impeditum fuit, idque dixit: se audivisse a pluribus civibus Budensibus, qui huic rei interfuerunt et publica alioqui fama, deinde accedente Turca ad Budam cum evocasset ad se reginam et filium cum Fratre Georgio, Petrovitk³⁴ et Valentinum Torock,³⁵ qui erant principales apud reginam praedictam, ipsisque ad Turcam, tanquam ad amicum exeuntibus, Turca separatim promiserat administrationem regni Hungariae, unicuique seorsum ab aliis, et capta hoc dolo Buda reginam misit in Transylvaniam et adiunxit illi Fratrem Georgium et Petrovitk, ut essent apud reginam in administratione Regni Transylvaniae, tanquam subditi et fideles Turcis. Interrogatus, an id impulsu Fratris Georgii factum fuerit, respondit: ego nescio, sed audivi, quod ipse frater dicebat se malle Turcis servire quam regi Romanorum, et quod regina dixit: quod in quavis paupertate mallet esse cum Christianis, quam subesse Turcarum imperio, idque fuit publicum et notorium.

Super 3^o, 4^o articulo dixit: omnia ista sunt clara et notoria subdens, quod non solum gravabat subditos cum exactionibus publicis, sed etiam in privatis extorsioni-

³⁰ The source has been transcribed with punctuation according to humanist Latin grammar. I did not indicate the resolution of the unambiguous abbreviations. I thank Péter Tumor and Attila Tuhári for their help with palaeographic questions.

³¹ John Szapolyai (I).

³² Buda (Ofen).

³³ Ferdinand I (Habsburg).

³⁴ Péter Petrovics.

³⁵ Bálint Török.

bus et mercantiis, quas exercebat multis modis, ac etiam in iudiciis. Interrogatus, [106r] an particulariter sciret, referre de istis gravaminibus respondit se multa audivisse a querelantibus, sed nunc specialiter eorum non recordari, dicens ista fuit querela publica contra ipsum.

Super 5^o articulo dixit: Petrus Petrovitk semper fovit reginam cumque vellent resistere libidini Fratris Georgii, quia omnia contra reginam agebat omnia sibi usurpans sub praetextu nominis reginae et filii, ut praevalerent iuribus Fratris Georgii, coacta fuit regina implorare auxilium Bassae Budensis, cui Frater Georgius restitit, ut permanere posset in gubernatione subdens ipse testis, quod iudicio suo si Turcae intrassent, totam illam provinciam in suam potestatem redeissent, licet praetenderent ferre auxilium reginae.

Super 6^o, 7^o articulo dixit: contenta in articulis esse vera. De protestatione autem de qua in articulo 7^o, dixit se nescire. Interrogatus de causa scientiae respondit: non novi animum illius Fratris, quia varius erat, sed intellexi ex eius litteris et nuntiis ad regiam maiestatem scriptis non animo, quod videretur fovere rebus regis, sed ut semper posset permanere in gubernatione praetendens utilitatem reginae et regni.

Super 8^o articulo dixit referendo se ad articulum superiorem.

Super 9^o, 10., 11., 12. articulo dixit: omnia ista sunt vera. Interrogatus de causa scientiae respondit: ego fui in tractatu cum regia maiestate. Interrogatus de quantitate salarii respondit, non solum plus, quam quisque alius habuit, sed totum habuit, et tempore suae administrationis regi, quod ipse sciret, nihil dedit subdens. Scio bene, quod illi nominatim maius salarium constitutum fuit, quam ceteris vayvodis, sed nunc non recordor.

Super 13., 14. articulo dixit: verum est. Interrogatus de causa scientiae respondit: tota Transylvania scit hoc et hoc notorium est, et audivi a fidedignis. [106v]

Super 15., 16. articulo dixit: primo illud recordor semel me audivisse, quod non ea scripsit principi Turcarum et Bassae, quae maiestas regia mandaverat, sed quae ipse voluit. Interrogatus de causa scientiae dixit: ego audivi in tractatu negotiorum regis, et in eodem tractatu intellexi, ut in articulo 16.

Super 17. articulo dicit: ita est, istud ego video ex copiis litterarum ipsius, quas ipsemet transmiserat huc ad nos, si recte memini.

Super 18. articulo dixit: ita est, quia novi hoc ex ipsa tractatione rerum.

Super 19. articulo dixit: ita est, quia litteras legi, audivi.

Super 20. articulo dixit: ita est, ut in articulo ponitur, et hoc audivi postea, quia scriptum est regi, et nobis ita factum fuisse, et hoc fuit apertum et notum in Transylvania. Interrogatus an certo sciat, cuius nomine tributum miserit, respondit: hoc certe arbitrator, quod regiae maiestatis nomine non miserit, quia ego nunquam illo tempore a rege hoc audivi.

Super 21. articulo dixit: ita factum est.

Super 22. articulo dixit: hoc certum est. Interrogatus de causa scientiae respondit: vidi litteras publicas principis Turcarum et bassae ad status Transylvaniae et hoc fuit notorium.

Super 23. articulo dixit: ita fuit, quia copias earum litterarum vidi, quas puto esse autenticas et veras, et hoc fuit notorium, quia scripserat etiam ad regnicolas, ut parerent Fratri Georgio, quod reginae preceperit, ut in articulo nescio.

Super 24. articulo dixit: ita audivi, quod semper habuerit nuncios euntes et redeuntes a Turca, et etiam cum fuit interfectum, habuit chiaussum secum.

Super 25. articulo dixit: ego audivi a multis, et etiam ex copiis litterarum suarum vidi, si bene recordor, quod ipse ad principem Turcarum et bassae scripsit, quod ipsi non sint solliciti, quod Germani sint in provincia, quia bene inveniet modum eiciendi ipsos. Interrogatus de publica fama respondit se non aliter scire, quam dixit.

Super 26. articulo dixit: ita est, scio ex copiis litterarum, quas vidi et audivi, legi in tractatione regis, nescio tamen, a quo missae fuerint.

Super 27. articulo dixit: ita est, quia audivi, legi copias litterarum, legi in tractatione rerum apud regem. [107r]

Super 28. articulo dixit: ita fuit, quia ego in tractatione et conclusione huius negotii fui cum regia maiestate.

Super 29. articulo dixit: ita audivi et credo, quomodo alteros impediverit alter, non scio. Interrogatus de publica fama dixit se nescire.

Super 30. articulo dixit: recordor, quod huiusmodi saepe ad regiam maiestatem et me testem scripsit.

Sup 31., 32., 33., 34. articulo dixit: contenta in articulis vera esse dicens, omnes vocaverunt eum, ut subveniret, tam regia maiestas, quam Castaldus,³⁶ Bathori³⁷ et alii suae maiestatis capitanei, et interea Beglerbegus, dum Frater Georgius cunctatur, traiecit, ut in articulo ponitur. Interrogatus de causa scientiae respondit: scio, quod maiestas regia scripsit, et quia ipse Bathori scripsit ad me se admonuisse Fratrem, ut veniret, ut in articulis.

Super 35. articulo dixit: hoc ex litteris Bathori intellexit, quod ipse Bathori tanquam supremus capitaneus regni convocaverat omnes ad occurrendum Beglerbego ne penetrare posset in regnum, et Frater Georgius scribebat ad illos, qui ex comitatibus vocati fuerant, ne irent ad Bathori, sed potius ipsum audirent et expectarent provisionem a se. De publica fama dixit se nescire, sed ut supra, audivisse.

Super 36. articulo dixit: hoc idem audivi in aula ex fidedignis auctoribus, quorum nomina non memini. Interrogatus de publica fama respondit se nescire, quia tum secreto scriptum fuit.

Super 37., 38., 39. articulo dixit: haec vera sunt et publica atque notoria.

Super 40. articulo dixit: verum est, et etiam ille praefectus insuper respondit: Castaldo dominus meus fratrem Georgium significans dedit mihi informationem, et hoc intellexi ex litteris et veridicis hominibus, qui ab ipso praefecto se hoc audivisse dicebant.

Super 41. articulo dixit: nescio, cuius litteris fuit confirmatus Beglerbegus, hoc

³⁶ Marques Giovanni Battista Castaldo.

³⁷ András Báthory of Ecsed.

tamen intellexi, quod continuo litterae veniebant ad Fratrem Georgium a Beglerbego, et etiam et etiam chiausii, sive nuntii, et ipse Frater scribebat, et mittebat ad illum, bene verum est articulatas arces captas fuisse. Interrogatus de scientia respondit: istud constabat omnibus. [107v]

Super 42. articulo dixit: ita factum est, ut in articulo, et hoc intellexi a fidedignis auctoribus.

Super 43., 44., 45. dixit: contenta in articulis esse vera, sicut ipse intellexisset a fidedignis hominibus.

Super 46. articulo dixit: ita fuit, quia ipse Frater Georgius ex Transylvania voluit se movere, et hoc scio, quia ita fuit publice scriptum ad regiam maiestatem et ad me etiam.

Super 47., 48. articulo dixit: contenta in articulis esse vera, et hoc a domino Petheu³⁸, qui fuit ibi capitaneus, intellexi, cum narraret haec et regi et mihi, qui Petheu fuerat ibi in Lyppa³⁹ a Bathori relictus cum aliquot equitibus usque ad adventum hostium, ut postea illam desererent si forte, tam potentes essent, ut illis resistere non posset, postquam ipse Bathori, nec precibus, nec lachrimis continere potuit, milites quin dilaberentur.

Super 49., 50., 51. articulo dixit: hoc verum est, ita ex litteris huc missis per Castaldum et alios ex Transylvania intellexi ex fidedigna relatione intellexisse ita, ut in articulis ponitur factum fuisse.

Super 52., 53., 54. articulo dixit fuisse. Interrogatus de publica voce et fama respondit: hoc nescio.

Super 55. articulo: ita est publica fama.

Super 56. articulo dixit: nescio ipsius pra[c]ticas et cogitatus, sed hoc ita factum fuisse audivi ex litteris huc publice ad aulam scriptis.

Super 57. articulo dixit: verum est hoc, quod regia maiestas mandavit, ut in articulo ponitur.

Super 58. articulo dixit: ita fuit.

Super 59., 60. articulo dixit: ita certe audivi ab illis, qui fuerunt in exercitu regis, et e qui scripserunt.

Super 61. articulo dixit: nescio istam distinctionem, quomodo prius dedere se voluerint, neque an mutaverint sententiam, sed ut in articulo ponitur intellexi, ut stat in articulo 59.

Super 62., 63., 64., 65. Ita intellexi ex litteris eorum, qui ibi fuerunt, et qui postea etiam narrarunt. [108r]

Super 66. articulo dixit: hoc certum est, quod Frater Georgius non subministravit militibus regis victualia necessaria, cum tamen ipse posset, quia omnibus rebus praeerat, prout relatatum est huc ad nos. Quod autem victualia Turcis subministraverit, eodem modo sicut alia intellexi, sed quanta quoties, nescio.

³⁸ János Pethő.

³⁹ Lipova (Lippa).

Super 67. articulo dixit: ita audivi modo, quo supra.

Super 68. articulo dixit: ita audivi modo, quo supra.

Super 69. articulo dixit: ita audivi modo, quo supra.

Super 71., 72. articulo dixit se audivisse modo, quo supra, hoc addens Fratrem Georgium praeter pixides misisse etiam comites, qui comitentur Ulyman begum, subdens ipse testis, ego audivi, quod cum Buda fuit tradita Turcis, Frater Georgius fuit retentus in castris cum Valentino Torock et aliis Hungaris, et opera ipsius Ulyman begi⁴⁰ fuit dimissus liber et relictus cum regina Isabella,⁴¹ et tunc ipsi ambo fraternitatem inter se iurarant.

Super 73., 74., 75., 76., 77., 78., 79. [articulo] dixit se ita audivisse intellexisse ex litteris et nuntiis modo, quo super, contenta in articulis omnia esse vera. Interrogatus de voce et fama respondit: existimo, quod ibi in Transylvania fuerit publica fama de his.

Super 80. articulo dixit: ita est, ego tunc ita audivi a rege.

Super 81. articulo dixit: ita audivi modo, quo supra.

Super 82., 83. articulo dixit: ita audivi, sicut alia super. Interrogatus de publica fama respondit: ego nescio, quomodo fuerit ibi, quia non fui in Transylvania, sed hic apud nos, qui scimus negotia, erat publicum de iis, qui ibi fuerunt. Ego nescio, tamen credo, quod boni omnes amantes rei publicae Christianae exceptis multis, qui sui servitores erant hoc de eo iudicarunt, ut in articulo ponitur, sed nos omnes, qui conscii eramus illius pra[c]ticae et rerum a Fratре factarum, hoc de illo existimavimus, prout positum est. [108v]

Super 84., 85. articulo dixit: de sublatione illius e medio, vel de nece et morte nihil ego scivi, neque dicere possum, nam sum ecclesiasticus, neque in huiusmodi consiliis et factis me ingressi aut ingero, neque de hac morte scivi nisi post factum, sed procul dubio nisi his malis aliquibus bonis mediis obviam itum fuisset, vereor, ne magnum detrimentum respublica Christiana et Hungaria passa fuisset. Interrogatus an alio modo, quam caede potuisset his malis mederi, respondit: ego me non intromitto in hisce rebus, credo tamen, quod non sine tumultu potuisset capi, nec vocatus ad aulam venisset.

Super 86. articulo dixit: ego illum tantummodo novi in aula imperatoris et hic postea, et puto eum bonum et Christianum virum esse.

Super ultimo articulo dixit se referre ad ea, quae in precedentibus dixit.

⁴⁰ Bey Ulimán.

⁴¹ Isabella Jagiellon.

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GENEALOGIE DER FAMILIE OLAHUS VON DRACULA BIS PÁL ESTERHÁZY

Pál Esterházy hatte im Jahre 1700 in Wien sein repräsentatives Werk über seine Familiengeschichte veröffentlicht mit dem Titel *Trophaeum nobilissimae ac antiquissimae Domus Estorasiacae*. Das Familienbuch besteht aus zwei Teilen. Der erste Teil stellt mit Hilfe von 171 Kupferstichen die fiktiven und realen Ahnen der Familie seit dem hunnischen König Attila dar. Zu den einzelnen Kupferstichen gehören ausführliche Scholien. Der zweite Teil bezieht sich auf die Geschichte der Familie, es besteht aus meistens verfälschten Urkunden. Die Kupferstiche hatten Jacob Hermundt, der Hofstecher von Pál Esterházy und ein Wiener Meister, Johann Jacob Hoffmann angefertigt. Zu den Quellen zählen die Bilder der Forchtensteiner Urgalerie (Fraknó) oder die vom *Mausoleum* von Nádasdy.¹ Die Kommentare zu den Kupferstichen hatte selbst Pál Esterházy mit Hilfe des Polyhistor Pavao Ritter Vitezović (1652–1713) geschrieben. Diese sind auch im Archiv des Herzogs aufbewahrt worden, aber sie sind nicht völlig identisch mit den im *Trophaeum* gedruckten Text, das heißt, Esterházy oder Ritter selbst hatte sie vor der Veröffentlichung durchgearbeitet.²

In *Trophaeum* kann man im Kommentar zum Kupferstich, der Orsolya Dersffy (erste Frau von Miklós Esterházy) darstellt, lesen, dass das Haus von Orsolya mit vielen Familien in Verwandtschaft steht; unter anderem mit der Familie von König Matthias, von Drakula, Woivode von Walachei und

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¹ BUZÁSI, 2000, 411–412; BUZÁSI, 2005, 45–58; SZÖRÉNYI, 1999, 54–56; GALAVICS, 1988, 136–161; RÓZSA, 1973, 74–75.

² *Explicatio ac informatio*. Ritters Brief an Pál Esterházy, in dem er seine Zustimmung, an *Tropheanum* mitzuarbeiten, mitteilt (Wien, 4. Januar 1693.), und später seine an Pál Esterházy geschriebene lobende Ode (Zagreb, 2. November 1703.): MNL OL, P 125 Esterházy cs. lt., die Schriften von Palatin Pál, 1171 Titel, Fasc. 123., Nr. 11918. (beide an Mikrofilm: Rolle 4755.)

von Miklós Oláh, Erzbischof von Gran (Esztergom).³ In Ritters Notizen können wir noch gar nichts über die glorreichen Verwandten lesen. Ritter schrieb nur, dass Orsolya Dersffy die Tochter von Ferenc Dersffy und von Orsolya Császár von Landsee (Lánzsér) war. Ihr erster Ehemann war Ferenc Magochy, von dem sie kein Kind gebar. Vom zweiten Ehemann, Miklós Esterházy, hatte sie ein Kind, István. Sie starb am 15. März 1619 und wurde in der Esterházy Krypta in Tyrnau (Trnava, Nagyszombat) begraben.⁴ Diese sind vollständig korrekte Daten. Sie erscheinen auch im Text des *Trophaeums* nach der Auflistung der Verwandtschaft von Matthias–Drakula–Oláh Miklós. Aufgrund des oben Gesagten kann man annehmen, dass die Darstellung der Verwandtschaft mit königlichen und erzbischöflichen Familien Pál Esterházy's eigene Idee war. Und was nur als Idee da ist, wird in einem anderen Werk von Pál Esterházy, das leider nur fragmentarisch angefertigt wurde und daher nicht gedruckt erschien, detailliert ausgeführt. Hier geht es um das *Simulacrum Pannonicae nobilitas*, das aufgrund des handgemalten Deckblattes 1703 entstand.⁵ István Fazekas fand auch das Vorwort zu dem Band, aufgrund dessen das *Simulacrum* in drei Teile geteilt wäre: der erste Teil wäre eine Sammlung von Wappen (aus Ungarn, seinen assoziierten Ländern und Provinzen, Grafschaften, Städten, Adligen, etc.) gewesen; in der zweiten wäre die Nachkommenschaft von ungarischen Adelsfamilien aufgezählt; und die dritte hätte eine Liste berühmter ungarischer Familien enthalten, die bereits ausgestorben waren.⁶ (Abb. 7.)

Im *Simulacrum* finden wir den sorgfältig entwickelten Stammbaum der Familie Oláh-Dracula angefangen bei dem dakischem König Dodo bis Pál Esterházy.⁷ Ich erwähne nur die für uns wichtigsten Stationen des langen und komplizierten Stammbaums. Belus, der zwölfte dakische König, der zwischen 380 und 420 regierte, verbündete sich mit dem König der Hunnen, Attila. Dann sieht man vor allem solche dakischen Könige auf dem Stammbaum, die eventuell eine ungarische Herkunft hatten: Dobo, Elud, Zoltán und so weiter. Ihr Nachkomme ist der im Jahre 799 gestorbene Dobo, der eine Tochter namens Ida hatte, und ein Sohn namens Darius Dracula (jetzt nicht mehr König, sondern *Valachicae dux*). Die dakische Königin, Ida, wurde bereits im Trophäum erwähnt, an einer sehr prominenten Textstelle. Sie war nämlich

³ *Trophaeum*, 71. Kupferstich.

⁴ *Expilactio ac informatio*, 341. Im Lexikon von *Trophaeum* findet man diesen Text. Die Verwandtschaft von Mátyás–Oláh–Dracula taucht nur im Kommentar des Bildes auf. (*Trophaeum*, S. 52. und Abbild 71.)

⁵ *Simulacrum Pannonicae nobilitas. Authore Paulo S[acri] R[omani] I[mperii] principe Estoras R[egni] Hun[gariae] palatino*, 1703, MNL OL 125 Schriften vom Palatin Pál, rep. 31, Nr. 11905 (auf Mikrofilm: Rolle 4756).

⁶ FAZEKAS, 2009, 910–911.

⁷ *Simulacrum*, 41–44.

die Frau der ersten Esterházy-Ahne, namens Eurs. Warum Eurs mit einer dakischen Königstochter verheiratet war, können wir nur durch Allegorisieren erraten. Weil Dacia im Begriff der Humanisten tatsächlich Siebenbürgen bedeutete, halte ich László Szörényis Aussage für die annehmbarste. Die Hochzeit von Ida-Eurs symbolisierte die Rückführung Siebenbürgens in das Königreich Ungarn.⁸ Dass hinter der Allegorie tatsächlich die Wiederherstellung des unabhängigen Königreichs Ungarn stand, bestätigt die Erklärung von Ritter für den Stich über Eurs im *Trophaeum*. Demnach war Eurs nicht nur einer der sieben Führer, sondern er regierte über alle Hunnen (*totamque gentem Hunnorum solus gubernavit*). Das war gar nicht so einfach, denn die Deutschen (Alamannen) aus dem Westen und die Griechen aus dem Osten stürmten das Land, aber Eurs konnte es erfolgreich verteidigen. Die Bedeutung der Eheschließung mit der dakischen Königstochter zeigt sich in der Ritter-Note zu Ida: Mit diesem Bund verschmolzen Eurs Dacia und Ungarn zu einem Reich (*connubio hocce perpetuo foedere Dacis junctus in unum cum Hungaria fecit Daciam coalescere imperium*).⁹ Da ist der erste Esterházy-Ahn herr, als König eines unabhängigen und freien Ungarns (dessen zwei zentrale Kerne später die Heimat der Ungarn werden: Ungarn und Siebenbürgen).

VON DRACULA ÜBER MÁTYÁS HUNYADI BIS MIKLÓS OLÁH

Im *Trophaeum* wurde erwähnt, dass der erste Ahn, namens Estoras, aus der Heirat von Ida und Eurs geboren wurde, der im Jahre 969 vom Bischof von St. Adalbert getauft (wie der heilige Stephanus) und der in der Taufe natürlich Pál genannt wurde. Dann, im *Trophaeum*, erzählt der Autor nur die Geschichte der Familie Esterházy weiter, während im *Simulacrum* auch die Geschichte des Dracula-Zweiges weiter erzählt wurde. Der Sohn von Darius Draculas wird Joannes Dracula sein, der 810 zur christlichen Religion konvertierte. Dann gibt es eine lange Reihe von fiktiven Herrschern von der Walachei (Valachia), bis zu einem gewissen Joannes Woiwode (auch fiktiv), der während Sigismund Luxemburg herrschte. Woiwode János hatte zwei Kinder: einen Sohn (László) und eine Tochter (Helena), die zur Geliebten von Sigismund Luxemburgi wurde. Aus dieser Liaison stammte Woiwode János, *qui dictus est Hunniades*.¹⁰ (Abb. 8.)

⁸ SZÖRÉNYI, 1999, 55.

⁹ *Informatio ac explicatio*, fol. 244-245. Im Lexikon von *Trophaeum* erschien dieser Text unverändert: *Trophaeum*, 8. l.

¹⁰ *Simulacrum*, fol. 43.

Pál Esterházy entwickelte hier eine wirklich originelle Idee über den Ursprung der Hunyadis. Das Ziel war offensichtlich, dass er irgendwie die Verwandtschaft der beiden Familien (Esterházy–Hunyadi) aufzeigen konnte. Eine Erklärung für den Grund, warum Esterházy den Namen Helen der Mutter von János Hunyadi gegeben hatte, finden wir vielleicht bei Ritter. In den serbischen Heldenliedern des 17. Jahrhunderts war János Hunyadi das uneheliche Kind des serbischen Despoten, István Lázárevics. Die wahre Frau von Lázárevics hieß eben Helena und war die Tochter des byzantinischen Kaisers. Sie war fruchtlos, und von ihr hatte Lázárevics kein Kind bekommen. Wir wissen über Ritter, dass er ein begeisterter Sammler südslawischer Heldenlieder war. Es ist nicht auszuschließen, dass Esterházy auf seinen Vorschlag hin den Namen Helena für die Mutter von János Hunyadi gewählt hatte.¹¹

Helenas Bruder, László, ist in der Genealogie von Esterházy auch eine wichtige Figur. Sein Sohn ist János, dessen Sohn István ist, der kein anderer als Miklós Oláhs Vater ist. Ab hier ist der Familienstammbaum keine Fiktion mehr, sondern zeigt uns die Realität. Miklós Oláhs Vater war tatsächlich István (Stoian). Dennoch war er nie Woiwode, obwohl Matthias ihm den Thron der Walachei anbot, er lehnte jedoch ab. Wenn wir Miklós Oláh glauben können, floh sein Vater eben wegen Draculas Grausamkeiten nach Hermannstadt (Sibiu, Nagyszeben). Hier heiratete er die Tochter der reichen Huszár-Familie, Barbara. Nachdem er in Hermannstadt ein Haus gekauft hatte, begann er in der Stadt zu handeln. Zwischen 1504 und 1520 war er Richter von Broos (Orăștie, Szászváros).¹²

Aus der Perspektive der Familie Esterházy ist das wichtigste Mitglied der Familie Oláh (neben Miklós Oláh) die Schwester von Miklós: Orsolya Oláh. Ihr erster Ehemann war György Bona, der zweite war Kristóf Császár. Aus der zweiten Ehe von Orsolya wurde Miklós geboren, der seinen Nachnamen schon für Oláhcsászár schrieb. Er hatte am 21. Januar 1560 Zluny Frangepán Anna (Tochter von Tamas Nádasdy) geheiratet. Ihre Tochter Orsolya war mit Ferenc Dersffy verheiratet. Deren Tochter hieß auch Orsolya, deren erster Ehemann Ferenc Mágóchy war. Ab diesem Zeitpunkt ist die Geschichte bekannt: Nach dem Tod Magochys heiratete Miklós Esterházy, der bei der Familie angestellt war, die Witwe Orsolya Dersffy am 22. November 1612. Der Witwer Miklós Esterházy heiratete am 21. Juli 1624 Krisztina Nyáry.¹³ Aus dieser Ehe wurde Pál Esterházy geboren. In der Ahnengalerie der Burg von Forchtenstein gab es natürlich ein großes Bild

¹¹ JUNG, 2006, 43–44; BENE, 2006, 346–347.

¹² TONK, 1994, 7–13.

¹³ *Simulacrum*, 43–44.

von Miklós Oláh.¹⁴ Es ist kein Zufall, dass man das, was aus den Archiven der Familie Oláh überliefert ist, heute sich in den Archiven der Familie Esterházy befindet.¹⁵

DER PHILOLOGE PÁL ESTERHÁZY

Um die Verwandtschaft mit Miklós Oláh herzustellen, genügte es die Familientradition und Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse zu kennen. Um jedoch festzustellen, dass Miklós Oláh ein Verwandter von König Matthias und dem Woiwoden Dracula war (und somit die Familie Esterházy mit diesen beiden Herrschern in Verbindung gebracht werden konnte), benötigte es einer ernsthaften philologischen Arbeit. Diese wurde wahrscheinlich von Pál Esterházy selbst durchgeführt.

Im Folgenden liste ich nur die Dokumente, Urkunden und Briefe von Miklós Oláh auf, die es Esterházy erlaubten, die Oláh-Dracula und dann die Oláh-Hunyadi-Verwandtschaft aufzubauen. Miklós Oláh behauptete in seinem, vom 7. März 1533 an seinen humanistischen Freund Cornelius Scepperus (1501/1503?–1555) geschriebenen Brief, dass er Blutsverwandte von Dracula sei und dass auch Mihnea cel Rău mit ihrer Familie verwandt sei.¹⁶ Man findet im Testament von Miklós Oláh vom 14. September 1562, dass Mihnea cel Rău Miklós Oláhs Onkel war.¹⁷ Dem Testament zufolge schenkte Miklós Oláh Miksa II. einen Goldring, der ursprünglich Mihnea cel Rău gehörte. Im kaiserlichen Diplom von 1548, in welchem Miklós Oláh zusammen mit dem Bistum Erlau (Eger) den ungarischen Adelstitel erhielt, steht auch, dass Mihály Cel Rău der Onkel von Oláh Miklós sei. János Zsámbokly sagte in seiner Trauerrede über György Bóna, dass die Familie Oláh ein Teil der fürstlichen Familie der Walachei war. György Bóna war der Sohn von Miklós Oláhs Schwester und wurde von Zsámbokly (als praceptor) in Padova zusammen mit Miklós Istvánffy betreut. Bóna starb am 3. September 1559 und wurde in Ödenburg (Sopron) von Miklós Oláh begraben.¹⁸

Im 1536 geschriebenen Text (Zsámboklys Auflage verblieb in Manuskriptform) hatte Oláh wiederum darüber geschrieben, dass der Woiwode der Walachia, Mihnea cel Rău (1462–1510), der Sohn von Dracula, ebenfalls aus

¹⁴ BUZÁSI, 2008, 44.

¹⁵ MNL OL, P 184 Familie Esterházy siehe die Dokumente der Familie Oláh (an Mikrofilm, Rolle 34764.)

¹⁶ OLÁH, 1875, 311, und OLAHUS, 2018, 427–428.

¹⁷ KOVÁCS, 1994, 103–108.

¹⁸ TÉGLÁSSY, 1995, 245, 247; RITOÓKNÉ SZALAY, 1980, 131. Die Grabrede des Zsámbokly: *Epistolae aliquot, et epigrammata funebris doctissimorum aetatis virorum de obitu Georgii Bonae*, Padova, 1560.

Haus Dan stammte, wie er selbst auch. Miklós Oláhs Großvater, eine gewisser Mamsila oder Manzila, hatte die Schwester von János Hunyadi, Maria oder Marina Hunyadi, geheiratet, wodurch Miklós Oláhs Familie mit Hunyadis verbunden war:

„Ioannis Hunyadis, vayvodae Transsylvani, postea vero gubernatoris Hungariae tempestate Dragula waywoda partim interfectis, partim expulsis his, qui e Dani erant sanguine, regnum occupaverat. Mamzillae ab Argyes ex uxore Marina eiusdem Ioannis waywodae sorore duo erant inter alios filii; uni nomen fuit Stantzul, qui Danum et Petrum filios suscepit, alteri Stoiian, hoc est, Stephanus. Is me et Mathaeum filios, Ursulam et Helenam filias genuit.“¹⁹

Miklós Oláh betonte also zwei Dinge: einerseits, dass eine Linie seiner Familie mit der walachischen fürstlichen Familie, während die andere mit der Familie Hunyadi in Verbindung stand. Ich habe den Verdacht, dass Miklós Oláh Halbwahrheiten von sich gab. Es ist nämlich trotz seiner Behauptung nicht nachzuweisen, dass János Hunyadi eine Schwester namens Maria–Marina gehabt hatte.²⁰ Es ist auch fragwürdig, dass der Großvater von Oláh, Mansila wirklich zur walachischen fürstlichen Familie gehört hatte. Die rumänischen Historiker identifizieren ihn meistens mit jenem Bojaren namens Mânzea, der nach der Verhaftung von Dracula vor dem neuen Woiwoden, Radu cel Frumos (sonst Draculas Bruder) in 1462 nach Kronstadt (Braşov, Brassó) floh. Mânzea blieb seinem früheren Herren lange treu, weil Radu seinen Besitz im Namen Mânzeas Duşesti in seinem am 12. Juni 1472 ausgestellten Donationsbrief anderen Bojaren schenkte, was bedeuten würde, dass Mânzea nach 10 Jahren noch immer in Ungnade gefallen war und er sich gewiss noch in Transsylvanien aufhielt.²¹ Es gibt darüberhinaus keine Informationen, dass er wirklich der Verwandte Draculas gewesen wäre.

Die Briefsammlung, die den an Scepperus geschriebenen Brief von Miklós Oláh enthält, stand als Quelle sicherlich Pál Esterházy zur Verfügung. Auf der ersten Seite der Briefsammlung befindet sich der Eintrag des Vizepalats Bálint Szente (Ödenburg, 13. Juni 1684). Demnach geriet der Kodex von István Listi zu Zsuzsanna Gyulaffy, dann von dort zum Vizepalatin, der ihn dem rechtmäßigen Besitzer, Pál Esterházy, zurückkommen ließ.²² Tamás, der der Sohn von Máté (Bruder Miklós Oláhs) war, nahm Margit Bakács zur Frau. Ihre Tochter, Lucretia, heiratete János Listi (14. Juli 1555), so kamen die zwei Familien miteinander in Verwandtschaft.²³ Nach dem Tod seiner Frau (um 1561) ergriff János Listi eine priesterliche Laufbahn. Er wurde 1568 Bischof

¹⁹ OLAHUS, 1938, 21.

²⁰ E. KOVÁCS, 1990, 36; KUBINYI, 2007, 83–84.

²¹ CHIHAIA, 2010, 335.

²² OLÁH, 1875, XI.

²³ István Fazekas nimmt aufgrund Richard Perger an, dass Lukrécia die uneheliche Tochter von Oláh Miklós war: FAZEKAS, 2002, 228.

von Wesprim (Veszprém), dann ab 1573 Bischof von Raab (Győr), später wurde er Vizekanzler, danach Kanzler. Am Anfang war er Sekretär der Königin Isabella, ab 1553 der Sekretär von Miklós Oláh. Er hatte gute Beziehung zu Zsámboky: Listi versah die von Zsámboky herausgegebene Bonfini-Auflage mit Anmerkungen, und Zsámboky widmete ihm seine Janus Pannonius-Ausgabe. Es stellt sich für uns aus dem Testament von Miklós Oláh heraus, dass der Erzbischof seine Bücher in Wien diesem János Listi und dessen Sohn János genannt hinterließ.²⁴ In der Bibliothek Oláhs, die János Listi vermacht wurde, waren sicherlich auch Handschriften, unter anderem der Kodex, der den mit den europäischen und ungarischen Humanisten geführten Briefwechsel von Miklós Oláh enthielt. Anders weiß ich nämlich nicht, wie die Briefsammlung zu István Listi (so nannte ihn Bálint Szente) geraten wäre, der der Sohn von János Listi und Lukrécia Oláh war. István Listi heiratete Anna Csoron, die ihm vier Kinder gebar. Einer von ihnen war Ferenc Listi, der die von Bálint Szente erwähnte Zsuzsanna Gyulaffy zur Frau nahm.²⁵ Ferenc Listi war Neuschlosser Hauptmann und die Vertrauensperson von Gábor Bethlen. Er warb für den Fürsten um Katharina von Brandenburg. Er starb schließlich entweder in 1630 oder in 1635.²⁶ Zsuzsanna Gyulaffy verfasste ihr Testament am 27. Februar 1664, nicht lange darauf starb sie.²⁷ Ich weiß nicht, wo das Briefbuch nach dem Tod Zsuzsanna Gyulaffys bis 1684 gewesen sein konnte, bevor es zu Bálint Szente kam. Anhand der oben erwähnten Angaben scheint es aber wahrscheinlich zu sein, dass der Kodex nur nach 1684 zu Pál Esterházy gelangte.

Die zwei verzierten adelnden Urkunden, die für Miklós Oláh und seine Familienmitglieder ausgestellt wurden, bestanden gleichfalls im Archiv der Familie Esterházy fort. Ferdinand I. fertigte die erste am 23. November 1548 in Pressburg (Bratislava, Pozsony) aus. Diese ist eine der prachtvollsten adelnden Urkunde der Epoche, die die umfangreiche Familien- und Laufbahngeschichte von Miklós Oláh umfasste. In dieser geht es darum, dass die Familie von Miklós Oláh auf die ältesten Fürstentümer zurückzuführen ist (*te ab ipsis vetustissimae gentis Valachorum principibus originem ducere*) und sein Vater, der geradezu vor „rasender Wut und Tyrannei“ von Dracula (*tempestate saevitia et tirannide Drakulae Waivodae*) nach Transsylvanien flüchtete, in Wirklichkeit verwandt mit Dracula war (*consanguines scilicet sui*).²⁸

²⁴ MERÉNYI, 1896, 139–160; SZELESTEI NAGY, 1994, 51–52.

²⁵ Ein Großteil der Bibliothek der Familie Listi ging später in die Bibliotheken von Esterházy und Zrínyi über: HAUSNER – KLANICZAY – KOVÁCS – MONOK – ORLOVSZKY, 1991, 27–28. Über die Bibliothek der Familie Listi: ZVARA, 2008, 45–70; MONOK, 2012, 75, 142.

²⁶ MONOK, 1987–1988, 177; ZVARA, 2008, 51.

²⁷ KOMÁROMY, 1887, 50.

²⁸ Die beste Ausgabe des Adelsdiploms: TONK, 1969, 21–26. Siehe auch: KOVÁCS, 1994, 103–108.

Das dritte Dokument, in dem Miklós Oláh von seinen Verwandten aus der Walachei spricht, ist sein schon erwähntes Testament. Aufgrund des Vermächtnisses schenkte Miklós Oláh Maximilian II. einen Goldring, der einen Adler schildert und welcher nach der Behauptung von Oláh Mihnea cel Răués war, den er in dem Testament seinen Onkel nannte.²⁹ Wenn es wahr ist, war István Oláh, der Vater von Miklós Oláh, der Bruder von Mihnea oder sein Halbbruder. Miklós Oláh behauptete aber in seinem Brief an Scepperus (wenn er sich gut erinnerte), dass sein Vater der Bruder Draculas war. Es wurde von mir schon erwähnt, dass Miklós Oláh genaue Informationen über den Tod von Mihnea hatte. Es ist schwer vorzustellen, dass er sich 25 Jahre nach dem Tod von Mihnea, als er den Brief an Scepperus schrieb, nicht daran erinnert hätte, wer der Bruder seines Vaters war (Dracula oder dessen Sohn). Anhand des oben erwähnten vermute ich eine bewusste Vernebelung. Der Vater von Miklós Oláh war wahrscheinlich kein fürstlicher Spross. Sein Sohn machte ihn mit einer Prise Halbwahrheit dazu.³⁰

UNGARISCH-RUMÄNISCHE WIDERSPRÜCHE IM 15–16. JAHRHUNDERT

Miklós Oláh wollte weniger mit Draculas Familie, sondern eher mit der Familie von Matthias Corvinus in Verwandtschaft kommen. Das Verschwägern der zwei Familien wurde von Miklós Oláh in *Hungaria* präzise ausgearbeitet (Brüssel, 1536).³¹ In der adelnden Urkunde beleuchtete er für einen flüchtigen Augenblick die Herkunfts- und Schicksalsgemeinschaft der Familie von Oláh und Hunyadi:

„Inter quas (gentes) Valachi, gentiles tui, minime postremas habant: ut quas ab ipsa rerum domina urbe Roma oriundos et in una illius opulentissima parte, cui nunc nomen est Transalpinae, ad arcendas finitiorum hostium in provincias Romanas incursiones, collocatos esse constat unae nunc quoque sua lingua Romania vocantur [...]. Qua tua ista gens praepollens fuit, multorum praestantissimorum genetrix; inter quos et Ioannes Hunyades, incltyti Regis Mathiae pater, et illius aetati proximi maiores tui enituisse feruntur.“³²

Im Kreis der humanistischen Mitwelt von Miklós Oláh erfreute sich die familiengeschichtliche Theorie des Erzbischofs ungeschwächter Beliebtheit. Johannes Cynglus, von dem ein Werk des dalmatinischen Andronicus Tran-

²⁹ MERÉNYI, 1896, 153.

³⁰ KARÁCSONYI, 1910, 187–192; TONK, 1969, 15–16.

³¹ Über Genesis und Rezeption des *Hungaria*: SZILÁGYI, 2014; und siehe auch den Artikel von Gergely Tóth in diesem Band.

³² TONK, 1969, 23.

quillus in 1561 herausgegeben wurde, schrieb im für Miklós Oláh gewidmeten Vorwort, dass „aus deiner Familie stammte der herrliche König Pannoniens, Mátyás auch, dessen Tugenden bis zum Himmel erhoben werden.“³³ Später nannte Istvánffy den Erzbischof in seinem an Miklós Oláh geschriebenen Panegyrikus (*Panegyricus ad Nicolaum Olahum archiepiscopum Strigoniensem*, Calendis Ianuarii, 1564, Tirnaviae) auch den Verwandten von Matthias Corvinus:

„A magno sis Hunniade (namque illius olim
Diva soror specie Nymphis aequata Marina
Edidit hasce tuum genitorem in luminis auras)
Te tamen haud veteris laudes vel gloria stirpis.“³⁴

Miklós Oláh entwickelte seine Theorie, in der seine Familie mit den Hunyadis in Verbindung gebracht wurde und in der die gemeinsame rumänische Herkunft beider Familien betont wurde, nicht nur wegen einer Repräsentation, sondern auch der Ausgleichung einer negativen Kampagne, die in den zeitgenössischen humanistischen Kreisen gegen ihn ging. Zu dieser Zeit wurde nämlich im rechten Maß publik, dass Miklós Oláh von seinen aller-nächsten Mitarbeitern und Protegés (Farkas Kovacsóczy, Ferenc Forgách und András Dudith) in scharfen Epigrammen und Briefen wegen seiner rumänischen Herkunft verhöhnt wurde.

Die Pasquille und die Invektive (schmähende Rede mit offensivem Charakter), die von Oláh-Gegnern verfasst wurden und die unter den zwischen 1563 und 1571 geschriebenen ungedruckten Aufzeichnungen von Kovacsóczy fortbestanden, wurden von Gábor Almási ausführlich untersucht. Almási zog eine Schlussfolgerung darauf, dass für Kovacsóczy „in Miklós Oláh seine rumänische Herkunft am verhasstesten war, die das Synonym für barbarisch, unzivilisiert und wild ist.“³⁵ Ferenc Forgách, zwar im bescheideneren und subtileren Stil, schilderte in seinem geschichtlichen Werk ebenfalls ein negatives Bild über Miklós Oláh. Nach ihm war der Erzbischof ein korrupter und bestechlicher Mensch, „der die erzbischöfliche Würde bloß infolge der Güte der Gehässigkeit der Anderen und seiner unklaren Herkunft erhielt.“³⁶ Die „unklare Herkunft“ kann darauf hinweisen, dass schon Forgách gegen die Verwandtschaft von Miklós Oláh mit den Hunyadis Verdacht hegte. In der Schmähung ging Dudith am weitesten. In seinem Brieftraktat (1. Juni 1567) an Maximilian I

³³ TRANQUILLUS, 1561. Vorwort: KEMÉNY, 1858, 232. Über ungarische Beziehungen von Tranquillus: RITÓÓK, 1971, 265–266, 272.

³⁴ ISTVÁNFY, 1935, 34. Detaillierte Analyse des Panegyrikus: KISS, 2018.

³⁵ ALMÁSI, 2006, 588. Über Aufzeichnungen von Kovacsóczy: PETNEHÁZI, 2013.

³⁶ FORGÁCH, 1977, 877.

(König von Ungarn zwischen 1563 und 1576) schimpfte er den noch lebendigen Erzbischof mit echter rhetorischer Bravour. Nach Dudith bietet der „aus dem elendsten hergelaufenen Volk der Geten stammende barbarische Mensch“, „die hassenswerte alte Haut“ alles auf, um Dudith zu schaden.³⁷

Nach Untersuchung der gegen Miklós Oláh geführten negativen Propaganda argumentierte Gábor Almási überzeugend dafür, dass trotz des *Hungarus*-Bewusstseins am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts es doch eine vom gesellschaftlichen Rang unabhängige Gegnerschaft zu Rumänen gab.³⁸ Es ist wohl zu verstehen, dass Oláh danach strebte, seine eigene Familie mit den der Hunyadis in Verwandtschaft zu bringen und die rumänische Herkunft von Hunyadi zu verkünden. Das bot sich als eine Art günstige Abwehr an, da die Reputation von Hunyadis doch auf solch einer Höhe war, dass sich kein Mensch erkühnte, diese in Frage zu stellen.

Anhand der Obenstehenden ist es überhaupt nicht ausgeschlossen, dass auch Miklós Oláh die Spottgedichte und Pasquille erfuhr, er war ja der Leiter der ungarischen Kanzlei in Wien in der Zeit der Entstehung dieser Werke. Ferenc Forgách war zudem der Vizekanzler.³⁹ In den Oláh-Kodex (*Codex Carminum Nicolai Oláhi*), der in der Universitätsbibliothek sich befand, schrieb jemand (vielleicht Kovacsóczy) zwischen die Gedichte von Miklós Oláh und die an ihm geschriebenen gerühmten Gedichte ein lästerliches Epigramm mit dem Titel *In maledicam N. Oláhi*, das er in travestierter Form wiederholte:

Destine confictis fidus mordere sodales
Carminibus lingua latro steleste tuos.

Aliud

Destine constantes fictis mordere sodales
Criminibus lingua latro stelste tuos.⁴⁰

Der erste Teil des Kodexes (fol. 1–43.) enthält die eigenen Gedichte von Oláh und die an ihm geschriebenen. Dieser wurde noch von dem Erzbischof selbst zusammengestellt. Danach folgen die für den Tod von Miklós Oláh, später wieder die an den Erzbischof geschriebenen Gedichte. Der Autor der spöttischen Epigramme konnte gewiss zur direkten Umwelt des Erzbischofs gehören und nach dessen Tod nahm er sogar in der Zusammenstellung von

³⁷ DUDITH, 1992, 444–459.

³⁸ ALMÁSI, 2006, 595.

³⁹ RITOÓK, 1980, 34–44; BALÁZS, 2005, 75–85. Die Argumente von József Szigeti (aus dessen Drameninterpretationen Miklós Oláh ausblieb) haben mich über die Autorschaft von Péter Bornemissza überzeugt: SZIGETI, 1967, 198–210.

⁴⁰ EK H 46, 82r.

Carmina teil. Cristina Neagu wählte im zweiten Teil des Kodexes die Handschrift von András Dudith zu entdecken.⁴¹ Als eine andere Form der Äußerung der Oláh-Gegnerschaft im 16. Jahrhundert kann auch gedeutet werden, dass Gáspár Heltai in *Cancionale* aus der Neuauflage der Rheimchronik Tinódis (*Eger várának viadaljáról*) die Strophe ausließ, die Miklós Oláh verherrlichte. „Wir sollen dieser Sache keine übermäßige Bedeutung beimessen!“ – schrieb Amadeo di Francesco, trotzdem meine ich, dass es im Kontext des Obenerwähnten sich hier um eine wichtige Angabe in Bezug auf die zeitgenössische Beurteilung von Miklós Oláh handeln kann.⁴²

Die Frage ist nun, was Pál Esterházy von dieser negativen Propaganda mehr als hundert Jahren später wusste oder wissen konnte? Und wenn er davon wusste, ob er es überhaupt berücksichtigte? Aufgrund der bis jetzt erschlossenen Geschichte der Esterházy-Bibliothek kann man sicherlich nur so viel behaupten, dass Pál Esterházy die Chronik von Ferenc Forgách kannte, jedoch die von Istvánffy kommentierte Variation.⁴³ Istvánffy – der seinem Patron, Miklós Oláh nach dessen Tod loyal blieb – konnte die Sätze von Forgách, die die Bestechlichkeit des Erzbischofs behandeln, nicht wortlos hinnehmen und er machte sogar eine Marginalbemerkung: „Parcius ista viris! [Sachte, nicht so hitzig, immer mit der Ruhe!]“⁴⁴ Es gibt es keine Information darüber, dass Esterházy die gemeinten Handschriften von Dudith und Kovacsóczy gekannt hätte.

Diese Gegnerschaft zu Rumänen mit ethnischem Anschein war kein allgemeines Phänomen im Kreis des ungarischen Adels, sowie der ungarischen Humanisten. Man muss sagen, dass es sich um einzelne Fälle handelte, in denen die Teilnehmer das System der offensiv-spöttischen Argumente mit ethnischem Gepräge zum Ausdruck der persönlichen Feindschaft einsetzten. Dabei stammte das Problem aus früheren Zeiten. Es gibt schon aus der Zeit von Matthias Corvinus auch solche Angabe, aus denen man schließen kann, dass bestimmte Vorurteile im Kreis der Humanisten und der Adligen auch existierten. Jener Passus der Chronik Kézais ist allgemein bekannt, in dem der Autor darüber schrieb, dass die Szekler die den Walachen abgelernten Buchstaben benutzen. Viele halten es für die erste authentische Erwähnung der Runenschrift der Szekler. Dieser Teil wurde von dem Autor der Ungarischen Bilderchronik (*Chronicon pictum*) in unveränderter Form auch übernommen. Der Nächste, der den Text Kézais fast wörtlich zitierte, ist János Thuróczy. Er ließ aber völlig die Rumänen aus der Geschichte heraus.

⁴¹ NEAGU, 2003, 282.

⁴² DI FRANCESCO, 1994, 18. Die Verstümmelung, die Heltai gemacht hatte, wurde von Péter Kulcsár entdeckt: KULCSÁR, 1987, 125.

⁴³ MONOK, 2012, 150.

⁴⁴ FORGÁCH, 1977, 617.

Kézai	<i>Chronicon pictum</i>	Thuróczy
„Isti enim Seculi Hunnorum sunt residui [...] non tamen in Pannonia, sed cum Balckis in montibus confinii sortem habuerunt, unde Blackis commixti literis ipsorum uti perhibentur.”	non in plano Panoniae, sed cum Vlachis in montibus confinii sortem habuerunt, unde Vlachis commixti literis eorum uti perhibentur.	Hi Siculi Hunorum prima fronte in Pannoniam intrantium etiam hac nostra tempestate residui. [...] Hi nondum Sciticis literis obliti eisdem non incausti et pappiri ministerio, sed in baculorum excisionis artificio dicarum adinstar utuntur.” ⁴⁵

Für Thuróczy konnte das nun doch zuviel sein, dass sich die Szekler, die die ruhmvollen Nachfahren der herrlichen Skythen sind, das Schreiben von den wilden und barbarischen Rumänen sich aneigneten.

Es ist von Bonfini zudem zu wissen, dass eine Kampagne über von Matthias Corvinus gab, deren Zweck die Bloßstellung von Matthias war und die seine niedrige Herkunft und seine rumänische Fremdheit bloßstellen sollte: „Addebat animum, humile ac obscurum Matthiae genus, ut ipse reputabat: ratus adeolescentem peregrina gente natum, e valacho patre, nunquam tot inter nobilissimos principes, cognationibus, amicitiiis opibusque, praesentes diu regnaturum.”⁴⁶ Ich erwähnte zudem schon, dass Bonfini den Stammbaum von Matthias Corvinus völlig auf die römische Corvinus zurückführte, um diese Verunglimpfungen abzuweisen. Inzwischen erhob er gegen das Märchen über den Raben und den Ring Einspruch, nach dem János Hunyadi das Liebeskind von Sigismund von Luxemburg und einer rumänischen Bojarin (Erzsébet Morzsinai) wäre. Die ungarischen Autoren hielten jedoch geradezu die Genealogie von Bonfini für Märchen und verteidigten grimmig die Version von Morzsinai, aus der Heltai eine gefällige Novelle schuf und sie so volkstümlich machte. Der schon benannte János Listi nahm zweimal auch in seinen Anmerkungen zu Bonfini für die Version von Zsigmond–Morzsinai Stellung.⁴⁷ Wie oben zu sehen ist, führte Pál Esterházy dieselbe Tradition weiter, er machte aber Erzsébet Morzsinai in der Gestalt einer gewissen Frau namens Helena zum fürstlichen Spross.

Ein weiteres Beispiel dafür, wie sich das Bild über die Herkunft von Matthias Corvinus im Kreis der hohen Adligen von „innenseitigen Ungarn“ zur

⁴⁵ KÉZAI, 1937, 153; *Chronicon pictum*, 1938, 123; THURÓCZY, 1985, 57.

⁴⁶ BONFINI, 3. 9. 290.

⁴⁷ KULCSÁR, 2008, 164.

Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts veränderte, ist der Dichter, Miklós Zrínyi. Auf jener Seite des Exemplars von Bonfini, auf welcher Bonfini das Märchen beschreibt, bemerkte Zrínyi: „Es spielt keine Rolle, ob jemand von einem Schwein gejagt wird, nur ein Mensch zu sein.“⁴⁸ In Übereinstimmung damit argumentierte er in den Reflexionen über Matthias Corvinus auch so, dass es überhaupt nicht schmachvoll wäre, dass János Hunyadi nicht aus gesetzlicher Ehe, sondern aus der Lust der Liebe, von König Sigismund von Luxemburg und einer Bojarin geboren wurde.⁴⁹ So muss man sich darüber nicht wundern, dass die niedrige rumänische Herkunft, die von den Humanisten am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts verachtet war, Esterházy weder im Fall von Miklós Oláh, noch von Dracula störte. Er übernahm die Verwandtschaft mit ihnen stolz, er bezahlte sogar gern mit dem Preis einer kleinen philologischen Halbwahrheit.

LEVENTE NAGY

Übersetzt von Regina Goda und Ferenc Vincze

⁴⁸ HAUSNER – KLANICZAY – KOVÁCS – MONOK – ORLOVSZKY, 1991, 164.

⁴⁹ ZRÍNYI, 1985, 180.

QUELLEN- UND LITERATURVERZEICHNIS

UNGEDRUCKTE QUELLEN

EK H 46

Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár, Kézirattár, H 46.

Explicatio ac informatio

Explicatio ac informatio iconum omnium hoc libro contentarum, cum totius familiae Estoras genealogia, MNL OL P 125 Esterházy cs. lt., die Schriften von Palatin Pál, 1171 Titel, 11903. sz. 238–436.

MNL OL P 125

Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár, Esterházy cs. lt., die Schriften von Palatin Pál.

MNL OL P 184

Die Dokumente der Familie Oláh (an Mikrofilm, Rolle 34764.)

Simulacrum

Simulacrum Pannonicae nobilitas. Authore Paulo S[acri] R[omani] I[mperii] principe Estoras R[egni] Hun[gariae] palatino, 1703, MNL OL P 125 Schriften vom Palatin Pál, rep. 31, 11905 sz. (an Mikrofilm: Rolle 4756).

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BIBLIOTHEK UND HISTORISCHE WERKE

DIE BIBLIOTHEK VON NICOLAUS OLAHUS

Die ungarische Kulturgeschichte zählt nur wenige Persönlichkeiten aus dem 16. Jahrhundert, die durch ihre Tätigkeit sogar in den größten europäischen Lebenswerken ihre Wirkung spürbar machten. Nicolaus Olahus (1493–1568) ist gewiss einer von denen, zwar nicht als Erzbischof von Gran (Esztergom) und eben nicht als enger Mitarbeiter von Maria von Habsburg, sondern als Historiker. Sein Werk über die Geschichte von *Hungaria*, bzw. über Attila, den König der Hunnen, wurde oft in die Hand genommen und zitiert, überdies sind die Attila-Geschichten, die in Polen und in Weißrussland bekannt sind, die Übersetzungen des Olahus-Werkes.¹ Hinsichtlich seinen ausgegebenen Werken und Briefen – wenn wir die Zitate und die in den Briefen erwähnten Personen bzw. deren Werke betrachten – sollte er über eine bedeutende Bibliothek verfügt haben,² sofern er nicht immer bei einem Freund oder in der Bibliothek einer Universität, Kirche oder Schule gelesen hatte. In seinem Leben gab es jedoch mehrere Orte, um dies zu tun: er konnte die Universitätsbibliothek von Leuven besuchen oder zum Beispiel in Brüssel, während seines Dienstes bei Maria von Habsburg, Gouvernatrix der Burgundischen Niederlande, die Bücher der burgundischen Herzogen in die Hand nehmen. Die hohe Belesenheit des humanistischen Kreises um Olahus ist wohl bekannt, wir kennen die Bibliotheken bzw. Bücher von mehreren Kreismitgliedern,

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¹ ZOLTÁN, 1997, 354–357; ZOLTÁN, 2000, 53–54; ZOLTÁN, 2004.

² SZELESTEI NAGY, 1993, 51–69.; KOMOROVÁ, 2017, 241–263; NAGY, 2016, 164–181.

beginnend mit Johannes Sambucus³ bis Nicasius Ellebodus⁴ oder eben Boldizsár Barthyány.⁵

Ein derzeitiger Katalog der Bibliothek von Nicolaus Olahus ist nicht bekannt. Aufgrund Possessoreneintragungen und seinen Spenden lässt sich der Besitz von 251 Werken dokumentieren, und das so entstandene Bild kann mit weiteren Daten ergänzt werden, die aus seinen Briefwechseln und aus anderen Quellen stammen. Seine humanistische Bildung, seine heimischen und europaweiten Beziehungsnetzwerke, Mäzenatur und seine literarische und kirchenorganisatorische Tätigkeit betrachtend können wir ohne Zweifel behaupten, dass diese Zahl nur einen Bruchteil seiner ehemaligen Bibliothek umfasst. In dieser Studie haben wir uns unter anderem zum Ziel gesetzt, für die Richtigkeit der letzten Behauptung zu argumentieren. Das gilt auch dann, wenn bei der Untersuchung der Druckorte sich eine auffallend hohe Zahl der in Leuven ausgegebenen Bücher zeigt. Wieso sind gerade die dort erkauften Bücher bestehengeblieben, bzw. ist diese Fortbestandsrate (251:47) dem Zufall zuzuschreiben, oder hielt der gelehrte Oberpriester die Erwerbung seiner Privatbibliothek nicht für eine solche Tätigkeit, die systematisch verfolgt werden sollte? Wenn wir seine *ex libris* betrachten, ist das kaum vorstellbar. Er sollte demnach ein bewusster Sammler sein, der seine Bücher identifizierbar machen würde. An der anderen Seite ist es aber befremdlich, dass die als eigenständiger Kleindruck bestehengebliebene *ex libris* in keinem seiner bekannten Bücher auffindbar ist.⁶

Unter den beinahe zeitgenössischen Sammlern⁷ verfügte auch Miklós Telegdi (1535–1586), Kanoniker von Gran und Bischof von Fünfkirchen (Pécs), über eine reiche und wertvolle Bibliothek. Sein Bücherverzeichnis,⁸ das wir aus seinem Nachlassinventar kennen, zählt 291 Bände. Telegdi ist für uns auch aus dem Gesichtspunkt bedeutend, weil auch er einige Bücher dem Erzbischof von Gran geerbt hatte. Die Sammlung⁹ des Rechtswissenschaftlers Zachariás Mossóczy (1542–1587), Bischof von Nitra (Nyitra), gehörte daneben mit fast 1.000 Bänden zu den größten Sammlungen des 16. Jahrhunderts.

Wie bereits erwähnt, ist über die Bücher von Nicolaus Olahus kein Inventar erhalten geblieben, die Bücher selbst sind zerstreut aufzufinden: nach aktuellem Stand unserer Forschungen befinden sie sich zur Zeit – in kleinerer oder größerer Anzahl – in 20 Institutionen sieben europäischer Länder.

³ MONOK, 1992.

⁴ PAJKOSSY, 1983, 225–242; BOROSS, 2007, 157–185.

⁵ MONOK – ÖTVÖS – ZVARA, 2004.

⁶ Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Régi Nyomtatványok Tára, *ex libris*, s. n.

⁷ MADAS – MONOK, 2003, 161–164.

⁸ *Catalogus Librorum R(everendissimi)mi D(omi)ni olim Nicolai Telegdini Episcopi quinqueecclesiensis*. Siehe *Adattár* 13, 1986, 36–42.

⁹ *Adattár* 11, 1983, 437–485; KOMOROVÁ, 2010.

Daran ist zum Teil auch der Erzbischof schuld, da er seine Bücher selbst verteilte¹⁰ Obwohl in seinem Testament, geschrieben am 14. September 1562, auch steht, dass er seine hochwertige Bibliothek nicht an seine Kirche vererben würde, da die Bücher dort sowieso nur „verstaubt liegenbleiben“ würden.¹¹

Seine in Wien aufbewahrten Bücher vererbte er an Johannes Listi I. (†1577), Hauptkanzler, Bischof von Wesprim (Veszprém) und später von Raab (Győr), bzw. an dessen Sohn, Johannes II. (1556–?). Dass die Entscheidung von Olahus auf den ersterwähnten fiel, kann dadurch begründet werden, dass er als gebildeter Humanist auch Mitglied des Preßburger Humanisten-Kreises¹² und selbst Buchsammler war.¹³ Er war sogar mit Listi verwandt, da der Kanzler Lukrécia Oláh,¹⁴ die uneheliche(?) Tochter von Nicolaus Olahus, heiratete. Olahus ließ einen Teil seiner Bibliothek der Familie Listi unter der Voraussetzung über, dass nach Selektion ihrer Wahl die Studenten von Tyrnau (Trnava, Nagyszombat) die übriggebliebenen Bücher erhalten würden.

Die Bücher von Johannes Listi I., oder ein Teil davon wurden später von den Mitgliedern der Familie Listi geerbt. Die Familienbibliothek befand sich wahrscheinlich in Kittsee (Köpcsény). Als königliche Schenkung erhielt die Familie Listi das Besitztum in Kittsee im Jahr 1576, es wurde von Johannes Listi IV. (†1676 k.) im Jahr 1676 dem späteren Palatin Pál Esterházy (1635–1713) verkauft. Wahrscheinlich wurde zu dieser Zeit infolge des Inhaberwechsels ein Teil der Bücher der Familie Listi und somit der von Nicolaus Olahus Teil der Esterházy-Sammlung.

Das ist also einer der Wege, wie die Bücher des humanistischen Oberpriesters die Bibliothek der Familie Esterházy bereichert haben,¹⁵ und diese

¹⁰ „De libris. Libros, quos hic Wiennae in biblioteca mea habeo, lego Joanni Listhio et filio suo Joanni ea conditione, ut quos ex eis voluerit, pro se retineat. Alios autem studiosis Tirnaviensibus pro salute animae meae distribuat, ut ex eis discant. – Libri per me impressi, tam scilicet breviarum, quam alia, quos Franciscus Naghwathi scit ubi sint, omnes distribuantur pauperibus sacerdotibus et aliis studiosis ac ecclesiis inopibus, qui tales non habent. Volumus tamen, ut ante omnia ad capellas meas de Lanser et Nicoleti aliquot ex his pulchre illigentur et ligati dentur. – Libros, qui sunt Tirnaviae in domo mea, legarem ecclesiae. Sed ea habet etiam alioqui nunc sufficientes libros, pulveribus obsitos, qui domini canonici, fratres nostri eos non frequentant, neque pulveres obsterunt. Ideo committo, ut ex eis accipiat aliquos pro se magister Nicolaus Telegdinus archidiaconus Zoliensis ad studia sua et similiter magister Nicolaus Dessyth canonicus Strigoniensis et reliqui distribuantur pauperibus scholasticis Tirnaviensibus, qui sunt studiosi.“ – *Adattár* 11, 1983, 56–57.

¹¹ FAZEKAS, 2003, 145.

¹² BOROSS, 2007, 157–185.

¹³ ZVARA, 2008, 47–51, 57–60; MONOK, 2012, 142.

¹⁴ FAZEKAS, 2002, 227.

¹⁵ MONOK – ZVARA, 2015, 203–204.

Bibliothek gehörte im 17. Jahrhundert zu den größten und reichsten Aristokratensammlungen.¹⁶

Der andere Weg, den die Bücher von Nicolaus Olahus zur Familie Esterházy hinter sich brachten, war wie folgt: Der Neffe des Erzbischofs war Miklós Oláh-Császár, seine Tochter Orsolya Császár und deren Mann Ferenc Dersffy. Die Tochter dieses Ehepaares war Orsolya Dersffy (1583–1619), den der Palatin Miklós Esterházy (1583–1645) heiratete. Orsolya Dersffy erbte Lackenbach (Lakompak), was auf diese Weise ein Esterházy-Eigentum wurde – zwar samt einem anderen Teil der Bücher von Nicolaus Olahus.¹⁷

Die Familie Esterházy sollte auch besonders wegen diesen Sachen erwähnt werden, aber noch wichtiger ist, dass die meisten Olahus-Bände in dieser Familiensammlung aufbewahrt wurden, was die Hälfte des heute bekannten Bestandes ausmacht.

Eine kleine Büchersammlung – meistens Missale, Breviaria, Antiphonalia – hatte Oláh in der Sankt Margariten Kapelle des sogenannten Nicoletum, was von Oláh aufgebaut (1556) wurde, nicht weit von Wien. Diese Bücher wurden auch von Listi geerbt.¹⁸

Nehmen wir die Bücher von Nicolaus Olahus in die Hand, formt sich vor uns auch ein Bild über seine Buchverwendung und seinen Lesegeschmack. In die Mehrheit seiner Bücher schrieb der humanistische Oberpriester seinen Namen mit den zur Zeit der Beschaffung aktuellen Funktionen und Titeln, aber in mehreren Fällen kennzeichnete er diese sogar mit einem *Supralibros*. Die Mehrheit seiner Bücher ließ er selbst binden, so hilft der Einband bei der Identifizierung, auch wenn seine Possessoreintragung aus einigen Bänden fehlt.

Die Identifizierung wird auch dadurch erleichtert, dass Nicolaus Olahus in seinen Büchern oft und gerne Notizen machte, so können durch die Erkennung seines Schriftbildes ihm mehrere Bücher zugeordnet werden.

Seine erhalten gebliebenen Bücher zeigen auch einen erwähnenswerten Beitrag zur Buchgeschichte: bei der Mehrheit seiner bekannten Bücher finden wir den Namen des Autors und/oder die Verkürzung des Titels am Schnitt, was bedeutet, dass die Bücher in den Regalen noch nicht stehend unterbracht wurden.

Die Bibliothek von Nicolaus Olahus ist größtenteils das Ergebnis seiner eigenen Sammlung, diese kaufte er teils, teils erhielt er sie als Geschenk. Die Ausgabejahre, die Buchdrucker und die Druckorte betrachtend kann festgestellt werden, dass seine Sammlung größtenteils durch die in den Niederlanden bereichert werden sollte – da während seiner Tätigkeit dafür in Ungarn

¹⁶ MONOK, 2012, 127–157; KÖRNER, 2005, 110–147.

¹⁷ *Ebd.*; MONOK, 2011, 504–507.

¹⁸ SZERÉMI, 1897, 42–48; SZOLIVA, 2015, 26–30.

kaum Möglichkeiten bestand, fast keine Druckereien in der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts auf dem Gebiet des Königreichs Ungarn funktionierten, und von Buchhandlungen kaum die Rede sein konnte.¹⁹ Unter den Possessoreintragungen sind neben dem Erzbischof noch die Namen von mehreren hervorragenden Humanisten aufzufinden, unter anderen der von Albert Peregi (†1546), Propst von Fünfkirchen, Vorsitzender der ungarischen Kammer und Königssekretär,²⁰ aufgrund seines *Superexlibris* konnten acht von seinen Bänden als Elemente der Olahus-Bibliothek identifiziert werden.

Die inhaltliche Zusammensetzung der erhalten gebliebenen Bücher analysierend können wir einige Charakteristika hervorheben. Die erste Aussage wäre, dass die Bibliothek eines wahren Humanisten und Philologen vor uns liegt und nicht die von einem Kirchenorganisator oder Kirchenpolitiker, insbesondere geht es hier nicht um die Sammlung eines Häretikers. Das bedeutet eben nicht den vollkommenen Mangel zeitgenössischer Theologie, es gibt Ausgaben die sich mit dem Konzil von Trient befassen, oder das Buch von Johann Faber über die Häresie (herausgegeben mit der Unterstützung von Olahus). Mehrere Ausgaben finden wir auch bezüglich weiterer, als „häretisch“ betrachteter Ideen. (Das Buch von Cornelius Scribonius Graphaeus über die Anabaptisten.)

Für die protestantischen Reformen zeigte Olahus ein signifikantes Interesse. Das zeigt auch die Tatsache, dass sogar zwei Ausgaben von Martin Luther in seiner Sammlung erhalten geblieben sind. Wir finden lateinische und deutsche Ausgaben seines Kommentars über Moses, über das Matthäus-Evangelium und über seine Gedanken zur Christologie (in engem Zusammenhang mit der wittenbergischen Geschichtsanschauung) und seine Erinnerung geschrieben aus Anlass des Todes von Johann dem Beständigen (1468–1532), sächsischer Kurfürst.

In der Sammlung präsent ist auch Philipp Melanchthon, sogar seine theologischen Werke (unter den Lektüren von Olahus, dem Humanisten, finden wir ja seine philologischen Werke, so die Kommentare zu Cicero und Demosthenes). Neben den Kommentaren zur Genesis und dem Heiligen Paul von *Praeceptor Germaniae* konnte Olahus auch seine kirchenorganisatorischen Werke lesen.

Es ist eine beinahe eine befremdliche Tatsache, dass er über die Frömmigkeit oder über die Deutung des Abendmahls die Werke des Protestanten Georg Witzel (1501–1573), Freund von Luther, las. Er besaß sogar Bücher von solchen Religionswissenschaftlern zur Zeit Kaiser Karls V., über die man kaum sagen könnte, dass sie eine ungetrübte Beziehung zur Römischen Kurie

¹⁹ V. ECSEDY, 2004, 89

²⁰ VARGA, 2011, 351–376.

hatten: So wie Pedro de Soto (1493–1563), den die spanische Inquisition als Lutheraner angeschuldigt hatte.

Der Fall von Fridericus Staphylus (1512–1564) ist zudem schwierig zu beurteilen. Der lutherische Theologe trat 1552 zum katholischen Glauben über, anschließend schrieb er ein Werk, in dem er die lutherische Theologie darstellte und in mehreren Punkten kritisierte, was auch eine der Lektüren von Olahus gewesen sei. In der Bibliothek von Olahus war auch ein Grundwerk zur Pädagogik von einem Autor auffindbar, der für seine Toleranz bekannt war. Petrus Mosellanus (1493–1524) thomistischer Theologe aus Köln, der eine gute Beziehung zu Melanchthon pflegte und versuchte, zwischen Luther und dem ihn unversöhnlich hassenden Johann Eck zu vermitteln. (Wenn wir kurz an die Beziehung von Maria von Habsburg zu den Protestanten denken, ist es kein Wunder, dass die Statthalterin der Niederlande in dieser Frage Toleranz zeigte, da in Buda Johann Henckel und in Brüssel nämlich Nicolaus Olahus an ihrer Seite stand.)

In der Bibliothek von Olahus finden wir eine große Anzahl der Werke von den Kirchenvätern, und zwar in Ausgaben, die in diesem Zeitalter eine hervorragende Qualität aufwiesen. Auch hier traf er eine auffallend außergewöhnliche Wahl (wenn man die Schlussfolgerungen aus dem Fortbestand als seine Wahl sieht): Origenes, beliebter Autor von Erasmus, Hieronymus, Johannes Chrysostomos, Albertus Magnus, Vasul der Große und Tertullianus die alle also Kirchenväter waren, denen auch von den größten Persönlichkeiten der protestantischen Reformation eine ausschlaggebende Bedeutung zugeschrieben wurde. Auch die Literatur zur Kirchengeschichte ist vorwiegend durch ältere, mittelalterliche Autoren präsent, bzw. sind einige Bücher über die zeitgenössischen kirchlichen Ereignisse erhalten geblieben. Die wenigen Bücher also, die unter den Werken der Kirchenväter den theologischen Hintergrund für *devotio moderna* bildeten, ergänzt mit einigen Werken der Frömmigkeitsliteratur aus dem 16. Jahrhundert (ein Protestant und der Benediktiner Wolfgang Seidel [1492–1562]) zeigen eher einen humanistischen Leser als den katholischen Theologen und Oberpriestern.

Auch die Kirchengeschichte ist vorwiegend von humanistischen Werken und nicht von Autoren geprägt, die voreingenommen ihrem Glaubensbekenntnis zutiefst verpflichtet sind. Um einige zu erwähnen: Michael Buchinger (1520–1571) der Humanist; Friedrich Nausea (Grau, 1492–1552), Bischof von Wien, der als tolerant bezeichnet werden kann; Albertus Pighius (1490–1542), Mathematiker, Astronom, katholischer Theologe und Humanist. Ferner verfügte Olahus lediglich über die Ausgaben von einigen älteren Autoren der Antike oder des Mittelalters (wie zum Beispiel das Theophilactus de Achrida²¹ [11. Jahrhundert], herausgegeben basierend auf einer Handschrift aus der Bibliothek von Johannes Sambucus.)

²¹ ALMÁSI – KISS, 2014, passim.

Nicolaus Olahus als Leser von historischer Literatur steht bereits als Historiker und Politiker vor uns. Auch bezüglich seiner historischen Lektüren kann seine Vorliebe für die protestantische Sichtweise erwähnt werden. Und dies nicht lediglich wegen dem *Calendarium* von Paul Eber oder dem diesbezüglichen Werk von Martin Luther. Die Betonung der göttlichen Kraft, die den Verlauf der Geschichte unmittelbar beeinflusst, stellte das welthistorische Genre in den Vordergrund.²² Olahus verfügte über die Weltgeschichte von Eusebius, ebenso über die Aufzeichnungen zur Weltgeschichte von Achilles Pirminius Gasser (1505–1577), Bayrischer Astronom und Humanist, Unterstützer von Kopernikus, oder über das epochale Werk von Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514). Die Frage der Türken stand im Mittelpunkt seiner Interessen. Die Gründe dafür bestehen teils in der Theologie, aber auch in seinem Engagement als Kirchenpolitiker bzw. Politiker. Die Hälfte der historischen Werke die bei ihm auffindbar waren, befasst sich mit den Türken (Nicolaus Sagundinus, Johann Ramus, Erasmus, Petrus Nannius, Jacopo Sodoletto, Paolo Giovio). Die Werke, die das Verhältnis zwischen dem französischen König Franz I. und Kaiser Karl V. erörterten (Cornelius Scribonius, Guilielmus Insulanus, Freidrich Staphylus), sind von der Türken-Frage auch nicht unabhängig. Neben diesen Werken finden wir nur solche, die sich aus irgendeinem Gesichtspunkt auch mit seinem Lebensweg verknüpften. So die *Brabant*-Geschichte von Hadrianus Barlandus oder das Werk von Galeazzo Flavio Capella über die Sforzas.

Die erhalten gebliebenen Bücher zeigen vor allem die humanistische Fachbibliothek eines Philologen, die des Humanisten, der sogar Nicasius Ellebodius ins Königreich Ungarn eingeladen und ihm Lebensunterhalt gesichert hatte, damit er sich hier mit der Ausgabe von Aristoteles,²³ Aristophanes und Polybios beschäftigen konnte. Die Liste der Namen ist imponierend, so wie die Qualität der Ausgaben. Von den griechischen Texten waren die von Platon, Hesiod, Homer, Demosthenes (sogar in zwei Ausgaben), Xenophon, Sophokles, Hippokrates, eine griechische Epigramm-Sammlung und eine griechische Textsammlung vorhanden, die das Genre des Briefwechsels illustrierte.

Isokrates war sogar mit vier Texten vertreten, der eine konnte auch mit der geschichtsphilosophischen Lehre das Interesse von Olahus wecken (*de regno*). An der Zahl der Ausgaben gemessen wird er nur von Lukianos, mit seinen 11 Texten überholt. Homer besaß er in einer Leuener Ausgabe bzw. in der Edition von Aldus Manutius. In diesen beiden Bänden versah Olahus beim Lesen mit Seitenrand-Notizen. Johann Ramus (Tack) lobte die Griechisch-Kenntnisse von Olahus im Vorwort der lateinischen Ausgabe der grie-

²² LOTZ, 1936, 40–44.

²³ MAURER, 2014, 22.

chischen Epigramm-Sammlung,²⁴ nach der Meinung von Zsigmond Ritoók sind diese nur inhaltliche Aushebungen von einigen Namen und Orten zur Erleichterung des späteren Verständnisses.

Unter den lateinischen Autoren zeigte er eine besondere Vorliebe für Cicero. Der Grund dafür war sein Stil und seine moralphilosophische Lehre, verbunden mit Kommentaren von den Besten, wie Erasmus von Rotterdam, Philipp Melanchthon und Georgius Trapenzuntius. Eine Liste soll auch hier die bekanntesten Autoren aufzählen: Aulus Gellius, Horatius, Persius, Sallustius, Terentius, Plinius der Ältere, Curtius Rufus und Quintilianus. Seneca ist ein weiteres Beispiel für sein sichtbar vorhandenes Interesse für Moralphilosophie, während der Name von Quintilianus uns zu einer der bedeutendsten Besonderheiten der Olahus-Bibliothek führt, nämlich zur Präsenz von Autoren aus der Niederlande, und zwar aus der humanistischen Schule von Leuven. Diese Anwesenheit wurzelte – ähnlich zu der hohen Anzahl der Werke der Wiener Humanisten in der Bibliothek – in den persönlichen Bekanntschaften. Petrus Nannius, Johann Ramus, Erasmus, oder sogar Johannes Sambucus gehörten zu seinem persönlichen Kontaktnetz.

Es soll nochmals betont werden, dass die Bibliothek von Nicolaus Olahus zunächst eine humanistische Sammlung war. Wir könnten auch die Statistiken über die Ausgabenorte der erhalten gebliebenen Bücher anführen, um diese Behauptung zu unterstützen²⁵, aber die Tatsache selbst, dass unter den 251 erhalten gebliebenen Büchern 57 Werke von Erasmus Roterodamus aufzufinden sind, macht diese Aussage unbestreitbar.

Auch ein anderer Gedankenfaden lässt sich zwischen Nicolaus Olahus und Leuven binden. An der dortigen Universität wurde im 16. Jahrhundert zum Unterricht von Rhetorik, Logik und Dialektik eine Methode ausgearbeitet, wodurch diejenigen, die ohne einen Eliteschulen-Hintergrund mit der Hochschulbildung anfangen, ihren Rückstand aufholen konnten. Olahus selbst beschäftigte sich mit dieser Frage, mit einer bedeutenden Summe unterstützte er die Studenten vom *Collegium Christi*, welches wegen der türkischen Ge-

²⁴ Epigrammata ex thesauris Graecorum deprompta et iam recens Latina facta ... Vindobonae Austriae, ex off. Joannis Syngrenii, 1551: „Cujus in graecis vertendis tanta est dexteritas, ut vel solis Tuis manibus videantur Graecorum thesauri velle contrectari: lusisti in hoc argumento adolescentior, cumque Tibi aetas ad has delicias sequendas manum porrigeret, at nunc cum Te in alto fortuna collocarit, nec suscepta patriae, reique publicae negotia in his studiis amplius Te commorari patiantur, pro Musis praestantis simae quaeque favoribus, et opibus enutris ingenia, sub tali ductore haud dubie ad spes maximas praeparata, unde Musae suarum dotium foenus se non mediocre fecisse palam confitentur.“

²⁵ Basel: 251:57; Leuven: 251: 40; Wien: 251:23; Köln: 251:20; Venedig: 251:18; Strasbourg: 251:16; Hagenau: 251:10; Antwerpen: 251:10.

fahr aus Gran nach Wien übersiedelt wurde.²⁶ Neben den Grundwerken von Autoren der Antike, wie Erasmus, Ludovicus Vives und Adrianus Barlandus, haben auch die Werke von Wissenschaftlern, Zeitgenossen von Hadrianus Junius (Johannes Murmellius, Petrus Montanus, Georgius Macropedius, Petrus Nannius, Cornelius Crocus)²⁷ zur Verwirklichung dieses Ziels einen deutlichen Beitrag geleistet. Zudem sind aus der Sammlung von Olahus einige Werke von Vives, Barlandus, Nannius, Murmellius und Montanus erhalten geblieben.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich feststellen, dass wir über die Erudition von Nicolaus Olahus nur einige Bruchteile kennen. Diese Teilkenntnisse stellen aber eindeutig einen humanistischen Philologen, einen humanistischen Historiker dar. Eine Persönlichkeit, die auch weitere Funktionen im Hof ausübte und später der erste Oberpriester des Königreichs Ungarn wurde. In dieser Rolle diente er seiner Kirche mit vielen Büchern – z.B. mit liturgischen Büchern, die von ihm oder mit seiner Unterstützung ausgegeben wurden –, und unternahm Schritte in der Richtung der Neuorganisation der katholischen Kirche. Vor allem schaffte er um sich einen Kreis von Wissenschaftler-Philologen.

Wir sind überzeugt, dass auch seine Lektüren nur diese Tatsache beachtend interpretiert werden können. Die erhalten gebliebenen Bücher, die Einträge von Mitgliedern des Humanisten-Kreises in Preßburg beinhaltend, sollen wiederaufgeführt werden, und das Bild soll mit der Bibliothek von Johannes Sambucus und Hans Dernschwamm vervollständigt werden. Die Bibliotheken der nächsten Generation – Boldizsár Batthyány, die Familie Beythe, Miklós Istvánffy – werden das so entstandene Bild weiter bestätigen.

ISTVÁN MONOK – EDINA ZVARA

²⁶ KÖRMENDY, 1983, 10. (Anm. 68); MÉSZÁROS, 1984, 343–360; KÖRMENDY – C. TÓTH, 2017, 163. (Anm. 148–149.)

²⁷ MIERT, 2011, 1–15.

QUELLEN- UND LITERATURVERZEICHNIS

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„... AD LAUDEM ET GLORIAM DEI OPTIMI MAXIMI”

Psalterium Strigoniense
Surviving from the Viennese Residence of Nicolaus Olahus

The Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, Germany has preserved a unique liturgical book, which had been the property of Miklós Oláh (Nicolaus Olahus). It is an almost perfect copy of the 1523 edition of *Psalterium Strigoniense*, the psalter of Esztergom (Strigonium, Gran), now kept under shelf mark Res/2Liturg. 380.¹ (Fig. 9. [Abb. 9.]). This early print with handwritten musical notation reveals essential parts of the sixteenth-century liturgical office of the archbishopric of Esztergom. To show the historical and musical value of the copy formerly owned by Oláh, I will first review the surviving copies and the history of the print.²

ON THE 1523 EDITION OF THE PSALTER OF ESZTERGOM
AND THE SURVIVING COPIES

The printer of the 1523 edition of *Psalterium Strigoniense* was the acclaimed Peter Liechtenstein of Venice, who worked on commission by Michael Prischwitz, a bookseller of Buda. The choir-book sized (380 × 270 mm), 144-folio psalter contains the part of the office that recurs each week: all the psalms in numerical order with the proper antiphons and readings, the hymnal presenting the hymns for various temporal feasts and saints, as well as the office of the dead. The full title of the psalter reads: *Psalterium chorale secundum consuetudinem Strigoniensis ecclesiae: cum antiphonis simul et letania ac hymnis de tempore et sanctis per totum annum: cum vesperis et vigiliis mortuorum*. The adjective “chorale” in the title, which implies liturgical chant, is

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¹ The entire copy of the print in question is accessible via the Digitization Centre of the BSB Munich. See: <http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00084911-7> (June 2019).

² For the first publication on the book’s history see: SZOLIVA, 2013.

justified by the use of blank staves meant to be filled in by hand. As the musical notation was not printed in the psalter, and only the staves were set in the press, a qualified musician had to complete the missing musical notation of the copies individually. Although Liechtenstein's workshop would have made it possible to print notated musical sections,³ in the case of the 1523 edition of *Psalterium Strigoniense* the simpler (and certainly cheaper) method was applied. According to estimates, at the very most 2–300 copies of the psalter may have left the Venice workshop in 1523.

The later fate of the print was probably sealed by an unexpected turn in history, i.e. the Ottoman occupation of the southern parts of Hungary and particularly the fall of Buda (1541) and Esztergom (1543). As a result of these events and due to the change in the liturgical customs during the sixteenth century, the 1523 edition of *Psalterium Strigoniense* remained the first and only representative of large-sized choir psalters printed to Hungarian order. There are three known surviving copies of the edition: one in Esztergom, Hungary, one in Martin (Túrócszentmárton), Slovakia, and one in Munich, Germany (*Table 1*).⁴

whereabouts	library	shelf mark	condition of the print	musical notation
Esztergom, Hungary	Főszékes-egyházi Könyvtár	Inc. XVI. I. 118	heavily worn, restored, fol. 2 is missing	3 hands, on the whole 5 hymns filled in
Martin, Slovak Republic	Slovenská národná knižnica	Bap. 3846	full, intact copy	–
Munich, Germany	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek	Res/2 Liturg. 380	for the greater part intact, 5 psalms cut out and moved	1 hand, fully filled in except for 5 hymns

Table 1. Surviving copies of the 1523 edition of Psalterium Strigoniense

³ The *Missale Zagradiense* printed at Liechtenstein's workshop in 1511 contains excellent musical examples in Messine-Gothic notation. See in digitized form on the website of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti), Zagreb: <http://dizbi.hazu.hr/object/1929> (June 2019).

⁴ A fragment of a folio of another copy was identified in the village of Modor/Modra (now Slovakia), in the binding of the records of a trial from 1609: Magistrát mesta Modry, 2247–K.457 Prozess gegen Martin (Valentin) Weber 1609. See in digitized form via the Slovak Early Music Database: <http://cantus.sk/source/143> (June 2019).

The Cathedral Library of Esztergom (Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár) has preserved the only copy in Hungary. It has an original, slightly restored sixteenth-century binding; however, fol. 2 is missing, and plenty of folios are worn out and damaged. Presumably, it had been the property of István Lázár, canon of the Esztergom Chapter between 1624 and 1652. The Esztergom copy only contains a small number of musical examples, 5 hymns altogether, and the musical notations originate from three different hands. In addition, the musical quality of these few notations varies.

The copy kept in the Slovak National Library in Martin (Slovenská národná knjižnica) contains neither possessor's nor donator's entries. Before it became state property during the communist regime, it had been in the possession of the Franciscans of Bratislava (Pozsony, Pressburg). The friars, however, did not use it in their own liturgy. The original possessor(s) of the psalter wrote no musical entries into the printed staves at all, that is, the book was left empty, so the *Psalterium Strigoniense* held in Martin cannot be regarded as a musical source. Its outstanding value lies in the completeness and condition of the print. According to our present state of knowledge, only the Martin copy represents Peter Liechtenstein's work in a complete and essentially intact state.

OLÁH'S COPY AND THE NICOLETUM

In 2012 the internet provided the possibility to identify yet another copy of the *Psalterium Strigoniense* in question, the most valuable one so far. At that time the Digitization Center of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich made available a copy which, according to a possessor's and donator's note on the title page, had been owned by Miklós Oláh, the archbishop of Esztergom, between 1553 and 1568.

The note reveals that Oláh donated his psalter in 1558 to the private chapel established at his summer residence near Vienna called *Nicoletum*.⁵ Com-

⁵ The full text of the possessors' note reads: "R[everendissi]mus in Chr[ist]o pater dominus Nicolaus Olahus Archiep[iscop]us Strigoniens[is], Primas Hungariae, Legatus natus, Summus Secretarius et Cancellarius per Hungariam Sacrae Cesareae et Regiae Maiestatis etc. Ferdinandi primi, hoc psalterium [sic!] donavit Capellae suae in Nicoletto Wiennae fundatae, ad laudem et gloriam Dei optimi maximi. Anno 1558. Amen." When Miklós Oláh donated the *Bakócz gradual* to his cathedral in 1555, the donation was recorded with a similar formula in both volumes of the manuscript. The entry of the first volume reads: "Hoc Graduale in honorem et gloriam Dei optimi maximi donavit ecclesiae suae Strigoniensi Reverendissimus in Christo pater dominus Nicolaus Olahus Archiepiscopus Strigoniensis, Primas Hungariae etc. Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo quinto." See: SZENDREI, 1993, vol. 1, 6 and footnote 66.

paring the script with several writing *specimina*, we may safely claim that it is the archbishop's own handwriting. As a man of humanistic erudition, he appreciated books very much and inscribed his possessor's notes individually.⁶

As the Munich copy of the 1523 edition of *Psalterium Strigoniense* was closely linked to the chapel of the *Nicoletum* through the donation, it is worth giving a short survey of the history of the building.

Miklós Oláh started the construction of the *Nicoletum* two years after his inauguration as archbishop of Esztergom. In 1555 he bought a building site situated outside the city walls of Vienna, close to Margaretenplatz in today's 5th district. It still contained the ruins of a mansion destroyed during the first Turkish siege of 1529. In this former mansion a chapel had already been consecrated to St. Margaret of Antioch between 1388 and 1395 by the owners at that time, the brothers Ludwig and Rudolf von Tirna. That former chapel was also destroyed during the fights with the Turks.⁷ Miklós Oláh had this crumbling chapel renovated and made it the private chapel of his recently constructed summer residence *Nicoletum*. In his testament he refers to the chapel as "Capella mea in Nicoletto fundata et per me tota renovata". He retained the earlier patron saint of the chapel, St. Margaret of Antioch, which the district bears in its name (Margareten) even today. However, the missal used by the archbishop in the *Nicoletum* is preserved in Hungary.⁸ This printed *Missale Zagradiense* also has a handwritten donation note, which reveals the exact date of the foundation of the chapel: 1 March, 1556.⁹ One can imagine the appearance of *Nicoletum* only based on Georg Matthäus Vischer's realistic engraving from 1672. The engraving was made just in time, as the remarkable residence of *Nicoletum*, along with its chapel, was nearly totally destroyed again by the Turks in 1683, during the second siege of Vienna. Vischer's engraving is the only surviving depiction of the building. It shows a Renaissance-style castle with two onion-shaped domes, one of which, perhaps the smaller one, may have belonged to the chapel (Fig. 10. [Abb. 10.]).¹⁰

⁶ Cf. Oláh's tombstone, which is in the St. Nicholas church in Trnava (Nagyszombat, Tyrnau). The sculptor portrayed Oláh with a book in his left hand.

⁷ For the history of the *Nicoletum*, see the following literature: CZEIKE, 1994, 160–161; MAURER, 1910/1911, 53; FAZEKAS, 2005, 354.

⁸ The copy of the 1511 edition of *Missale Zagradiense* (Venice, Peter Lichtenstein) owned by Oláh is now kept in the Diocesan Treasury and Library, Győr under shelf mark R. 535.

⁹ The entry reads: "R[everendissi]mus D[ominus] Nicolaus Olahus Archie[piscopus] Strigonien[sis] hoc suo chirographo me donavit in honorem et laudem Dei omnipotentis Capellae Beatae Margarethae in Curia Domus suae Nicoleti vocatae, fundatae prima Martii, Anno 1556." The missal is mentioned by SZELESTEI NAGY, 1994, 62.

¹⁰ Facsimile edition of the engraving: VISCHER, 1976, 45.

In his will¹¹ Oláh emphasized his desire for the continuation of liturgical life in the *Nicoletum* chapel after his death by setting up various mass foundations. He bequeathed the castle to his secretary, János Liszthy and charged him and his wife Lukrécia with the duties of the patrons of the chapel. He provided for a priest, who had to celebrate holy mass in the *Nicoletum* chapel for the salvation of the archbishop's soul. He had an inventory written, which comprised all the valuables he was donating to the chapel (chalices, relics, various silver objects, candlesticks, liturgical vestments, etc.). Those objects were forbidden to be removed or taken into profane use, even for the patrons, under the penalty of excommunication. Though the liturgical books are not mentioned in this section of the will, they must have been included in the inventory, and the prohibition must have affected them as well. Therefore, it can be assumed that the psalter in question remained in the *Nicoletum* for some decades after Oláh's death in 1568. The direct legatee, János Liszthy certainly respected Oláh's last will because he also requested in his own will that the belongings of the chapel listed in the inventory be preserved carefully ("diligenter custodientur pro capella").¹² Not much is known about the later secular owners of the *Nicoletum*. Since Liszthy did not bequeath his patronage of the chapel to anyone in his will, nor did he mention the mass foundation, we must suppose that regular liturgical celebrations became less frequent at the castle from the end of the 1570s at the latest. Soon after Oláh's death Pope Pius V (1566–1572), following the decrees of the Council of Trent, had new official liturgical books printed for the entire Church, so by the early seventeenth century Miklós Oláh's rituals probably lay dust-covered in the chapel or may even have been removed. His missal and psalter were definitely not in the chapel during the second Turkish siege of 1683, in which the *Nicoletum* was totally devastated, because in that case they would either have been destroyed or taken away. Only the two above-mentioned liturgical books survived the wartime, while the majority of the building disappeared. On the site of the one-time *Nicoletum*, at 3 Margaretenplatz, a modern building is found today, which preserves only a few architectural elements of the original mansion, such as a Renaissance portal in the inner court (Fig. 11. [Abb. 11.]). A marble tablet above the main gate, which was made in 1651, commemorates Miklós Oláh as the rebuilder of the castle and chapel after the first Turkish siege.¹³

¹¹ MERÉNYI, 1896.

¹² Liszthy's testament written on 10 November, 1575 as bishop of Győr is available. He bequeathed *Nicoletum* to his older son János, or in case of his early death without a male heir, to the younger István (Point 9). In the document he also touched upon the fittings of the chapel (Point 12). In connection with the items mentioned in Oláh's list, he emphatically requested that they should be preserved for the purposes of the chapel. See: SZERÉMI 1897, 42–48.

¹³ The inscription of the tablet from 1651 reads: "Dum frustra oppugnat Solymanus turca Viennam, / aram Margrethae destruit atque domum, / Granæ praeses Ola[h]i restaurat et inde

From the end of the seventeenth century on, the fate of the psalter is unknown. To save it from the Turks, it may have been taken to the north and put into a church collection. From there it got to the Royal Library of Bavaria with several other early prints and manuscripts due to the secularization process beginning in 1803 in the German territories. An *exlibris* was pasted onto the inside of the front cover with the caption “Bibliotheca Regia Monacensis” some time between 1806 and 1918, as the Royal Library of Bavaria Munich, the legal predecessor of the present Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, existed during that time. It is presumed that Miklós Oláh’s psalter was provided with the simple brown paper binding upon its registration in the library.

EVALUATION AND DIGITAL RESTORATION

The psalter is of utmost importance in the musical history of medieval Hungary. Its high-quality musical notation is almost fully complete, as the copy was intended for an archbishop’s personal use. The print was filled in by a single music scribe, who notated it with the typical Messine-Gothic and Hungarian mixed notation of his time.¹⁴ This notator had advanced musical education and used authentic choir-books of the Esztergom tradition as exemplars, as well as some codices which did not survive the catastrophes of Hungarian history. Its melodies are deeply embedded in the medieval Hungarian liturgical tradition; in fact, they are the last musical evidence of the Esztergom Office still in use. The most valuable section of Oláh’s psalter is the hymnal, as it reveals the fullest surviving collection of the hymn melodies of the archbishopric of Esztergom (Fig. 12. [Abb. 12.]). For that reason, it can be regarded as a stop-gap musical source and can be used as a guideline for a new critical edition of the known hymn melodies of medieval Hungary.¹⁵

Unfortunately, Oláh’s psalter is not entirely intact in its present state: one of its later users applied a cut-and-paste procedure with some psalms recited in the hours of Compline and Prime. He made the drastic intervention in order to save the trouble of searching for the proper psalms of the two hours

Rudolphus / Schmidt baro de Schwarzhorn auget et ornat opus, / Caesaris orator cum de sultan Mehemet [k]han / a Porta Ottomana pacifer ipse redit. / Anno quo / paCeM LegatIone Defert.”

¹⁴ On the history of the musical notation developed in medieval Hungary see: SZENDREI, 1983.

¹⁵ Benjamin Rajeczky did not know about Oláh’s psalter when he prepared the critical edition of the hymn melodies of medieval Hungary. Cf. RAJECZKY, 1956¹, 1982²; RAJECZKY, 1982. Oláh’s psalter is used as a primary source of hymn melodies for the modern edition of the notated *Breviarium Strigoniense*. See the volumes published so far: FÖLDVÁRY et al, 2016–2018, Tomus IV/a–f.

mentioned. The unique folios of the hymnal, however, were not affected.

In 2014 the preparation of a facsimile edition of Oláh's psalter was initiated by the Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. As the Munich copy alone does not fully represent the 1523 edition of *Psalterium Strigoniense*, a digital restoration of its injured psalm section was decided on. Photos of the Esztergom copy and the copy held in Martin, Slovakia, were used as sources of the missing or glued parts. As a result, the facsimile edition was published in the book series of *Musicalia Danubiana* and *Bavarica et Hungarica* in 2015, with the collaboration of the Institute for Musicology of the HAS and the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich.¹⁶ It offers the reader Oláh's psalter in a digitally restored form, the entire print with the musical notation of the Munich copy, and it preserves the memory of its former owner.

GÁBRIEL SZOLIVA, OFM

¹⁶ SZOLIVA, 2015. The English text of the introductory study of the edition translated by Erzsébet Mészáros was partly used for the present contribution. I am also grateful to Zoltán Rhimer for proofreading.

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MIKLÓS OLÁH'S *HUNGARIA*

Sources and Context

Although Miklós Oláh is among the most influential figures of sixteenth-century Hungarian political and intellectual history, whose multifaceted activities are begging for book-length treatment, there is a striking lack of critical literature about him. Comprehensive work is likely hindered by his illustrious career, which can be studied from a rich variety of perspectives, as Miklós Oláh was not only an erudite humanist, a letter writer with a Europe-wide network of correspondents and friends, and a singularly powerful patron of Central-European humanism, but as a prelate he was also a prominent supporter of Catholic renewal, while as a chancellor and later governor, he fulfilled an important role in the emerging Habsburg institutional system, and he was also one of the most important politicians of the country. Not only is his career underrepresented in research, on many smaller issues sophisticated and, above all, systematic basic research is lacking. The same is also true for Miklós Oláh's two most significant literary works, *Hungaria* and *Athila*. Both works were written during Oláh's emigration, and although their dating is uncertain, based on extant records both works were completed by 1537.¹ *Athila* is a Hun history without significant factual novelty, but *Hungaria* is a chorography that follows the contemporary trends of historiography.

While medieval chroniclers devoted limited attention to a detailed description of the lands where the events they describe took place, chorography became an essential part of works written in the spirit of humanist historiography. Authors (or their commissioners) felt inclined to highlight correspondences between the contemporary setting and its antecedents, and in cases

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¹ In the case of *Hungaria*, in the Viennese copy (ÖNB cod. 8739) Oláh wrote that the work had been written in Brussels in May 1536.

where the area in question was not a part of the former Imperium Romanum, it was all the more important to describe the given country in the most detailed manner possible. On the one hand, such authors had reason to believe that the inhabitants of remote regions were ignorant about the location and conditions of such countries, while on the other hand, this also meant an opportunity to connect these countries to the oikumene of the ancient world, and to put them on the map both literally and figuratively.

Being at the distant border of Catholic Europe, this problem affected Hungary as well. The chronicle tradition did not alleviate this problem: neither the chronicle composition usually referred to as the *Képes Krónika* (*Chronicon Pictum / Illuminated Chronicle*), nor the culmination of this tradition, the late-fifteenth-century *Thuróczy Chronicle* features chorography. The first chorography is attributed to Petrus Ransanus, who refashioned Thuróczy's recent chronicle according to humanist standards, and while he only performed a stylistic intervention in the history of events, he inserted his own original text in the two chapters devoted to chorography.² Following the lead of Ransanus, Bonfini also began his *Decades* with a combined ancient history and chorography; unfortunately, both works remained in manuscript for decades.

Therefore, there was a persistent demand, further intensified by the threat of the Turk, to deliver adequate knowledge about the conditions, location, and geographical features of Hungary to the European public. Hungarian historiography is permeated by such endeavors up to the sixteenth century. István Brodaries felt compelled to begin his famous work about the Battle of Mohács with an introduction to Hungary, more specifically, the area where the military operations had taken place. In the late 1540s Antal Verancsics wrote a minor work about Sultan Suleiman's campaign against Peter, the Voivode of Moldova, which was divided into two parts and accompanied by a third book describing the regions of Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldova.³ Another example is the adventurous Saxon agent of Ferdinand I, Georg Reicherstorffer,⁴ who published a description of Moldova in 1541 in Vienna, to be developed into a complete description of Transylvania by 1550.⁵ However, except for Reicherstorffer's books, all of these works remained in manuscript, just like Oláh's *Hungaria* from around 1536–1537. The urgency to write and publish a chorography of Hungary only diminished after the middle of the sixteenth century, which must be due to the fact that Bonfini's first three decas, including the chorography, were published in Basel in 1543, while Sambucus (*Zsámboky*) republished the complete Bonfini in 1568, fol-

² KULCSÁR, 2010.

³ VERANCSICS, 1944.

⁴ For his biography, see SCHULLER, 1859.

⁵ SZABADI, 1994.

lowings Ransanus' *Epithoma*, which he had published ten years earlier (in 1558). Subsequently, there are no traces of works beginning with a chorography: neither Ferenc Forgách nor Brutus or Istvánffy wrote one. When Oláh was working on *Hungaria* in the Seventeen Provinces at the court of Queen Mary, he could think of his project as the first chorography about Hungary to get into print. If he was familiar with Ransanus' and Bonfini's respective texts, he must have known that his work would become the most detailed, precise and accurate report about the geographical conditions of Hungary. Yet, if Oláh was far away, how could he access information of a quality that could put both Ransanus and Bonfini to shame, even though they lived and worked in the Castle of Buda? This paper seeks to answer this question.

1. THEORIES OF THE ORIGINS OF HUNGARIA

Although *Hungaria* can be considered the first comprehensive independent Hungarian chorography, there is a remarkable scarcity of secondary literature on it; thus, our knowledge of the sources on which Oláh relied is limited. There are two main positions in the literature regarding this question. In a paper published in 1983, László Hadrovics confidently declares that Oláh had no access to written sources, instead he relied on his experiences from the early phases of his life, when he had the opportunity to travel extensively in Hungary. Thus, while he might have used several sources for *Athila*, the detailed descriptions of *Hungaria* are presumed to be building on his personal experiences and memories.⁶ A few years later, in the notes on the second edition of *Hungaria*, Gábor Szigethy⁷ suggested that Oláh could not have recalled all the particulars of even the remotest villages of the country, and he might have been assisted by scrivener Lázár's richly detailed map of Hungary, published in Ingolstadt in 1528.⁸ In the postscript to *Hungaria*, Péter Kulcsár also mentions Lázár's map as a potential source for Oláh but highlights the fact that Oláh refers to the latitudes and longitudes concerning the geographical position of Hungary, whereas no such information was provided on Lázár's map.

Between the publication of these two suggestions, István Fodor⁹ published a short article in 1988, which is nonetheless essential from our perspective, as it confirms Oláh's use of Lázár's map. Fodor bases his arguments predominantly on a comparison of the toponyms in the two documents. In his four-page paper, he provides no detailed interpretation, but he identifies two

⁶ HADROVICS, 1983, 172.

⁷ OLÁH, 1985, 85.

⁸ OSZK, App_M 0136

⁹ FODOR 1980, 133–135.

conclusive groups. He discovers five toponyms which are only known from Lázár's map and *Hungaria*. Thirteen toponyms are known from other sources and archival material, but only in different forms, while one specific form appears only in *Hungaria* and Lázár's map. Fodor also warns that the place names in the first group are only conclusive if they are non-existent or strongly corrupted names because if their use could be documented in later sources, it would mean that Oláh did not necessarily borrow them from Lázár, and thus his use of the map would be questionable.

Following this logic, Fodor claims that toponyms which are also known from other sources (proving that they actually existed), and the names of which do not differ from the form used on the map and in *Hungaria* should be regarded as irrelevant for the argumentation, since in such cases it cannot be confirmed that Oláh was not relying on his own real-world knowledge instead of the map.

Thus, there are two major theories. One claims that Oláh relies on his own memory when he paints an elaborately wrought picture of Hungary, rich not only in intellectual-historical detail but in geographical facts as well, and the minor flaws could be explained by the chronological and physical distance from his subject. According to the other theory, Oláh might have possessed and used the Lázár map in the course of his work. In what follows, I will argue that to some extent both theories could be right, and they can even be reconciled in a certain sense. At the same time, I will show that Oláh was following the data of Lázár's map so closely that *Hungaria* can be considered a textbook accompanying the map.

2. ARGUMENTATION

A consolidation of the two, seemingly contradictory standpoints is necessary because neither theory delivers an adequate explanation for the type of the information presented in *Hungaria*. According to Hadrovics, Oláh had the opportunity to explore the country during the course of his career. Even if that is true, one wonders how the writer could compile a list of more than five hundred municipalities with more or less accurate location information even in relation to each other. It is only one part of the problem that he was not living in the country at the time; without the necessary apparatus, this would have been an impossible accomplishment even from Buda. In the last years of King Matthias' reign, Ransanus could not find a man in the castle of Buda who could list all the counties of Hungary, not to mention five hundred municipalities.¹⁰ Admittedly, Ransanus did not spend too much time in Hungary. However, his sources were local Hungarians working in court

¹⁰ RANSANUS, 1985, 74.

administration,¹¹ and even their knowledge of their own country was deficient. Bonfini could not gain any more information than Ransanus, which is all the more surprising because he spent several years in Hungary and died here as a Hungarian nobleman in 1503. Compared to the two Italian humanists, then, Oláh's knowledge about the country is impressive, and in fact, it is difficult to imagine without access to some map.

It must be acknowledged, however, that Oláh often provides such detailed descriptions of certain cities that it supports the theory of relying on his own memory, especially because on several occasions he even guides his reader within the cities, pointing out sights, buildings, and relics. These references could not have come from maps, as those provided no such information. Thus, although there are arguments for both theories, it is possible to reconcile them, for Oláh's text is a uniquely dualistic composition. Some parts are truly captivating, like the description of the Corvina library in Buda or the illustrious buildings of the royal palace in Visegrád, and the anecdote about the Turkish envoy who forgot his speech in front of Matthias, the spectacular depiction of the important churches of Esztergom or Fehérvár, or even the violent history of his own family of Wallachian origins. Whenever the cultural significance of Oláh's work or the elegance of his prose is emphasised, these are the parts we rely on. It should be not forgotten, however, that the majority of the text is nothing like this. The fourteen chapters between the three opening sections on Scythian ancient history and chapters 18 and 19 about the economy of Hungary consist of a rather dry and boring list of all the municipalities within the given area, bar the occasional anecdotal episodes. City and village names follow each other on no end. Oláh tells us virtually nothing about them, all he aims at is to provide their name and their geographical position. Therefore, when trying to recover the sources of the text, we must bear in mind that it consists of remarkably different text types.

2.A ARGUMENTS FOR THE LÁZÁR MAP

As mentioned before, István Fodor lists a number of arguments suggesting that Oláh indeed made use of Lázár's 1528 map. Fodor thinks that only those place names possess any force of proof which occur in these two sources only, or if that is not the case, if the two variants used here do not appear elsewhere. In my view, however, there are two further areas where the place names of the map and *Hungaria* should be compared: the first is the mass of data, and the other is the question of orientation. Let me start with the latter.

¹¹ RANSANUS, 1985, 63–64.

The detailed description of the country begins in the fifth chapter, with the Transdanubian region formerly called Pannonia. The list of counties in the region is followed by a description of the cities, starting with Buda, then discussing Pest, Visegrád, Fehérvár, and finally Esztergom. The directions here are correct: Pest lies east of Buda, Székesfehérvár is in the southwestern direction. The details concerning Esztergom are followed by a discussion of the most famous mountainous region of Hungary, the Vértes, and something happens here. According to Oláh, these mountains, which continue in the Bakony, lie south of Esztergom. There is some inaccuracy here, as the correct direction would be more west-southwest, but it is still not a spectacular discrepancy. However, when talking about the Bakony, he also mentions that towards the western part of it lies St. Martin's mountain, which is a more serious flaw, as Pannonhalma is north of the Bakony. In the final sections of this seventh part, we read that Szántód, Köröshely, Csepely and Tard lie on the eastern shore of Lake Balaton. In fact, Balaton has almost no shoreline in the east, and all the villages mentioned are located on the southern shore. Even more shocking errors occur in the twelfth and thirteenth chapters. Here, Oláh discusses his own home, Transylvania, and the original homeland of his family, Wallachia. Concerning the latter, Oláh says: "From north [that is, east] it neighbours with the Roxanus people – today called Ruthenians, from south [that is, west] it shares borders with the castle of Temesvár [Timișoara] in Hungary and its parts extending to the Maxons plains, to the east [that is, south], its border is the river Danube."¹² The orientation is so confusing here that the editors decided to provide the actual directions in square brackets. There is no improvement in the case of Moldova, either, to which – in Oláh's reckoning – Wallachia joins from the east and not from the south, as it actually does. In connection with Transylvania, he claims that "this region is surrounded by immense alpine mountains, particularly in the regions dividing it from the Wallachians, and a wider pass is only found where it faces in a northern direction and towards the Moldavians."¹³ While the erroneous directions in the case of the Vértes are insignificant, the reference to Pannonhalma or the eastern shore of Balaton is more striking. Yet, the misplacement of the old family seat of Wallachia and Transylvania is downright shocking. Shocking as it is, there is some consistency there. At a closer look, all the errors point in the same direction: the eastern shore of Balaton should be southern, the Danube

¹² OLÁHUS, 1938, 21: "A septentrione Roxanos, qui nunc Rutheni vocantur, ad meridiem Hungariae eam partem, quae arcem Themeswar et campum Maxons respicit, ad orientem vero Danubii flumen Mysiam inferiorem ab ea dividens contigit." – In Hungarian see OLÁH, 2000, 35.

¹³ OLÁHUS, 1938, 23: "Transylvania undequaque cincta est altissimis alpibus ex ea maxime parte, qua Transalpinis secernitur, uno saltem ex latere, quo septentrionem et Moldavos respicit, patientiorem habet aditum." – In Hungarian see OLÁH, 2000, 38.

is a border to Wallachia in the south instead of the east, the Temesköz region is not a southern but a western border, while Moldova is not north but west of Transylvania. As if Oláh's compass were misaligned by exactly 90 degrees. Should all the directions be rotated 90 degrees to the right (that is, clockwise), then all directions would fall into their proper places. Therefore, Oláh is not misinformed in terms of some factual points, but he assigns every region to a location rotated 90 degrees to the left, and errs in a systematic way. The Lázár map is known for employing exactly the same representation of the country, with a rotation of 90 degrees to the left. Meaning that whatever is actually to the south will be to the east on the map, and the actual western direction will correspond to the southern direction of the map.¹⁴ If Oláh relied on the Lázár map, which was one of the best maps available in the period, then his orientational mishaps can be easily explained.

A thorough knowledge of the map can also be inferred from Oláh's data on the origins and deltas of rivers. Oláh claims that the Sajó and the Hernád flow into the Tisza under the lesser-known Bársonyos village. Maybe he knew where the delta of the Sajó was, but Bársonyos is certainly featured on the Lázár map as the settlement closest to the delta. It can also be gathered from the map that the source of the Sajó is in Ținutul Secuiesc (Székelyföld), and that it feeds into Bistrița (Beszterce), and then into the Someșul Mare (Nagy-Szamos) at the market-town of Dej (Dés). Although this is a serious error considering that the source of the Sajó is in fact in Hungary, this is how it is represented on the Lázár map, and it is described by Oláh in the exact same way.

There are problems with the orientation of the Drave and Danube confluence, too, because Oláh locates this in the town of Drazad. István Fodor later identifies Drazad as Drászád or Drávaszád.¹⁵ Remarkably, the town is featured on Lázár's map as Drazad, next to the Drave delta. Finally, it is worth mentioning that the Somos feeds into the Tisza next to Naddi, which is one of those five toponyms which, according to István Fodor, only occur in Lázár's map and *Hungaria*. Oláh was probably not familiar with the exact location of all the river deltas in Hungary, and it is even less likely that as points of reference he would use the same places as Lázár (with the same spelling), and it seems almost absurd that he would make precisely the same mistakes in the location of the rivers as Lázár.

It is also shocking to see how many toponyms Oláh knows even in the remotest corners of the country. As István Fodor emphasises, these are existing places, and in theory it is possible that Oláh knew all of them. It is still perplexing, however, that he misses the orientation of major regions while he

¹⁴ The importance of orientation was already emphasised by Gábor Szigethy in the postscript to the 1985 Hungarian edition of *Hungaria*.

¹⁵ FODOR 1990, 63.

manages to list even the tiniest of villages, and these villages are, in fact, without an exception, all present on the Lázár map.

For example, we read the following passage in the description of Western Transdanubia: “South from here is the castle of Szombathely, the birthplace of Saint Martin. Then more to the west there is the provostry of Vasvár, the castle of Monyorókerék, which the Germans call Eberau, the market-town of Körmend, Artzberg, and built on the verge of a most arboreous mountain – this stretches into the river Mura –, built on a hardly approachable cliff is Németújvár [Güssing], that is Novum Castrum.”¹⁶ On the map, Szombathely is just south of Pannonhalma, and it also contains the information that it was the birthplace of Saint Martin, followed by the list of towns as per the map, and even the location of Güssing on the edge of a cliff matches.

The subsequent part reads: “Not far from here, to the south, among the forest-clad mountains lies the castle of Felső-Lendva [Grad] and the city of Muraszombat [Murska Sobota]. From here, between the rivers Mure and Drave, is Stridon, the birthplace of St. Jerome, and the castle of Csáktornya [Čakovec]. Szentgotthárd is not far from Felső-Lendva. Similarly, the castle of Alsó-Lendva [Lendava], Németi, Buzasziget, and above them, the castle of Berzence. East of here lie the castle of Babolcsa, the market-town of Kálmán-csa, and my three villages, Dobsza, lodging a hundred or more bondmen.”¹⁷ All the places are there on the map, except for Dobsza, but that is his own village.

When it comes to the Western Transdanubian region, one might think that Oláh was indeed well-informed. Yet, the same level of detail is encountered in the description of the castles along the Sava. “The following castles are to be found around the northern shore of Sava: Diákó, the seat of the bishop of Bosnia, Szentlőrinc, Marót [Morović], Rácsa [Sremska Rača], Szentdemeter, Bán, Zimony [Zemun] and some more.”¹⁸ And indeed, Oláh does not

¹⁶ OLAHUS, 1938, 13–14: “Hinc meridiem versus Sabaria arx, divi Martini patria. Deinde magis ad austrum praepositura Vaswar, arx Monyorokerek, quam Theutones Eberaw vocant, oppidum Kermend, Artzberg; tum ad latus sylvae vastissimae, quae decurrenti Muravo adiacet, in rupe difficili extructa est arx Nemet-Wywar sive Novum Castrum.” – In Hungarian see: OLÁH, 2000, 26.

¹⁷ OLAHUS, 1938, 14: “Non longe ab hac abest meridiem versus inter sylvas arx Felsewlyndwa et oppidum Murasombath. Hinc intra Muravum et Dravum fluvios est Strido, divi Hieronymi patria; arx Chakthornya. A Felsewlyndwa non ita multum distat Sanctus Gothardus. Item arx Alsolyndwa, Nemethi, castellum Buzaszygeth, supra quae Berzentze arx. Hinc ad orientem Baboltza arx, oppidum Kalmanchel, tres mei vici, Dobzae habitacula centum et ultra colonorum.” – In Hungarian see: OLÁH, 2000, 26.

¹⁸ OLAHUS, 1938, 16: “Circa septentrionalem autem ripam Savi a meridie orientem versus sunt ex ordine arces Diako, sedes episcopi Bosniensis, Sanctus Laurentius, Maroth, Racza, Sanctus Demetrius, Bantz, Semplinium et pleraeque aliae.” – In Hungarian see: OLÁH, 2000, 29.

list all the towns of the northern shore of the Sava according to the map, but the ones he mentions are all there on the map as well.

Spelling is another argument for the use of the map. In the list of the castles along the Sava, Oláh uses the *Wiwar* form instead of Újvár, following the map, while Dobocsác is featured in both instances as *Dobotzitz*, the river Tírnavá flows into the Danube by Čierny Brod (*Vízkelet*), which is spelled as *Wizkele* in both Oláh and Lázár, and the names of the castles and towns of the Kis-Szamos region also share the same variants in Oláh and the Lázár map (Zsombor: here *Ciobor*; Mihálytelke: here *Mihal* etc.)¹⁹

There is no space here to conduct a complete comparison, but in terms of finding arguments for the fundamental importance of the Lázár map for Oláh, at this point, I am convinced that he worked with the map on his desk. The problems of orientation which can be explained with the map, and the many toponyms featured in a list-like manner in regions so far from each other, like Western Transdanubia and Syrmia, Upper Hungary and the shore region of the river Somos, all seem to confirm this. Here Oláh mentions almost exclusively those towns which are, be they ever so small and insignificant, also featured on the map; furthermore, he uses the very same spelling and form as the map, and the relative orientation of the towns, their location, and the description of their environment can in each and every case be identified on the map. As a counter-example, in the case of Wallachia, where his family originates from, he mentions only one city, the capital Tirgoviste. This might come from their family memories, but he lists no other places, as there is no source to rely on – for on the Lázár map Wallachia is an empty region without inhabited places.

Based on the above observations, I think Oláh did not know, could not have known the whole territory of the Kingdom of Hungary in sufficient detail to be able to provide such hundred-strong lists of places in regions located so far from each other. However, he could rely on a perfect instrument, the Lázár map, and following its lead, Oláh was able to supply the reader with a wide panorama of the major regions of “peacetime Hungary”, just before the Ottoman invasion.

Of course, there are some counter-examples, i.e. places which are mentioned by Oláh but not found on the map. For example, Dörgicse near Lake Balaton, the already mentioned Dobsza or Pécsvárad in Southern Transdanubia, the castle of Landsee [Lanzsér] and Óvár near Lake Neusiedl, and north of the Danube Devín (Dévény, Theben) and Elek Thurzó's estate, Sempete. However, in most cases there is some local connection at play: Dörgicse and Dobsza are, as he admits, his own estates. Although this is not the case with

¹⁹ OLAHUS, 1938, 24.

Landsee, we know from his will that he acquired the castle.²⁰ Óvár was an estate of Oláh's mistress, Queen Maria, and a preferred hunting site of hers, while Sempte belonged to Elek Thurzó, one of the most loyal Hungarian followers of Queen Maria, and Devín was an estate of János Bornemissza, whom Oláh admired as a father. Pécsvárad lies close to Pécs, where Oláh spent several years in the service of György Szatmári, the Bishop of Pécs. There are some further names which are not on the map but appear in Oláh's text: *Vereskew* (Červený Kameň, Vereskő), north of Bratislava (Pozsony), or *Galgotz* (Hlohovec, Galgóc) and *Themetween* (Hrádok, Temetvény) between Nitra (Nyitra) and Trenčín (Trencsény). The connection between these and Oláh is unidentified, but based on the above analogy, he was probably personally connected to these places and found it important to mention them. These names share one more peculiar feature: in the manuscript of *Hungaria* held in Vienna, *Vereskew*, *Galgotz*, *Themetween*, and the above-mentioned *Lanser* all appear to be later insertions and additions. Thus, they were absent in a previous version, but then during a revision and extension he added the names to the margin. Although the testament does not reveal when the castle of Landsee came into Oláh's possession, it is rather unlikely that he could have afforded it during the years of scarcity in Brussels, when his revenues could hardly reach him. And indeed: the fragmented diary of Oláh contains an entry from 11 July, 1553 revealing that he had bought the Castle of Landsee on that exact day.²¹ In view of these, the addition concerning Landsee must have been inserted well after 1536. It seems that Lázár's map served as a sort of register for Oláh, which helped him recall and describe Hungary, already split by then, and he tried to make the information more personal by adding and recording all those places in *Hungaria* which were important for him for some reason. For this purpose, he was even willing to amend the manuscript of *Hungaria*. More systematic inquiry could determine whether the places mentioned by Oláh but absent from the Lázár map are indeed personally connected to the author or his circle.

2. B. THE SPACE OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

It is beyond doubt that some cities are discussed in such minutiae that the information cannot come from the map. Therefore, László Hadrovics's theory should not be dismissed, as some of the reports are clearly based on personal experience. However, the range of such passages is limited. Oláh's personal memories can be established as the source in the passages where Oláh deviates

²⁰ BALOGH, 1903, 19.

²¹ "Emi arcem Lanser." – KOVACHICH, 1798, 94

from a simple enumeration of the places, and “takes” the reader into a given city, into specific buildings, or when he goes anecdotal. There are a number of such passages in the work, but they are always related to certain places. Oláh provides a detailed description of Buda and its close surroundings: the Corvina library, the thermal springs, the cloister of Saint John the Merciful, the hunting forests of Nyék, etc. More than a simple list appears in connection with Fehérvár, the coronation site, followed by a vivid portrait of the royal palace of Visegrád, and Esztergom with the wonderful Bakócz Chapel in the next chapter. The writer of these lines no doubt visited these places, personally saw the remarkable buildings, and then reported about his experiences in *Hungaria*. The description of Buda, Székesfehérvár, Visegrád, and Esztergom alone spans three chapters, making these by far the most detailed cities in the work. Less detail is provided in connection with Pest and Vác, but the authentic eye-witness perspective is clearly there, too. A shared feature seems to emerge here: all of these places belong to the so called *medium regni*, the political, sacral and economic centre of the country. These are cities within a smaller area, which Oláh, residing at the court, could well have been familiar with. Similar details are present in the case of only one more-or-less distant city, Pécs. Although this city is not a part of the *medium regni*, it is known that in his youth Oláh was in the service of György Szatmári, the bishop of Pécs, and he also lived in Pécs, thus he could indeed have personally seen Bishop Miklós’ tomb, his cilice and his sackcloth. The text contains no narrative parts except in the case of these cities, the political situation in Wallachia, which is discussed in the context of his family history, obviously based on personal memory, and a passage on the mysterious beggars of Şimand (Simánd), which provoked debates, and the origins of which are still unclear.²²

There is a clear distinction between those passages of the text where Oláh provides a more detailed discussion and those where he refrains from going into detail. Personal experiences only appear in places where his presence is documented or where he could have relied on family stories, like in the case of Wallachia. Hadrovics is right when he claims that several important particulars are referred to from personal sources; however, the same does not apply to territories further away from the scenes of his own personal life. With such regions he rarely had more information than what he could already find on the Lázár map.

A lack of knowledge about regions outside the middle part of the country is revealed when even in the case of his own estate, Dörgicse, he relies on János Ceglédi (his bailiff or *provisor*) when talking about how rich Balaton is in fish, and when the same is said about the river Timiş (Temes), close to Transylvania, it is reported by the envoy passing through, Cornelius Scepper.

²² On the beggars of Simánd see: SZILÁGYI, 2017, who also refers to the previous literature.

The source of the information on the valuable gold nuggets close to Abrud (Abrudbánya) is a letter by Transylvanian bishop Miklós Gerendi.

Based on these, it can be concluded that both theories regarding the sources of *Hungaria* are justified, but instead of contradicting each other, they, in fact, complement each other. The narrative, anecdotal parts, which are most informative from an intellectual historical perspective, indeed seem to be rooted in Oláh's own knowledge, and they are connected to a really narrow territory, the middle region (*medium regni*) of the country. The only exceptions are places where Oláh stayed for a longer time according to the records.

The majority of the country, however, was unknown to him, he did not travel through these regions, he had no notes on them, so he simply could not have named as many places as we see in certain chapters of *Hungaria*, where complete lists appear. In these cases he had to have relied on the Lázár map, published in print a couple of years earlier, and the use of the map is attested to not only by the handful of place names mentioned by Fodor, but by the orientational anomalies which can be explained with the map, as well as the significant overlap between the toponyms. A thorough survey of this might be completed in a future monograph.

3. CHOROGRAPHIES AND MAPS

As it was shown above, Oláh made use of scrivener Lázár's map, and in the conclusion I would like to highlight the fact that such use was typical at the time. Although the first printed map of Hungary was that of Lázár, we should keep in mind that there were also earlier renderings of Pannonia, and that attempts to publish a map of Hungary had already been made before 1528. No systematic map was at Ransanus' disposal, who, as we saw, was the first to try and provide a description of Hungary. He could only utilise Ptolemy's map collection. Ransanus was certainly familiar with the map of Pannonia from this collection, and he also referred to Ptolemy on several occasions and followed his delineation of the borders of Hungary.²³ In addition, the cities mentioned in the Pannonia region are all present on Ptolemy's map as well. Map use cannot be inferred in Bonfini, unlike in the case of István Brodarics. The text of *Historia* makes it clear that the erudite humanist wanted to complement his description of Hungary with a map,²⁴ however, as the edition never

²³ RANSANUS, 1985, 63.

²⁴ "Nos situm eius, ut magis esset conspicuus, in sequenti charta oculis legentium subiicere voluimus." – BRODERICUS, 1985, 33.

materialised,²⁵ the map was not printed, and Lázár took over from him. By the time Sambucus published *Historia* in 1568, the manuscript map was lost, so much so that Sambucus even removed the sentence referring to it from his edition. Yet, Brodarics was certainly in the possession of a map, as testified by a letter from the spring of 1529 by mathematician and cartographer Jacob Ziegler. Ziegler worked with Lázár in Hungary, and he established contact with Brodarics before Mohács, in Rome. Then he saw that the Hungarian envoy owned a map of Hungary, but in 1529 he was unsure as to whether Brodarics had been able to print it.²⁶ This lost map is completely unknown today. Most probably it was not identical with the Lázár map, as Ziegler was working on it at the time and would probably have recognised it, but it is clear that Brodarics, who had provided the most accurate description of the regions of Hungary before Oláh, was so confident with some map in his hand.

Due to the lack of significant related research, it cannot be determined whether the Transylvania description by Antal Verancsics or Reicherstorffer also relied on the Transylvania map published by Honterus in 1532. However, we know that in 1549 Verancsics suggested to Christian Pomarius that if he published his Transylvania map, then in the making, he should add Verancsics' description of Transylvania, as the image and the text reinforce each other.²⁷ A map was added by Sigismund von Herberstein to his description of Moscow, and it would be useful to explore the relationship between Wolfgang Lazius' 1552 map of Hungary, and the *Archeologia Hungariae*, a work from before 1548,²⁸ which remained in manuscript and was dedicated to none other than Miklós Oláh. It would be a mistake to hunt for a map behind every chorography, but it must be noticed that in an age that found the visual aspect more and more important, there are examples for chorographies originally published with a map (Herberstein). We can also see cases where an already completed text is considered as a valuable addition to a map (the case of Verancsics and Pomarius), while sometimes a detailed description is completed based on a map (Brodarics). If Oláh followed the same route, and his work is essentially a textbook for Lázár's excellent map, adding his own personal experiences, he was no doubt following the latest trends of his time.

PÉTER KASZA

²⁵ For more on the subject see: KASZA, 2014, 39–65; KASZA, 2015a, 193–204; KASZA 2015b, 169–191.

²⁶ KASZA, 2014, 57.

²⁷ SZALAY, 1860, 332–333.

²⁸ Lazius calls Oláh the Bishop of Zagreb: Oláh held this position until the summer of 1548, when he became the Bishop of Eger.

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THE FIRST EDITION OF NICOLAUS OLAHUS'
HUNGARIA IN MATTHIAS BEL'S *ADPARATUS* (1735)

“To few other peoples does their mediaeval past mean so much”, the English diplomat Bryan Cartledge very aptly writes about Hungarians.¹ Indeed, the Hungarian view of the past considers the Middle Ages as a sort of golden age. This is because Hungary was an independent and unified state at the time. However, both independence and unity were lost at the Battle of Mohács, fought against Sultan Süleyman I on 29 August, 1526. This date marks the end of the Hungarian Middle Ages in traditional historical periodisation, and the Ottoman conquest caused immense financial and demographic losses for the country. It comes as no surprise then that the period before Mohács started to be glorified in Hungarian public thought, being merged with the idea of Hungary's greatness and “olden glory”.

The “standard work” of Hungarian longing and nostalgia for the Middle Ages, and its first manifestation was Nicolaus Olahus' *Hungaria*.² The Hungarian humanist, who by then was living in Brussels, finished his work in 1536, which is a last snapshot or panorama photo of his homeland, Hungary, a strong and rich European kingdom, before being swallowed by darkness. For contemporary Hungarians, that is definitely the strongest reading of the work; and the author helps the reader in this interpretation, as his lines always suggest a longing for a lost past.

As for its genre, *Hungaria* is a geographical introduction of an unrealised history of Hungary, that is, a classical humanist *chorographia*, a compulsory ele-

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¹ CARTLEDGE, 2011, 77.

² See the critical edition of the work in: OLAHUS, 1938. An important monograph on the life and works of the author: NEAGU, 2003. In the newly published edition of his correspondence from 1523 to 1533 (OLAHUS, 2018), the publisher, Emőke Rita Szilágyi also surveys the life of the author and reviews new studies on the subject. See: SZILÁGYI, 2018.

ment of historical writings since Herodotus, also included in historical works on Hungary.³ The first three chapters do not constitute a part of the chorography but introduce Hun-Hungarian history, which is interrupted by a topographical description from the fourth chapter on. Afterwards, the historical narration is continued by *Athila*, another famous work of Oláh. Yet, posterity does not read *Hungaria* as a fragment of one great oeuvre but as an independent work. It seems that Olahus himself treated *Hungaria* and *Athila* as independent creations, as did his friends (to whom he sent them).⁴

A basic characteristic of Olahus' work is the above-mentioned nostalgia. It does not depict his own age, it depicts Hungary as it existed a few decades earlier.⁵ Although he mentions the Battle of Mohács and the Ottoman threat multiple times, he prefers to dwell on old Hungary, on the idealised age of King Matthias.⁶ In the insightful words of Emőke Szilágyi, "time has stopped in the Hungary of Olahus."⁷ The aim of the author might also have been to raise attention: by using *topoi* depicting Hungary's fertility, vastness and richness, he wished to shake up popular opinion in the West, and, like Johannes Cuspinian⁸ had done, draw their attention to the fact that a rich and great country was in mortal danger.⁹

The work was only published two hundred years later, in 1735, with the help of Matthias Bel (1684–1749), the excellent Hungarian linguist, histo-

³ BARTONIEK, 1975, 27; KULCSÁR, 2008, 131–132.

⁴ For instance, Craneveldius writes in his letter dated 30 September, 1537: "Accepi, vir ornatissime, litteras tuas una cum Athila, atque Hungaria..." OLAHUS, 1875, 605. See further references in the letters in the same book, pp. 599, 600, 605–606. Cristina Neagu emphasises the strong links between the two works and that they can be interpreted as one work (as well). See: NEAGU, 2003, 202–204. Her points of view are definitely to be considered (for example, the original title in codex V: *Athila seu Hungaria*); however, the two texts have different characteristics, they stand on their own. From the fourth chapter, *Hungaria* does not mention the Huns, the author completely turns to presenting his own homeland; likewise, *Athila* does not contain references to the Hungary of the time. *Athila* and *Hungaria*, however, are mainly separated by the fact that the former (one wonders whether it had been at the order of Olahus or the decision of the publisher, Johannes Sambucus) was published separately in 1568, detached from *Hungaria*. Cf. FODOR, 1990, 48–49.

⁵ HADROVICS, 1983, 173.

⁶ BARTONIEK, 1975, 26; HADROVICS, 1983, 173; KULCSÁR, 2008, 132–133; SZILÁGYI, 2017b, 58.

⁷ SZILÁGYI, 2017b, 59.

⁸ On Cuspinian's work see: IMRE, 1995, 225–227; TÓTH 2019, 76–83.

⁹ BARTONIEK, 1975, 26, 28; see also: IMRE, 1995, 223–233, especially 227. Emőke Rita Szilágyi also proposes another possible motivation: with this idealised picture of Hungary, Olahus wished to elevate his own image in the eyes of contemporary humanist readers. See: SZILÁGYI, 2017b, 59. This is a very promising proposition, but in my opinion, it requires further evidence.

rian, and geographer.¹⁰ Bel launched his significant source material series entitled *Adparatus ad historiam Hungariae* with this text. In my paper, I will present what editorial methods he followed, the manuscript he used, how he proofread the text, and finally, what the introduction he wrote for the work, and his numerous explanatory comments on the writing of Olahus tell us: how he read *Hungaria*.

I. MATTHIAS BEL, SOURCE PUBLISHER

In a letter alluding to one of his unrealised plans, Matthias Bel wrote that he would have liked to publish Hungarian authors in a monumental collection “that would contest with that of Muratori”.¹¹ In other words, he wanted to follow the example of the great source material series of Lodovico Antonio Muratori (1672–1750), *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*.¹² This clearly shows that Bel was well-informed and up-to-date in the subject of European sciences, and that he was adamant about keeping up with the swiftly developing Western European historiography.

Although the concept of a *Collectio scriptorum Hungaricorum* dissolved into thin air, the above-mentioned *Adparatus* was, fortunately, realised. In this edition, Bel, for the first time in Hungarian historiography, published historical sources with critical notes and scientific forewords, and in the introduction of the collection, he called upon his fellow-scientists to co-operate and collect sources. Here, too, Bel emphasized Western examples. He included a sort-of “catalogue of authors” in the foreword, where he mentioned the following predecessors: “Indeed, Hungary had no such luck so far as to producing personalities like Pistorius, Freher, Goldast, Schardius, Lindenbrog, Reineck, Reuber, Meibom, Schilter, Mencke, Struve, Petz like Germany; or Muratori like Italy; Duchesne, Labbe, Baluze like France; Camden, Selden, Fell, Gale like England; Schott like Spain and Grotius like the Belgians, and Hungary cannot boast collections of such personae, who – in sum as well as individually – by collecting the surviving works of various authors, not only saved their nations’ history from oblivion but also glorified them more.”¹³ By enumerating these authors, Bel pointed out examples to be followed for himself, and thus, it is worth discussing them briefly.

¹⁰ An excellent bibliography regarding his persona, his works, and the literature on him: BELÁK, 1984; on his manuscript legacy, see: SZELESTEI NAGY, 1984; TÓTH, 2006; the latest, with ample further literature, see TÓTH, 2017.

¹¹ See the letter of Matthias Bel to Andreas Mohr. Bratislava, 25 June, 1744. In: BÉL, 1993, nr. 855. For the unsuccessful plan, see: TÓTH, 2011.

¹² See: MURATORIUS, 1723–1751.

¹³ BEL, 1735–1746, I, f.)(1^v.

One very important characteristic of the list is the predominance of German authors. This was not because Bel knew more scholars from Germany than from other countries but rather because the publication of mediaeval sources had indeed already become popular in the Holy Roman Empire in the sixteenth century. The first seven German authors on Bel's list represent this late humanistic source publishing practice. Later, in the seventeenth century, those mentioned by Bel – Meibom, Schilter, Mencke, Struve and Leibniz, primarily known as a philosopher – carried on this tradition, although at a higher standard. These authors had already read works by Jesuits from the Low Countries ("Bollandists") and by French Benedictine Maurists, who elevated source criticism and source publishing to a high level in the seventeenth century; some of them (e.g. Leibniz) even corresponded with representatives of these schools.¹⁴ New methods and new perspectives are clearly reflected in the works of the above-mentioned German authors. They were regarded as exemplary by Muratori (also on Bel's list), who specifically emphasised the Germans' lead within this genre at the beginning of his source edition.¹⁵ It is also true, however, that the Italian author was also very close to the Maurist school.¹⁶

Thus, with the *Adparatus*, Bel, as he declared by listing the authors, wished to realise the Western European source publishing practice in Hungary. This intention, as we will see, is clearly shown in the introductions and notes on the sources of the collection. Naturally, because he published *Hungaria* as the first piece of the collection, he wished to present it in the most sophisticated form, as a sort of showpiece. Before discussing this edition, however, we have to say a few words about what manuscript Bel used for the publication.

¹⁴ For the development of historical science and especially source criticism in the seventeenth century, see: KRAUS, 1968, 56–60; WAGNER, 1979, 19–25. For Leibniz's work as a historian, there is ample literature. Specifically on his source publishing, and on his correspondence with the Maurist Mabillon and the Bollandist Papebroch, and on the pre-Leibniz history of German source publication in general, see: SCHRÖCKER, 1976, 130–131.

¹⁵ MURATORIUS, 1723–1751, I. *Praefatio* f[1]r.

¹⁶ Muratori considered Jean Mabillon his master, who was an iconic figure of the French Benedictine monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and that of the scholarly historian community organised there, versed in source publication as well as in diplomatics. On the Benedictines of Saint-Germain, Mabillon's Italian influence, and Muratori, see: FUETER, 1911, 310–315, 318–320; MOMIGLIANO, 1977, 277–293.

II. THE MANUSCRIPT USED BY MATTHIAS BEL

As established by previous research, there are two surviving manuscripts of *Hungaria*: the Viennese (*V*) and the Cologne (*K*) codex.¹⁷ The basic text of Bel's edition does not match either of these. It contains part of the corrections in the *V* codex: but merely the corrections of one hand, and not those of another three or four hands.¹⁸ From this, the publishers of *Hungaria*, Kálmán Eperjessy and László Juhász, drew the conclusion – in my opinion, correctly – that there had been an early copy of *V* (*x*) that had already contained some of the corrections, and which are later present in the text of the Bel edition, but after this, Olahus (and perhaps also others) further amended the text of *V*.¹⁹

There is another important difference between codices *V* and *K* and the text of the Bel edition. The text in the *Adparatus* includes the complete nineteenth or last chapter of the work, while the last page of *V* is lost, so the text of the chapter has only remained in an incomplete form (similarly to *K*, which was copied from it in 1631).²⁰ I hypothesize the following explanation for the loss of the last page of *V*. In its original form, the codex probably contained the manuscript of *Athila* as well, which, presumably, came consecutively after *Hungaria* – the title at the beginning of the text, *Athila seu Hungaria*, might also refer to this.²¹ The publisher of *Athila*, Johannes Sambucus (János Zsám-boky) must have possessed this codex,²² and before publication, he must have detached the text of *Athila* from the end of the codex so that he could send it to the printing press. Since its first page contained the final part of *Hungaria*, too, it has thus been lost. Adam Franciscus Kollar, the would-be publisher of Olah's two works, already suspected this possibility.²³ Whatever happened, from the complete text published by Bel, i.e. the one that also contained the

¹⁷ The reference number of *V*: ÖNB, Cod. Lat. 8739. The deposit of *K*: EDDB, Hs. 293, fol. 3–39. Basic literature on the manuscript tradition: EPERJESSY–JUHÁSZ, 1938; FODOR, 1990; SZILÁGYI, 2014.

¹⁸ For example, at the beginning of the text, in the second line of the first chapter of the Viennese codex (*V*), a hand has subsequently corrected *eas* to *utramque*. See: ÖNB, Cod. Lat. 8739. f. 2r. Bel's edition of the text also contains this modification. See: OLAHUS, 1735, 1. This hand's corrections are adopted all throughout by the Bel edition of the text. However, the text published by Bel does not contain the corrections of other hands: for instance, the form *adscribunt* written above *iniiciunt*, from the second page of the codex. See: ÖNB, Cod. Lat. 8739. f. 2v; OLAHUS, 1735, 1.

¹⁹ See: EPERJESSY – JUHÁSZ, 1938, v. On the later, contingent correctors of the text, see: FODOR, 1990, 12–13.

²⁰ See: EPERJESSY – JUHÁSZ, 1938, v; FODOR, 1990, 19, 47; SZILÁGYI, 2014, 71.

²¹ Cf. NEAGU, 2003, 204.

²² Cf. FODOR, 1990, 48.

²³ See: OLAHUS, 1763, 97. note t.) (Kollar's note); see also: KOLLARIUS, 1763,)(2v–)(3r.

end of the work, we might conclude that when the manuscript used by Bel (*x*) was finished based on *V*, the codex *V* still had its last page.

Bel was not the first to discover and use *Hungaria*, it was Márton Szentiványi (1633–1705), a scholarly Jesuit professor from Trnava (Nagyszombat, Tyrnau) to do so. He cited parts of the work in *Dissertatio paralipomenonica*, published in 1699, and used them for his own description of Hungary.²⁴ From the quotations it seems that Szentiványi used *V*, which already contained all amendments when he saw it, or he got hold of a later copy of it.²⁵

It was from Szentiványi's book that Matthias Bel heard of the existence of such a work at all. His book *Prodromus*, published in 1723, presented the scholarly world the plan of his monumental oeuvre of country description, *Notitia*. In the foreword he indicated that based on the fragments published by the Jesuit author, he would also make ample use of Olahus' *Hungaria*.²⁶ After reading *Prodromus*, Jacopo Facciolati (Jacobus Facciolatus), a doctor of theology and philologist from Padua, informed him, or more precisely, his brother-in-law, Andreas Hermann, that certain manuscripts of Olahus were kept in the Jesuit college of Esztergom, and the work Bel sought might be among them.²⁷ Bel looked at the question again in 1731, when he asked an unknown Jesuit whether there were really Olahus manuscripts in the residence at Esztergom.²⁸

²⁴ SZENTIVÁNYI, 1699, 14–16 (Buda); 16 (Esztergom); 17 (Pécs); 18–19 (Visegrád); 25–26 (Diósgyőr). On this question, see also: SZILÁGYI, 2014, 72.

²⁵ For example, the detail including Buda's description contains all corrections on said part of *V*. See: ÖNB, Cod. Lat. 8739, 8r–v, and SZENTIVÁNYI, 1699, 15. There is, however, a serious difference between the text of *V* and one of the Szentiványi quotations on the description of Esztergom, to which Bel drew attention in a note. See: ÖNB, Cod. Lat. 8739, 12r, and SZENTIVÁNYI, 1699, 16 (in the critical edition: OLAHUS, 1938, 7. 5.); Bel's note containing Szentiványi's different text: OLAHUS, 1735, 14, note a.). From this, we can perhaps conclude that Szentiványi used a different manuscript, but one can also suppose that he himself made – minor – modifications in the text. Szentiványi was the regent of the Viennese Pazmaneum between 1676 and 1679, and also the main censor of the country from 1673, and later he visited Vienna many times as the rector of the University of Trnava, to proceed in the business of the university printing press. SERFÖZŐ, 1942, 13–14, 120–129, 143–144. One can easily imagine that he saw the Viennese codex with his own eyes and jotted down excerpts from it.

²⁶ “Nicolai Olahi, viri summi, et Strigoniensis Archiepiscopi, Adversaria Rerum Hungaricarum, ubi locorum, aut cuius industria adserventur, equidem nescio. Multum me ex iis profecturum, fragmenta illa pollicentur, quae diligentissimus scriptor, Martinus Szentivány S. I. passim sua fecit; si essent, quemadmodum futuros spero, qui liberaliter in medium conferret, quod ad communis patriae laudem pertinet.” – BEL, 1723,)()(2r.

²⁷ FACCIOLATI, 1765, 161. The letter was discovered by Emőke Rita Szilágyi. See: SZILÁGYI, 2014, 72. I am indebted to Dániel Siptár for the information on the eighteenth-century history of the residence in Esztergom.

²⁸ See: BEL, 1993, nr. 409; SZILÁGYI, 2014, 72.

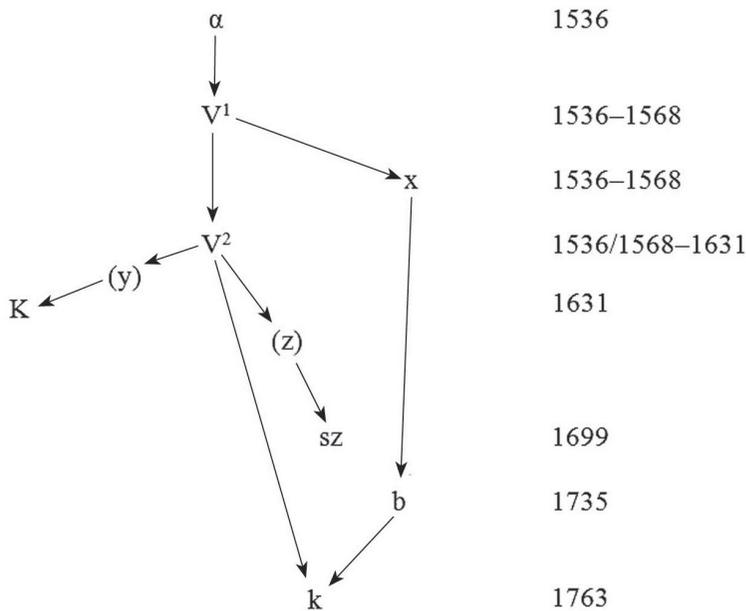
From Bel's foreword, however, we can conclude that this was not the manuscript he finally used; he got hold of another copy, in a rather adventurous way. In the foreword, he admits that he was given the manuscript he used by royal fiscal advocate (*Fisci Regii advocatus*) István Zitkovszky, and Zitkovszky received it from the clerk of the Hungarian Locotenential Council, Ferenc Barinay, who had received it from his scribe. Yet, the origin of the manuscript remains unknown because, as Bel remarked, the above-mentioned scribe had stumbled upon the text "at a flea market or in a cheese shop".²⁹ It sounds as if Bel or the intermediaries wished to keep secret the previous place or the previous owner of the text on purpose. All in all, Zitkovszky and Barinay belonged to Bel's circle of administrative connections in Bratislava and in Vienna, thus, the origin of the manuscript Bel used could be traced back there.

Based on the above, the connections between the early manuscripts and editions of *Hungaria* can be outlined as follows. Olahus wrote the work in 1536 (the symbol of the autographical manuscript is α), then he had a copy made and made certain amendments (this status of the text is indicated by V^1), then he ordered another copy to be made of this amended copy, perhaps for one of his friends, which already included these amendments (x). However, he later further amended manuscript V , and perhaps others corrected it after his death;³⁰ furthermore, the last page of the manuscript was lost, supposedly because around 1568 Zsámboky detached the pages containing *Athila* from the codex and with them, the end of *Hungaria*. We indicate the textual status thus formed of codex V by V^2 on the stemma. From it, or from a copy of it (y) the Cologne manuscript was made in 1631 (K). Szentiványi knew the textual status of V that we indicated by V^2 (it is problematic whether this was V or some copy of it – z on the family tree). Fragments he published in 1699 (sz) bear witness to this. However, Bel got hold of a copy (x) that retained the early textual status (V^1) of V , and based on this, he made his edition (b) in 1735, comparing it to the later status of the Viennese codex (V^2), as well as with the partial Szentiványi publication (sz). In his 1763 edition (k) Adam Franciscus Kollar also took into account the amended and final status of V (V^2), but he took the Bel text (b) as the basis, and he also adopted Bel's notes from the

²⁹ "At enim, voles forte cognoscere, benevole lector, unde nobis, utilissimi scripti copia? Paucis dicam. Stephano id Zitkovszkyo, Fisci Regii avvocato, viro, rerum patriarum curiosissimo, et nostri studioso: hic, amico Francisco Barinay, proto-notario locumententiali; iste, ammanuensi, qui illud in scrutario foro, an taberna casearia, fato meliore, repererat, in acceptis referimus." BEL, 1735, *Ad lectorem philohistora*, [ii]. (Bel's foreword without page numbers can be found before the first numbered page, that is, before *Hungaria*, which occupied first place in the book.) Zitkovszky appears multiple times in Bel's correspondence. See: BÉL, 1993, nr. 347, 367, 432, 440, 451, 583.

³⁰ FODOR, 1990, 12–13.

1735 edition with the missing ending in *V*.³¹ Based on the above, the following stemma can be drawn:³²



Thus, Bel knew about the Viennese codex (*V*), and he stated that his “friends” compared it to the manuscript he got hold of (*x*).³³ It is to be noted,

³¹ See: OLAHUS, 1763; KOLLARIUS, 1763, (2v-)(3r; EPERJESSY – JUHÁSZ, 1938, vi–vii. (In their introduction, the letter *t* indicates the printer Trattner because they do not consider Kollar’s role in the edition to be proved; despite the fact that Kollar’s name is at the beginning of the foreword, and from the foreword it is obvious that he was the publisher. See: KOLLARIUS, 1763; SZILÁGYI, 2014, 69–70, 73, 74. (Szilágyi also indicates Kollar’s edition with the letter *t* – I changed it to *k*, thereby signalling that the persona of the publisher is beyond dispute.)

³² For the creation of the family tree, we have used the symbols of the text editors; furthermore, we used the possible family trees drawn by Emőke Rita Szilágyi as the starting point. See: EPERJESSY – JUHÁSZ, 1938, v–vi; SZILÁGYI, 2014, 70, 73, 74.

³³ He mentions in the first text-critical note: “Manu scriptus codex, quem cum nostro hoc contulerunt amici, loco lepidi, habet *sapidi*.” See: OLAHUS, 1735, [i], note a.) Cf. ÖNB, Cod. Lat. 8739, 1r. Bel must have thought of the Viennese codex (*V*) because he even mentions

however, that in Bel's text there are divergences from the "early" status of *V* that included only said hand's corrections (*V*¹) – this has already been noted by previous research.³⁴ Beside the smaller differences, we have noticed one significant difference.³⁵ So far we do not know how to explain these divergences. Perhaps Olahus (or someone else?) was also working separately on the text of the copy (*x*),³⁶ but the author had no time to unify the different versions. It is also possible, however, that Bel stylised the text a bit, even though he wrote that he published the work faithfully.³⁷ The introduction of the critical edition also notes that Bel aligned the names of geographical places with the spelling of his own era,³⁸ which was a characteristic way of his also in the case of citing other sources.

III. IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF MURATORI: BEL'S FOREWORD AND HIS NOTES ON THE WORK OF OLAHUS

Bel wrote a short but substantial foreword before the edition of *Hungaria*. He wrote about the author, the circumstances of the birth of the work, its contents and source value, and about manuscript tradition. In style, structure, content, and even in length, Bel's foreword (and other forewords in *Adparatus*) is similar to the forewords of Muratori in *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*.³⁹ Therefore, we can conclude that Bel had referred to the Italian scholar in his correspondence and source editions, since he had indeed regarded him as the standard.

In the foreword Bel only briefly mentions the author's person, noting that in the first volume of *Notitia*, also published in 1735, he had already presented

its old reference number in the foreword and cites Olahus' own hand-written entry from it on the time of its writing. See: BEL, 1735, *Ad lectorem philohistora*, [i.] On the entry, see: ÖNB, Cod. Lat. 8739, 1r.

³⁴ See: EPERJESSY – JUHÁSZ, 1938, vi; SZILÁGYI, 2014, 73. The divergence pointed out by Szilágyi (*ibid.* 74.), which is in the description of the River Tisza between *V* and Bel's text (see: ÖNB, Cod. Lat. 8739, 7r, and OLAHUS, 1735, 7–8), does not really belong here because in the uncorrected text of *V* (*V*¹) there is the same text as in Bel's edition. Therefore, the modification of the text is the result of a later correction in *V* (*V*²), which did not make it into copy *x*.

³⁵ See the problematic text in the sixth chapter in the critical edition: OLAHUS, 1938, 6. 14. For Bel's divergent reading, see: OLAHUS, 1735, 12.

³⁶ Cf. EPERJESSY – JUHÁSZ, 1938, v., note 7.

³⁷ See: BEL, 1735, *Ad lectorem philohistora*, [ii.]

³⁸ EPERJESSY – JUHÁSZ, 1938, vi.

³⁹ See: MURATORIUS, 1723–1751, I. i–v; 189–190. etc.; IX. 3–4; 59–60; 99–102. etc.

the archbishop's biography.⁴⁰ After this, he describes the time of the creation of the book and Olahus' own handwritten entry in the Viennese codex, which refers to the time and place of writing (Brussels, 16 May, 1536).⁴¹ He opines that *Hungaria* was written at the same time as *Athila*. To prove it, he cites the letter of Olahus' friend, Petrus Nannius, in which the renowned humanist of the Low Countries praises both works at the same time.⁴²

After this, Bel would have liked to discover how it could be that the archbishop's country description was not published. He reckons that Olahus did not want to finish his work until he came home and verified the data, which eventually did not happen.⁴³ It will be clear below that he, correctly, concluded all this from two lines of Olahus' rhyming dedication.⁴⁴ He saw the greatest value of *Hungaria* in the lengthy descriptions: as he writes, this work informs us what Buda, Visegrád, Esztergom, and the famous *Bibliotheca Corviniana* had been like in the era of kings Matthias, Vladislaus, and Louis.

As we have seen above, Bel also discussed the circumstances of the acquisition of the manuscript because scholarly opinion required it: it was almost a compulsory element of forewords written by text editors to present the manuscript tradition. It also had been an expectation at the time to compare

⁴⁰ BEL, 1735, *Ad lectorem philobistora*, [i], note a.). *Notitia* indeed contains the biography of Olahus (BEL, 1735–1742, I, 472–485), for which Bel used *Hungaria* and information from another Olahus work, the *Chronicon*. The latter was also published in *Adparatus*, after *Hungaria*. See: BEL, 1735–1746, I, 38–41.

⁴¹ BEL, 1735, *Ad lectorem philobistora*, [i.] On the note of Olahus, see also NEAGU, 2003, 205.

⁴² BEL, 1735, *Ad lectorem philobistora*, [i.] On the connections between Nannius and Olahus, Gilbert Tournoy has written a paper, publishing in its appendix the letter that Matthias Bel cited in his foreword. The text of this letter has remained as a part of a planned edition Nannius edited for the death of Olahus' brother, Matthaëus, from the poems of several authors. The letter of Nannius – including the obituary poem written by him – was dated 9 February, 1539. See the text of the letter in TOURNOY, 2006, 150–152. (The part cited by Bel: *ibid.* 151.); on the planned edition, see: *ibid.*, 135–139. How Bel stumbled upon this letter requires further research. He probably got hold of the manuscript collection of poems edited by Nannius and the codex that contained it, which is in the University Library (Budapest) at the moment (see: EK H 46) because he mentions Nannius' editing in the biography of Olahus in *Notitia* ("Petrus Nannius [...] qui lessum Matthaëo, et ipse cecinit, et lugubria aliorum carmina, uno fasce edidit"), and then he cites the same excerpt of the letter as in the foreword. See: BEL, 1735–1742, I, 477.

⁴³ BEL, 1735, *Ad lectorem philobistora*, [i]–[ii].

⁴⁴ See said lines (*Quum dulces repetam ... candidiore fide*) in: OLAHUS, 1938, *Ad lectorem*, 31–32. In Bel's edition see: OLAHUS, 1735, [i]. See Bel's note: *ibid.* note b.) Later scholars agree with Bel's assumption. See: KOLLARIUS, 1763,)(2v; FODOR, 1990, 46–47; NEAGU, 2003, 205–207.

manuscripts: as he writes, he had completed this task, or had it completed by certain friends of his, that is, he made them compare and check the Viennese codex and his own manuscript.⁴⁵ Also, Bel emphasises that he published the text faithfully; however, as discussed above, this is only partly true: he himself remarks that he “revised” the spelling of the original text but did not change the author’s words.⁴⁶ Finally, he emphasizes that he gave appropriate titles to each chapter, divided them into paragraphs, and also written notes, as doing so coincided with the principles of his endeavour and his means.⁴⁷

For the text, which was 38 folio-sized pages long, Matthias Bel prepared 87 notes, which is in itself a significant number, compared to the publishing practices at the time. We can only find eight text-critical notes, where Bel indicated certain differences between *V* and *x* and made a few remarks about the Szentiványi quotations. In fact, there are much more differences between *V* (and its final state: *V*²) and Bel’s text.⁴⁸ It is not known whether it was Bel’s “friends” who worked carelessly, or whether Bel himself was too overwhelmed to document in the notes the amount of divergent readings. Knowing Bel’s extraordinary diligence, the former seems more likely.⁴⁹ Contemporary Western publishing practices also required making textual critical notes: Muratori also always noted divergent readings of other manuscripts in his editions, at least when he had the chance to do so.⁵⁰ One thing is for certain: the critical apparatus is not the strongest point of Bel’s edition.

The impression is somewhat more favourable if we consider those remarks as text-critical notes where Bel identifies Olahus’ ancient and mediaeval sources (Iustinus, Herodotus, Iordanes, Thuróczy, etc.). Ten such notes can be found in the text. Besides, there are three notes in which he writes about the circumstances of the birth of the work. Inter alia, he correctly concludes that Olahus refers to *Athila* at the end of the work, i.e. the fact that Hungarian history that started with *Hungaria*, continues with *Athila*.⁵¹

Therefore, on the whole, Bel – or rather his friends – did not place great emphasis on revealing the divergences between the extant texts of *Hungaria*. His main objective with the notes was to interpret Olahus’ work, explain its

⁴⁵ See footnote 33 above.

⁴⁶ “...recensuimus scriptionis genus, nil quidquam contemeratis auctoris verbis...” BEL, 1735, *Ad lectorem philohistora*, [ii].

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ For divergent readings in the critical edition, see: OLAHUS, 1938, 76–90.

⁴⁹ Kollar, the author of the joint edition of *Hungaria* and *Athila*, knowing the Viennese codex, also noticed the significant differences between the two texts (*V* and *b*) and he also blamed Bel’s friends for the lack of the notes (“...illi parum fidis ac diligentibus amicis, hoc quidem in officio, uti contigit”). KOLLARIUS, 1763,)(3r.

⁵⁰ See MURATORIUS, 1723–1751, I, 1., 2., 3. etc.

⁵¹ OLAHUS 1735, 38., note s.).

ambiguous parts, and weigh it on contemporary scholarly scales. Once again, Muratori comes as a parallel because he also provided his significant sources with source-critical and historical commentaries: he contrasted their statements with other sources, drew attention to inaccuracies and problematic parts, and also mentioned earlier criticism on source materials. An outstanding example of this is the monumental work of Paul the Deacon, *De gestis Longobardorum* (or *Historia Langobardorum*), to which the Italian author added a multifaceted body of commentary, which can be considered of a high standard even by present-day criteria.⁵² Another example might be the Silesian historiographer Friedrich Wilhelm von Sommersberg, who happened to be in correspondence with Bel, and who also wrote numerous critical remarks for published sources in his source edition.⁵³ All in all, such notes were widespread by this time.

These notes of Bel can be divided into two main groups: geographical and historical ones. Of the former, we can find twenty-three in the text. On the one hand, in these Bel explains Olahus' text: drawing attention to where geographical names are misspelt in the work or are referred to differently from contemporary usage; that is, he identifies the geographical names of *Hungaria*. For instance, he indicates that the *insula Comaron* ("Isle of Komárom") mentioned by Olahus is called *Csallóköz* (*Žitný ostrov*); similarly, the river Olahus referred to as *Sáros* is *Sárvíz* in contemporary usage.⁵⁴ He writes notes where data are incorrect, highlighting the author's mistake in placing the wellspring of the River Ipoly above Banská Štiavnica (Selmezbánya).⁵⁵ As an indicator of his outstanding geographical knowledge, he can name the mountain near Vác that Olahus merely referred to (*Naszály*).⁵⁶ His well-informed status is due to the fact that he had almost finished collecting data for his country description, *Notitia*, by the mid-1730s,⁵⁷ so by then he knew as much about the geography and hydrography of Hungary as perhaps no-one ever before.

There are forty-seven historical notes in the other group, which means that they make up more than half of the notes. In some of them, Bel identifies

⁵² MURATORIUS, 1723–1751, I, 405–511.

⁵³ SOMMERSBERG, 1729–1730, I, 3, 4, etc. Sommersberg's work was a part of Bel's library. See: TÓTH, 2006, 86. (nr. 20–21.)

⁵⁴ The data on the "Isle of Komárom" (*insula Comaron*) was later amended by Olahus, and he also provided its popular Hungarian name (*Challokewz*), but this was a late correction in the *V* codex (*V*²), which did not make it into the supposed copy *x*, so Bel could not have known about it. See: OLAHUS, 1938, 4. 7. (See the critical note on page 78.). See Bel's comment: OLAHUS, 1735, 7. note o.). The data on *Sárvíz*: OLAHUS, 1938, 6. 3. For Bel's note, see: OLAHUS, 1735, 11. note t.).

⁵⁵ See: OLAHUS, 1938, 10. 26.; For Bel's note, see: OLAHUS, 1735, 20. note x.)

⁵⁶ See: OLAHUS, 1938, 10. 10.; See Bel's note: OLAHUS, 1735, 19. note q.)

⁵⁷ For the collection of data, see: TÓTH, 2007.

and aligns historical events mentioned by Olahus with other sources. For instance, when Olahus mentions the siege of Esztergom, Bel correctly associates it with the 1532 attack led by Lodovico Gritti.⁵⁸ Furthermore, when Olahus writes that Visegrád could host four kings, Bel makes the fitting point that the author must have had the 1335 Congress of Visegrád in mind.⁵⁹ He also indicates whenever Olahus writes something hitherto unknown or divergent from the narration of standard historiographers. The author of *Hungaria* wrote that King Matthias was crowned on the ice of the Danube, to which Bel remarks that Bonfini speaks of no such thing but only that the Danube froze during the election, and thus the aristocratic party that opposed the election of Matthias had to cross over from Buda to Pest.⁶⁰

Bel's notes are especially impressive where, alluding to fresh literature, he colours certain statements of Olahus. A perfect example for this is chapter 17. Here, in connection with the famous Trajan Bridge built over the Danube, Nicolaus Olahus quotes Cassius Dio on the building and greatness of the bridge.⁶¹ In connection with this, Bel remarks that scholars do not agree on the bridge: while Iustus Lipsius and István Szamosközy both follow in the footsteps of Cassius Dio and praise the building, Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, the renowned Italian military engineer and antiquary, based on his own on-the-spot inspections, refutes many statements of the Roman historiographer.⁶² Here, Bel gives evidence of his in-depth antiquarian literacy and knowledge, which is remarkable in *Notitia* as well.⁶³

The notes where Bel interprets Olahus' text using charters are also worth attention. The scholar already indicated elsewhere that he considered the collection of charters and diplomatic research important primarily because of Western European influences and antecedents (e.g. Mabillon's works).⁶⁴ Often in *Notitia*, he used charters as sources, which he not only published but also analysed in a professional way.⁶⁵ He deliberately aspired to include this

⁵⁸ See: OLAHUS, 1938, 7. 5. For Bel's note, see: OLAHUS, 1735, 14. note b.)

⁵⁹ See: OLAHUS, 1938, 6. 5. Bel cites the place of the congress from Bonfini's Hungarian history and also from a Bohemian historical work to interpret Olahus' place of the text. See: OLAHUS, 1735, 11, note u.)

⁶⁰ Bel's note: "Nihil eius, in electionis historia, quam Bonfinius, *Decad.* III. Lib. IX. exhibet, observaris; praeterquam, quod Danubius, quarto Idus Februarias, subito rigidoque gelu concretus, et quasi pavimento constratus, perterruerit factionem Corvino contrariam, ut relicta Buda, Pestum concederet." See: OLAHUS, 1735, 18–19, note p.)

⁶¹ See: OLAHUS, 1938, 17. 13–17.

⁶² See: OLAHUS, 1735, 32. note a.) The said location of Marsili's work: MARSILI, 1726, II, 25–30.

⁶³ On Bel's interests in the antiquity, see: TÓTH, 2015, 161–162; see also NAGY, 2018.

⁶⁴ TÓTH, 2013, 604, 606, 608, 609, 610–611.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 604, 611.

group of sources in the examination, also in the notes of *Adparatus*. Thus, when he finds in the text of Olahus that there is European sturgeon fishing near Kolárovo (Gúta), to prove the author right, he remarks: he read in old charters that here, by the River Vah (Vág), Hungarian kings used to cultivate sturgeon-lakes in the river, surrounded by palisades, the remnants of which can still be seen when the water is shallow.⁶⁶

There is a separate, small group of remarks on early Hungarian history. Throughout his life, Bel was very much preoccupied with this issue and retained his view of the traditional Scythian-Hun-Avar origin of Hungarians until his death, although he always tried to support it with linguistic evidence. Also, similarly to the renowned German historian, Philipp Clüver, and certainly following in his footsteps, he intended to discover the “traditions” and artefact culture of Scythians, Huns, and Avars in the customs and way of living of the Hungarians in his own age. One can find numerous examples from his oeuvre for the latter, but perhaps the best parallel is the Latin-language edition of Priscus of Panium’s work in *Adparatus*, and its notes written by Bel, where this aspiration was quite often manifested.⁶⁷ In the edition of *Hungaria*, one can find examples for linguistic and “ethnographical” arguments as well. In one place, he identifies the source of Olahus, i.e. Iustinus, and he cites another sentence of the historiographer, where Iustinus writes: in Scythian, *exiles* are called *parthi* (in singular: *parthus*). After this, Bel triumphantly exclaims: “Here is an obvious record of Hungarian language! Because *pártos* still means *rebel*.”⁶⁸ In other words, he reckoned that the Hungarian word *pártos* (“wrangling”, “factious”, “rebellious”) originates from the “Scythian” *parthus*, although it can easily be seen that it originates from the Latin word for *party* (*pars*).

The other note is also very characteristic of him. When discussing the beggars of the village of Šimand (Simánd), Olahus mentions that parents in this town cripple their new-born babies on purpose in order to continue the beggar “profession”. Bel suggests that all this could be the remnant of the old Hun tradition of cutting the faces of babies, even citing the source of information, Ammianus Marcellinus, whom he often quotes because of the abundance

⁶⁶ See: OLAHUS, 1938, 10. 12. Bel’s note: “Legi in diplomatibus, reges Hungariae, antaceorum vivarium hic olim habuisse, per oram fluminis, roboreis palis circumclusum; quorum trunci, decrescente amne, notari possunt hodieque.” OLAHUS, 1735, 19. r.) Bel mentions all this in *Notitia*, in the general part of the description of Komárom County, and also in the description of Gúta. See: BEL, 2016, 279, 476–478. Further places where Bel used charters in the notes of *Hungaria*: OLAHUS, 1735, 29. note s.); 37. note p.).

⁶⁷ Bel’s Priscus edition: BEL, 1735–1746, II, 1–83. For Bel’s linguistic and ancient historical research, see: TÓTH, 2012.

⁶⁸ “En, Hungaricae linguae exstans vestigium! *Pártos* enim, hodieque *seditiosum* significat.” OLAHUS, 1735, 4. note g.).

of his data on the Hun.⁶⁹ Finally, he admits that this parallel is untenable because Huns wanted to make their offsprings scary, while those of Şimand wanted to make them able to beg.⁷⁰ If we look at these thought experiments and ancient historical pathfindings today, we might smile, but we should keep in mind that at the time, research on the origin of nations and comparative linguistics were in their infancy throughout Europe.⁷¹

SUMMARY

Bel's edition of *Hungaria* is a very important milestone in the reception of the oeuvre of Nicolaus Olahus. On the one hand, we owe him one part of the work, as Bel acquired a manuscript which, although it did not contain every amendment by Olahus (and others), it retained the final part of the text that was missing from the other two manuscripts. This is a substantial gain for *Hungaria*.

On the other hand, the edition was in very good hands with Bel. The renowned scholar launched his source edition, *Adparatus* based on Western models, primarily following in the footsteps of Muratori's text editions, and he found a place for the work of Olahus in it. Moreover, he made *Hungaria* the first of his collection, being aware of its significance, and thus elevated it to a sort of exemplary edition: he paid special attention to emendation and interpretation. In the brief introduction before the work, he very aptly revealed the birth of the *Hungaria* and emphasised its source value. Even more significant are his notes for the work in which he commented on the text on a contemporary scientific level, confronting it with brand-new research.

As we have seen, Bel made rather few text-critical remarks in these notes, although he knew the Viennese codex, and his "friends" had compared that text to the manuscript he had acquired. Although later researchers might condemn him – or, rather, his friends – for the lack of philological comparisons, when looking at his other notes, Bel's work might elicit acknowledgement from us. He made ample use of the experience of collecting data for his country description, *Notitia*, when preparing geographical-topographical notes; as for historical notes, thanks to his monumental, decade-long source gathering and collection of charters, and his excellent literacy and preparedness, he could compare with other sources, prove, interpret, or refute Olahus'

⁶⁹ Cf. TÓTH, 2012, 232–234, 241, 242.

⁷⁰ "Crederes, imitatione Hunnorum, id factitasse Simándienses, de quibus Ammianus Marcellinus [...] sic scribit [...] Sed contra se res habet. [...]" OLAHUS, 1735, 38. note r.) On the vast literature of this part of *Hungaria* and its possible interpretations see: SZILÁGYI, 2017a.

⁷¹ BORST, 1957–1963, III/1, 1048–1394.

statements in an almost modern way. He was outstanding in his knowledge of contemporary scientific literature and was up-to-date in it.

Bel's role is also significant from the perspective of reception because in the notes and the foreword he emphasised the most important data of the book, i.e. he showed what hitherto unknown information Olahus' work provided. We can also add that beside Szentiványi, he was the first to use *Hungaria* to a larger extent: in *Notitia*, when describing certain cities and castles, he cited and analysed its text many times.⁷² Thus, he familiarised Hungarian scientific circles with Olahus' work and incorporated its data into public thought.

Finally, it was also Bel who, after the expulsion of the Ottomans, surveying his war-torn, plundered country that was starting to recover,⁷³ sensed one of the main messages of Olahus' work: the ever-present melancholy due to the loss of old, splendid Hungary, as a basic and common experience of post-Mohács-generation Hungarians. After citing at length Olahus' words in *Notitia* on the old splendour of the royal palace and the court of Visegrád that was destroyed in the Ottoman wars, he writes: "This had been the image of the castle and the city at that time, its gemstone, its special privileges. Therefore, we, Hungarians, indeed, have reasons to mourn the fate of the castle and the city; if at all it were enough to mourn that, the pain of which one cannot unfeel any more."⁷⁴

GERGELY TÓTH

⁷² Cf. BEL, 1735–1742, I, 473, 477; III, 225, 226, 245, 487–490, 507, 518–519, 583; in the county descriptions of *Notitia* that remained in manuscript form and were published not long ago: BEL, 2016, 529, 550, 552.

⁷³ Bel often discusses Hungary's losses in the Ottoman conquest in *Notitia*. Cf. TÓTH, 2017, 378–386.

⁷⁴ "Haec tunc arcis oppidique facies fuit, hi ornatus, iuraque praecipua. Ut habeamus omnino, cur arcis, urbisque fortunam, Hungari doleamus; si doluisse sit satis, quod dedolere possis nunquam." BEL, 1735–1742, III, 490. With similar sadness, he remarks in the *Adparatus* that now one can hardly see the ruins of the Palace of Visegrád that Olahus praised so high. See: OLAHUS, 1735, 12. note y.).

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NICOLAUS OLAHUS' *ATHILA* IM ÄLTEREN POLNISCHEN UND OSTSLAVISCHEN SCHRIFTTUM

Die Geschichte der Hunnen in der Bearbeitung von Nicolaus Olahus unter dem Titel *Athila* wurde ziemlich schnell populär in Osteuropa. Das Werk erschien 1568 in Basel (als Beilage zu Bonfinis *Rerum Vngaricarum Decades*),¹ im Jahre 1574 wurde schon seine polnische Übersetzung von Cyprian Bazylík in Krakau (Kraków) gedruckt;² aufgrund dieser polnischen Ausgabe entstand eine handschriftliche altweißrussische Übersetzung um 1580 in Wilna (Vilnius).³ Bazylíks Übersetzung von *Athila* in Bazylíks wurde nicht nur von Maciej Strykowski als Quelle zu seiner *Kronika polska, litewska, żmudzka i wszystkiej Rusi* ('Chronik von Polen, Litauen, Samogitien und ganz Russlands', Königsberg, 1582) benutzt, davon wurde auch die Ursula-Legende übernommen. Da Strykowskis Chronik im 17. Jh. in Moskau (Moskva) zweimal ins Russische übersetzt wurde und die Ursula-Legende in den beiden (handschriftlichen) russischen Übersetzungen enthalten war, gelangte dieses Fragment von Olahus' *Athila* auch nach Moskau und gilt als die früheste Übersetzung ungarischer Literatur in Russland.⁴ Auf Ungarisch konnte man den ganzen *Athila* erst im Jahre 1977, also etwa 400 Jahre nach der polnischen und der altweißrussischen Übersetzung, dank Péter Kulcsár lesen (einige kurzen Auszüge wurden schon 1961 von Tibor Kardos auf Ungarisch veröffentlicht).⁵

Das Werk von Olahus verbreitete sich in Osteuropa anonym. Schuld daran ist der polnische Übersetzer, der auf dem Titelblatt des Krakauer Druckes

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¹ OLAHUS, 1938, VI, vgl. BRÜCKNER, 1886, 379–381.

² BAZYLIK, 1574.

³ *Atylja*, cca 1580.

⁴ ZOLTÁN, 2006.

⁵ KULCSÁR, 1977, 329–390. Eine neuere Übersetzung von Péter KULCSÁR s. OLÁH 2000, 55–99. Einige kurze Passagen konnten früher in der ungarischer Übersetzung von Tibor KARDOS (1961, 579–583) gelesen werden.

nur sich selbst als Übersetzer nannte, ohne den Verfasser überhaupt erwähnt zu haben. Auf dem Titelblatt liest man nämlich nur:

Hiftoria spraw Atyle Krolá Węgier-/fkiego. Z Łacińfkiego ięzyká ná / Polfki przelożoná przez Cyprianá Bazyliká ('Geschichte der Taten des ungarischen Königs Attila. Aus dem Lateinischen ins Polnische übersetzt von Cyprian Bazylik'). Aus dem Impressum am Ende des Buches wird vom Verfasser auch nicht berichtet: W Krákwie. / Drukował Máciey Wirzbiętá, / Typograph Ie° K. M. Ro- /ku Páńfkiego, 1574. ('In Krakau gedruckt von Máciey Wirzbiętá, dem Drucker Seiner Königlichen Gnade im Jahre des Herrn 1574').

Aus welchem Grund Cyprian Bazylik den Namen des Verfassers verschwie, ist nicht bekannt. Der Übersetzer war eine bekannte Persönlichkeit seiner Zeit und galt als einer der besten Übersetzer aus dem Lateinischen. Er beschäftigte sich auch mit Musik und war zudem als Dichter bekannt. Einige seiner Gedichte verraten seine Sympathie zu den Ungarn in ihrem Kampf gegen die Türken. Bald nach der Krönung des Fürsten von Siebenbürgen Stephan Báthory zum König von Polen und Großfürsten von Litauen (am 1. Mai 1576) erhielt er schon im Herbst des selben Jahres (25. November 1576) ein Landgut vom König; 1582 wurde er vom König lebenslänglich zum Richter in Mielnik ernannt.⁶ Aufgrund dieser Umstände erhob sich in der polnischen Forschung die Frage, ob die Herausgabe der polnischen Übersetzung von *Athila* im Jahre 1574 mit dem Wahlkampf von Báthory um den polnischen Thron zusammenhängen könnte. Zeitlich ist das nicht ausgeschlossen; es ist ja nur das Jahr, nicht aber der Monat des Erscheinens des Buches bekannt. Der polnische Thron war ab Juni 1574 vakant, am 11. September machte der türkische Gesandte die Botschaft des Sultans vor dem polnischen Landtag bekannt, in der er den Anspruch von Báthory auf den polnischen Thron genehmigte. (Da Siebenbürgen ein Vasallenstaat des Osmanischen Reiches war, konnte Báthory selbständig keine außenpolitischen Verhandlungen führen.) Sollte also die Übersetzung des *Athila* mit ihrem polnischen Titel 'Geschichte der Taten des *ungarischen* Königs Attila' gegen Ende des Jahres 1574 erschienen sein, hätte sie als Propagandaschrift zugunsten des Ungarn Báthory dienen können. Mit den Mitteln der Geschichtswissenschaft läßt sich das jedoch nicht beweisen. Die oben erwähnten Urkunden nennen die Verdienste von Bazylik nämlich überhaupt nicht, als Grundlage der Donation wird in den beiden bloß auf die Fürbitte von näher nicht genannten Beratern hingewiesen. Die äußere Geschichte der polnischen Übersetzung kann also den Zusammenhang mit Báthorys Aspirationen nicht bestätigen, aber auch nicht widerlegen.⁷

Vielleicht kann aber der Text selbst diese Frage entscheiden. Es ist nämlich der Aufmerksamkeit der früheren Forschung entgangen, dass Bazylik

⁶ KOT, 1956, 118–124.

⁷ KOT, 1956, 125; ŚLASKI, 1991, 28.

beim Übersetzen des Textes von Olahus einen plastisch-chirurgischen Eingriff an Attilas Nase ausgeführt hatte. Das Äußere von Attila ist von Jordanes übermittelt, bei dem die Schilderung des Aussehens des Hunnenkönigs auf einen Augenzeugen, nämlich Priskos, zurückgeht. Im Vergleich mit Jordanes verschönert zwar Olahus die Physiognomie von Attila, aber einige von seinen Gesichtszügen wiederholt er unverändert. So z. B. schildert Jordanes den Hunnenkönig mit dünnem Bart und platter Nase (*rarus barba...*, *semo nasu*),⁸ ebenso steht auch bei Olahus *rarus barba, simo naso* (1938: 38). Bazylík übersetzt die ganze Beschreibung des Äußeren von Attila genau, er gibt den Dünnbart noch wörtlich (*brody rzadkiey*) wieder, aber aus der platten Nase von Attila ist bei dem polnischen Übersetzer eine leichte Hackennase geworden: *nosá zákrzywionego* 'mit gekrümmter Nase'.⁹

Wir haben keinen Grund zu vermuten, dass dem Übersetzer hier ein zufälliger Fehler unterlaufen wäre. Cyprian Bazylík hatte an der Krakauer Universität studiert und, wie gesagt, er hatte sich schon vorher als erfahrener Übersetzer einen Namen gemacht, also brauchen wir weder an seinen Lateinkenntnissen, noch an seiner translatorischen Kompetenz zu zweifeln. Wenden wir uns aber zur Ikonographie von Stephan Báthory, so werden wir uns kaum irren, wenn wir den Grund für diese kleine Abweichung von der lateinischen Vorlage in der Nasengestalt des Thronprätendenten erblicken. Als Báthory 1586 in Grodno starb, beschrieb der Historiker Joachim Bielski sein Äußeres unter anderen mit den Worten: „[er hatte] eine leicht gekrümmte Nase, mit welcher Attila allgemein gemalt wird“ (*nosá kęs zákrzywionego, z iákim / poşpolicie Attyllę málują*);¹⁰ ohne die beabsichtigte Fehlübersetzung von Cyprian Bazylík hätte man Attila zu Báthorys Zeiten kaum „allgemein“ mit gebogener Nase malen können.¹¹

Durch die Absicht, Attila als einen siegreichen Vorfahren von Báthory dem polnischen Publikum zu präsentieren, kann auch Bazylíks Griff erklärt werden, dass er aus dem Hunnenkönig Attila in der polnischen Übersetzung einen eindeutig ungarischen König machte. Wie das Bazylík durchgeführt hatte, kann aufgrund des einzigen bekannten und leider defekten Exemplars des Krakauer Druckes (in der Bibliothek der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Kurnik)¹² nicht geklärt werden. Am Anfang des Buches fehlen nämlich die Blätter 3.-6., die das Ende des Vorwortes von Bazylík und den Anfang des Textes der Hunnengeschichte beinhalten. Dabei kommt uns aber die altweißrussische handschriftliche Übersetzung zur Hilfe, die aus einem noch

⁸ JORDANES, 2005, cap. 35. Vgl. JORDANES, 2012, 126.

⁹ BAZYLIK, 1574, B2. Vgl. ZOLTÁN, 2004, 232–233.

¹⁰ BIELSKI, 1597, 804.

¹¹ Vgl. ZOLTÁN 2008.

¹² Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN, Signatur: Cim. O. 226.

vollständigen Exemplar der Krakauer Ausgabe angefertigt wurde. Durch den Vergleich des lateinischen Textes von Olahus mit der anonymen altweißrussischen Handschrift kann der Anfang der polnischen Übersetzung erschlossen werden. Aus dieser Rekonstruktion geht klar hervor, dass Bazylík schon ganz am Anfang die Hunnen in Ungarn verwandelte. Es genügt den ersten Absatz aus dieser Sicht zu prüfen. Als Olahus zum ersten Mal die Hunnen (*Hunni*) erwähnt, fügt Bazylík eine Glosse hinzu: *Hunnowie, ábo iák ich dzisiaj pospolicie zowq, Węgrowie*, also ‘die Hunnen, oder wie man sie heute gewöhnlich nennt, die Ungarn’. Ebenso wird der geographische Name *Pannonia* beim ersten Vorkommen glossiert: *w Pánnonieny, to iest w tym kráiu, ktory teraz Węgierskim zowiemy* ‘in Pannonien, das heißt im Land, das wir heute Ungarland nennen’. Die Glossierung des Völkernamens *Hunni* kommt im dritten Absatz noch einmal vor: *Hunnum ... multitudinem: wielkie mnostwo Hunnow ábo Węgrow* ‘eine große Menge Hunnen oder Ungarn’, sonst wird der Termin *Hunni* des Olahus durch Bazylík konsequent mit *Węgrowie* ‘Ungarn’ wiedergegeben. *Pannonia* und *Hungaria* werden – von einigen Fällen der Glossierung abgesehen – in der polnischen Übersetzung überwiegend nur als *Węgierska ziemiá* ‘Ungarland’ oder *Węgry* ‘Ungarn’ erwähnt.¹³

Die altweißrussische Übersetzung ist ebenfalls in einer einzigen, diesmal handschriftlichen Kopie überliefert, die sich in einem *Codex miscellaneus* der Gräflich-Raczyński’schen Bibliothek in Posen befindet. Der Codex wird in der Fachliteratur aufgrund indirekter Angaben 1580 oder „um 1580“ datiert. Außer der Attila-Geschichte enthält dieser noch die Übersetzung zweier mittelalterlicher Ritterromane (Tristan, Bovo d’Antona – beide wurden aus dem Serbischen übersetzt) und eine Chronik des Großfürstentums Litauen. Die ganze Handschrift wurde von einem professionellen Schreiber der großfürstlichen Kanzlei in Wilna abgeschrieben und befand sich lange Zeit im Besitz einer weißrussischen Adelsfamilie in Litauen. Die aus dem Polnischen übersetzte Attila-Geschichte ist eine sehr treue, wortwörtliche Wiedergabe des polnischen Textes von Cyprian Bazylík, manchmal erinnert der altweißrussische Text eher an eine kyrillische Transkription der polnischen Vorlage als an eine richtige Übersetzung.¹⁴ Im altweißrussischen Text stößt man jedoch auf manche Spuren auch einer anderen, von Bazylíks Übersetzung unterschiedlichen Quelle, die der weißrussische Übersetzer zusätzlich benutzen musste. Es geht um die Schreibung des Namens der Hauptfigur Attila. Olahus schreibt konsequent *Athila* (mit *-h-* und einem *-l-*), Bazylík übernimmt das phonetisch und schreibt *Atylá*, immer mit einem *l*. Im altweißrussischen Text neben der vorwiegenden Schreibung *Атыла* trifft man auch Schreibungen mit doppeltem *l*: *Атыла^л.А.* Wie bekannt, schreibt man auf Ungarisch *Attila*, man spricht es jedoch *Atilla*

¹³ ZOLTÁN, 2001.

¹⁴ BRÜCKNER, 1886, 345–346.

aus, früher, als die ungarische Rechtschreibung noch nicht streng geregelt war, schrieb man es auch wie man sprach: *Atilla*. Die Schreibungen mit *-ll-* sind seit der ersten Erwähnung dieses Namens in ungarischsprachigen Texten (1527) belegt, neben *Atila* findet man *Atilla* auch in der in Krakau auf Ungarisch gedruckten Weltchronik von István Székely (1559). Es ist auffallend, dass diese Schwankung in der Schreibung *Atila* ~ *Atilla* auch in der *Chronik von Polen, Litauen, Samogitien und ganz Russlands* von Maciej Strykowski vorkommt (Königsberg, 1582). Sollte das bedeuten, dass der unbekannte Wilnaer Schreiber außer Bazyliks Übersetzung auch die Chronik von Strykowski kannte, so könnte man die Datierung der altweißrussischen Übersetzung und damit des ganzen Posener Kodexes präzisieren: er müsste in diesem Fall nicht „um 1580“, sondern unbedingt „nach 1582“ entstanden sein.¹⁵

Wie schon erwähnt, wurde der *Athila* in Bazyliks Übersetzung von Maciej Strykowski als Quelle zu seiner *Kronika polska, litewska, żmudzka i wszystkiej Rusi* ('Chronik von Polen, Litauen, Samogitien und ganz Russlands', Königsberg, 1582) benutzt und davon die Ursula-Legende übernommen. Strykowski verknüpfte nämlich die Hunnenlegende mit der Legende über den römischen Ursprung der Litauer. Laut dieser Legende floh eine Gruppe von vornehmen Römern unter der Leitung eines gewissen Adligen namens Palemon aus Rom und ließ sich in Memelland nieder. Diese Römer seien die Vorfahren der Litauer gewesen. Strykowski erzählte mehrere Varianten dieser Geschichte, unter anderem auch diejenige, in der als Grund für die Flucht dieser Römer Attilas Angriff auf Italien angegeben wurde. Das gab Strykowski die Gelegenheit, kurz die ganze Hunnengeschichte in Versen zu erzählen. Die Erzählung in Versen wird einmal mit Prosa unterbrochen, wo die Ursulalegende zu lesen ist. Dieses Fragment in Prosa stimmt mit dem entsprechenden Text der Übersetzung von Bazylik wortwörtlich überein.¹⁶

Dank diesem kleinen Plagiat befand sich ein Fragment des *Athila* von Olahus, nämlich die Ursulalegende, in seiner Darstellung, in einem sehr populären Werk, das nicht nur in Polen-Litauen weit und breit gelesen wurde, sondern im 17. Jh. in Moskau zweimal ins Russische (eigentlich ins Russisch-Kirchenslavische) übersetzt wurde, wobei die Ursula-Legende in den beiden (handschriftlichen) russischen Übersetzungen enthalten ist. (Das ist nicht selbstverständlich, Ursula als katholische Heilige wird von den Orthodoxen nicht verehrt.) So gelangte dieses Fragment von Oláhs *Athila* nach Moskau und gilt heute als die früheste Übersetzung aus der ungarischen – wenn auch lateinsprachigen – Literatur in Russland.

ANDRÁS ZOLTÁN

¹⁵ ZOLTÁN, 2004, 78–79.

¹⁶ ZOLTÁN, 2006.

QUELLEN- UND LITERATURVERZEICHNIS

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HUNGARIA UND *ATHILA* VON NICOLAUS OLAHUS
ALS QUELLEN FÜR DIE HUNNEN-TRILOGIE
VON JÁNOS ARANY

Es ist seit langem bekannt, dass János Arany vom Gedanken der Rekonstruktion des ungarischen naiven Epos, beziehungsweise vom Gegenstand, das diese Rolle erfüllen könnte, vor längerer Zeit heimgesucht wurde. Es ist ebenfalls mit Sicherheit festzustellen, dass ihn anfangs das Zeitalter der Stammesführer, also die Zeit zwischen der ungarischen Landnahme und der politischen Wende des hl. Stephans, interessierte, weil er in dieser Epoche seine epischen Vorlagen, in erster Linie das auf die ungarischen historischen Umstände angewandte Gesellschaftsbild von Homer einsetzen konnte, den er als die Milch und Honig gießenden Urvater aller Volksdichtungen betrachtete. Arany liebäugelte nämlich für eine längere Zeit mit diesem außerordentlichen homerischen volksepischen Gedanken, auf den er sich anfangs nur mit einer gewissen Angst zu beziehen wagte, denn auch Petöfi hätte ihn für eine Chimära gehalten, laut dem ersten Brief von Arany, indem er den berühmten Vorstellungsbrief Petöfis vom 4. Februar beantwortete:

„Ich teile mit warmen Herzen Ihre Prinzipien über Volk und Dichtung... da ich auch aus Eigensucht denselben folgen muss! Ich erhoffe eine nationale Dichtung erst danach, nachdem die Volksdichtung zu blühen begonnen hat. Was würden Sie von demjenigen halten, der sich entscheiden würde, ein (ehrliches) Epos mit reinem Volksgeist und auf der Volkssprache zu schreiben?“¹

Er verwendet dieses Wort, also die Chimära, im Sinne von „Wahnsinn“ in einem anderen Brief, geschrieben am Karfreitag, also am 2. April desselben Jahres, an seinen Freund István Szilágyi, der in Maramureschsigeth (Sighetu Marmăției, Máramarosziget) lebte:

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¹ ARANY, 1975, no. 38, 52–53, 53, 539–540.

„Das Volksepos ist nicht einmal geplant. Man könnte ein solches aus dem Zeitalter der Stammesführer, besonders der Árpáden nehmen, als noch das ganze ungarische Volk frei und kämpferisch war. Ich möchte nur fragen, ob es keine Chimära sei, an ein Volksepos zu denken?“²

Nachdem er sein Werk *Toldi* beendet hatte, begann er mit dem *Toldi estéje* [auf Deutsch: *Der Lebensabend Toldis*], das in seiner ersten Fassung bereits im März 1848 ebenfalls beendet wurde. Nach der hoffnungsvollen Revolution und nach dem in eine Katastrophe mündenden Freiheitskampf erweiterte sich der Charakter seiner epischen Pläne, und verzweigte sich zugleich in zwei verschiedene Richtungen (jetzt natürlich abgesehen von den Werken, die nach der *Az elveszett alkotmány* [auf Deutsch: *Die verlorene Verfassung*] entstanden sind und so zwar nicht ohne Vorläufer waren, aber nicht der homerischen, sondern der komisch-satirischen Richtung folgten, also die Werke *A nagyidai cigányok* [auf Deutsch: *Die Zigeuner von Nagyida*] und der *Bolond Istók* – [auf Deutsch: *Der verrückte Stephan*]). Diese Zweige mündeten in der Fertigstellung des mittleren Teiles des *Toldi*, dessen erster und nötiger Schritt die Fertigstellung der zweiten und endgültigen Fassung des *Toldi estéje* war. (Die diesbezüglichen und bahnbrechenden Erkenntnisse József Nacsádys sind in der letzten Zeit von der Forschung gänzlich akzeptiert worden.³) Zu diesem langen Unternehmen, das 1879 mit der *Toldi szerelme* [auf Deutsch: *Die Liebe von Toldi*] erfolgreich beendet wurde, gehörten natürlich jede einzelne Fassung der *Daliás idők* [auf Deutsch: *Ritterzeiten*], beziehungsweise die Fragmente, die zu diesem Werk angepasst werden können, sowie diejenige lyrischen Stücke, wie z. B. die *Zách Klára* [auf Deutsch: *Klára Zách*], die in das Werk eingesetzt wurden. Der andere Zweig ist hingegen das homerische völkische Ur-Epos, das in die Zeit der Stammesführer geträumt und nach der Niederlage des Freiheitskampfes und in den Zeiten der Bach-Ära, die mit einem allgemeinen Untergang und dem Aussterben der Ungarn drohte, für Arany nicht mehr eine Erfolgsreihe des im Zeitalter der Landnahme noch heidnischen, später christlichen Ungarns werden konnte, die immer mehr emporstieg und letztlich, in der Zeit Matthias Corvinus' etwa vergöttlicht oder in mythologischen Höhen überschlagen wurde. Es konnte nur eine urgeschichtliche Erzählung des Hunnenreichs werden, das nach dem siegreichen Anfang auf eine weltherrschende Hoheit emporstieg und dann anscheinend in einen völligen Verfall abstürzte, und später doch auferstand. Die Nachkommen des Csaba, des liebsten Sohnes von Attila, (die Ungarn also) kehrten nämlich nach Jahrhunderten zurück und eroberten das Karpatenbecken, den Kern des Hunnenreiches, zurück!

Aus einem Brief an den lieben Dichterlehrling und Schüler, Domokos Tisza, vom 20. Mai 1853 wissen wir, dass die zwei Quellen, die von Arany über

² ARANY, 1975, no. 52, 75–79, 77, 554.

³ NACSÁDY, 1967; SZÁNTÓ, 2016.

die Geschichte der Hunnen am frühesten gelesen wurden, zwei Werke von Nikolaus Olahus, *Hungaria* und *Athila*, waren.⁴ Die Exemplare dieser Bücher gerieten nach dem Tod János Arany als Teil seiner Bibliothek in den Besitz von Géza Voinovich, wie er darüber im IV. Band der textkritischen Ausgabe des Lebenswerks, der dem Hunnenepos gewidmet wurde, selbst berichtet.⁵ Diese Bücher verbrannten aber 1945 bedauerlicherweise nach einem Brandbombenangriff gegen die Voinovich-Villa mit der ganzen Bibliothek. Aus den erhalten gebliebenen Exemplaren wissen wir, dass Arany seine Bücher, die er für die eigenen Werke benutzte, reichlich mit Notizen versah, so werden wir nie erfahren, welchen Beitrag die 1763 erschienene Olahus-Ausgabe Adam Franz Kollars⁶ (die ungarische Namensvariante: Kollár Ádám Ferenc, und die slowakische: Adam František Kollár) für Arany's Gedankengänge und Pläne leistete. Glücklicherweise identifizierten aber tüchtige Philologen, unter denen hier in erster Linie Vilmos Tolnai⁷ und Gyula Grexa⁸ erwähnt werden sollen, sehr viele Motive, die in die Handlungen der Versuche der Werke *Keveháza* und der *Csaba-Trilogie*, sowie des *Buda halála* (auf Deutsch: *Budas Tod*) von Nikolaus Olahus entnommen wurden.⁹ Diese wurden, wenn auch nur kurz, widersprüchlich und unvollkommen im erwähnten Band IV. der textkritischen Ausgabe von Géza Voinovich erwähnt.

Sehen wir uns jetzt einige Beispiele an! Zuerst solche, die von Arany bei Olahus gefunden und für die Sankt-Ladislau-Legende verwendet wurden. Ein solches ist das Weizenbier, das auf der sogenannten Kumanien (Kunság) aus Hirse gebraut wurde. Dies stammt aus einer Anmerkung aus Olahus' *Hungaria*, cap. XVIII.¹⁰ Dass die ungarische Variante des Namens Attila Etele war, stammt aus dem dritten Kapitel Olahus' Biographie.¹¹ Die erschreckendste Trägerin der Legende der drei mahnenden Prophezeiungen, die vom unsterblichen Detre oder Dietrich von Bern erwähnt werden, ist eine Frau, die Attila auf einem Ufer anschrte: „Attila zurück“ (im Original: „retro Attila“).

In einer gesonderten Studie, für einen von H. János Korompay herausgegebenen Sammelband, arbeitete ich 2002 diejenigen Notizen auf, die glücklicherweise in einem Buch im Besitz von Arany erhalten geblieben waren, und hier in der Bibliothek der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften aufbe-

⁴ ARANY, 1982, no. 503, 219–221, 219, 890, 1186.

⁵ Siehe ARANY, 1953, 214, 217, 219, 221. Vgl. VOINOVICH, 1931, 166, und VOINOVICH, 2019, 253.

⁶ OLAHI, 1763.

⁷ TOLNAI, 1922.

⁸ GREXA, 1917.

⁹ Über Oláhs Attila-Bild vgl. BIRNBAUM, 1993; BOZOKY, 2012. Vgl. SZÖRÉNYI, 2014. Dieses Buch in ungarischer Übersetzung: BOZÓKY, 2015, 233–242.

¹⁰ OLAHUS, 1938, 30.

¹¹ Vgl. OLÁH, 1977. Siehe auch: ECKHARDT, 1940/1986; FODOR, 1990, 25–27, 47.

wahrt sind. Es ist die *Magyar mythologia* (auf Deutsch: *Ungarische Mythologie*) von Arnold Ipolyi (1854). In diesem Buch erkannte Arany mit Freude, dass auch Ipolyi viele Textstellen bei Olahus bemerkt hatte, die für solche Zwecke verwendet werden können, wie zum Beispiel die Tradition von Gottes Schwert (diese Gottheit kann laut Ipolyi und Arany in der ungarischen Glaubenswelt mit dem skythischen Kriegsgott identifiziert werden, der von den Griechen *Ares* benannt wurde). Arany verzeichnete diesmal auf der inneren Seite des Buchdeckels beziehungsweise am Seitenrand bei der Textstelle: „*vorher Traum, dann Schwert*“. Wie wir wissen, wählte er dieselbe Lösung im entsprechenden Teil des *Buda halála* (auf Deutsch: *Budas Tod*).¹²

Wir können also sehen, dass Arany anscheinend Kleinigkeiten bemerkt und sammelt, die von ihm immer vermesst werden, und von denen er nur solche verwendet, die in sein episches Konzept eingesetzt werden können. Dementsprechend müssen wir also die Daten positivistischer Wirkungsforscher ermessen, und Fragen aufstellen, die von ihnen nicht aufgestellt wurden.

Wir können dies glücklicherweise tun, weil uns Emőke Rita Szilágyi in mehreren Studien darauf aufmerksam machte, dass auch die *Hungaria* solche Elemente hat, die das längst für unikal gehaltene Ziel überholen, das übrigens größtenteils richtig ist, dass also Olahus den als Muster gewählten Spuren folgte und somit eine, von der skythischen Urgeschichte bis zur Gegenwart erstreckende ungarische Geschichte plante, deren natürliche Overtüre notwendigerweise eine geographische Einleitung war. Dies berechtigt uns, nicht nur den *Athila*, sondern auch die *Hungaria* weiter zu untersuchen, und die Frage zu stellen, welche Wirkung das letztere Werk auf Aranys Konzeption hatte.

Eine andere, vor kurzem erschienene Studie von Emőke Rita Szilágyi beweist überzeugend, dass Nikolaus Olahus in Brüssel als ein freiwillig Verbannter lebte und schrieb, und sein Werk eigentlich nicht bewertet werden kann, ohne den speziellen Seelenzustand zu berücksichtigen, der in Folge der Verwüstung Ungarns nach der Schlacht bei Mohács entstand und einen nicht vorübergehenden Schmerz verursachte. Wenn in der Erzählung König Ludwig II. oder Königin Maria erwähnt wird, oder die Geschichte sich geographisch zum Schlachtfeld von Mohács nähert, dann verwendet der Autor rhetorisch die am meisten erarbeiteten Formeln des Verschweigens, um die unheilbare Wunde nicht anzutasten.¹³ Der Autorin folgend können wir auch die wichtigste Textpassage zitieren:

¹² SZÖRÉNYI, 2002.

¹³ SZILÁGYI, 2017a.

„Von Fünfkirchen in Richtung Nordosten von vier Meilen entfernt liegt das Marktflücken Mohats, errichtet auf dem Donauufer, die Donau bildet der Stadt gegenüber eine Insel, wo Wildtiere leben, die Stadt hat in Folge der Niederlage meines Königs Ludwig einen traurigen Ruf, von dem ich, weil es hier dazu keine Möglichkeit gibt, dies näher zu erörtern, lieber schweige, als wenig zu sagen.“¹⁴

Ich denke, ich brauche die Leser, die das Lebenswerk von Arany gut kennen, nicht zu überzeugen, wie charakteristisch diese Formel für ihn war. Es genügt an seine Anmerkung zu erinnern, die er anlässlich des Todes seiner Tochter Juliska sagte:

„Es tut mir so weh, ich kann es nicht.“

Eine andere Studie der Autorin, die hier zu erwähnen ist, beschäftigt sich mit einem Rätsel. Es geht darum, warum die *Hungaria* auf diese Weise beendet wurde. Wie kann erklärt werden, dass die Beschreibung eines fast paradiesisch stilisierten, glücklichen Ungarns sich in eine sprachhistorische Bemerkung umwandelt, dass in der Umgebung von Schimand (Şimand, Simánd) im Komitat Arad Menschen mit einem schlechten Ruf leben, die alle blind und verkrüppelt sind, aber nicht deshalb, weil sie so geboren sind, sondern weil ihre guten Eltern ihnen ein Auge austachen und die Beine zerbrechen, um keine Steuern zahlen zu müssen, sondern stattdessen im Lande als singende Bettler herumlaufen und so das Publikum amüsieren. Aus der Studie wird klar, dass es sich bei diesen verkrüppelten Sängern trotz der erfindungsreichen Erklärungen mancher Linguisten nicht um Zigeuner handelt, die deshalb eine eigenartige Sprache sprechen. Szilágyi beweist nämlich überzeugend, dass Olahus hier nicht eine fremdartige, unverständliche Sprache beschreibt, sondern eine für die ganzen Nationalitäten des polyglotten Ungarns unverständliche Sprache, also eine Sprache einer Unterschicht, eine Art Gaunersprache.¹⁵

¹⁴ Die ungarische Übersetzung von Béla Németh siehe: OLÁH, 1982, 1044–1097, 1097. Im Original: „A Quinque-Ecclesiis abest ad quatuor miliaria orientem septentrionalem versus oppidum Mohacz ad ripam Danubii situm ex opposito oppidi insulam ferarum altricem facientis, clade Ludovici regis mei funestum, de qua, ut hic locus scribendi non est, ita silendum potius, quam pauca dicenda arbitror.“ – OLAHUS, 1938, 30.

¹⁵ SZILÁGYI, 2017b. – Den lateinischen Text über die Vaganten in Schimand siehe OLAHUS, 1938, 34. (cap. XIX). – Vgl. die Fussnote der Kollár'sche Edition: „Crederes, imitatione Hunnorum, id factitasse Simandienses; de quibus AMMIANUS. MARCELLINUS Lib. XXXI. Cap. II. p. 473. edit. Iac. Gronouii, *Lugduni Batav. A. 1693. fol. sic scribit*: Quoniam, ab ipsis nascendi primitiis, infantum altius sulcantur genæ, ut pilorum vigor tempestivus emergens, corrugatis cicatricibus hebetetur, &c. Sed contra se res habet. Nam, Hunni quidem, lacerabant infantum genas, ut truci essent adpectu: Simandienses, corrumpebant suos, deturpabantque, ut mendicabula facerent.“ – OLAHI, 1763, 93–94 (Fussnote 's').

Nachdem die bisherigen Lösungsversuche qualifiziert und von den verwendbaren und phantasievollen Elementen eine Unterscheidung vorgenommen wurde, bleibt aus der bisherigen Fachliteratur eigentlich ein einziger Lösungsversuch übrig, die Studie von Hiador Sztripszky aus dem Jahr 1908, erschienen in der Zeitschrift *Ethnographia* mit dem Titel *Igriczek – énekes koldusok* (auf Deutsch: *Singende Bettler*).¹⁶ Es handelt sich hier nicht um herumlaufende Gauner, wie die Linguisten und Kriminalhistoriker glaubten, sondern um ein Dorf mit Barden, also singenden Dichter mit einem oralen Repertoire, die untereinander wohl nicht ohne Grund eine Gaunersprache entwickelten. In diesem Sinn können vielleicht auch die Ergebnisse solcher Forscher in Betracht genommen werden, die hier eine Nachahmung von Soldaten vermuten, die nach der Schlacht von Augsburg verkrüppelt wurden und später im Heimatland als Bettler lebten, und dass die Bezeichnung *Simándi ének* (auf Deutsch: *Gesang von Shimand*), die letzten Mal im Wörterbuch von Gergely Czuczor und János Fogarasi (1862) auftauchte, eigentlich als das Fachwort für den Bettlergesang stand.

So können wir von Arany mit Recht voraussetzen, dass er auf dieses sonderbare Bettlerdorf aufmerksam wurde. Er brauchte nämlich während des Reifeprozesses der Hunnensage solche Dichter, die er in angemessenen Kostümen auf die Bühne stellen konnte. In erster Linie Lautenspieler, also solche Sänger die heroischen Sagen gesungen hatten, und er konnte natürlich auch Priskos von Panion zu Hilfe rufen, da wir wissen, dass am Hof Attilas solche Lautenspieler gesungen hatten. Er musste aber auch solche Hofnarren auftreten lassen, die als notwendige Teilnehmer von langwierigen Festmahlen und Empfängen über ein lustiges Repertoire verfügten, und die Gäste mit solchen Liedern amüsierten, die nicht unbedingt ein erhabenes homerisches Register darstellten. Nachdem das Publikum schon genügend Wein und Weizenbier gesoffen hatte, konnten sie ihre Kabarettstücke vortragen. (Natürlich sind solche singenden Bettler auch in der *Odysee* nicht fremd.) Die Lautenspieler oder Sänger aus der Schlussepisode über die singenden Bettler können von Priskos und die Clowns aus Olahus' *Hungaria* kommen.

Jetzt müssen wir ein wenig stehen bleiben, da eine solche Erscheinung im Lebenswerk von Arany gar nicht eigenartig ist. Wir können auch an die Begegnung des Helden und des Königs am Ende des *Toldi estéje* denken, als die wartenden Diener zuerst heroische Lieder sangen, welche über die Legende des Ritterkönigs Sankt Ladislaus handelten, die vom Publikum, also von den übermütigen Jugendlichen als langweilig, altmodisch und leer empfunden wurde, und sie stattdessen etwas lustiges und pikantes hören wollten, deshalb

¹⁶ SZTRIPSKY, 1908.

folgte dem ritterlichen Register ein Stück aus dem Repertoire der Bettlersänger, nämlich über einen beschämten Liebhaber, der von einer schlaunen Witwe bestraft wurde, eigentlich eine Geschichte über einen Ritter, der bei Tageslicht in der Mitte der Stadt Ofen (Buda) nackt herumlief.

In der *Hungaria* konnte aber Arany auch für die Heldengesänge Beispiele finden. Eine der am meisten bewegenden Momente des Werks ist nämlich, als Olahus aus persönlicher Erfahrung über die Schlacht bei Brodfeld (Câmpul Pâinii, Kenyérmező) schreibt. Hier erzählt er, dass die Nachbarstadt Mühlbach (Sebeș, Szászsebes) von seinem Bruder verwaltet wird, und in seiner Kindheit habe er noch mit alten Soldaten gesprochen, die in der Schlacht teilgenommen und sich an die auch bei Bonfini erwähnten Geschehnisse erinnern hatten, als das Bach „Kenyér (ungarisch: Brot)“, das später auch Kudzsir (auf Deutsch: Kudschir, auf Rumänisch: Cugir) genannt wurde, sich in einen Blutstrom verwandelte, oder sie erinnerten sich an das Massaker, das die christlichen Soldaten, Ungarn, Sachsen und Rumänen zum Sieg führte. Diese sind solche Topoi, die dem homerischen Kanon entsprechen, und auch bei der Beschreibung der Schlacht auf den Katalaunischen Feldern verwendet werden konnten, aber Arany benutzte sie erst im Werk *Keveháza*. (Im Vergleich zum Text des Dichters „Anonymus von Nikolsburg“ können wir feststellen, dass die Schlacht in der Dichtung des 16. Jahrhundert genau auf diese Weise aufgearbeitet und erzählt wurde).¹⁷

Die neueren Ergebnisse von Pál Ács¹⁸ und Sándor Bene¹⁹ zeigen, dass die Urzeit, in diesem Fall der Glanz und Untergang des Hunnenreichs, als eine allegorische Interpretation des unter Matthias Corvinus erstrahlenden und bei Mohács untergegangenen alten Ungarns aufgefasst werden kann. Und für Arany eröffneten die Hunnen einen neueren allegorischen Deutungshorizont: Seine kurze, zusammen mit Petőfi ernährte goldene Zeit, das Reformzeitalter Ungarns, endete nach der Kapitulation bei Wilagosch (Világos, Şiria, oder manchmal: Hellburg) am Ende des Freiheitskampfes und in der darauffolgenden fremden Tyrannei. Wir können aber daran denken, dass auch die Kehrseite der Parabel aufgefasst und als Hoffnung der Zukunft verstanden werden kann: Wie in den Nachkommen von Csaba das Blut Attilas erhalten blieb, und diese Nachkommen später imstande waren das Land zurückzuerobern, besteht die Hoffnung, dass auch dem Zeitalter der Unterdrückung ein Ende gesetzt wird, und somit Ungarn wieder einmal auferstehen kann.

¹⁷ Vgl. *XVI. századbeli magyar költők*, 1930, 36–50, 453–455.

¹⁸ ÁCS, 2014.

¹⁹ BENE, 2006.

Ich möchte noch mit einem weiteren Beispiel ersichtlich machen, wie Arany die heroisch-possierlichen Gegenseitigkeit verwenden und mit deren Hilfe eine starke dramatisierte, verhängnisvolle Szene formen kann: Nachdem Buda, der sein Ende fühlt und auf Ermunterung seiner Frau an Etele einen Botschafter geschickt hatte, kam dieser Botschafter *Szömöre* im 11. Gesang des *Buda halála* anlässlich eines Festmahls bei Etele an. Genau zu dem Zeitpunkt, als die allzu heiteren Gäste den Lautenspieler verjagen, und ein verkrüppelter Zwerg das Publikum mit unverständlichen, absurden Gedichten zu amüsieren beginnt.

Und das letzte Beispiel ist meines Erachtens nicht nur in der Dichtung von Arany, sondern auch in der ganzen Weltliteratur einzigartig. Ich kenne keinen anderen nennenswerten Dichter, der sich am Ende seines Lebenswerks darüber beschwert, dass er Dichter wurde, anstatt einen Bauer zu werden, er war jedoch zu krüppelig, dünn und machtlos gewesen.²⁰ Glücklicherweise verfügt dieses Gedicht, das ein Teil des Zyklus *Őszikék* (auf Deutsch: *Herbst-Zeitlosen*) bildet, über eine deutschsprachige Übersetzung. Arany war imstande dieselben Quelle für ganz unterschiedliche Zwecke zu benutzen, und Nikolaus Olahus lieferte ihm anscheinend nicht nur Daten zur Absurdität der Geschichte, sondern auch raffinierte Formen sich selbst zu schimpfen, mit deren Hilfe er sich einen Verkrüppelten nannte, was wenigstens den kunst-sinnigen Lesern verständlich war. Er wusste sehr wohl, dass dieser Zustand auch als heilige Wahnsinn bezeichnet werden könnte. Somit gelang es ihm statt Ossian einen „Kóbor Bandi“ (auf Deutsch etwa einen bummelnden Andreas) zu schaffen, statt einen Hellseher, der sein Volk beweint, einen abtrünnigen Narren. Er strebte also nach einem möglichst präzisen Selbstbildnis.

LÁSZLÓ SZÖRÉNYI

²⁰ Über die Übersetzerkunst von Géza Engl vgl. KOCSÁNY, 2017.

ANHANG

Auf dem Jahrmarkt

Ländliches Fuhrwerk, mit Schilf überdacht,
drei kleine Klepper was habt ihr gebracht?
Habt ihr vom rötlichen Weizen geladen?
Bringt ihr vom Heu, von der Wiese den Atem?

Sagt mir, daheim ist gereift schon die Saat?
Kahl sind die Wiesen, vorbei ist die Mahd
Putzige Reiher vom Schober hochoben
sehen des Schnittervolks fröhliches Toben.

Lange schon sahn sie so froh nicht die Schar,
da jeder Sommer nur Kummer gebar.
Kündet nun endlich dies reiche Gelände
unserem Ungarland glückliche Wende?

Daß es gesegnet sei, froh immerdar,
Gottes erwählte Flur, die es einst war,
als ich noch Garben beim Schnitt binden sollte,
und es nicht schaffte, so sehr ich auch wollte.

Weil zu der Arbeit ein Schwächling, ein Tropf,
lud ich mit Wissenschaft voll mir den Kopf,
zieh mit der Feder nun Furchen aus Worten –
stolz macht's mich nicht grad, was daraus geworden.

Aber seitdem ich vom Dorf weggemußt,
blieb mir für ewig ein Dorn in der Brust.
Heftiger fängt an das Herz mir zu schlagen,
seh ich dich, weizenbeladener Wagen.

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KORRESPONDENZ UND ALCHEMIE

NICOLAUS OLAHUS AND HIS HUMANIST NETWORK IN THE LOW COUNTRIES

First, I want to thank the organizers of this International Conference for their kind invitation, which gives me the opportunity to return to Budapest and to some earlier research projects. More than ten years ago, during the 2006 conference of the International Association of Neo-Latin Studies here in Budapest, I discussed the relationship between Nicolaus Olahus and Petrus Nannius, a professor at the Louvain Collegium Trilingue, suggesting that one of the priorities of Hungarian Neo-Latin scholarship should be a new and annotated edition of Olahus's correspondence.¹ A year before that, I was invited to this very institute to present a paper on the first Latin account of Magellan's projected voyage around the world.² This account was written by Maximilianus Transsylvanus, whose name suggests that he was a native of Transylvania and hence a compatriot of Nicolaus Olahus born in Sibiu (formerly Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt). At least he pretended to be from there, and Olahus was inclined to believe him, if we can trust what he states in his letter of 8 February, 1534 to Johannes von Weeze, imperial diplomat and archbishop elect of Lund. "Our Maximilianus Transsylvanus", so he wrote, "was chosen to be one of the three secretaries to discuss in Hamburg the situation of the exiled archbishop; he left already the other day, and I have insisted, on account of our special acquaintance based on our common native country, that he would do his very best to look after Weeze's case".³ Adding, however, the restriction "ut ipse dicit" after the reference to "pa-

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¹ For a slightly revised version of this paper see TOURNOY, 2006.

² See TOURNOY, 2005. On the sumptuous palace Transsylvanus built in Brussels, see ROLET – ROLET, 2011.

³ OLÁH, 1875, 452–453: "Postremo delectus est dominus Brixiensis, Maximilianus noster Transsylvanus et Erhardus Mueler...; a Maximiliano pro ea, quae inter nos ob patriam communem intercedit familiaritas, ut ipse dicit, et ego quoque ita credo non vulgaris, contendi, ut et ipse omnem suam operam possibilem in rebus tuis polliceretur."

tria communis”, Olahus made it clear that he himself still had some doubt. And he was right. An examination of the records indeed proves that Maximilianus Transylvanus was beyond doubt born in the Low Countries, in Brussels. It is not known exactly when, but it must have been around 1485. His parents were Jeanne Meerte or Meerts, born in 1456, daughter of goldsmith William, and Lucas van Zevenbergen (d. 1505), goldsmith and chamberlain to Emperor Maximilian. His proper name is thus Maximiliaan van Zevenbergen, but he quite soon adopted a Latin name, calling himself “Maximilianus Transylvanus Bruxellensis.” This is the case in the title of the first attempted poetic pieces from his hand to have survived, viz. (1) a warning to the young ladies of Constance not to fall in love with or get deceived by the highly placed persons present at the Diet of Constance in 1507⁴; (2) a laudatory decastich accompanying the editio princeps of the *Facetiae* of Heinrich Bebel (1473–1518), printed in Strasbourg in 1508⁵. In the international entourage of the Emperor’s Court in which Transylvanus was active it might have been a normal reaction to consider him as originating from Transylvania, especially if he himself did nothing to deny it, or perhaps even tried to turn it to his advantage, for instance by presenting himself to Nicolaus Olahus as a fellow countryman. In any case, neither in Olahus’ correspondence nor in his collection of poems is there much evidence of a closer relationship between Olahus and Transylvanus.

On the other hand, there is plenty of material documenting Olahus’ connections with more than twenty other humanists originating from the Low Countries.⁶ Let me mention here only the professors of Greek Adrian Amerot and Rutger Rescius, the professor of Hebrew John van Kampen (Campensis), the professors of Latin Conrad Goclenius and Petrus Nannius, the diplomat Cornelius de Schepper (Scepperus/Duplicius), Francis Cranevelt, member of the Mechlin Great Council, the Carthusian Livinus Ammonius, and the Benedictine monk William Lapidanus. Of course, it cannot be our aim here to examine all these connections in detail. For some of them the material is too scanty, as in the case for the Liège historiographer and counsellor to count Palatine Frederick II, Hubertus Thomas Leodius (1495–29 May 1556), or the theologian Andreas Hyperius or Gheeraerds from Ieper / Ypres (1511–1564). Some others have already received closer attention, e.g. the relationship between Olahus and Erasmus, or Olahus and Nannius.⁷

⁴ TRANSILVANUS, 1518, fols. G. i^v-G. iv^v.

⁵ TRANSILVANUS, 1508, fol. A. iv^r. The same decastich also appears in later editions (Strasbourg, 1509, 1512, 1514 etc.), several of which are available online at the Munich Digitization Center.

⁶ See a first outline in ROERSCH, 1904; see further NEAGU, 2003, *passim* (especially pp. 35–52); BIRNBAUM, 1986, 125–167, and 351–358.

⁷ See n. 1 and in general the edition by Corneliu Albu with Romanian translation and minimal commentary: ALBU, 1974.

In fact, the very first contact established with a humanist from the Low Countries dates from the period in which Olahus, in the train of Queen Mary of Hungary, was moving from one town to another in Europe. In 1530 he was at Augsburg, where the Imperial Diet was inaugurated by the Emperor on 20 June. From there he wrote to Erasmus on 1 July, thus starting a lively correspondence, of which thirty-seven letters are to be found in the so-called Esterházy MS (Budapest, National Archives of Hungary, P 108 Rep. 71).⁸

The death of archduchess Margaret of Austria, in the night of 30 November to 1 December 1530, was a major event, which eventually led to Olahus' prolonged stay in the Netherlands. King Ferdinand informed his sister Mary of the death of their aunt in a letter dated 13 December, already implying a possible drastic change in her existence. It indeed induced Charles V to ask his sister, Queen Mary of Hungary, to take over the regency of the Netherlands, sending her a letter of appointment on 3 January, 1531 from Cologne. At that time she was staying at Krems, indulging in hunting in the woods of Chyrendorff, which can be identified as Ziersdorf, a small village north of Krems in Lower Austria.⁹ The news of her aunt's death and the arrangements made by her brother the Emperor soon reached Queen Mary and her Court. At first Nicolaus Olahus did not know what to do: in a letter of 2 February, 1531, which he sent from Krems to his friend, archdeacon Imre Kalnay, he explained his difficult situation. The decision that the Queen was going to the Low Countries had already been taken, and Olahus was hesitating if he should follow her, fearing to go to a region and people he did not know. On the other hand, his prospects in Hungary were even more grim: all his possessions had either been taken over or plundered by the Turks, and everything threatened danger. So he asked his friend for some good advice.¹⁰ He had already received good advice a few days earlier from Thomas Szalaházy, bishop of Eger (d. 1537), who in his letter of 23 January had strongly advised him

⁸ ALLEN, 1929–1930, 500: Appendix XXI; NEAGU, 2003, 285–289 and 404.

⁹ OLÁH, 1875, 119–120 (Letter by Olahus of 13 December, 1530): “Regina mea in Chyrendorff dat operam venationi sibi naturaeque suae iucundissimae.” But see now the new critical edition of the correspondence (OLAHUS, 2018, 197), where “Chyrendorff” is identified with Kirchdorf an der Krems.

¹⁰ OLÁH, 1875, 123–24, and OLAHUS, 2018, 202: “Omnia mea negotia, quocumque me vertam, video in praecipitio esse. Regina itura est ad Belgas, vocatione Caroli caesaris, cum qua iturusne sim, an mansurus, nihil est quod magis dubitem. Si proficiscor, timeo nationes non mihi bene notas, regionem nescio quam mihi incognitam. Si manebo, quo me divertam, nescio. Bona mea omnia direpta sunt et occupata in Hungaria, res in praedam versae. Omnia, ut tu melius scis, qui propinquior es hostibus quam ego, sunt periculis plena. Nec video tutum esse aliquem locum in patria commorandi. Quid igitur melius sit facto, ignoro. Inter duo mala minus est eligendum. Inops nunc sum consilii, quid statuendum sit aut quid fugiendum. Quare si quid mihi dare consilii poteris, rogo subvenias amico.”

not to abandon the Queen but to accompany her to the Low Countries.¹¹ Rather reluctantly Olahus decided to take that advice, so he wrote to Kalnay on 5 February, and five days later the Queen and her Court started their journey. First a three-days journey to Linz, where her brother King Ferdinand I (1503–1564) was staying, and from there onwards the Queen directed herself to the Low Countries.¹² On 14 March, 1531 she was welcomed in Louvain by her brother the Emperor. Was her secretary and counsellor Nicolaus Olahus, who had for quite some time been reluctant to follow her, already at her side? Probably not: on 25 March he was still at Regensburg, from where he sent a letter to Erasmus.¹³ But then the Imperial Court moved to Ghent, where they stayed until mid-June; the rest of the year was spent almost exclusively in Brussels.¹⁴ The first letter Olahus dispatched from the Netherlands is dated Ghent, 21 May, 1531. In it he thoroughly regretted his decision to follow his friend's advice and undertake this journey; if it had been possible, he certainly would immediately have reversed that decision. But now he had to live through these miserable days.

After mid-June, Olahus went with the Court to Brussels. On 5 July he was present at the solemn installation of Queen Mary as Regent of the Netherlands. After the ceremony Olahus accompanied her to her chambers, offering her his best wishes for her new assignment and imploring her to return to Hungary as soon as the situation there was safe and stable – something she wholeheartedly endorsed.¹⁵ He indeed did not feel very comfortable in this strange country, where he found it difficult to establish relations with people knowing nothing of his situation and habits; life at Court was unsure, the princes were ungrateful, the favour of the rulers was capricious, the women especially were “*varium et mutabile*” – all the more so when they were powerful, and, moreover, the precarious situation as regards his possessions in Hungary was a constant cause for concern. He nevertheless reconciled himself to his fate – after all he had opted for it – and adapted himself to the circumstances.¹⁶ Still, he hated living at Court, being on horseback all the time, having to accompany the Queen when she went hunting (which was her

¹¹ OLÁH, 1875, 123; OLAHUS, 2018, 202.

¹² OLÁH, 1875, 124–25; OLAHUS, 2018, 204.

¹³ OLÁH, 1875, 127–28; OLAHUS, 2018, 207–208. ALLEN, 1938, 202–203. (Ep. 2463.)

¹⁴ GACHARD, 1874, 49–50.

¹⁵ See his letter of 6 July to Thomas Szalaházy: OLÁH, 1875, 139–140; OLAHUS, 2018, 222–223.

¹⁶ OLÁH, 1875, 131–132 and 140–150; OLAHUS, 2018, 214–215 and 223–232. In 1532 Olahus still voiced his displeasure about the rude and discourteous way he was being treated in Brabant and Flanders; see OLÁH, 1875, 216; OLAHUS, 2018, 312–313.

favourite pastime¹⁷) or attending the twentieth Chapter of the Golden Fleece in Tournai during the first days of December 1531. He would have preferred to have stayed behind quietly in Brussels, occupying himself with his studies and literature.¹⁸ Until then, he mainly had been in epistolary contact with his Hungarian friends, and from 1 July, 1530 also with Erasmus, as I mentioned previously. In his first letter to the Dutch humanist he introduced himself as the other's ardent admirer; he congratulated him on the publication of his *De Vidua Christiana*, which he had offered to Queen Mary, and expressed his high regard for his earlier works, which he together with his friends had avidly read and studied; he also hoped that Erasmus would be able to come to the Diet of Augsburg and give his judgment regarding the delicate matters of religion that were being discussed. He himself would be very happy if they could then meet face to face.¹⁹ This was never to happen, but Olahus kept Erasmus informed about all that was going on at the Court, continued to protect Erasmus' interests there, and prepared his return to the Low Countries.

When Erasmus informed Olahus on 11 December, 1531 that he had recommended his old secretary Livinus Panagathus (Lieven Algoet, c. 1500-1547) to Queen Mary and asked for his support, Olahus complied with this request. Thanks to his intervention, Panagathus received a small daily income of eight Flemish gros ('groot') from the Queen and was for the time being left in the service of Olahus, who was happy to do Erasmus a good turn and may also have welcomed Panagathus so he could assist him in mastering Greek. But the young man returned the favour in a most peculiar way.²⁰ When the Court was at Ghent, Olahus could reside for about three weeks in the house of the widow of Antony Clava (d. 1529), who was an old friend of Erasmus.²¹ Panagathus immediately fell passionately in love with Catherina, Clava's beautiful eighteen-year-old granddaughter, who reciprocated his fervent feelings. Three days before the Court left Ghent, Panagathus even asked Olahus through his colleague James Jespersen²² if he could advance the cause of their marriage by persuading Catherina's stepfather, the physician Damianus Vissenaken, to

¹⁷ See the CATALOGUE, 1993, 173–174.

¹⁸ OLÁH, 1875, 172–174; OLAHUS, 2018, 259–261.

¹⁹ OLÁH, 1875, 69–70; OLAHUS, 2018, 140–142; ALLEN, 1929–1930, 55–56 and 468–469 (epp. 2100 and 2339).

²⁰ OLÁH, 1875, 174–176, 196–97, 200–202, 224–229, 477 and passim; OLAHUS, 2018, 261–262, 285–287, 293–295, 322–326; ALLEN, 1938, 399–401, 431–432, 441–442 (epp. 2582, 2583, 2607 and 2613); ALLEN, 1941, 69–72 (ep. 2693); DE VOCHT, 1951–1955, II, 136–139.

²¹ On Clava, see the entry by NAUWELAERTS, 1985.

²² On the Dane James Jespersen, in Latin Jacobus Jasparus Danus, see the entry by Martin SCHWARZ LAUSTEN – BIETENHOLZ, 1986; HARSTING, 1994; HARSTING, 2001, 151–160; DE SCHEPPER, 2001, 99–122.

allow this union. Vissenaken of course was not very happy: Catherina was not rich, and Panagathus' position was most insecure. Still, he obviously did not want to cut across the Queen's secretary and was eventually persuaded to agree to the marriage. Olahus himself was not very enthusiastic either, and he tried to delay things by insisting on the need to be guided by reason and not act rashly. The only result, however, was the announcement that Marcus Laurinus, the dean of the Bruges St. Donatian's, would celebrate the marriage on 6 August. Olahus was even invited to the ceremony, but he declined the invitation and sent Jespersen to represent him and to deliver his good wishes to the couple.²³ A few days earlier he had related the whole episode to Erasmus, who drily commented on 31 October, 1532: "Res calide peracta est magis quam callide" ("The whole thing was carried through more passionately than wisely."²⁴ Olahus nevertheless continued to advance Panagathus' career at the Court, where he was appointed as a teacher to some noble pages of the Queen in 1534, and later on as a clerk in the Emperor's Chancery.²⁵

No doubt one of the reasons for this preferment was the forceful urging of Erasmus, who once declared that Panagathus was like a son to him.²⁶ Another may have been that Olahus was developing a strong desire to master Greek, perhaps inspired by the example of Erasmus and Thomas More at the beginning of the century, and by that of Francis Cranevelt and Juan Luis Vives some twenty years later. In his letter of recommendation of 3 May, 1532 Erasmus had indeed suggested that Panagathus could help him in his Greek studies. However, almost a year earlier Olahus had already taken steps in that direction. At the end of June 1531, the Emperor's Court moved to Brussels. There Olahus could avail himself of the services of Jacobus Jaspardus or James Jespersen, who had had to seek new employment after the return of the papal legate Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio and his chamberlain Jacopo Canta to their homeland. Jaspardus matriculated at the University of Louvain on 18 May, 1529 and studied Greek at the Collegium Trilingue under Rutger Rescius (c. 1497–1545), who was the first professor of Greek appointed at the Collegium Trilingue. Olahus used Jespersen as a secretary and as a teacher of Greek.²⁷ He also proved to be pivotal in establishing relations with local humanists. For instance when, at the end of November 1531, the Emperor himself, Queen Mary, and their entire retinue traveled to Tournai to attend the Chapter of the Golden

²³ OLÁH, 1875, 219, 221–222, 223–229 and 231; OLAHUS, 2018, 316, 318–319, 319–326, 329–330; ALLEN, 1941, 69–72 (ep. 2693).

²⁴ ALLEN, 1941, 123 (ep. 2735).

²⁵ OLÁH, 1875, 477; see also: DE VOCHT, 1951–1955, II, 136–139.

²⁶ ALLEN, 1926, 348 (ep. 1716) and ALLEN, 1941, 19–20 (ep. 2646).

²⁷ See his letter to Erasmus: OLÁH, 1875, 224–229, especially: 228; OLAHUS, 2018, 322–326, especially: 326; ALLEN, 1941, 69–72, especially: 72 (ep. 2639).

Fleece, they stayed in Enghien for the night on 26 November, and again on their return to Brussels, on 13 December. On their way back, Olahus left the Queen after a couple of miles and hurried back to Brussels, unlike the Queen, who indulged herself in her favourite pastime and went hunting and hawking.²⁸ Hence it was most probably on their way to Tournai that James Jespersen had some most amicable conversations with Arnoldus Oridryus (d. 1533), a humanist who came from Bergeijk near Eindhoven (as his hellenized name reveals: berg = mountain = ὄρος; eik = oak = δρῦς, δρυός), and who had registered at Louvain on 13 May, 1517; he had studied Greek with Rutger Rescius and was at that time schoolmaster at Enghien. Stimulated by Jespersen, Oridryus wrote to Olahus on 25 December, 1531, offering him his ‘Rudimenta graecanica’, an elementary Greek grammar that a few months earlier had been printed by Chrestien Wechel in Paris.²⁹ If needed, as he wrote, Jespersen (whom Olahus had with him) could easily explain everything to him, and if he himself could find the time to come to Brussels, he could make everything clear to him in a mere three hours. He promised him to remain in frequent epistolary contact and to send a literary translation “de verbo ad verbum” of Hesiod’s work ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι (“Works and Days”), if that were Olahus’ wish.³⁰ Olahus replied on 2 March, 1532 in a most courteous way, excusing himself for the delay due to his many occupations and the difficulty of finding a messenger, and promising a more intensive correspondence in the future. Oridryus almost immediately thanked him for his courtesy with a letter of 11 March, 1532.³¹ Unfortunately, their relationship did not last very long: Oridryus died unexpectedly around 1533. In the last surviving letter of their correspondence, an undated one, Oridryus conveyed greetings from his brother-in-law, the parish priest of Enghien, and mentioned that he, Oridryus, had a book in hand dealing with the problem of poverty, which was in line with the decree issued by Charles V on 7 October, 1531 and who undoubtedly

²⁸ OLÁH, 1875, 176–177; OLAHUS, 2018, 262–263.

²⁹ Oridryus had his *Summa linguae Graecae* published in Paris in May/June 1531, thanks to the good services of his friend Dominicus Sylvius or Schenckels. The printer was Chrestien Wechel (1495–1554), who was born in Herentals: see RENOARD, 1965, 434–443 and ARMSTRONG, 1961. On Oridryus, see DE VOCHT, 1951–1955, II, 189–192; HOVEN, 1985, 29–38; PAPY, 2017, 264–265.

³⁰ OLÁH, 1875, 177–178; OLAHUS, 2018, 264–265. This translation seems to have been lost, but another one is still in the Brussels Royal Library, MS 4925–27, fols. 72–76: a sermon by John Chrysostom comparing a king to a monk (*Comparatio Regis et Monachi*); see VAN DEN GHEYN, 1902, II, 175 (no. 1143).

³¹ OLÁH, 1875, 202–204 and 126–127; OLAHUS, 2018, 295–296 and 206–207. The chronological order of the letters has obviously not been respected here (as in other cases) by the editors.

had been influenced by Juan Luis Vives' most innovating treatise *De subventionem pauperum*.³²

Oridryus was of course not the only humanist eager to establish contact with Queen Mary's secretary. James Jespersen also could not wait to report Olahus' interest in Greek literature to his former professor Rutger Rescius, who seized the opportunity to present himself and to ask for Olahus' support by sending him one of his latest publications. After the retirement of the famous printer Dirk Martens in 1529, Rescius had in fact not hesitated to fill the gap and started, together with his young student Johann Sturm, a printing office of his own. However, his financial situation was far from buoyant. Against the regulations of the Collegium Trilingue, in 1525 Rescius had married a young lady, Anna Moons (d. 1585) and went to live in her house, thus losing his effective income, i.e. his room and board at the College. He thus soon had to look for other resources, especially now that his family had grown by the arrival of three children. No wonder then that he was delighted with Olahus' answer promising him his friendship and support. In his reply, dated 20 November, 1531, Rescius said he would always be at his disposal and undertook to send him all the books his printing office would produce; Jespersen knew what was being published, and Olahus only had to let him know what interested him.³³ In the course of the following years, Rescius did indeed dispatch to Olahus several books printed by himself. These included, on 26 February, 1532 a sermon by St. Basil the Great, on which Erasmus has asked him to deliver a lecture;³⁴ on 9 July, 1533 a work by the Louvain theologian John Driedo – evidently the *De ecclesiasticis scripturis et dogmatibus libri 4* (Louvain, 10 June 1533: NK I, 744) –, the Aphorisms of Hippocrates (*Hippocratis Aphorismi ...*, Louvain, 10 June 1533: NK II, 3154), and three books of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. He explained that he had divided Homer's works into several parts, to reduce the cost for impoverished students. He wanted to publish Homer's entire oeuvre in the same form, but a temporary shortage of paper, as he wrote to Olahus on 6 November, 1534, delayed the project, so that it was only finished in August to October 1535, after which Rescius was

³² OLÁH, 1875, 187–188; OLAHUS, 2018, 275–276. This book may very well be the *Oratio contra mendicitatem pro nova pauperum subventionem*, composed by Christianus Cellarius (Kellenaer) of Izenberge near Veurne and published in Antwerp in 1531 (NIJHOFF – KRONENBERG, 1923–1971, I, 548). It was Cellarius who inserted an epitaph for Oridryus in his poem *De incendio excitato in civitate Delpht ... carmen* (Antwerp, 1536; NK I, 547). On Cellarius, see further DE VOCHT, 1951–1955, III, 291–294.

³³ OLÁH, 1875, 167–168; OLAHUS, 2018, 253–254.

³⁴ OLÁH, 1875, 199–200; OLAHUS, 2018, 291–292: “Mitto tibi Basilii ὁμιλίαν non illepidam, quam rogatu D. Erasmi brevi sum hic publice praelecturus”; the sermon was most probably the *Homilia ad iuvenes de utilitate capienda ex gentiliū autorum libris* (NK I, 251); see: DE VOCHT, 1951–1955, III, 107–108.

able to dispatch a copy to him at once, as promised.³⁵ Still in 1533, Rescius sent Olahus on 13 October the *De ratione dicendi* by Juan Luis Vives (NK I, 2173), two sermons by St. Basil (NK I, 248), and the treatise *De non timenda morte* (NK I, 1320) by Benedictine monk William Lapidanus, a native of Wervik in Southwest Flanders.³⁶

On 6 November, 1534 Rescius dispatched to Olahus John Warsenius' *Epitome sive compendiarie descriptio temporum et rerum a populo romano domi forisque gestarum ...* (NK II, 4178), which he had printed in September 1534; and on 1 August, 1535 Olahus informed Francis Cranevelt that Rescius had sent him a copy of a Latin translation of a homily by Basil the Great, which Cranevelt had dedicated to him.³⁷

By contrast, Rescius did not hesitate to seek favours from Olahus, either for himself or for others. Thus, in order to obtain the privileges he needed to publish some books, in particular the *De rebus gestis ducum Brabantiae* and the *Liber de ducibus Venetorum* by Hadrianus Barlandus, the first professor of Latin at the Collegium Trilingue (1518–1519), and since 1526 *rhetor publicus* of the University of Louvain. He had already importuned Guy Morillon (d. 1548), one of the Emperor's secretaries, who at that time lived in Louvain, and on 26 February, 1532 he asked Olahus to talk to the 'audientiarius', the responsible civil servant, in order to expedite matters. Hardly a month later Rescius reiterated his request; he even wanted to obtain a general privilege for all the books he would print, except the theological ones. His repeated request proved effective, as attested to by the colophon of Barlandus' historical work, where he mentions that it came out on 1 May, 1532.³⁸ It also happened that

³⁵ OLÁH, 1875, 386; OLAHUS, 2018, 505–506: "Quaerenti mihi baiulum, per quem mitterem tibi opus D. Ioannis Druonis (*sic pro* Driedonis), commode heri occurrit tuus Ioannes, cui commisi hoc ipsum dominationi tuae offerendum; adiecimus Hippocratis Aphorismos ac utriusque operis Homerici libros tres; ea forma Deo volente absolvemus utrumque opus. In gratiam scholasticorum tenuium distinguimus id in aliquot partes, ut commodius sumptum in recuperando ferre queant." OLÁH, 1875, 538: "Homerum nondum absolvimus propter papyri inopiam, quia eius formae, qua incoepimus illum excudere, Antverpiae venalem invenire non possumus; speramus tamen brevi illic allatum iri. Quamprimum absolutus fuerit, illico ad te transvolabit."

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 418; OLAHUS, 2018, 542. On Lapidanus, see VERBEKE, 2007.

³⁷ OLÁH, 1875, 538 and 560–561. The homily was *D. Basilii Magni archiepiscopi Caesarensis contra ebriosos homilia, conversa in latinum sermonem a Francisco Craneveldio utriusque iuris doctore ac consiliario Caesaris*; according to the colophon, Rescius finished its printing on 28 July, 1535 (NK I, 254). It may be worthwhile to compare Cranevelt's translation with the one by Jacobus Faber, printed by Theodericus de Borne in 1510 in Deventer (NK I, 253); on Jacobus Faber (1473–after 1517), a Deventer humanist and a correspondent of Erasmus, see LEIJENHORST, 1986, 3.

³⁸ OLÁH, 1875, 199–200 and 210; OLAHUS, 2018, 291–292 and 303–304. NK I, 237.

Rescius stepped into the breach for someone.³⁹ The most conspicuous event in this respect was no doubt when a student of the University, who was living in his house was arrested on 12 August, 1534 on a charge of heresy and taken to the prison of Vilvoorde. On 19 August Rescius begged Olahus to intervene and assist the delegates of the University in their request to the Queen that the student should be treated in accordance with the privileges of the University, which stipulated juridical immunity for its members.⁴⁰

In view of these frequent contacts, it is quite remarkable that Olahus, when he had a problem with a passage in the Greek text of Lucian's *De Parasito*, commissioned his secretary Livinus Panagathus to write not to Rutger Rescius, who had printed it on 22 April, 1530 (NK I, 1389), but to another Hellenist, Adrian Amerot (c. 1495–1538), who had published the first Greek grammar in the Netherlands (*Compendium Graecae Grammaticae...*, printed by Dirk Martens in Louvain: NK I, 115) already in 1520. Amerot took his time to reply. In his defence he claims that he had had to look first for the Florentine incunable edition of Lucian, which he did not have at his disposal. However, his explanation, now that it had arrived, was very thorough and revealed the method he followed in his teaching, starting with a faithful Latin translation, followed by an elaborate paraphrase, etymological information, and references to other Greek authors. Olahus thanked Amerot for his comprehensive answer on 5 March, 1534, regretting that he was not at home when Amerot visited Brussels, and assuring him that he could count on his assistance whenever he might need it.⁴¹

As regards Rescius, Olahus, for his part, appealed to him only once, not for a literary or philological problem, but to secure a position for a young and rather rash scholar. Indeed, towards the end of 1532 Olahus received a letter from his sick old friend John Henckel (d. 1539), former confessor to Queen Mary, at that time parish priest at Schweidnitz. Henckel was asking him to look after his young homonymous nephew and to see to it that he could complete his intellectual training at Louvain or at Cologne, so that he afterwards could enter the service of Queen Mary. Olahus immediately turned to Rescius. Unfortunately, the professor had already taken in more boarders than his house could accommodate; hence the young student had to lodge elsewhere, where he was entrusted to the care of Nicolas of Marville, a former inmate of the Collegium Trilingue. Moreover, prices had gone up since the time when Jespersen had studied in Louvain, and instead of thirty-six

³⁹ OLÁH, 1875, 418 and 431; OLAHUS, 2018, 543 and 559.

⁴⁰ OLÁH, 1875, 520–21 (letter of 19 August 1534); see DE VOCHT, 1951–1955, III, 121–122.

⁴¹ OLÁH, 1875, 467–471 (letter by Amerot, dd. Ash Wednesday, i.e. 18 February, 1534) and 471–72 (letter by Olahus, dd. 5 March 1534); see also PAPY, 2017, 320–325, no. 153 and 350–53, no. 161.

Brabant florins, he would now have to pay forty-two, which actually was not too much, since in many other lodgings fifty florins were charged. Olahus thanked him for his intervention, urged him again to look after the young man personally, and promised to visit him, his friends, and the University at the first possible opportunity.⁴²

A few months later, by September, the Benedictine monk William Lapidanus was entrusted with the tutoring of the young student. Not being aware of the fact that Rescius had already sent his treatise *De non timenda morte* to Olahus on 13 October, 1533, Lapidanus presented another copy to the diplomat more than six months later, on 7 June, 1534, pretending that it had come out only a few days earlier: “Edidi pauculis abhinc diebus libellulum”. Moreover, he was preparing some more important work, which he had the intention of dedicating to Olahus.⁴³ But when he was called back to his abbey in Sint-Winoksbergen (Bergues-Saint-Winoc) at the end of the year, young Henckel was led astray, until the professor of Latin at the Trilingue, Petrus Nannius, took him under his wings. He paid off the young man’s debts, at least in part, for which he received from Olahus the impressive sum of thirty gold Carolus guilders. He now kept close watch on him, evaluated his commitment and his progress, and after a couple of weeks was convinced that the young man was on the right track again.⁴⁴

Petrus Nannius, Rutger Rescius, Arnold Oridryus, Livinus Panagathus, or William Lapidanus were not the only humanists from the Low Countries eager to establish contact with Queen Mary’s secretary. In order to paint a more complete picture of the political, social, and intellectual world Olahus was moving in during the thirties of the sixteenth century, it certainly would prove most worthwhile to analyze in more detail Olahus’ relation with figures such as the diplomat Cornelius Scepperus, on the basis of more than fifty letters; with Francis Cranevelt (11 letters) or Cornelius Graphaeus (6 letters), with the Carthusian Levinus Ammonius (15 letters) or Conrad Goclenius, the professor of Latin at the Trilingue (5 letters).

Still, even this more detailed analysis will provide only part of the picture. Why Olahus returned to his homeland remains to a large extent unex-

⁴² OLÁH, 1875, 250–252; OLAHUS, 2018, 354–356: The letter is dated “die Martis post Mauritii 1532”, viz. Tuesday, 24 September. Rescius’ answer is dated “Lovanii. Postridie Regum. Anno MDXXXII” (OLÁH, 1875, 188; OLAHUS, 2018, 385). Obviously Rescius is using the Easter style instead of the New Year style for this letter of 7 January, 1533. OLÁH, 1875, 271; OLAHUS, 2018, 386 (letter of 10 January, 1533) and OLÁH, 1875, 523 (letter by Lapidanus).

⁴³ OLÁH, 1875, 509–511, 522–523, 439–441. The last letter is dated “Ipso Epiphaniae. Anno 1534”, which evidently is also to be interpreted as 6 January, 1535. See TOURNOY, 2006, 130, n. 5., correcting DE VOCHT, 1951–1955, III, 118–19.

⁴⁴ OLÁH, 1875, 608–612.

plained. After having experienced some difficulties with the local people and their coarse manners, he apparently was able to live a very satisfactory life both on a political and on a cultural level. For several years he resisted the call of his native country, his family, and his friends. From Brussels he wrote to Erasmus on 25 June, 1534 that nothing would make him more happy than to return to his homeland; that his native country, his family and friends were encouraging him to do so, but that for the time being he must yield to the circumstances in which he found himself.⁴⁵ And then, all of a sudden, he disappears, presumably back to Eastern Europe, leaving hardly any trace of further connections with this large circle of humanists, admirers and friends he cultivated for so many years. It is hardly credible that all these contacts were completely severed after Olahus' unexpected return to his homeland.⁴⁶ It is to be hoped and expected that further research in Hungarian and Austrian archives and libraries may some day reveal new material about his later relations with the Low Countries.

GILBERT TOURNOY

⁴⁵ See n. 16 and OLÁH, 1875, 509; ALLEN, 1947, 10–11 (ep. 2948): “Reditum meum in Hungariam scribis tibi incommodum futurum, sive hic redeas sive non. Quocunque me fata vocent, tuum, quem nosti, omnibus in locis habebis Olaum. Utinam, mi Erasme, salvis rebus reverti possem: nichil eo esset michi iucundius. Patria, fratres, amici et alii necessitudine intima michi iuncti me hortantur ut redeam. Sed id quam commode nunc facere possim, rebus non modo Hungaricis, et publicis et meis quoque privatis, sed eciam aliis regiis non sine magno malo turbatis, vix statuere satis possum. Huius rei causa tempori serviendum esse arbitror.”

⁴⁶ Petrus Nannius sent him his Latin rendering of Demosthenes, *De Immunitate adversus Leptinem* in 1542; see TOURNOY, 2006, 139.

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FRIENDSHIP AND POLITICS
IN THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN
NICOLAUS OLAHUS AND CAMILLUS GILINUS

At the beginning of 1526, Nicolaus Olahus was appointed by King Louis II (1516–1526) counselor and secretary of Queen Mary. After the defeat of Mohács and the death of the king, Olahus accompanied the queen in her long peregrination through Western cities. Many of his previous friends remained in the former kingdom of Hungary and in Transylvania. However, he also acquired new friends as the queen's counselor and secretary. With some of these friends he corresponded for a long time, while with others only for a shorter period, as the large number of letters exchanged with them suggests. Considering the number of letters that Nicolaus Olahus sent or received from Camillus Gilinus, it can be concluded that they had a rather rich correspondence, even though it is only documented for 1534 and 1535.

Camillus Gilinus Mediolanensis was born in Milan, around 1490. He came from a family from Alessandria, whose roots went back to the thirteenth century. His father, Gian Giacomo, worked as the secretary of Dukes Galeazzo and Francesco II Sforza until his death in 1532.¹ He was the author of a historical narrative of the last days of Ludovico de Moro, entitled *Expeditio italiana anno 1457 a Maximiliano I suscepta*.² The young Camillus Gilinus was an accomplished literate who was known for his translation of Battista Fregoso's book *De dictis factisque memorabilibus collectanea* from Italian into Latin, published in Milan, in 1509. Apart from this, he also wrote a geographical work entitled *Tellinae vallis ac Larii lacus particularis descriptio*, which was printed posthumously in Hanau in 1611.³

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¹ FREHERI, 1717, 92: "Io Iacobus Ghilinus qui Consiliarius erat status Io. Galeatii et Ludovici Sfortia, Ducum Mediolani"; PRICINELLI, 1670, 101–102.

² FREHERI, 1717, 91–110.

³ *Ibid.* The list of authors and works printed in this volume, *Auctores historiarum qui hoc tomo tertio continentur*, mentions "Io. Iacobi Ghilini eiusdem Cesaris Expeditio Italica Anno 1497 suscepta, fol. 91 cui accredit Telinae Vallis, ac Larii Lacus particularis descriptio, eodem auctore. A Melchiore Haiminsfeldio Goldasto V. C. submonstrata."

There is no monograph on him, and so there are many gaps in his biography. He worked as the secretary and envoy of Francesco Maria II Sforza, the Duke of Milan, who was restored to power by Emperor Charles V in 1525.⁴ The dukedom, which had for many decades been one of the main objects of competition between the French monarchy and the Habsburg in Italy, came to enjoy ten years of relative peace. However, the position of the duke was in fact subservient, and he was also burdened with a huge debt to Charles V. Early records made by Venetian diarist Marino Sanudo indicate that Gilinus (Camillo Ghillini), as secretary of the duke of Milan from 1529 to 1532, sent letters to the Venetian authorities fairly regularly.⁵ Sanudo either mentions the letters and the time of their arrival or summarizes their content in terms of the news about political affairs. From 1534 to 1535, we have the letters he sent to Olahus, and in the following I will concentrate on the relationship between Olahus and Gilinus. Since much of the correspondence concerns political and military developments, a short presentation of the dynamic of international affairs during those years is necessary before focusing on the connection between Olahus and Gilinus.

After succeeding to Emperor Maximilian in 1519, following the advice of his counselor Mercurino Gattinara, Charles V decided to restore Habsburg control over the duchy of Milan, which had been conquered by King Francis I of France. At the end of the war of 1521–1525, when the French troops were defeated, the Sforza family was restored in Milan. There was also a family connection between the Habsburgs and the Sforzas, as in 1494 Ludovico I Sforza had married his niece, Bianca Maria Sforza to Emperor Maximilian.⁶

The interval 1534–1535 was marked by confrontations between Emperor Charles V and the Ottomans in the Mediterranean area. Charles was crowned Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and king of Italy at Bologna on February 24, 1530. On January 1, 1531, his brother Ferdinand was appointed king of the Romans. Charles intended that all members of his extended family participate in the imperial policy. His sister, Queen Mary, widow of King Louis II of Hungary, who died at Mohács in 1526, was appointed vice-governor of the Low Countries instead of her aunt, Margaret of Austria, who had died on December 1, 1530. She arrived in Brussels in 1531 to take on this new task.

After the 1529 treaty of Cambrai, for six years the rivalry between the king of France and the Habsburgs primarily manifested on the diplomatic scene. The French king tried to compete with Charles V by seeking alliances with the emperor's opponents, such as the landgraves of Hesse, Saxony and Bavaria, who were annoyed by the election of Ferdinand as king of the Romans. In

⁴ GHILINI, 1657, 35–36; PRICINELLI, 1670, 101–102.

⁵ BERCHET – BAROZZI – ALLEGRI, 1879–1903, vol. 52, col. 432, vol. 56 col. 24, 290, 453, 678, 716, 921, 1011, vol. 57 col. 49, vol. 56, col. 24, 290, 453, 716, 922, 1011–1012.

⁶ RICHARDSON, 2002, 53.

early 1532, Francis sent his envoys to the Sultan. At the same time Sultan Süleyman I advanced in Hungary towards Vienna, attempting to force Charles V to engage in a direct battle. The emperor considered it more advantageous to focus on the military confrontations in the Mediterranean by occupying the Coron fortress in Morea. In 1534, the Ottoman fleet, under the command of a former corsair, Khayr-al Din Barbarossa, attacked the coast of Italy and then turned south and captured Tunis from bey Muley Hassan, and ally of Spain. The following year Charles V himself commanded a campaign aiming to restore Muley Hassan in Tunis.⁷

The correspondence between Olahus and Gilinus lasted about a year and a half (from April 1534 to December 1535), as the 29 letters preserved indicate. These letters were published by Arnold Ipolyi in the series *Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Diplomatica*, vol. XXV, Budapest, 1875. Only one of the 29 preserved letters was by Nicolaus Olahus. From these, 14 were sent in 1534 and 15 in 1535. From the letters by Gilinus we learn that he received at least eight letters from Olahus. As a consequence, we are forced to learn about Olahus' activities, through what this particular friend, from Milan wrote to him and rather than examining his own letters, since they are not extant. In the early sixteenth century, correspondence was a practical means to maintain and consolidate relationships between individuals located at considerable distances from each other. Olahus was in Brussels from 1531, and he knew Gilinus, although we do not have enough sources to indicate when and how they became acquainted. We do not know precisely when they entered into correspondence, but Olahus' letter from April 13, 1534, in which he reported on the arrival of the physician sent by the duke of Milan to Brussels to look after Queen Mary's health, indicates that their relationship had started at an earlier moment.⁸ The beginning of the official correspondence between Queen Mary and Francesco Maria II Sforza, the Duke of Milan, was probably the moment when the two secretaries started their acquaintance by writing their lords' letters. In addition, we should not overlook the possibility of mediation by their friends in common, mentioned in their letters: Erasmus of Rotterdam, Cornelius Scepperus, Goclenius and Gemma Frisius, who might have played a role in bringing about their connection. However, the political ties between their patrons also sufficiently explain their acquaintance. In this paper I will focus on the correspondence between the two humanists and describe Olahus' expectations concerning his contact with Gilinus.

The letter sent by Olahus to Gilinus on April 13, 1534 suggests that they had met during Gilinus' recent visit to Queen Mary, but they might have known each other before. Olahus mentions a discussion they had had, and

⁷ MALTBY, 46.

⁸ OLÁH, 1875, 488–489.

there are other hints in the letter that testify to a close connection between them⁹. That their discussion had taken place some time earlier (*olim*) with no other precise indication implies a meeting preceding the recent visit. One of Gilinus' personal concerns was the state of the goods he had ordered or paid for and which he was expecting to receive from Belgium. That Gilinus' visit in Brussels was a recent one is also suggested by the fact that Olahus responds to an apparently earlier request by Gilinus and assures him that his horse, which he left in the Low Countries, is in good condition, and that he is going to arrange with Banisius to send that horse to him. Another hint is that the doctor sent by the duke to Brussels to take care of the health of Queen Mary had arrived at the court a couple of days after Gilinus' departure.¹⁰

Only one of the letters sent by Olahus to Gilinus has been preserved. However, from the letters of Gilinus we learn about the number and dates of the letters sent to him by Olahus. In a letter sent by Gilinus on May 31, 1534, he thanks his friend in his and the duke's name for the news shared through his letters. These letters were probably sent at the end of April or in early May.¹¹ The duke's doctor, who travelled from Milan to Brussels and back again later that year, carried some letters from Olahus to Gilinus.¹² The secretary from Milan mentions the letters sent by Olahus on September 21, 1534,¹³ then January 21,¹⁴ January 24,¹⁵ February 21 and 22,¹⁶ March 7,¹⁷ April 8.¹⁸ The last two letters signaled by Gilinus were those sent on June 13 and 20, 1535.¹⁹ It is not clear why Olahus stopped writing to him, but in the last letter sent by Gilinus in December 1535, he complains that months have passed since he had received any response to the many letters he had sent to the secretary in Brussels.²⁰

The correspondence includes a variety of information, ranging from personal matters to political and military events in Europe and the Ottoman Empire. The analysis of its contents and circumstances allows a glimpse into

⁹ *Ibid.*, 488: "Litterarum illarum de quibus olim loquuti fuimus [...]."

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 488: "Medicus illustrissimus ducis tui, quem tanto desiderio expectabamus, aliquot post tuum discessum diebus, applicuit."

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 502: "Dux meus tibi gratias agit, quod tantum sibi tribuas et tuas litteras syllabatim legit."

¹² *Ibid.*, 504: "quas ad me Candiano dedisti."

¹³ *Ibid.*, 532: "Accepi huberrimas litteras tuas XXI. Septembris datas [...]."

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 541: "Que mihi superioribus litteris tuis [...]."

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 546: "Hodie accepi litteras tuas, que XXIII. Januarii ad me dedisti."

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 548: "Quae XXI. Item XXII. Praeteriti exarasti, pridie accepi."

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 550: "Unas tuas litteras VII. Martii datas proxime accepi [...]."

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 552: "Gratissimae mihi fuerunt litterae tuae quas VIII. Aprilis ad me dedisti [...]."

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 556: "Hodie bene mane binas tuas litteras accepi. Alteras XIII. Alteras XX. Junii datas."

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 564: "Unus et alter et item alter mensis est ex quo multis literis meis a te minime responsum fuit".

the private life of the two secretaries, their passions and interests, and their friends, apart from their activities as secretaries of monarchs.

In many letters Gilinus communicates the duke's concern for Queen Mary and her health. She was suffering from some kind of weakness which rendered her unable to ride when Olahus first wrote to Gilinus. The duke of Milan, himself suffering from some illness, sent his personal doctor, Candianus, to provide medical care to the queen in 1534–1535. In April and May 1534, the doctor, perhaps taking his job very seriously, delayed his stay in Brussels so long that Gilinus remarked that he had forgotten not only 'his friends, but his wife and his motherland' as well.²¹ He also informed Olahus that the duke had to intervene in order to keep the doctor's family together. In the letter sent by Gilinus on August 27, 1534, he notified Olahus that the doctor was going back to Brussels together with his wife.²² Considerations regarding his moral qualities as a professional and as a trustworthy man appeared in several letters written by Gilinus which concerned the health problems of Queen Mary.

Time and again Gilinus reminded Olahus about the celestial globe that he had ordered at a workshop in Brabant.²³ The production was slow, and Gilinus was eager to get it as soon as possible. Thus, questions regarding the state of the globe's production and later the arrangements regarding its transportation to Milan occurred in almost all his letters sent in 1534. The letter sent by Gilinus on May 1535 reported that his globe had finally arrived in Milan, but some of the circles had been damaged during transportation by a Milanese merchant from Anvers.²⁴ He requests Olahus to procure him an astronomical work published by Gemma Frisius and the instructions for the use of the globe. Whether Gilinus was interested in the celestial globe out of an interest in astronomy or for other reasons is unclear. For his part, Olahus himself ordered a sword to be made at a workshop in Milan. Thus, Gilinus reported to him about the stages of the production of this object. The letter sent on April 21, 1535 describes the handle as decorated in gold and the sheath as covered by silk decorated with golden sword lilies.²⁵

²¹ *Ibid.*, 501–502: "Rediit Candianus noster a regina et vobis omnibus adeo bene habitus, ut non solum amicorum, sed uxoris et patriae penitus sit oblitus. [...] quo fiet ut nullo negotio ad vos posse redire putem, uxore tamen non reluctante, cui valde emancipatum esse intelligo. Dux et hortabitur ambos, et coget, si licebit, ne reginae voluntati adversentur, quam pro numine suspicit et venerator."

²² *Ibid.*, 521: "Candianus noster tandem in principis nostri sententiam uxorem traxit, quam secum propediem ad vos in Belgas ducet."

²³ See SMET, 1966/1967, 228–229, 232.

²⁴ OLÁH, 1875, 554: "Tandem aliquando negociator iste Mediolanensis globum mihi reddidit affabre quidem factum; sed dum vector commodo suo magis studuit, circulos quosdam minutulos confregit."

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 552: "Is ut spero tibi arridebit, et propediem habebis capulum et reliqua, orna-

A common friend of theirs at the court of Queen Mary was young virgin Lucretia Caballa, who often appeared in the letters of Gilinus to Olahus. Most often there are greetings that Gilinus wanted to send to this young woman. The epithets used by Gilinus in reference to her suggest that he regarded her as a very special person for Olahus.²⁶ She was a member of the queens' court and an influential companion of the queen.²⁷ Occasionally, Gilinus signaled to Olahus that some of the information regarding political and military events was reported in letters sent to Lucretia.²⁸ In general the ending formulas included greetings to various common friends, for example Scepperus and his wife, who is also described as *lectissimam*.²⁹

However, apart from personal interests and references or questions regarding their common friends, the letters mostly reported news about the international situation and the policy of Emperor Charles V. This correspondence was distinct from the official correspondence between Duke Francesco and Queen Mary, which was referred to as another source of political news. Although a comparative study of the official letters and the private letters might be useful in order to observe the differences between the two kinds of letters, it cannot be carried out here.

Gilinus offered Olahus information about the Ottomans' actions in the Mediterranean Sea, and the preparation of Charles' campaign in North Africa. The duke's secretary was well-informed and tried to offer Olahus the news that had reached Milan, even though, as he sometimes remarks, some were only rumors. The movements of Barbarossa's fleet in the Mediterranean were followed with attention. After Andrea Doria conquered Coron castle in Morea, the sultan appointed Barbarossa admiral of the Ottoman fleet. Gilinus reported the damage caused by the Ottoman fleet to the cities on the coast of Italy on 27 August, 1534, and the war preparations that the Emperor had to undertake.³⁰ The next letter, sent on October 13, told Olahus that Barbarossa had left a Jewish lieutenant at the helm of the part of his fleet which

menta inaurata opere striato sunt, et theca ex serico viloso cum gladiolis inauratis."

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 502: "Lucretiae virgini electissimae [...]"; 503: "Lucretiae virgini rarissimae et castissime [...]"; 521 "Virginem clarissimam Lucretiam [...]"; 551: "[...] lectissimam virginem Lucretiam Caballam [...]"; 533: "[...] virgini Lucretiae [...]".

²⁷ RÉTHELYI, 2010, 91–92.

²⁸ OLÁH, 1875, 554: "Res Turcicas intelliges de Lucretia nostra [...]"; *Ibid.*, 556: "Reliqua de Lucretia nostra intelliges, cuius litteris exempla multarum litterarum ad principem meam addidi."

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 558: "Scepperum, si isthic est, salvere iubebis, et lectissimam eius coniugem."

³⁰ August 27, 1534 letter, see: *Ibid.*, 521: "Classis Turcica Spelunae Fundos, et plerisque alia oppidula in littore maris Adriatici, tum regni Neapolitani depopulata est; nunc quo cursum direxerit, ignoratur. Classis caesaris paratur, opportuneque eam invadet, ignoratur, si in Africam traiciet, superiorque omnino erit."

had the mission to patrol the coast of south Italy.³¹ His report mentioned the kinglet of Tunis, who, according to the first news received, was expelled and then killed together with his family.³² On January 21, 1535, Gilinus wrote that Barbarossa had occupied the fortress Constantina and controlled entire Tunis.³³ On February 9, he reports that Barbarossa's thirty-ship fleet had wrecked, and the sailors were afflicted by the plague.³⁴ After this date the information about Barbarossa ceases, as part of the news were to reach Olahus and Queen Mary through the mediation of Lucretia Caballa.

However, Gilinus reported about the building of Charles' fleet, the first clashes with Barbarossa, and the conquest of Tunis. The letter from June 30, 1535 reports that the emperor set sail to Northern Africa on June 11.³⁵ Sometime between June 30 and August 22, Charles V won a victory over Barbarossa, who was forced to flee with about 4,000 soldiers towards Alger.³⁶ This was the conquest of the La Goletta fortress in the Tunis port on July 14, 1535.³⁷ It was regarded as an enormous success, since the expedition was personally led by the emperor, who perceived himself as the defender of all of Christianity. Then the emperor freed the Spanish soldiers who had been taken prisoner by the Ottomans. Gilinus wrote that these were going to form the troops that Charles intended to use in his campaign in Mauretania and later toward Constantinople.

Gilinus does not forget to mention that the king of France changed his position. King Francis was the rival of Emperor Charles and the Duke of Milan, and had brought the Turks to the Mediterranean to help him in his plans against the Emperor. According to Gilinus, Francis I appeared joyful about the emperor's victory and decreed five days of prayer.³⁸ Gilinus also states that

³¹ October, 13, 1534 letter, see: *Ibid.*, 534: "Item iudaeum pyratam pro Aenobarbo in classe Turcica vicariam operam agree, et prope insulam Corsicam cum bene magna parte classis esse, et maritimam omnem Sardiniae oram populatum."

³² October 12, 1534 letter, see: *Ibid.*, 533: "Aeobarbus cum classe in Africam traiecit, et Tunetum occupavit. Regulus in arce satis debili adhuc se continent, nec caesaris auxilio frustrabitur."

³³ January 21, 1535 letter, see: *Ibid.*, 541: "Aenobarbus Constantinam in deditionem accepit et tota regni Tuneti ditione nunc potitur;"

³⁴ February 9, 1535 letter, see: *Ibid.*, 546: "Rumor est in maioribus Syrtibus XXX. triremes Aenobarbi naufragium fecisse, et remiges ferme omnes pestilential absumptos."

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 555: "Nuper audiimus caesarem nostrum cum classe in Sardiniam applicuisse XI. die et inde XII. in Africam transmisisse."

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 561: "Aenobarbus cum IIII turcis militibus seminudus vix aufugit Algerium versus."

³⁷ RICHARDSON, 2002, 88.

³⁸ August 31, 1535 letter, see: OLÁH, 1875, 562: "Gallum fama nos tenet de caesaris victoria foris maxime laetatum, et quinque dierum supplications decrevisse per totum regnum."

after the victory, the Emperor's enemies were captured and punished. Thus, the Cardinal de Medicis, who had plotted the conspiracy, was poisoned.³⁹

Charles V paid great attention to the problems in the Mediterranean and personally led part of the operations in this area. As can be seen from the letters, the emperor had prepared a fleet in the area of Naples and Sicily for the confrontation with the Barbarossa, with a fleet of 80 ships and 70 transportation ships. At the beginning of the following year, 1535, Gilinus added more information reporting about a crew of 25,000 people expected to arrive from the Empire, i.e. Germany, Spain and Italy.⁴⁰ Subsequently, Gilinus modified these estimates, perhaps after clearer information had arrived at the court of the Duke of Milan. The imperial fleet thus numbered 200 ships, of which 80 were war ships,⁴¹ while the rest were used for transport. These were to be supplemented by aid supplied by Venice and by other nobles of Italy. A slight caution can be perceived regarding the attitude of Venice in this war. As soon as the news that in 1534 the Sultan had ordered the Ottoman naval force to desist from attacking the coastal areas controlled by Venice and the French spread, Gilinus repeats in several letters that the Venetians will remain loyal to the emperor or that they will not abandon him.⁴²

The problems of the Sultan in the eastern parts of the empire were also of interest to Olahus. Thus, on May 31, 1534, Gilinus reported rumors coming from Dalmatia that an army led by the Grand Vizier Ibrahim had suffered great defeat at the hand of the Persians.⁴³ He informed Olahus that the Ottomans had lost their supplies, and their war machines and money was captured by the enemy. The Grand Vezier had started the military campaign against the Persians in October 1533. The campaign was long, and as the situation of the Ottomans was difficult, the Sultan himself went to war against the Shia Shah Tahmasp in June 1534. The sultan returned from the east only in Janu-

³⁹ August 22, 1535 letter, see: *Ibid.*, 561–562: “Caesaris hostes, quos hoc tempore videtis, toti frigent. Medices cardinalis veneno necatus est.”

⁴⁰ January 21, 1535 letter, see: *Ibid.*, 542: “Is refert praeter LXXX triremes et naues oneraris LXX et Myoparones anfractusque multos caesarem XXV millia peditum Germanorum Itolorum, item Hispanorum in classe habiturum [...]”

⁴¹ In the sixteenth century, small-scale battle ships began to be used in the Mediterranean Sea, similar to the small Portuguese and Spanish ships used in the Atlantic Ocean. Evolution was identical in the North Sea and the English Sea. These vessels were more profitable in terms of cost and speed. BRAUDEL, 1985, 125–126.

⁴² OLÁH, 1875, 546: “Veneti in fide permanebunt et reliqui Italiae procures”; *Ibid.*, 550: “Veneta respublica non deseret caesarem.”

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 502: “Duriore quippe apud Dalmatas rumores de eo pervenerant, scilicet Imbraimum a rege Persarum cum maiori parte copiarum esse profligatum, et exercitus reliquias in quibusdam montium angustiis redactas.”; *Ibid.*, 533: “Fama nos tenet Imbraimum a reges Persarum penitus proffigatum [...]”

ary 1536.⁴⁴ On November 28, 1534, the Ottomans succeeded in occupying Baghdad, but this news does not appear in the Gilinus correspondence. At the beginning of 1535, Gilinus wrote to Olahus that the king of the Persians had an army of 300,000 soldiers, which had taken seven fortresses from the Ottomans, but a chieftain with 3,000 soldiers had sided with the Ottomans. The Persian king sent two envoys to the sultan, who had one killed and the other mutilated and then released.⁴⁵ Afterwards, in February 1535, based on news from Venice, Gilinus reported that Ibrahim and his army had been caught by the Persians, and the sultan went to Syria in order to ensure the loyalty of his subjects.⁴⁶

Although Olahus had received information from other sources about the end of Alvise Gritti in Mediaș, who was executed together with his sons on August 28, 1534, we find news about this event being reported from Milan as well.⁴⁷ In the letter dated June 4, 1534, Gilinus reports that he heard that Gritti was *in Alba Graeca* (Belgrade) in order to negotiate a truce between Ferdinand I and John Szapolyai.⁴⁸ Then, in three letters, sent on October 12 and 18, and November 9, he repeats the news that Gritti was killed by the Transylvanians of Olahus (*Dacis tui*), and thus, according to Gilinus, he received the punishment he deserved. Was this because the information that Gilinus received during that interval was incomplete, or was he trying to ingratiate himself by reporting fragmentary details about that event? Gritti was certainly perceived as an Ottoman agent whose demise would bring joy to Olahus.

⁴⁴ DECEI, 1974, 108.

⁴⁵ OLÁH, 1875, 541: "Duo oratores persici ad Turcam missi, alter secure caesaris iussu percussus est, alter praecisus auribus et naso ad Persam remissus."

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 546: "Nunc primum ex Venetis litteris accepimus Imbrahimum cum exercitu Turcico a Persa interceptum; et Turcarum Imperatorem in Syria esse ad continendos in fide populos."

⁴⁷ Aloisio or Alvise was the son of Andrea Gritti, doge of Venice from May 20 to December 27, 1538. He was married to a Greek-born woman in Istanbul, with four boys, Pietro, Gregorio, Lorenzo and Aloisio. Aloisio failed to achieve a position of leadership in Venice. He dealt in precious stone trade and was also a representative of Venice at the court of Süleymân I. He appears as an ambassador from February 1528, in charge of the negotiations with John Szapolyai. On December 26, 1530, at the request of Chancellor Werböczy and Hieronymus Łaski, he was appointed Governor of Hungary and Perpetual Count of Maramureș (Máramaros) by Szapolyai. In 1534, at the Sultan's wish to make peace with Ferdinand, Aloisio Gritti was to meet Ferdinand and Szapolyai to establish the borders of Hungary. Gritti did not arrive in Buda because he was killed in Mediaș on August 28, 1534. DECEI, 1974, 102.

⁴⁸ OLÁH, 1875, 505: "Audiuimus Gritteum Albam Graecam peruenisse pro componendis inter regem nostrum et Joannem rebus."

Gilinus was somewhat of a busybody and insisted that Olahus send him information on events that were of interest to him and his duke. In order to convince Olahus to send more news, he wrote: “dux meus te salutatur, cui adhuc nihil rescripsisti”.⁴⁹ He also insisted that Olahus should forward news received from Scepperus or any information about the ‘Anabaptist plague’ from Anvers or on the “English affairs”, namely on what happened in England after King Henry VIII had banished Catherine, his first wife. Gilinus was aware of the affair between the king of England and Anne Boleyn.⁵⁰ He was also interested in news about the monasteries and the Anglican reformation.

Gilinus recounts the period of convalescence of Pope Clement VII, his death on September 25, 1534, and the preparations for the election of a new pope. He reports to Olahus how important it was for the new pope to please the princes. At the end of September, the Cardinals entered the Conclave and chose Alessandro Farnese as Paul III without much debate. However, because the Pope was favorable to the Emperor, the Duke of Camerino, was trying to make the Pope lean towards King Francis I.⁵¹ Gilinus then confirms that the Pope would have gone over to Francis I, although he estimates that there was not much to worry about this change.⁵² Gilinus considered the new pope a weak person. In the letter dated April 11, 1535, he notes that the pope started to speak well about the emperor, after enumerating the aid sent to Charles and the first victories against the Ottomans. At the cardinals’ assembly, he gave a speech in which he promised that he would personally participate in the campaign against the Ottomans, if that was approved. Gilinus says that he added many other allegations but that he wants to spare Olahus of such trifles and so omits them.⁵³ Gilinus’ letters outline the political games that mark the sixteenth century. Gilinus perceived the unreliable attitude of the papacy on the issue of the conflict between Emperor Charles V and the Francis I, and the wandering of the Pope from one camp to the other, according to the gravity of the threats or promises that corresponded to his political plans.

⁴⁹ December 23, 1535 letter, see: *Ibid.*, 564.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 533: “Regem Anglum cum pellice adhuc vivere, relicta coniugis suae consuetudine audiebamus.”

⁵¹ January 21, 1535 letter, see: *Ibid.*, 542: “[...] refert multum haec scire, pontifex torquetur sibi ab Urbini duce Camerinum esse ereptum [...]”

⁵² March 11, 1535 letter, see: *Ibid.*, 549: “[...] pontifex in Gallicas partes inclinatur, sed parum de eo timendum est [...]”

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 552: “Coegit nuperrime cardinalium senatum, apud quem orationem dicunt habuisse satis luculentam de expeditione Turcica, pollicitusque est, si ita e republica esse iudicatum erit, se iturum adversus Turcam, multaque puerilia addidit, quae ne tibi stomachum faciant, omitto.”

Personal trust played an important role in the formation of friendly relationships, and the continuation of correspondence nurtured trust. The contents of the letters demonstrate that the two humanists shared information on current events in Europe in terms of politics and religious issues. Gilinus was well-informed on what was going on in the Mediterranean Sea, the confrontations between Charles V and Sultan Süleymân I (1520–1566) in North Africa, and he reported the losses suffered by the Ottomans in the East, such as the defeat of Ibrahim Pasha by the Persians.

The situation in the German territories was worrisome according to Gilinus. Certainly Olahus was well-acquainted with the situation, but Gilinus continued to provide or confirm information about events there. The information sent by the secretary of Milan confirmed that the Protestant German princes did not want to obey the emperor and sought to confront him. In a letter Gilinus notes the plan of a Lutheran landgrave, probably Philip of Hesse. The German prince sought the help of the King of France, but he promised to support him with 12,000 pedestrians and 3,000 horsemen during the invasion of northern Italy.⁵⁴ It seems they planned to join Ulrich, the Duke of Württemberg, who had been expelled by the Habsburgs, in the event that the King of France was to attack Milan. The Grand Dukedom of Württemberg was administered by the Habsburgs from 1520, when Duke Ulrich had been removed for violating imperial law. He had murdered one of his subjects in order to court his widow unhindered. Ulrich embraced Protestantism. Philip of Hesse intended to restore Ulrich as Duke of Württemberg. With forces paid by the king of France, Philip entered Württemberg and in 1534 installed Ulrich as duke. Afterwards Lutheranism became the only religion allowed in the Duchy.⁵⁵ Francis tried to attract the Swiss to his side.⁵⁶ The treaty signed on 29 November, 1516 in Freiburg, also called Perpetual Peace, between France and the thirteen Swiss cantons, gave France and its allies the right to recruit mercenaries from Switzerland.⁵⁷ The Duke of Milan was aware of these attempts to overthrow the power of the emperor in the neighboring territories. In connection with these changes, the king's courier arriving in Milan told the duke that the situation was grave, and that the emperor was ready to risk his wealth and life for his brother Ferdinand.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 503: "Item Lantgrauium summe laborare, quo Germanicis rebus cum serenissimo rege Ferdinando compositis Gallo XII. peditum, et equitum tria millia ex Barensi inter eos foedere tradat ad inuadendam Insubriam hanc nostrum [...]"

⁵⁵ MALTBY, 2002, 53.

⁵⁶ OLÁH, 1875, 508: "Quid casurum sit, adhuc ignoramus, satis constat eundem Gallum Heluetios magnis conditionibus propositis ad expeditionem hanc hortari."

⁵⁷ KOENIGSBERGER, 2004, 339.

⁵⁸ May 31, 1534 letter, see: OLÁH, 1875, 502–503: "Tabellarius regis, qui caesari nunciauit rem Vitenbergensem in desperatis esse, nudius quartus rediit, de quo intelleximus

Gilinus was aware of the fact that Olahus was interested in ending the military operations in the Mediterranean that kept the emperor away from the problems in Central and Eastern Europe. He wrote that after the end of the campaign in northern Africa the situation of Hungary would become a priority for Charles V because it was one of his possessions.⁵⁹ Olahus was quite disappointed, and Gilinus was aware of this friend's worries.

The correspondence reveals signs of a real friendship between the two, not just a professional relationship. The end of the campaign in North Africa is reported in a more "affective" rather than official fashion. Gilinus sought to soothe Olahus' apprehensions by writing that he should not worry because Hungary was a possession of the Emperor, which will turn his attention to this realm. In another letter he encouraged Olahus to confide in him that the question of Hungary was at that time a priority for the Emperor.⁶⁰ Gilinus was honest and conveyed his own views on political developments. He was unhappy with the lack of initiative by King Ferdinand, who always waited for his brother's help. In his opinion, the King should have taken advantage of the Ottoman problems and moved against them. Olahus was of the same opinion and certainly shared this view with his friend. We know Olahus' views from his correspondence with other friends and suppose that he might have mentioned his opinions in his letters to Gilinus. He shared his personal views about certain situations, especially when he had a personal interest in them.

His work, *Hungaria*, which was already finished in 1536, probably circulated as a manuscript among Olahus' friends. We do not know if he sent this work to Gilinus, and the correspondence does not give us any information in this regard. He might have expressed his dissatisfaction with the diplomatic and military actions of his masters, as well as his opinion of the spread of religious reformation in Central Europe. In any case, Gilinus knew a lot about Olahus. He knew of his Transylvanian origin because in the letter about the end of Alvise Gritti he notes that Olahus' Dacians (i.e. Transylvanians) had caused it.

The timespan of the letters covers a year and a half, and correlating this with the 29 letters, 28 written by Gilinus, one may conclude that the duke's secretary wrote almost weekly reports with information that he collected and then forwarded to his fellow secretary and to Queen Mary in Brussels. Olahus, of course, replied to his letters, although with some delay, which

maiestatem caesaream pro fratris incolumitate, et rem et sanguinem ipsum exposituram."

⁵⁹ August, 22, 1535 letter, see: *Ibid.*, 562: "Quid, quod et Hungaria ipsa ad eius imperium accedat; quo tempore me verissimum vatem profiteberis et in secundis rebus tuis mei aliquando mentionem facies."

⁶⁰ August, 10, 1535 letter, see: *Ibid.*, 561: "Quid quaeris! Et res Hungarica in eadem navi quam primum erit."

resulted in Gilinus insisting on more news. The tone of the letters betrays a certain indebtedness that Gilinus had towards Olahus, which suggests a hierarchic relationship between them, perhaps mirroring the relationship between their employers. The correspondence suggests that Olahus was a serious, respected person, who had access to information that few people knew. He did not write directly about such details, but he made the impression that he was very well informed. After receiving intellectual and clerical education and entering the service of Queen Mary of Hungary, Olahus became one node in the political networks functioning around the queen. The importance of his position conferred him a certain influence on the queen, as well as other members of her household, even King Ferdinand I, and his former colleagues at the royal household in Buda. The network of Olahus' friends was based on the interest he had in the issues of the Empire and those of Hungary. On his desk he collected news from all directions. He shared this information with those he thought capable of achieving different goals, namely his princes, as he called Emperor Charles V, King Ferdinand I, and Queen Mary. For this reason, the correspondence network maintained by Olahus reveals the role the humanist played in European politics during the first half of the sixteenth century.

At the same time, the correspondence between Gilinus and Olahus was the means of maintaining diplomatic ties between Milan and Brussels, where Queen Mary resided, and from where Olahus wrote to Gilinus. Their personal letters were sent together with the official ones, and sometimes Gilinus sent copies of the messages sent to Queen Mary. This is another argument for the fact that Olahus was not just a secretary of Queen Mary, but also a counselor on special political and diplomatic issues. In my view, these letters he received from Gilinus, like all his correspondence, might be seen as elements of a political diary in which information regarding the stability of the Empire was corroborated. On the other hand, Olahus' friends had similar cultural, religious, or political interests. Between Olahus and Gilinus, we can encounter all these areas of interest.

CORNELIA POPA-GORJANU

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EDITORIAL PROCEDURES AND TYPES OF CENSORSHIP

On the Upcoming Critical Edition of Nicolaus Olahus' Correspondence

“The last guardian of the classical traditions of Hungarian humanist letter-writing was Miklós Oláh. [...] Oláh was the last person to have edited a collection of letters following the models set by the Hunyadi generation. He even gave the collection a title reminiscent of ancient classics, “*Epistolae familiares*” (Letters to friends) obviously following Cicero,” writes Sándor V. Kovács in the foreword to his collection of the Hungarian translations of the letters of fifteenth and sixteenth-century humanists in Hungary.¹ Miklós Oláh, or according to his Latinized name, Nicolaus Olahus (1493–1568), was not only the last in the series of great collators of collections of letters in the Hunyadi and Jagiellonian era (Johannes [Vitéz] de Zredna, Petrus de Varad) but certainly also the most prolific author of all: the collection of letters he compiled,² with its 582 pages, only contains selected material from between 1527 and 1539 (the so-called Brussels period). However, based on the later (1539–1568) material that has been uncovered so far, that material only comprises approximately half of all extant material.³

Epistolae familiares, or as it is commonly referred to, *Collection of letters*, was also published in 1875 by Arnold Ipolyi, and due to the lack of a modern critical edition, that is the edition still in use today.⁴ Ipolyi's merits are beyond dispute: thanks to his edition, an interpretative reading of Olahus' correspondence could begin, as well as a discovery of his relationships, to the extent that it was made possible by the publication. However, the contemporary charac-

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¹ V. KOVÁCS, 1971, 39.

² Budapest, MNL OL, P 108 Rep. 71, Fasc. 23. Henceforth: Ms.

³ According to current research, more than one thousand missives are known which were either written by Olahus or were addressed to him.

⁴ OLÁH, 1875.

teristics of the edition (it does not contain either a critical apparatus or notes of explanation or interpretation), and the lack of knowledge concerning the as of yet unexamined material of the later period often could have resulted in the wrong impression in the reader, and so a new edition has long been necessary, as already pointed out by Gilbert Tournoy.⁵ As a colleague of the Institute for Literary Studies Research Centre for the Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, since 2013 my task has been to prepare a modern critical edition of the Olahus correspondence, and the first step has been the publication of the *Collection of letters (Epistolae familiares)* also published by Ipolyi.

Olahus first compiled the material of *Collection of letters (Epistolae familiares)* from the correspondence at hand, then he had them copied by several scribes, and he finally emended the collection thus created. If the reader only has access to Ipolyi's edition and does not have the opportunity to handle the original manuscript, they will probably never know that Olahus as editor made substantial changes to the text. Only part of these are grammatical or stylistic corrections, and a significant number of "corrections" were aimed to change the meaning of the text, and sometimes to delete or censor entire passages.

The first volume of the new critical edition has been prepared during the last few years and published at the end of 2018.⁶ It will be followed by two additional volumes, the first of which will also still partly contain the material of *Epistolae familiares*. In the following I will present Olahus' authorial profile based on the traces of editorial and self-censoring processes observed while preparing the first volume.

Why did he censor his texts? Looking at his vita, he appears to have been a successful statesman, ecclesiastical leader, and illustrious humanist. In order to succeed, it was not enough to be polite and intelligent, he had to be cunning and considerate as well. In consideration of his life, I can confirm that he constructed this image consciously. First of all, he remains a faithful Catholic, he is loyal to the Habsburgs, and last but not least, he is a famous and distinguished humanist in his own right. What he had to conceal from his readership while constructing his own image and how he did it, I will briefly discuss below.

⁵ "In addition, the edition by Ipolyi has proved to be extremely useful in mapping the intellectual and political networks all over Europe and especially in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, I should like to suggest here that of the priorities of Hungarian Neo-Latin scholarship should be to replace this edition as soon as possible, its many flaws in transcription, especially of geographical names, and its complete lack of explanatory notes tending to be frustrating or misleading for the reader." – TOURNOY, 2006, 131.

⁶ OLAHUS, 2018.

II. OLAHUS AS EDITOR AND CENSOR

II. A. BACKGROUND: *EPISTULAE FAMILIARES*

It is commonly understood that after the battle of Mohács, Nicolaus Olahus left Hungary with the dowager Queen, Mary of Habsburg. They hesitated in deciding whether to return to Hungary. In the end, in 1531 the Queen was appointed Governor of the Netherlands, so they travelled to Brussels and settled down there. Olahus composed the bulk of his literary works, the historical pieces *Hungaria* and *Athila*, and a couple of his poems in this voluntary exile. There has been a lively discussion in the literature concerning the precise time of Olahus' return home from Brussels. In his later chronicle (around 1558), the so-called *Chronicon breve*, he writes that "In the year 1539, Most Honored Lord Nicolaus Olahus returned from Flanders to Vienna and Hungary,"⁷ although there is no proof of his return during that year. It can only be stated with certainty that he assembled his collection either in Brussels or immediately upon his return to Hungary.⁸ He collected, selected, and had copied a number of his letters into the so-called *Epistulae familiares*, after which he corrected the text himself. I argue that he composed the collection around 1539, preparing his return home and his forthcoming ecclesiastical and political career. The dating of the composition is suggested by the collection itself because the final letter in the collection is dated 4 March, 1539 (in Brussels). Furthermore, after returning home, he composed no significant literary work: on the one hand, he no longer needed such a portfolio; on the other hand, he most probably had no time for writing or a literary occupation.

II. B. TYPE ONE: EDITING AND CENSORSHIP

Although there are several examples of his corrections and censorship, I will demonstrate only three types. These types represent three different levels of his editorial practices. The first one shows it at the level of syntax, the second at the level of selection and disposition, the third at the level of the simple existence of the document in question.

Type one, editing and censorship, comes at the level of syntax. In 1527 Archdeacon and Royal Secretary Imre Kálnay wrote Olahus a letter, sharing his plan for a pilgrimage to Częstochowa (in Poland). The original manuscript no longer exists, but I assume that the *scriptor* copied the letter verbatim for Olahus' collection. Olahus emended the copies *manu propria*, which, in

⁷ "Anno 1539. Reverendissimus D. Nicolaus Olahus, rediit ex Flandria Viennam, et Hungariam." – *Chronicon breve*, in: OLAHUS, 1558, 5 (but the pages are not numbered).

⁸ According to Neagu, he composed his collection after 1553, see NEAGU, 2003, 181.

this letter, seems an important correction. The *scriptor* (and I suppose Kálnay himself) writes: “And I have promised that I would not go anywhere until I had fulfilled this vow. Although you Lutherans might laugh, I consider it to be of true piety and religion. I will soon travel to the Holy Land to become a good Christian throughout.”⁹ The phrase *vos Lutheriani quamvis irrideatis* was corrected by Olahus to read *quod Lutheriani quamvis irrideant*. Obviously, Olahus excluded himself from the Lutherans. In the literature the Flemish court of Queen Mary is accused of sympathy towards the Lutherans several times, certainly because the court priest of the Queen, John Henckel, converted to Lutheranism. Whether the new doctrines had an effect on Olahus is not yet clearly known. But in 1539, when he composed his collection of letters in preparation for becoming a Catholic bishop, he did not want to see himself mentioned among Protestants, despite this witticism. Furthermore, the intention of Olahus has been realized since Arnold Ipolyi’s edition (because all scholars researching Olahus’ letters have used Ipolyi’s edition), which only shows the corrected versions and contains no critical apparatus.

II. C. TYPE TWO: SELECTION AND DISPOSITION (INCLUDING OMISSIONS)

Apart from censoring certain words or sentences, Olahus also effectuated other types of censorship. The second type shows his editorial habits at the macro level, that is at the level of the construction of the collection. *Epistolae familiares* contains 612 items, but this collection does not completely correlate to a new critical edition of his correspondence. Among his correspondence, he admits that of others (such as the one between Erasmus of Rotterdam¹⁰ and Queen Mary) and a few of his own orations. One letter by Olahus was copied into the collection twice, by two different hands,¹¹ and it should also be noted that Ipolyi omitted one letter from his edition by accident.¹² Based on the context, already Ipolyi stated that Olahus had omitted several letters

⁹ “Et promisi me non ante alio iturum, quam hoc quod feci votum exsolvero, quod vos Lutheriani quamvis irrideatis, ego tamen talia pro vera duco pietate et religione, brevi etiam in Terram Sanctam iturus, ut totus bonus Christianus evadam.” – OLÁH, 1875, 2; and OLAHUS, 2018, 53–54.

¹⁰ Interestingly, he also omitted a(t least another) letter from *Epistolae familiares* which he had written to Erasmus, either on purpose or by accident, see NAGY, 2011, 140.

¹¹ Olahus ad Amicum, Ghent, 21 May, 1531; Ms. 044. and Ms. 227–228. Edition: OLÁH, 1875, 130; and OLAHUS, 2018, 212–213.

¹² Olahus ad Amicum, Brussels, 23 July, 1533; Ms. 422–423. The new edition already includes it: OLAHUS, 2018, 507.

from his collection.¹³ These include, for example, a couple of letters by Olahus addressed to János Czeglédi, Olahus' *provisor*, but none of the replies from Czeglédi.

However, these numbers and their ratio should not mislead us, since they do not show the real intensity of the correspondence and/or depth of the friendships. It was a privilege to be in correspondence with Erasmus, as well as with Cornelius Scepperus, who was the envoy of German king and Holy Roman Emperor Charles V with Ferdinand I. In the same way, bishop of Eger Tamás Szalaházy was the chancellor of Hungarian king Ferdinand, and publishing his correspondence with Imre Kálnay¹⁴, even though Kálnay belonged to the other camp as one of the most loyal men of János Szapolyai, can easily be justified: beside the above-mentioned Kálnay letter, Oláh only included his own letters written to Kálnay in the collection of *Epistolae familiares*, in all of which he chastises Kálnay and encourages him to return to the righteous path.¹⁵

Personae gratae (?)	Letters (pieces)	Personae non gratae (?)	Letters (pieces)
Cornelius Schepperus	47	Johannes Henckel	5
Thomas episcopus Agriensis	36	Nicolaus Thuroczy	3
Camillus Gilinus	29	Franciscus Ujlaki	5
Erasmus Roterodamus	29	Thomas Nadasdy	2
Johannes archiepiscopus Lundensis	23	Johannes A. Brassicanus	1
Levinus Ammonius	17	...	
Alexius Thurzo	16		
Emericus Kalnay	16		
Petrus Nannius	16		
Ruthgerus Rescius	15		
Johannes Czeglédi	11		

Analyzing both the list of participants and the frequency of their correspondence in the collection is fraught with difficulties. Correspondents overwhelmingly include persons loyal to the Habsburg party (for example, Cor-

¹³ OLÁH, 1875, XII.

¹⁴ V. KOVÁCS, 1970, 667.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 665.

nelius Schepper, the Flemish counsellor and ambassador for the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, Ferdinand I of Austria, and Mary of Hungary, as well as Tamás Szalaházy, the Hungarian chancellor of Ferdinand I). By contrast, friends who criticized Ferdinand I or even John (I) Szapolyai's loyalists appear only occasionally. If they do occur, Olahus always castigates them for their political beliefs and tries to convince them to (re)turn to Queen Mary's service.

The limited number of letters between Olahus and Stephanus Brodericus is an excellent example for this. Though it is clear from other sources that they kept in touch despite their political stances and beliefs, Olahus omits his letters from his collection, except for eight examples. This is remarkable because in 1537 Olahus mourned the loss of Brodericus in a tearful epigram, which he sent to their common friend, Nádasdy, and he omitted this example from his collection. Reading the epigram, it is obvious that Olahus and Brodericus remained best friends until Brodericus' death, but this did not concern others.

Olahus does the same with the letters of Tamás Nádasdy, for the same reason. Only two pieces of their correspondence were copied into the collection, although there exist more than 110 unpublished letters between them, proving that they must have had an extensive correspondence. It is possible that they did not exchange letters during this period, since between 1528–1534 Nádasdy was tied to the enemy camp through his – allegedly forced – oath of allegiance to Szapolyai. However, it is much more likely that Olahus and Nádasdy did keep in touch via letters, as well as through other means of communication, which will be elaborated on in the next section. In any case, it is clear from the material of the 30 years following *Epistolae familiares* that Olahus and Nádasdy were in intense correspondence with each other until the latter's death in 1562, the tone of which testifies to a genuine friendship: there are more than 110 missives in the Nádasdy archive which were written by Olahus to Nádasdy or Nádasdy's wife, Orsolya Kanizsai,¹⁶ and the counterparts of these letters can also partly be found in the Oláh family archive.¹⁷

Conversely, the collection includes several of Cornelius Schepper's sometimes insignificant letters. Beside the letters concerning political beliefs, there is much correspondence with his Flemish friends, e.g. Erasmus of Rotterdam, Petrus Nannius, and Cornelius Grapheus.

Thus, it seems likely that while editing his *Epistolae familiares*, Oláh not only polished the sentences in the letters according to his political ambitions, but he already culled the letters he came across, based on their content or their author/addressee. Any number of letters could make it in if they were from a correspondent from the Ferdinand party, even if he was not a very close

¹⁶ Budapest, MNL OL, E 185 (Archivum familiae Nádasdy), Fasc. 26.

¹⁷ Budapest, MNL OL, P 184 (Oláh family)

acquaintance; however, politically suspect persons or those whose status had not been fully determined, fell victim to Olahus' censorship. To summarize, Olahus preferred two kinds of persons to be represented in his collection: those loyal to the Habsburgs and his illustrious Flemish friends.

II. D. TYPE THREE: CREDENTIAL LETTERS AND NON-EXISTING LETTERS

The third type of Olahus' censorship is more difficult to explain than the others. Here, I will talk about letters that never existed or were non-epistolary. Writing credential letters is a common form of censorship, but this is generally not so apparent because of the concealment involved. In the late 1520s and in the 1530s, because of the Ottoman attacks in Hungary, two contrasting phenomena emerged. On the one hand, many people were forced into exile, so they could only keep in touch with their loved ones via letters. This is the reason for the increasing frequency of letters in this period. On the other hand, the post roads were perilous, and messengers could not pass some letters to the addressees because of the frequent ambushes. This situation gave rise to credential letters, which were not formal enough to be included in a humanist collection of letters. Reading Olahus' collection, I have become aware of credential letters' existence several times. The most fascinating example is a letter of Olahus addressed to Nádasdy. He writes: "What you write about the messenger, I cannot understand. Write to me more clearly about him. If you would like to send me someone of yours, I will receive him gratefully. But if your wish is not to send anyone, express to me your will, and explain what you wrote about the messenger in your letter, because I cannot understand it. I would like to know what our John delivered to you. He might have said things I had not included. I see him as unreliable and neglectful in matters entrusted to his charge. I am afraid that he might tell you something that does not originate from me. You will be doing me a favor if you report his words. If he delivers the message faithfully, I will recommend him to you for his diligence and fidelity. But if he presents my thoughts differently from what I had intended, I shall inform you and correct his error."¹⁸ This paragraph shows that orality became more important than lit-

¹⁸ OLÁH, 1875, 23–24; OLAHUS, 2018, 83: "De tabellario quid mihi scribas non satis intelligo. Scribe ad me de eo certius; si quem tuorum ad me mittere voles, gratanter eum expectabo, vel si neminem mittere volueris significa mihi cuius sis voluntatis et in quam partem mihi litteris tuis scripseris de tabellario, nam eas non possum intelligere. Ioannes noster quid tibi retulerit, scire cupio, potuit enim talia dixisse, quae a me non habuit in mandatis; vidi eum esse varium et in rebus quae ei demandatur, plerumque negligentem, vereor ne ea tibi dixerit, quae a me non acceperit; facies igitur mihi gratum, si ipsius verba mihi significa-

eracy, and it was crucial to find a reliable messenger. Furthermore, a number of letters were not even written or preserved because orality had taken over their function. However, the quoted passage illustrates it well that topics that were really important, often personal or, as they involved politics, had to be concealed from others, Olahus often only communicated implicitly, through credential letters, or he did not write about them at all. This is not new either, let us just remember *Epistolarium* by Johannes (Vitéz) de Zredna, which also abounds in similar references to credential letters.¹⁹ Still, it is important to keep in mind that Olahus also wrote credential letters in important matters or sent envoys relatively frequently, so when mapping his network of relationships, we cannot stop at the data from the letters we know he did write, it is also worthwhile to examine references of the above nature.

III. SUMMARY

Editing Olahus' correspondence, I can see not only what he wanted to show to his readers but also the plans, thoughts, and ideas that he wanted to conceal. What he omitted from the collection I could only recognize but not present in the edition. This recognition helps me understand his strategies in building a brilliant career after Mohács in Hungary. If he was once called a Lutheran, he rejected this because he was establishing a Catholic ecclesiastical career. Even if he conducted an extensive correspondence with old friends, their political beliefs prevented him from portraying them as loved ones, since he wanted to seem loyal to the Habsburgs. Last but not least, as some of his letters were unpolished, rough, not good enough or too intimate for publication, he simply eliminated these because a humanist collection should contain only splendid and lucid examples. Understanding what he left out, readers can make more authentic conclusions about what he did include in the collection.

Through the title he selected, he also indicated which authorial tradition he wanted to continue: he was following in Cicero's and Petrarch's footsteps, although he also diverged from them in several respects. The most important of these is that the letters in all cases are real missives, or their edited versions. Another important difference is that the emphasis from letters to friends and family shifts to acquaintances of a representative nature: *Epistolae familiares*, as Olahus himself called it, is not so much *Letters to friends*, rather, as we would say it today, a political portfolio compiled to support a fledgling career.

ris, ut si legationem ei commissam fideliter peregerit, possim eum de diligentia et fidelitate commendare; sin secus mentem meam, quam per eum tibi significaram, aperte declarare et errorem ab eo commissum reformare.”

¹⁹ For more detail, see: SZILÁGYI, 2012, 202–203.

IV. AFTERWORD: THE NEW CRITICAL EDITION

As an afterword, I would like to say a few words about the new critical edition, particularly the censored elements of the text that I have referred to as Type One above.²⁰ Like other new critical editions (for example, the editions of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* in Munich), this new edition offers a critical apparatus and two types of notes. The first shows the text's literary sources or parallels, while the second presents contextualizing explanatory notes to the text. The new editorial principal rules of the series *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum Series Nova* have been elaborated by Enikő Békés and Sándor Bene.²¹ Of course, I generally follow their instructions. However, since I am preparing both printed and online versions (with photos to accompany the transliteration), I have standardized the text and use the standard Classical Latin orthography.

I cannot indicate in this edition whether Olahus omitted a letter that is no longer available, such as the examples of Type Two and Type Three. I can only register it and mention it in the notes. I need not highlight scribal errors or the scriptor's autocorrections, particularly if corrected by himself or by Olahus. At the same time, I naturally visualize Olahus' Type One corrections and censorships. I have prepared both the printed and the online versions with the Classical Text Editor. Linking the online version to international databases is in progress, and it will be launched at the end of this year. I hope the new edition will open a new era in the literature on Olahus, and through it we can all learn about him as well as his real plans, thoughts, and ideas.

EMŐKE RITA SZILÁGYI

²⁰ See the PDF-version: <http://reciti.hu/2019/4989>

²¹ BÉKÉS – BENE, 2014.

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NICOLAUS OLAHUS AND THE PROCESSUS SUB FORMA MISSAE

Identity, Authorship, and an Obscure Work on the Art of Alchemy

In his entry on Olahus in the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*,¹ Émile Amann claims that Olahus' first composition was an alchemical treatise, the *Processus Universalis*, written under the pseudonym Nicolaus Melchior and published in the 1525 Frankfurt edition of *Musaeum Hermeticum*.

Amann (1880–1948) was a prolific French historian of the church, professor at the University of Strasbourg, noted for his collaboration with the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* from 1922 to his death. As editor-in-chief of the project, his contributions to this multi-volume dictionary are numerous and well documented, but his statement regarding Olahus' first composition is incorrect.

Musaeum Hermeticum does not contain any piece with the title *Processus Universalis*, and the earliest edition of this famous anthology of alchemical texts was published in 1625,² not 1525. Also, Nicolaus Melchior, the name mentioned in the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, does not figure among the contributing authors to this or most of the other major anthologies of alchemical literature.³

Amann's mistake would perhaps not be worth more than a footnote, had it not been taken over by so many studies dedicated to Nicolaus Olahus without checking for accuracy. Even otherwise reliable scholarly works published as late as 2011⁴ still quote *Processus Universalis* as Olahus' first work. So, let us begin by correcting the error and embarking on a search for an alchemical

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¹ VACANT – MANGENOT – AMANN, 1930, 960–961.

² *Musaeum Hermeticum*, 1625.

³ Such as *Ars chemica* (Strasbourg, 1566), the *Artis auriferae* (Basel, 1572, 1593 and 1610), or the *Bibliotheca chemica curiosa* (Geneva, 1702). See B. J. T. DOBBS, 1975, 49–53, 263–81. This book, the most authoritative work on Newton's alchemy, contains information regarding both sixteenth-century alchemical publications and an extensive bibliography of primary texts and secondary reference material on Newton.

⁴ ANTAL, 2011, 464.

treatise written by a Transylvanian author close to the court of Buda, at the turn of the sixteenth century.

Interestingly and somewhat unexpectedly, a seventeenth-century treatise on the art of alchemy, Michael Maier's *Symbola Aureae Mensae*,⁵ published in 1617, sheds light on a possible candidate. The volume draws twelve portraits of philosophers and alchemists. The list includes Hermes Trismegistus, Maria the Jewess, Democritus, Morienus Romanus, Avicenna, Albertus Magnus, Arnaldus de Villa Nova, Thomas Aquinas, Raymund Lull, Roger Bacon, and Anonymus Sarmata. Eleventh in the sequence is one Melchior Cibinensis. The presence of an obscure figure like Melchior among such famous company is unusual. To surprise his readers even more, Maier dedicates a chapter to the Transylvanian author on par with the others. However, Maier's text is problematic: despite the length and focused nature of the commentary, the chapter on Nicholas Melchior offers very little sound historical information.

The first commentator to bring a degree of clarification to this matter is Petrus Borellus. His paragraph on Melchior is short, but the details are precise and accurate. The entry in Borellus' *Bibliotheca Chimica* reads:

"Nicol. Melchioris Cibinensis Transylvani, processus sub forma missae ad Ladislaum Regem Bohemiae & Hungariae, est in *Theatro Chimico*."⁶

Most other references⁷ to Nicolaus Melchior Cibinensis amount to no more than a few lines, and all probably stem from Borellus.

The only exception is the scathing commentary in Athanasius Kircher's *Mundus subterraneus*.⁸

The difference between Michael Maier's high opinion of Melchior and Kircher's dismissive attitude signals a controversial text. Both Maier and Kircher were profoundly respected figures. The first was a German physician, a counsellor to emperor Rudolf II, and a learned alchemist, with a strong influence on Isaac Newton. The second was a Jesuit priest and scholar, whose

⁵ MAIER, 1617, 507–52.

⁶ BORELLUS, 1656, 149.

⁷ KIRCHER, 1664, 266; LADRAGUE, 1870, No. 1008; CAILLET, 1912, 69; MACPHAIL – MULTHAUF – JAFFÉ – MCGUIRE, 1968, 394.

⁸ "Tertius ex Alchymistis occurrit Melchior Cibinensis, qui Ladislao Hungariae & Bohemiae Regi artem exhibitam non Philisophico, nec sapientibus usitato more, sed vesana quadam mentis vecordia captus parabolis, allegoriisque ex Canticis Canticorum assumptis, sacrosancta adorandaque Lyturgiae mysteria carbonibus suis, atroque fumo obscurata non minus irreverenter, quam impiè contaminare non erubuit. Legat qui volet Artis summam in *Theatro Chymico*, & non sine risu unà indignatione mixto mirabitur, quonam tandem modo in hominis ingenium cadere queant, tam audacter, & sine fronte non mysteriis, sed sceleribus, non scientia, sed impostura mundo illudere tam turpiter voluisse." – KIRCHER, 1664, 266.

research encompassed a variety of disciplines, including geography, astronomy, mathematics, language, medicine, and music. Both Borellus and Kircher acknowledge the *Processus*' inclusion in the *Theatrum Chemicum*. This should not be surprising, as this is the most comprehensive compilation of alchemical texts ever published.⁹ So well-known and well-respected was this particular anthology that a copy of the complete set was identified in Isaac Newton's comprehensive alchemical library. In fact, of all the books Newton owned, *Theatrum Chemicum* was the one that had the most corrections, references and other marginal annotations.¹⁰

In volume three of the 1602 first edition¹¹ we find a series of five brief alchemical texts of obscure origin, subtitled *Processus chemici aliquot*. Among these (fourth in the sequence) is the work signed by Nicolaus Melchior Cibinensis.¹²

Reading this sequence of alchemical texts carefully, one is quickly bound to realize that the version of the *Processus* issued in the *Theatrum Chemicum* was not the first one. The famous anthology simply republished the text issued in 1597 by Nicolas Barnaud (physician to the French Dauphin) in his *Commentariolum in aenigmaticum quoddam epitaphium*.¹³

The text appears to have mesmerized contemporaries, for in 1608 it was published again by Benedictus Figulus in *Thesaurinella*,¹⁴ another alchemical collection. Here the title resonates with that incorrectly quoted by Amann. The alchemical piece in the 1682 edition starts as follows: "Ad gloriosissimum Principem Vladislaum, Regem Ungariae et Bohemiae: Processus universalis Viae, Tincturae Rubedinis et Albedinis, Alchymicae artis : Magistri Nicolai Melchioris, Gibiniensis [sic], Transsylvani, etc. sub Forma Missae."

⁹ The first edition issued by Zetzner in 1602 was printed in three volumes and contained 80 texts. The same set was reprinted in 1613 with an additional volume of 54 treatises. In 1622 the heirs of Zetzner published the fifth volume of 20 texts, edited by Isaac Habrecht. The final and definitive edition of *Theatrum Chemicum* was prepared by Johann Jacob Heilmann and published in 1659–1660 by Eberhard Zetzner with one more volume, bringing the total number of alchemical tracts to over 200. See *Theatrum Chemicum...*, 1659–1661. [See ChCh: Om.4.6 v.3].

¹⁰ A detailed discussion of the context and predecessors of *Theatrum Chemicum* is presented in GILLY, 2003, 451–468.

¹¹ *Theatrum Chemicum*, 1602, v.3, 748 ff.

¹² "Addam et Processum sub Forma Missae, a Nicolao Melchiore Cibinensi Transylvano, ad Ladislaum Ungariae & Bohemiae Regem olim missum."

¹³ The volume contains a piece on the so-called *Aelia Laelia Crispis* puzzle inscription, and the five alchemical 'proceedings' printed in the *Theatrum Chemicum*. See BARNAUDI, 1597, 37–41.

¹⁴ FIGULUS, 1608. The book was printed again in 1682. (Frankfurt: Johann Görlin; [Hambourg] pour Georg Wolff, 1682).

This could partly explain Amann's confusion concerning the "Processus universalis", the title he gives to the work he attributes to Olahus.

Although published after the Barnaud and the *Theatrum Chemicum* editions, this is actually the earliest version of the text. The manuscript closest to it (discussed at length in an exceptionally insightful and well-documented study by Farkas Gábor Kiss, Benedek Láng and Cosmin Popa-Gorjanu)¹⁵ was apparently copied around 1588–1589 for Karl Widemann (1555–1635), a book collector and confidant of Figulus.¹⁶

As to why Amann identified Melchior Cibinensis with Olahus, he may have found the reference in Stephanus Weszprémy's 1774 *Succinta Medicorum Hungariae et Transylvaniae Biographia*.¹⁷ Weszprémy was a brilliant physician and prolific writer (who lived and practiced in England for a while).¹⁸ This treaty is mentioned in the study by Farkas Gábor Kiss et al.¹⁹ No earlier information has been traced as of yet, so it is possible that Weszprémy may be the first to make the association.

Thus, both the author and the text were singled out and enjoyed great popularity. The text in particular was especially intriguing. In an excellent study published in 2015 on this intriguing alchemical Mass, Didier Kahn²⁰ further identifies several versions of the *Processus* in manuscript form²¹. Overall, the

¹⁵ KISS – LÁNG – POPA-GORJANU, 2006, 143–159.

¹⁶ W: Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 11347 (c. 1585–1589), fol. 9r–12r.

¹⁷ WESZPRÉMY, 1774, 128.

¹⁸ HUYGELEN, 2011, 189–197.

¹⁹ KISS – LÁNG – POPA-GORJANU, 2006, 143–159.

²⁰ KAHN et al., 2015.

²¹ Latin versions of the manuscript:

W: Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 11347 (c. 1585–1589), fol. 9r–12r: "Magistri Nicolai Melchioris Cibiniensis Transylvani Processus universalis viae tincturae rubedinis et albedinis, sub forma Missae ad gloriosissimum Principem Vladislaum Regem Hungariae Boëmiaeqe feliciter incipit" – copied for Karl Widemann (1555–1637).

Bu: Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 11133 (c. 1604–1608), fol. 308r–309r (signaled by SZATHMÁRY, 1928, 250–273): "Processus chymicus Serenissimo Hungariae ac Boëmiae Regi Ladislao a Stephano ultimo Bosniae Rege communicatus et a Ladislai Capellano in hanc theoriam redactus. Cujus praxin expertus dominus Nicolaus Matzerus Cibinensis Transsylvanus, qui summe erat familiaris Bohemo Andreae Schampasae Pattenstati, cum quo ne illorum thesaurorum arcanum propalaretur, taleros excussit bonitate et regios superantes quibus delatis aufugit nobilis et compraehensus presbiter. Divo Ferdinando regnante hic Pragae proxima die Veneris post Philippum [et] Jacobum anno 1531 capite plectitur. Post ejus exitum repertum est hoc opus chymicum sub forma myssae descriptum." – copied for Simon Tadeáš Budeck de Lešín (d. 1608).

[1674–1675]: Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 11472 (a.D. 1674), fol. 2r (signaled by Joachim Telle): "Collecta a Cardinali Nicolao Melchiori Cibinensi Transylvano ad Ladislaum Hungariae et

text circulated in surprisingly many incarnations (nineteen manuscripts²² have surfaced so far) and was translated into Hungarian and Czech as well.²³

What can we thus say about the identity of the person behind the work? The title (*Processus sub forma missae, a Nicolao Melchiore Cibinensi Transylvaniae, ad Ladislaum Ungariae & Bohemiae Regem*) is helpful in that it confirms that the writer was from Transylvania, born in the town of Cibinium (now Sibiu; former Nagyszeben or Hermannstadt). It also places the composition firmly during the reign of Vladislas II, King of Hungary and Bohemia between 1490 and 1516.

In Jung's opinion, which might have been based on the introductory lines of the *Processus* preserved in one of the Viennese manuscripts, transcribed in the study by Farkas Gábor Kiss et al.,²⁴ the author of the alchemical piece was Nicolaus Melchior Szebeni,²⁵ chaplain and astrologer at King Vladislas'

Boëmiae Regem olim missa" – fragment – this is a copy of either the Barnaud version or the one printed in *Theatrum chemicum*. It can be found in a report by Johann Joachim Becher on an alchemical procedure as described by Daniel Marsaly. The fragment was later published in Becher's "Collecta ab Archi-Praesule Nicolao Melchiore Cibinensi Transylvano ad Ladislaum Hungariae & Bohemiae Regem olim missa."

²² Berlin, Staatsbibl. Preuß. Kulturbesitz, ms. lat. 4o 584: 11.

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²³ See KAHN, 2015.

²⁴ **Bu**: Wien, Ö.N.B., cod. 11133 (c. 1604–1608), fol. 308r. See KISS – LÁNG – POPA-GORJANU, 2006, 154 ff.

²⁵ JUNG, 1968, 396–407.

court from 1490. He continued to serve under the reign of King Louis II. Following the king's death in the battle of Mohács in 1526, Szebeni fled to the court of Ferdinand I in Vienna. He was later convicted of false coining and executed on 2 May, 1531 in Prague. Jung does not offer any primary or secondary source for these details in *Psychology and Alchemy*, where he devotes a whole section to the analysis of the text from the perspective of its Christian symbolism. But in a footnote to his study about alchemical representations, Jung confesses that he received the information about Szebeni from a friend, Dr Jolan Jacobi.²⁶

Apart from Szebeni, research conducted by Farkas Gábor Kiss et al. in the records of the Transylvanian town of Sibiu has revealed two other possible candidates: Melchior Aurifaber and Johannes Melchior.²⁷ The first held important positions among the dignitaries of the town in the period between 1459 and 1470. From 1473 until 1487, his name appears as Melchior Goltschmitt, usually in connection with political activities. The second name quoted is of a less pre-eminent figure. However, Johannes Melchior, active between 1478 and 1509, was also a goldsmith and was apparently related to Melchior Aurifaber.

Finally, if we are to believe Stephanus Weszprémy and Émile Amman, another possible candidate could be Nicolaus Olahus. As a young man, he did serve at the court of King Vladislas II, and throughout his writings he was always very keen to emphasize that he was born in Cibinium (Sibiu).

In Olahus' case, beyond this circumstantial evidence, we are in the fortunate position of having the rest of his literary work and can see how this short alchemical piece fares in a larger context. Before doing that, let us for a moment return to the text of the *Symbola Aureae Mensae* and the information it offers.

In this text Michael Maier opens each chapter with a brief preface, in which he offers information about the personality and work of the alchemist he is to deal with in the pages that follow. When he introduces Melchior, he does so in terms of the humanist's commitment to the cause of his country, facing repeated Turkish attacks at that time:

"[...] congenitibus nempe praeoccupatis bello aduersus Turcam, hostem atrocissimum & potentissimum continuò gerendo: Mirum est hunc quoque Musis quam Marti potius litasse, nec magis castris incubuisse, quam literis sic flagitante Reipublice necessitate. Communi enim hosti patriae omnibus viribus & conatu resistendum est à singulis & pugnandum pro aris & focus, quoad vita suppetit & libertas postulat."²⁸

²⁶ JUNG, 1999, 140.

²⁷ KISS – LÁNG – POPA-GORJANU, 2006, 149–153.

²⁸ MAIER, 1617, 507.

Maier's words briefly reconstruct the period that immediately preceded the fall of the kingdom of Hungary into Ottoman hands in 1526. Maier does not talk about this, but he introduces a character who realizes that losing the war against the enemy means more than losing one's country: it could also result in an entire culture and civilization vanishing into thin air. Liberty in such a case is also a fight *pro aris & focis*, a struggle to keep one's traditions and values intact. This particular consciousness of a *vir civilis* that Maier presents echoes that of Olahus. As a counter-argument, it is also possible that later audiences accepted the identity of the alchemist as Olahus and projected onto him what they already knew about the humanist.

Another feature which the author of the *Processus* could be seen as sharing with Olahus is the likelihood that he was also a man of the church. Significantly, the engraving below the motto dedicated to Melchior in the *Symbola Aureae Mensae* represents a cleric, dressed in Eucharistic vestments, saying mass. At the time when the piece was written, Olahus had not yet become a priest. It was only in 1518, two years after King Vladislas' death, that he was appointed Canon of Pécs. His education at the Oradea Capitulary School (1505–1512) was an ecclesiastical one, and as a young man he was a favourite of Georgius Szathmári, the Primate of Hungary. After entering Szathmári's circle of influence, Olahus' career as a man of the church gained momentum. This was clearly a matter of some importance for him, since he mentions every step of it in his *Chronicon*.²⁹ Wherever his name appears, whether as poet, politician, or diplomat, Olahus always adds his ecclesiastical appointment. The custom of mentioning one's function is not entirely unusual in the period, but in Olahus' case, checking the office he specifies is the most reliable method of dating his manuscripts. He allows no mistakes.³⁰ It appears that he wanted his public image to be associated with the church offices he held. The way he wished to be remembered is exactly the way Maier evokes Melchior.

Now, focusing on the *Processus sub forma Missae*, the viewpoint of this short and entirely enticing piece is that of a priest saying Mass. The text follows the structure of the liturgy, and the experience of reading it induces a strong feeling of the church as virtual reality, i.e. in effect, though not in fact, the reader is there, a spectator at a well-established and consecrated rite. What

²⁹ The church offices Olahus was appointed to were: canon of Pécs (1518), arch-dean of Komárom, and canon of Esztergom (1522), treasurer and canon of Székesfehérvár, the See of the Hungarian kings (1527), bishop of Zagreb (1543), bishop of Eger (1548), archbishop of Esztergom, and primate of Hungary (1553).

³⁰ When his secretary opens Olahus' volume of poetry with the title: *Carmina Reverendissimi Domini Nicolai Olahi, Archiepiscopi Ecclesiae Metropolitanae Strigoniensis*, the author comes in with the correction *Thesaurarii Albensis* (see H-46, 1r). At the time when most of the poems were actually written (between 1527 and 1553), Olahus had not yet been appointed archbishop of Esztergom.

is different and unexpected, shocking even, is that the service it describes as taking place is a paraphrase of the alchemical *opus*.

It seems surprising at first that Christian vocabulary and symbolism should find a place in alchemical speculations. But this can become understandable when one realizes that alchemy was not just pseudo chemistry and not just natural philosophy. The majority of alchemists considered themselves good Christians. In most cases, however, they placed themselves above Christianity, considering the ‘mystery of the stone’ even more sublime than the mystery of the Christian religion. The author of the *Processus* is different in this respect, as he subordinates alchemy to Christianity. Moreover, he seems to have been someone who knew the establishment from the inside and was intimately familiar with the minutest detail of the Roman rite.

As to how likely it was that this author was Olahus, there is a considerable problem. It is undoubtedly true that he knew the establishment from the inside, as a high-ranking figure within the ecclesiastical hierarchy. It is also true that he was more than familiar with every detail of the Roman rite, not only as a practising priest, but as a writer of devotional works. Sadly, it does not help much comparing all this with the views, style and composition of the *Processus*.

Unlike the rest of his work, for which only late editions are available, Olahus’ devotional writings were all printed during the author’s lifetime. In contrast with his previous attitude of a resistance to the printing press, within a period of three years (from 1558 to 1561) Olahus published a Breviary,³¹ an Ordinary of the Mass for the cathedral of Esztergom,³² and the *Praecipua*, a scholarly doctrinal exposition of the Catholic faith.³³ From being an author determined to exist solely for the exclusive society of a pan-European cultural elite, Olahus became a writer vigorously involved in making his theological works widely available.³⁴

Hardly an original work,³⁵ Olahus’ Breviary is nevertheless a very important undertaking. It was published in 1558, before the concluding session of

³¹ OLAHUS, 1558.

³² OLAHUS, 1560a.

³³ OLAHUS, 1560a, and OLAHUS, 1561.

³⁴ A list of all Olahus’ presumed theological writings (apart from the ones already quoted) might also include *Instructio pastorales ad clerum*. Unfortunately, I have been unsuccessful in tracing this book. There appears to be no copy in any of the usual locations where Olahus documents are preserved, or in other major European libraries. See NEAGU, 2003, 267–280. (Chapter 5. The *Carmina*, Codices and Previous Editions.)

³⁵ The idea of a Breviary can be traced back to the Fourth Lateran Council, which stipulated the liturgy of the hours as part of the daily office of priests (canon 17). On the basis of this principle, Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) had an *Ordinarius* compiled for his chapel. This was adopted by the Franciscans and then revised by Haymo of Faversham in 1243–1244. The last reworking was accepted by the papal court and became the source of the *Breviarium Romanum*. For more information on the process towards a uniform Roman liturgy, see WEGMAN, 1985.

the Council of Trent held in December 1563. The *Ordo et Ritus* is part of the same endeavour to equip the Catholic Church with up-to-date and theologically sound instruments. Both the appearance and the contents of the Breviary and the Ordinary of the Mass suggest that the two books were conceived as complementing each other: while the first provided the parts which vary with the ecclesiastical calendar, the second offered the invariable elements of the rite to be performed on various occasions. Directed at an audience composed of people familiar with the canon (mainly priests), the two books aim at restoring a sense of liturgical unity within the church. The *Breviarium* and the *Ordo et Ritus* strike one as essential contributions to the post-Tridentine effort to reform the Church. The synthesis they represent precedes the official publications issued by the Vatican. Olahus' merit is to have assumed the risk and responsibility of interpreting the information available to him via the Council's extant documents, or provided by various persons directly involved in discussions, and organize it intelligently in good books of immediate functionality.

The most eloquent example of this is his doctrinal exposition of faith, the *Catholicae ac Christianae Religionis Praecipua*. Olahus prepared the *Praecipua* for the meeting of the first synod he organized at Trnava (Nagyszombat, Tyrnau) in 1560. The book contains extensive chapters on the nature of faith, tradition, the sacraments, and the concepts of sin, justification and merit.³⁶ Here Olahus is very precise in his definition of the doctrine of the Eucharist, and his main emphasis is on the concept of transubstantiation. There are no unexpected elements in his treatment of the topic, no original ideas to excite the modern reader. However, Olahus' talent in systematizing a vast body of material is obvious. Although it is highly theoretical, the text is easy to follow, it is well-annotated and indexed, the chapters are clearly marked, and the logic behind them is manifest. The precision of his references is verified time and again. All this is typical of Olahus' manner of writing.

Comparing Olahus' aim and efforts to safeguard Tradition within the Catholic church and his treatment of the Eucharist in the *Praecipua* to the way the author of the *Processus* approaches his subject highlights profound differences.

As a composition on alchemy, the *Processus* is the private pursuit of a man conscious of the fact that one of the main rules he has to observe is preserving discretion and keeping out of the limelight. As part of his strategy for verbal persuasion, the author tries to win over his readers by indirectly connecting them with the divinity, seen as the main instrument of public salvation. His voice in prayer has emptied itself of individual status. All pronouns are in the plural. The role assumed by the narrator, though very important, is not fore-

³⁶ See *Index Capitum* of the *Praecipua*, OLAHUS, 1560b.

grounded. He conveys his authority while absenting himself from the scene but also becoming part of it, in an exercise of *officium* towards those for whom he prays. Thus, carefully reading this short text, we may notice that we are urged not to focus on the author's identity. It is irrelevant and we are deliberately given too little information to be in a position to guess. In contrast, we are urged to focus on the text.

Beyond historical and literary speculation, this is what stays with the reader. This intriguing, sophisticated, utterly beautiful prayer, veiled in the language of alchemy, set within the constraints of liturgy. From a rhetorical point of view, all this was bound to attract attention, and scholars indeed seemed fascinated with it then, as much as, paradoxically perhaps, more recently. In a letter dated 23 December, 1943 and kept in the archive of the Museum of the History of Science at Oxford, Gerard Heym wrote to Frank Sherwood Taylor (the director of the Museum) how pleased he was that the latter succeeded in having Melchior's Mass said, apparently by the Dominicans in Oxford's Blackfriars Hall.³⁷ And not only scholars were bewitched. How many alchemical treatises can boast that they have inspired a recent musical piece? ... The *Processus* can now, with Jeff Kaiser's octodektet, *The Alchemical Mass*,³⁸ deemed a riveting exercise crossing modern composition with improvisation and choral arrangements, all in the service of this unusual, perhaps shocking, but definitely memorable and intensely poetic text.

CRISTINA NEAGU

³⁷ MHS Taylor 122: Heym to Taylor, 2 Pednor Cottage, Chesham, 23 December 1943. See BROCK, 2011.

³⁸ The Jeff Kaiser Ockodektet with the Ojai Camerata, *The Alchemical Mass*, 2004. (CD)

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SIGLEN UND ABKÜRZUNGEN

- EDDB = Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Köln
EK oder ELTE EK = Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Egyetemi Könyvtár
[Eötvös Loránd Universität, Universitätsbibliothek], Budapest
EFSZK = Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Esztergom
MNL OL = Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár [Ungarisches
Nationalarchiv Staatsarchiv], Budapest
OSZK = Országos Széchényi Könyvtár [Széchényi Nationalbibliothek],
Budapest
OSZKK = Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Kézirattára [Széchényi National-
bibliothek, Handschriftensammlung]
ÖNB = Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien
ÖStA = Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Wien
FHKA HFU = Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv
HFU = Hoffinanz Ungarn
HZAB = Hofzahlamtsbücher
NÖKA = Niederösterreichische Kammerakten
HHStA = Haus-, Hof- und Staatarchiv
UA AA = Ungarische Akten (Hungarica), Allgemeine Akten
Turcica = Türkei I.
FA Erdődy = Familienarchiv Erdődy

NAMENVERZEICHNIS

Nur im Haupttext vorkommende Personennamen

- Ács, Pál 155
Adalbert, Hl. 67
Alaghy, Georg 28, 31
Albertus Magnus 90, 206
Algoet (Panagathus), Lieven (Livinus)
167, 168, 172, 173
Almási, Gábor 73,74
Almásy, Matthias 31
Amann, Émile 205, 207, 208, 210
Amerot, Adrian 164, 172
Ammonius, Livinus 164, 173, 197
Amphiareo, Vespasiano 43, 44
Anna, Kgn. v. Ungarn u. Böhmen 41
Anne Boleyn, Kgn. v. England 188
Anonymus Sarmata 206
Apelles 37
Arany, János 12, 149–156
Arany, Juliska 153
Aristophanes 91
Aristoteles 91
Armpruster, Christoph 26, 27, 30
Arnald von Villanova 206
Arrighi, Ludovico degli 43, 44
Attila (Etele), Kg. d. Hunnen 65, 66, 85,
143–147, 150, 151, 154–156
Avicenna 206

Bach, Alexander 150
Bacon, Roger 206
Bakács, Margit 70

Bakócz, Thomas 117
Baluze, Étienne 125
Banisius, James 182
Barinay, Ferenc 129
Barlandus, Hadrianus 91, 93, 171
Barnaud, Nicolas 207, 208
Basilius der Große, Hl. 170, 171
Báthory, Andreas, oberster Landesrichter
54
Báthory, Stephan, Fst. v. Siebenbürgen
u. Kg. v. Polen 144, 145
Batthyány, Balthasar 86
Bazylik, Cyprian 143–147
Bebel, Heinrich 164
Békés, Enikő 201
Bel (Bél), Matthias 13, 123–138
Bene, Sándor 155, 201
Berzeviczy, Martin 28, 31
Bethlen, Gabriel 71
Bielski, Joachim 145
Bocskay, Georg 11, 25–27, 30, 39, 40,
43, 44
Bodroghy, Gregorius 28, 31
Bona, Georg 38, 68, 69
Bonfini, Antonio 71, 76, 77, 108, 109,
111, 118, 135, 143, 155
Borellus, Petrus 206, 207
Bornemissza (Abstemius), Johann 116
Bornemissza de Brasso, Johann 31
Bornemissza, Paul 53

- Bosnyák, Andreas 31
 Brassicanus, Johann Alexander 197
 Brodarics (Brodericus), Stephan 108, 118, 119, 198
 Brutus, Johann Michael 109
 Buchinger, Michael 90
 Buda, Kg. d. Hunnen 156
 Büdy, Wolfgang 28, 31

 Caballa, Lucretia 184
 Camden, William 125
 Campeggio, Lorenzo 168
 Candianus, Petrus 183
 Canta, Jacopo 168
 Capella, Galeazzo Flavio 91
 Cartledge, Bryan 123
 Castaldo, Giovanni Battista 51, 54, 55
 Catherina, Stieftochter von Damianus Vissenaken 167, 168
 C(z)eglédi, Johann 117, 197
 Choron, Anna 71
 Chrysostomos *siehe* Johann von Antiochia
 Cicero, Marcus Tullius 89, 92, 200
 Clava, Anthony 167
 Cles, Bernhard von 19
 Clemens VII, Papst 188
 Clüver, Philipp 136
 Cranevelt, Francis 164, 168, 171, 173
 Crocus, Cornelius 93
 Curtius Rufus, Quintus 92
 Cuspinian, Johann 124
 Cynglus, Johannes 72
 Czuczor, Gergely 154

 Csaba, Sohn v. Attila 150, 155
 Csányi, Bernhard 28, 31
 Császár, Christoph 68
 Császár, Ursula 66, 88
 Csemiczky, Georg 31
 Csúzy, Peter 30

 Delfino, Zaccaria 52
 Democritus 206

 Demosthenes 89, 91
 Dersffy, Franz 66, 68, 88
 Dersffy, Ursula 65, 66, 68, 88
 Di Francesco, Amadeo 75
 Dietrich (Detre) von Bern 151
 Dio, Cassius 135
 Dodo, dakischer König 66
 Donat, Hl. 168
 Dracula, Darius 67
 Dracula, Johann 67
 Dracula, Vlad, Woiwode d. Walachei 13, 65, 67, 69–72, 77
 Draskovich, Georg d. Ä. 21, 24, 25, 30
 Driedo, Johann 170
 Duchesne, François 125
 Dudith, Andreas 21, 24, 25, 30, 40, 73–75

 Eber, Paul 91
 Eck, Johann 90
 Ellebodus, Nicasius 86, 91
 Elud, dakischer König 66
 Eperjessy, Kálmán 127
 Erasmus von Rotterdam 9, 90–93, 164–168, 170, 174, 181, 196–198
 Erdödy, Simon 25
 Esterházy, Fam. 38, 41, 165
 Esterházy, Nikolaus, Palatin 88
 Esterházy, Paul I. 13, 65, 66, 68–71, 75, 76, 87
 Estoras (Paul), Sohn v. Ida und Eurs 67
 Eurs, erste Esterházy-Ahne 67
 Eusebius 91

 Faber, Johann 89
 Facciolati, Jacopo 128
 Fazekas, István 11, 66
 Fejérthóy, Johann 25, 30
 Fell, John 125
 Ferdinand I., Kg. u. Ks. des HRR 19, 25, 38–41, 43, 44, 51–54, 56, 71, 108, 165, 166, 180, 187, 189–191, 197, 198, 210 [Kg. v. Ungarn u. Böhmen]

- Ferencffy, Andreas 31
 Figulus, Benedictus 207, 208
 Fodor, István 109–111, 113, 118
 Fogarasi, János 154
 Forgách, Franz d. Ä. 21, 24, 25, 30, 40, 73–75, 109
 Franz I., Kg. v. Frankreich 91, 180, 181, 185, 188, 189
 Fráter György *siehe* Martinuzzi, Georg
 Friedrich II., Pfalzgraf und Kurf. d. Pfalz 164
 Fregoso, Battista 179
 Freher, Marquard 125
 Frisius, Gemma 181, 183

 Gale, Roger 125
 Gattinara, Mercurino 180
 Gellius, Aulus 92
 Gerendi, Nikolaus 118
 Gilinus, Camillus 11, 179–191, 197
 Giovio, Paolo 91
 Goclenius, Conrad(us) 164, 173, 181
 Goldast, Melchior 125
 Grand Vizier Ibrahim *siehe* Makbul Ibrahim Pascha
 Graphaeus (Scribonius), Cornelius 91, 173, 198
 Gritti, Lodovico (Alvise) 135, 187, 190
 Grotius, Hugo 125
 Gulyás, Borbála 11, 26

 Gyulaffy, Susanna 70, 71

 Fráter György *siehe* Martinuzzi, Georg
 Hadrovics, László 109, 110, 116
 Helena, Tochter des byz. Ks., Ehefrau v. Stephan Lázárevics 68, 70, 76
 Helena, Tochter v. Johann, Woiwode d. Walachei 67, 68
 Heltai, Gaspar 75, 76
 Henckel, Johann 90, 172, 173, 196, 197
 Heinrich VIII., Kg. v. England 188
 Herberstein, Sigismund von 12, 119

 Hermann, Andreas 128
 Hermes Trismegistus 206
 Hermundt, Jacob 65
 Herodotus 133
 Hesiod 91, 169
 Heym, Gerard 214
 Hieronymus, Sophronius Eusebius 90, 114
 Himmelreich, Tiburtius 26, 27, 31
 Hippokrates 91, 170
 Hoefnagel, Joris 40
 Hoffmann, Johann Jacob 65
 Homer 91, 170
 Honterus, Johann 119
 Horaz 92
 Horváth-Stanchich, Mark 44, 45
 Hosszuthóthy, Georg 27, 30
 Huet, Albert 26, 27, 31
 Hunyadi Fam, 193
 Hunyadi, Johann 68, 70, 76, 77
 Hunyadi, Marina (Maria) 70
 Huszár, Barbara 68
 Hübschmann, Donat 38
 Hyperius (Gheeraerds), Andreas 164

 Ibrahim Pasha *siehe* Makbul Ibrahim Pascha
 Ida, dakische Königin 66, 67
 Insulanus, Guilielmus 91
 Ipolyi, Arnold 152, 181, 193, 194, 196
 Isabella Jagiellonica, Kgn v. Ungarn 53, 54, 71
 Isokrates 91
 Istvánffy, Nikolaus 27, 31, 38, 40, 69, 73, 75, 109
 Iustinus, Marcus Iunianus 133

 Jacobi, Jolán Dr. 210
 Janus Pannonius 71
 Johann I. (Zápolya), Kg. v. Ungarn 53, 187, 197, 198
 Johann der Beständige, Hg. und Kurf. von Sachsen 89

- Johann von Antiochia (Chrysostomos) 90
 Johann Sigismund (Zápolya), Fst. v. Siebenbürgen u. Kg. v. Ungarn 53
 Johann, Woiwode d. Walachei, Sohn v. Woiwode Ladislaus 67, 68
 Johann, Woiwode d. Walachei, Sohn v. Helena u. Sigismund v. Luxemburg 67
 Johannes der Almosengeber, Hl. 117
 Jakó, Zsigmond 42
 Jespersen, Jakob 167–170, 172
 Johanna, Infantin v. Spanien 41
 Jordanes 133, 145
 Juhász, László 127
 Julius III, Papst 51, 52
 Jung, Carl Gustav 209
 Junius, Hadrianus 93
- Kahn, Didier 208
 Kalnay (Kálnay), Emerich 165, 166, 195–197
 Kampen (Campensis), Johann van 164
 Kanász, Viktor 13
 Kanizsai, Ursula 89
 Kardos, Tibor 143
 Karl V, Ks. des HRR 41, 52, 89, 91, 165, 166, 168, 169, 171, 180, 181, 184–186, 188–191, 197
 Kasza, Péter 13
 Katharina von Aragon, Kgn. v. England 188
 Katharina von Brandenburg, Prinzessin von Brandenburg u. Fstn v. Siebenbürgen 71
 Kecskeméti, Gábor 11
 Kézai, Simon 75
 Khayr-ad Din Barbarossa 181, 184–186
 Kircher, Athanasius 206, 207
 Kiss, Farkas Gábor 12, 208, 209, 210
 Klaniczay, Tibor 11
 Kneissl, Heinrich Wolfgang 53
 Kollar, Adam Franciscus 126, 129
- Kopernikus 91
 Korompay H., János 151
 Kovács, András 11, 41, 42
 Kovacsóczy, Wolfgang 73, 74
 Kulcsár, Péter 109, 143
- Labbe, Philippe 125
 Ladislaus I., Hl., Kg. v. Ungarn 154
 Ladislaus, Woiwode d. Walachei 67, 68
 Láng, Benedek 12, 208
 Lapidanus, William 164, 171, 173
 Laurinus, Marcus 168
 Lautensack, Hans Sebald 37
 Lázár deák (Literatus) 13, 109–111, 113–119
 Lázárevics, Stephan 68
 Lazius, Wolfgang 119
 Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm 126
 Leodius, Hubertus Thomas 164
 Liechtenstein, Peter 98, 99
 Lindenbrog, Friedrich 125
 Lipsius, Justus 135
 Liszthy, Franz 71
 Liszthy (Listhius), Johann I. 17, 25–28, 30, 40, 70, 71, 76, 87, 88, 101
 Liszthy (Listhius), Johann II. 87
 Liszthy, Sebastian 26, 27, 31, 38, 40
 Liszthy, Stephan 70, 71
 Ludwig II., Kg. v. Ungarn u. Böhmen 41, 132, 152, 153, 179, 180, 210
 Lukian 91, 172
 Lull, Raymund 206
 Luther, Martin 89–91
- Macropedius, Georgius 93
 Madocsányi (Madaczansky), Paulus 31
 Magellan, Ferdinand 163
 Magochy (Mágóchy), Franz 66, 68
 Maier, Michael 206, 210, 211
 Makbul Ibrahim Pascha 186, 187, 189
 Makó, Franz 30
 Malatesta, Federico 25, 30
 Manutius, Aldus 91

- Marcellin, Ammian 136
 Margareta von Antiochia 100
 Margarete von Österreich, Statthalterin
 d. habsburgischen Niederlande 165,
 180
 Mamsila (Manzila) 70
 Maria, Kgn. v. Ungarn u. Böhmen 18, 41,
 85, 90, 109, 116, 152, 165–168, 170,
 172, 179–184, 190, 191, 194, 196, 198
 Maria die Jüdin 206
 Marsi(g)li, Luigi Ferdinando 135
 Martens, Dirk 170, 172
 Martin von Tours, Hl. 112, 114
 Martinengo, Girolamo 52–55
 Martinuzzi, Georg 13, 51–56
 Marville, Nicolas von 172
 Matthias I. (Corvinus), Kg. v. Ungarn
 65, 68, 69, 72, 73, 75–77, 110, 111,
 124, 132, 135, 150, 155
 Maximilian II. Ks. des HRR u. als Max-
 imilian I., Kg. v. Ungarn u. Böhmen
 24, 41, 69, 72–74, 164, 180
 Medici, Ippolito de' 186
 Meibom, Heinrich d. Ä. 125, 126
 Melanchthon, Philipp 89, 90, 92
 Melchior Aurifaber (Goldschmitt) 210
 Melchior, Nikolaus (Cibinensis, Sze-
 beni) 205–210
 Melchior, Johann 210
 Mencke, Johann Burchard 125, 126
 Meerte (Meerts), Jeanne 164
 Meerte (Meerts), William 164
 Merula, Primus 25, 30
 Mihail (Mihály) cel Rău 69
 Mihnea cel Rău 69, 72
 Nikolaus Bischof 117
 Mikó, Árpád 43
 Milith, Thomas 31
 Monok, István 12
 Montanus, Petrus 93
 Moons, Anna 170
 More, Thomas 168
 Morienus Romanus 206
 Morillon, Guy 171
 Morzsinai, Elisabeth 76
 Mosellanus, Petrus 90
 Mossóczy, Zacharias 86
 Mucsei, Paul 30
 Muley Hassan 181
 Murad II., Sultan 144
 Muratori, Lodovico Antonio 125, 126,
 131, 133, 134, 137
 Murmellius, Johannes 93
 Nacsády, József 150
 Nádasdy, Franz (III.) 65
 Nádasdy, Thomas (I.), Palatin 18, 197–
 199
 Nagy, Levente 13
 Nannius, Petrus 9, 11, 91–93, 132, 163,
 164, 173, 197, 198
 Nausea, Friedrich 90
 Neagu, Cristina 12, 75
 Neudörffer, Johann, d. Ä. 43
 Newton, Isaac 206, 207
 Nyáry, Kristina 68
 Oláh, Helena 41
 Oláh, Lukrezia 26, 70, 71, 87, 101
 Oláh, Matthäus 41, 70
 Oláh, Thomas 70
 Oláh, Ursula 41, 68, 70
 Oláh-Császár, Nikolaus 68, 88
 Oláh-Császár, Ursula 68
 Olasz, Nikolaus 41
 Oridryus, Arnoldus 169, 170, 173
 Palatino, Giovanbattista 4
 Pálczán, Peter 53
 Pálffy, Gregorius 31
 Palemon 147
 Paluczki (Palugyay), Emerich 31
 Paulus Diaconus 134
 Paul III., Papst (Alessandro Farnese) 188
 Paulus von Tarsus 89

- Pécsi, Johann 20
 Pesty, Franz 53
 Peregi, Albert 89
 Perényi, Peter 19, 20
 Persey, Nikolaus 31
 Persius Flaccus, Aulus 92
 Peter, Woiwode von Moldawien 108
 Petőfi, Sándor 149, 155
 Petrarca, Francesco 200
 Petz, Hieronymus 125
 Philipp I., der Großmütige 189
 Pighius, Albertus 90
 Pirminius Gasser, Achilles 91
 Pistorius, Johann 125
 Pius V., Papst 101
 Platon 91
 Plinius d. Ä. 92
 Polybios 91
 Pomarius, Christian 119
 Popa-Gorjanu, Cornelia 11
 Popa-Gorjanu, Cosmin 12, 208
 Prischwitz, Michael 97
 Priskos von Panion 136, 154
 Ptolemäus 118

 Quintilianus 92

 Radocsay, Dénes 41, 42
 Radu cel Frumos 70
 Ramus, Johann 91, 92
 Ransanus, Petrus 108–111, 118
 Reicherstorffer, Georg 108, 119
 Reineck, Reiner 125
 Reinhard, Wolfgang 23, 24
 Rescius, Rutger 164, 168, 170–173, 197
 Reuber, Justus 125
 Ritoók, Zsigmond 92
 Ritter (Vitezović), Pavao 65
 Rudolf II., Ks. des HRR, und als Rudolf I., Kg. v. Ungarn u. Böhmen 40, 206

 Sagundinus, Nicolaus 91
 Sallustius 92

 Sanudo, Marino 180
 Sárpataky, Thomas 31
 Saurer, Lorenz 20
 Sbardellati, Augustin 24
 Sc(h)epper, Cornelius (de) 69, 70, 72, 117, 164, 173, 181, 184, 188, 197, 198
 Schardius, Simon 125
 Schedel, Hartmann 91
 Schilter, Johannes 125, 126
 Schott, Andreas 125
 Schreiber, Farkas 53
 Seidel, Wolfgang 90
 Selden, John 125
 Seneca d. J. 92
 Sforza, Bianca Maria 180
 Sforza, Galeazzo 179
 Sforza, Francesco Maria (II) 179–181, 184–186
 Sforza, Ludovico (Moro) 179, 180
 Sforza Pallavicini, Sergeant 51
 Sherwood Taylor, Frank 214
 Sigismund v. Luxemburg, Kg. v. Ungarn u. Böhmen, Ks. d. HRR 67, 76, 77
 Sodoletto, Jacopo 91
 Sommersberg, Friedrich Wilhelm von 134
 Sophokles 91
 Soto, Pedro de 90
 Staphylus, Friedrich 90, 91
 Steinperger, Felix 31
 Stephan I., Hl., Kg. v. Ungarn 67, 149
 Stephan, Sohn v. Johann Woiwode, Enkelsohn v. Ladislaus Woiwode 68, 70, 72
 Strauss, Hieronymus 26, 27, 31
 Struve, Burckhard Gotthelf 125, 126
 Strykowski, Maciej 143, 147
 Süleyman (der Prachtige), Sultan 108, 123, 181, 186, 189

 Szalaházy, Thomas 25, 165, 197, 198
 Szamosközy, Stephan 135
 Szatmári, Georg 17, 41, 116, 117, 211

- Szelestei N., László 12
 Szelepcsényi, Georg 19
 Szente, Bálint 70, 71
 Szentgyörgyi, Gabriel 30
 Szentiványi, Márton 128, 129, 133, 138
 Szigethy, Gábor 109
 Szilágyi, Emőke Rita 124, 152, 153
 Szilágyi, István 149
 Szoliva, Gábrriel OFM 12
 Szörényi, László 12, 67
 Sztripszky, Hiador 154
- Tahmasp I, Schah v. Persien 186
 Telegdi, Nikolaus 86
 Terenz 86
 Tertullian 90
 Thomas von Aquin, Hl. 206
 Thuróczy, Johann 75, 76, 108, 133
 Thuróczy, Nikolaus 197
 Thurzó, Alex 115, 116, 197
 Tinódi Lantos, Sebastian 75
 Tirna, Ludwig von 100
 Tirna, Rudolf von 100
 Tisza, Domokos 150
 Tolnai Deák (Literatus), Matthias 31
 Tóth, Gergely 13
 Tournoy, Gilbert 11, 194
 Török, Valentin 55
 Tranquillus Parthenius, Andronicus
 72,73
 Transsylvanus, Maximilianus 163, 164
 Trapezunt, Georg von 92
 Türck, Daniel 26
- Újlaki, Franz 197
 Uliman (Bey) 55
- Ulrich, Hg. von Württemberg 189
 Ursula von Köln 147
- V. Kovács, Sándor 193
 Varad, Petrus de
 Várday, Paul 25, 27
 Vasul 90
 Verancsics (Verantius), Anton 108, 119
 Vischer, Georg Matthäus 100
 Vissenaken, Damianus 167
 Vives, Johann Ludwig 93, 168–171
 Vízkelethy, Jakob 31
 Vladislav II., Kg. v. Ungarn u. Böhmen
 41, 132, 209, 210, 211
 Voinovich, Géza 151
- Warsenius, John 171
 Wechel, Christian 169
 Weeze, Johann von 163, 197
 Weszprémy, Stephan 208, 210
 Widemann, Karl 208
 Witzel, Georg 89
- Xenophon 91
- Zasskovszky, Andreas 31
 Zercheky, Benedikt 31
 Zevenbergen, Lucas van 164
 Ziegler, Jacob 119
 Zitkovszky, István 129
 Zluny Frangepán, Anna (Tochter von
 Thomas Nádasdy) 68
 Zoltán, András 12
 Zoltan, dakischer König 66
 Zula, Balthasar 26, 31
 Zula, Gaspar 26, 30
 Zvara, Edina 12
 Zredna, Johann Vitéz de 193, 200
 Zrínyi, Nikolaus (der Dichter) 77
- Zsámboky (Sambucus), Johann 12, 69,
 71, 86, 90, 92, 93, 108, 119, 127, 129

ABBILDUNGEN



Abb. 1. The two-page frontispiece of the second letters patent issued to Nicolaus Olahus, 1558–1560. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára / National Archives of Hungary, Budapest, P 108, Rep. 2–3, Fasc. K, No. 163.



Abb. 2. Signature of György Bocskay ("15 FGB 60") on the second letters patent issued to Nicolaus Olahus, 1560. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára / National Archives of Hungary, Budapest, P 108, Rep. 2–3, Fasc. K, No. 163.



Abb. 3. The first letters patent issued to Nicolaus Olahus, 1548. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára / National Archives of Hungary, Budapest, P 108, Rep. 2–3, Fasc. K, No. 162.

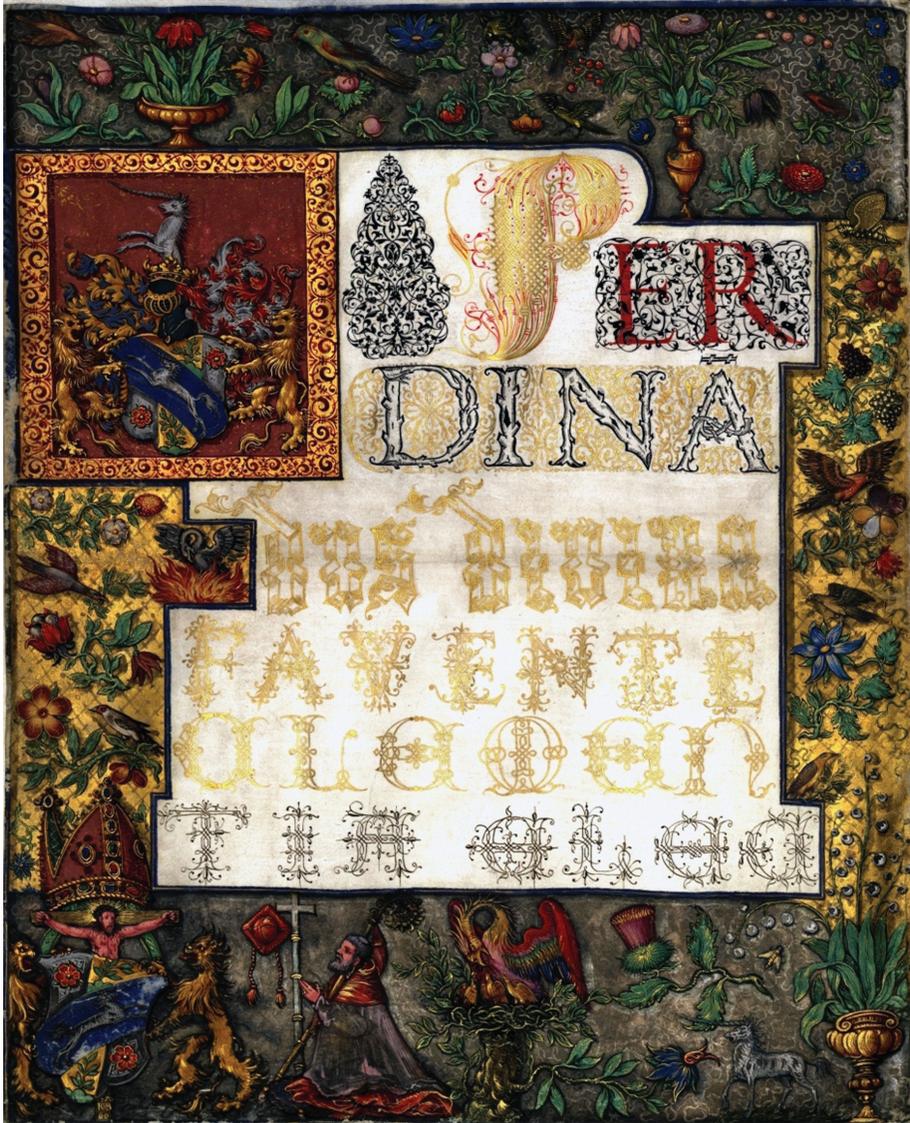


Abb. 4. The left side of the frontispiece of the second letters patent issued to Nicolaus Olahus, 1558–1560. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára / National Archives of Hungary, Budapest, P 108, Rep. 2–3, Fasc. K, No. 163.

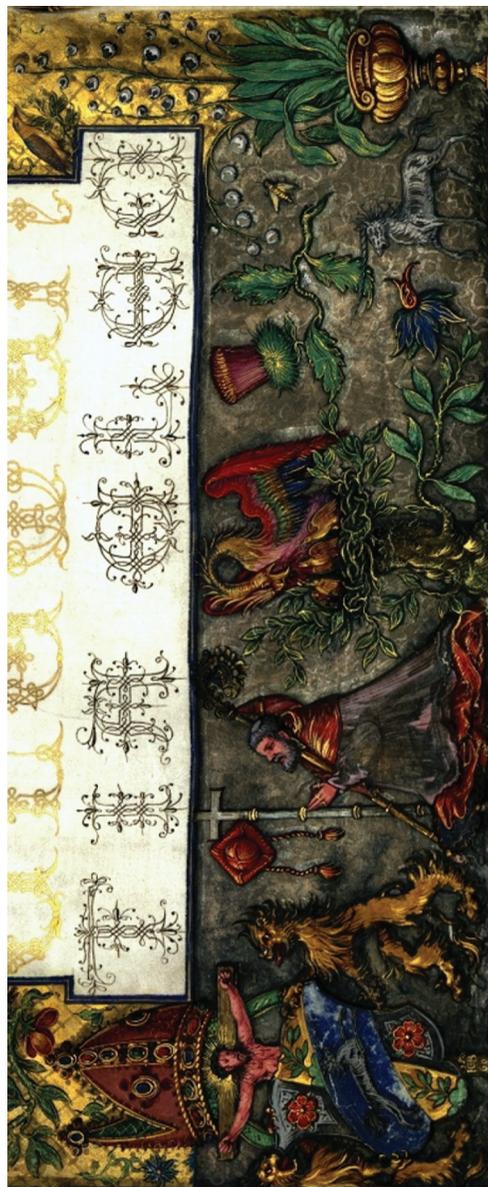


Abb. 5. The lower border of the left side of the frontispiece of the second letters patent issued to Nicolaus Olahus, featuring the portrait of Olahus, 1558–1560. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára / National Archives of Hungary, Budapest, P 108, Rep. 2–3, Fasc. K, No. 163.

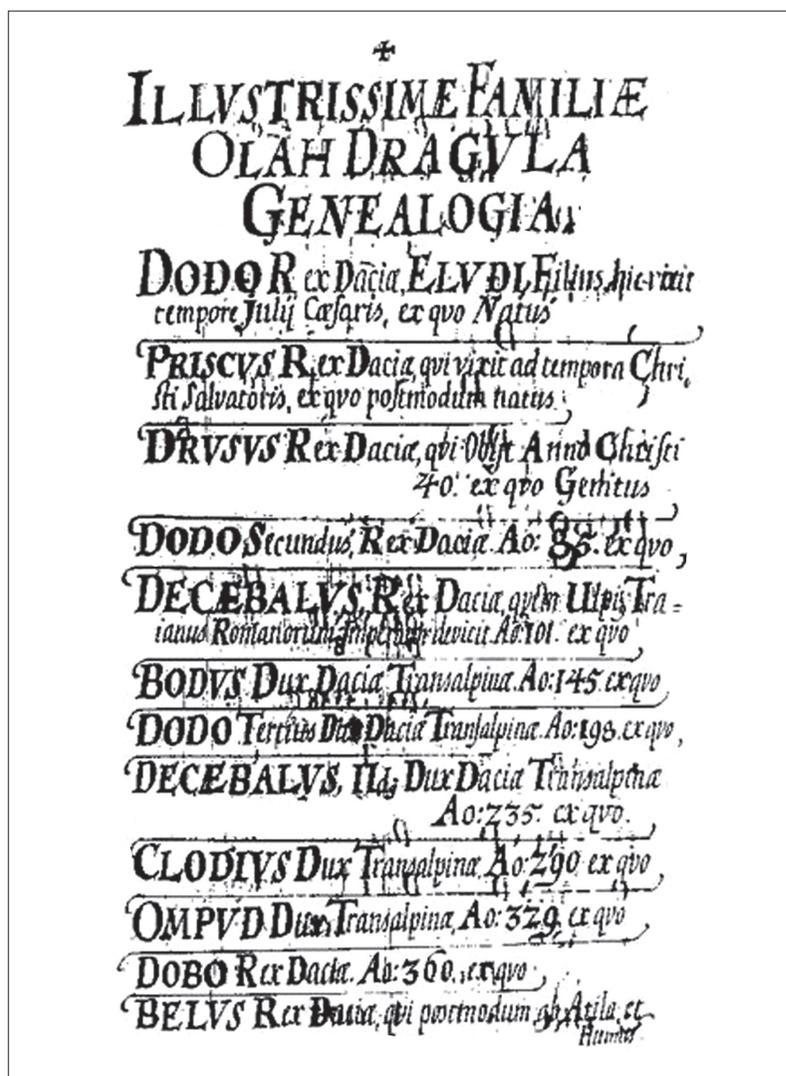


Abb. 7. Genealogie der Familie Oláh–Drakula aufgrund von Pál Esterházy
(MNL OL P 125, Titel: 1172, Nr. 11906., 41.)

CONSTANTINVS Dux Ao: 1170. ex quo
HONORIVS Dux Ao: 1185. ex quo
WSTINIANVS Dux Ao: 1210. ex quo
CONSTANTINVS Junior Occisus à Bulgaris, Ao: 1235.
STEPHANVS Albae Nestor Gubernator Ao: 1270. ex quo
JONAS Vaivoda Valachia Ao: 1309. ex quo
STEPHANVS Vaivoda Valachia Ao: 1359. ex quo
JOANNES Vaivoda qui tempore Sigismundi Regis Hungar
 et postea Rom: Imp: habuit Filium **LADISLAVM**, et Filiam
HELENAM pulcherrimam Virginem quam idem Sigismundus
 adamavit, et ex ea genuit **JOANNEM** Vaivodam, qui dicitur esse
HVNNIADES, et postea Corvinus, sua: Genealogia sic continet:
JOANNIS Corvini Filij fuerunt **LADISLAVS** Occisus et **MAT-**
THIAS Corvinus, postea Rex Hungariae, qui habuit Filium
 Naturalem **JOANNEM** Ducem, qui defecit Lepoglavit in Scla
 vonia apud Patres Paulinos sepultus.
 Porro ex **LADISLAO** Vaivoda **HELENE** Fratris Germani
 Genitus est.
JOANNES Vaivoda Valachia
 Ao: 1430. ex quo
STEPHANVS Vaivoda Valachia ex quo Ao: 1480
NICOLAVS Olahus **URSULA** **LVRETIA** **HELENA**
 Archiepiscopus Strigontien: Nicolai Csi Johannis Lu Dragostiana
 Ao: 1550. Csar Coniux eius Coniux Defecit.
 Ex praefata **URSULA** Olahi Genitus est **NICOLAVS**
 Csasar Junior, Cuius Coniux fuit **ANNA** Zluni de Fransepamb:
 ex quo
CHRISTOPHORVS **URSULA** Csasar Coniux Francis
 Csasar, qui Defecit. Dysssi. ex quo
 Ursula

Abb. 8. Die Abstammung von Hunyadi aufgrund von Pál Esterházy
 (MNL OL P 125, Titel 1172, Nr. 11906., 43.)

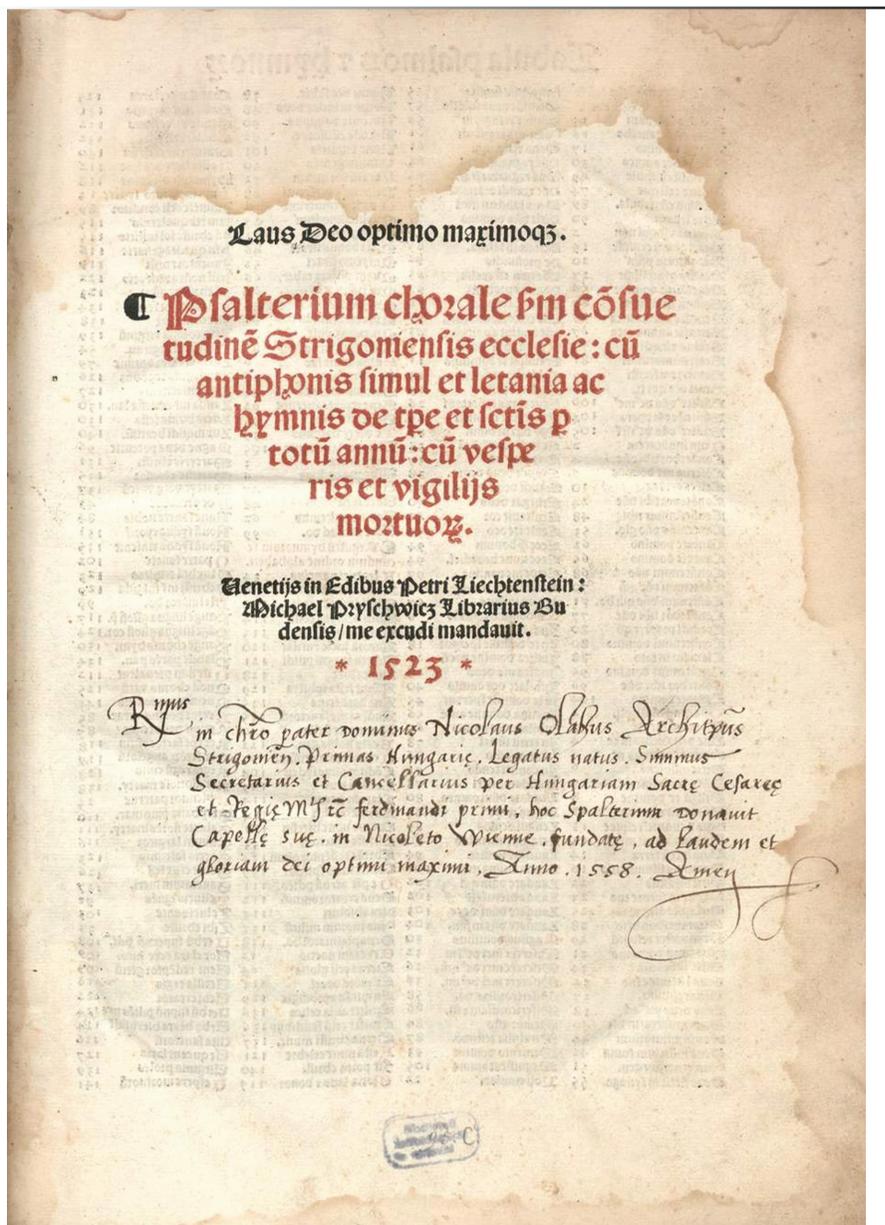


Abb. 9. Oláh's possessor's notes on the title page of the *Psalterium Strigoniense* donated to the Nicoletum (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Res/2 Liturg. 380, titlepage)

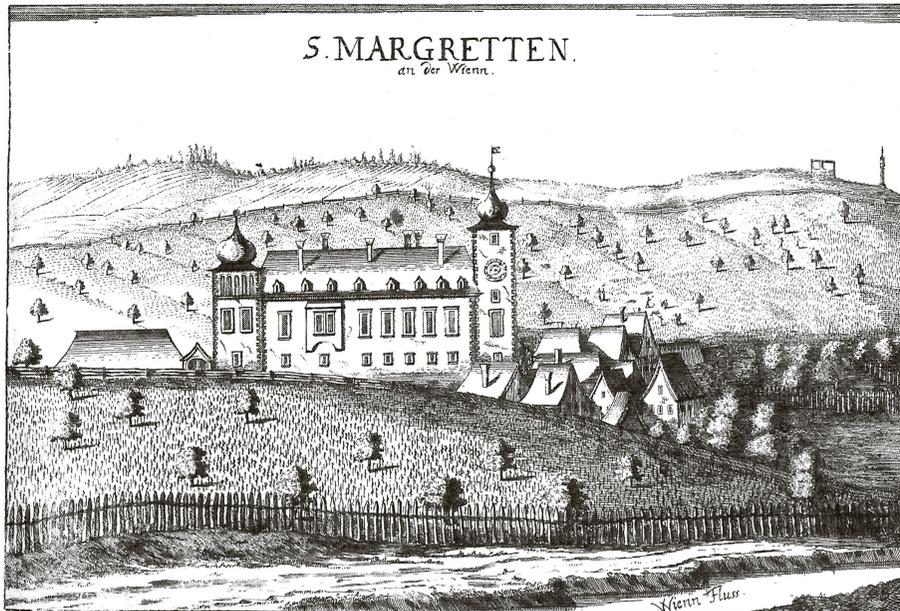


Abb. 10. Nicoletum: Georg Matthäus Vischer's engraving from 1672 depicts Miklós Oláh's Renaissance castle; the lower tower probably belonged to the chapel.



Abb. 11. The court of 3 Margaretenplatz today; some of the window frames and the Renaissance portal are probably remains of the one-time Nicoletum.

109

Incipit hymnus

ens: q natus orbi subue
 nis: cursu declin' ipis.
Illumina nūc pectora
 tuosq; amore p'crema:
 pulsa tandem lubrica.
Tuderq; cū post ade
 ris: rimari facta pecto
 ris: reddens vicem p
 abditis: instrisq; regnū
 pro bonis. **Ad laud'**
Qui demū artemur
 malis pro qualitate cri
 minis: sed cum beatis
 compotes: sumus per
 cimes celibes. **Ad laud'**
Qui honor. **Ad laud'**
Qui clara ecce in
 tonat: obscura queq;

ierapat: pellantur emi
 nus somnia: ab ethere
 ch'astus promicat.
Mens la resurgat tor
 pida: que sozde extat
 faucia: s'ydus resulget
 iam nouū: vt tollat om
 ne horum.
A sursum agnus mit'
 titur: lacare gratis de
 bitum: omnes p' indul
 gentia vocem demus
 cum lachrymis.
Secundo vt cum sul
 serit mūdumq; horroz
 cinerit: nō pro reatu
 punitat: sed nos pius
 tunc protegat.
Laus honor. **Ad laud'**
In naruitate dñi.
Ad primas vesp'as;

De aduentu

Incipit hymnarius
 vti spūs; de thalamo:
 egressus honestissima:
 virginis miris clausula.
Quius foris potentie:
 genu curuatur omnia:
 celestia terrestria: sa
 tentur nūc subdita.
Occasum sol custodi
 ens: luna pallorem re
 tinens: candos in astris
 relucens: certos obser
 uat limites.
Ve deprecamur agie
 ventura iudey secuit:
 cōserua nos in tēpore:
 hostis a relo perfidi.
Laus honor viri? glo
 ria deo patri et filio:
 sancto simul paracle
 to: i sempiterna secula.
Ame. **Ad cōpletionē.**
Quērbū supernū p
 diens: a patre olim exi

Incipit hymnarius
 vti spūs; de thalamo:
 egressus honestissima:
 virginis miris clausula.
Quius foris potentie:
 genu curuatur omnia:
 celestia terrestria: sa
 tentur nūc subdita.
Occasum sol custodi
 ens: luna pallorem re
 tinens: candos in astris
 relucens: certos obser
 uat limites.
Ve deprecamur agie
 ventura iudey secuit:
 cōserua nos in tēpore:
 hostis a relo perfidi.
Laus honor viri? glo
 ria deo patri et filio:
 sancto simul paracle
 to: i sempiterna secula.
Ame. **Ad cōpletionē.**
Quērbū supernū p
 diens: a patre olim exi

Abb. 12. The beginning of the hymnal in Oláh's *Psalterium Strigoniense* (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Res/2 Liturg. 380, fols. 108^v–109^r)

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VILÁGI ÉS EGYHÁZI ELITJE A BÉCSI UDVARBAN
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